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Scottish saints cults and pilgrimage from the Black Death to the Reformation, c.1349-1560

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work is my own. It has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. NB: Some of the material in Chapter Three expands on work done towards the degree of MSc in Medieval History (University of Edinburgh, 2007); all text is substantially different from any submitted towards that degree.

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of the most important Scottish saints' cults and pilgrimage centres in the period c.1349-1560. Specifically, this project locates the role of this group within the wider devotional practices of the late medieval kingdom. Through analysis of liturgical calendars, ecclesiastical dedications, contemporary literature and naming and pilgrimage patterns, it identifies and explains the distinctive features of the veneration of national saints in late medieval Scotland in the two centuries from the first appearance of the Black Death in 1349 to the Reformation in 1560. The key theme of this thesis is the consideration of the manner in which external factors, such as general Western European social and religious developments, and distinctly local phenomena such as the intermittent warfare with England and the varied agendas of interest groups like shrine custodians, the national church and the crown, impacted upon the saintly landscape of the late medieval kingdom and the popular piety of its people.

The medieval cult of the saints is a subject of considerable value for historians because it was a movement in a constant state of flux. It adapted to the socio-religious context of the societies in which it operated. Although never neglected as an area of study, the cult of the saints in Scotland has received further attention in recent years through the influence of the Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland project carried out at the University of Edinburgh from 2004-7. However, studies on the role and function of national and local saints, those believed by contemporaries to have had a Scottish provenance or a hagiographical connection to the medieval kingdom, have tended to focus on two specific periods. These were the so called 'age of the saints', the period between the fourth and eighth centuries in which the majority of these men and women were thought to have been active, or the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from when the main Latin hagiographical sources originate. The role and function of this group in the later middle ages has been either neglected or subject to the pervasive influence of a 1968 article by David McRoberts which argued that church- and crown- sponsored patriotism was the main factor in shaping popular piety in this period. This thesis will question this premise and provide the first in-depth study of the cults of St Andrew, Columba of Iona/Dunkeld, Kentigern of Glasgow and Ninian of Whithorn in a late medieval Scottish context, as well as the lesser known northern saint, Duthac of Tain.

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Any mistakes are of course my own.

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Abbreviations

APS - Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, ed. T. Thomson & C. Innes (Edinburgh, 11 vols, 1814-75)

BL - British Library

Chron. Boece - Boece, H., The Chronicles of Scotland, trans J. Bellenden, eds. E. Batho & R. W. Chambers (Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1938-41),

Chron. Bower - Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English, ed. D. E. R. Watt (Aberdeen, 9 vols, 1987-99),

CDS - Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, ed. J. Bain et al (Edinburgh, 5 vols, 1881-1986)

CPL, Benedict XIII - Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon (1394-1419), ed. F. McGurk (Edinburgh, 1976)

CPL, Clement VII - Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon, 1378-94, ed. C. Burns (Edinburgh, 1974)

CSSR, 1418-1422 - Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-22, eds. E. Lindsay & A. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1934)

CSSR, 1423-1428 - Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-1428, ed. A. I. Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1956)

CSSR, 1428-1432 - Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428-1432, eds. A. I. Dunlop & I. Cowan (Edinburgh, 1978)

CSSR, 1433-1447 - Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447, ed. A. I. Dunlop (Glasgow, 1983)

CSSR, 1447-1471 - Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1447-1471, eds. J. Kirk, R. Tanner & A. I. Dunlop (Glasgow, 1997)

ER - Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, eds. J. Stuart et al. (Edinburgh, 23 vols, 1878-1908)

EUL - Edinburgh University Library

Chron. Fordun - Fordun, Johannis de, Chronica Gentis Scotorum ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1871-2)

IR - Innes Review

Chron. Maior - Maior, J., A History of Greater Britain, as well England as Scotland, ed. A. Constable (Edinburgh, 1892)

NAS - National Archives Scotland (Edinburgh)

NLS - National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh)

PSAS - Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

RMS - Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, ed. J. M. Thomson et al (Edinburgh, 11 vols, 1882-1914)

RSS - Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, ed. M. Livingstone et al (Edinburgh, 8 vols, 1908-1982)

Saints' cults in the Celtic World - Saints' Cults in the Celtic World, eds. S. Boardman, J. R. Davies & E. Williamson (Woodbridge, 2009)

SHR - Scottish Historical Review

The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland - The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland, eds. S. Boardman & E. Williamson (Woodbridge, 2010)

TA - Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, eds. T. Dickson & J. B. Paul (Edinburgh, 12 vols, 1877-1916)

TDGNS - Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

Chron. Wyntoun - Wyntoun, Andrew of, The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun, ed. A. Amours (Edinburgh, 6 vols, 1903-14)

Introduction

In 1516 a canon of Dunkeld called Alexander Myln sat down to record for posterity the achievements of the bishops of his diocese.¹ Prominent amongst the men who featured in his work was the recently deceased George Brown (1483-1515), a career cleric who, according to one commentator, had an eye for the finer things in life.² Alongside his description of the bishop's various pious endowments and charitable deeds, Myln included a fascinating miracle story said to have occurred in 1500. In that year there was a severe outbreak of plague throughout the kingdom. The failure of the disease to spread to the city of Dunkeld was attributed by Myln to the presence of relics of St Columba in the cathedral church, some of which had been translated from Iona in 849AD.³ The pestilence had however, reached the village of Capeth, situated 6 miles to the southeast of the cathedral city.⁴ Bishop Brown acted quickly, taking one of the Columban relics and dipping it in water. This water was then blessed by the bishop and sent with his chancellor to the sufferers. Those that drank the sanctified liquid were cured. One cynic however, refused it, stating that he would rather Brown 'had sent to me the best of his ale'. Predictably the sceptic was soon dead, along with a number of others who had not taken 'the water of St Columba'.⁵

This brief miracle story from late medieval Scotland encompasses many of what Stephen Wilson has identified as the key functions of the cult of the saints in the middle ages. The first of these was universal assistance, the resort to the saints in times of adversity.⁶ In this case protection was sought from the Black Death, a disease that had first appeared in Scotland in 1349, and would return periodically in the

¹ Myln, A., *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* (Edinburgh, 1831). For his career see MacQueen, J., 'Alexander Myln, Bishop George Brown and the chapter of Dunkeld', in *Humanism and Reform; The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400-1643*, ed. J. Kirk (Oxford, 1991), 349-61.

² This is Hannay's assessment of the bishop in his introduction to the *Rentale Dunkeldense*, ed. R. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1915), p.xiv.

³ *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, p.43. The section on the episcopacy of Brown is translated in *Rentale Dunkeldense*, pp.302-34. For the relic translation in 849AD see, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ed. A. Anderson (Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1922), i, p.279 & *The Annals of Ulster: Text and translation Pt. 1*, eds. S. Mac Airt and G Mac Niocall (Dublin, 1983), pp.308-9.

⁴ This location has been identified by Taylor as the village of Caputh just off the A984, six miles to the east of Dunkeld, Taylor, S., 'Columba east of Drumalban; some aspects of the cult of Columba in eastern Scotland', *IR*, li (2000), 109-128, at 119-20.

⁵ Myln strongly implies that others agreed with the cynic and were among the thirty victims of the disease in the village, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, p.43, *Rentale Dunkeldense*, pp.312-13.

⁶ Wilson, S., *Saints and their cults: studies in religious sociology, folklore and history* (Cambridge, 1982), pp.16-22.

following centuries.⁷ The second function can be broadly placed under the heading of patronage. Columba as the patron of the diocese of Dunkeld was the saint considered, by Brown and Myln at least, most likely to intercede on behalf of the villagers living close to where his relics lay. However, there were obligations on both sides of the patron-client relationship around which the cult of the saints was built, and the reaction of the local villager was held to have led to the immediate, and fatal, withdrawal of Columba's help.⁸ The third function of the cult of the saints was as a source of political power.⁹ The popularity of the movement in the middle ages meant that saints and their relics were often used for the promotion or defence of the interests of royal dynasties and religious institutions, both functions evident in this miracle story. The presence of Columban relics at Dunkeld, some distance from the location of the saint's death and burial at Iona in the Western Isles, was a consequence of political changes in ninth-century Scotland.¹⁰ The recording of the miracle story by Myln in 1516 was a reflection of a wider process within the cathedral chapter at Dunkeld in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which saw institutional promotion of their patron St Columba in an effort to shore up his declining cult.¹¹

This close analysis of a brief anecdote from the early sixteenth century is intended to indicate something of the value of the study of the cult of the saints. As Wilson and others have emphasised, the historical study of this movement is in essence the study of the societies in which the saints were venerated, promoted and eventually forgotten.¹² What makes this distinctive feature of the medieval world a subject of such interest for historians is that the cult of the saints was a movement in a constant state of flux, adapting, and being adapted to the socio-religious context of the

⁷ Bower records four occurrences of the plague in Scotland in 1349, 1361, 1380 and 1401, vii, 273, 319, 381, *Chron. Bower*, viii, p.39. For a compilation of source material and some analysis of the impact of the disease in Scotland see Jillings, K., *Scotland's Black Death: the foul death of the English* (Stroud, 2003).

⁸ Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, pp.22-26. As Duffy has commented 'the relationship between client and saint, however personal, was governed by a well established pattern of custom and expectation', Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars* (London, 1992), p183.

⁹ For various examples of this see Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, pp.26-36.

¹⁰ For the political context of the ninth-century translation see Taylor, 'Columba east of Drumalban, 112-114 and Bannerman, J., 'The Scottish takeover of Pictland and the relics of Columba', *IR*, xlviii (1997), 27-44.

¹¹ The promotional campaign will be discussed in Chapter 4, II.ii.

¹² This purpose of hagiology is also emphasised in the introduction to Weinstein, D & Bell, I., *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom. 1000-1700*, (London, 1982), pp.1-5, and more recently by Katherine Lewis in Lewis, K. J., *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.5-6 and *eadem*, 'History, Historiography and Re-writing the Past', in *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography*, ed. S. Salih (Woodbridge, 2006), 122-140, at 122.

societies in which it operated.¹³ The later middle ages, in which this study will be located, have been identified by André Vauchez as the ‘apogee of the diffusion and popularity’ of this mass movement in Western Europe, more prosaically described by Emile Male as a time when the ‘saints were never better loved’.¹⁴ For these writers, and scholars of religion in England like Eamon Duffy, the two centuries from the first appearance of the Black Death in 1348 to the rise of Protestantism in the 1520s and 1530s was a distinct period in the development of the cult of the saints in the Latin west.¹⁵

This period was characterised and shaped by a number of wider social and religious developments. The adoption of the doctrine of purgatory, the rise of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century, more centralised papal control of the canonisation process, the endemic warfare of the fourteenth century, the papal schism (1378-1417) and the recurring outbreaks of the Black Death and other epidemics each had a significant influence upon the manner in which the cult of the saints functioned for the people of this late medieval world.¹⁶ The piety that emerged from this context was characterised by flourishing Marian and Passion devotion and the veneration of different types of new and established saints.¹⁷ The manner in which devotion to these saints was manifested also changed. The traditional methods of pilgrimage and church and monastic patronage were augmented or replaced by the establishment of Chantries, intended to service the growing demand for the mass, the increasing

¹³ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.163, Finucane, R. C., *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Belief in Medieval England* (London, 1995), p.13, Brown, A., *Church and Society in England, 1000-1500* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp.81-84.

¹⁴ This study will concentrate on the period 1349-1560 for reasons that will be outlined below. For Vauchez the later middle ages covered the period 1200-1500 whilst Male was primarily referring to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Vauchez, A., *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), p.1; Male, E., *Religious art in France: the late middle ages; a study of medieval iconography and its sources* (Princeton, 1986), p.147, also cited in Duffy, E., ‘Holy Maydens, Holy Wives; The cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century England’, in *Studies in Church History*, xxvii (Oxford, 1990), 175-96 at 175.

¹⁵ See the chapter on the saints in Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.155-205 and *idem*, ‘The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England’, in *Pilgrimage the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, eds. C. Morris & P. Roberts (Cambridge, 2002), 164-77, 164 and 176-77. The use of 1349 as the starting point for my study reflects the delay in the transmission of the disease to Scotland.

¹⁶ For the impact of the mendicants and papal canonisation see Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.59-85, for warfare and veneration of the saints see Goodich, M., *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago, 1995), for the cult of saints and purgatory, Le Goff, J., *The Birth of Purgatory* (London, 1984), pp.324-5, for general discussions of the socio-religious background to the cult of the saints in the later middle ages see Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 192-202, Sumption, J., *Pilgrimage: An image of Medieval Religion* (London, 1975), 267-88.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the general trends in veneration of the saints in this period see Swanson, R. N., *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215-C.1515* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.148-172.

prevalence of image worship, pilgrimage by proxy and the long-distance vow.¹⁸ Dynastic, commercial and cultural contacts meant that the small kingdom of Scotland, which is the focus of this study, was firmly within the religious world in which these changes were taking place.¹⁹

Religion in Scotland during this key period has been a relatively neglected subject, sandwiched as it is between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when there were major organisational changes within the Scottish church and reformed monasticism was introduced, and the sixteenth century with the drama of the Protestant Reformation.²⁰ The cult of the saints has perhaps received more attention than other religious themes in the period, partly as a result of the forum presented for the discussion of the topic by the *Innes Review*, the journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association. The most influential work on the subject is a 1968 article in that journal by David McRoberts. McRoberts argued that the fifteenth century saw a self-consciously nationalist trend in Scottish religious practice, engendered by the wars of the previous century. This devotional patriotism was fostered by both the church and the royal house and was most apparent in a rediscovery of Scotland's early saints.²¹ McRobert's hypothesis was supported by Leslie Macfarlane who saw this controlled movement, which culminated in the attempt to establish a Scottish liturgical use through the Aberdeen Breviary project (1507-10), as an 'attempt to instil into the hearts of the Scottish people a love and pride in their fatherland'.²² However,

¹⁸ In Scotland chantries were normally termed chaplainries; the latter term will be used in this study. For background on this type of dedication in Scotland see Fitch, A.B., 'Religious Life in Scotland in the late Middle Ages', in *Scottish Life and Society. Religion*, eds. C. Maclean & K. Veitch (Edinburgh, 2006), 60-102, at 64-66 and in England and Western Europe, Wood-Leigh, K., *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965) and more recently Roffey, S., *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife* (Stroud, 2008), pp.16-19, for images and vows see , Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.155-60 & 183-6 and Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.453-7.

¹⁹ A Milanese ambassador in 1474 would describe Scotland as situated 'at the end of the earth', *Calendar of State papers and Manuscripts, Milan*, ed. A. B. Hinds (London, 1912), no. 270. See Ditchburn for the image of Scotland as remote and isolated in this period, Ditchburn, D., *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214-1560, Volume 1: Religion, Culture and Commerce* (East Linton, 2000), pp.266-72.

²⁰ Recent studies by Audrey-Beth Fitch, Mairi Cowan and Helen Brown have attempted to flesh out the details of lay religious practice in the period between the Wars of Independence and the Reformation. For a full discussion of the trends in the wider study of religion in medieval Scotland see Brown, H., 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian, c.1306-c.1513' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2006), pp.1-6. Cowan, M., 'Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation. Individuals, Communities and Nations' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2003), Fitch, A.B., *The search for salvation: lay faith in Scotland, 1480-1560* (Edinburgh, 2009).

²¹ McRoberts, D., 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', *IR*, ix (1968), 3-14 at 4-8.

²² Macfarlane, L., *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland- 1431-1514. The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1995), p.234.

this interpretation has been questioned by David Ditchburn who first expressed concerns in 2000 over the extent to which this nationalist development has been allowed to overshadow cosmopolitan devotional trends, which he identified as readily apparent in Scotland.²³ In a recent article Ditchburn subjected what he describes as the ‘McRoberts thesis’, to further critical scrutiny questioning the wider significance of these Scottish saints in late medieval devotional practices, the role of nationalism as a catalyst for the changes and what he describes as McRobert’s ‘rigid dichotomy between international and national saints’.²⁴

Recent scholarship has broadened the scope of research on religion in late medieval Scotland. This expansion has seen the theme of devotional nationalism sidelined in favour of research into the cosmopolitan trends of Marian and Passion devotion and the emergence of new international cults in the kingdom.²⁵ These studies are part of an increasingly vibrant scholarly interest in the cult of the saints in medieval Scotland, prompted at least in part by the Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland project carried out at the University of Edinburgh from 2004-07. This project has spawned two edited volumes on the subject.²⁶ Recently the saints have also featured more prominently within the political and constitutional history that might be considered the mainstream of contemporary late medieval historiography in Scotland. Influenced by Mark Ormrod’s studies of royal piety in fourteenth-century England, Michael Penman and his student Nicky Scott have considered the role of the cult of the saints within the religious patronage of Robert I (1306-1329), David II (1329-71) and James I (1406-37), and within the context of

²³ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.52-3.

²⁴ Ditchburn, D., ‘The ‘McRoberts Thesis’ and patterns of Sanctity in Late Medieval Scotland’, in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 177-194, especially 192-94.

²⁵ For Marian devotion in Scotland see Fitch, A.B., ‘Maternal mediators: saintly ideals and secular realities in late medieval Scotland’, *IR*, lvii (2006), 1-35; *eadem* ‘Mothers and their sons: Mary and Jesus in Scotland, 1450–1560’ in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 159-176; *eadem*, ‘Popular piety in Scotland prior to the Reformation: death, purity and the Blessed Virgin Mary’, in *Symposium on Popular Religion and Society*, (St Andrews, 1991), 1-21; Hall, M. A., ‘Of Holy men and heroes: the cult of saints in medieval Perthshire’, *IR*, lvi (2005), 61-88; *ibid*, ‘Wo/men only? Marian devotion in medieval Perth’, in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 105-124; Innes, S. R., ‘*Is eagal liom lá na hagra*: Devotion to the Virgin in the later medieval *Gaidhealtachd*’, in *idem*, 125-142. For passion devotion see MacDonald, A. A., ‘Passion devotion in late-medieval Scotland’, in *The Broken Body: Passion devotion in late-medieval culture*, eds. *idem*, H. N. B. Ridderbos & R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen, 1998), 109–31 and McRoberts, D., ‘The Fetternear banner, (I)’, *IR*, vii (1956), 69-96. For international cults in Scotland see Williamson, E., ‘The Cult of the Three Kings of Cologne in Scotland’, in *Saints’ cults in the Celtic World*, 160-179 and Wooding, J., ‘The medieval and early modern cult of St Brendan’, in *Saints’ cults in the Celtic World*, 180-204.

²⁶ For the database see <http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/Research/saints>. The two edited volumes are *Saints’ Cults in the Gaelic World* and *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*.

Anglo-Scottish relations.²⁷ In a similar vein Steve Boardman has examined the political and cultural connotations of Scottish interest in the supposedly ‘English’ St George, and the devotions of Robert II (1371-90) and Robert III (1390-1406), within the context of highland-lowland relations and regional lordship.²⁸

Whilst Ditchburn’s work on pilgrimage and continental connections, and the research strands relating to cosmopolitan devotions, royal piety and regional lordship, have helped to create a broader picture of the veneration of the saints in the late medieval kingdom, the cults of Scottish saints or localised universals like Andrew, the category originally discussed by McRoberts, have been strangely neglected.²⁹ In addition to the pervasive nature of McRoberts’ argument this neglect may be due in part to the seemingly barren saintly landscape of the late medieval kingdom. The last Scot, with an attested provenance, to enter the liturgy was Gilbert of Caithness who died in 1245.³⁰ In addition to Gilbert, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had seen the canonisation of Margaret in 1250, the development of a local cult based around a martyred bishop of Caithness, and tentative attempts to have the sanctity of Waltheof of Melrose, Kentigern of Glasgow and David I (1124-53) recognised by the Papacy.³¹ By contrast the only recorded canonisation campaign in the later middle ages was an abortive process surrounding Duthac of Tain in 1418, although there are hints that

²⁷ Ormrod, M., ‘The Personal Religion of Edward III’, *Speculum*, lxxiv (1989), 849-77, Penman, M., ‘Christian Days and Knights: the religious devotions and court of David II of Scotland 1329-71’, *Historical Research*, lxxi (2002), 249-72, *idem*, ‘The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c. 1178-c.1404’, *Journal of Medieval History*, xxxii (2006), 346-71, Scott, N., ‘The Court and Household of James I of Scotland, 1424-37’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2007), in particular pp.293 & 350-53.

²⁸ Boardman, S., ‘The cult of St George in Scotland’, in *Saints’ cults in the Celtic World*, 146-159, *idem*, ‘The Gaelic World and Early Stewart Court’, in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, “The great ill-will of the Lowlander?”: Lowland perceptions of the Highlands, medieval and modern*, eds. M. Macgregor & D. Broun (Chippenham, 2009), 83-109.

²⁹ For pilgrimage in late medieval Scotland see Ditchburn, D., ‘Saints at the Door Don’t Make Miracles? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c.1450-1550’, *Sixteenth-Century Scotland. Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, eds. J. Goodare & A.A. MacDonald (Leiden, 2008), 69-98.

³⁰ This situation has been noted by Helen Brown, Brown, H., ‘Saint Triduana of Restalrig? Locating a saint and her cult in late medieval Lothian and beyond’ in *Images of Medieval Sanctity, essays in honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. D Strickland (Leiden, 2007), 45-69, at 46-47. As we will see the lack of apparently ‘new’ saints in late medieval Scotland would be compensated for by the emergence of other types of cults.

³¹ Adam of Caithness (1213-22) was martyred in defence of church rights in the north in 1222, miracles were recorded at a translation of his relics in 1239, *A Medieval Chronicle. The Chronicle of Melrose*, trans J. Stevenson (Lampeter 1991), 57-60. For Waltheof see most recently Birkett, H., ‘The struggle for sanctity: St Waltheof of Melrose, Cistercian in-house cults and canonisation procedure at the turn of the thirteenth century’, in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 43-60. For a possible attempt to have Kentigern canonised in the twelfth century see Duncan, A. A. M., ‘St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century’, in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, ed. R. Fawcett (Leeds, 1998), 9-22. For the abortive David I cult see Huntington, J., ‘David of Scotland: ‘Vir tam necessarius mundo’, in *Saints’ cults in the Celtic World*, 130-146.

Margaret of Denmark, the consort of James III (1460-88), was also considered as a candidate for sainthood after her death in 1486.³² Evidence for the development of unofficial cults based upon contemporary figures is limited to patchy references to miracles around the tomb of the murdered Duke of Rothesay (d.1402) at the abbey of Lindores in Fife.³³ In England during the period corresponding with this study only two individuals were successfully canonised, John of Bridlington in 1401 and Osmund of Salisbury in 1456. There were however, numerous failed campaigns based around what Swanson has described as ‘would be saints’.³⁴ The greater part of historical research on saints in the later middle ages has tended to focus on those who lived and died in that period, in this respect late medieval Scotland is at first glance a less attractive field of study than either the earlier medieval period or her southern neighbour.³⁵

Scholarship on those Scottish saints whose cults were already in existence by 1349, and in particular the five who have been subject to the most sustained research, Ninian of Whithorn, Columba of Iona/Dunkeld, Kentigern of Glasgow, Margaret of Scotland and Andrew, has been dominated by two trends.³⁶ The first of these is the use of these individuals as, in Clancy’s evocative phrase, ‘pools of welcoming lamplight’ for the study of the often murky world of the early middle ages.³⁷ As Clancy has indicated, Ninian in the fourth, Columba and Kentigern in the sixth, the Andrean relics in the eighth and the arrival of Margaret in the eleventh century, form

³² The attempt to have Duthac formally canonised will be discussed in Chapter 3. Macdougall suggests an embassy to the papacy in 1487 was entrusted with presenting a dossier with evidence of Margaret’s sanctity, Macdougall, N., *James III* (Edinburgh, 2009), p.306.

³³ For David Stewart, duke of Rothesay see Boardman, S., ‘A saintly sinner? The martyrdom of David, Duke of Rothesay’, in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 87-104.

³⁴ Osmund had died in the eleventh century and it took 300 years and a considerable financial outlay to have him canonised: Brown, A., *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. The Diocese of Salisbury. 1250-1530* (Oxford, 1995), pp.57-61. For a description of the various new official and unofficial cults in England during this period see Swanson, R.N., *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), pp.287-90.

³⁵ Katherine Lewis has commented on this trend, Lewis, ‘History, Historiography and Re-writing the Past’, 124.

³⁶ Thomas Clancy has suggested that aside from the imported patrons Andrew and Margaret, ‘most modern Scots would probably acknowledge there to have been a dynamic trio of Scottish saints looked on as historical founders (...) SS Ninian, Kentigern and Columba’, Clancy, T.O., ‘Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages’, in *Local saints and local churches in the early medieval West*, eds. A. Thacker & R. Sharpe (Oxford 2002), 397-420, at 397. This view is supported by their lion’s share of scholarship on the cults of Scottish saints.

³⁷ Clancy, T. O., ‘The Real St Ninian’, *IR*, lii (2001), 1-29, quote at 1. Clancy has discussed the tendency of historians to use saints’ cults as ‘narrative tools for telling the ecclesiastical history of their regions’ in Clancy, T. O., ‘The Big Man, the Footsteps and the Fissile saint; paradigm and problems in studies of insular saints’ cults’, *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 1-20, quote at 2.

key chronological markers for the study of the political and ecclesiastical history of the kingdom of Scotland and its constituent regions from the fall of the Roman empire (c.400AD), to the establishment of the Canmore Dynasty (c.1058).³⁸ This has meant that research has been dominated by attempts to identify the historical figure behind the saint and fix them within firm chronological parameters, a trend perhaps most evident in the historiography surrounding Ninian of Whithorn.³⁹ The second tendency has been to examine these cults, and those of other saints from northern Britain like Cuthbert of Durham, within the framework of ecclesiastical politics and regional identities in the key formative period of the medieval Scottish kingdom, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is most apparent in discussions of the cults and relics of national, dynastic and regional patrons like Andrew, Margaret and Kentigern.⁴⁰

The vast majority of this research has therefore been drawn to two periods, the so called 'age of the saints', spanning the period between the fourth and eighth centuries in which the majority of these men and women were thought to have been active, and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from when the main Latin hagiographical sources originate.⁴¹ Passing references to the later medieval development of these established cults and the explanation in general works of distinctly late medieval phenomenon, such as the popularity of the shrine of St Duthac at Tain, have tended to tacitly accept the devotional nationalism model propounded by

³⁸ *Ibid*, 2-3.

³⁹ This trend has been discussed by Clancy T. O., 'Columba, Adomnán and the cult of saints in Scotland', *IR*, xlviii (1997), 1-27, at 5. While Ninianic studies have been a fruitful field in the last half century, scholarship has been overwhelmingly concerned with the historicity of the saint, or the lack there of, and the early traces of his cult. For summaries of the debate over the historicity of Ninian see Broun, D. 'The literary record of St. Nynia: fact and fiction?' *IR*, xlii (1991), 143-50 and Barrow, G. W. S., *Saint Ninian and Pictomania* (Whithorn 2004), pp.1-4. See Chapter 2 for a full discussion of Ninian historiography.

⁴⁰ The historiography of the Andrew and Kentigern cults will be discussed fully in Chapter 4. For Margaret see Baker, D., 'A nursery of Saints' St Margaret of Scotland reconsidered', in *Medieval Women*, ed. *idem* (Oxford 1978), 119-41; Barrow, G.W.S., *The Kingdom of the Scots* (Edinburgh, 2003), in particular pp.150-78, although Barrow is mainly concerned with monastic development; Macquarrie, A., *The Saints of Scotland. Essays in Scottish Church History, AD 450-1093* (Edinburgh 1997) Introduction and Chapter 10; *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, ed. R. Bartlett (Oxford 2003). For the Cuthbert cult in Scotland see Crumplin, S., 'Cuthbert the cross-border saint in the twelfth century', in *Saints' cults in the Celtic World*, 119-29 and Barrow, G. W. S., 'Scots in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, ed. D. Rollason (Woodbridge, 2004), 109-117.

⁴¹ The phrase 'age of the saints' is used by Macquarrie to encompass this period and is in fairly common use amongst scholars, Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland*, p.27 and *idem* 'The cult of Saints in medieval Scotland', in *Scottish Life and Society. Religion*, eds. C. Maclean & K. Veitch (Edinburgh, 2006), 42-59. This is a somewhat old fashioned terminology as noted by Jonathan Wooding in a recent work, Wooding, J., 'St Ninian; archaeology and the Dossier of the saint', in *St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland*, ed. J. Murray (Oxford 2009), 9-18, at 9.

McRoberts.⁴² The apparent degree of continuity within these established cults has also been a prominent trend in the brief discussions of their role in the later middle ages. This approach is perhaps best summarised by Mairi Cowan's comment that 'until the Reformation there was no stopping the growth of the St Margaret cult', a statement which as we will see is almost wholly unsupported by documentary evidence.⁴³

This treatment of saints' cults as static entities is not in keeping with recent studies of the subject which have emphasised the evolution of the meaning and function attached to different cults over time, and in varied social contexts.⁴⁴ This trend is evident in a number of recent works on the cults of English saints. These studies have examined the evolution of specific cults over an extended period of time, identifying the economic, social and political factors which contributed to the changing role and image of the saint.⁴⁵ A similar trend has also been evident in contemporary works on 'Celtic saints', which have concentrated primarily on the later, and better attested, cults rather than the often problematical historical figures

⁴² Passing references to these cults in works primarily concerned with the early middle ages by Clancy and Taylor refer to the role of institutional promotion and royal patronage in the continued popularity of Ninian, Kentigern and Columban up to the Reformation, Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', 397, 420, Taylor, 'Columba east of Drumalban', 117-120. The acceptance of McRoberts' thesis is most evident in James Galbraith's study in which he used three liturgical calendars from the period to support his argument that nationalism amongst the fifteenth-century clergy had led to a 'great revival in the cultus of the national saints', Galbraith, J., 'The Middle Ages', in *Studies in the history of worship in Scotland*, eds. D. Forrester & D. Murray (Edinburgh, 1996), 19-37, quote at 23. Andrew Barrell follows a similar line commenting that 'greater interest in Scottish saints which led to the production of the Aberdeen Breviary', Barrell, A. D. M., *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.252 & 267. As we will discuss in Chapter 3, the Duthac cult and pilgrimage to his shrine at Tain have almost exclusively received attention in relation to royal patronage of the saint at the end of the fifteenth century.

⁴³ Cowan was referring to Margaret of Scotland, rather than her namesake Margaret of Antioch for whom the statement may have been more accurate, Cowan, 'Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation', p.214. This continuity is also hinted at by Clancy and Taylor, Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', 397, 420, Taylor, 'Columba east of Drumalban', 117-120. The exception to this trend is Ditchburn who has noted the decline in pilgrimage numbers at St Andrews and Dunfermline, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.60-1 and *idem*, 'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles', 68, 92-5.

⁴⁴ The introduction of the recent edited collection on the subject in Scotland described the cult of the saints as a 'malleable and mutable social phenomenon subject to changing political and ecclesiastical conditions', 'Introduction', *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, xi-xiv at xii. The importance of this approach is emphasised by Blanton in her recent work on an English cult, Blanton, V., *Signs of Devotion. The cult of St Aethelthryth in medieval England, 695-1615* (Pennsylvania, 2007), p.5, and by Brown, *Church and Society in England*, pp.81-84 and Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, pp.3-6.

⁴⁵ Blanton, *The cult of St Aethelthryth*, Wilson, S. E., *The Life and After-Life of St John of Beverly. The Evolution of the cult of an Anglo-Saxon Saint* (Aldershot, 2006) & Bale, A., 'Introduction', in *St Edmund, King and Martyr. Changing Image of a Medieval Saint*, ed. *idem* (York, 2009), 1-26.

around which they were based.⁴⁶ This approach has had some advocates amongst scholars in Scotland and is evident in recent articles by Thomas Clancy, Simon Taylor and Rachel Butter.⁴⁷ It was also partially utilised by Helen Brown in her effort to place fifteenth-century royal devotion to St Triduana of Restalrig in a wider context.⁴⁸

This study will be placed within this tradition to examine Scottish saints' cults and pilgrimage in the period c.1349-1560, locating the role of this group within the wider devotional culture of the late medieval kingdom. The chosen chronological span is a response to the neglect of these saints and their cults within wider scholarship and is partly dictated by the greater survival of source material following the end of the second phase of the Wars of Independence.⁴⁹ It is also intended to mirror the model presented by Duffy and others who, as we have seen, have identified the two centuries from the first appearance of the Black Death to the rise of Protestantism as a distinct period in the development of the cult of the saints in Western Europe. By placing this model in a Scottish context we will be able to consider how the broader social and religious developments that characterised this period combined with factors distinctive to Scotland, such as the intermittent warfare with England, to influence the shape of the saintly landscape of the late medieval kingdom.⁵⁰ Although the focus will be predominantly post 1349, the study will incorporate earlier and later information for comparative purposes where necessary. Whilst intending to encompass the kingdom of Scotland as a whole, available evidence is also skewed towards lowland Scotland. To some extent this dictates that the thesis will be a study of late medieval lowland Scotland with occasional digressions beyond that area. Chapter 1 will begin with an examination of the manner in which the role of national saints in Scottish devotional literature and religious practice altered during this period, identifying the catalysts behind these changes and how they corresponded with broader trends in the veneration of the saints in the

⁴⁶ This recent trend is discussed in Wooding, J., 'The Figure of David' in *St David of Wales. Cult, Church and Nation*, eds. J. Evans, & *idem* (Woodbridge, 2007), 1-19, at 1 and in Jankulak, K., *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc* (Woodbridge, 2000), ix-x.

⁴⁷ See Clancy, 'Columba, Adomnán and the cult of saints in Scotland', 5, Taylor, S, 'The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland' in *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages- Studies in the Cultural History of North West Europe*, eds. T.R. Liszka & E. M. Walker, (Dublin 2001), 175-211, Butter, R., 'St Munnu in Ireland and Scotland: an exploration of his cult', in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 21-42.

⁴⁸ Brown, 'Saint Triduana of Restalrig', 45-69.

⁴⁹ For the purposes of this study the capture of David II (1329-71) at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 marks the end of this second phase of the wars.

⁵⁰ One example of the different politico-religious circumstances in Scotland is the delay of the Protestant Reformation until 1560; therefore the study will extend to that date.

British Isles and northern Europe. Subsequent chapters will trace and explain the distinctive features of the veneration of national saints in late medieval Scotland to consider how and why churchmen and lay people related to, publicised and dealt with these cults during that period.

The choice of what might be termed ‘Scottish’, ‘national’ or ‘native’ saints as the analytical category for this study may seem contentious in the context of Ditchburn’s persuasive critique of McRobert’s ‘blunt approach’ to the labelling of cults as international, national and local.⁵¹ However, it is clear that for some medieval Scots, primarily those with a clerical background, these saints formed a distinct group. The earliest allusion to them as a collective appears in the twelfth-century song/epic poem, the *Carmen de Morte Sumerledi*, which twice referred to the ‘*Sancti Scotticani*’.⁵² In the fifteenth century, monastic chronicler Walter Bower would evoke a similar image when referring to ‘the saints of the Scottish fatherland’.⁵³ The phrase ‘*Scottis Sanctis*’ would also appear on the patent issued to Scotland’s first printers, Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar in 1507.⁵⁴ For writers like William the clerk and Bower, as well as the organiser of the Aberdeen Breviary William Elphinstone, the individuals who constituted this group may have varied but the sense of the saints as a collective remained the same. As Alexander Boyle has suggested ‘*Scottis Sanctis*’ was an ambiguous but inclusive term which was used to refer to ‘those saints, whatever their nationality, whose work lay, or was thought to have lain, mostly or wholly in Scotland’.⁵⁵ Boyle’s definition, which is similar to that used by Lisa Garland to classify ‘Welsh’ saints in her 2005 doctoral thesis, has formed the basis for the sample of saints included in this study which are listed in the Appendix.⁵⁶ The problems of this categorisation in both a medieval and modern context and questions over of the

⁵¹ Ditchburn, ‘The ‘McRoberts Thesis’, 192.

⁵² The poem was written by William the clerk, printed in Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, i, pp.256-8 and more recently in Howlett, D., *Caledonian Craftsmanship. The Scottish Latin Tradition* (Dublin, 2000), pp.24-29.

⁵³ Bower’s statement was included in a speech by Abbot Bernard of Arbroath before Bannockburn, *Chron. Bower*, vi, p, 361-3.

⁵⁴ *RSS*, i, no.1546. Hector Boece would express similar sentiments in the sixteenth century describing William Elphinstone’s search for materials on *our famous saints*, for the Aberdeen Breviary project, *Hectoris Boetii Murchlacensium et Aberdonensis Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. J. Moir (Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1894), pp.99-100.

⁵⁵ Boyle, A., ‘Some saints lives in the Breviary of Aberdeen’, *Analecta Bollandia*, xciv (1976), 95-106, at 95-6.

⁵⁶ Garland, L. M., ‘Aspects of Welsh Saints’ Cults and Pilgrimage, c.1066-1530’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, Kings College London, 2005), see introduction. A similar categorisation was used by Eliisa Henken in her work on Welsh saint’s lives, Henken, E., *The Welsh Saints. A Study in Patterned Lives* (Woodbridge, 1991). For Appendix see below p.206-9.

extent to which the interests of the clerical elite, who we find using the phrase 'Scottish saints', impacted upon the devotional practice of lower level clergy and lay groups, will form central themes of this study.⁵⁷

The use of Scottish saints as an analytical category is also not intended to ignore the presence and significance in late medieval Scotland of the group of saints who fit into the category labelled by Gary Dickson as 'localised universals'.⁵⁸ There was an obvious local dimension to the veneration of ostensibly international saints like Nicholas in Aberdeen, Giles in Edinburgh and John the Baptist in Perth. These saints seem to have developed a similar patronal relationship with their urban communities as the 'native' Kentigern had with the inhabitants of Glasgow. Similarly elsewhere in medieval Europe Marian and Christocentric shrines were often viewed as home to distinct and localised divine beings, a sentiment summarised by the custodians of the Marian shrine at Saragossa in Spain who stated that 'there is no Virgin like ours'.⁵⁹ This phenomenon was also apparent in Scotland where as Ditchburn has pointed out pilgrims visiting the church of the Holy Cross in Peebles or the Loretto shrine in Musselburgh were unlikely to have felt that they were venerating international relics.⁶⁰ The manner in which medieval Scots related to these 'localised universals' requires further study but unfortunately lies out with the scope of this thesis.

Note on sources

Source material for the cult of the saints in late medieval Scotland though fragmentary, is perhaps richer than might be expected. Literary sources have traditionally provided the mainstay of scholarship on saints and their cults.⁶¹ Contemporary hagiography from late medieval Scotland is relatively limited in comparison to the twelfth century, during which lives of Ninian, Kentigern, Margaret and Waltheof were commissioned, a factor which has partly dictated the pattern of

⁵⁷ The question was raised recently in Ditchburn's analysis of ship and peasant naming patterns, Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis'', 184-192.

⁵⁸ Dickson, G., 'The 115 cults of the saints in Late Medieval and Renaissance Perugia', in *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West; revivals, crusades, saints*, ed. *idem* (Aldershot, 2000), 6-25, at 10.

⁵⁹ Cited in Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, p.12.

⁶⁰ Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis'', 193.

⁶¹ This has been commented upon by Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, pp.4-5.

scholarship on these saints.⁶² However, the Scots vernacular *Legends of the Saints*, which dates from the late fourteenth century, and the compilation of lectiones in the Aberdeen Breviary (1507-1510), provide valuable information, in particular for assessing the Ninian and Duthac cults and others for whom little other evidence survives.⁶³ The relative lack of directly hagiographical material is compensated to some extent by the abundance of other literary sources from late medieval Scotland. Clerical authors like Andrew of Wyntoun (1407-24), Walter Bower (1440s), Hector Boece (1527) and others who were part of a boom in historical writing in the period displayed a notable interest in the cult of the saints. Useful references to saints and shrines also feature in other works of prose and verse from the late medieval kingdom. One example of this type of indirect evidence is the Columban miracle story in Myln's *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, which opened this introduction. Further references to Scottish saints can be found in contemporary chronicles, ballads, verse and others works from England and continental Europe.⁶⁴ Liturgical calendars form a more conventional source for the study of devotional patterns. These are relatively abundant for medieval Scotland with at least twenty-nine extant corporate and private calendars that originated or contain additions from the period of study.⁶⁵

Documentary source material such as shrine accounts, miracle collections and wills, which form the basis of the analysis of English saints and their cults in this period, are either entirely absent for late medieval Scotland or only survive in small numbers.⁶⁶ The prominent features of late medieval piety were, as Ditchburn has shown, the foundation of hospitals, collegiate churches and altars in burgh churches.⁶⁷ Information on these ecclesiastical dedications can be found in individual church

⁶² This is most evident in Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland* and in the general historiography of saints like Kentigern, Columba and Margaret.

⁶³ The only Scottish saints to feature in the fourteenth-century legendary are Ninian and Machar, although Columba plays a significant role in the Machar stories, *Legends of the Saints*, ed. W. M. Metcalfe (Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1896), *Breviarium Aberdonense*, ed. W. Blew. (Bannatyne Club, 2 Vols, Edinburgh 1854). For a recent assessment of the utility of the AB see Macquarrie, A., 'Scottish saints' legends in the Aberdeen Breviary', *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 143-158.

⁶⁴ For example a reference in an early sixteenth-century English ballad to Andrew, Ninian and Duthac as the patrons of the Scots, *The Battle of Flodden Field. A Poem of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. H. Weber (Edinburgh, 1868), p.27.

⁶⁵ These will be discussed at length in Chapter 1, I.

⁶⁶ See for example the introductions on source materials in Nilson, B., *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp.2-9, and Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Belief in Medieval England*, p. 9-17

⁶⁷ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.51.

cartularies and in burgh and governmental records. The governmental records also provide useful information on royal and high status patronage of saints and shrines. However, despite efforts by Penman and Scott, a comprehensive analysis of royal devotions is not really possible until the survival of regular Treasurer's Accounts from the 1490s.⁶⁸ Although there are no extant shrine accounts from medieval Scotland, a sense of the dynamics of pilgrimage can be obtained from cross-referencing the abundant Vatican records, in particular supplications for indulgences, with literary sources from the period.⁶⁹ Papal letters also provide key information on shrine and cult management in the late medieval kingdom. Whilst the survival of visual and material evidence for the saints in late medieval Scotland is relatively limited, as John Higgitt has shown in his study of the Ninian cult, images on seals and in books of hours can be used to trace the changing functions of specific saints.⁷⁰

Personal names provide a problematic but potentially hugely valuable source for the study of Scottish society in the later middle ages.⁷¹ As Wilson has shown the decision to name a child after a saint could have been the result of a number of factors, but generally can be taken to indicate an interest on the part of the parents, godparents or wider kindred in the cult.⁷² However, the difficulties of identifying the precise motivations that lay behind the choice of a name have prompted Robert Swanson to state that they are 'amongst the most problematic (of sources), although not without utility'.⁷³ Onomastic materials have been the focus of two differing approaches in the examination of religious devotions in medieval Scotland. David Ditchburn has surveyed the naming patterns of Scottish migrant workers in north-west England to consider the impact of the devotional changes identified by McRoberts on

⁶⁸ Penman and Scott have created extrapolated calendars of the religious devotions of David II and James I, Penman, 'Christian Days and Knights', 271-72, Scott, 'The Court and Household of James I', pp.350-53.

⁶⁹ For indulgences in a Scottish context see Dunlop, A. I., 'Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth Century Scotland', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xv (1965), 153-169, and for an English context, Swanson, R. N., *Indulgences in late Medieval England. Passports to Paradise* (Cambridge, 2007).

⁷⁰ Higgitt, J., 'From Bede to Rabelais: Or how St Ninian got his chains', in *New Offerings Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, eds. P. Binski & W. Noel (Strand 2001), 187-209 and *idem*, "Imageis maid with mennis hand". *Saints, Images, Beliefs and Identity in later Medieval Scotland*, (Whithorn, 2003).

⁷¹ For an example of the quantitative examination of naming patterns from this time period see Herlihy, D., 'Tuscan names, 1200-1530', *Renaissance Quarterly*, xlix (1988), 561-582.

⁷² Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, pp.14-15.

⁷³ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, pp.168-70.

the rural poor.⁷⁴ An alternative approach has been to utilise these patterns to trace the spatial, temporal and social range of a specific saint's cult. A recent example of this methodology can be seen in Steve Boardman's work on the George cult in late fourteenth- and fifteenth- century Scotland, which used naming patterns, in conjunction with altar and other dedications, to trace the Scottish development of a cult thought to be heavily identified with England.⁷⁵ This approach was made possible by the fact that George was almost unknown as a forename or surname in Scotland before the fourteenth century.⁷⁶ These patterns are of limited use for the examination of the cults of SS Andrew, Columba, Fergus and Margaret, forenames that were too widespread and long standing to indicate an acute interest in those saints.⁷⁷ However, personal names such as Baldred, Constantine, Duthac, Kentigern, Kessog, Monan and Ninian, were extremely rare in Scotland prior to the fifteenth century and can be used with greater confidence, in conjunction with other sources, to indicate an interest in the cult.⁷⁸

The wider range of materials that have survived from late medieval Scotland have allowed scholars working on both broad religious topics and individual saint's cults to present a more in-depth and varied account of their subject matter than would be possible for the earlier period.⁷⁹ By a selective application of this range of sources, combined with a quantitative approach which analyses a number of different cults, this study will hope to make a similarly varied and distinctive contribution to the understanding of popular religion in late medieval Scotland.

⁷⁴ The survey included 200 men recorded as aliens in Cumberland and Westmoreland in 1440, Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis', 185.

⁷⁵ Boardman, 'The cult of St George in Scotland', 146-159. In addition to Boardman's recent work, onomastic patterns play an important role in the work of historians exploring cults of Scottish saints in the early and central middle ages such as Thomas Clancy, Simon Taylor and Dauvit Broun.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 148-9.

⁷⁷ Margaret was a common European forename and is more likely to have resulted from interest in Margaret of Antioch. Fergus was a broadly popular name in the Gaelic areas of Scotland and did not necessarily bear any relation to the saint's cult. Malcolm originated in Gaelic as *Mael Coluim* servant, slave or follower of Columba; however by the later middle ages it is unclear whether this devotional meaning was still a powerful factor for the choice of name, especially in the non-Gaelic world.

⁷⁸ Clancy has commented on this in relation to the Ninian cult, Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', 12. This approach will also be used in this study to trace the spread of cults of Scottish saints outside of the kingdom, for example the Ninian cult in England where the name was also unknown prior to the fifteenth century.

⁷⁹ For example Fitch and Brown's studies of lay religion and articles on individual cults by Boardman, Brown, Williamson and MacDonald, Fitch, *The search for salvation: lay faith in Scotland, 1480-1560*, Brown, 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian', Boardman, 'The cult of St George in Scotland', Brown, 'Saint Triduana of Restalrig?', Williamson, 'The Cult of the Three Kings of Cologne in Scotland' and MacDonald, 'Passion devotion in late-medieval Scotland'.

Chapter 1

The *Sancti Scotticani* in devotional literature and religious practice c.1349-1560

The twelfth-century song/epic poem, the *Carmen de Morte Sumerledi*, ends with Herbert, bishop of Glasgow (1147-64), brandishing the severed head of Somerled of the Isles and praising the '*Sancti Scotticani*'.¹ In his 1968 article David McRoberts suggested that the fifteenth century saw the increasing prominence of this group of saints, who might be described variously as 'Scottish', 'national' or 'native', within devotional practices in the northern kingdom.² This premise has been supported by a subsequent generation of scholars, who have suggested that a devotional patriotism, encouraged by both the secular and church hierarchy, was a key characteristic of the Scottish religious landscape in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³ However, this hypothesis has been questioned by David Ditchburn who has cast doubts over both the wider significance of this group of saints in Scottish devotional practice and the role of nationalism as a catalyst for changes in the period.⁴ This chapter will provide a survey of the key source materials for the study of the cult of the saints in Scotland in the later middle ages, namely liturgical calendars, chronicles and historical works, ecclesiastical dedications as well as pilgrimage and naming patterns. Through this analysis we will consider the extent to which the role of this group of saints in Scottish devotional literature and religious practices altered during this period, identifying the catalysts behind these changes and how they corresponded with broader trends in the veneration of the saints in the British Isles and northern Europe.

I. Scottish saints in the liturgy

¹ The poem was written by William the clerk, printed in *Early Sources of Scottish History*, i, pp.256-8, and more recently in Howlett, *Caledonian Craftsmanship. The Scottish Latin Tradition*, pp.24-9, discussed at length in Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', 397-420.

² McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', 3-14.

³ See especially Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.234-38 and Galbraith, 'The Middle Ages', 21-28.

⁴ Most cogently in Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis' 177-194. See Introduction for further discussion of this debate.

‘For townsmen and countrymen alike the rhythms of the liturgy on the eve of the reformation remained the rhythms of life itself’.⁵ Eamon Duffy’s statement summarises his view of the enduring role of the liturgy in England throughout the later middle ages. The Christian calendar with its fasts, feasts and holy days was the framework around which medieval men and women organised their lives. However, although there were authorised general church rites, such as the Sarum use which was in common usage in Scotland, there were considerable regional and local variations in the types of saints and feasts included in the calendar.⁶ The range of feasts also changed over time, reflecting new trends and the promotional initiatives of institutions and individual clergy. These calendars therefore provide an interesting guide to changes in fashion amongst local church institutions and the educated elite who commissioned private psalters and books of hours. In Table 1 below are displayed the thirty six extant complete or fragmentary calendars within books of hours, breviaries and psalters, aside from the Aberdeen Breviary, which remain from the many thousands which must have existed in medieval Scotland.⁷

Table 1. National saints in Scottish calendars, c.1200-1590.⁸

NAME/ LOCATION	DATE	CORPORATE (C) OR PERSONAL (P)	SCOTTISH SAINTS IN CALENDAR	OTHER REFERENCES TO SCOTTISH SAINTS, COLLECTS IMAGES ETC
1. Blantyre psalter. East Lothian? ⁹	c.1200	C	Andrew, Baldred, Ninian	-
2. Iona psalter. ¹⁰	c.1210	C	Adomnán, Columba, Fillan	-
3. Coldingham Breviary. ¹¹	c.1290	C	Ebbe, Margaret	-

⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.52.

⁶ For discussions of the ‘use of Scotland’ prior to and after the Aberdeen Breviary see McRoberts, D., ‘The medieval Scottish Liturgy, illustrated by surviving documents’, *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, xv (1957), 24-40, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.232-4 and Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.50-2. For regional and local variations in England during this period see Pfaff, R. W., *The Liturgy of medieval England- A History* (Cambridge, 2009), pp.445-509.

⁷ This list is as comprehensive as possible and is similar in content to the survey carried out by John Higgitt for his book on the Murthly Hours; see NLS, Research papers of John Higgitt, Acc 12978/2. It is possible that one or two examples may have slipped beyond my notice; however, hopefully these will not affect the overall patterns identified here.

⁸ The 36 documents in Table 1 include those which have an attested Scottish provenance or have been identified as belonging to Scots living abroad.

⁹ For the Blantyre psalter see Boyle, A., ‘A Scottish Augustinian Psalter’, *IR*, viii (1957), 75-8, at 77. Boyle suggests that the calendar was made in Scotland and was connected to the earls of Dunbar.

¹⁰ Iona Psalter, NLS, MS 10000, discussed in Higgitt, J., *The Murthly Hours. Devotion, Liturgy and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West* (London, 2000), pp.26-27.

¹¹ Coldingham, BL, Harley MS 4664, fols.126-131. Both Ebbe and Margaret are celebrated on their normal feast day and on an additional translation date.

4. Calendar of Herdmanston, East Lothian. ¹²	c.1300	P	Andrew, Boniface/Curetán, Duthac, Margaret, Monan	-
5. Murthly Hours, Argyll. ¹³	c.1300, 15 th cent additions	P	-	Suffrages; Boniface/Curetán, Duthac
6. Abbey of Culross, Fife. ¹⁴	c.1305	C	Fillan, Fyndoca, Margaret, Ninian, Serf	-
7. Abbey of Holyrood (Incomplete) ¹⁵	13 th century	C	Ninian, Serf	-
8. Taymouth Hours. ¹⁶	c.1300	P	-	-
9. Breviary, Aberdeen? ¹⁷	c.1300 and 15 th cent additions	C	15 th century additions; Adrian, Andrew, Baldred, Boniface, Columba, Constantine, Duthac, Kessog, Monan, Ninian, Machar, Regulus	Collect of Kentigern
10. Sprouston Breviary, Lothian. ¹⁸	c.1305 with later 15 th cent additions	P	15 th century additions; Baldred, Magnus, <i>Duthac</i> , <i>Kessog</i> , <i>Ninian</i>	-
11. Dominican Calendar, Perth? ¹⁹	Late 14 th	C	Kentigern, Margaret	-
12. Corstorphine, Edinburgh, (incomplete). ²⁰	c.1429	C	Andrew, Blane, Columba, Gilbert	-
13. Holyrood Ordinale, Edinburgh. ²¹	c.1450	C	Andrew, Baldred, Columba, Constantine, Cuthbert, Duthac, Kentigern, Kessog, Monan, Ninian, Serf	In the litany; Andrew, Columba, Constantine, Duthac, Kentigern, Modan Ninian

¹² The document was linked to a Lothian family, the Sinclair's of Herdmanston. *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, ed. A. P. Forbes (Edinburgh, 1872), pp.35-49.

¹³ The fifteenth-century additions included the suffrages of Boniface and Duthac, Higgitt *The Murthly Hours*, Appendix 3, p.27.

¹⁴ *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, pp.50-64. Findoc is probably the saint to whom a chapel was dedicated in Inishail (Argyll), but is otherwise unattested.

¹⁵ Only the calendar for July-October remains. Other potential Scottish saints for those months are Palladius, Thanay, Olaf, Blane, Ebbe, Mirin, Triduana, Regulus/Rule and Bean, Wormald, F., 'A Fragment of a thirteenth century calendar from Holyrood Abbey', *PSAS*, lxxix (1935), 471-80.

¹⁶ The document had a Scottish owner, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of fifty manuscripts- no-51-100 in the collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, ed. H. J. Thompson (Cambridge, 1902), pp.50-74.

¹⁷ EUL, MS 27. See also *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library*, C. Borland (Edinburgh, 1916), pp.38-9. The double feast of Machar, the patron of Aberdeen cathedral, has led to the identification of the document with that town. This seems plausible as the Machar feast on the whole only features in documents related to that diocese.

¹⁸ The Sprouston Breviary has some additions in a later hand. Other than Baldred and Magnus the additions are difficult to make out, but as they occurred on the days associated with Ninian, Duthac and Kessog (and the words are similar length) it was probably these saints that were intended, NLS, Adv MS 18.2.13B, fols. 157-8.

¹⁹ Transcribed by John Higgitt, NLS, Acc 12978/6. Some Scottish obits that feature in the calendar suggest a Perth location.

²⁰ Hargreaves, H., 'Another Scottish medieval Liturgical fragment', *IR*, xxxi (1980), 51-7.

²¹ The Ordinale was the order book of the Augustinian canons at the abbey, *The Holyrood Ordinale*, ed. F. C. Eeles (Edinburgh, 1916), pp. 6-18 & 48-55.

14. Fowlis Easter Breviary, Angus. ²²	c.1450	C	Andrew, Adrian, Baldred, Bean, Columba, Constantine, Cuthbert, Duthac, Fillan, Gilbert, Kentigern, Kessog, Magnus Machar, Margaret, Marnan, Monan, Ninian, Palladius, Serf, Triduana	-
15. Dunfermline Psalter (incomplete). ²³	c.1450	P	Kentigern, Margaret, Ninian	-
16. Abbey of Ferne, Ross. ²⁴	c.1471	C	Columba, Comgan, Donnan Duthac, Gilbert, Moluag, Monan, Ninian	-
17. Perth psalter. ²⁵	c.1475 and 16 th cent	P	Adrian, Baldred, Bean, Columba, Constantine, Duthac, Fillan, Gilbert Kentigern, Kessog, Margaret, Monan, Ninian Serf, Triduana 16 th century additions; Andrew, Blane, Colman, Drostán, Kentigerna, Modan, Modoc, Regulus	-
18. Yester Book of Hours, Borders. ²⁶	c.1480	P	Baldred, Constantine, Cuthbert, Fillan, Kentigern, Ninian	Collects; Duthac, Monan. Memoriae; Bean, Drostán Kentigern, Monan, Palladius, Regulus, Serf
19. Coupar Angus. ²⁷	c.1482	C	Adomnán, Duthac, Medan	-
20. Rosdhu Hours, Lennox. ²⁸	c.1490	C	Adrian, Baldred, Kessog, Ninian	-
21. The Farmor Hours, Aberdeen? ²⁹	1480x90	P	Adrian, Baldred, Constantine, Fillan, Kentigern, Monan, Ninian	-
22. Glenorchy psalter. ³⁰	c.1490	P	Adomnán, Adrian, Andrew, Baldred, Bean, Blane, Boniface, Constantine, Columba, Drostán, Duthac,	

²² *Breviarium Bothanum, sive portiforium secundum usum ecclesiae cujusdam in Scotia* (London, 1900), pp.299-310.

²³ Only the calendar for January-February and September-December survives, Durkan, J., 'Three manuscripts with Fife associations', *IR*, xx (1969), 47-58 at 47.

²⁴ *The Calendar of Ferne. Texts and Additions, 1471-1667*, ed. R. J. Adam (Edinburgh, 1991), pp.51-6. There are two Duthac feasts with the additional one in December and two Ninian feasts with the second on 30th August.

²⁵ NLS, MS 652, Eeles, F. C., 'The Perth Psalter', *PSAS*, lxvi (1932), 426-41. Some additions have been revealed by Eeles, which probably date to after 1500.

²⁶ The book seems to have been produced in France for a Scottish patron around 1480, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepy's, Part II, Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. M. R. James (London, 1923). pp.14-17.

²⁷ The document from Coupar Angus abbey has a calendar and set of astronomical tables, Borland, A *Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval manuscripts*, pp. 201-4.

²⁸ This was a Sarum book adopted for use in the west of Scotland, Hay, G & McRoberts, D., 'Rosdhu Church and its Book of Hours', *IR*, xvi (1965), 3-18, at 15.

²⁹ Ninian's translation feast was also included, transcribed by John Higgitt, NLS Acc 12978/6, mentioned by Dell who suggested an Aberdonian provenance for the book. Dell, R.F., 'Some fragments of medieval mss in Glasgow City Archives', *IR*, xviii (1967), 112-118, at 112.

			Fergus, Gilbert, Kentigern, Kessog, Machar, Maelrubha, Magnus, Margaret, Marnoc, Modan, Moluag, Monan, Ninian, Regulus, Serf, Triduana	
23. Crawford Breviary, Edinburgh. ³¹	1496	P	Adomnán, Adrian, Andrew, Baldred, Bean, Boniface/Curetán, Brendan, Columba, Donnan, Duthac, Ebbe, Fergus, Fillan, Gilbert, Kentigern, Kessog, Machar, Maelrubha, Magnus, Margaret, Modan, Monan, Ninian, Palladius, Regulus, Serf, Triduana	-
24. Dean Brown's Book of Hours, Forfar/Mearns. ³²	1498	P	Andrew, Baldred, Bean, Blane, Boniface/Curetán, Brendan, Columba, Constantine, Cuthbert, Duthac, Fillan, Gilbert, Kessog, Margaret, Monan, Ninian, Palladius, Serf, Triduana, Vigean	-
25. Book of Hours, Scottish, EUL MS 42. ³³	c.1500	P	-	Hours of Ninian and image
26. Sarum Book of Hours, France for Scottish owners. ³⁴	c.1500	P	Adrian, Baldred, Fillan, Kentigern, Ninian	Memoriae of Ninian
27. Playfair Hours, France for Scottish owners. ³⁵	c.1500	P	Adrian, Baldred, Constantine, Fillan, Kentigern, Kessog, Monan, Ninian	-
28. Elizabeth Danielson Book of Hours. ³⁶	c.1500	P	-	Memoriae and miniature Margaret. Hours and image of Ninian
29. Minnesota Hours, France for Scottish	c.1500	P	Adrian, Constantine, Magnus, Ninian	-

³⁰ This psalter belonged to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy (d.1523) in the late fifteenth century, BL, Egerton MS 2899, fols. 1-7; the inscription is on fol. 1.

³¹ This breviary was produced in Rouen in 1496 and belonged to a canon of the collegiate church of St Giles in Edinburgh. The canon was called John Crawford who made personal additions to the calendar in the same pen that records his ownership of the book, EUL, Inc.223 (Dd. 1. 24).

³² The book, as the name suggests, belonged to a canon of Aberdeen and has been dated by McRoberts to 1498, McRoberts, D., 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours', *IR*, xix (1968), 144-67. The Dean, who was a relative of George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld, was in Flanders in that year and probably purchased it there. The Forfar/Mearns origin is suggested by the inclusion of feasts of SS Vigean, who was associated with Arbroath and Palladius who was connected to Fordoun, *ibid*, 160-2.

³³ The Ninian hours and image are the only local additions to this book, EUL, MS 42. fol.72

³⁴ EUL MS 43, fols. 1-12. The inclusion of Baldred and Adrian would perhaps suggest a Fife/East Lothian provenance for the Scottish owners of the book, but these saints had begun to appear regularly in the liturgy from the fifteenth century even outside of that region. Ninian has two feasts in August and the conventional September date.

³⁵ Watson, R., *The Playfair Hours. A Late fifteenth century illustrated manuscript from Rouen* (London, 1984), p.43.

³⁶ BL, Add 39761, fols. 94 & 97. The illustration of Ninian depicts him in typically late medieval mode, carrying chains.

owners. ³⁷				
30. Aberdeen Epistolary. ³⁸	c.1500	P	Baldred, Columba, Gilbert, Kentigern, Machan, Magnus, Margaret, Ninian	-
31. Sarum Missal (incomplete). ³⁹	c.1500	P	Baldred, Boniface Constantine, Duthac, Kessog	-
32. Martyrology of Aberdeen. ⁴⁰	c.1500	C	75 Scottish saints, similar to Aberdeen Breviary	-
33. Arbuthnott missal, Aberdeenshire. ⁴¹	c.1506	C	Adrian, Baldred, Columba, Constantine, Drostan, Duthac, Kessog, Gilbert, Maelrubha, Margaret, Marnoc, Moluag, Monan, Ninian, Palladius, Regulus, Ternan, Triduana	-
34. St Nicholas Missal, Aberdeen. ⁴²	1506	C	Adomnán, Adrian, Andrew, Baldred, Bean, Blane, Columba, Constantine, Donnan, Drostan, Duthac, Ebbe, Fergus, Fillan, Gilbert, Kentigern, Kentigerna, Kessog, Machar, Maelrubha, Magnus, Margaret, Mirin, Monan, Nathalan/Nechtan, Ninian, Palladius, Regulus, Serf, Ternan, Triduana	
35. Andrew Lundy's Primer (incomplete). ⁴³	c.1530	P	Modan	Suffrage and miniature of Ninian
36. Reid psalter. ⁴⁴	c.1590	P	Baldred, Duthac, Fillan, Kentigern, Margaret, Monan, Ninian	-

i. Scottish calendars c.1200-1590

The limited sample of liturgical fragments that have survived from thirteenth and fourteenth century Scotland (nos. 1-11) have a distinctly international flavour. These were primarily imported English books to which a small number of local feasts

³⁷ The Minnesota Hours resides in the collection of manuscripts in the US town, Stones, M.A, *Medieval Illumination in Minnesota Collections* (Minnesota, 1978), p.94. Transcribed by John Higgitt, NLS, Acc 12978/6.

³⁸ Transcribed by John Higgitt, NLS Acc 12978/6.

³⁹ Only two leaves of this missal survive for January-March, NAS, RH12/28.

⁴⁰ *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, pp.125-37. There are seventy-five saints with Scottish connections in the Martyrology.

⁴¹ The date is suggested by the editor, *Liber ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott: Missale secundum usum Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotia*, ed. A. P. Forbes (Burntisland, 1864), pp.ciii-cxiv.

⁴² The editor of the manuscript, Francis Eeles, has suggested that this missal represents the untouched use of Aberdeen prior to Elphinstone's reforms, Eeles, F. C., 'Notes on a missal formerly used in S. Nicholas, Aberdeen', *PSAS*, xxxiii (1899), 440-460 at 440-441.

⁴³ Only the calendar for June-December is extant, Anderson, W.J., 'Andrew Lundy's Primer', *IR*, xi (1960), 39-52, at 42-3. It is not entirely clear exactly who Andrew Lundy was, although the inclusion of Modan's feast seems to tie him to the Rosneath/Fraserburgh/Fintray area.

⁴⁴ London V&A, Reid MS 54, fols. 1-6.

were added.⁴⁵ A typical calendar from this period, even disregarding those from Taymouth (no.8), Iona (no.2) and Coldingham (no.3), which had a provenance on the peripheries of the kingdom, featured on average only three or four feasts of local saints. The few local saints that do appear in these calendars suggest there was something of a crossroads in Scottish devotional practices in this period. The prime of the cults of SS Margaret, Ebbe of Coldingham and Serf of Culross belonged to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and as we will see in the fifteenth century these saints would appear less regularly in the liturgy and other forms of devotions.⁴⁶ The inclusion of Ninian of Whithorn, Duthac of Tain, Monan of Inverey, Fillan of Strathfillan and Boniface/Curetán of Rosemarkie points to the incorporation of a new generation of saintly intercessors into the Scottish pantheon in the fourteenth century.⁴⁷ Ninian and Duthac, and to some extent Monan, would remain a consistent presence within Scottish devotional literature throughout the later middle ages. Whilst, as Pfaff has suggested, we must be wary in making direct correlations between what was written down in service books and actual devotional practice, these early documents tend to support McRobert's contention that in this period 'the cult of Scottish saints had been sadly neglected'.⁴⁸

This situation appears to have changed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the inclusion of a greater number and range of Scottish feasts in the surviving corporate calendars (nos.12-14, 16, 19-20 & 32-34).⁴⁹ On average these calendars featured twelve native saints, three times as many as the sample from the earlier period.⁵⁰ Some feasts appeared with greater regularity than others, with the most

⁴⁵ McRoberts, 'The medieval Scottish Liturgy', 27.

⁴⁶ For the cult of Margaret and Ebbe see *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret*, xl-xli. Ebbe and Serf only featured in later calendars like nos. 23, 24 & 33 which included a very wide range of saints. See Table 2 for the limited range of ecclesiastical dedications to these saints in the later middle ages.

⁴⁷ See Table 1, nos. 8, 2, 3, 4 & 6.

⁴⁸ It is possible that local saints played a much greater role in the practices of the Scottish institutions in this period than is indicated by these documents. For gaps between service books and religious practice see Pfaff, R. W., *Liturgical Calendars, Saints and Services in Medieval England* (Aldershot, 1998), pp.2-4. McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism', quote at 8.

⁴⁹ On the whole the calendars from the later middle ages feature a larger number of feasts than those that have survived from the earlier period. This is particularly noticeable in the Forbes collection of liturgical documents in which the pre-1400 calendars from Herdmanston and Culross have around half of the days of the years with designated feasts, whereas later calendars like the Arbutnott missal have around two thirds of the days accounted for.

⁵⁰ To be precise 12.625. This average does not include the Martyrology of Aberdeen (no.32), which with its seventy-five native feasts would have skewed the result. The Martyrology was similar in content to the Aberdeen Breviary and as we will discuss appears to have been something of an anomaly.

common a core group of around ten followed by a second cluster that appeared less frequently, and a third group who appeared very rarely. This core group was headed by Ninian and the patrons of Scotland's major cathedrals, Andrew, Columba and Kentigern alongside 'newer' figures whose shrines were located at smaller churches, Duthac, Fillan, Monan, Kessog of Luss, Constantine of Govan and Baldred of Tynningham. The second tier was made up of other local saints like Gilbert of Caithness, Adrian of the Isle of May and those who had appeared in the fourteenth-century fragments, Boniface, Margaret, Ebbe and Serf. The third rank included extremely localised cults like those of Adomnán of Iona, Blane of Dunblane and Mirren of Paisley. Within these corporate calendars the Martyrology of Aberdeen (no.32) and St Nicholas Missal (no.34) were unusual in that they contained a considerably larger number of local saints than the average, providing a precursor to the eighty-one who would appear in Aberdeen Breviary of 1509-10.⁵¹ The combination of the core saints, some local figures and a few from further a field in the Fowlis Easter Breviary (no.14) and Arbuthnott Missal (no.33) was perhaps more typical and could be considered a model for how church calendars from other regions of Scotland may have appeared on the eve of the Reformation.

A similar trend can be seen in the personal liturgical fragments that have survived from the period (nos. 15, 17-18, 21-30 & 35-36). Psalters and book of hours like those from Perth (no.17) and Yester (no.18), as well as those produced abroad for Scottish patrons (nos. 23, 26 & 27), also contained a greater number and range of local saints than the limited sample from the earlier period. The broadest range of saints can be seen in the private books of hours of two clerics, Crawford of Edinburgh (no.23) and Brown of Aberdeen (no.24), which contained twenty seven and twenty one feasts of national saints respectively. These were not typical with the average in other books owned by the laity, like the Yester, Farmor and Playfair hours (nos. 18, 21 & 27), being around eight to ten. The blend of core group and local saints that characterised the corporate calendars from this period was replicated in these personal documents. Although the average number of local feasts observed in the corporate calendars was higher and some, particularly those from the sixteenth century, featured

⁵¹ There were seventy-five Scottish feasts in the Martyrology and thirty two in the Missal. The eighty-one saints claimed to be 'Scottish' or in some way connected to Scotland in the Aberdeen Breviary was a very inclusive list including Irish saints like Patrick and Northumbrians like Cuthbert and Colman, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, p.237. See Appendix for a discussion of those saints included in the AB and their correlation to those included in this study.

a much larger number, there seems to have been no significant divergence in the type of saint venerated by church institutions and the individual clerics and members of the secular elite who owned the surviving books of hours.

ii. The Aberdeen Breviary

The most important liturgical and hagiographical document from this period was the Aberdeen Breviary published in Edinburgh in 1509-10.⁵² The project was collaboration between William Elphinstone, the bishop of Aberdeen (1483-1514) who compiled the breviary, and James IV (1488-1513) who provided the patent for the printers Chepman and Millar, and support for the bishop.⁵³ The aim appears to have been to create an official national breviary for Scotland, and in order to accommodate what the bishop and his team considered to be ‘*Scottis Sanctis*’, the feasts of a number of English saints were removed.⁵⁴ Although the AB has been rightly seen as a patriotic project, it should perhaps also be viewed as an attempt by Elphinstone and James to appropriate the prevailing energy in liturgical devotion.⁵⁵ The breviary with its systematic inclusion of local saints from across the realm was to some extent a formalisation and extension of developments in the Scottish liturgy that had been in progress since the mid-fifteenth century at a number of ecclesiastical institutions and amongst the educated elite.

The Aberdeen project was, however, ultimately a failure, a situation attributed by Macfarlane to the unworkable nature of the new breviary, the lack of a revised second edition and the deaths in quick succession of the driving forces behind the project, James IV in 1513 and Elphinstone in 1514.⁵⁶ However, the failure of the national breviary also suggests that the systematic approach employed by Elphinstone and his team did not fully reflect the devotional trends of the period. It was only in two surviving corporate calendars from Aberdeen, the Martyrology (no.32) and St

⁵² For a full description of the project see *ibid.*, pp.231-46.

⁵³ *RSS*, i, no.1546.

⁵⁴ This phrase was used in the patent given to Chepman and Millar, *ibid.*, i, no.1546, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.233-4.

⁵⁵ Macfarlane, McRoberts and Galbraith emphasise the patriotic, and to some extent Anglophobic, nature of the project, *ibid.*, p.234, McRoberts, ‘The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century’, 4-8, Galbraith, ‘The Middle Ages’, 24-26.

⁵⁶ McRoberts blamed Flodden and the death of Elphinstone in 1514 for the failure of the project, McRoberts, ‘The medieval Scottish Liturgy’, 36-38. Macfarlane and Galbraith added the unworkable nature of the new breviary and a waning of enthusiasm amongst the church hierarchy under James V for the lack of a new and better edition, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.245-46, Galbraith, ‘The Middle Ages’, 28.

Nicholas missal (no.34), and in the two private books of hours belonging to Crawford (no.23) and Brown (no.24) that we see anything like the range of local feasts that would be included in Elphinstone's breviary. The failure of the project is further evidence that, as Duffy has argued, the liturgy was a fluid phenomenon, which, whilst under the nominal control of the ecclesiastical authorities, was dependant for its success upon popular acceptance.⁵⁷

II. Saints in the histories of Scotland

The later middle ages in Scotland saw the production of a series of extended works in Latin and the Scots vernacular which purported to tell the history of the medieval kingdom.⁵⁸ They were written by churchman who operated primarily in the eastern lowlands of Scotland and can be split into two categories, the chronicles of John of Fordun (probably compiled c.1384x87), Andrew of Wyntoun (1407x24) and Walter Bower (1440s), and the sixteenth-century histories by John Maior (1521) and Hector Boece (1527).⁵⁹ The development of this historical tradition was to some extent a response to the conflicts which had beset the kingdom during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and was intended, as Grant has cogently stated, to demonstrate 'that Scotland was a proper, independent state, on a par with any other in Europe'.⁶⁰ Those saints who were deemed to have been active in Scotland played a key role in this narrative, with their careers demonstrating the richness and longevity of the kingdom's Christian past and of its independent ecclesiastical institutions.⁶¹ They were almost exclusively of British and Irish provenance, with Andrew the only localised universal to be fully appropriated to the

⁵⁷ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.14 & 45.

⁵⁸ This section initially included the fifteenth-century Chronicle of Pluscarden. However, it had little to add to the Fordun/Bower framework which will be discussed below and has therefore been discarded, *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 2 vol, 1877-80). There are several other short or derivative chronicles from Scotland in this period which also had little to add to the above framework.

⁵⁹ Whilst there is some doubt over the origins of John of Fordun (or the anonymous chronicler of the *Gesta Annalia*), Wyntoun was prior of Lochleven in Fife, Bower was from Haddington, Maior was from Gleghornie, near North Berwick, and Boece, who was a canon of Aberdeen, was from Dundee. For further background see Boardman, S., 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth Century Scotland. Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the "Anonymous Chronicle"', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxvi (1997), 23-43.

⁶⁰ Grant, A., 'The Middle Ages. The Defence of Independence', in *Why Scottish History Matters*, ed. R. Mitchison (Edinburgh, 1991), 29-39, at 29-30.

⁶¹ In the fifteenth century English saints would be used for a similar purpose, to stress the holiness of that kingdom vis á vis France during conflicts of the Hundred Years War, Lewis, 'History, Historiography and Re-writing the Past', 129-30.

Scottish cause.⁶² The shifting group of local saints who were provided with a role in these works, in addition to tangential references to popular cults and shrines, provide a valuable mirror to changing trends in the veneration of the saints during the period. McRoberts and Macfarlane have seen this historical tradition as an integral part of the church-led patriotic campaign to promote an interest in Scottish history and identity.⁶³ As we have seen in Section I a particular group of local saints had come to play a more prominent role in the religious practices of Scottish institutions from the fifteenth century, a process that appears to have filtered into the private devotions of the elite. This section will consider the extent to which this trend was reflected in, and encouraged by, this historical tradition with its clerical authors.

i. Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower

As Dauvit Broun's groundbreaking scholarship has shown the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, attributed to John of Fordun, appears to be a synthesis of a series of sources, many of which date from 1285 and earlier.⁶⁴ The ecclesiastical history of Scotland begins in the third book with the arrival of Palladius as first bishop of the Scots, followed by his disciples Serf and Ternan.⁶⁵ The conversion of the kingdom was continued by Columba whose career is described at length, followed by a brief mention of Kentigern and his disciple Convallus.⁶⁶ Whilst each of these saints is provided with an important role in the development of the Scottish church, only Andrew is presented as both a missionary, through the medium of his relics said to have arrived in Scotland in the eighth century, and as an active intercessory figure. The apostle is the central figure in the text which includes a lengthy version of the St Andrews origin legend and a reference to contemporary pilgrimage to the Fife shrine.⁶⁷ Margaret is perhaps the next most important saint in the compilation and is

⁶² Although localised universals were the patrons of towns like Edinburgh and Perth, and Katherine of Alexandria and Nicholas of Myra had shrines dedicated to them in Scotland, Andrew was the only international saint to be fully appropriated to the historical narrative of the Scottish kingdom. In consequence saints like Katherine and Nicholas receive little attention in the chronicles and histories.

⁶³ McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism', 9, Macfarlane, L, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.234-5.

⁶⁴ Broun summarises his conclusions regarding Fordun most concisely in Broun, D., *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 215-30, 261-62.

⁶⁵ *Chron. Fordun*, i, 85-6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, ii, 103-5.

⁶⁷ The inclusion of a reference to contemporary pilgrims features in Book II and can therefore probably be taken to refer to the twelfth or thirteenth century, *ibid*, ii, 146-7 & 70-1.

presented in the fifth book as both a figure worthy of veneration and, with her marriage to Malcolm III (1058-93), as a founder of the modern Scottish dynasty.⁶⁸ In contrast Ninian is mentioned only in a side note as an earlier apostle of the southern Picts.⁶⁹ An analysis of the saints provided with a role in the chronicle, Palladius, Serf, Columba, Andrew and Margaret, alongside the absence or lack of importance accorded to Ninian, Duthac, Baldred and others, supports Broun's premise that the early sections of the work had a twelfth or thirteenth-century provenance. These saints were characteristic of a much earlier stage in Scottish devotions than the 1380s when the chronicle was compiled.

Saints also feature prominently in Andrew of Wyntoun's chronicle, written in Middle Scots at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Wyntoun follows Fordun in placing Palladius as the first bishop, but downgrades Columba who is mentioned only briefly as an apostle from Ireland.⁷⁰ As the prior of a house of Augustinian canons at Lochleven dedicated to Serf, Wyntoun provides a predictably extensive discussion of the career of the Fife saint, overshadowing his pupil Kentigern, who is only mentioned briefly.⁷¹ As in Fordun, Ninian is allotted only a minor role in the early history of the Scottish church, but is described by Wyntoun as a patron of the Scots, alongside Andrew and Margaret, during the Wars of Independence.⁷² Wyntoun deviates further from the Fordun framework by including the adventures of two missionary groups. The first story centred on the semi-mythical Boniface/Curetán who, according to Wyntoun, baptised Pictish king Nechtan and founded Rosemarkie, the diocesan centre of Ross, in around 600AD.⁷³ In a later copy of the manuscript from the early sixteenth-century, Boniface was joined by the virgin martyrs Triduana and Madeane.⁷⁴ The second missionary party was led by Adrian who, in Wyntoun's

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, ii, 201-210.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, ii, 86-7.

⁷⁰ *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, 11. Columba is only mentioned twice, once as referred to above and for a second time when some of his relics, alongside those of Patrick and Bridget of Kildare were discovered in Ireland in 1198, *ibid*, iv, 75, 171, v, 31.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, iv, 77-91.

⁷² *Ibid*, v, 339. 461. For the significance of this designation and the development of Ninian into a popular national saint see Chapter 2, II.iv.

⁷³ *Ibid*, iv, 123. Wyntoun does not specify a date but says the missionary party arrived during the papacy of Gregory I (590-604). For Boniface/Curetán see Rendall, J, 'St Boniface and the mission to the Northern Isles: a view from Papa Westray', *The Papar in the North Atlantic: Environment and History: the proceedings of a day conference held on 24th February 2001*, ed. B. E. Crawford (St Andrews, 2002), 31-37 and Macdonald, A., *Curadán, Boniface and the early church of Rosemarkie* (Rosemarkie, 1992).

⁷⁴ *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, 123. It is unclear exactly who Madeane is supposed to be, possibly Mayoca a fairly obscure virgin saint who is recorded under December 23rd in the Aberdeen Breviary, or Medan

narrative, was martyred on the Isle of May during the reign of Constantine I (862-76).⁷⁵ Whilst Adrian is said to have brought a company of missionaries to Scotland the only one named is Monan, who avoided the fate of the rest of the party by making a timely decision to preach in Fife.⁷⁶

The saints that feature in Walter Bower's 1440s Latin work, the *Scotichronicon*, are a combination of those previously included in Fordun and Wyntoun and some notable additions. Bower follows Fordun's description of Palladius as first bishop in 430AD with his disciples Serf and Ternan, and similarly provides Ninian with only a minor role as an apostle of the southern Picts.⁷⁷ Bower also included the Adrian legend from Wyntoun and referred to his disciple Monan.⁷⁸ The first distinctive element of the *Scotichronicon* is Bower's incorporation of Triduana into the St Andrews origin legend, rather than as part of missionary party connected with Boniface. The virgin martyr is placed in the company of Regulus, who is said to have brought the relics of Andrew to Scotland in c.800AD.⁷⁹ Duthac of Tain is also woven into the diocesan history of St Andrews with Bower identifying him, and his pupil Maelbrigde, as early thirteenth-century bishops of the see.⁸⁰ Bower clearly identifies Andrew as the main patron of the Scots in the chronicle with a secondary role provided for Margaret as the progenitor of the royal house.⁸¹

Andrew is not however, an active intercessory figure in the *Scotichronicon*, that role is reserved for Columba. The saint of Iona and Dunkeld was the patron of Bower's abbey of Inchcolm, and is presented as a belligerent defender of his church's property and as a hammer of the English.⁸² Kentigern also has a somewhat more prominent role than in the previous works with Bower incorporating the saint and his mother Thanay into a dialogue on the Arthurian legends and including a poem

another minor saint who according to the AB was from Galloway and whose feast day was the 19th of November, *Breviarium Aberdonese*, ii, fols.21v & 153v. This section is added in the Auchinlek and Second Edinburgh manuscripts which the editor has dated to the early sixteenth century.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, iv, 177-9.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, iv, 179. For further discussion of the Monan cult see Chapter 2, I.ii.

⁷⁷ *Chron. Bower*, ii, 21-23.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, i, 15.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, i, 315.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, iii, 343. For the Duthac/St Andrews connection see Chapter 3, I.iii.

⁸¹ For extended discussion of Andrew in Bower see Chapter 4, I.ii. Margaret's role as patron of the Scots is emphasised by Bower's inclusion of a miracle story in which she interceded on their behalf at the battle of Largs in 1263, *ibid*, v, 337-9. This story also features in the thirteenth-century miracle collection found in Madrid, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, pp. 88-90.

⁸² For Bower and Columba see Chapter 4, I.iv and, *Chron. Bower*, ix, 315-20 & 339-47.

apparently written for him by Columba.⁸³ The patron of Glasgow was accompanied by his disciples Convallus and Baldred of Tynningham, the latter a saint who would have been familiar to Bower through his East Lothian connections.⁸⁴ As an intercessor Kentigern is somewhat overshadowed by his mentor Serf who, like Columba, is described miraculously defending his patrimony against the English in 1334.⁸⁵ Another saint who features prominently in the wars with England is Fillan of Strathfillan. Bower described the presence of his relics at Bannockburn and his invocation by Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany (d.1420) in 1403.⁸⁶

The fifteenth-century historical narratives of Wyntoun and Bower included a broader range of local saints like Duthac, Boniface, Fillan, Adrian and Baldred who, as we have seen, had begun to feature regularly in Scottish liturgical fragments from the late fourteenth century. However, both men display strong regional, diocesan and institutional partialities in their choice of saints. Wyntoun's saints were concentrated in Lothian and Fife, whilst the additions to the Fordun/Wyntoun framework made by Bower highlight similar loyalties. This is most apparent in his inclusion of Baldred alongside various saints from the diocese of St Andrews, and the significant role provided for his abbey's patron Columba in the Wars of Independence. This diocesan bias is particularly strong in the *Scotichronicon* with the apparently novel integration of figures like Duthac and Triduana into the wider story of the foundation and development of the see of St Andrews. Prominent western saints like Ninian and Kentigern, and others who featured regularly in the liturgical fragments of the period like Duthac, Kessog and Constantine, are conspicuous by their complete absence or watered down role in these fifteenth-century ecclesiastical histories.

ii. Maior and Boece

Writing at a century remove from the earlier chronicles, John Maior's (1469-c.1550) more critical approach to history meant that he dismissed much of the early Scottish material as legend and featured information on relatively few saints in his

⁸³ *Ibid*, ii, 65, 79 & 83-5. This poem does not feature in any extant lives of the saint. Watt has suggested that Bower might have had access to the earlier Herbertian life of Kentigern of which only a fragment now survives, *ibid*, ii, 277. The fragmentary life can be found in *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, ed. A. P. Forbes (Edinburgh, 1874), pp.123-33.

⁸⁴ Bower was from Haddington, *ibid*, ii, 83-87.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, vii, p.99. Surprisingly this story seems to have been unknown to Wyntoun who does not include it in his chronicle.

⁸⁶ *Chron. Bower*, vi, 361-3, viii, 55.

1521 *Historia Maioris Britanniae*.⁸⁷ Maior followed the Fordun framework, including Palladius as first bishop with the conversion of the Picts and Scots continued by his disciple Serf and the duo of Columba and Kentigern in the sixth and seventh centuries.⁸⁸ The Glasgow saint is only referred to briefly in Maior who does, however, provide a full account of the miracles associated with Kentigern's pupil, Baldred.⁸⁹ Like Bower, Maior was an East Lothian man and was clearly familiar with the legends associated with his local saint.⁹⁰ The most notable aspect of Maior's work is the wider role that he assigns to Ninian. Maior had been to Whithorn as he showed by describing the Isle of Man as 'fifteen leagues in length which we have ourselves caught sight of at St Ninian's'.⁹¹ In addition to quoting Bede and the Aberdeen Breviary regarding the saint, Maior also included a miracle story which had reputedly taken place at Whithorn during the reign of David II.⁹² Duthac also features in Maior's narrative, with a description of the presence of the saint's miraculous shirt at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333.⁹³

The final pre-Reformation history of Scotland was written in 1527 by Aberdeen canon Hector Boece (c.1465-1536), and reworked into the Scots vernacular by John Bellenden in 1532. Although Boece was clearly influenced by the earlier chronicles, he provides a distinctive account with greater detail on the careers of local saints than his predecessors. Ninian appears first in the chronicle and was given a more significant position as a general apostle of the Scots, Boece later describing him as the most active miracle maker in 'Albion'.⁹⁴ Ninian is followed by the traditional narrative framework with the conversion of Picts and Scots by Palladius and his disciples Serf and Ternan. However, further details are included such as a reference to an attempt by William Scheves, archbishop of St Andrews (1476-97), to revive the cult of Palladius at Fordoun in the late fifteenth century with a relic translation, and

⁸⁷ *Chron. Maior*, xxix. For a discussion of the background to the chronicle and Maior's career see Mason, R.A., 'Scotching the Brut; Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-century Britain', in *Scotland and England- 1286-1815*, ed. *idem* (Edinburgh, 1987), 60-84, at 64-5 and Broadie, A., *The Shadow of Scotus. Philosophy and Faith in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp.1-6.

⁸⁸ *Chron. Maior*, 66, 86-7.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 87-88. Maior discusses the miracle surrounding the three bodies of Baldred at relative length compared to the brevity with which he discusses other saints.

⁹⁰ Maior was born at Gleghornie, near North Berwick, *ibid*, xxix.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 37.

⁹² This story, which also featured in Boece, involved a visit by David II to the shrine after his return to Scotland in 1357, *ibid*, 67 & 293, *Chron. Boece*, ii, 258-60. For a full discussion of the miracle story see Chapter 2, I.ii.

⁹³ *Chron. Maior*, p.273. See Chapter 3, III.ii, for Duthac's magic shirt.

⁹⁴ *Chron. Boece*, i, 271 & 412. For the Ninian cult in other parts of the British Isles see Chapter 2, I.iii.

descriptions of Serf's missionary activity in Orkney and Ternan's role as a bishop of the Picts.⁹⁵ The Columba and Kentigern legends are also presented at length, with Boece, like Bower, placing the Glasgow saint in an Arthurian context.⁹⁶ The other distinctive aspects of Boece's work are his inclusion, uniquely in the chronicle tradition, of references to minor north-eastern saints Machar, Devenick, Congan and Drostán.⁹⁷ Two other northern saints also feature, Gilbert of Caithness and Duthac, the latter identified by Boece as Gilbert's mentor. However, Boece was not entirely convinced by the historical juxtaposition of these holy men, suggesting that alternative narratives regarding the provenance of the patron of Tain were in circulation in the sixteenth century.⁹⁸

As with the earlier chronicles, Maior and Boece display strong regional and institutional biases in the selection of saints within their works, perhaps most apparent in the inclusion of otherwise obscure north-eastern saints in Boece. However, aside from these additions, both men include a more balanced selection of the traditional Scottish patrons and contemporary favourites than their literary predecessors. As we will see the saints given prominence in these works would correspond with those who featured most consistently in other manifestations of the veneration of the saints in Scotland during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Writing after the completion of the Aberdeen Breviary project, Maior and Boece provide a clearer indication of what might be considered the contemporary canon of Scottish saints in the period, highlighting in particular the growing prominence of the Ninian and Duthac cults.

iii. Nationalism or localism in the Scottish historical tradition

Whilst the late medieval chronicle tradition and the histories of the sixteenth century display obvious regional, institutional and diocesan biases, it is possible to identify a general chronological trend in the texts which saw the incorporation of a wider range and type of local saint into the narrative of the development of the

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, i, 299-300.

⁹⁶ The relationship between Kentigern's mother, Thanay and King Loth is included in the work, *ibid*, i, 382. An altar jointly dedicated to Kentigern and Thanay had been founded in Boece's cathedral church at Aberdeen in 1502, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (New Spalding Club, 2 vols, Aberdeen, 1845), ii, 64. Kentigern was also a favourite of Aberdeen bishop Elphinstone who had been a canon of Glasgow Cathedral in his youth, see Chapter 4, II.iii.

⁹⁷ *Chron. Boece*, i, 419.

⁹⁸ Boece added that he had heard different versions of Duthac's origins, *ibid*, ii, 229. See Chapter 3, I.i, for a discussion of this point.

Scottish realm. The grafting of new figures such as Duthac, Adrian, Fillan, Monan and Triduana on to the traditional canon centred upon Andrew, Margaret and Columba, alongside the growing significance of Ninian, reflected contemporary trends in devotional practices in the later middle ages. Were these men engaged in what McRoberts has described as an ‘outburst of (...) liturgical and devotional nationalism’?⁹⁹ The increasingly prominent role of these saints in the historical narrative does seem to support this premise. However, it is perhaps only in Bower and Boece that it is possible to identify a conscious effort to use saints as what McRoberts has described as ‘the repository of the historical memories of a nation’.¹⁰⁰ Even within these works the authors expend most of their energies promoting figures to whom they had a close institutional or diocesan relationship, most obviously Columba in Bower and Machar in Boece. It is telling that unlike the Aberdeen Breviary project, the chronicles and histories seemed to have been concerned primarily with the local and particularly the diocesan, making no attempt to include a systematic survey of Scottish saints which fully cut across regional or ecclesiastical boundaries. The lack of a surviving west coast chronicle accounts for the absence from this historical narrative of saints like Kessog and Constantine, who had begun to feature regularly in the fifteenth-century liturgies.¹⁰¹ Had a chronicle survived from the west it may well have provided a role in the ecclesiastical development of the kingdom for these saints, comparable to that of Adrian and Baldred in the east coast based works, in addition to giving a greater prominence to other western patrons like Kentigern and Ninian.

III. Pilgrimage in late medieval Scotland

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had seen changes in the role of national saints in the Scottish liturgy and historical writing. Had this process, as McRoberts has suggested, filtered into the devotions of the Scottish laity?¹⁰² The popularity of the core group of national saints in private books of hours does suggest that these changes had been embraced, to some extent, by the Scottish elite. An examination of the

⁹⁹ McRoberts, ‘The Scottish Church and Nationalism’, 9

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰¹ The fifteenth-century Auchinleck chronicle from Ayrshire provides some interesting information on the Kentigern cult but is too brief to be of wider use. The full text is given in McGladdery, C., *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp.160-73.

¹⁰² McRoberts, ‘The Scottish Church and Nationalism’, 4-8. Galbraith, who supports the thesis on the whole, was more reticent as to the extent to which this trend was embraced by the laity, Galbraith, ‘The Middle Ages’, 28-31.

geography of domestic pilgrimage in late medieval Scotland will provide a better indication of the contemporary patterns in the veneration of the saints amongst the wider populace. These patterns are difficult to trace accurately because of the relative paucity of sources available for the medieval kingdom, particularly in comparison to those on offer for England and parts of continental Europe.¹⁰³ A sense of the most prestigious Scottish pilgrimage centres in the period directly prior this study can be taken from those shrines patronised by successive English monarchs during their occupation of parts of Scotland in the early fourteenth century.¹⁰⁴ The relics of SS Margaret at Dunfermline, Kentigern at Glasgow, the apostle at St Andrews and Ninian at Whithorn all received patronage from English monarchs in the period 1297-1304.¹⁰⁵ The shrines of the apostle and Margaret received further English and continental visitors until the mid-fourteenth century after which, as Ditchburn has shown, St Andrews appears to have lost its status as a shrine of international repute, while Dunfermline and the twin Columban centres at Iona and Dunkeld also appear to have been struggling to attract significant numbers of pilgrims.¹⁰⁶

For the period 1349-1560 royal pilgrimage provides one indicator of the popularity of the myriad of domestic shrines. Scottish monarchs and their queens are noted at the shrines of SS Ninian, Monan, Andrew, as well as those of Bute saints, in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁷ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the shrines of Ninian, Kentigern, Andrew and Duthac received royal visitors, but until the survival of continuous Treasurer's Accounts from the 1490s it is difficult to get a sense of the purpose of these visits and the extent to which veneration of the saint in question was involved.¹⁰⁸ As we will see in the discussion of the Ninian and Duthac cults, there were a number of motivations for royal interest in a shrine which could either provide

¹⁰³ For example Nilson in his study of cathedral shrines in England was able to call upon a number of almost complete sets of shrine accounts for a number of major churches, Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*.

¹⁰⁴ Other references to the popularity of St Andrews, Dunkeld and Glasgow prior to the fourteenth century will be discussed in Chapter 4, I.

¹⁰⁵ For Dunfermline see *CDS*, iv, nos. 448,486 & 487, for Glasgow *ibid*, iv, no. 448-9, St Andrews *ibid*, ii, no.8, for Whithorn see *ibid*, ii, no. 1225.

¹⁰⁶ Ditchburn, 'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles', 92-93. For efforts to promote pilgrimage at St Andrews and Dunkeld in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Chapter 4, II, i & ii.

¹⁰⁷ For Monan and David II see Penman, 'Christian Day and Knights', 249-72, his queen Margaret Logie was recorded at Whithorn in 1365, *ER*, ii, 226. For Robert II and III, Andrew and the Bute saints see Boardman, S., *The Early Stewart Kings. Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996), p.96 and *idem*, 'The Gaelic World and Early Stewart Court', 83-109.

¹⁰⁸ For pilgrimages by fifteenth-century Scottish queens see, *ER*, vii, 78, vii, 79, *TA*, i, 29, 44, *ER*, viii, 215. The pilgrimages by James III, IV and V to Whithorn, Tain, Glasgow and other shrines will be discussed at length at various points in subsequent chapters.

a catalyst for the success of the centre or be a reaction to the established reputation of a saint.¹⁰⁹ Royal pilgrimage therefore fails to give us an accurate record of the dynamics of popular domestic pilgrimage in late medieval Scotland.

A better indication of these patterns in the later middle ages can be obtained by cross-referencing indulgences sought by Scottish institutions from the papacy with literary references to popular pilgrimage centres.¹¹⁰ Indulgences were a significant pull factor for late medieval pilgrims and were sought by the custodians of a number of Scottish shrines in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹¹¹ One popular style of papal supplication stressed the existing popularity of a shrine and its renown for miracles. An example of this was a 1419 supplication from the custodians of a Ninian chapel at Kinfauns, near Perth, who claimed that, 'On Friday of every week a multitude of the faithful come on account of devotion to Ninian'.¹¹² Other institutions claimed they required the indulgence by stressing the man made or natural adversities faced by their shrine. A 1428 supplication from the custodians of Iona, which cited the ruinous decay of their monastic buildings, was typical of this approach.¹¹³ These differing styles may give us some indication of the relative popularity of shrines as there is some evidence to suggest a correlation between negative pleas and pilgrimage centres that were in decline.¹¹⁴ Although we must take into account the formulaic nature of these supplications they can, when combined with other sources, allow us to tentatively map out the patterns in domestic pilgrimage in late medieval Scotland.

i. Marian and Christ shrines

¹⁰⁹ For the impact of royal patronage upon the popularity of these shrines see Chapter 2, II, i-iii and Chapter 3, II, iii.

¹¹⁰ The promotional activities of Scottish religious institutions and churchman in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be examined with relative ease as a result of the Vatican research project which to date has published seven volumes of Scottish material from the Papal registers in Rome, covering the period 1378-1471. This can be augmented by further material from the *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, which runs from 1198 to 1521, and with entries in individual church cartularies.

¹¹¹ For the use of indulgences by Scottish institutions and individuals see Dunlop, 'Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth Century Scotland', 153-169. For the development of the 'Treasury of Merits' in the later middle ages see Swanson, *Indulgences in late Medieval England*, pp.1-31.

¹¹² *CSSR, 1418-22*, 114.

¹¹³ *CSSR, 1423-1428*, 193.

¹¹⁴ As we will see negative supplications from St Andrews, Dunkeld and Glasgow in this period corresponded with other evidence of their decay as popular pilgrimage destinations, see Chapter 4, I, ii-iv, whereas positive supplications came from Whithorn and Whitekirk for which there is strong evidence of a healthy pilgrim traffic, see Chapter 2, II.vi and below.

The most striking feature of the papal letters is the preponderance of both Marian and Christ focused shrines amongst the apparently thriving pilgrimage centres. The growing significance of Mary in devotional practices across Western Europe from the thirteenth century is well known, a process that has been identified and discussed in a Scottish context by Ditchburn and others.¹¹⁵ Four of these Marian shrines at Whitekirk in East Lothian (1386, 1470), Edrom in Berwickshire (1393), Pety near Dunfermline (1434) and in Dumfries (1427), were identified by their custodians as thriving pilgrimage centres in the papal letters from this period.¹¹⁶ The shrine at Whitekirk seems to have had the greatest durability, with references to pilgrim traffic in 1388 and 1470, and was impressive enough to attract the attention of the future Pope, Pius II (1458-64), who visited in 1435.¹¹⁷ There were further Marian shrines at Fetteresso in Kincardineshire and Musselburgh, where miracles reportedly occurred in 1510 and 1533.¹¹⁸ The apparent impiety of the throngs of pilgrims heading to the Loretto shrine at Musselburgh in 1533 was sufficient to provoke the ire of poet David Lindsay.¹¹⁹ A further indication of the popularity of the Marian cult can be seen in the frequency with which Scottish institutions specified her feasts as those at which the pilgrims would receive the indulgence. Particularly striking is the stipulation by new foundations, such as the collegiate churches of Hamilton, Dunglass and Maybole, that the indulgence should be granted on a Marian feast, whether or not the institutions were under the invocation of the Virgin or had any connections to her cult.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Ditchburn discusses this trend in Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.52-5 and more recently in *idem*, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis'', 180-181. For Marian devotion in a Scottish context see the works listed in Introduction, p.5, nt.25. For a wider European context see Warner, M., *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1976).

¹¹⁶ For Whitekirk, *CPL, Benedict XIII*, p.112, *CSSR, 1447-1471*, no.1427. For Edrom *CPL, Benedict XIII*, pp.196-7. For Pety, near Dunfermline, *CSSR, 1433-1447*, no.160. For Dumfries, *CSSR, 1423-1428*, 168. For the most recent discussion of Whitekirk and Edrom see Brown, 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian', pp.272-5 & 282.

¹¹⁷ *Commentaries Pius II*, eds. M. Menserve & M. Simonetta (London, 2 vols, 2003), i, p.19.

¹¹⁸ Fetteresso is mentioned as a chapel 'famous for miracles' in an supplication for an indulgence presented by James IV in 1510, *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513*, ed. R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1953), pp.182-3. The Loretto shrine at Musselburgh, established in 1533, was visited by James V in 1534 and, according to Bishop Leslie, by his Queen Mary of Guise, Leslie, J, *Historie of Scotland*, eds. F. Cody & W. Muriston (Edinburgh, 2 vols, STS, 1888) ii, 253, Brown, 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian', p.275, Ditchburn, 'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles?', 63 & 79.

¹¹⁹ *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 3 vols, 1879), iii, 40.

¹²⁰ St Mary's of Dunglass was under the invocation of the Virgin but the others were not, *CSSR, 1447-71*, no.394, Hamilton, *CSSR, 1447-1471*, no.396, Maybole, *CPL, Benedict XIII*, p.74-5. This trend can also be seen in indulgences granted to St Andrews in the fifteenth century, see Chapter 4, II.i and to the abbey of Lindores in 1417 and 1427 see Boardman, 'A saintly sinner? The 'martyrdom of David, Duke of Rothesay'', 88-89.

The centrality of Passion cults in European devotional practice in the later middle ages has also received attention in recent years and has been placed in a Scottish context by Alasdair Macdonald.¹²¹ Scottish interest in one manifestation of this cultus, the Holy Blood, is vividly demonstrated by the sixteenth-century Fetternear banner, which belonged to the Edinburgh merchant guild, and can also be seen in a number of literary works from the period.¹²² This popularity was also indicated by the appearance of a number of small, but apparently thriving, pilgrimage centres in late medieval Scotland. Perhaps the best documented of these was the church of the Holy Cross at Peebles where, according to Fordun and Bower, a miraculous rood was discovered in 1261x62.¹²³ This still seems to have been an active shrine as late as the sixteenth century when James IV and James V (1513-42) are recorded there as pilgrims.¹²⁴ A chapel at Montrose also received an indulgence for pilgrims coming to see its 'miraculous cross' in 1446, and a similar site at Crail was mentioned by Lindsay in the sixteenth century.¹²⁵

ii. Shrines of international and national saints

In addition to these Marian and Christocentric sites three popular international saints had successful 'branch' shrines in late medieval Scotland.¹²⁶ Katherine of Alexandria drew pilgrims in Scotland to her Balm Well (sometimes known as the Oily Well) at Liberton in Edinburgh, which received an indulgence in 1420.¹²⁷ Another site associated with the saint was a chapel at Moorhall near Ayr, which received an indulgence in 1446.¹²⁸ The second saint, Anthony of Egypt, was primarily popular in the south where a chapel in Leith and further chapel on the Rock (now in Holyrood Park) in Edinburgh claimed to be sites of regular pilgrimage in 1416, 1418

¹²¹ See MacDonal, 'Passion Devotion in late medieval Scotland', 109-32.

¹²² For the Fetternear banner see McRoberts, 'The Fetternear banner, (I)', 69-96. For a discussion of literary references see MacDonal, 'Passion Devotion in late medieval Scotland', 111-130. References to the Holy Blood feast can also be found in Lyndsay, *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 268.

¹²³ The description of the discovery of the cross is described in *Gesta Annalia* (II) with the author keen to emphasise that miracles were still being performed there in his day, *Chron. Fordun*, i, 299. Bower fails to add anything to the account, suggesting that the phrase *miracles still are performed* may date from an earlier period rather than 1440s, *Chron. Bower*, v, 335.

¹²⁴ Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis'', 178-180.

¹²⁵ For Montrose, *CSSR, 1433-1447*, no.1329. For Crail see *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 41.

¹²⁶ This category has been used by Diana Webb to designate smaller subsidiary shrines of international saints in the British Isles, Webb, D., *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000), p.81.

¹²⁷ *CSSR, 1418-22*, 186. This site was regularly visited by James IV in the early sixteenth century, Brown, 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian', p.276.

¹²⁸ *CSSR, 1433-1447*, no.1277.

and 1426.¹²⁹ Devotion to Anthony was encouraged by the monks of Kelso, on whose land the chapel of the Rock stood, and who also had a chapel within their abbey dedicated to the saint, for which they were granted an indulgence in 1435.¹³⁰ The third international saint was Nicholas of Myra who was closely associated with the east coast mercantile communities, in particular Aberdeen where he was patron of the burgh church. A popular pilgrimage centre associated with the saint was a chapel located 'in the sea' close to Dundee. The chapel to which, according to the supplication, 'Multitudes come especially on Nicholas day', was granted an indulgence in 1419.¹³¹

Only a small selection of shrines based around the relics of local saints are referred to as having a reputation for attracting significant numbers of pilgrims in the papal letters and other late medieval sources. This trend is also apparent in the early sixteenth-century Martyrology of Aberdeen, which included short descriptions of the numerous Scottish saints who featured in its calendar.¹³² Only the biographies of three of these saints, Ninian, Duthac and Kentigern, referred to the current popularity of their shrine.¹³³ The shrine of Ninian at Whithorn was the subject of papal supplications in 1462 and 1466, with the phrasing of the documents suggesting that the motivation was further endowment of an already thriving pilgrimage centre.¹³⁴ Whithorn was, as Ditchburn has suggested, a 'supra-regional' shrine attracting pilgrims from the Irish Sea zone and from as far south as Buckinghamshire in England.¹³⁵ The wider popularity of the cult is also indicated by the growth of smaller, secondary pilgrimage sites associated with the saint at chapels in Kinfauns near Perth, Dunmure near Alloa and at an unspecified location described in the supplication as 'in the wilderness' of Argyll.¹³⁶ The custodians of these sites also claimed to be the centre of regular pilgrim traffic in their papal supplications, though it is not clear

¹²⁹ *CPL, Clement VII*, p.346, *CSSR, 1418-22*, 12, *CSSR, 1423-1428*, 122-3.

¹³⁰ *CSSR, 1433-1447*, no.229.

¹³¹ *CSSR, 1428-1432*, 185.

¹³² Printed in Forbes, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, pp.125-37.

¹³³ *Ibid*, pp.127-8, 129 & 134.

¹³⁴ Both these supplications were supported by James III and his mother Mary of Guelders, *CSSR, 1447-1471*, nos. 915 & 1149. For a full description of pilgrimage to Whithorn see Chapter 2, I.ii-iii.

¹³⁵ John Smyth is noted as going on pilgrimage to Whithorn in 1503 from Buckingham. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII*, (London, 1898-1955), ii, no.652. See Chapter 2, I.ii-iii for the Ninian cult in Scotland and the British Isles.

¹³⁶ The chapel in Argyll was founded by Colin Campbell, 1st earl of Argyll (d.1492), but the supplication does not provide an identifiable location, *CSSR, 1447-1471*, no.1106.

whether they possessed relics or secondary materials such as images associated with Ninian.¹³⁷

The shrine of Duthac at Tain was noted in the Martyrology of Aberdeen as attracting Irish and British pilgrims, in addition to its association with Scottish kings.¹³⁸ Although pilgrimage to the shrine is best known from the reign of James IV, it was also familiar to English commentators and had probably been attracting significant numbers of pilgrims from at least the early fifteenth century.¹³⁹ The shrine of St Kentigern at Glasgow was also known to English writers in the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁰ In 1449 the shrine custodians obtained an indulgence linked to the Papal jubilee which was sufficiently lucrative to allow the bishop, William Turnbull (1447-54), to lend James II (1437-1460) £800 from the profits.¹⁴¹ As late as 1550 Kentigern still appears to have been viewed as an effective intercessor when David Lindsay described the practice of bringing ‘*mad men, on fuit and horsse and byndis thame to saint Mongose cross*’.¹⁴² The shrine of St Palladius at Fordoun in the Mearns, described by its custodians as ‘famous and well visited’, was awarded an indulgence in 1432.¹⁴³ The saint had played an important symbolic role in the chronicle histories of Scotland and supplication may have been part of a broader attempt to promote his cult in the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁴ The custodians of the shrine of St Mirren at Paisley carried out a similar project in the 1490s.¹⁴⁵ However, as we will see below there is no

¹³⁷ Kintauwnis in 1419 and 1420, *CSSR*, 1418-22, 114 & 159, Dunmure in 1442, *CSSR*, 1433-1447, no.854, Argyll in 1466, *CSSR*, 1447-1471, no.1106.

¹³⁸ *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, p.129. It is not entirely clear what the author meant by the term British. As it is in juxtaposition with the phrase *Hybernia* it may have been intended to distinguish Gaelic and English speaking pilgrims.

¹³⁹ The shrine is mentioned in the *Itineraries* of William of Worcester from the late fifteenth century, *William Worcestre Itineraries*, ed. J. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp.6-7, and in a northern English poem about the Battle of Flodden, *The Battle of Flodden Field. A Poem of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 27. See Chapter 3 for the full discussion of the Duthac cult and the shrine at Tain.

¹⁴⁰ English spy John Hardyng in his military assessment of Scotland from the reign of James I, suggested making an offering at Kentigern’s shrine, *Early travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. Hume-Brown (Edinburgh, 1891), pp.21-3.

¹⁴¹ For the political background to this loan see Chapter 4, II.iii.

¹⁴² The cross in question was probably the one located at Borthwick in East Lothian, *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 269, Brown, ‘Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian’, p.270.

¹⁴³ *CSSR*, 1428-1432, 216-7.

¹⁴⁴ Boece mentions a search made by Archbishop Scheves of St Andrews for the relics of Palladius, *Chron. Boece*, i, p.299, which McRoberts places in around 1490, McRoberts, ‘The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century’, 10. As we will see this promotion does not appear to have translated into popular devotion.

¹⁴⁵ Abbot George Shaw created a large new pilgrims’ chapel provided with a decorative frieze depicting scenes from the saint’s life, Fawcett, R., ‘The Architectural framework for the cult of saints: some Scottish examples’, in *Images of Medieval Sanctity, essays in honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. D Strickland (Leiden, 2007), 71-94, at 77.

evidence that the activities of the shrine custodians at Paisley and Fordoun stimulated a concomitant rise in popular interest in the two saints.

iii. A new geography of pilgrimage

There are sufficient fragments of information to provide a strong sense of domestic pilgrimage patterns in late medieval Scottish, with little evidence to suggest that as an activity it was in decline in the period, as has been proposed by Cowan, Yeoman and others.¹⁴⁶ As Ditchburn has stated it was the ‘geography of pilgrimage’ that had changed rather than interest in the activity itself.¹⁴⁷ This view corresponds with recent trends in scholarship in England which, led by Eamon Duffy, have noted that whilst there were changes in the dynamics of pilgrimage in the later middle ages, as a practice it was still widely popular, if not at its peak in this period.¹⁴⁸ This new geography of pilgrimage, illustrated on Map 1 overleaf, consisted of a cosmopolitan mix of shrines based around images, miraculous crosses, healing wells and only rarely the relics of saints. Aside from the episcopal centres of Whithorn and Glasgow, and the small church of Tain in the north, the thriving destinations of the period seem to have been churches and chapels associated with the Virgin Mary, Christ and a selection of international saints. There is little indication of large numbers of pilgrims at the shrines of saints such as Baldred of Tynningham, Kessog of Luss or Constantine of Govan, who featured regularly in fifteenth-century Scottish calendars or for that matter at established centres like Dunfermline and St Andrews.¹⁴⁹ Although what Bower and Elphinstone would have defined as national saints appear to have played a

¹⁴⁶ Ian Cowan has suggested that the activity was ‘less common’ in the sixteenth century, and Peter Yeoman places the decline more specifically after the reign of James IV. A similar theme is apparent in McRobert’s thesis which suggests two periods of decline for Scottish shrines sandwiching a church/crown promoted boom in the fifteenth century, Cowan, I., *The Scottish Reformation* (London, 1982), p.7, Yeoman, P., *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 1999), p.101, McRoberts, ‘The Scottish Church and Nationalism’, 9-14.

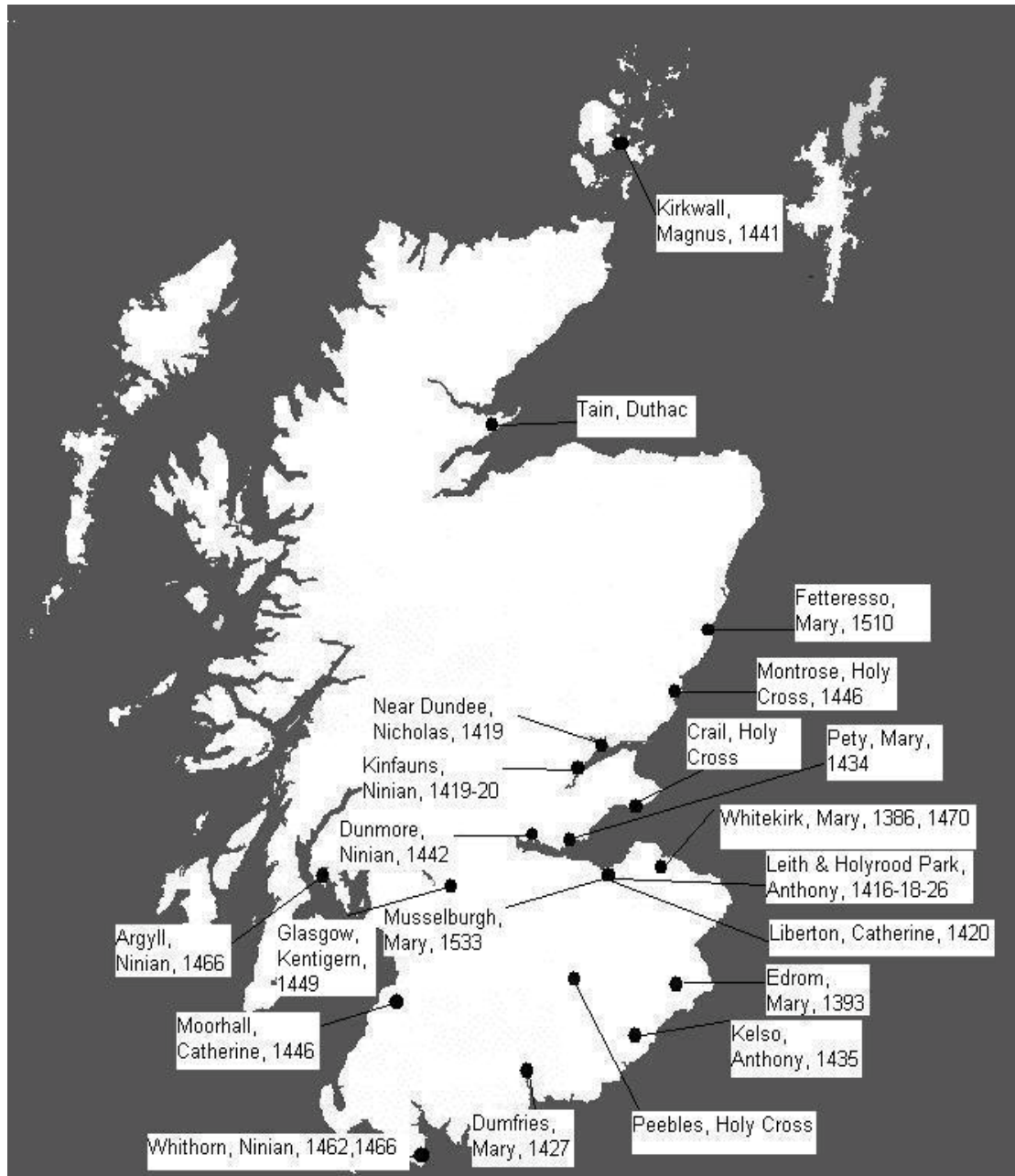
¹⁴⁷ Ditchburn, ‘Saints at the Door Don’t Make Miracles?’, 78, 97-98.

¹⁴⁸ See Duffy, ‘The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England’, 164-77 and *idem*, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.155-205, Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, pp.193-5. For a slightly different take on what he describes as the ‘Haigh- Scarisbrick- Harper-Bill- Duffy line’ see Bernard, G. W., ‘Vitality and Vulnerability in the late medieval Church. Pilgrimage on the eve of the break with Rome’, in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries*, ed. J. L. Watts (Stroud, 1998), 199-234.

¹⁴⁹ The only reference to international pilgrims at Dunfermline in the later middle ages comes in Blind Hary’s life of William Wallace in which he mentions English pilgrims at the shrine, *Hary’s Wallace: Vita Nobilissimmi Defensori Scotie Willelmi Wallace Militis*, ed. M. McDiarmid (Scottish Text Society, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1968), i, 281. It is not clear whether this reference reflected a sight that was still common at the shrine when the poem was written in the 1470s, or if it came an earlier source.

Map 1. Shrines with a more than local popularity in late medieval Scotland

Location/Saint/Year mentioned in Vatican records (where possible)



relatively minor role in domestic pilgrimage, the locals who flocked to shrines like the Balm well in Liberton were not necessarily consciously ignoring local saints. In fact they were in all probability, like the supplicants of the Marian shrine at Saragossa in Spain, visiting what they considered to be a local patron.¹⁵⁰ Whilst there was no obvious nationalist or patriotic element to late medieval domestic pilgrimage, the changing patterns of devotion, in particular the popularity of shrines based around images rather than relics, meant that Scotland was in harmony with the broader trends in pilgrimage apparent in Western Europe identified by Webb, Finucane and Sumption.¹⁵¹

IV. Ecclesiastical dedications

Aside from pilgrimage, a major expression of devotion to the saints in late medieval Scotland was the foundation of altars and chaplaincies in cathedrals and other churches. The majority of these dedications can be attributed to three groups of medieval Scots. The first group included burgess and noble families who founded altars and chaplaincies to provide masses for themselves and their kin group. The regularity with which foundation charters referred to the souls of the departed suggests that medieval Scots were well aware of the obligations to their ancestors and of their own vulnerability to the inevitable terrors of purgatory.¹⁵² More overtly secular motivations could also play a role for this group as the foundation of an altar or chaplaincy could be a sign of social status or upward mobility.¹⁵³ The second group was composed of corporate entities whose foundations, although primarily intended to provide masses for the souls of guild members, could also be a focus for, and sign of, corporate identity and prestige.¹⁵⁴ The third group were churchman, who in addition to the incentives of family solidarity and personal prestige, were also on occasion

¹⁵⁰ Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, p.12.

¹⁵¹ See Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.65, Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp.191-202 and Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An image of Medieval Religion*, chapters xiv and xv.

¹⁵² For the development of the doctrine of Purgatory see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, particularly pp.233-34. For an English context and the link between bequests to the saints and purgatory see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.354-76. A typical example of this was the dedication charter of the altar of St Duthac in Brechin (c.1483) which was founded by Malcolm Guthrie for the souls of his immediate family, his wider kin group, and finally his business partners, *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Bannatyne Club, 2 vols, Aberdeen, 1856), ii, 120.

¹⁵³ For examples of this in a Scottish context see White, A., 'The Impact of the Reformation on the Burgh Community. The Case of Aberdeen', in *The Early Modern town in Scotland*, ed. M. Lynch (London, 1987), 81-101 at 88.

¹⁵⁴ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.141-54.

motivated by diocesan, institutional and regional loyalties in their choice of saints. Poor record survival means that we have good information for the full range of altars in only two of Scotland's cathedrals and six burgh churches which are displayed in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Altar dedications in Scottish cathedrals and burgh churches c.1349-1560.

LOCATION	NUMBER OF ALTARS FOUNDED 1300-1560	NATIONAL AND LOCALISED UNIVERSAL SAINTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
1. St Machar's, Aberdeen.	17. ¹⁵⁵	Andrew, Columba, Comgan of Turriff (joint with Katherine, Barbara, Margaret of Antioch and Martha.), Devenick (joint with Five Wounds), Machar, <i>Nicholas</i> and Ninian. ¹⁵⁶	41%.
2. St Kentigern's, Glasgow	27. ¹⁵⁷	Andrew, <i>Cuthbert</i> , Kentigern, Machan Moluag, Ninian and Serf. ¹⁵⁸	26%.
3. St Nicholas', Aberdeen	29. ¹⁵⁹	Andrew, Duthac, Kentigern and Thanay, and Ninian. ¹⁶⁰	14%
4. St Giles,	44. ¹⁶¹	Andrew, Columba <i>Cuthbert</i> , Duthac,	15%

¹⁵⁵ Seven altars were dedicated to local saints including Nicholas, who as the patron of the burgh church in the town was a localised universal. The other 10 altars were dedicated to SS Mary (1338), *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, i. 65, Katherine (b.1436), i.127, John the Evangelist (b.1436) i.127, Michael (b.1436) i.127, John the Baptist (1439), i. 239-40, Maurice (b.1483), i. 137-8., Holy Blood (1493), i.333, Holy Cross (b.1506) ii, 102, Sebastian and Stephen and Lawrence (1500), i, 337, and Sebastian and Catherine and Barbara (1531), *RMS*, iii, no.1073.

¹⁵⁶ For Comgan, Devenick, Ninian, see, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, i, 348, 353 & 267. For Nicholas see *ibid*, ii, 107-9 and *RSS*, i, no.1141. There is no foundation information available for the Andrew and Columba altars.

¹⁵⁷ There were 7 altars dedicated to native and localised universal saints in Glasgow- the other 20 were those dedicated to SS Martin (b.1435), James (1496), Stephen and Lawrence, Mary (1361), Nicholas (1488), Peter and Paul, John the Evangelist, the Name of Jesus (1503), Our Lady of Pity (1503), Thomas Becket (1511), Anne (1520), Blaise (1420s), Eloi (b.1536), Holy Blood (1487), All Saints (1496), John the Baptist (1420s), Nicholas (2nd altar, 1510), Our Lady of Consolation, Christopher (1495) and Holy Rood (1497), Durkan, J., 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', *IR*, xxi (1970), 46-76, at 51-67. The High altar and a further Kentigern altar, as well as those dedicated to Catherine (1263), Bridget, and Michael (1178), were founded prior to 1300.

¹⁵⁸ For Andrew, Cuthbert, Kentigern, Machan, Moluag, Ninian and Serf, Durkan, J., 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', 54, 58, 61, 62, 63 & 65, and *Registrum Episcopatus Kentegerni*, ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, 2 Vols, Edinburgh, 1843), i, 121, 419-20, ii, 46.

¹⁵⁹ The were four altars dedicated to national saints, the others were dedicated to James (1355), Holy Cross (1357), Anne (b.1358), Leonard (1359), Katherine (1360), Salvator (1431), Michael (b.1445), Mary and Joseph (b.1444), Stephan (1445), Sebastian (1452), Peter (1455), Christopher (1470), Eloi (1472), Holy Cross (1472), Mary Magdalene (1479), Holy Blood (1480), Martin (1480), John the Baptist (1486), Leonard (1489), Thomas the Apostle and George (1491), Crispin and Crispinian (1495), Barbara (1509), Name of Jesus (1520), Three Kings of Cologne (b.1523), Mary of Piety (b.1528). Those dedicated to Nicholas (High Altar), John the Evangelist, Helen and Margaret are either unconfirmed or outside our period, *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis* (New Spalding Club, 2 Vols, Aberdeen 1888-92), i, lv-lvi.

¹⁶⁰ The altar dedicated to Andrew was founded by burgess Richard Rutherford, the Duthac altar by the Scherer family, Kentigern and Thanay altar by Walter Leslie, parson of Menmuir and the Ninian altar by minor nobles Henry Leith of Barns and William Meldrum of Achneef and Petkarry, see *ibid*, ii, pp.14, 19, 17-18 & 92-4.

Edinburgh		<i>Katherine, Kentigern and Ninian.</i> ¹⁶²	
5. St John's, Perth	42. ¹⁶³	Andrew, Columba, <i>Cuthbert</i> , Duthac, Fillan, <i>John the Baptist</i> , Kentigern, <i>Lawrence and Stephen</i> , Margaret and Ninian. ¹⁶⁴	21%
6. St Mary's, Dundee.	35. ¹⁶⁵	Andrew, Columba, <i>Cuthbert</i> , Duthac, Magnus, Monan, Ninian and Triduana. ¹⁶⁶	25%

¹⁶¹ The others were Mary (1345), John the Baptist (1350), Mary (1363), Holy Cross (1387), John the Evangelist (1395-6), Nicholas (1429), Martin and Thomas (1444), James (1448), Holy Blood (1450), Christopher (1451), Peter (1454), Michael (1454), Hubert (1456), Eloi (1477), Francis (1477), Our Lady of Piety (1477), Blaise (1486), Holy Trinity (1487), Dionysius (1488), Lawrence (1491), Sebastian (1494), Lawrence and Francis (1495), Virgin and Roch (1503), Mary and Gabriel (1503), Holy Blood (1506), Serverianus (1508), John the Baptist (1507), Thomas the Apostle + Apollonia (1507), Anthony (1510), Gabriel (1520), John the Apostle and Evangelist (1517), Anne (1519), Erasmus (1552), Fabian and Sebastian (1560), Gregory (no date), *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1859), xciv.

¹⁶² The altar dedicated to Kentigern was founded by John Grey, the rector of Kirkliston (1451), Columba by James Livingstone, bishop of Dunkeld (1477), Ninian by burgess Alan de Farinle, (1405), Andrew by burgess Patrick Cockburn (1447), Duthac by burgess Thomas Cranstoun (1438) and Katherine by merchant Roger Hog (1357-8). Foundation information is not available for the Cuthbert altar, (b.1504), *ibid*, xciv.

¹⁶³ Nine altars were dedicated to localised universals or native saints, the others were dedicated to All Saints, (1516), Holy Cross (1472), Holy Blood (1522), Trinity (1519), Name of Jesus (1519), SS Anna (1528), Barbara (1526-7), Bartholomew (b.1472), Blaise (1491), Bride (1523) Christopher (1512 at altar of Clement (1512), Dionysius (1484), Eloi (1431), John the Evangelist (1472) James (1423), Joseph (1497), Katherine (1468), Leonard (1396), Mary (1456) Martin (1404), Mary Magdalene (b.1485), Michael (b.1542), Nicholas (1512), Paul (1526), Roch (1500), Salvator (1492), Severus (1526), Simon and Stephen (1471) Thomas the Apostle (1491) and Zita of Lucca (1523). For information on all the altarages in Perth see NAS, Records of King James VI Hospital, Perth, Altarages GD79/4.

¹⁶⁴ Lawrence has been included as a localised saint, there were a number of churches dedicated to him in the Perth area and the Christian name was adopted by the local Oliphant family, see *The Scots Peerage*, ed. J. B. Paul (Edinburgh, 9 vols, 1911) i, 333, ii, 339, iii, 333, vi, 332 & 563. The altar was under the patronage of the bishops of Dunkeld, NAS GD79/4/77. The Columba altar (1516) was founded by bishop George Brown of Dunkeld, *Rentale Dunkeldense*, 228 & 243. The Kentigern altar (1523) was founded by James Fenton, Precentor of the Cathedral Church of Dunkeld, NAS GD79/4/94. The Margaret altar (b.1474) was first mentioned in 1474 as having been founded by the vicar of Perth Andrew of Pitscottie, apparently founded sometime before that, NAS GD79/4/84. The Ninian altar (b.1401) is first mentioned under the patronage of burgess Robert Brown in 1401, NAS GD79/4/106. The Andrew altar (b.1491) was founded by burgess John de Camera sometime before 1491 when his grandson Robert, made a further endowment, NAS GD79/4/20. The Duthac and Fillan altars are first mentioned in 1515 and 1488 but no hint is given as to who the founders were, NAS, Breadalbane Muniments, GD112/25/6 & GD112/2/77/1.

¹⁶⁵ The other altars were dedicated to George (1396), Leonard (1429), All Saints (1429), Salvator (1391), Margaret (Virgin), Stephen (b.1427), Holy Cross (b.1454), Holy Blood (1515), Mark (1525), Katherine (b.1454), James the Apostle, 3 Kings of Cologne (1481), John the Evangelist, Agatha, Gregory, Matthew, Magdalene, Barbara, Bartholomew, Sebastian, Laurence, Helen, Thomas Becket, John the Baptist, Maxwell, A., *Old Dundee. Ecclesiastical, Burghal and Social, prior to the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1891), pp.13-27.

¹⁶⁶ The Duthac altar was founded by the Glover's guild, the Cuthbert altar by the Baxter's guild, Maxwell, *Old Dundee*, p.29. The Ninian altar was under the patronage of burgess William Barry, *ibid*, p.32, the Margaret altar was augmented by burgess David Spalding in 1455, RMS ii, no. 873. The Columba altar was founded George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld see, *Rentale Dunkeldense*, pp.226 & 243. Triduana's altar was mentioned as being formerly under the patronage of James Scrymgeour of Dudhope in 1583, NAS, Scrymgeour of Wedderburn Writs, GD137/3921, the Andrew altar was first mentioned in 1471, NAS, GD137/3768, for Magnus and Monan see Maxwell, *Old Dundee*, pp.32 & 34.

7. St Michael's, Linlithgow.	26. ¹⁶⁷	Andrew, Duthac, <i>Michael</i> and Ninian. ¹⁶⁸	15%
8. Holy Trinity, St Andrews	32. ¹⁶⁹	Andrew, Columba (joint with Bridget) Duthac, Fergus, Fillan and Ninian. ¹⁷⁰	18%

i. Cathedral churches

In the cathedrals of Aberdeen (no.1) and Glasgow (no.2) dedications to Scottish saints and localised universals comprised a significant proportion of the total 'hagiographic programme'.¹⁷¹ This group was formed of a blend of saints with cults on a national (Andrew, Ninian), regional (Columba, Cuthbert, Kentigern, Serf) and local scale (Comgan, Devenick, Machan and Moluag). The Comgan, Devenick and Machan altars were founded by clergy whose parish church was also dedicated to those saints.¹⁷² The altar dedicated to Moluag, the patron saint of Argyll, was founded by David Cunningham, an archdeacon of the western diocese.¹⁷³ Promotion of their local or parish patrons may have been the motivation behind these dedications, but it is also possible that they were intended to form a devotional focus for the inhabitants

¹⁶⁷ Four altars were dedicated to national saints and one to local patron Michael, the others were dedicated to Mary x2 (1540 and b.1502), Anne (c.1500), Catherine of Siena, Peter (b.1530), Bridget (b.1502), Holy Trinity, Zita of Lucca, John the Baptist (b.1474), Holy Cross, Salvator (b.1488), John the Evangelist, Holy Blood (b.1520), Corpus Christi (1430s), All Saints (b.1502), Anthony (b.1448), Eloi (b.1447), Nicholas (b.1425) Conan, James, Stephen (b.1488) and Crispinus and Crispina, Ferguson, J., *Ecclesia Antiqua. The Church of St Michaels Linlithgow* (Edinburgh, 1905), pp. 281-335.

¹⁶⁸ There is little definite information on the foundation of the Ninian (b.1446) and Andrew (b.1453) altars; although Ferguson has suggested that the Duthac (after.1488) dedication may have been connected to James IV, *ibid*, p.327.

¹⁶⁹ Six altars were dedicated to native saints with the other 26 dedicated to All saints (1430), Mary x2 (1428, 1478), Holy Blood (b.1472), Holy Cross (b.1394), Holy Trinity (High Altar), Anne (b.1498), Anthony (b.1493), Aubert (b.1537), Barbara (b.1505), Bartholomew (b.1467), Eloi (b.1490), James (b.1475), John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Katherine (b.1449), Lawrence (1431), Martin (b.1501), Mary Magdalene (b.1466), Matthew (1490), Michael (1434), Nicholas (b.1439), Peter (c.1486), Peter and Paul (1545), Sebastian and Stephen., Rankin, W. E. K., *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1955), pp.54-89.

¹⁷⁰ The Duthac altar was apparently already in existence before it was refounded in 1481 by Andrew Martin, a canon of Aberdeen, NAS, Records of Thomson and Baxter, GD241/198, and further augmented by canons of Brechin Hugh and Alexander Martin, presumably relatives of Andrew, Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews*, pp.76-77. The Columba altar was founded by David Meldrum, a canon of Dunkeld, *ibid*, pp. 74-5, the Ninian altar was under the patronage of Brethren of St Ninian, *ibid*, pp.86-7, the Fergus altar was founded by the rector of Glamis, William Carnis, *ibid*, pp.78-9.

¹⁷¹ This phrase has been used by Gary Dickson to describe the entirety of the veneration of the cult of the saints in a certain place and time, Dickson, 'The 115 cults of the saints in Late Medieval and Renaissance Perugia', 8.

¹⁷² See Table 2, nos. 1 & 2. The Comgan altar was founded by Alexander Vaus, rector of Turriff, the Devenick altar by Alexander Cabell, prebend of Banchory, , the Machan altar was founded by Patrick Leich, a canon of the Cathedral whose prebend was the church of Campsie.

¹⁷³ The altar was founded by David Cunningham, see Table 2, no. 2.

of these parishes in their regional religious and economic centre. Cathedral and diocesan clergy were also responsible for altars dedicated to Kentigern, Andrew, Cuthbert and Serf in Glasgow as well as the Ninian altar in Aberdeen.¹⁷⁴ Whilst diocesan or local loyalties may have played a role in these dedications, these factors did not inevitably affect the choice of saint. Other clergy with connections to Renfrew and Govan founded altars dedicated to Christopher and the Holy Blood rather than their local patrons Conval and Constantine, and cathedral dignitaries in both Glasgow and Aberdeen were responsible for altars dedicated to Mary, Christ and a range of international saints.¹⁷⁵

A sense of how typical this pattern was, within the British Isles at least, can be gained from a comparison with a number of English cathedrals. Durham had at least 20 altars, of which those dedicated to English saints Oswald, Thomas of Canterbury, Bede, Edmund and Cuthbert, made up 25%.¹⁷⁶ York Minster had between 28 and 30 distinct altars with around 35% made up of English saints including SS Chad, Cuthbert, Edmund, Edward the Confessor, Edwin, Frideswide, John of Beverly, Thomas of Canterbury, Wilfrid of Ripon and William of York.¹⁷⁷ Lincoln had around 24 altars, of which only 12% were dedicated to native saints.¹⁷⁸ Exeter had 18 altars

¹⁷⁴ See Table 2, nos.1 & 2. The extra Kentigern altar (there were already two altars founded prior to 1300) in Glasgow was the responsibility of Archbishop Robert Blacadder (1483-1508) as part of a wider promotional campaign that will be discussed in Chapter 4, the Serf altar had been founded by Alexander, sheriff of Stirling in 1249 but was refounded by preceptor David Cadzow in 1446, the Andrew altar was founded by the dean Nicholas Greenlaw in 1426. The cultus of St Cuthbert spread across a region encompassing northern England and southern Scotland, he would not necessarily be viewed as an international saint in those areas, see Crumplin, S., 'Cuthbert the cross-border saint in the twelfth century', in *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, 119-29. The Cuthbert altar was founded by cathedral Treasurer Robert Moffat and was augmented by a James Douglas in 1467, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 419-20. The Ninian altar in Glasgow was the only native dedication by a lay person, local nobleman, James Douglas of Auchingassil. The Ninian altar in Aberdeen was founded by bishop Ingeram, bishop of Aberdeen (1441-1458).

¹⁷⁵ Nicholas Ross, rector of Renfrew, dedicated an altar to Christopher in 1495, Durkan, 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', 66, and Malcolm Durnas, rector of Govan, provided a chaplaincy to the Holy Rood altar in 1497, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 496-7, in Aberdeen the Holy Blood altar was founded by Simon Dods, and cathedral treasurer Andrew Lyell founded the altar dedicated to Sebastian and Stephen and Lawrence, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, i, 333 & 337.

¹⁷⁶ The other altars in Durham were dedicated to John the Baptist, Andrew/Mary Magdalene, Peter and Paul, Adrian and Heline, Michael, Benedict and Jerome, Giles and Nicholas, Gregory, Our Lady and John the Evangelist, *Rites of Durham*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Society, 1903), pp.1-12.

¹⁷⁷ The other altars in York were dedicated to All Angels, All Saints, Our Lady, Trinity, Jesus and Our Lady, Agatha and Lucy and Scholastica, Agnes and Cecilia and Petronilla, Andrew, Anne and Anthony and Cross, Blaise, Christopher, Gregory and Nicholas, James and Katherine, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Lawrence, Martha, Mary the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, Michael, Nicholas, Paulinus, Ninian, Saviour, Sepulchre, and Stephen, Gee, E., 'The Topography of Altars, Chantries and Shrines in York Minster', *Antiquaries Journal*, lxiv (1984), 337-51.

¹⁷⁸ In this case I am counting George as an English localised universal, the other native altars were dedicated to Hugh and Thomas of Canterbury, the other altars were dedicated to SS James, Mary

with native saints Piran, Edmund, Thomas of Canterbury and Richard making up 22% of the total.¹⁷⁹ Hereford had 27 altars with those dedicated to Ethelbert, George, Thomas of Canterbury and Thomas Cantilupe making up only 14% of the total.¹⁸⁰ On average national and local saints made up 20% of the dedications in these English cathedrals, with the other altars consisting of an amalgam of localised international, cosmopolitan and universal saints and cults. Aberdeen and Glasgow appear to have had a similar blend of saintly dedications to their English counterparts.

ii. Burgh churches

More information is available for Scotland's burgh churches in this period and it would perhaps be expected that different patterns would be apparent in these institutions where guilds and burgh families, rather than clergy and local nobility, were responsible for the majority of dedications. In general national and localised universal saints comprised a less significant proportion of the total dedications in the burgh churches with few altars devoted to recognisably local saints akin to the Devenick dedication in Aberdeen Cathedral.¹⁸¹ The altars dedicated to Monan and Triduana in the church of St Mary's, Dundee (no.6), which did have a blend of national, regional and local saints, and the Fergus altar in St Andrews (no.8), were the rare exceptions to this rule.¹⁸² However, the overall range of national saints in these

Magdalene, Christopher, Michael, Andrew, Denys, Holy Cross, Holy Trinity, Katherine, John the Baptist, Nicholas, Blaise, Peter, Stephen, Anne, John the Evangelist, Giles, Sebastian, Jesus, Mary and Lucy, Binnell, P., 'Notes on Medieval Altars and Chapels in Lincoln Cathedral', *Antiquaries Journal*, xlii (1962), 68-80.

¹⁷⁹ The others were dedicated to SS Mary, Gabriel, Andrew, James, Paul, Holy Cross, Our Lady, Nicholas, John the Baptist, Michael, Anne, Agatha, Holy Ghost, John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene, Bishop, H.E., *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St Peter in Exeter* (Exeter, 1922), pp.107-117.

¹⁸⁰ The others were dedicated to Mary, Trinity, Anne, James, James and Margaret, Stephen, John the Evangelist, Michael, Holy Cross, John the Baptist, Nicholas, Saviour/Name of Jesus, Katherine, Mary Magdalene, Agatha and Agnes, Andrew, Francis, Helen and Peter and Paul, *Hereford Cathedral. A History*, eds. G. Aylmer & J. Tiller, (London, 2000), pp.84-5.

¹⁸¹ This trend may also have been apparent in England where only around 15% of the altars and lights in large parish churches in Bristol, Canterbury, Dover, Faversham, Folkestone and local churches in Norfolk were dedicated to local or English saints. For Bristol see *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints Bristol, part 1*, ed. C. Burgess (Bristol, 1995), pp.14-17, 24-26, 33 & 85. For Canterbury, Dover, Faversham and Folkestone see *Testamenta Cantiana. A Series of Extracts from fifteenth and sixteenth century wills relating to Church building and Topography in East Kent*, ed. A. Hussey (London, 1907), pp.46-48, 96-98, 119-124 & 130-133. For Norfolk churches see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.155-56.

¹⁸² It is not unusual for Dundee to buck wider trends in this period as Ditchburn has shown in his discussion of ship naming patterns, Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis', 189. Unfortunately no foundation information remains for the Monan and Triduana altars in Dundee, the Fergus altar was

burgh churches was limited. The most obvious trend within this sample was the broad popularity of three saints, Ninian, Andrew and Duthac. It was this same triumvirate, ‘*Saint Andrew with his shored cross, St Trinnan of Quhytehorn and Doffin their demigod of Ross*’, who were identified as the most significant patrons of the Scots by an English poet at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁸³ This trio also appeared as dedicatees of the few new churches that were founded in the period. The church of Newburgh (1508) was jointly dedicated to Duthac, alongside Katherine and Mary Magdalene, Mary of Guelders’ Trinity College in Edinburgh (1462) was dedicated jointly to Ninian and Mary, whilst James III’s collegiate church at Restalrig (1487) was under the invocation of Andrew, Ninian and Duthac, as well as Triduana, Mary and Jerome.¹⁸⁴

Aside from the three saints mentioned above, Columba and Kentigern were the most commonly attested national saints in Scottish burgh churches. The founders of altars dedicated to these saints were almost exclusively clerics, with the Columban altars in Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and St Andrews under the direct patronage of members of the cathedral chapter at Dunkeld.¹⁸⁵ This was part of a wider fifteenth-century trend in the promotion of episcopal saints which will be explored fully in Chapter 4. There is little extant evidence of new altars in the churches sampled here or elsewhere in the period, dedicated to saints like Baldred, Kessog or Constantine who appeared consistently in the liturgical fragments from the period.¹⁸⁶ Similarly dedications to other members of the core group identified in the liturgical material, Monan and Fillan, were rare, with other saints like Adrian, Triduana, Margaret and Gilbert also barely represented.¹⁸⁷ Hospital dedications in the period show similar trends with only a small percentage of new foundations in late medieval Scotland

founded by William Carnis, rector of Glamis in memory of his brother Thomas who was a canon of St Andrews., Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity*, p.79. The connection between Fergus and Glamis would explain the choice of this fairly minor local saint.

¹⁸³ *The Battle of Flodden Field. A Poem of the Sixteenth Century*, p.27.

¹⁸⁴ Laing, A., *Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh. Their History and Annals* (Edinburgh, 1876), pp.156 & 512, *Charters of the Hospital of Soutra, of Trinity College Edinburgh and other Collegiate Churches in Midlothian* (Bannatyne Club, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1861), 64 & 280-90. For Restalrig see also Brown, ‘Saint Triduana of Restalrig? Locating a saint and her cult in late medieval Lothian and beyond’, 45-69 and MacDonald, AA ‘The Chapel of Restalrig: Royal folly or venerable shrine?’ in *A Palace in the Wild. Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in late medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, eds. L.A Houwen, *idem* & S. L. Mapstone (Leuven, 2000), 27-61.

¹⁸⁵ See Table 1, nos. 4, 5, 6 & 8 and Chapter 4, II.ii. All the Kentigern altars in burgh churches were also founded by clerics, see nos.3, 4 & 5.

¹⁸⁶ I have found no new altars dedicated to Baldred, Constantine and Kessog in late medieval Scotland.

¹⁸⁷ I have also found no new altars dedicated to Adrian/Ethernan or Gilbert, only two dedicated to Fillan and only one each dedicated to Monan and Triduana, See Table 2, nos.5, 6 & 8.

dedicated to local saints. Cowan and Easson have noted 81 hospitals that were founded after 1296, of which 67 had a specific patron.¹⁸⁸ Of these only two hospitals in Glasgow, one dedicated to Ninian and a second to SS Nicholas, Serf and Machutus, another Ninian dedication at Kingcase near Ayr, and a hospital in Caithness whose patron was Magnus, were dedicated to local intercessors, making up only 7% of the total.¹⁸⁹ They were more commonly dedicated to cosmopolitan saints with Mary (10%), Mary Magdalene (10%), John the Baptist (9%) and Leonard (7%) the most frequent patrons.¹⁹⁰

iii. National saints in Scottish churches

McRoberts used the example of altars and chaplaincies in Glasgow Cathedral to support his conclusion that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was a 'bias in favour of national saints' within dedications at these institutions.¹⁹¹ Ditchburn has refuted this using the evidence from the burgh church of Dundee in tandem with new hospital foundations, to argue that national saints were overshadowed by devotion to Marian and Christ cults, making up only a small proportion of the dedications in Scottish churches.¹⁹² The evidence from the cathedrals and burgh churches discussed above tends to support Ditchburn, with on average local and localised universal saints comprising around 25% of the saints venerated in the churches sampled here. The composition of the remaining 75% suggests that, as with pilgrimage patterns, Scotland was in line with contemporary European trends. Long established interest in international and universal saints, as well as the contemporary strands of Marian and Passion devotion, was well represented, alongside a range of corporate patrons. New cosmopolitan cults had also appeared in Scotland with evidence of interest in the Three Kings of Cologne, the plague saint Roche, and Zita of Lucca (d.1272), although

¹⁸⁸ Cowan I and Easson, D. *Medieval religious houses, Scotland: with an appendix on the houses in the Isle of Man* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp.162-200.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p, 179, 180, 183 & 191. The hospitals at Turriff (Congan) and Ballencrief (Cuthbert) were also dedicated to local saints but were founded before 1296, *ibid*, pp. 170 & 194.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp.162-200. Three or fewer hospitals were dedicated to SS Anne, Thomas of Canterbury, Peter, Paul, George, Nicholas, Laurence, James, Anthony, Katherine, as well as those more general designated as Maison Dieu (8), Holy Trinity (2), or simply as Almshouses (10) or Leper hospitals (8).

¹⁹¹ McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism', 10.

¹⁹² Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.56.

it is notable that there was little interest in new and older English saints, aside from Cuthbert of Durham.¹⁹³

If, as McRoberts has suggested, there was a church led campaign in favour of national saints in the fifteenth century we would expect to see this manifested in a stronger correlation between the clergy and dedications to local saints. The slightly higher proportion of these local saints in the two cathedrals, and the diocesan loyalty apparent in the dedications to Columba and Kentigern, make it tempting to suggest that the clergy were more likely to take an interest in local saints than burgesses or local nobility. However, as we have seen cathedral dignitaries and other clerics were equally as likely to found altars devoted to Marian or Passion cults as they were to dedicate them to their institutional patrons.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, whilst the merchants and craftsman of the east coast burghs were clearly interested in imported fashions, they also retained a significant interest in Scottish intercessors like Ninian and Duthac.¹⁹⁵ This trend was also apparent in guild dedications. Although their altars were generally dedicated to the patron saint of the guild, they were also on occasion dedicated to local saints as in the case of the Cuthbert and Duthac altars founded by the Baxter and Glover's guilds in Glasgow and Dundee. It is clear that the different strands of devotion, Marian, Christocentric and interest in local cults, crossed social and occupational divides in late medieval Scotland.

V. Onomastic patterns

Aside from occasional glimpses of popular pilgrimage the extant sources for late medieval Scotland inevitably tend to shed greater light on the devotions of the upper echelons and urban sectors of society than the mass of the population who lived in the countryside. One method of bridging this gap is the examination of naming

¹⁹³ The lack of dedications to Thomas of Canterbury is particularly notable. Williamson, 'The Cult of the Three Kings of Cologne in Scotland', 160-179. There were altars dedicated to Roch in Edinburgh and Perth, *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, xciv, RMS, ii, no.2568. An altar was dedicated to 'Fithie the Virgin' by a burghess Findlay Anderson in 1523, NAS GD79/4/49. This would appear to be Zita of Lucca, often called Sitha in England, there was also an altar dedicated to her in Linlithgow, NAS, Papers of James Beveridge, M.A., Linlithgow, GD215/1661, and she has been the subject of a case of misidentification in the poetry of David Lindsay, see Bawcutt, P., 'Two cases of mistaken identity: Sir David Lindsay's St Syith and St Margaret?', *IR*, lii (2001), 189-94.

¹⁹⁴ Similarly clerics like William Elphinstone and George Brown of Dunkeld could happily combine their conspicuous interest in native saints with Marian devotion or in the case of Brown, devotion to his name saint George, Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis', 193 and Boardman, 'The cult of St George in Scotland', 156.

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 3, II.ii for mercantile interest in Duthac.

patterns.¹⁹⁶ Although there are limitations in the use of these materials, names like Ninian, Kentigern, Duthac, Baldred, Monan and Kessog were extremely rare in Scotland prior to the fifteenth century and their appearance can be used with some confidence, in conjunction with other sources, to indicate an interest in the cult.¹⁹⁷ In the table below are displayed the results from a survey into naming patterns which has consulted as wide an array of sources as possible to consider the impact that changing devotional patterns had on the naming stock of the broadest range of Scottish society in the period.¹⁹⁸

Table 3. Use of Scottish saints as forenames in late medieval Scotland, c.1349-1560.¹⁹⁹

SAINT	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS WITH THE NAME	ACTIVE IN 14 TH CENTURY OR EARLIER	IN 15 TH CENTURY	IN 16 TH CENTURY	MAIN CONCENTRATIONS OF NAME
1. Ninian	131	1	14	116	22% Edinburgh, Lothian and Fife, 19% Galloway and Southwest, 15% Borders, 9% north of the Tay
2. Kentigern	34	1	4	30	26% Edinburgh, Lothian and Fife, 23% in Glasgow and Strathclyde, 23% Borders, 20% Galloway and Southwest
3. Constantine	31	13	1	17	38% Glasgow and Strathclyde, 29% Edinburgh, Lothian and Fife, 22% Central Scotland
4. Kessog /Kessan	21	14	2	5	66% Lennox, 19% Central Scotland, 14% Galloway and Southwest
5. Duthac.	7	3	4	0	3 Aberdeen, 3 Edinburgh,

¹⁹⁶ For a discussion of this issue see Herlihy, 'Tuscan names, 1200-1530', 561-582.

¹⁹⁷ A survey of the POMS project database revealed five Baldreds, one Kentigern and one possible Duthac (discussed below) with no men bearing the other names listed above, *The Paradox of Medieval Scotland, 1093-1286. Social Relationships and Identities before the Wars of Independence*, www.poms.ac.uk. See Introduction for a discussion of the limitations of this approach and for examples of its application in late medieval Scotland.

¹⁹⁸ The sources consulted for this survey included the relevant *RMS, RSS, RRS, ER, CPL & CSSR* volumes, Watt, D.E.R., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae medii aevi ad annum 1638* (Edinburgh, 2003) & *idem, The heads of religious houses in Scotland from twelfth to sixteenth centuries* (Edinburgh, 2001), all printed chartularies of individual Scottish religious houses, all printed chartularies of individual families, all printed protocol books, all printed burgh records up to 1560, all volumes of *The Scots Peerage & Criminal trials in Scotland, from A.D. M.CCCC.LXXXVIII to A.D. M.DC.XXIV embracing the entire reigns of James IV. and V., Mary Queen of Scots and James VI*, ed. R. Pitcairn, (Bannatyne Club, 1833).

¹⁹⁹ The saints included in this table are those for whom the survey found more than five examples.

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i. Ninian and Duthac

The most striking development in this period was the increasing popularity of Ninian as a forename (no.1). The use of the saint's name in this context was almost unknown prior to the fifteenth century, and as Thomas Clancy has shown, there is surprisingly little evidence of the development of diminutive names connected to the saint in the early middle ages.²⁰⁰ The vast majority of the individuals found in the survey were active in the period 1500-1580, with only one example from the fourteenth century.²⁰¹ The strongest concentrations of the name were found across the south, particularly in Galloway and the Edinburgh area, with a smaller group in the borders.²⁰² Further small groups of individuals were found in and around Glasgow, Fife and central Scotland with the name far less common in the north. This spatial distribution only partly corresponds with altar dedications to the saint which from 1355 to the Reformation could be found across southern, central and northern Scotland.²⁰³ Although we must take into account the greater availability of sources for fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland, the huge upswing in the use of Ninian as a forename does appear to be an indication of a widening popular engagement with the cult.

The use of Duthac as a forename was also almost unknown in the eastern and southern lowlands of Scotland prior to the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁰⁴ The survey (no.5) found evidence of seven men with the name in those areas. Duthac Carnegie, Lowman and Barker were from Aberdeen, Duthac Scott (d.1492) was from Doune, Duthac Ker (c.1482) and Wigmore (c.1440s) were Edinburgh burgesses and

²⁰⁰ Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', 12. See Chapter 2, I.ii for discussion of Moinenn as a possible diminutive name.

²⁰¹ A total of 89% of the men were active in the period 1500-1580. The 14th century example was Ninian Stryle a burgess of Aberdeen, recorded in 1340, *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, ii, 46.

²⁰² The survey found twenty six Ninians whose residence was in Galloway and the same number for Edinburgh, there were twenty individuals across border region. There were fourteen in the Glasgow area and a further twelve in Fife and central Scotland, only twelve came from further north.

²⁰³ See Chapter 2, Map 4 for distribution of dedications to Ninian in the later middle ages.

²⁰⁴ A possible appearance of the name is a *Duftah* who was the Celi De abbot of Lochleven in 1128, *Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D. 1153*, ed. C. Lawrie, (Glasgow, 1905), no.80. There was also a place-name *Baldutho* in eastern Fife which was probably named after someone called Duthac, Taylor, S & Markus, G., *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3. St Andrews and the East Neuk* (Donington, 2009), p.140. For a discussion of the name in Ireland and western Scotland in the early middle ages see Chapter 3, I.i.

Duthac Rutherford was murdered near Jedburgh in 1495. The spatial and temporal distribution of these names correlates with the foundation of altars dedicated to the saint in Aberdeen and Edinburgh between 1359 and 1438 and along the east coast at Arbroath, Brechin, Dundee and St Andrews in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁰⁵ The status of these men, burgesses or small tenants with the exception of Carnegie, gives the impression of a popular and predominantly urban cult in the fifteenth century.

ii. Kentigern, Kessog and Constantine

As Black has shown the name Kentigern, and its diminutive Mungo, reached its peak in popularity in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggesting that the saint's role as patron of the Glasgow area was largely unaffected by the Reformation.²⁰⁶ Although never widely popular in the later middle ages there seems to have been an expansion in the range of the use of Kentigern (no.2) as a personal name in the period after c.1450. The vast majority of the men named after the saint found in this study, (88%), were active in the sixteenth century and were confined almost exclusively to the south. The surprising aspect of this pattern is the relative lack of examples in Glasgow itself. Other than this omission, the spatial and temporal patterns correlate with a promotional campaign run by a series of Glasgow bishops in the fifteenth century and the distribution of altars which were dedicated to the saint between 1451 and 1502 in Jedburgh, Edinburgh, where there was also a fraternity mentioned in 1557, Currie and Alloa.²⁰⁷ Naming patterns present a picture of a revived cult in the later middle ages, located almost exclusively south of the Forth/Clyde line.

Kessog was the patron of the Lennox where, according to the Aberdeen Breviary, he was murdered near Loch Lomond c.600AD.²⁰⁸ The close relationship between the saint and the local comital line was emphasised in a 1316 charter in which Malcolm, earl of Lennox (d.1333), referred to Kessog as 'our patron'.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ The Duthac cult will be discussed at length in Chapter 3.

²⁰⁶ Black, G., *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1974), p.394.

²⁰⁷ See Chapter 4, Section II.iii for the promotional campaign and altars dedicated to Kentigern in this period.

²⁰⁸ *Brevarium Aberdonese*, ii, fol.66v.

²⁰⁹ *Regesta Regum Scottorum V: The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*, ed. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1986), no.81.

Kessog was an extremely rare name in the period (no.4), but a number of individuals had the forename or surname Kessan which, according to Black, was a side form of the name.²¹⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly two thirds of these individuals could be found in Lennox or the surrounding areas with a small cluster in Mentieth. Whilst Kessogs/Kessans could be found in Lennox from the thirteenth century through to the Reformation, all the instances of the name outside of that region came from the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The name never seems to have appeared in noble families, even of the local comital kindred, and was most commonly found amongst minor landowners, clerics and townspeople. From the mid-fifteenth century the cult seems to have expanded slightly into the surrounding regions coinciding with the wider marking of Kessog's feast in the Scottish liturgy.

Constantine of Govan is a fairly shadowy figure. Alex Woolf has suggested that the cult may have initially been that of Emperor Constantine, while John Reuben Davies has posited a ninth-century Scottish monarch.²¹¹ According to the Aberdeen Breviary he was a Cornish king, and later monk, who was martyred in Kintyre.²¹² One problem with the appearance of the name Constantine is differentiating between whether its use was intended to honour the saint or refer to the three Scottish monarchs who bore the name in the ninth and tenth centuries.²¹³ Constantine was never a common name in medieval Scotland with the main cluster centred in the west around Glasgow and a further group in Fife and Central Scotland (no.3). A small group were centred in Edinburgh and Lothian with other individuals in the borders and north of the Tay. Around a third (41%) of these persons were active in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of which the majority were located in the east. It seems likely that these early instances of the name, which were mainly at a distance from the cult centre at Govan, were a result of the royal rather than saintly connection, especially those associated with the comital house of Fife, which itself claimed to be descended from a tenth-century Scottish king.

The majority of the men in the survey however, were active in the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries in and around Glasgow, Perth and Edinburgh. Royal

²¹⁰ Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, pp.395-6.

²¹¹ Woolf also suggests that the relics were moved to Govan in the ninth-century, perhaps from Kintyre, Woolf, A., *Where was Govan in the Early Middle Ages?* (Glasgow, 2007), pp.11-14. Davies suggests the saint may actually have been Constantine I (862-76), Davies, J.R., *The cult of St Constantine* (Glasgow, 2010), p.13.

²¹² *Breviarium Aberdonense*, ii, fol.67r.

²¹³ Constantine I, Constantine II (900-943) and Constantine III (995-997).

associations may have played some role in the naming of these men, but on the whole this probably indicates a slight revival of the cult in the period when the saint's feast had become a regular fixture in the Scottish liturgy. This revival does not seem to have stretched to other, more concrete, forms of devotion such as altar dedications and may have been limited in scope. The status of some of the late medieval men in this survey suggests that the cult centre at Govan had revived its local importance by the sixteenth century. The name appears in the Ayrshire noble family, the Muirs of Caldwell and within various minor branches of the Campbell kindred.²¹⁴ The other men bearing the name in the later middle ages were a blend of burgesses and clerics suggesting that the cult, whilst remaining significant for those in proximity to the centre at Govan, had developed a wider popularity in southern and central Scotland, particularly along the water system of the Clyde and Forth rivers

iii. Scottish saints as personal names

Whilst we must remain aware that the patterns outlined in this section have been at least partly dictated by the greater availability of personal name material for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland, particularly for the southern and eastern areas of the kingdom, several trends are still apparent. Firstly apart from the examples mentioned above the core group of local saints made little impact on the naming stock of the late medieval kingdom. There were very few if any Scots named Adrian, Baldred, Monan, Palladius or Triduana in the later middle ages.²¹⁵ Ditchburn found a similar pattern in his survey of migrant workers in 1440, of which only a small proportion were named after national saints.²¹⁶ However, a similar survey carried out in 1540 would probably have found a greater proportion of the sample bearing names like Ninian and Mungo, which seem to have been in wider use in the latter part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The naming patterns also hint at a greater degree of interest in the cults of saints like Kessog and Constantine than was evident from ecclesiastical dedications. However, this must not be overstated and there is little

214 Constantine Campbell of Craigdow was a sheriff of Ayr in the 1520s and a Constantine Campbell of Quhystistoun was around in the same period, NAS, Papers of the Hunter Family of Barjarg, Dumfriesshire, GD78/10 & Papers of the Kennedy Family, GD 25/1/487.

215 Rare exceptions to this are Baldred Halliburton, NAS, Papers of Clerk family of Penicuik, GD18/4, Baldred Blacadder of Tulliallan, 1480, *RMS*, ii, no.1440 and Monan Hog from Aberdeenshire, NAS, Title Deeds from Castle Fraser, GD1/661/28.

216 Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis', 184-5.

indication that either saint had a broadly popular or national cult in the period. Overall the trends outlined in this section reinforce the impression that the most significant changes in the later middle ages were the growing of interest in Ninian, the emergence of the Duthac cult on a national scale and continuing, and possibly revived, regional interest in Kentigern.

Conclusion

In 1550 the Scottish poet David Lindsay wrote a scathing diatribe on what he saw as the idolatry present in the popular veneration of the saints. There is a certain irony in the fact that for modern scholars Lindsay's poem has come to provide a mirror to the contemporary fashions in religious devotions that he so railed against. Twenty seven saintly intercessors feature in the poem in addition to references to Marian and Christocentric devotion.²¹⁷ The combination of biblical figures (Peter & Paul, Michael etc), corporate patrons (Eloi, Crispinian), localised universals (Katherine, Anthony, Giles), new international cults (Zita of Lucca, Roche) and local saints mentioned by Lindsay, saints whose popularity is also attested in ecclesiastical dedications, provide a sense of the rich and varied nature of Scotland's 'hagiographic programme' on the eve of the Reformation. Five recognisably Scottish saints, 'Ringane' (Ninian), 'Duthow' (Duthac), 'Androw', 'Tredwell' (Triduana) and 'Mongose' (Mungo/Kentigern), feature in the poem.²¹⁸ In the period 1349-1560 there were changes in the significance of this group within Scottish devotional practice as they came to play a more visible role in the liturgy and were similarly given a more prominent function in the history of the medieval kingdom, as described by Walter Bower and others.

McRoberts and others have argued that this ostensibly nationalist trend in religious practice was fostered by the church, and there is some evidence of a greater engagement with Scottish saints by clerics from the late fourteenth century to the Reformation.²¹⁹ However, prior to the Aberdeen Breviary project there is little

²¹⁷ In addition to the Holy Blood, Holy Rude and Mary the saints referenced in the poem were Peter, Paul, John, James, Michael, Katherine, Giles, Francis, Apollonia, Roch, Eloi, George, Anthony, Bridget, Cosmas and Damian, Crispina and Crispinian, Zita of Lucca, German, Barbara, Gabriel, Margaret of Antioch, and Bastian, *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 267-70.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, iii, 267-70.

²¹⁹ McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism', 3-14, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, p.234.

indication of Scottish clerics viewing the cult of the saints through a nationalistic lens. The liturgical calendars, historical writings, clerical altar dedications and promotion of patron saints by cathedral chapters point to an overriding concern with the diocesan, institutional and local rather than the national. This provides compelling support for the view that a prevailing strain of what might be termed localism or local patriotism, similar to that detected in Duffy and Swanson's studies of English devotional practice during this period, was also present in Scotland.²²⁰ Duffy has suggested that this localism was the energy that characterised all late medieval devotional practices.²²¹ It could vary in scale from the parish to larger units like the diocese and could also be manifested in interest in localised universal, Marian and Passion cults. It was perhaps this energy, rather than simply a nationalist trend, that Elphinstone and James IV were trying to tap into with their liturgical project at the end of the fifteenth century.

However, this local patriotism had only a limited impact in inculcating devotion to national saints amongst the laity. It is clear that there was no general 'rediscovery' of national saints by this group and they never came close to dominating the devotions of late medieval Scots. The proportion of these saints in Lindsay's poem, around a fifth of the total, reflected the share that they had in Scottish religious practice on the eve of the Reformation.²²² Pilgrimage trends, altar dedications and naming patterns suggest that the cult of the saints in late medieval Scotland was characterised by a typically Western European balance of Marian, Christocentric, biblical, international and local intercessors. The extent to which this represented an expansion of interest in these local saints in the fifteenth century is unclear. Although popular interest in saints is difficult to measure for the early and central middle ages, recent scholarship by Matthew Hammond and Michael Penman on royal and aristocratic patronage in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has suggested that national saints remained a significant part of the devotional landscape in those periods.²²³ The distinctive element of popular engagement with national saints in the

²²⁰ Duffy, 'The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England', 164-77, at 165-6 & Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, pp.96-99.

²²¹ Duffy, 'The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England', 165-6.

²²² Ditchburn's analysis of Scottish migrant workers in England, ship naming patterns and contemporary literature suggested that national saints had an even smaller role in Scottish devotions, Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis', 184-85, 188-192 & *idem*, *Scotland and Europe*, p.56.

²²³ See Hammond, M., 'Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland', in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 61-86, Penman, 'Christian

later middle ages was its domination by a select group of cults. The expanding cults of Ninian and Duthac, and those of the episcopal patrons Andrew, Columba and Kentigern, accounted for more than two thirds (67%) of the altars dedicated to local saints in the churches sampled in Table 2 and appeared most consistently in other manifestations of devotion to the saints in the late medieval kingdom.²²⁴ The remainder of this study will examine these five cults to consider how and why they had come to so dominate the veneration of national saints in Scotland during the later middle ages.

Day and Knights', 249-72 & *idem*, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 346-71.

²²⁴ They account for thirty one of the forty six altars dedicated to native saints in the eight churches sampled, see Table 2. They also dominate references to Scottish cults and pilgrimage centres in domestic and foreign literature as will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 2

The late medieval cult of St Ninian of Whithorn in Scotland and the British Isles

'Sanct Ringane, of ane rottin stoke'.¹

It was with this image of a rotten wooden statue that David Lindsay chose to symbolise the saint of Whithorn on the eve of the Reformation.² Lindsay's negative representation is one of many indicators of the broad popularity of the Ninian cult in late medieval Scotland, the various manifestations of which the poet considered to be verging on the idolatrous.³ As we have seen in Chapter 1, this popularity was, alongside interest in Duthac of Tain and Andrew, one of the distinctive elements of devotion to the saints in the late medieval kingdom. Within this trio popular devotion to Ninian far outstripped the others and he could rightly be considered the leader of the *Sancti Scotticani* in the later middle ages. The background to this late medieval cult has been the subject of some debate. Modern scholarship has concluded, although not without a number of dissenting voices, that the cult was based upon an image created first by the Northumbrian rulers of Galloway in the eighth to tenth centuries and later developed and promoted by the reformed monastic centre at Whithorn in the twelfth century.⁴ The key text around which this cult was based was the *Vita Niniani*, produced by the Cistercian monk Aelred of Rievaulx in around 1160.⁵ In the later middle ages the template image of the saint presented by Aelred would be further adapted to meet contemporary needs.

¹ *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay* iii, 267.

² As Higgitt has shown Stock, in Scots *stoke*, was a contemptuous term for idols, Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 204 & nt.55.

³ Lindsay seems to have been most concerned with specialist saints and the use of images as devotional tools, *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 40. For criticism and defence of the use of images in the later middle ages see Kamerick, K., *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages. Image, Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350-1500* (Basingstoke, 2002), 1-14.

⁴ This was Higgitt's conclusion in, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 187, and is the basis of Thomas Clancy's argument first laid out in Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', 1-29, further considered in *idem*, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages', 397-420, and most recently *idem*, 'The Big Man, the Footsteps and the Fissile saint', 5-9. In the latter article Clancy responds to the critiques of his earlier work such as Wooding, 'St Ninian; archaeology and the *Dossier* of the saint', 9-18. For the Northumbrian influence upon the cult see also Fraser, J. E., 'Northumbrian Whithorn and the making of St Ninian', *IR*, liii (2002), 40-59.

⁵ *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, pp.1-27.

Ninian's broad popularity in the later middle ages and his development into something of a national patron, has received passing comment from scholars.⁶ The international reputation of the shrine at Whithorn has also been noted and briefly explored in works by David McRoberts, David Ditchburn and Ian Cowan.⁷ Other aspects of the cult and shrine have been considered by Peter Yeoman, who has attempted to recreate a sense of the pilgrim experience at Whithorn, and Daphne Brooke who considered the cult in the context of late medieval relations between Galloway and the Scottish crown.⁸ Extended scholarship on this late medieval cult has however, been limited. In the context of the wider Ninianic historiography these works form only a fraction of what has become a fruitful field of scholarship in the past half century. This research has been overwhelmingly concerned with identifying the dubious historical figure of Ninian and early traces of his cult, rather than its better attested later manifestations.⁹ Whilst Clancy has pointed out that Ninian's popularity can be mainly traced to the later middle ages there has been little work on the nuances of his cult in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Passing references to the cult in that period have suggested that promotion by the monastic and episcopal centre at Whithorn, in combination with crown patronage, fully explain the evolution of Ninian into a national saint.¹⁰ However, the late medieval cult was more complex than this narrative suggests with devotion to the saint intersecting social, linguistic and political borders. The only extended discussion of the nuances of the cult in this time period have been undertaken by John Higgitt, whose articles have explored the changing

⁶ Ninian has been identified as a national saint by Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', 404, Brooke, D., *The Medieval Cult of St Ninian* (Whithorn, 1987), p.1, McRoberts, who describes his cult as 'general throughout Scotland', McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', 8 and Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.237-238. For a brief discussion of Ninian as a national saint, see also Cowan, 'Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation', pp.235-42.

⁷ McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism', 7-9, Cowan, I., 'Church and Society', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Brown, (London, 1977), 112-35, at 113, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.60-1. For pilgrimage to Whithorn see also *idem*, 'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles', 91-92.

⁸ Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, pp. 32-44, Brooke, D., *Wild Men and Holy Places. St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1994), see pp.182-3 for her conclusions.

⁹ The Ninianic debate, as cogently summarised by Wooding, surrounds the question of whether he was; a) a late Roman bishop ministering to an established Christian community in the 4th/5th centuries, b) a travelling monastic founder and missionary, or c) entirely a concoction of posthumous hagiography, Wooding, 'St Ninian; archaeology and the Dossier of the saint', 9-10. For a summary of the development of this debate see Broun, 'The literary record of St. Nynia: fact and fiction?' 143-50, Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania*, pp.1-4 and more recently Clancy, 'The Big Man, the Footsteps and the Fissile saint', 5-6.

¹⁰ Whilst these works often refer in passing to the later national cult, it has not been within their remit to discuss it fully, see in particular Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', 400-404.

textual and pictorial visualisations of the saint in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹¹ The first half of this chapter will trace the spread of the cult in the British Isles, with the second part examining the catalysts for its expansion. The chapter will attempt to build on Higgitt's work, explaining how and why Ninian developed into a popular national patron with a broad ranging and supranational cult in the later middle ages, placing in context the conspicuous interest shown in the saint and his shrine by James IV at the end of the fifteenth century.

I. The Ninian cult in the British Isles c.1100-1560

i. Ninian in Scotland before the Wars of Independence

The development of the cult in the early and central middle ages is an ongoing historical problem, which, alongside questions over the historicity of the saint, forms the crux of the Ninianic debate. Mackinlay, Watson and Forbes have identified a series of church dedications, place-names and topographical features which appear to relate to the saint of Whithorn and predate the Wars of Independence.¹² Thirty of these sites, where Geoffrey Barrow has suggested a Ninian dedication rests on satisfactory evidence, are depicted on Maps 2 and 3 (overleaf) and provide some sense of the topography of the pre-1296 cult.¹³ The greatest concentration of these Ninianic sites was in the southwest, close to the cult centre at Whithorn, with further dedications in central Scotland, most notably the parish of St Ninian's near Stirling, and in the north east.¹⁴ Further north, dedications to the saint included a church in Nairn, where he was also depicted on the burgh seal, and the abbey of Fearn a

¹¹ Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais' and *idem*, "Imageis maid with mennis hand".

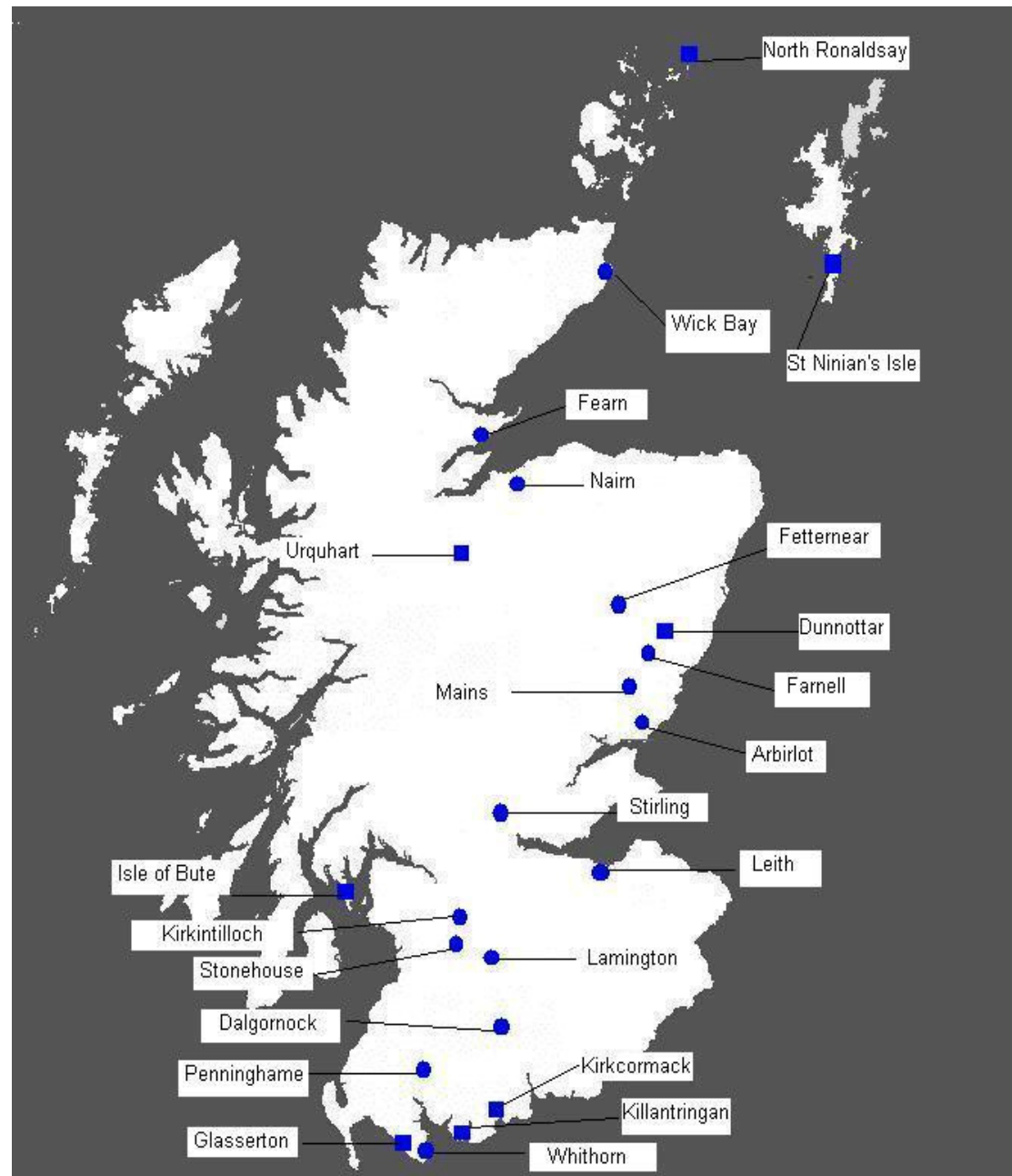
¹² Mackinlay identified eighty four sites connected with Ninian, Mackinlay, J., *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Non-Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh, 1914), pp.23-35. Watson has a smaller selection of place names, Watson, W. J., *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), pp.293-7, and Forbes identified sixty sites in what he admitted was an incomplete list, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, xiii-xvii. Clancy has discussed the problems of Mackinlay and Watson as sources in Clancy, 'The Big Man, the Footsteps and the Fissile saint', 1-2.

¹³ Barrow agreed with twenty-nine sites where a Ninian dedication rests on satisfactory evidence, adding one of his own, the parish of Nevey to make thirty, Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania*, p.3.

¹⁴ In addition to Whithorn there were further churches dedicated to the saint in the south west at Peninghame, Dalgornock, Stonehouse, Lamington and Kirkintilloch. A well and cave were named after the saint in Kirkcormack and Glasserton and there was a St Ninian's bay and point on Bute, Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, 23-6, Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names*, 294-6. There were also two chapels at Dundonald and Lochmaben (Table 4, nos.24 & 43), Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, pp.27 & 32-33. The dedications in the north east were mainly

Map 2. Barrow's suggested Ninianic sites prior to 1296.¹⁵

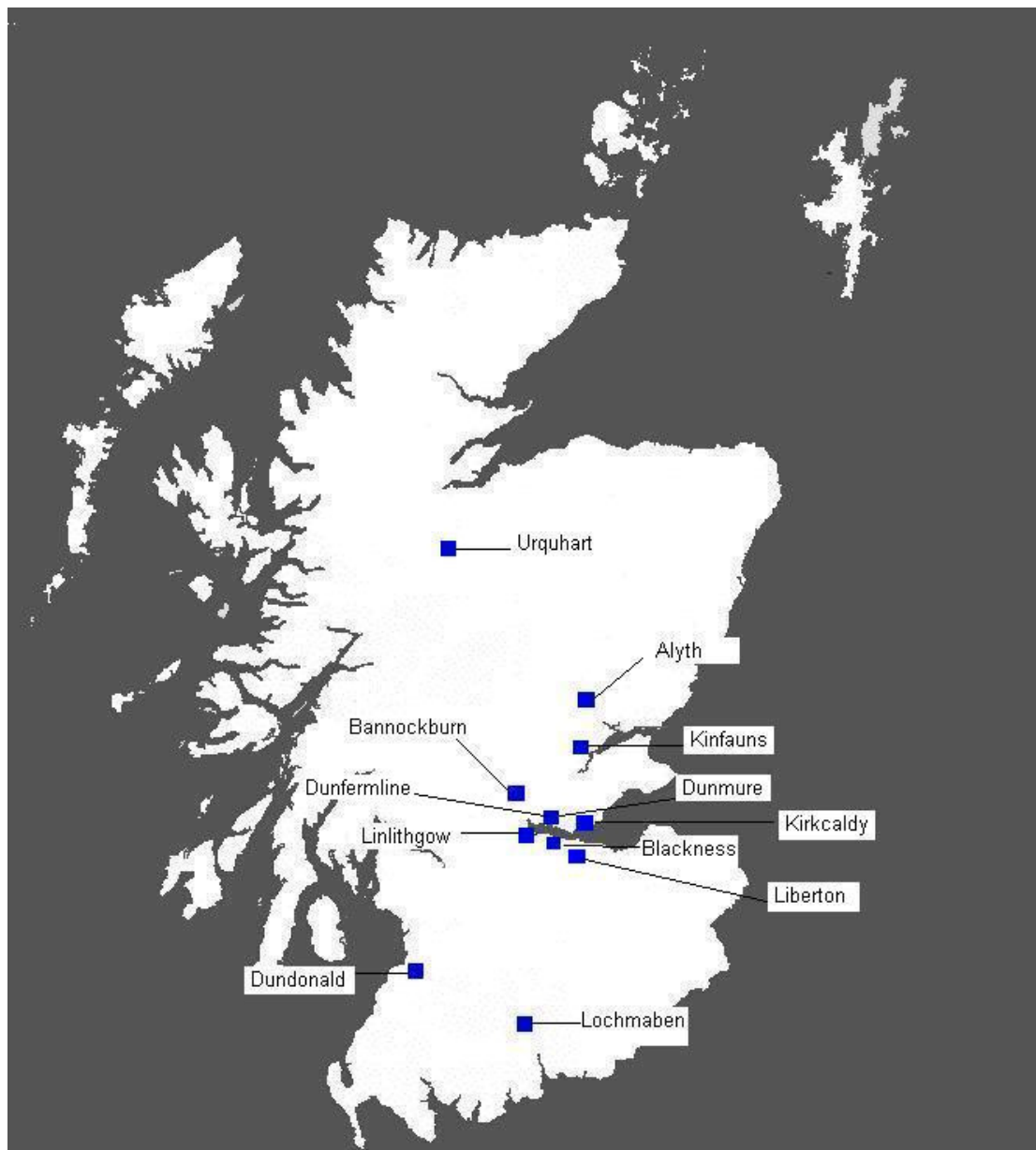
- Church Dedication
- Place-name or Topographical feature



churches although there were further chapels around the Forth and Tay estuaries, see Maps 2-3 and Table 4. nos. 8, 10, 25, 34, 36 & 39.

¹⁵ Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania*, p.3.

Map 3. Ninian chapels with uncertain provenance first attested post-1296.¹⁶



¹⁶ These chapels are first attested after 1296, but the exact date of their foundation is unclear and may have been well before their first appearance in the records, Table 4, nos. 4, 8, 10, 23-25, 36, 38, 40-1-, 43-45 & 57.

daughter house of Whithorn which possessed an unspecified Ninian relic.¹⁷ Perhaps the most interesting early Ninian sites are place-names dedications in the Northern Isles. The Orcadian island of North Ronaldsay, known in Norse as ‘*Rinansay*’, and St Ninian’s Isle on Shetland.¹⁸

Two Augustinian calendars provide some indication of devotion to Ninian in Lothian during this period. The September 16th feast day features in both the Blantyre Psalter (c.1200), which Alexander Boyle suggests had connections to the earls of Dunbar, and a thirteenth-century fragment from the abbey of Holyrood.¹⁹ Aside from this there were relatively few dedications to the saint in the southeast or in Argyll and the Western Isles. This vacuum can perhaps be attributed to the strength of the Cuthbert and Columba cults in those regions. Available evidence dictates that conclusions on this early cult are necessarily tentative. However, it is clear that interest in Ninian was widespread in Scotland prior to the Wars of Independence and that the cult was operating in several different cultural milieu, most interestingly in the Norse speaking Northern Isles. Late medieval interest in the saint would be built upon this foundation.

ii. Whithorn and the cult in late medieval Scotland

The later middle ages would see the emergence of Ninian as the most popular non-scriptural saint in Scotland. This status was reflected in, and perhaps partly resulted from, the popularity of the shrine at Whithorn which was the most vibrant pilgrimage centre in late medieval Scotland. Aside from what Ditchburn has described as a ‘modest international traffic’, the scale of domestic pilgrimage to Whithorn is difficult to measure accurately.²⁰ Royal pilgrims at Whithorn in the later middle ages included Robert I, James III, James IV and James V as well as a number of their queens, Margaret Logie in 1365, Mary of Guelders in 1462 and Margaret of Denmark

¹⁷ The earliest seal from Nairn depicting Ninian dates from 1479. Urquhart suggests that the burgh’s connection to Ninian came through links to the abbey of Fearn, Urquhart, R.M., *Scottish Burgh and County Heraldry* (London, 1973), 71-2. For the history of Fearn see *The Calendar of Ferne*, pp.28-9.

¹⁸ Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, pp. 34-5, Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names*, pp.293-4.

¹⁹ Ninian and Baldred of Tynninghame are the only Scottish saints to feature in this calendar which Boyle suggests was made in Scotland and was connected to the earls of Dunbar, Boyle, ‘A Scottish Augustinian Psalter’, 77. Ninian and Serf of Culross are the only native saints in the Holyrood fragment, Wormald, ‘A Fragment of a thirteenth century calendar from Holyrood Abbey’, 476.

²⁰ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp. 60-1 and *idem*, ‘Saints at the Door Don’t Make Miracles’?, 91-2.

in 1473 and 1474 and Margaret Tudor in 1507.²¹ Crowds of pilgrims at Whithorn are described in the late fourteenth-century *Legends of the Saints* and miracles at the shrine were recorded throughout the later middle ages.²² Papal supplications in the fifteenth century, and further letters to the Curia from John Stewart, Duke of Albany (d.1536) and James V in the sixteenth century, were keen to stress the continuing popularity of the shrine and its enduring reputation for miracles.²³ In addition to Whithorn there were small secondary shrines associated with the saint at Kinfauns near Perth, Dunmure near Alloa and at an unspecified location 'in the wilderness' of Argyll which are first attested in the fifteenth century.²⁴ The location of the shrines at Kinfauns and Dunmure (see Map 3) may indicate stopping places for pilgrims heading to the main shrine from the north. Although we must treat papal supplications and other letters directly involved in promoting Whithorn with a degree of caution, it is clear that the shrine enjoyed a consistent reputation as an effective curative centre throughout the later middle ages with regular domestic pilgrim traffic.

The development of the wider cult in Scotland is easier to trace. Whilst Ninian had appeared in only two of the limited selection of calendars from the earlier period, the September 16th feast day, and on occasion an extra feast on August 30th, were recorded with greater regularity than any other Scottish saint in the corporate and personal liturgical documents that have survived from the late fourteenth century to the Reformation.²⁵ Three of these documents also included pictures of the saint.²⁶ Further medieval images of Ninian could be seen on the walls of churches at Turriff

²¹ Robert was at Whithorn on 1-4 April 1329, *RRS. Robert I, 1306-29*, p.157, see also Barrow, G. W. S., *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), p.319. Macdougall has suggested that James III was with his queen on one of the two occasions that she visited the shrine in 1473 and 1474, *TA*, i, 29, 44 and *ER*, viii, 215, Macdougall, *James III*, p.90. The visits of James IV are well known and will be discussed below at II.iii, see Macdougall, N., *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), 196-8 for a quick synopsis of the pilgrimages by the king and his queen. James V visited Whithorn in 1526, 1532 and 1533, *TA*, v, 276, vi, 47, 87 & 90. Margaret Logie, *ER*, ii, 226, Mary of Guelders, *ER*, vii, 78, Margaret of Denmark, *TA*, i, 29 & 44 and *ER*, viii, 215.

²² For a discussion of the miracles see II.v below.

²³ *The Letters of James V*, ed. R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1954), pp. 66, 109 & 362-3.

²⁴ The chapel in Argyll was founded by Colin Campbell, 1st earl of Argyll (d.1492), but the supplication does not provide a more specific location, see Table 4, nos. 7, 25 and 36.

²⁵ Ninian features in 88% of the extant calendars, See Chapter 1, Table 1. The August feast day probably related to the translation that took place at Whithorn in the twelfth century, it features in the calendar of Fearn, *The Calendar of Ferne*, pp.53-4, the Yester book of hours, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepy's*, pp.14-17 and the Farmor hours, Dell, 'Some fragments of medieval mss in Glasgow City Archives', 112. In addition to his feasts, suffrages, memoriae and hours of Ninian also featured in a number of liturgical documents from this period, see Chapter 1, Table 1, nos. 26-28, 29 & 36.

²⁶ Illustrations of the saint are included in EUL, MS 42, fol.72, BL, Add 39761, fol. 97 and Andrew Lundy's Primer, Anderson, 'Andrew Lundy's Primer', 42-3.

in Aberdeenshire and Foulis Easter in Angus, in a prayer book commissioned by Archbishop Blacadder of Glasgow (1483-1507) and on the impressive Danish altarpiece now held in Copenhagen.²⁷ Images of Ninian were also found in England, where a miniature depicting the saint featured in a book of hours belonging to Henry VII (1485-1509) and a statue was located in a chantry chapel founded by his son Arthur (d.1502) in Worcester Cathedral.²⁸ The impressive survival of medieval depictions of the saint of Whithorn and his consistent presence in extant liturgical documents provide a strong indication of the broad popularity of the cult.²⁹

The other key manifestations of late medieval piety were hospital dedications and the foundation of altars and chaplainries in churches.³⁰ As we can see in Table 4 and Map 4 below, the Ninian cult flourished in these types of dedications. The bulk of these, for which foundation information is available, can be traced to the period 1356-1532. This corresponds with the period in which Ninian's feast day appeared consistently in Scottish calendars, when the shrine at Whithorn seems to have reached its peak in popularity and when the use of Ninian as a forename was most common.³¹ The spatial distribution of the dedications and the forename Ninian suggest that the cult was strongest in the southwest close to the shrine at Whithorn, but in the later middle ages three secondary centres of the cult had also developed in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. In each of these towns and their hinterlands multiple dedications to the saint could be found, Glasgow for example, had a hospital, two chapels and an altar in the cathedral, which also held a relic of the saint in its collection.³² In the case of Glasgow and Edinburgh these dedications would also correspond with the regular appearance of the forename Ninian amongst the town's inhabitants.³³

The late medieval cult was national in scale and had expanded into Lothian and Argyll. However, even if we accept the existence of the uncorroborated

²⁷ The fresco in Turriff is described in *The Book of Deer*, ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh, Spalding Club, 1869), pp.cxliv-iii. For Foulis Easter see Apton, M.R. & Robertson, W., 'Late fifteenth century Church paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter', *PSAS*, xciv (1961-2), 262-79, at 273-6. For Blacadder see NLS, MS 10271, fol.96v. For the Copenhagen altar piece, Hay, G., 'A Scottish Altar Piece in Copenhagen', *IR*, vii, (1956), 5-11.

²⁸ See Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 202 & 209.nt 53.

²⁹ Higgitt, *Imageis maid with mennis hand*, pp.2-5.

³⁰ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.51.

³¹ For the appearance of the forename Ninian see Chapter 1, V.i.

³² For Glasgow see Table 4, nos. 28-30, for Edinburgh nos. 26-27 and for Aberdeen nos. 1-3.

³³ The survey found twenty six examples of the forename in the Edinburgh area and fourteen close to Glasgow.

chaplainries associated with the saint in Moray and Ross, identified by Mackinlay and Forbes, the cult was still comparatively underrepresented in the hiberno-norse areas of the west and north.³⁴ Whilst changes in the Cuthbert cult caused by the Anglo-Scottish wars may have prompted the expansion of devotion to Ninian across the south, the Columban cult was still strong in the west up to the Reformation.³⁵ The popularity of Ninian in the far north may also have been curtailed by the Duthac cult which, as we will see in Chapter 3, was emerging in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Rather than break new ground in Scotland, the late medieval cult primarily placed new layers on top of the devotions which had been in existence prior to 1296. The remarkable aspect of this domestic cult was the sheer scale of devotion to the saint as witnessed by the various manifestations of interest in Ninian, particularly when compared to the paucity of dedications to the other popular saints of the central middle ages like Margaret, Kentigern or Columba.³⁶

In a recent work Thomas Clancy has described the peculiarly ‘Celtic’ phenomenon of the ‘fissile saint’.³⁷ These were saints whose initial cult had the propensity to divide over time into ‘many local and localised cults’.³⁸ In a miracle story included in sixteenth-century works by John Maior and Hector Boece there is some evidence that Ninian had developed his own localised offshoots in the later middle ages. Boece and Maior included an account of a visit by David II to Whithorn, during which an arrow that had been lodged in the king’s head since the battle of Neville’s Cross (1346), miraculously fell out.³⁹ This legend is an adaptation of a miracle alluded to by Froissart and featured in the *Scotichronicon*.⁴⁰ The Hainault chronicler and Bower stated that this incident had occurred at the shrine of St Monan

³⁴ See Table 4, U5 and U7. This may also have been a matter of source survival.

³⁵ The popular perception of the impact of the Wars of Independence on the Cuthbert cult is summarised by Ditchburn, who states that ‘Scottish veneration of St Cuthbert, patron of Durham, declined markedly after the outbreak of war’, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.64. This decline may have been somewhat exaggerated, as we have seen in Chapter 1, Table 2, nos. 2 & 4-6 there were a number of altars dedicated to Cuthbert in late medieval Scotland, See Turpie, T., ‘A Monk from Melrose? St Cuthbert and the Scots in the later middle ages, c. 1371-1560’, *IR* (forthcoming Spring 2012). For the Hebridean Columban cult in the later middle ages see Sharpe, R., ‘Roderick Maclean’s *Life of St Columba in Latin Verse (1549)*’, *IR*, xlii (1991), 111-137.

³⁶ The lack of new dedications to Margaret is particularly notable, see Chapter 1, Table 2. Late medieval dedications to Columba and Kentigern will be discussed in Chapter 4.

³⁷ Clancy describes the ‘fissile saint’ as one where the original cult had divided over time into ‘many separate local and localised cults as a result of a number of cogent pressures’, Clancy, ‘The Big Man, the Footsteps and the Fissile saint’, 4-5.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 4-5.

³⁹ Neither Maior nor Boece date the incident but suggest it happened after David’s return to Scotland from captivity and before his death, 1357x71, *Chron. Maior*, 293, *Chron. Boece*, ii, 258-60, ii, 328.

⁴⁰ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 261, 464n. There is no mention of the legend in Wyntoun.

in the east Neuk of Fife, a location that was subsequently showered with patronage by the king.⁴¹ Interestingly, an excerpt from the Treasurer's Account of 1507 mentions a relic that had been intended for St Monan's in Fife, which was offered instead at Whithorn by James IV.⁴² The earliest reference to Monan in a Scottish context was the patronage of the church in Fife by David in 1362.⁴³ In the fifteenth century Wyntoun and Bower provided the saint with a Scottish background including him in the missionary group led by Adrian of the Isle of May.⁴⁴ Although Monan's 1st March feast day featured regularly in fifteenth-century Scottish calendars, the patronage of David II seems to have had only a limited impact in inculcating wider interest in the saint with little evidence of a popular cult in the later middle ages.⁴⁵

The error in Maior and Boece may simply have been a case of a miracle attributed to the outmoded Monan cult being incorporated into the Ninian dossier. However, it could also have resulted from a connection between the two saints. According to Kenney, in Ireland Ninian was known by the hypocristic form of his name, Mo-Ninn or Moinenn and a feast of a saint of that name is recorded under September 16th in the martyrologies of Tallaght and Donegal.⁴⁶ Although Monan had a distinct feast day, the Moinenn spelling was used on occasion to refer to the Fife saint and it is possible that the cult that developed there in the fourteenth century was localised offshoot of the Galloway saint.⁴⁷ Dedications to Ninian in Fife were fairly rare in comparison to other parts of southern and eastern Scotland and in Bower the catalyst behind David's interest in Monan was both the arrow miracle and the saint's intervention to save the king from shipwreck, a trait for which Ninian would become known in the later middle ages.⁴⁸ Although in the late fourteenth and fifteenth

⁴¹ *Ibid*, vii, 261. For David and Monan see Penman, 'Christian Days and Knights', 258-9.

⁴² *TA*, iv, 34.

⁴³ For a brief discussion of the cult see Taylor, S & Markus, G., *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 2. Central Fife from the river Leven to the Eden* (Donington 2009) pp.545-7.

⁴⁴ *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, 179, *Chron. Bower*, i, 15, Penman, 'Christian Days and Knights', 258.

⁴⁵ The earliest calendar featuring the Monan feast day is from Herdmanston in East Lothian and dates from the late thirteenth-early fourteenth century, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, pp.35-49, at 37. There is evidence of only one new altar dedicated to the saint in the later middle ages, in the burgh church of Dundee, Maxwell, *Old Dundee. Ecclesiastical, Burghal and Social*, p.34, and a Monan Hog from Aberdeenshire, NAS, Title Deeds from Castle Fraser, GD1/661/28, was the only person named after the saint to appear in the naming survey.

⁴⁶ Kenney, J., *The Sources for the early history of Ireland. Ecclesiastical* (Shannon, 1968), p.160. *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, (Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1931), p.71, *The Martyrology of Donegal. A Calendar of Saints of Ireland*, ed. J. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1864), p.249. The Irish cult will be discussed below in I.iii.

⁴⁷ Taylor & Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife*, p.545.

⁴⁸ See Maps 2-4. For Ninian and danger at sea see below II.v.

centuries the two cults seem to have become separated, perhaps partly due to the attempts by Wyntoun and Bower to identify Monan as a Scottish saint, the connection may have remained on a local level and prompted the confusion in Maior and Boece.

iii. International interest in Ninian and Whithorn

Whithorn was a 'supra-regional' shrine which attracted pilgrims from across cultural and political frontiers.⁴⁹ Governmental legislation passed in 1427 and 1516 to protect and regulate pilgrimage to Whithorn suggests that the majority of this international traffic came from Ireland, England and the Isle of Man, although other visitors from Wales, Spain and France are mentioned in a late fourteenth-century description of the shrine.⁵⁰ Further French pilgrims were recorded at the shrine in 1434 and English and Irish visitors seem to have been common throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵¹ Evidence from English wills suggests that Whithorn had become a part of the wider northern pilgrimage network by the fifteenth century.⁵² The shrine was certainly familiar to English writers like travelling cleric William of Worcester who mentioned '*the town of Whithorn where St Ninian lies buried*' in 1478 and playwright John Heywood who referred to the shrine of '*St Tronion*' in a work of 1544.⁵³ Another English observer, Ralph Hollinshead, writing after the Reformation, would recall Whithorn as the place where '*lieth his (Ninian's) carcase which is honoured by the people with great superstition and error*'.⁵⁴

Irish interest in Ninian is perhaps unsurprising given the proximity of the shrine in Galloway to the Irish Sea world and the trading and cultural links between

⁴⁹ Although the majority of these visitors came from the Irish Sea zone, as Ditchburn suggests travelling to Whithorn involved crossing a number of cultural and political frontiers and therefore should be classed as a supra-regional journey, Ditchburn, 'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles?', 91-2.

⁵⁰ RMS, ii, no.107, RSS, i, no. 2844. The description of Whithorn on a feast day, that appears to be an eye witness account, is recorded in *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 304-45, at 325-6. A Welsh pilgrim/political refugee James Griffith was at Whithorn in 1533 with eight companions, *State Papers. Henry the Eighth* (London, 11 vols, 1830-52), iv, pp. 647-51.

⁵¹ For a description of the trials and tribulations of the French embassy that led to a pilgrimage to Whithorn in 1434 see Barbe, L., *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin* (Glasgow, 1917), 50-54, Donaldson, G., 'The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn', *TDGNAS*, xxvii (1948-9), 127-155, at 153.

⁵² English and Irish pilgrims will be discussed below.

⁵³ *William Worcestre: Itineraries*, pp.6-7. *St Tronion* features in a long list of pilgrimage destinations ranging from the Holy Land and Rome to British shrines in a play called the 'Foure PP', *The Plays of John Heywood*, eds. R. Axton & P. Happe (Cambridge, 1991), p.112. As we will see below *Tronion* was a common English spelling of the name of the Galloway saint.

⁵⁴ Hollinshead wrote his work in 1578x82, which includes a translation of Boece with additional comments such as the one quoted above, Hollinshead, R., *The Scottish Chronicle* (Arbroath, 2 vols, 1805), i, p.5.

the west coast of Scotland and Ulster.⁵⁵ The legislation of 1427 and 1516, and a series of letters sent to the papacy by James V, suggest that Irish pilgrims were frequently found at the shrine in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵⁶ It may have been a different Ninian than the image projected from Whithorn that formed the basis of this Irish cult. Candida Casa was known in Ireland as the 'great monastery' and Ninian was recorded in Irish sources under the name Mo-Ninn or Moinenn of Cluain Conaire.⁵⁷ According to James Ussher (d.1656), an archbishop of Armagh who included the saint in his 1639 history of the ancient British church, Cluain Conaire near Dublin had been founded by Ninian and was where the saint died in 432AD.⁵⁸ Ussher's work was a Protestant response to a seventeenth-century trend in Irish Catholic historiography, which incorporated early saints of the British Isles like Ninian into the Irish tradition.⁵⁹ An Irish connection for the saint, beyond one miracle in which a student from Whithorn tried to flee to Ireland, was not an established part of the Scottish hagiographic tradition.⁶⁰ However, it was not uncommon for differing or even contradictory versions of the same cult to operate in different places and Ussher's life may well have incorporated traditions that were part of this separate Irish version of the cult. Unfortunately there is little further information as to how different the Irish image of Ninian was or what aspects of the cult were of particular relevance to pilgrims.

The presence at Whithorn of pilgrims from the Isle of Man, mentioned in 1427 and 1516, is also unsurprising in the context of local geography.⁶¹ The Ninian cult on the island would have been further stimulated by the links between Whithorn priory and the Manx church. A colony of monks from the priory was established on Man in

⁵⁵ As Ditchburn and Lythe have shown trade across the Irish Sea must have been frequent, as attested by the number of Scottish ships impounded at Dublin, Dundalk and Drogheda in 1306, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.147; Lythe, S. G, 'Economic Life', *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Brown (London 1977), 66-85.

⁵⁶ RMS, ii, no.107, RSS, i, no. 2844, *The Letters of James V*, pp.41, 66, 109 & 362-3.

⁵⁷ Kenney, *The Sources for the early history of Ireland*, p.160. *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p.71, *The Martyrology of Donegal*, p.249.

⁵⁸ The reference to Ninian is included in his book *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*. Ussher suggests that the saint's mother was Irish and that he regularly visited her, *The Whole Works of the most rev James Ussher*, eds. C. Elrington & J. Todd (Dublin, 17 vols, 1847-64), vi, pp.200-209.

⁵⁹ This was a reverse of the tactics employed in the Aberdeen Breviary where Irish saints like Patrick and Bridget of Kildare were given a Scottish origin. For the context of Ussher's work see Ford, A., *James Ussher. Theology, History and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford, 2007), pp.119-33.

⁶⁰ This is known as the miracle of Ninian's staff, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, 19-21.

⁶¹ RMS, ii, no.107, RSS, i, no. 2844.

the twelfth century and the church at Ramsey was dedicated to the saint.⁶² French interest in Ninian is perhaps more remarkable. As the references to Ninian in two works by Francois Rabelais show, some French people were familiar with the saint, even if only through contact with émigré Scots who were known for their trait of swearing by him.⁶³ French pilgrims are described at Whithorn in the *Legends* and an ambassador Regnault Girard left a silver ship as an ex votos offering to the saint in 1434.⁶⁴ Two more ambassadors, Dampier and De la Motte, were at Whithorn in 1508 and 1512.⁶⁵ Less successful was Franco-Scot Berault Stewart, who died on his way to Whithorn in 1508, though he left funds for his heart to be taken to the shrine posthumously.⁶⁶ These ambassadorial visits were probably at the prompting of hosts Hugh Kennedy and James IV rather than as a result of a wider interest in the cult. However, trading links between France and the west of Scotland, and miracles stories such as that of 1434, may have played a role in encouraging Gallic pilgrims such as those mentioned at Whithorn in the *Legends*.⁶⁷ Evidence of a French cult of the saint emerging in this period is limited to a chapel dedication of dubious authenticity in the Breton port of Roscoff.⁶⁸

Evidence of English interest in the saint is more plentiful with the earliest recorded pilgrim at Whithorn the future Edward II (1307-27) in 1301.⁶⁹ A miracle that occurred during his visit may have impressed his father Edward I (1272-1307) who made a grant to Thomas, the bishop of Galloway (1294-1324) in 1306 'in honour of

⁶² Megaw, B. R. S., 'The Barony of St Trinian's in the Isle of Man', *TDGNS*, xxvii (1947-48), 173-183. Alexander III (1249-86) confirmed Whithorn's properties on Man in 1275 after the Scots took control of the island, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III, Guardians and John, 1249-1296*, ed. G. Simpson, (Edinburgh, 1960), no.157.

⁶³ Rabelais had been a student of John Maior in Paris and it may have been in that environment that he encountered the Ninian cult, *The Complete Works of Francois Rabelais*, trans D. Frame (Berkeley, 1999), p.78, Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 189-90. For Rabelais and Maior see Broadie, *The Shadow of Scotus. Philosophy and Faith in Pre-Reformation Scotland*, p.1-6.

⁶⁴ *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 325-6. The French version of Ninian recorded by Girard was *Treignen*, Barbe, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin*, 50-54.

⁶⁵ For Dampier, *TA*, iv, 135, for De La Motte who perished at Flodden, iv, 400.

⁶⁶ The pilgrimage to Flodden was the pretext for Berault's diplomatic mission to the Scottish court however, the heart burial suggests a genuine connection to the cult, *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513*, pp. 113 & 114-15. For a synopsis of his career see Contamine, P., 'The war literature of the late middle ages: the treatises of Robert de Balsac and Béraud Stuart, lord of Aubigny', *War, literature and politics in the late middle ages*, ed. C. T. Allmand (Liverpool, 1976), 102-21.

⁶⁷ As late as the sixteenth century French fisherman were operating as far north as the Western Isles, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.146-7.

⁶⁸ The presence of a chapel in Roscoff founded by Queen Mary (1542-67) has been noted by Guthrie, but the evidence is no longer extant, Guthrie, L., 'Mary Stuart and Roscoff', *PSAS*, (1908), 17-18. I am grateful to Dr Boardman for this reference.

⁶⁹ *CDS*, ii, no. 1225.

God and St Ninian'.⁷⁰ In the late fourteenth-century *Legends* and the governmental legislation of 1427 and 1516, English pilgrims feature prominently.⁷¹ Post-mortem inquiries from the late fifteenth century give details of visits to Whithorn by individual pilgrims. A Yorkshireman Richard Shepard remembered visiting the shrine in 1482, and John Smith from Buckingham was there in the same year.⁷² In the sixteenth century, James IV gave alms to four separate groups of English pilgrims he encountered at the shrine and William Tyrwit, described as a 'knych', was granted a safe conduct to visit Whithorn with 16 companions in 1506.⁷³ Two of the visitors given alms by James had been robbed on the pilgrim road and problems of security may have prompted the regency government to reissue the legislation of James I protecting pilgrims who came to Whithorn by 'sea or land' in 1516.⁷⁴ This legislation was of little help to another English pilgrim Jeffrey Middleton of Lauderdale, kidnapped in the borders in 1528 on his return from Whithorn.⁷⁵

Although these pilgrimages hint at the renown of the saint south of the border, the real indication of his status was the development of a distinct English cult in the later middle ages. Arnold Forster identified only one possible church dedicated to the saint at Brougham in Cumbria, Bond, more optimistically, mentions four others, suggesting that this English cult was primarily a late medieval phenomenon.⁷⁶ A popular manifestation of interest in the saint was St Ninian's fast, mentioned in the

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, ii, no.1772. The miracle will be discussed below in II.v.

⁷¹ *Legends of the Saints*, 325-6, *RMS*, ii, no. 107, *RSS*, i, no. 2844, *The Letters of James V*, pp.41, 66, 109 & 362-3.

⁷² Smyth is noted as going on pilgrimage to Whithorn from Buckingham whilst Shepard was from Hovingham, just north of York, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII*, (London, 1898-1955), ii, nos. 640 & 652. Also noted by Webb, D., *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 1999), pp.216 & 244.

⁷³ On four separate occasions in 1504 and 1506 James gave money to individuals or groups of English pilgrims, *TA*, ii, 443, 458, iii, 193. For Tyrwit see *RSS*, i, no.1291. The recording of his name was probably a miss spelling of Truwhet. A William Truwhet was a member of the York Corpus Christi guild in 1515 with the name relating to the place-name Trehwitt in Northumbria, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York* (Surtees Society, 1872), p.185, Reaney, D., *A Dictionary of English Surnames* (London, 1991), p.460.

⁷⁴ An English couple were robbed on the way to Whithorn by an Englishman and a Scotsman in 1504, *TA*, ii, 458. *RSS*, i, no. 2844.

⁷⁵ The kidnapping of Middleton, who was a relative of English March Warden Lord Dacre, was in reprisal for the capture of Dyk Irwin, a border criminal who had been incarcerated in Carlisle, *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of King Henry the Eighth*, eds. J. S. Brewer et al (London, 21 vols, 1864-1932), iv, nos. 4532 & 4829. Middleton was described by James V as of *Lauderdale* but we can assume he was English. Middleton is a fairly common place-name; there are small towns near Morecambe, Hartlepool and Rochdale from which the name may have originated.

⁷⁶ Arnold-Forster, F., *Studies in Church Dedications or England's Patron Saints* (London, 3 Vols, 1899), ii, 223-224, Bond, F., *Dedications of English Churches. Ecclesiastical Symbolism, Saints and Emblems* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 19, 96 & 219.

Legends as lasting from Good Friday to after Mass on Easter Sunday.⁷⁷ The fast was recorded in a post-Reformation work by James Pilkington, bishop of Durham (1560-75). In his *Commentary on the Prophet Haggai* (1560) Pilkington stated that; ‘some have St Tronians fast others Our lady and many the Golden Fridays’.⁷⁸ As John Dowden has suggested Pilkington may have encountered the fast in his time as vicar of Kendal in Cumbria or during his Lancastrian childhood, although the cult was also known in county Durham.⁷⁹ Pilkington had clearly been unable to stamp out the practice, forcing his successor Richard Barnes (1575-87) to remind his diocesan clergy in 1577 that the fast was a restricted activity.⁸⁰ This reference by Pilkington, along with a bequest in the will of Robert Ardern of Stockport in 1540 that a man be hired to make an offering at ‘*Seynt Truyons in Scotlande*’, show that the saint was known in north west English.⁸¹

It was in Yorkshire, however, that a secondary centre of the cult developed focused upon Ripon and York. Altars dedicated to the saint could be found in those towns by the end of the fifteenth century and a series of references to Ninian in wills and post-mortem inquiries attest to the growing popularity of the cult.⁸² In 1465 Margaret Aske stipulated that a man should travel to Whithorn and make an offering on her behalf, while in 1472 William Eccop, Rector of Heselton in the East Riding, made a similar request, although on this occasion Whithorn was part of much broader selection of destinations.⁸³ Further patronage of the cult in the northeast came from John Trollop of Thornley who left money in 1476 to the light of St Ninian in the parish church of Kelloe, county Durham and Hugh Hastings, head of an important West Riding family, who in 1482, stipulated that a taper of wax should be kept

⁷⁷ *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 325-6.

⁷⁸ The full text is ‘Some pray to one saint as more in God’s favour, some to other, some use trinity knots and others St Katherine’s, some have St Tronians fast others Our lady and many the Golden Fridays’, Dowden, J., ‘Note of two late notices relating to the cultus of St Ninian in England’, *PSAS*, v (1894-5), 198-202.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 199-200. For the Durham dedication see Table 4, no.34.

⁸⁰ Saint Trinyan’s fast along with other fasts of Our Lady feast and St Margaret are referred to by Barnes as ‘*popishe hollydays*’, *The Instructions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, 1575-87* (Surtees Society, 1850), p.17.

⁸¹ *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories* (Chetham Society, 3 vols, 1858-61), ii 138-141.

⁸² See Table 4, nos. 50 & 59.

⁸³ Margaret was from Kelby, near Bridlington. The man was to also travel to Canterbury, *Testamenta Eboracensia. A selection of wills from the registry at York*, eds. J. Raine & W. Clay (Durham, 6 vols, 1832-1906), ii, pp.275-6. William specified 19 shrines, most of which were in the north. Whithorn was the only shrine outside of England mentioned in the will, *ibid*, iii, pp.199-201.

burning by the Friars of Tickhill, in ‘*honour of seynt Ninian*’.⁸⁴ A more interesting bequest was the donation of ‘*a bone of Saynt Nynyan*’ to the Grey Friars of York by Margery Salvin in 1491.⁸⁵ Interest in the cult was also reflected in the appearance of the forename Ninian in the region. Seven men with the name were active in Ripon and the local area with two others recorded in York and Knaresborough between the late fifteenth century and the Reformation.⁸⁶

The most prominent English patron of the cult was Richard III (1482-5).⁸⁷ The earliest indication of his interest in the saint came in 1477 when he made a personal grant to fund four studentships at Queen’s College, Cambridge in honour of SS Mary, George, Anthony and Ninian, a bequest followed in the same year by the naming of a stall at his collegiate church at Middleham after the saint.⁸⁸ The following year Richard was granted permission to found a college at Barnard Castle, which he dedicated to Christ and SS Mary, Margaret and Ninian and the saint was also recognised in a proposed foundation of one hundred priests at York, about which nothing else is known except that they were to sing for ‘*God, our Lady, Seynt George and Seynt Nynyan*’.⁸⁹ Richard’s personal interest in the saint is further attested by the additions made to his book of hours, which he used after his coronation in 1483. The book, which dates from around 1420, has four additions in a later hand, Richard’s date of birth, a common contemporary prayer, a long devotion and a collect of St Ninian.⁹⁰ Royal patronage of the cult survived the change of dynasty, although on a notably smaller scale than during Richard’s reign, with a miniature of Ninian included in a book belonging to Henry VII and a statue of the saint in a chantry chapel founded

⁸⁴ Trollop was a soldier and was buried in the Franciscan friary in Hartlepool. He made bequests to the lights of SS Katherine, Cuthbert, Margaret, Nicholas and Ninian in Kelloe, Table 4, no. 34. For Hastings see *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii, p.273.

⁸⁵ Salvin was a resident of York, *ibid*, iv, p.116.

⁸⁶ These were Ninians Atkinson (a vicar), Lawson (a canon), Grange, Jameson, Percival, Merkenfield (local minor nobility), and Stavely who were mentioned in the cartulary of Ripon, *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid*, pp. 12, 278, 301, 326, 344 and 348. Ninian Blythman was a tiller from York active in 1529, *Register of the Freeman of the city of York 1272-1558* (Surtees Society, Durham, 2 vols, 1897-1900) i, p.250. Ninian Pullayne was a soldier from Scotton near Knaresborough, who died in 1565, *Wills and inventories from the registry of the Archdeaconry of Richmond* (Surtees Society, Durham, 1853), p.176.

⁸⁷ The political significance behind the interest of Richard in the cult will be discussed below in Section II.ii.

⁸⁸ Table 4, nos.15 & 44. The other 5 stalls were named after Our Lady and SS George, Katherine, Cuthbert, Anthony and Barbara.

⁸⁹ For Barnard see Table 4, no.9, the other incomplete foundation is discussed in Higgitt, ‘From Bede to Rabelais’, 202 and Sutton, A. F & Visser-Fuchs, L., *Richard III’s Books* (Stroud, 1997), p.61.

⁹⁰ This document, Lambeth MS 474 is printed and edited in Sutton, A. F & Visser-Fuchs, L., *The Hours of Richard III* (Stroud, 1990), pp.1 & 39-42.

by his son Arthur in Worcester Cathedral.⁹¹ It would appear to have been the Henrician Reformation rather than a waning of interest that brought an end to the northern English cult of St Ninian in the sixteenth century.⁹²

Table 4. Late medieval dedications to St Ninian in the British Isles and Europe and chapels in Scotland first attested post-1296.⁹³

LOCATION	DEDICATION TYPE	FOUNDED/ FIRST ATTESTED	FOUNDER/PATRON INFO
1. Aberdeen, St Machar's. ⁹⁴	altar	b.1454	Ingeram, bishop of Aberdeen 1441-58)
2. Aberdeen, St Nicholas. ⁹⁵	altar	1355	Henry Leith of Barns and William Meldrum of Achneef and Petkarry. refounded by Alexander Irvine of Drum
3. Aberdeen, on the castle hill. ⁹⁶	chapel	b.1494	-
4. Alyth. ⁹⁷	chapel	b.1537	-
5. Arbroath, Abbey. ⁹⁸	altar	1485	Monks of the Abbey
6. Arbroath. ⁹⁹	chapel	1492	Monks of the Abbey
7. Argyll (not specified). ¹⁰⁰	chapel	1466	Colin Campbell, 1 st earl of Argyll (d.1492)
8. Bannockburn. ¹⁰¹	chapel	b.1489	-
9. Barnard Castle, Durham. ¹⁰²	college	1478	Richard III

⁹¹ Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 202.

⁹² As late as 1535 Ninian's feast was included in a breviary printed for the abbey of St Albans, Pfaff, *The Liturgy in medieval England*, pp.551-2.

It has recently come to my attention of the possibility of some Kentish Ninian dedications. John Sledd in his analysis of a reference to *seynt Ronyan* in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* identifies a number of possible altars dedicated to the saint in East Kent located in Canterbury, Dover, Faversham and Sandwich, Sledd, J., 'Canterbury Tales, L.310,32: By *seynt Ronyan*', *Medieval Studies*, xiii (1951), 226-35. In a number of Kentish wills there were references to payments at lights dedicated to *Trunean*, *Trunion*, *Ninian*, *Tronyons* and *Ruman* which may also relate to the saint of Whithorn, *Testamenta Cantiana*, pp. xiii, 36, 45, 55, 98, 100, 103, 116, 126, 281 & 293. I intend to examine the possibility of a Ninian cult in Kent further in due course.

⁹³ Aside from the dedications recorded in this table Mackinlay and Forbes also mention a series of altars which I have been unable to corroborate with primary information, these have been placed in a separate table below, Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, pp.23-35, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, xiii-xvii.

⁹⁴ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* i, 267. The bishop provided a new chaplain to an already existing altar.

⁹⁵ *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai*, ii, 14 & 19. The altar was re-endowed by Alexander Irvine of Drum in 1456, *ibid*, ii, 90.

⁹⁶ Payment was made for the repair and edification of the chapel in 1494, *ER*, x, 462.

⁹⁷ The chapel is first mentioned as within the churchyard of the parish church in 1537, NAS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, GD16/12/210.

⁹⁸ *Liber St Thome de Aberbrothoc. Registrum Abbacie de Aberbrothoc* (Bannatyne Club, 2 vols, Edinburgh 1848-56), ii, 267.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, ii, nos, 334 & 574. The chapel was located in the nearby valley of Seton.

¹⁰⁰ *CSSR, 1433-1447*, no.1106.

¹⁰¹ The chapel is noted as being near the town of Stirling in 1489, *RMS*, ii, no. 1879.

¹⁰² Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 202 and Sutton, & Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, p.61.

10. Blackness. ¹⁰³	chapel	b.1464	-
11. Bergen op Zoom. ¹⁰⁴	altar	b.1509	Expatriate Scots
12. Brechin, Cathedral. ¹⁰⁵	altar	1450-1	Richard Williams, burgess
13. Bruges. Carmelite church. ¹⁰⁶	aisle chapel	1366	Expatriate Scots
14. Bruges, St Giles. ¹⁰⁷	altar	b.1444	Expatriate Scots
15. Cambridge, Queen's college. ¹⁰⁸	studentship	1472	Richard III (1483-5)
16. Cambuskenneth Abbey. ¹⁰⁹	altar	1436	John Barbour, burgess
17. Ceres. ¹¹⁰	altar	b.1619	-
18. Copenhagen, Lady Kirk. ¹¹¹	altar	c.1500	Brethren of St Ninian
19. Cranshaws. ¹¹²	altar	b.1515	-
20. Dundee, St Mary's. ¹¹³	altar	b.1478	William Barry, burgess
21. Dunfermline, Parish church. ¹¹⁴	altar	1501	-
22. Dunfermline. ¹¹⁵	chapel	b.1538	-
23. Dunkeld, Cathedral. ¹¹⁶	altar	b.1436	Robert Cardeny, bishop of Dunkeld
24. Dundonald. ¹¹⁷	chapel	b.1434	-
25. Dunmure. ¹¹⁸	chapel	b.1442	-
26. Edinburgh, St Giles. ¹¹⁹	altar	1439	Alan de Farinle, Andrew Mowbray, burgesses

¹⁰³ The chapel is first recorded in 1464, *RMS*, ii, no.857.

¹⁰⁴ The altar is first mentioned in 1509 and was located in the Scottish district of the Flemish town, Stevenson, A.K., 'Notice of an early Sixteenth century Scottish colony at Bergen Op Zoom and an altar there once dedicated to St Ninian', *IR* xxvi (1975), 50-53.

¹⁰⁵ *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, i, 114.

¹⁰⁶ See Stevenson, A., 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', in *Freedom and Authority, Scotland 1050-1650*, eds. T. Brotherstone & D. Ditchburn, (East Linton 2000), 93-108, at 98-100. Payment for the altar's upkeep is mentioned at Edinburgh in 1437 and 1494, *Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1403-1528*, ed. J. Marwick, (SBRS, Edinburgh, 5 vols, 1869-92), i, 5-6, 66-67. This was confirmed by James II in 1450, *RMS*, ii, no. 392.

¹⁰⁷ See Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', 98-99.

¹⁰⁸ Searle, W. G., 'The History of the Queens College of St Margaret in the University of Cambridge, 1446-1560', *Publicity of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, viii-x (1867), 88-89.

¹⁰⁹ *Registrum Monasterii S Marie De Cambuskenneth* (Grampian Club, Edinburgh, 1872), 209.

¹¹⁰ This altar is first recorded in 1619, *RMS*, vii, no. 2111.

¹¹¹ Riis, T., *Should Auld Acquaintances be Forgot. Scottish-Danish relations c.1450-1707* (Odense, 2 vols, 1988), i, pp.240-1, Hay, 'A Scottish Altar Piece in Copenhagen', 5-6.

¹¹² Elizabeth Lauder was buried before the altar of St Ninian in Cranshaws parish church in 1515, *NAS*, Swinton of Swinton Deeds, GD12/80.

¹¹³ The Ninian altar was under the patronage of William Barry, Maxwell, *Old Dundee*, p.32.

¹¹⁴ *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1438-1584*, ed. E. Beveridge (Edinburgh, 1917), xxv, 114, 154, 164 & 166. No foundation information.

¹¹⁵ Chapel is first mentioned in the sixteenth century, *ibid*, 264, 267 & 360.

¹¹⁶ Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, pp.16-17. Cardeny was buried next to his altar in 1436.

¹¹⁷ The chapel is mentioned as located near the castle in 1434, *ER*, iv, 594-7.

¹¹⁸ *CSSR, 1433-1447*, no.854.

¹¹⁹ *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, 47. An extra chaplain was presented by another burgess Andrew Mowbray in 1478, *ibid*, 93.

27. Edinburgh, Trinity college. ¹²⁰	church dedication	1462	Mary of Guelders
28. Glasgow, Cathedral. ¹²¹	altar	1472	James Douglas of Auchingassil
29. Glasgow. ¹²²	leper hospital	14 th cent	-
30. Glasgow, on the bridge. ¹²³	chapel	b.1494	William Stewart, canon of Glasgow
31. Haddington. ¹²⁴	chapel	b.1489	George Ker of Samuelston
32. Elsinore, Olaikirke. ¹²⁵	altar	b.1511	Parents of Alexander Lyall and Ellen Davidson (Expatriate Scots)
33. Irvine. ¹²⁶	altar	1418	William Cunningham, vicar of Dundonald
34. Kelloe, Durham. ¹²⁷	light	1476	John Trollop of Thornley
35. Kingcase. ¹²⁸	leper hospital	b.1451	-
36. Kinfauns. ¹²⁹	chapel	b.1419	-
37. Kinnoul, St Constantine's. ¹³⁰	altar	b.1518	-
38. Kirkcaldy. ¹³¹	chapel	b.1562	-
39. Leith, north end of the bridge. ¹³²	chapel	1493	Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood
40. Liberton. ¹³³	chapel	b.1478	-
41. Linlithgow, St Michael's. ¹³⁴	altar	b.1446	-
42. Linlithgow. ¹³⁵	chapel	b.1491	-
43. Lochmaben. ¹³⁶	chapel/altar	b.1504	-
44 Middleham. ¹³⁷	stalls	1478	Richard III
45. Musselburgh. ¹³⁸	altar	b.1491	-

¹²⁰ *Midlothian Charters*, 280-90.

¹²¹ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 46.

¹²² Cowan & Easson, *Medieval religious houses, Scotland*, p.180.

¹²³ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 469.

¹²⁴ *RMS*, ii, no. 1836.

¹²⁵ Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintances be Forgot*, 196-97, Hay, 'A Scottish Altar Piece in Copenhagen', 5-6.

¹²⁶ *Muniments of the Royal Burgh of Irvine* (Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1890-1), i, xxxv, 127. William was the son of local nobleman, William Cunningham of Kilmaurs.

¹²⁷ *Wills and inventories illustrative of the history, manners, language, statistics, &c. of the northern counties of England, [or rather, mostly of Durham] from the eleventh century downwards*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, Durham, 4 vols, 1835-1929), i, pp. 97-99.

¹²⁸ Cowan & Easson, *Medieval religious houses, Scotland*, p.183.

¹²⁹ *CSSR*, 1418-22, 114 & 159.

¹³⁰ The chaplain of this altar is first mentioned in 1518, NAS, Records of King James VI Hospital, Perth, Altarages, GD79/4/114.

¹³¹ This chapel is first recorded in 1562, Taylor, S & Markus, G., *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 1. West Fife between Leven and Forth* (Donington, 2006), p.480.

¹³² *RMS*, ii, no. 2193. There was also a fraternity of St Ninian in Leith, linked to the Brewers guild, first mentioned in 1556, *ibid*, iv, no. 1134.

¹³³ The chapel is first mentioned at the end of the fifteenth century when a number of Edinburghers made bequests to it, *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, 93.

¹³⁴ Ferguson, *Ecclesia Antiqua. The Church of St Michaels Linlithgow*, p.302. A series of burgesses also asked for posthumous masses to be said at the Ninian altar at p.346.

¹³⁵ Lands associated with this chapel were first mentioned in 1491, *RMS*, ii, no. 2026.

¹³⁶ The only record of this altar is two offerings by James IV at *Saint Ninian's board* in 1504, *TA*, ii, 264.

¹³⁷ *Documents relating to the foundation and antiquity of the collegiate church of Middleham*, ed. W. Atthill (Camden Society, 1847), p.8.

46. North Berwick. ¹³⁹	altar	b.1497	-
47. Paisley, Abbey. ¹⁴⁰	altar	b.1488	-
48. Perth, St John's. ¹⁴¹	altar	1401	Robert Brown, Patrick Wells, burgesses
49. Restalrig. ¹⁴²	chapel	1487	James III (1460-88)
50. Ripon, SS Peter and Wilfred's. ¹⁴³	altar	c.1500	-
51. Selkirk, parish church. ¹⁴⁴	altar	b.1535	-
52. St Andrews, Holy Trinity. ¹⁴⁵	altar	b.1439	Brethren of St Ninian
53. Stirling, parish church. ¹⁴⁶	altar	1460x88	James III
54. Tibbermore, parish church. ¹⁴⁷	altar	1532	James Cuthbertson, priest
55. Tickhill, Yorks. ¹⁴⁸	light	1482	Hugh Hastings
56. Urquhart. ¹⁴⁹	chapel	b.1509	-
57. Wigtown, parish church. ¹⁵⁰	altar	1495	William Macgarve, vicar of Penninghame
58. Wigtown. ¹⁵¹	chapel	1508	John Kennedy of Blairquehn
59. York, Minster. ¹⁵²	altar	c.1483	Richard III?

UNCORROBORATED LATE MEDIEVAL DEDICATIONS MENTIONED BY MACKINLAY/FORBES			
U1.Dumfries parish Church. ¹⁵³	altar	-	-
U2.Ayr parish Church. ¹⁵⁴	altar	-	-

¹³⁸ The altar is first mentioned in 1491, *Protocol book of James Young*, ed. G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, SRS, 1952), no.485. The altarage was later mentioned in a land transaction of 1546, NAS, Little Gilmour and Craigmillar Writs, GD122/2/364.

¹³⁹ Fraser, W., *The Douglas Book* (Edinburgh, 4 vols, 1883), ii, p.165.

¹⁴⁰ A grant to the abbey by James IV mentioned his devotion to Ninian, *RMS*, ii, no. 1767.

¹⁴¹ The earliest patronage of the altar belonged to Robert Brown, NAS GD79/4/106. Patrick Wells took over patronage in 1513, NAS GD79/4/111

¹⁴² The chapel was jointly dedicated to Triduana, Mary, Andrew, Ninian, Duthac and Jerome, see Brown, 'Saint Triduana of Restalrig? Locating a saint and her cult in late medieval Lothian', 45-69 and MacDonald, 'The Chapel of Restalrig: Royal folly or venerable shrine?' 27-61.

¹⁴³ *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, (Surtees Society, 4 vols, 1882-1904), iii, 264, 268 & 271.

¹⁴⁴ A payment in 1535 is the first record of the altar, *The Burgh Court Book of Selkirk, 1503-45* (Edinburgh, SRS 2 vols, 1960), ii, p.149.

¹⁴⁵ Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews*, p. 86-7.

¹⁴⁶ The altar is first recorded in 1555 when it is designated as having been founded by James III, *RMS*, iv, no. 2985.

¹⁴⁷ *RMS*, iii, no. 1341.

¹⁴⁸ *Testamenta Eboracensia*. iii, p.273.

¹⁴⁹ The chapel is first mentioned in 1509, *RMS*, ii, no.3390.

¹⁵⁰ *RMS*, ii, no.2273.

¹⁵¹ The chapel was in a place known as the Cruives of Cree, *RMS*, ii, no.3245.

¹⁵² *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, ed. J. Raine (Durham, 1859), p.305 & Gee, 'The Topography of Altars, Chancies and Shrines in York Minster', 347.

¹⁵³ Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, 24, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, xiii.

U3. Renfrew parish Church. ¹⁵⁵	altar	-	-
U4. Dumbarton parish church. ¹⁵⁶	altar	-	-
U5. Elgin, Cathedral. ¹⁵⁷	altar	-	-
U6. Falkland parish church. ¹⁵⁸	altar	-	-
U7. Fortrose. ¹⁵⁹	prebendry	-	-
U8. Old Kilpatrick parish church. ¹⁶⁰	altar	1520	-

¹⁵⁴ Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, p.25.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.26, this is mentioned in *Origines parochiales Scotiae* (Bannatyne Club, 3 vols, Edinburgh, 1855), i, 74.

¹⁵⁶ Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, p.27.

¹⁵⁷ *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, xiii. Mackinlay mentions a chaplaincy associated with the cathedral, Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, p.32, both Forbes and Mackinlay use Chalmers, G., *Caledonia, or, An account, historical and topographic, of North Britain* (Edinburgh, 3 vols, 1807-24), i, 315.

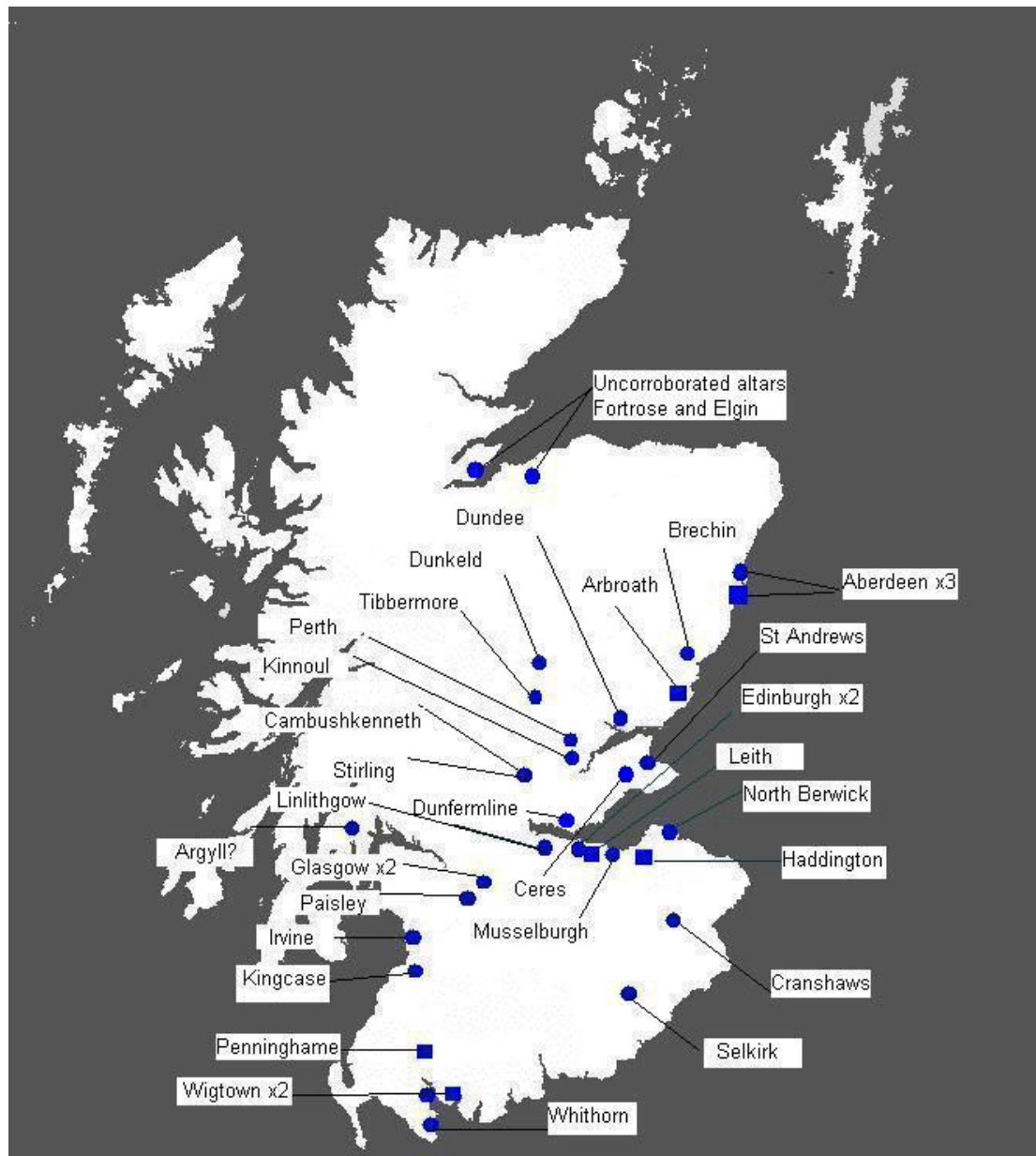
¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.29, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, xiv,

¹⁵⁹ Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, p.32, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, xiv, Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i, 315.

¹⁶⁰ Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, p.27. *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, xiv.

Map 4. Ninian altars, hospitals and chapels founded in Scotland after 1296.¹⁶¹

- Altars and Hospitals
- Chapels



¹⁶¹ See Table 4 above for details of individual dedications.

Map 5. Place of origin of English pilgrims and other locations associated with the Ninian cult in late medieval England.

- Altars, lights, pilgrims and forenames
- Dedications associated with Richard III



II. Catalysts for the growth of the cult in the later middle ages

In the later middle ages the Ninian cult spread across significant political, cultural and linguistic boundaries to include amongst its devotees people from Scotland, England and Ireland. This expansion took place in a period when the dynamic trends in pious fashions were devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary and what Duffy and Swanson have identified as a distinct localism in the cult of the saints.¹⁶² The patterns in devotion to Ninian were therefore unusual. Early dedications suggest that Ninian was one the number of broadly popular saints in Scotland during the central middle ages, alongside Andrew, Columba, Kentigern and Margaret.¹⁶³ However, whilst devotion to these cults was in decline or stagnated in the later period, the Gallovidian saint would become increasingly popular. The spread of the cult into England also made Ninian a rare example of a cross-border saint in this period. Whilst the emergence of new cults was not uncommon in the later middle ages the political situation which followed the Anglo-Scottish wars of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was hardly conducive to their spread across regnal borders. Although there was some continuity in devotion to Thomas of Canterbury and Cuthbert of Durham north of the border, there is little or no evidence of Scottish interest in newly canonised English saints like Thomas of Hereford (1320), John of Bridlington (1401) or Osmund of Salisbury (1456).¹⁶⁴ Similarly references to English pilgrimage to St Andrews and Dunfermline tail off after the mid-fourteenth century as would evidence of the Kentigern cult in Cumbria.¹⁶⁵ This section will attempt to explain these patterns in devotion to the saint by examining royal engagement with the cult, his development into a national patron, Ninian as a saint type and shrine management in the later middle ages.

¹⁶² Duffy, 'The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England', 165-6, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p.96.

¹⁶³ For fashionable cults amongst the Scottish elite in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see Hammond, 'Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland', 61-86.

¹⁶⁴ For Thomas of Canterbury see Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 346-71. None of these newly canonised saints or what Swanson describes as 'would be saints' such as Henry VI (1423-71) and Richard Scrope had recorded dedications in Scotland, Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p.289. A rare exception to this pattern is a ship from Leith named after northern English saint John of Beverly noted in Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis'', 192.

¹⁶⁵ A hint of continuing Cumbrian interest in Kentigern can be seen in the presence of two individuals named Kentigern Hodchon and Mungo Smyth in fifteenth-century Carlisle, Summerston, H., *Medieval Carlisle. The city and the borders from the late eleventh to the mid-sixteenth century* (Kendal, 2 Vols, 1993), ii, p.617. These cults will be discussed in Chapter 4.

i. Ninian and the Scottish crown, 1306-1450.

Royal devotion, particularly during the reign of James IV, is the context in which the late medieval Ninian cult is best known. However, Ninian was not a saint consistently associated with the crown during this period. The earliest evidence of significant royal sponsorship of the cult occurred during the reign of Robert I.¹⁶⁶ The Bruce family had a complex relationship with Whithorn, which lay close to its ancestral lands in the southwest, and although a predecessor Duncan, earl of Carrick, had been a patron of the priory, Bruce partisans had burned the town during the turbulent period that followed the death of Alexander III (1249-86) in 1286.¹⁶⁷ This action, in addition to a long tradition of antagonism to the Scottish crown and more recent loyalty to their Balliol lords, made Galloway one of the most consistently hostile regions to the new dynasty after 1306.¹⁶⁸ An attempt to exert control over the area in 1307 had ended disastrously with the capture of two of Robert's brothers, Alexander and Thomas, who were subsequently executed by Edward I.¹⁶⁹ Thereafter the pacification of the region was left to Edward Bruce (d.1318) who combined military intimidation with patronage of the most important ecclesiastical centre in the region in his attempt to win over the Gallovidians. After a successful raid in 1308, Edward, now styled lord of Galloway, made a series of grants to Whithorn including churches, lands, burghal rights, wax, salmon fisheries and port tolls.¹⁷⁰ Another Bruce partisan who had been granted significant lordships in the southwest, Thomas

¹⁶⁶ The only recorded royal patronage of Whithorn before 1286 was a confirmation of the properties on the Isle of Man in 1275. Ninian features only fleetingly in Hammond's survey of royal and elite patronage of the saints in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *R.R.S, Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III*, no.157, Hammond, 'Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland', 61-86.

¹⁶⁷ The earlier grant by Duncan is recorded in the 1325 confirmation by Robert I, *R.R.S, The Acts of Robert I*, no.275. For the Bruces in Galloway see Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, pp.149-153, and Barrow, G. W. S., *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.170-1.

¹⁶⁸ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp. 178-181. The strategic importance of Galloway to the Bruces was twofold, firstly as a problem area with potential manpower and other resources and secondly, after 1316, as part of their plans for a second front in Ireland. For the Irish campaign see McNamee, C., *The Wars of the Bruces, Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306-1328* (East Linton, 1997), pp.166-206, especially the use of Galloway as a point of departure at 181.

¹⁶⁹ The two brothers were captured in Galloway and sent to Carlisle where they were executed in 1307, *ibid* pp.170-1.

¹⁷⁰ Edward granted the churches of Kirkiner and Wigtown, land in Outen and Milmain, an annual market to Clachan of Whithorn, six stones of wax from Cruggleton, half a salmon fishing in the Dee and the toll of Port Whithorn to the priory, *RRS, The Acts of Robert I*, no.275.

Randolph, made a further series of donations of lands and fishing rights to the priory.¹⁷¹

The death of Edward (1318) in Ireland upset the Brucean settlement of the region and prompted a more personal input from the king.¹⁷² In 1325 Robert issued a general confirmation of the possessions of the priory, combining those from the thirteenth century with more recent donations by his brother and Randolph.¹⁷³ Towards the end of his reign the king also made a personal grant of the church of Kells to the Archdeacon of Whithorn, apparently in recompense for the damage to his church during the wars, but perhaps also as further compensation for the Bruce family's actions in the 1280s and 90s.¹⁷⁴ Within this charter Bruce stated his devotion to Ninian, hinting at a more personal engagement with the saint. This budding relationship was reinforced by Robert's pilgrimage to the shrine at Whithorn on 1st April 1329.¹⁷⁵ Whilst the visit to the southwest was an opportunity to demonstrate royal power in the region, as we will discuss below more specific intercessory motives may also have prompted the pilgrimage by a king in the throes of his final illness.¹⁷⁶

This royal cultivation of the Ninian cult stalled after Robert's death in 1329 and, although it is possible that David II celebrated the feast day of the saint, there is little evidence of a personal engagement by the monarch with the cult or shrine.¹⁷⁷ As we have seen the arrow miracle, which Maior and Boece believed to have taken place at Whithorn, is more commonly associated with St Monan's in Fife.¹⁷⁸ Although David was not an obvious patron, his second wife Margaret Logie visited the shrine at least once in 1365.¹⁷⁹ This trend of relative royal neglect would be continued into the reigns of the early Stewart Kings. While as Steve Boardman has shown Robert II and

¹⁷¹ Randolph had been granted the Isle of Man and lordship of Annandale, he gave Kirkbride in Man, Glenswinton in Parton and fishing rights in the Cree to the priory 1314x25, *ibid.*, no.275.

¹⁷² For a concise summary of Bruce policy in the southwest from 1318-29 see Penman, M., *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton, 2004), pp.26-29.

¹⁷³ *RRS, The Acts of Robert I*, no.275.

¹⁷⁴ This charter is undated but as it was not mentioned in the 1325 confirmation, can probably be dated to 1325x29, *RMS*, i, Appendix 1, no.20.

¹⁷⁵ Robert was at Whithorn on 1-4 of April, *RRS, The Acts of Robert I*, p.157, Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p.319.

¹⁷⁶ As Penman has shown the visit to the southwest also allowed the king to reward supporters in the former Comyn and Balliol lands, Penman, *David II*, pp.28-29. See below II.v for Whithorn as a healing shrine.

¹⁷⁷ Penman includes Ninian's August feast day in his extrapolated list of the king's devotions, Penman, 'Christian Days and Knights', 271-2.

¹⁷⁸ *Chron. Boece*, ii, 328, *Chron. Maior*, 293.

¹⁷⁹ *ER*, ii, 226.

Robert III retained a personal link to the saints of the Stewartry, they demonstrated no obvious interest in the Ninian cult despite the popularity of devotion to the saint in areas of the west under their control.¹⁸⁰ The first hint of a renewal of royal interest in the saint occurred in the reign of James I. In 1427 James passed legislation concerning pilgrimage to Whithorn and in 1430 he confirmed the priory in all its possessions.¹⁸¹ As Nicola Scott has shown, the king had a broad range of pious interests including devotion to Marian and Christ cults as well as English saints, a legacy of his time in captivity south of the border.¹⁸² James also maintained the traditional familial devotion to Brendan, encouraged the development of Andrew into a national saint and promoted the embryonic cult of his murdered brother, David, duke of Rothesay (d.1401).¹⁸³ Ninian falls some way down the scale of the king's devotions, and perhaps surprisingly James does not seem to have identified with the saint's reputation for freeing captives.¹⁸⁴

The apparent vacuum in royal patronage of Ninian and the shrine at Whithorn between 1329-1450 occurred during the period from which the majority of the dateable dedications to the saint can be traced and when there were a number of other indicators of the rapid growth of the cult. Elite benefaction of the cult and shrine during this period came primarily from the Black Douglas kindred, who gained a territorial stake in Galloway in the 1320s which they rapidly expanded.¹⁸⁵ Other patronage came from a number of noble families with a landed interest in the region; the Cunninghams, Flemings, Stewarts of Bute, Kennedys, Sempills and Rosses, who also made dedications to the saint or included Ninian in their naming stock from the fourteenth century.¹⁸⁶ Further patronage of the cult came from noble families without

¹⁸⁰ Boardman, 'The Gaelic World and Early Stewart Court', 87-99.

¹⁸¹ *RMS*, ii, nos. 107 & 164.

¹⁸² Scott includes Ninian's feast day in her extrapolated calendar of royal devotions, Scott, *The Court and Household of James I of Scotland*, pp.293 & 350-53.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 350-53. For the Rothesay cult see Boardman, 'A saintly sinner? The 'martyrdom of David, Duke of Rothesay', 87-104.

¹⁸⁴ This reputation will be discussed below in Section II.v.

¹⁸⁵ See below for a discussion of Black Douglas engagement with the cult.

¹⁸⁶ John Kennedy of Blairquehn founded a chapel in Wigtown, (no.56), and another Kennedy persuaded the French ambassadors to visit Whithorn in 1434, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin*, 50-54. William Cunningham founded an altar at Irvine in 1418 (no.31), and there was a Ninian Cunningham at Irvine in 1603. William Stewart founded a chaplaincy in Glasgow in 1494 (no.28) and Ninian Stewart, and a son of the same name, were sheriffs of Bute in the sixteenth century. Robert Fleming of Biggar founded a chaplain at Lenzie in 1451, *Registrum Glasguensis*, ii, 365, his descendant was Ninian Fleming Prior of Whithorn (d.1539). Ninian Sempill was 3rd son of the 2nd lord Sempill in 1560s. Ninian Ross was 3rd lord of Ross d.1556, both families held their main lands in Renfrewshire, *The Scots Peerage*, vii, 251 & 537. See Chapter 1, V. i for the distribution of Ninian as a forename in this period.

a connection to the region. In the northeast the main aristocratic benefactors of the cult were the Irvines of Drum, and a chapel was founded in Haddington by Ker of Samuelston in the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁸⁷ While geographical proximity to the shrine played an important role in encouraging elite patronage of the cult, the dedications by the Irvine and Ker families show that other functions of the saint also proved attractive to the minor and middle ranking nobility.

This lack of direct royal engagement with a growing national cult in the period 1329-1450 is perhaps surprising. One explanation for this neglect may be that unlike Robert I and his supporters, David II and the early Stewarts did not have a significant territorial stake in the area of the saint's patrimony. In order to combat the pro-Balliol/Comyn faction in the region, which had been revitalised during the second phase of the Wars of Independence in the 1330s, these lands had been granted to crown supporters. First Malcolm Fleming, made earl of Wigtown in 1341 and later Archibald Douglas (d.1401), who was made lord of Galloway in 1369.¹⁸⁸ By the time Archibald became 3rd earl of Douglas, on the extinction of the main male line in 1388, his kindred had extended their control over the lordships of Annandale, Nithsdale and Eskdale, as well as the earldom of Wigtown within which Whithorn was situated.¹⁸⁹ The poor survival of records for the family means that evidence of their engagement with the Ninian cult is patchy. Margaret Ramsay, the wife of the 4th earl, endowed a chapel in the cathedral and was involved in a bridge building project over a river close to the shrine, while her husband Archibald (d.1424) conceded various lands to Whithorn in 1424.¹⁹⁰ There is, however, evidence of a quickening of Douglas interest in the shrine from the 1440s. In 1447 an illegitimate son of the 5th earl, William Douglas (1447-67), was elected as prior of Whithorn.¹⁹¹ Shortly after this election his kinsman William, the 8th earl (d.1452), granted the church its Galloway lands in regality and made an annual gift of 20 merks from the lands of Merton.¹⁹² These efforts to identify with Ninian and Whithorn were part of the process by which the 8th

¹⁸⁷ See Table 4, nos. 2 & 31.

¹⁸⁸ *Regesta Regum Scottorum VI: The Acts of David II, 1329-71*, ed. B. Webster (Edinburgh, 1982), no.451, Penman, *David II*, pp. 82 & 388-89.

¹⁸⁹ Brown, M., *The Black Douglases* (East Linton, 1998), pp. 60-64 & 171-75.

¹⁹⁰ This was the river Bladnoch. *CPL, Benedict XIII*, p.156. *RMS*, ii, no.12, the endowment of a chapel by Margaret is also mentioned in this document.

¹⁹¹ For the election of Douglas see Dilworth, M., *Whithorn Priory in the Late Middle Ages* (Whithorn, 1994), p.5.

¹⁹² The grant was confirmed by James II in 1450, *RMS*, ii, no.383.

earl attempted to reassert Black Douglas lordship in the southwest.¹⁹³ Douglas control of the region had been irreparably damaged by the transfer of power within the kindred that followed the murder of the 6th earl and his brother at the Black Dinner in 1440. As Brown and McGladdery have shown, this event loosened both the ecclesiastical and temporal bonds that had been forged by the family in the region during the last century, a weakness that would be ruthlessly exploited by James II and his council in the 1450s.¹⁹⁴

ii. James II, the Black Douglas lands and Richard III, 1450-1488

The conflict between James II and the Black Douglases in the early 1450s would be the catalyst for the renewal of direct royal engagement with the Ninian cult and the shrine at Whithorn. Following the death of his aunt, Margaret of Touraine, in January 1451, James began to interfere in Galloway, attempting to win the loyalty of key local community leaders.¹⁹⁵ The significance of the Ninian cult and Whithorn's status as the predominant ecclesiastical centre in the region meant that it formed a natural focus for crown patronage, as it had done in the 1310s and 20s during another period of political fragmentation and conflict in Galloway. In 1451 James added the priory's Ayrshire holdings to the pre-existing regality, taking the house and its lands out with the jurisdiction of the Douglases.¹⁹⁶ The king also confirmed the priory's possessions and made fresh gifts of teinds in what Richard Oram has suggested was a clear attempt to 'undermine the earl of Douglas's position in Galloway'.¹⁹⁷ Following his victory over the family in 1455, the lordship of Galloway was annexed to the crown and for the rest of this brief reign James continued to be a major patron of the shrine, adding to his earlier gifts in 1459 the towns of Whithorn and Clachan in free

¹⁹³ Part of this process was the marriage of William to Margaret, the daughter of the murdered 6th earl in 1444, Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p.273.

¹⁹⁴ This loosening of ecclesiastical bonds is perhaps clearest in the case of the bishop of Galloway Thomas Spens who had been in the affinity of the 5 and 6th earls, but was a prominent member of the royal council by the 1450s, *ibid*, pp.255-67 & 286, McGladdery, C., 'James II, (1437-60)', in *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542. Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, eds. M. Brown & R. Tanner (Edinburgh, 2008), 179-208, at 183.

¹⁹⁵ Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp.288-9.

¹⁹⁶ *RMS*, ii, no.453.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, no.459, Oram, R., *A Monastery and its Landscape; Whithorn and Monastic Estate Management in Galloway (c.1250-c.1600)* (Whithorn, 2005), pp.7-8.

barony.¹⁹⁸ This renewed crown-saint relationship would survive the death of James at Roxburgh. In 1461 his widow, Mary of Guelders, embarked on a pilgrimage to Whithorn with the young king, James III.¹⁹⁹ Mary would provide royal support for Prior William Douglas's application for a papal indulgence for visitors to Whithorn in 1462 and displayed a personal commitment to the saint in the same year by founding her Trinity College in Edinburgh in honour of SS Mary and Ninian.²⁰⁰ As an adult James III, with his queen, Margaret of Denmark, visited the shrine in 1473 and 1474 and, like his mother, he would include Ninian amongst the dedicatees of his own personal foundation, the chapel at Restalrig in 1487.²⁰¹ The king also granted some lands to Whithorn priory in 1473 and founded a chaplaincy at the Ninian altar in the burgh church of Stirling.²⁰² James clearly considered Ninian to be one of his personal patrons, noting him in a list of his favourite saints alongside Mary, Duthac, Jerome, Triduana and Andrew in the Restalrig foundation charter.²⁰³

It was during the reign of James III that Richard of Gloucester, later Richard III, also began to display an interest in the saint, including Ninian in a series of ecclesiastical dedications between 1477 and 1485 and adding a collect of the saint to his personal book of hours.²⁰⁴ Richard's influence may well have been behind the foundation of the altar at York Minster dedicated to Ninian in c.1483 and the monarch also seems to have encouraged his supporters in devotion to the saint. Hugh Hastings, who paid for a light in '*honour of seynt Ninian*' and Thomas Merkenfield, whose son was named after the saint, were retainers of Gloucester and accompanied him on his Scottish campaign in 1482.²⁰⁵ The bulk of recorded English devotion to Ninian came after 1477, when Richard is first recorded as displaying an interest in the saint, and was located in the region of his greatest political influence. However, English pilgrims had been present at Whithorn in the fourteenth century and were specified

¹⁹⁸ *APS*, ii, 41-3, *RMS*, ii, no. 698. In 1450 James also confirmed a statute recently made by the general council for the decoration and furnishing of the Ninian chapel in Bruges and for the up-keep of one chaplain in the church of the Carmelite friars in that town, *ibid*, ii, no.392.

¹⁹⁹ *ER*, vii, 78.

²⁰⁰ The indulgence and other promotional activities at the shrine will be discussed below II.vi, *Midlothian Charters*, 57.

²⁰¹ *TA*, i, 29, 44, *ER*, viii, 215, *Midlothian Charters*, 282.

²⁰² James granted the lands of Poltan and others, *RMS*, ii, no.1134. The chaplaincy dedication is first attested during the reign of Mary I (1542-67) and was undated but said to have occurred during the reign of James III, *RSS*, iv, no. 2985.

²⁰³ *Midlothian Charters*, 282.

²⁰⁴ See above Section I.iii and Table 4, nos. 9, 15, 44 & 59.

²⁰⁵ Hughes refers to this connection between devotion to Ninian and Richard and his retainers, Hughes, J., *The religious Life of Richard III. Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Stroud, 1997), pp.36-7.

within the legislation of 1427. In 1414 Thomas Irland, the Lyon King of Arms for Ireland paid for a man to make a posthumous pilgrimage to Whithorn and a series of other northern English shrines on his behalf.²⁰⁶ The similarities of this bequest to those made by Margaret Aske in 1465 and William Eccop in 1472 suggest that Whithorn was already part of a northern pilgrimage circuit before Richard began to take an interest in the cult.²⁰⁷ The saint was also of sufficient renown in England in the late fourteenth century to warrant inclusion in John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae*, a compilation of saint's lives from the British Isles.²⁰⁸

English interest in Ninian and Whithorn prior to the 1470s can probably be attributed to the close institutional relationship between Galloway and York. The twelfth-century life of the saint had been written by a Yorkshire monk, Aelred of Rievaulx, and from the revival of the see of Galloway in that century until St Andrews became the metropolitan of the Scottish church in 1472, the diocese was officially under the authority of York. In practice the warfare of the fourteenth century had severed the relationship with Michael (1355-58x59) the last bishop to seek consecration at York in 1355.²⁰⁹ However, it had been common for Galloway bishops to supplement their income by serving as part time assistants in the English diocese, a role carried out by successive office holders from John (1189-1209) to Thomas (d.1324).²¹⁰ It may well have been the presence of these men in the diocese that stimulated the emergence of small localised Ninian cult in the region. The sponsorship of the saint by Richard would be the catalyst for the expansion of this small local cult, which survived the change of dynasty and flourished in the north for the two generations prior to the Henrician Reformation.

Richard's conspicuous devotion to the saint of Whithorn has received some comment with Hughes suggesting that the interest in the saint was intended to provide

²⁰⁶ Cited in Summerston, H., 'Carlisle and the English West March', in *The North of England in the Reign of Richard III*, ed. A. J. Pollard (Stroud, 1996), 89-115, at 92. The tour began in London then moved on to Walsingham, and the shrines of John of Beverly, John of Bridlington, William of York and the Marian chapel in Carlisle.

²⁰⁷ *Testamenta Eboracensia*. ii, pp.275-6, iii, pp.199-201.

²⁰⁸ John was based in St Albans and although the legendry was entitled *Sanctilogium Angliae*, it included the lives of Ninian, Kentigern, and Columba as well as a number of Irish and Welsh saints, *Nova Legenda Anglie* ed. C. Horstmann (Oxford, 2 vols, 1901), i, xii-xiii, ii, 219-24.

²⁰⁹ Michael required a safe conduct to attend his consecration, *CDS*, iii, no.1584. His successor, Adam of Lanark (1363-1378), renounced his allegiance to York, see Oram, R., "In Obedience and Reverence". Whithorn and York c.1128-c.1250', *IR*, xlii (1991), 83-101 and *idem*, 'Heirs to Ninian; the medieval bishops of Whithorn (c.1100-1560), in *The See of Ninian*, ed. R. McCluskey (Ayr, 1997), 49-81

²¹⁰ Donaldson, 'The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn', 130-1.

a 'moral fervour' for the Scottish campaigns of the early 1480s.²¹¹ However, whilst the king may have first encountered the cult in England, Richard's patronage of the saint must be placed in the context of his territorial aspirations in the southwest of Scotland.²¹² In January 1483 Edward IV (1461-83) made a prospective grant to his brother of all the lands he could conquer across the western border in '*Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Annandale, Wauchepdale, Clydesdale and the Scottish West March*'.²¹³ Grant has suggested that this charter represented Richard's long held aspiration to carve out a principality for himself in southwestern Scotland.²¹⁴ The importance of Whithorn as the main sacred power centre in this region would have been a key attraction for the future king. The tradition of English ecclesiastical control of Ninian's diocese would also have provided an attractive precedent and justification for Richard's attempt to control the region.²¹⁵ Whilst Richard's interest in the saint may have initially had a strategic political purpose, in a similar manner to James III it is clear that the English king also developed a genuine personal devotion to the saint, as indicated by the additions to his book of hours in 1483.²¹⁶

iii. A royal saint? James IV & V and Whithorn

The best recorded sponsorship of the Ninian cult by the Scottish royal house occurred directly after this period of intense English royal patronage, during the reigns of James IV and James V. These Stewart monarchs had inherited two generations of personal and political engagement with Ninian and Whithorn and encountered by the 1490s the most vibrant cult based around a native saint in Scotland. James IV visited the shrine annually from 1491, restoring and gifting two reliquaries to Whithorn and marking the saint's feast day with regular oblations at Ninian altars and chapels away from the cult centre at Leith, Stirling, Linlithgow and

²¹¹ Hughes, *The religious Life of Richard III*, pp.36-7.

²¹² Dobson, R., 'Richard III and the church of York', in *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. R. A. Griffiths & J. Sherbourne, (Gloucester, 1980), 130-155 at 146, Grant, A., 'Richard III and Scotland', in *The North of England in the Reign of Richard III*, 115-48, at 115-116.

²¹³ Cited in Grant, 'Richard III and Scotland', 115.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 116.

²¹⁵ This motivation has been posited by Anne Sutton, who suggested that an association with the saint would add authority to any 'claims the English may have to regions of Scotland that Ninian Christianised or civilised', Sutton, *Richard III's Books*, p.62.

²¹⁶ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, p.41.

Blackness.²¹⁷ His son also visited the shrine on at least four occasions during his majority and referred to his personal commitment to the cult in a series of letters.²¹⁸ As Susan Ridyard has commented separating piety from politics in the actions of the medieval rulers is one of ‘the great intangibles of religious history’ and the devotion to Ninian by these Stewart monarchs clearly contained both religious and secular strands.²¹⁹ The belief of James IV in the efficacy of saint should not be underestimated and was readily apparent in the epic pilgrimage of March 1507 in the course of which the king walked the 200 miles from Edinburgh to Whithorn in eight days.²²⁰ According to Leslie, writing seventy years later, this visit was undertaken in a climate of uncertainty over the health of his queen and new born heir.²²¹

Although royal pilgrimages, such as the one in 1507, could be undertaken for reasons of genuine piety, they also presented opportunities for the display of power.²²² Both James IV and his son were well aware of the political cachet that conspicuous and well directed displays of piety could bring to their kingship.²²³ James IV used his journeys to the southwest to distribute gifts and was often accompanied by an entourage including Italian minstrels and his African drummer, providing an unequivocal display of royal power and munificence.²²⁴ This high profile patronage of the cult and shrine may have been connected to the recent interest in the cult shown by Richard III. Whilst it is unclear of the extent to which the Scottish political leadership would have been aware of, or perhaps even encouraged, Richard’s personal

²¹⁷ These devotions were made regularly during the king’s reign, typically in 1512 the King made offerings at Blackness in March and June, at Leith in September and Stirling in July, *TA*, iv, 185, 187, 175, 377 & 190.

²¹⁸ The king was at Whithorn in 1526, November 1529, July 1532, June 1533 and August 1536, *TA*, v, 276, i, 47, 87, 90, NAS, ‘Libri Domicilii’ James V, E31/3, fl. 25v & E31/4, fl. 87r, NAS, ‘Libri Emptorum’ James V, E32/2, fl. 119v & E32/5, fl. 118v, *The Letters of James V*, pp. 109, 362-3. For a broader discussion of the main pilgrimage destinations of James V see Thomas, A., *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.114-115. Whithorn was also one of three shrines designated as recipients of posthumous pilgrimage by his queen Mary of Guise, *Balcarres Papers* (Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1923), i, 78-79.

²¹⁹ Ridyard, S. J., *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England, A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 238. Macdougall felt unable to separate the two strands entitling his chapter on the kings religious patronage ‘Piety and Politics’, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.196-222.

²²⁰ Discussed in *ibid*, p.197.

²²¹ Macdougall accepts Leslie’s premise, the pilgrimage certainly coincided with this crisis, Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, ii, 123.

²²² For a discussion of the political use of pilgrimage by Henry VII (1485-1509) and other English monarchs see Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp.111-118.

²²³ For a recent discussion of the style of kingship of these monarchs see Mason, R., ‘Renaissance Monarchy? Stewart kingship, 1469-1542’, in *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542. Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, eds. M. Brown & R. Tanner (Edinburgh, 2008), 255-78.

²²⁴ The Minstrels and Moor Tauboner are mentioned specifically in March 1507, *TA*, iii, 374. The element of ostentation in these journeys has been noted by Macdougall, *James IV*, p.198.

interest, the popularity of the shrine amongst the English would have been well known.²²⁵ As we will see below there were some attempts by the Scottish church establishment to ‘Scotticise’ the Ninian cult in the fifteenth century and this process may also have played a role in the royal patronage of the 1490s as James re-established the status of the Scottish crown as primary patron of the cult. Politically Whithorn was also situated in a sensitive area at the heart of the Irish Sea zone. Although patronage of the cult centre may not by this stage have had the same strategic value as during the conflict with the Black Douglases in the 1450s, this sensitive location meant that a royal presence and support from local secular and religious leaders remained important.²²⁶ This strategic significance was repeatedly emphasised in the papal correspondence of James V who emphasised the need for a strong and well connected prior and described the location of the shrine as ‘at an extreme point of the realm, on the Irish sea’.²²⁷

Direct royal patronage of the cult occurred then in two periods of political uncertainty in Galloway and the southwest, 1306-29 and 1450-1542. In the early fourteenth century Bruce interest in Whithorn prompted further patronage of the priory by his supporters, in particular his brother Edward and Thomas Randolph, both of whom had considerable landed interest in the southwest.²²⁸ Beyond this patronage it is difficult to quantify the impact that royal sponsorship may have had on the popularity of the cult, although it would surely have contributed to the growing reputation of the saint and shrine. The direct impact of Stewart patronage in the fifteenth century is also difficult to measure. It is possible to detect royal influence within the foundation charters of altars dedicated to Ninian in Edinburgh (1439) and Irvine (1418), which included prayers for James I and James III, although this may

²²⁵ Pilgrims from England were specifically mentioned in the 1427 and 1516 legislation and as we have seen James IV encountered numerous English visitors at the shrine in the 1490s and 1500s.

²²⁶ James IV built up a close relationship with successive priors, confirming a grant of lands given by the 8th earl of Douglas in 1492 and making his own donation of the customs of the Port of Whithorn in the same year, *RMS*, ii, nos. 2075 & 2128, the king extended the grant in 1499 and also gifted the church of Kirkdale to the priory in 1508, *ibid*, no.3268. The Wigtownshire charters holds a more elaborate version of this charter which describes Prior Henry binding himself to celebrate masses for the souls of James III and his Queen and, after the death of James, for the king, his wife and ancestors, *Wigtownshire Charters*, ed. R. C. Reid (Edinburgh, 1960), 15.

²²⁷ *The Letters of James V*, pp. 362-3.

²²⁸ The patronage by Edward and Thomas is recorded in the 1325 confirmation charter by *R.R.S*, *The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*, no.275.

have been a matter of convention.²²⁹ Direct impact on pilgrimage patterns is also difficult to trace, although it was probably the devotion of James IV that prompted the visits to Whithorn by the ambassadors Dampier and De la Motte in the early sixteenth century. In spite of the fact that from the reign of James III, and perhaps even slightly earlier, the saint was clearly a crown favourite, there is only limited evidence that his cult had become fashionable at the royal court. Benefaction of the cult from top rank nobles after the 1450s was limited to the visit to the shrine by an earl of Angus in 1513 and the foundation of a chapel dedicated to Ninian by an earl of Argyll c.1466.²³⁰

Daphne Brooke has rightly stressed the important role that royal patronage and engagement with the Ninian cult played in the integration of Galloway into the Scottish kingdom in the later middle ages.²³¹ Whilst this is an accurate assessment of Bruce interest in the saint, the renewed sponsorship of the cult and shrine from the 1450s was part of a wider process by which the crown tried to first interfere with, and after 1455 replace, Black Douglas lordship in the southwest. The Ninian cult was a very different creature from the series of crown sponsored saints ranging from Fillan, to Monan and Triduana who emerged, and often just a quickly disappeared, in late medieval Scotland. In the key formative years of c.1329-1450 the cult developed without a royal patron and it is only after the renewal of Stewart interest in the saint from the 1450s that we can accurately categorise Ninian as a figure associated with the central institutions of power in Scotland. Although this royal patronage of Ninian would have contributed to the domestic and international status of his cult, and encouraged pilgrimage to his shrine, it was not the major catalyst for the success of the saint in Scotland during the period. This Stewart engagement with the saint in the latter part of the fifteenth century stemmed from a desire to identify with a broadly popular cult, and a saint who had come to be identified as the patron of the complex and fragmentary political environment of Galloway and the southwest.

iv. Ninian as a 'popular' patron saint of Scotland

²²⁹ Alan Farinle and Andrew Mowbray specified James I in their dedications to Ninian in Edinburgh while William Cunningham included James III as the recipient of prayers in his foundation at Irvine; see Table 4, nos. 26 & 33.

²³⁰ Archibald Douglas the 5th earl of Angus died at Whithorn in 1513, Fraser, *The Douglas Book*, ii, 105-6. For the chapel in Argyll see Table 4, no. 7.

²³¹ Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, pp.179-82.

The emergence of Ninian as a patron of the Scottish kingdom in the later middle ages has been noted by Clancy, Higgitt and others.²³² The earliest allusion to this status is the reference in Wyntoun to Simon Fraser appealing to ‘*Sancte Andrew, Sanct Nynyare, and Sanct Mergret*’, prior to the battle of Roslyn in 1302.²³³ As Higgitt has suggested, the inclusion of Ninian in this trio seems to represent an increasing identification of the saint as a national figure rather than merely a saint of Galloway by the fifteenth century.²³⁴ Two foreign observers in the sixteenth-century noted that devotion to Ninian was a distinctive trait of the Scots. Rabelais identified Scotsman in France by their penchant for swearing by ‘*Sainct Treignen*’ and the English poet of the 1513 *Ballad of Flodden Field*, mocked the Scots suggesting they should have listened to their patrons Andrew, Ninian and Duthac, rather than go to war.²³⁵ This image of Ninian as a popular national patron, in addition or as an alternative to the official patron Andrew, is borne out by dedications to the saint amongst communities of expatriate Scots. As David Ditchburn has suggested these emigrant groups used communal religious bonds such as fraternities based around altars in churches to ‘reinforce a sense of Scottishness’.²³⁶ Scottish monks at Regensburg and students at Paris and Orleans chose Andrew as their patron, but the mercantile communities in Bruges, Bergen op Zoom in Brabant and Elsinore and Copenhagen in Denmark dedicated their altars to Ninian.²³⁷ At Elsinore, which had the largest colony of Scots in the Baltic, the dedication was adorned with an ornate altarpiece in which Ninian was depicted surrounded by scenes from his miracle stories.²³⁸ Whilst the merchants may have had other, more specific, intercessory motives for choosing Ninian it is clear that the saint, either alongside or separate from

²³² Clancy, ‘Scottish Saints and National Identities’, 404, Higgitt, ‘From Bede to Rabelais’, 202, Brooke, *The Medieval Cult of St Ninian*, p.1, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.237-238.

²³³ *Chron. Wyntoun*, iii, 461.

²³⁴ Higgitt, ‘From Bede to Rabelais’, 203. This reference also provides the basis for Cowan’s section on patron saints, Cowan, ‘Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation’, Chapter 4.

²³⁵ *The Complete Works of Francois Rabelais*, p.78, *The Battle of Flodden Field*, p.27.

²³⁶ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.247.

²³⁷ For Ratisbon and Bruges, where there was also an altar dedicated to Andrew, see Dilworth, M., *The Scots in Franconia. A Century of Monasticism* (Edinburgh, 1974), p.19 and Stevenson, ‘Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges’, 98. For students at Orleans and Paris see Watt, D.E.R., ‘Scottish Student life abroad in the fourteenth century’, *SHR*, lix (1980), 3-31, at 7. For Ninian dedications in continental Europe see Table 4, nos. 11, 13-14, 18 & 32.

²³⁸ See Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintances be Forgot*, 196-97, Hay, ‘A Scottish Altar Piece in Copenhagen’, 5-6. The local Scottish communities may also have been the catalyst behind the inclusion of Ninian’s feast in a liturgical calendar from Roskilde in Denmark dating from c.1500, *English Saints in the Medieval Liturgies of Scandinavian Churches*, ed. J. Toy (Henry Bradshaw Society, 2009), p.194.

the official patron Andrew, was considered by these groups to represent their communal identity.²³⁹

This idea of Ninian as a distinctly Scottish saint was encouraged by the national church in the later middle ages. Whilst in practice Ninian was emerging as the most popular native saint in Scotland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this trend was not initially reflected in the literary works of the period. The chronicles of Fordun, Bower and Wyntoun accord Ninian only a minor role in their narrative of Scottish ecclesiastical development, with the saint overshadowed by Andrew, Palladius, Columba and others.²⁴⁰ Although sidelined in this grand narrative there are tangential references to the growing significance of the cult in these chronicles. In Book 1 of the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, Fordun provides an early reference to the miraculous reputation of the saint and shrine.²⁴¹ More significant was Wyntoun's reference to Ninian's patronal role in the Wars of Independence, mentioned above. Whilst the chronicles of Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower show an awareness of contemporary devotional trends, they also display clear regional, institutional and diocesan biases.²⁴² It was to these east coast, St Andrews diocesan and perhaps also Augustinian, partialities that we can attribute the marginalisation of Ninian in these works, alongside other prominent western or northern saints from the period like Kentigern of Glasgow and Duthac of Tain.

Ninian would be accorded a more prominent role in the sixteenth-century histories of Scotland. The first of these writers, John Maior, had been to Whithorn himself, presumably on pilgrimage.²⁴³ The second, Hector Boece, elevated Ninian to first place in his chronology of the development of the Scottish church and provided the saint with a more significant position as a general apostle of the Scots.²⁴⁴ Boece also described Ninian as the most active miracle maker in *Albion*, perhaps showing an awareness of the supranational nature of the cult by the sixteenth century.²⁴⁵ Both Boece and Maior had local connections to areas with concentrations of Ninian

²³⁹ Ditchburn suggests Ninian gave the communities a more unique patron than the universally popular Andrew, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.247 and *idem*, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis', 186-187.

²⁴⁰ See Chapter 1, II, i.

²⁴¹ Fordun stated that 'during his life, nay after his death, even until now, (he was) a marvellous worker of numerous miracles', *Chron. Fordun*, 86-7.

²⁴² See Chapter 1, II, i.

²⁴³ This was indicated by his description of the Isle of Man as; 'fifteen leagues in length which we have ourselves caught sight of at St Ninian', *Chron. Maior*, 37.

²⁴⁴ *Chron. Boece*, i, 271.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, i, 412.

dedications.²⁴⁶ However, like the early chroniclers, Boece in particular displayed a clear regional and institutional bias in the selection of saints in his work, most evident in the inclusion of otherwise obscure north-eastern saints.²⁴⁷ The significance accorded to Ninian in Boece's history is therefore a strong indicator of the national status that his cult had achieved by the sixteenth century.

This status was reflected in the Aberdeen Breviary where Ninian was one of the select group of saints accorded a double feast indicating, as McFarlane has suggested, that he was thought to 'belong to the nation'.²⁴⁸ The prominence accorded to the saint in the AB was also a reflection of a long term trend in the Scottish liturgy in which Ninian had emerged as the most commonly attested national saint in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁴⁹ Dedications to Ninian by churchman were common in the later middle ages and he was perhaps the only national saint in Scotland, besides Andrew, to whom clerical interest was able to intersect regional and diocesan boundaries.²⁵⁰ A degree of localism was evident in this clerical devotion to Ninian. Clergy with a parish connection to the saint were responsible for the foundation of altars in Wigtown and Irvine.²⁵¹ However, the September 16th feast was specifically added to late fifteenth-century books of hours belonging to two clerics, Brown of Aberdeen and Crawford of Edinburgh, and a series of altars were dedicated to Ninian by clergy with no apparent parish or diocesan connection to the saint.²⁵² By the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment, through historical writings and the liturgy, had responded to the growing popularity of the cult amongst clerics and laity by celebrating Ninian as a distinctly Scottish saint.

Higgitt and Clancy have traced Ninian's patronal role to the depiction of the saint in the mid-fourteenth century *Legends of the Saints*.²⁵³ The legendary contains a translation of the *Vita Niniani* into middle Scots, with the addition of four original miracles said to have occurred during the second part of the Wars of Independence.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁶ For dedications in Aberdeen and East Lothian see Table 4, nos. 1-3, 31 & 46.

²⁴⁷ See Devenick of Banchory, Congan of Turriff, Drostán of Deer and Machar in *Chron. Boece*, i, 419.

²⁴⁸ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.237-8.

²⁴⁹ See Chapter 1, Table 1.

²⁵⁰ See Chapter 4, II.i for the clerical cult of Andrew.

²⁵¹ William Macgarve was the vicar of Penninghame which was dedicated to the saint and William Cunningham was vicar of Dundonald where there was a Ninian chapel; see Table 4, nos. 33 & 57.

²⁵² Altars were founded by Bishop Ingeram of Aberdeen, the monks of Dunkeld and Arbroath, Abbot Ballantyne of Holyrood and James Cuthbertson in Tibbermore, See Table 4, nos. 1, 5-6, 21, 30, 39 & 54.

²⁵³ Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', 404, Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 194-5.

²⁵⁴ *Legends of the Saints*, i, 327-42. The first miracle is said to have occurred in the reign of David II.

Clancy has suggested that two of these miracles, in which the saint was described intervening to save Fergus MacDowell and an unnamed Gallovidian from English raiders, portray Ninian acting as a 'heroic national saint'.²⁵⁵ However, these narratives are not as explicitly anglophobic as other patriotic miracle stories from the Anglo-Scottish wars. Five comparable tales, which were reputed to have occurred during the mid to latter fourteenth century, feature in Bower's *Scotichronicon*.²⁵⁶ In four of these stories English troops in Scotland who transgressed the patrimonies of SS Columba and Serf were dealt with in a summary manner, in three out of the four instances they all die.²⁵⁷ In a further legend, the Scottish defeat at Neville's Cross was attributed to the lack of respect shown by David II to St Cuthbert.²⁵⁸ A comparison can also be made with miracle stories emanating from Durham in this period, which showed Cuthbert acting in a similarly partisan manner.²⁵⁹ Although, as Higgitt has observed, it is clear in the *Legends* that Ninian's sympathies are with the Scots, in contrast to the stories included in Bower, the body count in these miracles is minimal with the saint intervening on both sides.²⁶⁰ In one miracle Ninian actually restored to health an English officer who had vowed to visit Whithorn at the suggestion of his Scottish captive.²⁶¹ The soldier's initial fears that the saint would not intercede on his behalf, as he was not a Scot, proved groundless.²⁶² Differing audiences could take from this story varied images of the saint. Ninian could be perceived as a patriotic figure, protecting Scots from the invading English, as a local patron helping the Gallovidian captive, or as regionally powerful saint, receptive to all genuine supplicants.

This inclusive aspect of the saint's reputation is more apparent in a further original miracle from the *Legends*. In a fairly standard version of the hanged man

²⁵⁵ Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', 404. *Legends of the Saints*, i, 327-29 & 335-42. MacDowell was a landowner in Kirkcudbright and Dumfries and was rewarded in 1357 for his support of the Bruce party after David II's return to Scotland, *RMS*, i, App ii, nos. 835 & 1007.

²⁵⁶ The first miracle was attributed to Serf who helped Scots forces under siege at Lochleven, three others featured Columba protecting Inchcolm and Dollar from English raiding parties, *Chron. Bower*, vii, 99, vii, 109, 119-2 & 399-403.

²⁵⁷ The troops besieging Lochleven and two groups of English pirates perished in the sea or at the hands of Scottish soldiers.

²⁵⁸ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 255-7.

²⁵⁹ See Bliese, J., 'Saint Cuthbert and War', *Journal of Medieval History* (1998), 215-43.

²⁶⁰ Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 194. Interestingly this is in keeping with Michael Penman's conclusion that prior to Wyntoun extant Scottish literature showed a remarkable lack of Anglophobic language, Penman, M., '*Anglici Caudati*; abuse of the English in Fourteenth-century Scottish chronicles, literature and records', *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century. New Perspectives*, eds. A. King & *idem* (Woodbridge, 2007), 216-35, at 235.

²⁶¹ The English soldier had worms in his feet, *Legends of the Saints*, i, 341.

²⁶² The captain eventually realised that only meekness mattered to the saint, *Legends of the Saints*, i, 339.

miracle type, the story involved Ninian intervening to save an English prisoner from execution.²⁶³ The saint's motivation for helping the man was not his innocence, the narrative makes it clear that he was guilty, but that he undertook to fast and visit Whithorn.²⁶⁴ As with the story of the English soldier, nationality or merit was not important to the saint. What mattered was the contract entered into by the supplicant with Ninian through the vow. Vows such as this were an important part of the Ninian cult in England and unfulfilled promises to visit the shrine at Whithorn are suggested by the payments for proxy pilgrimages made by Margaret Aske, William Eccop and Robert Ardern.²⁶⁵ A vow also featured in the final original miracle from the *Legends* with John Balorn of Elgin cured by Ninian at Whithorn, having made a 200 mile journey to the shrine.²⁶⁶ In general however, the vow was a less prominent part of Scottish devotion to the saint.²⁶⁷ This may have been a matter of practicalities. Warfare and insecurity in the border region would have been more likely to cause delays and lead to the postponement of pilgrimage by English visitors than Scots pilgrims coming from the north and east, making the incomplete vow a more common occurrence for devotees from south of the border.

Although the northern English poet in the *Battle of Flodden Field* identified Ninian as a Scottish saint, as Higgitt has suggested he was never exclusively so in the later middle ages.²⁶⁸ Hughes and Sutton, in their discussions of the piety of Richard III, characterised Ninian as the patron of the West March on both sides of the border.²⁶⁹ However, evidence of significant Cumbrian interest in Ninian is limited.²⁷⁰

²⁶³ *Ibid*, i, 331-5. The hanged man miracle topos has been explored in relation to the canonisation process surrounding Thomas of Hereford in Bartlett, R., *The Hanged man. A Story of Miracle, Memory and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), pp.42-52 and Goodich, M., 'Foreigner, foe and Neighbour: The Religious cult as a forum for Political Reconciliation', in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle ages*, ed. A. Classen (London, 2002), 11-26.

²⁶⁴ He is described as a 'wicked man' in the text, *ibid*, i, 331. As Bartlett has shown innocence was not a pre-requisite for saintly intervention in this miracle type, in 42 cases recorded between 1100 and 1500 40% of the men saved were described as being guilty, Bartlett, *The Hanged man*, pp.49-50.

²⁶⁵ As Vauchez has shown, the vow was an increasingly common feature of devotion to the saints in the later middle ages, Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.453-7, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.183-4. Offering a banded coin, the common symbol of a vow, is specifically mentioned by Robert Ardern in his will, *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, ii, 138. For Aske and Eccop see *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, pp.275-6, iii, 199-201.

²⁶⁶ *Legends of the Saints*, i, 342-44.

²⁶⁷ This may be partly a matter of source survival, in particular the lack of wills available from Scotland.

²⁶⁸ *The Battle of Flodden Field*, p.27, Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 203.

²⁶⁹ They both emphasise the west march facing Scotland, Hughes, *The religious Life of Richard III*, pp.36-7, Sutton & Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, p.41. Grant also stresses the importance of the cult in northwestern England, Grant, 'Richard III and Scotland', 116.

St Cuthbert retained his prominence in the region throughout the later middle ages and more significant cross-border interest may have been for the cult of St Kentigern, which had been widespread in the region prior to the Wars of Independence.²⁷¹ The main focus of English interest in the cult was not Cumbria but Yorkshire and some hints of how these supplicants viewed Ninian can be garnered from the prayer in Richard III's book of hours. The saint in the prayer was an early apostle of the north rather than specifically of Scotland, and it was with this non-partisan figure that the English devotees of the saint seem to have engaged.²⁷² It is clear from the miracles in the *Legends* that those responsible for generating the image of the saint at Whithorn were keen to stress this comprehensive appeal, unsurprisingly given the location of the shrine so close to the Irish Sea zone and English border.²⁷³ The ability of the late medieval Ninian cult to thus embody a sense of Scottishness for some supplicants, whilst remaining a non-partisan figure for others, was a major strength and contributed to its success.

v. Ninian as an intercessor.

Ninian's success in the later middle ages can also be explained by the variety of specific and general functions that were identified with his cult. As Eamon Duffy has shown one of the most important attributes of any successful cult in the later middle ages was a reputation for healing.²⁷⁴ Ninian had an association with one particular disease, leprosy, a malady synonymous with the medieval world.²⁷⁵ The presence of lepers in late medieval Scotland was attested by the foundation of a number of hospitals designed to house the afflicted, and references to sufferers in

²⁷⁰ Although Summerston has suggested that people made pilgrimages from Carlisle to Whithorn the only named devotee of the saint with probable Cumbrian connections was Jeffrey Middleton and Arnold Forster has tentatively identified only one Ninian dedication in the county, Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii, 223, Summerston, 'Carlisle and the English West March', 93.

²⁷¹ For saints in Cumbria see Rose, R.K., 'Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church', in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews, (Oxford, 1982), 119-37, at 131. There were 15 churches dedicated to St Cuthbert and 8 dedicated to St Kentigern in the county, Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii, pp.225-6.

²⁷² Lambeth, MS 474 printed in Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, p.41.

²⁷³ Management of the shrine at Whithorn will be discussed below in Section II.vi. The impact of this location on the diversity of pilgrims to the shrine is a prominent theme in the papal letters of the fifteenth century, *The Letters of James V*, pp. 66, 109 & 362-3.

²⁷⁴ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.178.

²⁷⁵ Although the microbe was identified by Hansen in 1874, what medieval people considered to be leprosy probably covered a number of other skin disorders including Lupus and a variety of cancers, Creighton, C., *A History of Epidemics in Britain* (London, 1965), p. 69.

governmental and burghal legislation.²⁷⁶ An individual case was recorded in 1424 when Alexander de Carnis, the provost of Lincluden, was forced to resign having been 'sore stricken with leprosy by the inscrutable judgement of God'; he was dead within a year.²⁷⁷ A number of saints were specifically associated with the cure and amelioration of the symptoms of leprosy, most notably Lazarus and Leonard.²⁷⁸ However, the ability to cure lepers, with its allusion to Christ's New Testament miracles, had become almost a prerequisite of a successful healing cult during the middle ages.²⁷⁹ The association between Ninian and the cure of the disease is first mentioned in the eighth-century life of the saint the *Miracula Nynia Episcopi*, when the saint is said to have 'cleansed the swelling leprosy from the scaly body'.²⁸⁰ This theme is continued in the *Vita Niniani* which included the cure of leprosy in Ninian's repertoire, as well as recording a posthumous miracle, not mentioned in the MNE, in which two lepers were healed at Whithorn.²⁸¹ This association led to the foundation of the two leper hospitals dedicated to the saint in Glasgow and at Kingcase near Prestwick.²⁸² A chapel dedicated to Ninian in Liberton, on the outskirts of Edinburgh, was also associated with the disease. Several prominent Edinburghers left money to the 'lipper folkis of Sanct Ninianes chapel' in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁸³

The connection between Ninian and leprosy places an interesting perspective on the visit by Robert I to the shrine in April 1329, just a month before his death.²⁸⁴ Two independent northern English sources, the chronicle of Lanercost and Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, stated that Robert died from leprosy, a contention supported by

²⁷⁶ For leper hospitals see Cowan and Easson, *Medieval religious houses*, pp.162-200, for legislation in Perth 1386 see Creighton, *A History of Epidemics*, p.113, for kingdom wide legislation in 1427 see *A.P.S.*, ii, 16.

²⁷⁷ *CSSR, 1423-1428*, 56.

²⁷⁸ Creighton, *A History of Epidemics*, pp.79-80.

²⁷⁹ This skill appeared regularly in saints lives from the fifth to eighth centuries and also featured within the later medieval legends of saints such as Edmund Rich, Wulfstan and Godric of Finchale to name but a few, see Moore, R. I., *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford, 1990), pp.48-51, for Wulfstan and Rich see Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Belief in Medieval England* pp. 54, 62, 105, For Godric, Ward, B, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (Aldershot, 1982), p.80.

²⁸⁰ MacQueen, J. *St Nynia*, (Edinburgh 1990), pp. 95 & 97.

²⁸¹ *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, pp.14-15 & 20.

²⁸² See Table 4, nos.29 & 35.

²⁸³ Andrew Mowbray in 1478 and 1492, Walter Bertram in 1492, Richard Hopper in 1512, Nicholas Carnous in 1512 and Robert Hopper all left money to the lepers at the chapel, *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, 93, 106, 110, 114, 126 & 128.

²⁸⁴ *RRS, The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*, p.157.

Liege chronicler Jean le Bel.²⁸⁵ Unsurprisingly contemporary Scottish sources fail to mention leprosy with Barbour suggesting the unnamed ailment was brought on by the rough lifestyle of the years of guerrilla warfare.²⁸⁶ It is clear from the statement in Lanercost, and those by Le Bel and Gray that, as Barrow has suggested there was ‘at least a popular belief’ that the king had the disease.²⁸⁷ Whether or not Robert and those closest to him shared this belief, it is clear that the healing reputation of the saint, if not specifically his reputation for curing leprosy, was a strong motivation behind the pilgrimage of 1329.²⁸⁸ This aspect of the Ninian dossier seems to have gradually diminished in importance through the later middle ages. It does not feature in the *Legends* or Aberdeen Breviary, perhaps due to the gradual decline of the disease in Scotland as a whole.²⁸⁹

During the later middle ages the Ninian cult also came to be associated with another specific miracle type. This was the rescue miracle, an attribute of the saint which does not feature in the surviving textual or visual images of Ninian from before 1296.²⁹⁰ It was first visualised in a series of episcopal, chapter and burghal seals from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which show the saint holding empty fetters or chains.²⁹¹ This would become a common image of the saint from the fifteenth century and can be seen in various forms in two books of hours held in Edinburgh and the British Library, in Robert Blacadder’s prayer book, in Andrew Lundy’s primer and on the wall painting at Foulis Easter.²⁹² Although there are no chains in the main image of Ninian from the Danish altarpiece, in one of the scenes from the life of saint

²⁸⁵ *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, trans H. Maxwell (Llanerch, 2 vols, 2001), ii, 264, *Sir Thomas Grey, Scalacronica, 1272-1363*, ed. A. King (Surtees Society, Durham, 2005), p.107, Le Bel is cited in Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p.223.

²⁸⁶ *John Barbour. The Bruce*, ed. A. A. M. Duncan, (Edinburgh 1997), p.744.

²⁸⁷ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p.223.

²⁸⁸ The possibility that the pilgrimage of 1329 was intended to obtain a cure for the disease that killed Robert is posited by Yeoman and Donaldson, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, p.44, Donaldson, ‘The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn’, 152.

²⁸⁹ For the decline of the disease see Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, pp.45-60.

²⁹⁰ This function of the cult was first discussed at length by Higgitt, ‘From Bede to Rabelais’, 194-95, though the chains had been noted in Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, pp.49-50. There are no allusions to it in the MNE or *Vita Niniani* or in the limited range of visualisations of the saint from this period, Higgitt, ‘From Bede to Rabelais’, 191-93.

²⁹¹ The first seal to show the chains was that of Bishop Thomas Spens (1450-58), fetters were also included in the chapter and burgh seal of Whithorn from the sixteenth century, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, eds. J. Stevenson & M. Wood (Glasgow, 3 vols, 1940), i, 81, 149, 151.

²⁹² EUL, MS 42, fol. 72, BL, Add MS 39761, fol. 97, NLS, MS 10271, Anderson, ‘Andrew Lundy’s Primer’, 42-3, Foulis Easter, Apted & Robertson, ‘Late fifteenth century Church paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter’, 273.

painted on the wings he is shown visiting prisoners.²⁹³ The first textual reference to this trait comes in the *Legends*, where as we have seen three of the original miracles stories involved the saint intervening to help those in captivity or in dangerous situations.²⁹⁴ The late development of this image appears to rule out the suggestion by Daphne Brooke that Ninian's broken fetters were intended to symbolise his defeat of Pictish slave trading.²⁹⁵ As Higgitt has shown the development of this trait was a reflection of societal fears caused by the endemic warfare of the fourteenth century, in particular the increasing victimisation of non-combatants.²⁹⁶ The cult, or more accurately those in control of it, was responding to these concerns, and the demand for rescue miracles which was common across fourteenth-century Europe.²⁹⁷

While this function of the cult would have had relevance for anyone located in an area affected by warfare, it would have had the most obvious appeal for soldiers. There were several of these amongst the English devotees of the saint. Richard III had considerable military experience and Hugh Hastings and Thomas Merkenfield had been on the Scottish campaign of 1482. John Trollop was a soldier and William Tyrwit, who was at Whithorn in 1506, was described as a knight.²⁹⁸ Jeffrey Middleton, captured in the borders in 1528 on his return from Whithorn, may also have felt he had reason to thank Ninian for his safe, if somewhat delayed, release.²⁹⁹ This aspect of the cult would also have had obvious attractions for the belligerent Stewart monarchs from James II to James V and may also go some way to explaining interest in the saint amongst Scottish noble families like the Cunninghams and Kennedys in the hinterland of the shrine and those like the Irvines of Drum from further a field. In this context it is perhaps surprising that neither of the two Scottish

²⁹³ Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintances be Forgot*, 196-97, Hay, 'A Scottish Altar Piece in Copenhagen', 5-6.

²⁹⁴ These were the miracles involving Fergus MacDowell, the hanged man and the English Captain, *Legends of the Saints*, i, 327-9, 331-5 & 335-42.

²⁹⁵ Brooke suggests that the fetters were imperfectly understood by fifteenth-century supplicants of the cult, but there is no reference to Pictish slave trading in the hagiographical dossier of the saint, Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, pp.49-50, Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 193.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 194-95. For a discussion of rescue miracles in a European context see Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century*, pp.ix-x, 2-4.

²⁹⁷ Especially in France and Italy during periods of unrest, other saints including Martial and Giles were also well known for this trait, Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 194-5, Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century*, pp.2-18.

²⁹⁸ Trollop was described as an 'armigier' and his will contained various pieces of military equipment, *Wills and inventories of the northern counties of England*, i, pp. 97-99, RSS, i, no.1291.

²⁹⁹ Jeffrey was eventually freed at the instigation of James V, *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Henry the Eighth*, iv, no.4829.

monarchs who spent time in captivity, David II or James I, displayed any obvious affinity with the saint.

This trait was also noted in the late fifteenth-century Arbuthnott missal, where Ninian was described freeing 'Christians from their dreadful chains'.³⁰⁰ In the missal Ninian is referred to as effective on both 'land and sea'.³⁰¹ This reference suggests that protection from natural or man-made maritime dangers, a subset of the rescue miracle type, were also part of the saint's repertoire.³⁰² It may have been this aspect of Ninian's reputation that prompted the vow made by the French ambassador during a storm in 1434.³⁰³ Ninian was also popular within Scottish mercantile communities, both at home and abroad. There were dedications to the saint on the west and east coasts at Wigtown, Irvine and Dumbarton, as well as in Leith, Dundee, Perth, Blackness and Aberdeen.³⁰⁴ As we have seen, expatriate mercantile communities in Flanders and Denmark, unlike their student or monastic counterparts, dedicated their communal altars and chapels to the saint of Whithorn. The Scottish trading fraternity with its reliance on overseas trade was especially vulnerable to piracy and the vagaries of international diplomacy.³⁰⁵ The choice of the Ninian by these communities may well have been at least partly dictated by his more specific function as an effective patron of the seas.

Ninian also seems to have had an association with the safe delivery of children and general infant health. Other Scottish saints like Margaret, whose shirt was part of the paraphernalia of royal births, and Kentigern, whose legends involved fertility, are more readily identified with child birth and there is nothing in the Ninian dossier to associate him with this miracle type.³⁰⁶ However, as Macdougall has suggested the pilgrimages to the shrine by Margaret of Denmark in 1473 and 1474 coincided with the birth of royal children.³⁰⁷ The visit by James IV to the shrine in February 1507

³⁰⁰ *Liber Ecclesiae Beati Terrenani De Arbuthnott*, 369.

³⁰¹ *Ibid*, 369.

³⁰² For this miracle type see Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century*, pp.2-4.

³⁰³ The vow was presumably made at the suggestion of Hugh Kennedy who was on board ship with the ambassador, Barbe, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin*, 50-54.

³⁰⁴ See Table 4, nos. 1-3, 10, 20, 33, 39, 45-46, 48 & 57-58.

³⁰⁵ For the problems caused by piracy and maritime warfare in the later middle ages see Ditchburn, D., 'Piracy and War at Sea in Late Medieval Scotland', in *Scotland and the Sea*, ed. T. C. Smout (Edinburgh, 1991), 35-58.

³⁰⁶ Margaret's shirt was present at a number of royal births in the later middle ages, see Boardman, S., 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum', in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. R. Fawcett (Edinburgh, 2005), 139-54 at 147. Kentigern had a reputation for helping induce pregnancy in women, see Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', 13-5.

³⁰⁷ Macdougall, *James III*, p.90.

was made, according to Leslie, on behalf of his ailing Queen and young heir.³⁰⁸ Aside from the interest of Scottish queens, women feature fairly prominently amongst the devotees of the cult. An image of the saint was included in a book of hours commissioned by a Scottish lady living in France and interest in the cult was shown by countesses of Crawford and Douglas as well as English supplicants Margery Salvin and Margaret Aske.³⁰⁹ Although there is no textual or visual evidence to connect Ninian to child birth it may have been the saint's general reputation for healing that attracted these women.

Aside from these specialisms the general reputation of Ninian as an effective healer and miracle worker flourished in the later middle ages. This curative reputation was at least partly responsible for attracting Robert I to the shrine in 1329. As well as leprosy the MNE and *Vita Niniani* described Ninian curing the blind, deaf, lame and paralytic.³¹⁰ In the *Legends* the English Captain and John Balorn were cured of worms, and the blind, deaf, paralytic and a succession of other ill people were healed at the shrine itself.³¹¹ Miracles of various types associated with the saint were also mentioned at regular intervals throughout the later middle ages. Fordun noted that they were occurring associated with Ninian 'during his life, nay after his death, even until now'.³¹² In 1301 an English spy reported that on hearing of the approach of the Prince of Wales to Whithorn, the shrine custodians moved a famous image associated with the saint fifty miles away to Sweetheart Abbey. Miraculously this was found to have returned the following morning, in time for Edward's arrival.³¹³ The various miracle stories recorded in the *Legends* can be dated, according to the author, to the mid-fourteenth century during the reign of 'David Brus'.³¹⁴ In 1434 the French ambassador gifted the silver ship in gratitude for the saint's intervention to prevent his party from shipwreck.³¹⁵ Further miracles are recorded during the reign of James IV

³⁰⁸ Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, ii, 123.

³⁰⁹ BL, Add 39761, fl. 97. See above for the Margaret Ramsay, countess of Douglas. Elizabeth Hamilton, countess of Crawford, owned a Ninian relic encased in gold. Her 1517 testament is transcribed in Brown, 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian', pp.288-89. For Aske and Salvin, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, pp.275-6 & iv, p.116. Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 197.

³¹⁰ MacQueen, *St Nynia*, 95-97, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, 14-15 & 20.

³¹¹ *Legends of the Saints*, i, 335-42 & 342-4.

³¹² This quote appears in the earlier part of the chronicle so can probably be considered to have a twelfth or thirteenth century provenance, *Chron. Fordun*, pp.86-7.

³¹³ This is also another example of the non-partisan image surrounding the cult, *CDS*, ii, no.1225.

³¹⁴ The inclusion of Fergus MacDowell in the *Legends* also supports this timeframe, *Legends of the Saints*, i, 327-9.

³¹⁵ Barbe, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin*, 50-54.

who gave money to an English pilgrim in 1506 who ‘*had a miracle at the shrine*’.³¹⁶ James V referred to the almost daily miracles said to have been occurring at the shrine in 1539 and the inclusion of the David II arrow story in Maior and Boece, as well as the description of the saint by the latter as an ‘active miracle maker’, shows that Ninian’s miraculous reputation was going strong on the eve of Reformation.³¹⁷

vi. Cult and shrine management

The development of an association between the saint and the rescue miracle was just one way in which his image was adapted in the later middle ages. The cult of the saints was an organic movement and for a saint and shrine to remain popular over a period of time required astute management and promotion.³¹⁸ Control of the Ninian relics was shared between the bishops of Galloway and the Premonstratensian canons who served as the cathedral clergy, an arrangement not dissimilar to that at the shrine of the apostle in St Andrews.³¹⁹ The situation was complicated in the fourteenth century by the allegiance of Galloway to the province of York, which meant that the bishops were often absent from Whithorn.³²⁰ During that period it had been the priors who had controlled, and benefited from the popularity of the cult and shrine. White canons of the Premonstratensian order arrived at Whithorn from Souleseat in around 1175x77, replacing either black canons or secular clergy from the original house founded by Fergus of Galloway (d.1161).³²¹ The priory was remarkably successful in securing new landed endowments and churches after 1300 in an era in which, as

³¹⁶ TA, iii, 193.

³¹⁷ *The Letters of James V*, pp. 362-3.

³¹⁸ Susan Ridyard summarises this process by stating that ‘cults did not just develop, they were developed’, Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, p.5. Duffy and Wilson have also commented on the link between promotion and cult survival, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.164-5, Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, pp.26-8.

³¹⁹ The bishops were also styled ‘of Whithorn’ and ‘of St Ninian’ on occasion. For simplicity we will use the Galloway title. In St Andrews it was Augustinian canons rather than monks who served the cathedral, Dilworth, M., ‘The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews’, *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. D. McRoberts, (Glasgow, 1976), 121-35, at 123. For promotion and organisation at the Fife shrine see Chapter 4, II.i.

³²⁰ This led to a major conflict of loyalties during the Wars of Independence which was exacerbated by the traditional support in the region for the Balliol family, see Oram, ‘In Obedience and Reverence’. Whithorn and York c.1128-c.1250’, 83-101. This is not to say that the Galloway bishops were consistently opposed to the Bruce cause, Thomas Dalton had previously served as a chaplain of Robert I and was described by Donaldson as being an ‘energetic supporter of his cause’, Donaldson, ‘The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn’, 131.

³²¹ See Dilworth, *Whithorn Priory in the Late Middle Ages*, pp.3-4.

Oram has shown, 'such gifts were increasingly rare'.³²² The priors had become some of the wealthiest clergy in late medieval Scotland on the back of the popularity of the cult and had obvious motivations for continuing to promote their saint.³²³ Unsurprisingly conflict was frequent between the priors and bishops after the return of the latter in the early fifteenth century, however the priors would remain the driving force behind the promotion of the cult.³²⁴

In the twelfth century this promotion had taken the form of a combination of building work at the shrine and the commissioning of a contemporary life of the saint.³²⁵ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries through the selective use of images and new miracle stories, Aelred's template was augmented with new specialities which reflected contemporary concerns. The model for this modernising process seems to have been the cult of St Leonard, which had emerged in the eleventh century and quickly became one of the most popular cults in Western Europe.³²⁶ There were a number of similarities between the Leonard and Ninian cults, both of which appeared from somewhat obscure early origins to prosper in the later middle ages.³²⁷ Leonard had a reputation for freeing captives, curing lepers and the safe delivery of children, all aspects of the Ninian dossier by the later middle ages.³²⁸ The custodians of the Ninian cult appear to have consciously adopted and localised some of the attributes of this international saint to propagate their cult. This approach was a reflection of a wider trend from the thirteenth century when, as Michael Goodich has shown,

³²² Oram, R., 'Dividing the Spoils. War, Schism and Religious Patronage on the Anglo-Scottish Border, c.1332-c.1400', in *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century. New Perspectives*, 136-56, at 155.

³²³ Backmund, describes the priors as among the wealthiest clergy in Scotland, Dilworth however, describes them as middle ranking ecclesiastics, Backmund, N., 'The Premonstratensian Order in Scotland', *IR*, iv (1953), 25-41, at 40, Dilworth, *Whithorn Priory in the Late Middle Ages*, pp.7-8.

³²⁴ As early as 1408 the Archdeacon of Glasgow was forced to intervene in a dispute between Bishop Eliseaus (1409-15) and Prior Gilbert (1382-1413), Backmund, 'The Premonstratensian Order in Scotland', 39.

³²⁵ It is not entirely clear who was behind cult promotion in the twelfth century, Brooke suggests a combination of Bishop Christian (1154-86) and local lord Fergus of Galloway, while Clancy suggests that northern English clergy commissioned the *Vita Niniani*, Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, p.88, Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages', 402-3. Structurally the promotion at Whithorn bears a number of similarities to the marketing of St Kentigern at Glasgow in the twelfth century by Glasgow bishops, although it is not clear who was influenced by whom, see Chapter 4, I.v, and Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', 9-22.

³²⁶ Higgitt has noted the similarities between the visual images of the two saints, Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', 194-5.

³²⁷ Another cult with a similar selection of traits was that of St Martial which prospered in France from the fourteenth century, Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century*, pp.137-140.

³²⁸ For Leonard see Farmer, D. H., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1987), p.264 and Voragine, J, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, trans, W. G. Ryan (Princeton, 2 vols, 1993), ii, 243-40.

miracles were increasingly expected to conform to established precedents.³²⁹ The moulding of Ninian into a curative/protector type, which was taking place in the fourteenth century, thus required appropriate miracles and the natural model for the custodians at Whithorn was the popular figure of Leonard.

As well as modifying the image of their saint the community of St Ninian improved the shrine at Whithorn and exploited the new promotional tools available in the later middle ages to publicise their cult. This process began in 1406 when an indulgence was granted to help fund a new bridge over the river Bladnoch, an important crossing point on the route to Whithorn.³³⁰ This extension of the infrastructure of the pilgrimage network in Galloway was matched by the repair and augmentation of the church at Whithorn, a process instigated by Bishop Eliseaus in 1408. This seems to have been a joint project, although the prior had to be forced into paying half the costs by a Papal mandate.³³¹ In 1431 Prior Thomas (1413-31) personally built and founded the Lady Chapel, which would become a further part of the pilgrim itinerary at Whithorn.³³² This was followed by a successful supplication for an indulgence to those visiting the shrine in 1462, 'for the reparation, maintenance and augmentation of the said church'.³³³ The indulgence was the work of Prior William Douglas, who managed to obtain the support of Mary of Guelders and the young James III for his project.³³⁴ In 1466 Douglas supplicated and obtained from the Pope a further indulgence 'on account of the diverse miracles' that had occurred at the shrine.³³⁵ These promotional efforts may have been prompted by the example of the custodians of the shrines of SS Andrew, Columba and Kentigern, all of whom exploited the Papal system of remissions and indulgences in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³³⁶ However, unlike those shrines, whose wider cults were stagnating in this period, the custodians of St Ninian's seem to have been operating

³²⁹ This trend was a result of changes in the ideal of sainthood in the later middle ages partly as a consequence of papal control over the canonisation process, Goodich, M., *Lives and Miracles of the Saints* (Aldershot, 2004), p.430, and *idem*, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Aldershot, 2007), pp.4-6.

³³⁰ The river runs across the peninsula just to the south of Wigtown and would have to be crossed by all pilgrims arriving by land, *CPL, Benedict XIII*, p.156. There were further problems with this crossing place and another indulgence was granted in 1441, *CSSR, 1433-1447*, no.746.

³³¹ The mandate was enforced by a neutral party, the archdeacon of Glasgow, *CPL, Benedict XIII*, p.173-4.

³³² This combining of native or patron saints with Mary is a trend we will see with other episcopal shrines in Chapter 4, *CSSR, 1428-1432*, 175.

³³³ *CSSR, 1447-1471*, no. 915.

³³⁴ James and Mary are mentioned first in the supplication in front of Douglas, *ibid*, no.915.

³³⁵ *CSSR, 1447-1471*, no. 1149.

³³⁶ For the episcopal promotional campaigns mentioned above see Chapter 4, II.i-iii.

from a position of strength. They used the popularity and prestige of their cult to draw concessions from the Papacy to further develop the shrine itself and their own wealth and status.

By the end of the fifteenth century the shrine custodians had created a complex and sophisticated pilgrimage network at Whithorn. During the reign of James IV pilgrims could visit Ninian's cave at Glasserton, five miles from Whithorn, and the chapel on the hill near the town, possibly an early Christian site yet to be identified.³³⁷ Once inside the church itself the pilgrim was greeted by an altar in the *uter kirk*, where a Ninian relic was displayed before moving on to the '*rude altar*'. These were the preamble to the main event, the High Altar, where the chief relics of St Ninian were displayed. After this the pilgrim would pass the Lady Chapel before descending into the crypt to view the empty tomb. The sophisticated multifocal shrine arrangement at Whithorn shows many similarities to the organisation of the shrine of St Kentigern in Glasgow.³³⁸ Crypts were decidedly out of fashion in Western reliquary churches by the later middle ages, at both Whithorn and Glasgow however, they were the result of topographical necessity rather than aesthetic choice.³³⁹ Although it lacked the space of large reliquary churches like Glasgow or St Andrews, the shrine of St Ninian was at the forefront of fashions in the display of relics in Western Europe. This complex and fashionable shrine was a symbol of the at times uneasy, coalition of bishops and priors at Whithorn who diversified the image of their saint when necessary and took advantage of the available promotional tools to continually renew interest in their saint and shrine in the later middle ages.

Conclusion

The relative plethora of extant visual and textual evidence that has survived for the Ninian cult makes him perhaps the easiest saint to engage with in late medieval Scotland. The striking aspects of the cult in the later middle ages were the

³³⁷ This description of the arrangements at Whithorn come from James IV's pilgrimages in 1506-8, *TA*, i, 356, ii, 80-1, 252, iii, 280, 287 & 292 and Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, p.39.

³³⁸ The multi-focal style of shrine management was common across the British Isles in this period; see Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp.78-9 for a description of arrangements at Becket's tomb in Canterbury.

³³⁹ For Glasgow see Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', 9-22 and Durkan, 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', 46-76.

mutation of this long established regional saint from the periphery of the Scottish kingdom into a popular national patron, the longevity of the popularity of the saint and shrine and the dissemination of the cult beyond the borders of the kingdom. The first and second points have generally been explained by royal patronage and promotion by the episcopal centre at Whithorn.³⁴⁰ However, whilst promotion and management were important factors, as we have seen for much of the later middle ages the Ninian cult operated on the peripheries of the Scottish political establishment and was not fully embraced by the governmental structures of church and crown until the late fifteenth century. The renewal of crown engagement with the saint and shrine during that period was directly related to the political situation in Galloway and the southwest, where Ninian was the pre-eminent regional patron saint. Ninian's patronal role in the region also prompted sponsorship of the saint by the English monarch Richard III, as he looked to carve out a territorial base for himself in southwestern Scotland. The full incorporation of Ninian into the top rank of national saints by the Scottish church elite, alongside Andrew, Margaret, Kentigern and Columba, was also a reaction to the popularity of the cult and a recognition that, for some sections of society, Ninian had already come to be identified as a national patron saint.

The emergence of Ninian as a national patron and the longevity of interest in his cult are best explained by exploring the model of sanctity that he represented for his main devotees, the English and Gaelic speakers of northern England and southern and eastern Scotland.³⁴¹ Ninian was in many ways a typically popular saint of the later middle ages.³⁴² The only unusual aspect of the cult was that unlike Becket, Ninian was not a new saint, but had been reinvented in the twelfth century.³⁴³ He belonged to the curative/protector saint category and had a reputation for the 'useful' miracles that were typical of successful late medieval cults.³⁴⁴ As Weinstein, Wilson and Duffy have commented, the successful shrines and cults of this period were those that

³⁴⁰ See in particular Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', 400-404.

³⁴¹ As we have seen it is impossible to be certain whether Irish devotees of the saint were attracted by the same aspects of the cult as their Scottish and English counterparts.

³⁴² The importance of images and secondary relics in the later middle ages led in part to the de-localisation that we see in the Ninian cult where primary and secondary shrines operated separately from each other, and where the cult was diffused through a number of secondary centres such as Glasgow, Aberdeen and Ripon, which operated independently from the cult centre and where devotion to the saint was based around a smaller relic or image, see Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 453-62, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.167-9, Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, p.223.

³⁴³ As we will see in Chapter 3 this phenomenon was not uncommon in the British Isles in the later middle ages and was particularly prevalent in Scotland.

³⁴⁴ Weinstein & Bell, *Saints and Society*, p.144. The contrast between these miracle types and those attributed to Columba and other typically early medieval saints will be discussed in Chapter 4.

maintained a consistent reputation for the miraculous, whilst providing their supplicants with comprehensive and wide ranging benefits.³⁴⁵ It is clear that the Ninian cult fulfilled this criterion. The cult had a winning blend of specific and general thaumaturgical and protective functions that appealed to late medieval Scots. There is also evidence from the fourteenth century through to the Reformation of the consistent reputation for the miraculous associated with the saint at the shrine and elsewhere. The durability of the cult can also be partly attributed to the promotional activities of the dedicated shrine custodians at Whithorn, bishops and priors who ensured their saint remained in touch with contemporary fashions. When royal patronage did emerge in the latter part of the fifteenth century, it further boosted this already established national cult.

However, in spite of the identification of Ninian as a national patron and attempts by the Scottish church and crown to harness the power of the cult and claim him as their own, he was never exclusively viewed as such in the later middle ages. The revitalised cult that emerged in northern England in the fifteenth century was perhaps more directly a consequence of royal patronage than its Scottish equivalent. The ability of this cult to transcend the political border, although not without occasional dangers for pilgrims, provides further evidence of the surprising durability of Anglo-Scottish spiritual ties in the later middle ages, particularly in the area of southern Scotland and northern England that Sally Crumplin has characterised as a distinct cultural and political unit.³⁴⁶ In the central middle ages, Crumplin identified a number of saints who operated across this unit, with Cuthbert the most successful.³⁴⁷ In the fifteenth century the Ninian cult appears to have begun to fill the vacuum presented by the slight decline in interest in the saint of Durham, and perhaps also of the other prominent cross-border saint, Kentigern, to emerge as a leading intercessory figure in the region. This process, as well as the wider popularity of the saint in

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p.147, Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, pp.27-8.

³⁴⁶ Crumplin, S, 'Modernising St Cuthbert: Reginald of Durham's Miracle Collection', in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, eds. K. Cooper & J. Gregory (Woodbridge, 2005), 179-91, at 181, and *idem*, 'Cuthbert the cross-border saint in the twelfth century', 119-29. Goodman and Macdonald have argued that the frontier society that had formed as a result of the warfare of the fourteenth century had begun to erode by the 1370s and that cultural links such as common saint's cults were discarded by both sides as a form of cultural distancing. The continuity and revitalisation of the Ninian cult in England in the fifteenth century would dispute this point, see Goodman, A., 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches in the Fifteenth Century: A Frontier Society?', in *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, ed. R. Mason, (Edinburgh, 1987), 18-33, at 23 & 28 and Macdonald, A. J., 'John Hardyng, Northumbrian identity and the Scots', in *Northeast England in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. C. H. Liddy & R. H. Britnell (Woodbridge, 2005), 29-42.

³⁴⁷ Crumplin, 'Modernising St Cuthbert', 181.

Scotland, would be brought to an abrupt end not by changes in fashion, but by the Protestant reformations of the sixteenth century.

Chapter 3

The cult of St Duthac in late medieval Scotland

In late July 1560, Nicholas Ross (1549-66x67), the provost and vicar of Tain, travelled south to Edinburgh to attend the Scottish parliament.¹ He left the gold and silver encased relics of St Duthac in the safekeeping of his kinsman, Alexander Ross of Balnagown; they would never be seen again.² The Protestant Reformation brought an abrupt end to the official cult of St Duthac, although for the next century exiled Catholics like the bishop of Ross, John Leslie (1565-96), would continue to reminisce about the days when ‘*Kingis, Princis and the commune people*’ flocked to the tomb of the northern saint.³ One of those ‘*Kingis*’ was James IV who visited Tain annually from 1493 until his death at Flodden, and it is in the context of this royal patronage that the saint and his shrine are perhaps best known.⁴ However, as we have seen in Chapter 1, the Duthac cult flourished across late medieval Scotland. This widespread popularity was reflected in the consistent presence of his March 8th feast day in Scottish calendars, in the numerous altars dedicated to the saint and in his commemoration in other new foundations from the fourteenth century to the Reformation. In this period Duthac was one of only a handful of Scottish saints who had a truly national cult, stretching from Orkney in the north, to Ayr and Kelso in the south.⁵ This popularity was recognised by an English poet who identified ‘*Doffin their demigod of Ross*’, alongside Andrew and Ninian, as the main patrons of the Scots at the time of the Flodden campaign.⁶

In spite of the broad popularity and visibility of the Duthac cult in the later middle ages, the saint has received little attention from modern scholarship.⁷ MacKay included Tain as one of the four main destinations for court imposed penitential

¹ APS, iii, 25.

² *Old Ross-shire and Scotland: As Seen in the Tain and Balnagown Documents*, ed. W. Macgill (Inverness, 1909), i, 8. These relics included the saint’s head encased in silver, his breastbone in a gold container and the portable shrine which was silver with gold gilding, they were valued at £113.

³ The quote is from Leslie’s 1578 description of pilgrimage to Tain, featured in his history of Scotland. Duthac is also mentioned in a work of 1631 by David Chambers. These will be discussed further in Section I.iv, Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, i, 335, Chambers, D., *De Scotorum fortitudine, doctrina, & pietate, ac de ortu & progressu haeresis in regnis Scotiae & Angliae* (Paris, 1631), pp.112-3.

⁴ The context for the relationship between James and Duthac will be discussed below, see Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.196-8 for a quick synopsis of the pilgrimages by the king.

⁵ See below Maps 7-8 and Table 5 for the distribution of dedications to Duthac.

⁶ *The Battle of Flodden Field*, p.27.

⁷ A statue of Duthac is displayed in the medieval religion section of the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh.

pilgrimages in the fifteenth century, while Duthac and his cult centre feature fleetingly in works on late medieval Scotland by Ian Cowan, David Ditchburn and Peter Yeoman.⁸ Extended discussion of the cult and shrine is limited to an article by John Durkan on the foundation of the collegiate church at Tain, a range of enthusiastic local histories and a recent edition of the Scottish Burgh survey.⁹ Whilst this reflects the wider neglect of the cults of native saints in late medieval Scotland, it may also result in part from the difficulties of locating the Duthac cult chronologically, a problem we will return to below. This chapter traces and explains the popularity of the saint from the shadowy origins of the cult, to the halcyon days of royal pilgrimage in the reigns of James IV and James V, and considers how this particular cult reflected wider developments in popular piety and the specific social and religious environment of late medieval Scotland.

I. 1065 and all that. The early cult and the Duthac legend

i. Early evidence for the cult

In 1065 the Annals of Ulster recorded that '*Dubthach the Scot, the chief confessor of Ireland and of Scotland, reposed in Armagh*', with a small obit stating that;

'Dubthach, a righteous and austere man, will have a free abode with passage ways. See! The confessor has obtained heaven, in exchange for this thin-boarded land'.¹⁰

⁸ These were known as the four 'heid pilgrimages', MacKay, 'The four heid pilgrimages of Scotland', 76-7, Cowan, 'Church and Society', 113, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.52. See also a brief discussion of Tain as a pilgrimage centre in *idem*, 'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles', 66-67. Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, pp.106-109. Yeoman specifically only includes Duthac in a section on the pilgrimages of James IV. Tain is also briefly mentioned by Fawcett in an examination of medieval Scottish churches, Fawcett, 'The Architectural framework for the cult of saints: some Scottish examples', 74. Duthac fell outwith the remit of the most comprehensive work on national saints by Alan Macquarrie, which finishes in 1093, Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland. Essays in Scottish Church History*.

⁹ Durkan, J., 'The Sanctuary and College of Tain', *IR*, xiii (1962), 147-154. The most thorough local history is Munro, R. W & Munro, J., *Tain through the Centuries* (Edinburgh, 2005). See also Slade H. G., *The Collegiate Kirk of St Duthac of Tain and The Abbey of Fearn* (Tain and District Museum Trust, 2000), Brequet, G. A., 'The Early History of Tain', *Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club*, vi (1899-1906), 26-44 and Innes, C., 'The Croziary of St Duthac', *PSAS*, ii (1859), 15. The burgh survey includes a brief attempt to explain the late medieval cult, *Historic Tain. Archaeology and development*, ed. R. Oram et al (SBS, Edinburgh, 2009), see Appendix 1.

¹⁰ The reference to '*Dubhthach Albanach*' can be found in *The Annals of Ulster*, p.503, and in *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ii, p.10.

The similarities of the name and correspondence of the Irish connection with the legend in the Aberdeen Breviary, have led to the identification of this holy man with the cult that developed centred on Tain in the later middle ages.¹¹ Whilst Farmer accepts this premise, Durkan and Ditchburn have placed the death of the saint at c.1165, with the Bollandists preferring c.1250.¹² This confusion is not entirely surprising as even medieval Scots seem to have been a little unsure as to his provenance. The lessons in the Aberdeen Breviary place the saint in a distinct geographical context, delineating his area of cultural influence as Tain and the Dornoch firth, but show notable vagueness in locating Duthac within a historical timeframe.¹³ Hector Boece, writing in the 1520s, is more precise, recording a legend that placed the career of Duthac in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. In Bellenden's translation he is described as the '*preceptoure to sanct Gilbert*', the bishop of Caithness who died in 1245.¹⁴ However, Boece makes it clear that an alternative account of his origins was in circulation in the early sixteenth century, stating that '*utheris sayis he wes lang yeris afoir bis tyme*'.¹⁵

Early evidence for the Duthac cult is problematic. The church at Tain first enters the records in 1227.¹⁶ The shrine is first recorded in 1306, when William, 3rd earl of Ross, (d.1323) showing little respect for the saint, violated the sanctuary and captured Elizabeth and Marjory Bruce with their guardian John, earl of Atholl.¹⁷ It has been suggested that the earliest altar dedications outside of the north at Haddington and Ayr, can be dated to the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁸ However, there are

¹¹ See Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p.124, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, H. Thurston and D. Attwater (London, 4 vols 1953-4), ii, p.526 and Boyle, A., 'Notes on Scottish Saints', *IR*, xxxii (1981), 59-83 at 66-67. Both Watson and Mackinlay link the cult to '*Dubthach Albanach*', Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, pp. 283-4, Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, p.223. The section in *Historic Tain* is not tied down to a specific date and describes Duthac as a 'synthetic saint', *Historic Tain. Archaeology and development*, p.132.

¹² Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p.124. The 1065 date is also accepted in *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ii, p.526 and in Boyle, 'Notes on Scottish Saints', 66-67. The Durkan and Ditchburn date may be an error for 1065 or connected to the second origin legend which we will discuss below, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.52, Durkan, 'The Sanctuary and College of Tain', 147. The date in the *Acta Sanctorum. Martii*, ed. J. Bolland (Paris/ Rome, 1865), pp.798-9 seems to be based in the Chambers' description of the saint which will be discussed below at I.iv.

¹³ *Breviarium Aberdonese*, i, fol. 65r.

¹⁴ *Chron. Boece*, ii, 229.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, ii, 229.

¹⁶ Brydinus the '*Vicar of Tene*' is first mentioned in 1227, *Registrum Episcopatus Morviensis* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1837), p.82.

¹⁷ The 1306 incident is mentioned in Barbour's *Bruce*, *John Barbour. The Bruce*, iv/45-55 and in *Gesta Annalia II* in *Chron. Fordun*, ii, p.334.

¹⁸ Slade suggests that the altars were founded in the two churches in 1242 and 1230 respectively, although there is no evidence to support this, Slade, *The Collegiate Kirk of St Duthac of Tain*, p.9.

difficulties with the Haddington dedication, which will be discussed in Section II.i, and it appears to have a late thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century provenance.¹⁹ Similarly the altar in the Dominican friary at Ayr was first recorded in 1517, and there is no reason to suppose that it was founded earlier than the fifteenth century.²⁰ An early date has also been posited for chapels dedicated to Duthac at Wick and Kirkwall, but once again it is difficult to date these with any confidence to earlier than the fifteenth century.²¹ The coastal location of these chapels suggests that they may have been part of the mercantile trend in Duthac dedications that will be discussed in Section II.ii.

Church and place-name dedications to the saint are similarly problematic. A series of these dedications have been associated with the saint of Tain and may indicate the early spread of the cult (see Map 6 below).²² The parish churches of Croy and Kintail were dedicated to the saint, but in neither case was he recorded as patron prior to the Reformation.²³ The cluster of Duthac place names around the church of Kintail, the village of *Clachan Dubhthaich*, *Loch Duich* and the pass of *Cadha Dhuhthaich*, are a strong indication that the church was dedicated to a saint of that name, but it is difficult to be certain of a date for this cluster.²⁴ Watson has also suggested that the village of *Kilduthie* in Kincardineshire may also have been related to the saint of Tain, but once again this cannot be verified.²⁵ A series of other place-names, *Belmaduthie*, *Lethen Dubhthach* and *Arduthie* in the north, and *Baldutho* in Fife, also contain the name Duthac. However, there is no religious context for these dedications and these sites may have been named after individuals with the personal name Duthac.²⁶ Although it was not a common name, there are examples of its use in ninth-century Iceland, in Ireland and at Iona in the tenth century, as well as in the later

¹⁹ The earliest record of the altar is in 1314, see below, II, i.

²⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that this altar (see Table 5. no.3) was founded when the friary was built and it would be surprising if a dedication to Duthac was to be found in Ayr at that stage.

²¹ See Table 5, nos. 12 & 19.

²² Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, pp. 283-4, Watson, W., *Scottish Place Name Papers* (London, 2002), p.219, Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, pp.226-7.

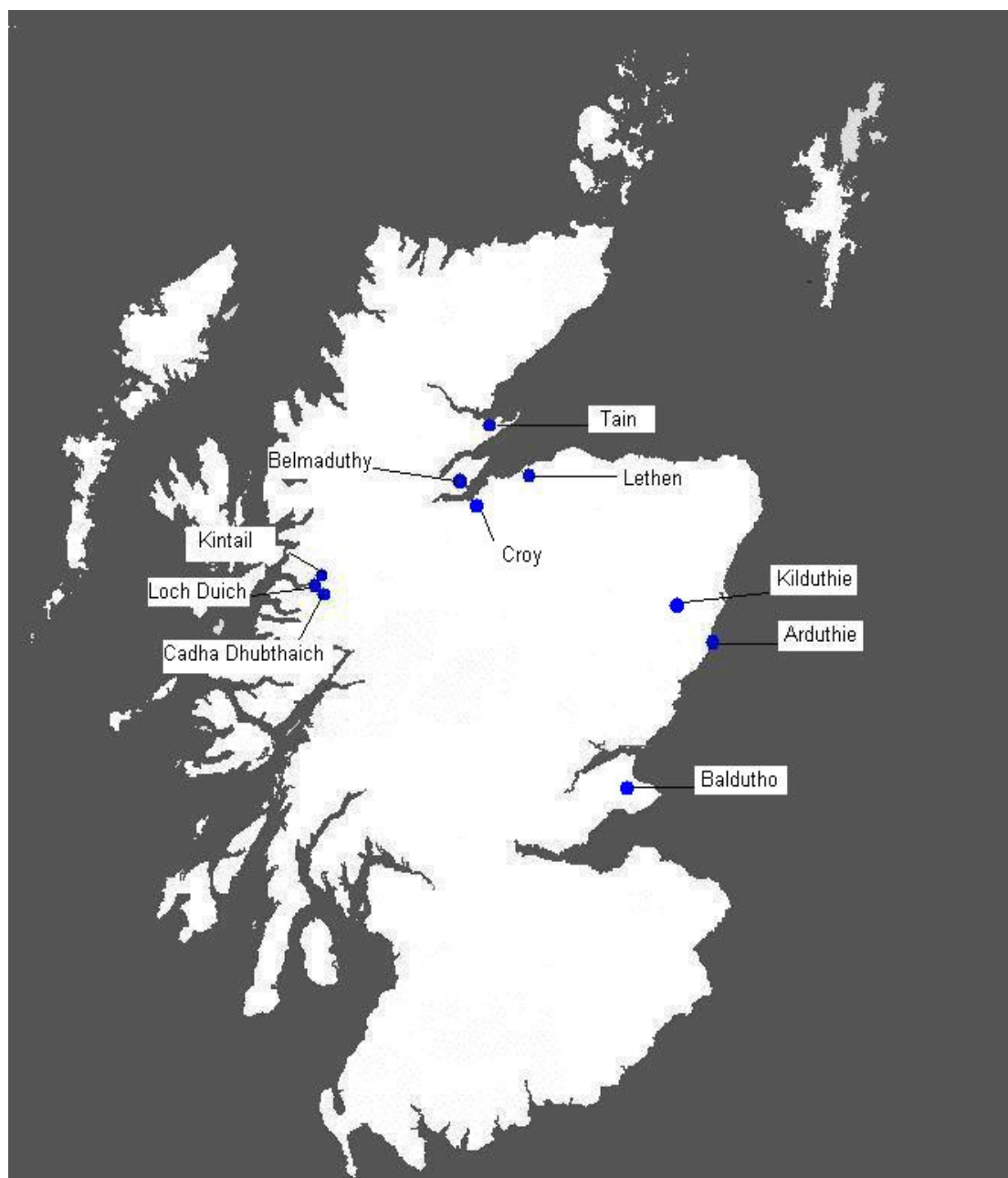
²³ The dedication of the church at Croy is first mentioned in 1640, NAS, Records of Croy Kirk Session, CH2/76. The dedication of the church of Kintail is mentioned in Mackinlay and Watson but was first attested in 1600, Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, p.284, Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, p.226, Cowan, I, B., *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (SRS, Edinburgh, 1967), p.116.

²⁴ I am grateful to Simon Taylor for this suggestion and other comments on church and place-name dedications connected to the saint.

²⁵ Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, p.284.

²⁶ For *Belmaduthie*, *Lethen Dubhthach* and *Arduthie* see Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, p.226 and Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, p.284. For *Baldutho* see

Map 6. Possible Duthac early church and place-name dedications



Taylor, S & Markus, G., *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3. St Andrews and the East Neuk* (Donington, 2009), p.140.

middle ages.²⁷ The remainder of this section will consider whether this evidence, when combined with the various legends of the saint's origins, can provide firm conclusions on the early cult and provenance of St Duthac.

ii. The Civic legend

The first origin legend developed in Tain, probably in the later middle ages, and places the secular and ecclesiastical establishment of the town in symmetry. This account was visualised on the burgh seal and was noted in an inquest held in the town in 1439. The choice of the urban hierarchy of Tain to display Duthac on its seal was an illustration of the perceived patronal relationship between the saint and town and his role as guarantor of the burgh's rights and privileges.²⁸ This function was outlined more explicitly in the text of the 1439 inquest, which took place in response to the destruction of town records in a serious fire of 1427.²⁹ Presided over by the earl of Ross, Alexander MacDonald (d.1449), the inquest was attended by representatives of the two major local kindreds, the Rosses of Balnagown and Munros of Foulis and a number of other individuals, possibly burgesses of the town.³⁰ It established that those dwelling within the sanctuary, designated by four crosses, were exempt from both royal and comital customs as a result of an immunity granted by Malcolm III in the mid-eleventh century.³¹

The inquest of 1439 was also attended by the sheriff and a burghal representative from Inverness and it is in the context of relations between these

²⁷ A slave called Dubthach is recorded in Iceland in 870x3 and sons of an Irishman called Dutthak were on the same island in 870x900. In the *Senchus Fer n-Alban*, Dubthach was a son of Erc Eochaid's son, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, i, 335, 345 & 430. The AU mentions the death of Dubthach the abbot of Iona in 938, *The Annals of Ulster*, i, 456. Dubthach, an Irish poet, is also mentioned in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. C. Plummer (Dublin, 2 vols, 1997), i, p.cxxviii. A possible appearance of the name in lowland Scotland during this period is a *Duftah* who was the Celi De abbot of Lochleven in 1128, *Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D. 1153*, no.80. For the distribution of the personal name in the later middle ages see Chapter 1, V.i and below II, ii.

²⁸ The seal is featured in Urquhart, *Scottish Burgh and County Heraldry*, pp.61-2 and in *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, p.81. These are undated; an early seal from 1534 is on show at the Tain and District Museum.

²⁹ This event is recorded in a sixteenth-century copy of the 1439 inquest printed in *Tain and Balnagown Documents*, p.369, and was mentioned in the confirmation of the town charter by James VI in 1587-8, *RMS*, v. no.1432.

³⁰ *Tain and Balnagown Documents*, p.369. The inquest was witnessed by some of the Lord of the Isles men, town baillie Alexander MacCulloch, Alexander and John de Sutherland, the local nobility, Hugh Ross of Balnagown, the descendant of Hugh the brother of William, the last native earl of Ross (1333-72) and George Munro of Foulis. Other names like John de Spens, John Monylaw (a Thomas Monylaw was provost of the Collegiate Church in 1482) and John Bayne not connected with these groups were possibly representatives of burghal families.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.369. The inquest also stated that this immunity had been confirmed by Robert I, David II and Robert II, although there is no other extant evidence for this.

northern burghs that this origin legend should be viewed.³² Although Tain paid stent in 1535, was represented in parliament from 1567 and in the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, it did not obtain official burghal status until granted the rights by James VI (1567-1625) in 1588.³³ The privileges granted in 1588 included the right to hold various market days, in particular that of St Duthac on March 8th, and control communal land and fisheries.³⁴ It was presumably these privileges that the Inverness representatives had come to contest in 1439, apparently unsuccessfully. The continuing sensitivity of the Inverness commercial community was shown in 1457 and 1458 when James II and the new earl of Ross, John MacDonald (d.1503), were forced to confirm the rights of the burghers of Inverness when making grants to Tain.³⁵ This dispute rumbled on into the late sixteenth century, James VI's charter having been preceded by protests on the part of the Inverness representative in the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland at the enrolling of Tain as a free burgh in 1581, 1583 and 1584.³⁶ Whilst Tain appears to have gradually evolved the commercial rights associated with a royal burgh on the strength of the sanctuary, the economic status of the town remained ambiguous until 1588, a fact regularly highlighted by the burghers of Inverness.

The legend of Malcolm's grant to the saintly burgh, which corresponds chronologically with the death of 'Dubhach Albanach' in Armagh, has been incorporated into the local narrative of the development of Tain, as can be seen in the contemporary image of the saint which now hangs in the church (see Photograph 1 overleaf).³⁷ Local tradition explains the contradiction between the presence of relics of the saint in the town and the clear statement in the AU that Duthac died in Armagh, by suggesting that the relics were translated to Easter Ross in 1253.³⁸ Although it is

³² Sheriff William Leslie and burgess Ferchard Reid were present at the inquest, *ibid*, pp.369-70.

³³ Pryde, G. S., *The Burghs of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1965), pp. 24-5. Stent payments are recorded in *Records of the Conventions of the Royal Burghs of Scotland- with extracts from other records relating to the affairs of the Burghs of Scotland, 1295-1597* (Edinburgh, 1866), p.514. Tain paid £16 17s 6d, around half of that paid by Elgin (£33 15s) and less than a third of Inverness (£56 5s).

³⁴ *RMS*, v. no.1432.

³⁵ *Tain and Balnagown Documents*, p.207. *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493*, eds. J. Munro & R. W. Munro (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1986), p.101.

³⁶ *Records of the Conventions of the Royal Burghs*, pp.115-6, 163-4 & 190. The representatives of Tain when called upon to answer the claims of Inverness failed to attend the subsequent meetings and were fined £20. The dispute within the convention was somewhat one sided as the commissioner of Inverness was also the custumar for all burghs between Caithness and Moray.

³⁷ A stain glass image in the collegiate church at Tain dates Duthac to 1065. This is the date used in the excellent local visitor centre, *Tain Through Time*, which interprets the late medieval shrine.

³⁸ Whilst this translation is often mentioned as being 'recorded' there is no trace of it, Munro, & Munro, *Tain through the Centuries*, p.16.

Photograph 1. Modern image of Duthac in the collegiate church of Tain.³⁹



Three miracles from the Aberdeen Breviary
1065 date and phrase
from Annals of Ulster

³⁹ Taken by the author.

possible that documents destroyed in 1427 would have confirmed this early provenance for the sanctuary at Tain and the career of Duthac, this origin legend must be viewed with caution. This may well have been how it was treated by the compilers of the Aberdeen Breviary who stopped short of placing Duthac in a historical framework.⁴⁰ The medieval civic authorities used the legend in their competition with Inverness and other local trading centres whilst their modern counterparts have utilised it to provide their town with a distinctive origin myth. The dependence of these authorities on an early provenance for their patron saint, in whom their town's economic and commercial freedoms were invested, and the lack of independent corroboration of this date requires us to treat the mid-eleventh century as a possible rather than probable source of the cult.

iii. The St Andrews legend

The second origin legend first appears in the petition for the canonisation of Duthac drafted by a prior of St Andrews, James Haldenstone, (1418-43) in 1418.⁴¹ The two-page letter was probably intended to be the first stage in a full canonisation process; however, there is no record of a reply or of further correspondence regarding the saint. Haldenstone presents Duthac as an austere bishop confessor with a national cult built upon a reputation for miracle working.⁴² These were essential criteria for a canonisation request, as laid out by the Fourth Lateran council in 1215, and the somewhat formulaic nature of the letter means that it provides limited information about Duthac's appeal or the range of his cult by 1418.⁴³ The novel aspect of the petition is the connection that Haldenstone draws between the saint and his diocese, claiming that Duthac was transferred to the see of St Andrews from Ross.⁴⁴ Walter Bower was also aware of this tradition and included Duthac in his list of St Andrews

⁴⁰ Lessons viii and ix discuss Duthac's death and the discovery, after 7 years, that his body was incorrupt, but no date or historical context is mentioned, *Breviarium Aberdonese*, i, fol. 65r.

⁴¹ There are various spellings of the prior's name, this study will use Haldenstone. The petition was intended to be presented to Martin V (1417-31) by Archibald, 4th earl of Douglas (d.1424). There is no record of a reply to the petition so it is possible that it was never carried through, *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, ed. J. H. Baxter (Oxford, 1930), pp.4-6 & 385. The motivations behind Douglas interest in the cult will be discussed below in II.iii.

⁴² He describes the cult as encompassing '*tota Scotorum regio*', *ibid*, p.5.

⁴³ An excellent discussion of the boxes that needed to be ticked during the canonisation process is provided in Kleinberg, A. M., 'Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages', *Viator*, 20 (1980), 183-205. Significantly for Duthac, these included posthumous miracles and acceptance of his sanctity over a wide area.

⁴⁴ *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p.5.

bishops in the *Scotichronicon*, dating his episcopate to the early thirteenth century.⁴⁵ Bower also noted that Duthac had previously lived in Ireland, where he had mentored another thirteenth-century bishop of St Andrews, Maelbrigde.⁴⁶ As his source for this information Bower referred to a 'life of the glorious and excellent confessor', which may well have been a new *vita* commissioned as part of the canonisation process of 1418.⁴⁷

The designation of Duthac as a bishop of St Andrews in that period is unsupported and McRoberts has explained the 1418 petition as an example of the growing concern for Scottish saints in the fifteenth century.⁴⁸ However, there seem to have been a number of processes at work in the development of this legend. Firstly the choice of Duthac may have been influenced by the emergence in the fourteenth century of a small cluster of dedications to the saint in Lothian, based around the Franciscan friary at Haddington.⁴⁹ The catalysts behind the spread of the cult to Lothian are problematic and will be discussed further in Section II.i, but there were clearly traces of the Duthac cult within the diocese of St Andrews, and more specifically close to the birth place of Bower, in the early fifteenth century.⁵⁰

James Haldenstone may also have had more specific reasons for promoting the Duthac cult. Although initially a supporter of the Avignon pope Benedict XIII (1394-1417), who had secured his election as prior of May in 1414, James had switched his allegiance to Martin V shortly before being elected prior of St Andrews in 1417. His election confirmed the chapter's support for the new pope.⁵¹ Haldenstone

⁴⁵ *Chron. Bower*, iii, 343.

⁴⁶ According to Bower, while they were in Ireland Duthac prophesied that Maelbrigde would one day become a bishop of the Scots, *ibid*, iii, 343.

⁴⁷ Sadly this is no longer extant. Bower does not give any specifics regarding where his source came from, *ibid*, iii, 343.

⁴⁸ Dowden notes that earlier writers Keith and Eubel placed Duthac as a bishop of Ross in the early thirteenth century, Dowden, J., *The Bishops of Scotland*, (Glasgow, 1912), pp.211-2. Watt mentions Duthac as a possible early bishop of Ross but does not include him in the St Andrews list, Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi*, p.347. McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', 9.

⁴⁹ An altar was dedicated to Duthac in the Franciscan friary at Haddington c.1314, the earliest liturgical reference to the saint appears in the *Kalendarium de Hyrdmanistoun* (c.1350) which belonged to St Clair family, and Lothian noble, James Douglas of Dalkeith, made a bequest to the relics of Duthac at Tain, as well as the friary at Haddington, in 1390. See below Section II.i for a full discussion of the Lothian strand of the cult.

⁵⁰ For Bower's career see *Scotichronicon*, ix, pp.204-9. There were a number of other dedications to the saint in St Andrews diocese by the Reformation which can be dated to after the careers of Bower and Haldenstone, these will be discussed in II.ii.

⁵¹ Watt, D. E. R., *A Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to 1410* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp.248-51. For a discussion of the controversy see Hannay, R. K., 'A Chapter Election at St Andrews in 1417', *Scottish Historical Review*, xiii (1913), 321-7.

subsequently became a keen supporter of Martin and the spokesman for the party, alongside the earl of Douglas, that prevailed in 1418 when Scotland officially withdrew support from Benedict.⁵² In February 1418, two months before the petition, Martin V provided Griffin Young, an exiled Welsh bishop who had supported the revolt of Owen Glyn Dower, to the vacant see of Ross.⁵³ Young never seems to have occupied the see and was eventually transferred to the warmer climes of Hippo, replaced by a canon of St Andrews, John Bullock, in 1423.⁵⁴ By August 1419 it had probably become clear that Young would remain an absentee and a year after the canonisation petition, which had made the association between St Andrews and northern diocese, Haldenstone was enjoined to sequester the fruits of the see of Ross.⁵⁵ It is not clear whether Haldenstone had personal designs on the bishopric in the period 1418-23, was supporting his colleague Bullock or was merely after the fees. However, by identifying with an emerging local cult Haldenstone appears to have been smoothing the way for his intervention in the diocese of Ross, a process justified by the creation of a historical connection between St Andrews and the northern see.

Bower may also have had wider agenda which led to the inclusion of the Duthac-St Andrews connection in the *Scotichronicon*. This reference was part of the trend within the chronicle tradition in which, as we have seen in Chapter 1, a wider range and type of local saint were incorporated into the narrative of the development of the Scottish realm.⁵⁶ Diocesan bias was also a prevalent theme in the *Scotichronicon*, and it was this spur that seems to have prompted the integration of Duthac, as well as Triduana, into the story of the foundation and development of the see of St Andrews. In the chronicle these figures fulfilled the role of saintly auxiliaries, alongside St Rule, to boost the sanctity and prestige of St Andrews as a

⁵² *Ibid*, 321-7, Swanson, R., 'The University of St Andrews and the Great Schism, 1410-19', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxvi (1975), 223-61, at 238.

⁵³ *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, pp.389-90. Bishop Alexander de Waghm died on February 4th 1418; Young was transferred from Bangor on February 14th. John Bullock was provided by Benedict XIII but had to wait until 1423 to be confirmed by Martin V, Watt, *Fasti Ecclesia Scoticanae Medii*, pp.268-9.

⁵⁴ Bullock had competed with Haldenstone for the position of prior in 1417. The see of Ross may have been a consolation prize, *ibid*, pp.268-9.

⁵⁵ Haldenstone seems to have collected this money until Bullock was confirmed in 1423, *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, pp.268-9.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 1, II.i.

sacred centre.⁵⁷ Bower's choice of Duthac and the decision to connect him to St Andrews was probably stimulated by the local dedications, the recent tradition of the 1418 canonisation petition and the wider popularity of the cult by the 1440s. In both the *Scotichronicon* and Haldenstone's petition there is also a sense that the writers were keen to bring the Duthac cult into the mainstream of the Scottish church by providing him with a place in the narrative of the kingdom's ecclesiastical development. This aim may have been driven by a sense that the Duthac cult, with its Irish connections and firm presence in the Hiberno-Norse world of the north, was to some extent outside of the control of the main centres of this national church.⁵⁸ The impression of something unofficial in the Duthac cult is suggested by the description of the saint as 'the demi-God of Ross' by an English poet in 1513, a theme we will return to later.⁵⁹ Without independent corroboration the Duthac-St Andrews connection must also be treated with caution.

iv. The Caithness legend

A third origin legend which located Duthac in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, but disregarded the St Andrews connection, was elaborated at length in two post-Reformation histories. The first of these, written by an exiled bishop of Ross, John Leslie, in 1578, emphasised the popularity of the pilgrimage to Tain amongst 'Kingis, Princis and the commune people'.⁶⁰ Leslie dated Duthac to the reign of William I (1163-1214), describing him as the mentor of Gilbert of Caithness.⁶¹ This connection had also been made by Boece in the 1520s, although as we have seen he indicated that contrasting stories of the saint's provenance were in circulation at that time.⁶² A similar time frame for the saint was posited by another

⁵⁷ As Webb has commented, using the example of St Albans, it was sensible for church administrators to maintain 'as many pilgrimage attractions as possible', Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.78. The clergy of York Minster employed these tactics in the fifteenth century. In addition to promoting St William, whose relics lay in the church, altars were dedicated to other northern saints like Cuthbert, John of Bridlington and prospective saints like John Scrope to widen the attractions for pilgrims, Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp.298-318.

⁵⁸ This Hiberno-Norse identity of the cult was also emphasised in the small excerpt from the Martyrology of Aberdeen which described numbers of Irish pilgrims at the shrine, printed in *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, p.129.

⁵⁹ *The Battle of Flodden Field*, p.27. See below III.ii.

⁶⁰ Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, i, 335.

⁶¹ Gilbert was bishop of Caithness from 1222x3-1245, Watt, *Fasti Ecclesia Scoticanæ*, p.58. Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, i, 335.

⁶² *Chron. Boece*, ii, 229.

exiled churchman, David Chambers, in his celebration of Scotland's Catholic past, printed in 1631.⁶³ Chambers included a unique legend in which Duthac predicted Scots calamities at the hands of the English and Danes, and prophesied the victory over the Norwegians at the battle of Largs in 1263. He placed the death of the saint nine years before this battle in 1253.⁶⁴ Although neither the prophetic powers nor the relationship with Gilbert were included in the lessons of the Aberdeen Breviary, it may have been the case that both Leslie and Chambers were including stories that were part of the wider Duthac legend by the sixteenth century. The corroboration of the connection to Gilbert in Boece shows that it, at least, was a known component of the legends surrounding the saint prior to the Reformation.

However, as with the Civic and St Andrews legends these authors should be treated with caution as a source for the early cult of Duthac. Besides writing sometime after the fact, Leslie and Chamber's discussion of the Duthac cult was part of their wider Counter-Reformation agenda which was aimed at a royal audience.⁶⁵ Leslie was keen to enhance the reputation of both his defeated cause and his diocese, whilst Chamber's purpose was to emphasise the traditional relationship between the Stewart dynasty and popular Catholicism, as embodied in the cult of the saints.⁶⁶ Duthac was an ideal figure for this agenda, as both an establishment figure and a saint who had been the recipient of both popular and royal patronage in the century prior to the Reformation.⁶⁷ Whilst these works broaden our knowledge of the later medieval perception of Duthac, they are of limited use for determining the origins of the cult.

v. The 'historical' St Duthac

Although the various legends reveal more about the ambitions and anxieties of those involved in their transmission than the actual origins of saint and cult, they do have some material in common. What emerges from these sources is the image of a cult established around a holy man with Irish connections, who was based in the

⁶³ Chambers, *De Scotorum fortitudine*, p.112-3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.113. In his calendar of Scottish saints Chambers also includes what appears to be the local June feast day of the saint, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, pp.235 & 238.

⁶⁵ Leslie's work was dedicated to Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-67) and Chamber's was dedicated to Charles I (1625-49).

⁶⁶ For Leslie's career see Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, xvii. For Chambers see Halloran, B. M., *The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp.14, 30-1 & 205-6.

⁶⁷ Counter-reformation works like these often attempted to resuscitate the somewhat discredited image of the bishop and other establishment figures.

Tain/Dornoch firth area for at least part of his career. Although he is consistently described as a bishop in later sources, this may be attributed to the tendency in the central and later middle ages to incorporate saints into the church establishment or secular elite, a trend also apparent in the description in the AB of Duthac's noble roots.⁶⁸ Whilst the Duthac cult may have been based around the confessor who died in Armagh in 1065, he could equally have been Dubthach, the abbot of Iona who died in 938 or one of two Irish saints with similar names who feature in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁶⁹ What is also clear from the various legends is that something significant occurred in the early to mid-thirteenth century.⁷⁰ This prompted the connection between Duthac and this time period in Bower, Boece, Leslie and Chambers, and may have been the catalyst behind the early spread of the cult from the north.⁷¹ This may have been a relic translation from Armagh to Tain, as local tradition suggests, or merely a change to his status within the reliquary church.

This event does tie in with the spectacular rise of a local family led by Farquhar Mactaggert, who was made earl of Ross by Alexander II (1216-49) in the 1220s.⁷² Alexander Grant has suggested that Mactaggert, whose name means 'son of the priest', was from a family of hereditary clergy in Tain.⁷³ A grateful Mactaggert promoting his local cult, possibly even that of an ancestor, would neatly explain a translation in this period and the transmission of the cult outside of the north, as the new earl's family became prominent figures at the royal court. Unfortunately this premise does not stand up to further examination. Although Farquhar appears to have died in Tain he was buried at his own foundation, the abbey of New Fearn, and neither he, nor his descendants, displayed a conspicuous interest in Duthac or Tain.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Vauchez describes the trend of elitism particularly prevalent in northern European cults, Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.173-7, for the British Isles see Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p.148, who describes the most common saint type 1215-1515 as the well born who had held high ecclesiastical office.

⁶⁹ There were two Dubthach's in the Martyrology with feast days on February 5th and October 7th, *The Martyrology of Donegal*, pp.40-1 & 268-9.

⁷⁰ 1253 is a date that appears in a number of local histories and in Chambers, *De Scotorum fortitudine*, pp.112-3.

⁷¹ The earliest spread of the cult from the north appears to have been at the end of the thirteenth century, see below II.i.

⁷² This is the version of his named used in Duncan, A. A. M., *Scotland. The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), p.520.

⁷³ Grant, A., 'The Province of Ross and the Kingdom of Alba', in *Alba. Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*, eds. E. J. Cowan & R. A. Macdonald (East Linton, 2000), 88-126, at 120-3. The recent work on the burgh of Tain refutes this suggestion, *Historic Tain. Archaeology and development*, pp.20-1.

⁷⁴ The seat of the earls of Ross was at Denly, close to Tain and although it is possible that Farquhar had an interest in moving the diocesan centre from Rosemarkie to Duthac's town, he is most closely related to the abbey of Fearn where he was buried in 1252, Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*,

As with the later medieval cult, determining a guiding hand at the shrine in the thirteenth century is difficult. Although interesting, the origin legends and early evidence tells us little about the Duthac cult other than that it was based around a local holy man and was reinvented at Tain in the thirteenth century. However, the event in the mid-thirteenth century seems to have had a limited impact on the wider Duthac cult and it would be another century, and different catalysts, that would lead to the diffusion of the cult on a national scale.

II. Catalysts and networks for the expansion of the cult in later middle ages

There were numerous saints in medieval Europe, but it was a rare few to whom veneration was manifested on anything more than a local level.⁷⁵ The diffusion of the Duthac cult throughout the kingdom of Scotland in the later middle ages was therefore an unusual and remarkable development. The saint's 8 March feast day first began to appear in Scottish corporate calendars from the end of the fourteenth century. Duthac was a key member of the core group of local saints who emerged in the Scottish liturgy in this period, and his feast was included in church calendars from locations throughout the kingdom (see Map 7 below).⁷⁶ The feast was also marked regularly in personal calendars with a fifteenth and sixteenth century provenance from as disparate locations as Aberdeen, Lothian and Argyll.⁷⁷ However, unlike a number of the other saints from the core group, it is clear that devotion to Duthac had filtered into wider Scottish society. This broad popularity is evident from the wide range of

Scotland, p.101. Munro & Munro, *Tain through the Centuries*, p.16, Slade, *The Collegiate Kirk of St Duthac of Tain*, pp.21-2. Fearn was a daughter house of the Premonstratensian abbey of Whithorn and was founded by Mactaggert, who endowed it with a relic of St Ninian probably sometime after 1235 when he was involved in the royal campaign in Galloway, Duncan, *Scotland. The Making of the Kingdom*, p.531.

⁷⁵ Swanson has described the cult of the saints as 'a vast subject', Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p.145.

⁷⁶ See Chapter 1, Table 1. For Fearn see, *The Calendar of Ferne*, pp.51-6, for Aberdeen, EUL, MS 27-fol.2, for Perth, NLS, MS 652, Eeles, 'The Perth Psalter', 427, for Edinburgh see *The Holyrood Ordinale*, p.8.

⁷⁷ Overall Duthac features in 63% (17 out of 27) of the extant Scottish liturgical documents which feature local saints in their calendars from the late fourteenth century to the Reformation, see Chapter 1, Table 1. For Aberdeen see, Eeles, 'Notes on a missal formerly used in S. Nicholas, Aberdeen', 444-447, for the Yester hours, which also contains a collect of the saint, see *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepy's*, pp.14-17, at 15, for Argyll see Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours. Devotion, Liturgy and Luxury*, Appendix 3, p.27.

altars, chapels and other new foundations dedicated to the saint from the late fourteenth century to the Reformation (see Table 5 and Map 8 below). The geographical distribution and quantity of these dedications in Scotland was matched only by devotion to Ninian and Andrew in this period. As we have seen, later medieval devotion to Ninian was built upon a pre-existing cult, supported by a promotional team of bishop and prior at Whithorn. The Andrew cult, as we will see in Chapter 4, was also promoted by a network of canons and cathedral officials at his shrine, and was further boosted by the evolution of the saint into the recognised national patron by the fifteenth century. This section will trace the rather different catalysts and networks that led to the dissemination of the Duthac cult on a national scale by the end of the middle ages.

Table 5. Dedications to St Duthac in late medieval Scotland

LOCATION	DEDICATION TYPE	FOUNDED/FIRST ATTESTED	FOUNDER/PATRON INFO
1. Aberdeen, St Nicholas. ⁷⁸	altar	1359	Lawrence de Crag, John Scherer (burgesses)
2. Arbroath abbey. ⁷⁹	altar	1524	Robert Scot (burgess)
3. Ayr, Blackfriars. ⁸⁰	altar	b.1517	-
4. Brechin Cathedral. ⁸¹	altar	1485	Malcolm Guthrie (burgess)
5. Dundee, St Mary. ⁸²	altar	1516	Skinner/Glovers Guild
6. Edinburgh, Holyrood Abbey. ⁸³	light	b.1511	James IV?
7. Edinburgh, St Giles. ⁸⁴	altar	1438	Thomas Cranstoun (Provost/Merchant)
8. Elgin Cathedral. ⁸⁵	altar	b.1528	Alexander Garderer (burgess)
9. Forres. ⁸⁶	chapel	b.1611	-
10. Haddington, Greyfriars. ⁸⁷	altar	b.1314	John Congalton of that ilk

⁷⁸ *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, i, p.15.

⁷⁹ *Liber St Thome de Aberbrothoc*, ii, 438-42.

⁸⁰ *The Protocol Book of Gavin Ros*, eds. J. Anderson & F. J. Grant (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1908), p.28, Murray, D., *Legal Practice in Ayr and the West of Scotland in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Glasgow, 1910), p. 27.

⁸¹ *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, ii, 120.

⁸² Maxwell, *Old Dundee. Ecclesiastical, Burghal and Social*, p.29.

⁸³ The only record of this light is an offering made by James IV in December 1511, *TA*, iv, 181.

⁸⁴ *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, 59, 65, 67, 69 & 76.

⁸⁵ *RMS*, iii, no. 781.

⁸⁶ The chapel dedicated to the saint in Forres is first mentioned in 1611, *RMS* vii, no. 519.

⁸⁷ The earliest reference to this altar is in Douglas, who found it in a now lost family archive. Moir Bryce, who uses Douglas as his reference, describes the charter of 1314 in which John Congalton donated bread and wine to the Duthac altar for the souls of his parents who were buried beside it, Douglas, R., *The Baronage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1798), p.521, Bryce, W. M., *The Scottish Grey Friars* (Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1909), i, pp.170 & 177. A charter of 1314 is referred to by J G Wallace in *NAS, Charters, writs and notices of the Grey Friars of Haddington*, GD1/413/25, but is no longer extant.

11. Kelso Abbey. ⁸⁸	altar	b.1505	Thomas Brown (priest)
12. Kirkwall. ⁸⁹	chapel	b.1448	Sinclair family (earl)
13. Inverness, Blackfriars. ⁹⁰	altar	b.1560	-
14. Linlithgow, St Michael. ⁹¹	altar	c.1488	James IV?
15. Newburgh. ⁹²	church (joint dedication)	1508	-
16. Perth, St John. ⁹³	altar	b.1517	-
17. Restalrig. ⁹⁴	chapel (joint dedication)	1487	James III
18. St Andrews, Holy Trinity. ⁹⁵	altar	1481	Andrew Martin (canon)
19. Wick. ⁹⁶	chapel	-	-

⁸⁸ Thomas Brown, the vicar of Calderclare, founded a chaplainry at the pre-existing altar of St Duthac in the abbey in 1505, *RMS*, ii, no.2860.

⁸⁹ The chapel in Orkney is first mentioned in 1448, Craven, J. B., *History of the Church in Orkney. From the introduction of Christianity to 1558* (Kirkwall, 1901), p101-104, Peterkin, A., *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney* (Edinburgh, 1910), pp.35 & 167-8.

⁹⁰ The altar in the Dominican friary of Inverness was first recorded in 1560, *ER*, xix, 351 & 391.

⁹¹ The only information for this altar comes from the patronage of James IV, Ferguson, *Ecclesia Antiqua. The Church of St Michaels Linlithgow*, p.327, *TA*, i, 337.

⁹² The burgh church of Newburgh was dedicated jointly to Katherine, Mary Magdalene and Duthac, Laing, *Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh*, pp.156 & 512.

⁹³ The Perth altar is mentioned as already in existence in 1517, NAS, Breadalbane Muniments, GD112/25/6.

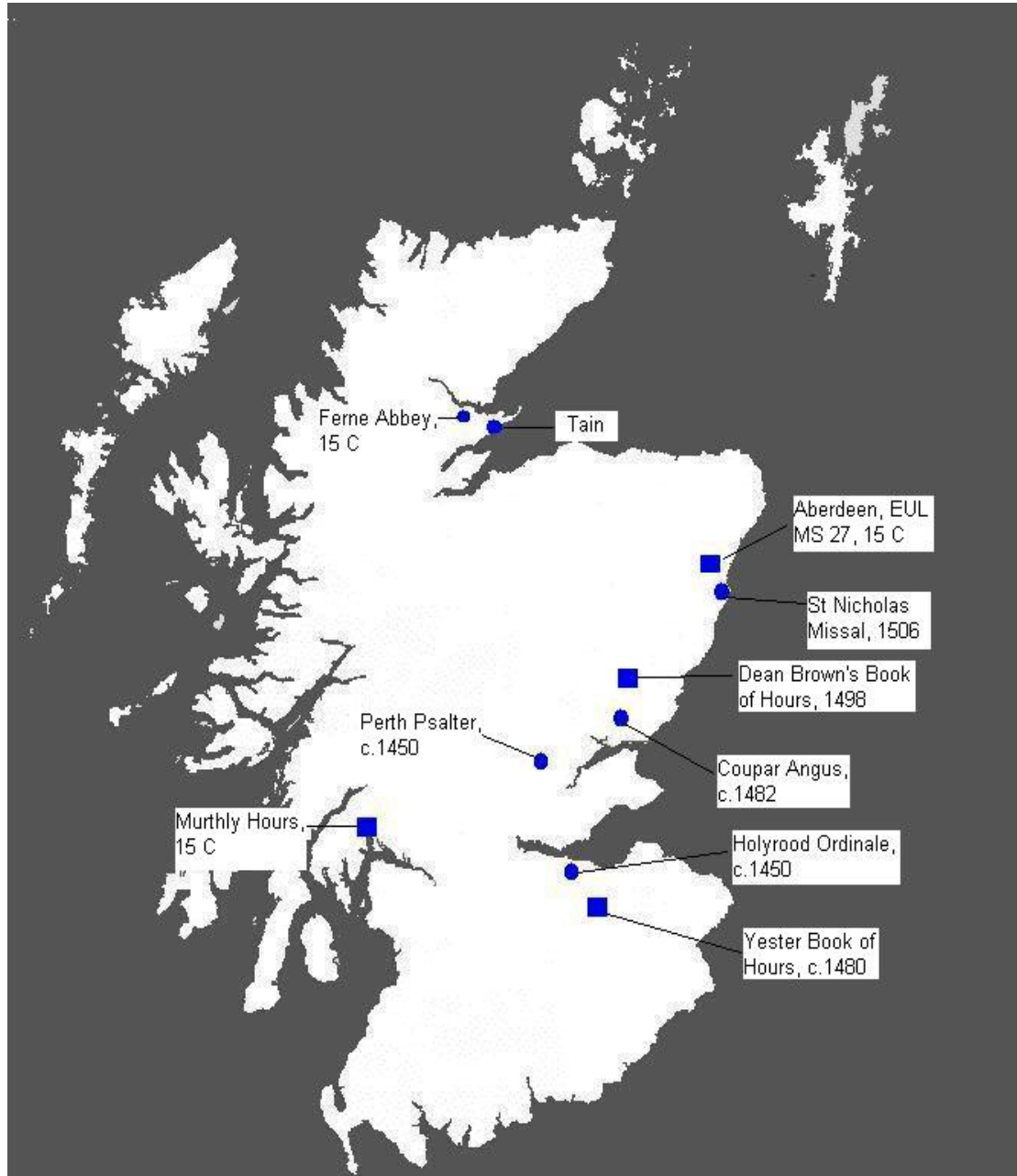
⁹⁴ *Midlothian Charters*, i, 282.

⁹⁵ The Duthac altar was apparently already in existence before it was refounded in 1481 by Andrew Martin, a canon of Aberdeen, NAS, Records of Thomson and Baxter, GD241/198. For the other Martin brothers who further endowed it in 1487 see Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews*, pp.76-77.

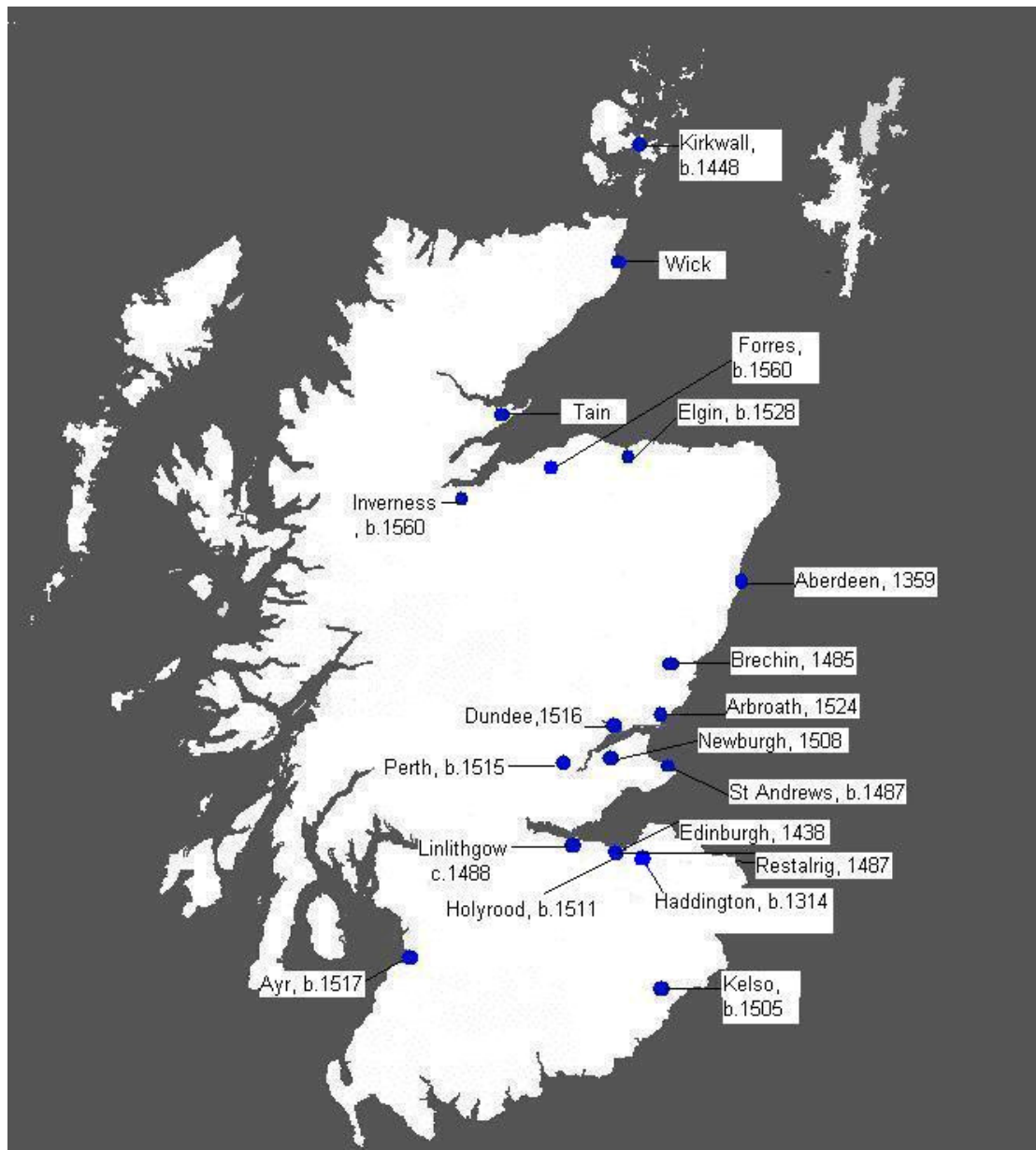
⁹⁶ The Wick chapel is problematic and no dating is possible, *Origines parochiales Scotiae*, ii, pp.772-3, Craven, J. B., *A History of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Caithness* (Kirkwall, 1908), p.5.

Map 7. Location of sample of church and personal calendars that feature Duthac's feast day.

- = Corporate Calendar
- = Personal Calendar



Map 8. Location of late medieval Duthac dedications



i. The Lothian cult

The first trace of the cult outside of the north can be seen in a small cluster of dedications in fourteenth-century Lothian. The earliest of these was an altar in the Franciscan friary at Haddington, first recorded in 1314.⁹⁷ Dating this dedication is problematic. It appears to have been established sometime between the foundation of the church in 1242 and 1314, when minor nobleman John Congalton of that Ilk made a bequest to the altar. The original charter of this bequest is no longer extant but according to Douglas and Moir-Bryce, Congalton's parents were buried next to the Duthac altar.⁹⁸ As we will discuss below, the legends of the saint framed him very much in the mendicant mould and his ascetic reputation would have made him an attractive saint for the Franciscans.⁹⁹ As Vauchez has shown, after an initial hostility to local saints the friars changed tack, 'setting out to dominate their cults'.¹⁰⁰ However, Duthac was not a local figure in Lothian and there is little evidence of further Franciscan interest in his cult. It is unclear what prompted the interest of the friars or John Congalton in the northern saint, and there are no further traces of this dedication in the later middle ages.¹⁰¹

The second Lothian link to the cult was a bequest to the church of Tain made by James Douglas of Dalkeith (d.1420) in a will from 1390.¹⁰² Douglas had no obvious territorial interests in the north and the inclusion of gifts to the Greyfriars of Haddington in the testament suggests that it may have been a connection to the Franciscans that prompted his interest in the saint.¹⁰³ During the same period two Duthac feasts were included in a liturgical document from Midlothian, the *Kalendarium de Hyrdmanistoun*.¹⁰⁴ This calendar was owned by the Sinclair's of that Ilk and was the earliest extant document in Scotland to include feasts associated with

⁹⁷ Table 5, no.10.

⁹⁸ Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, pp.170 & 177, Douglas, *The Baronage of Scotland*, p.521.

⁹⁹ See below III.i.

¹⁰⁰ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.207-9.

¹⁰¹ There are no references to Duthac in the extant documents relating to the Greyfriars in Haddington, it is possible that the altar did not survive the destruction of the church in 1355, NAS GD1/413/25 and Haddington Burgh Charters, B30/21/39.

¹⁰² This was a gift of vestments, *Bannatyne Miscellany* (Bannatyne Club, 3 vols, Edinburgh, 1836-55), ii, p.109. Interestingly James seems to have revoked this bequest in his second testament of 1392, although he still included gifts to the friars. *Registrum honoris de Morton* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1853), ii, pp.170-6 & 179-86.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, pp.170-6 & 179-86.

¹⁰⁴ These were the 8 March and 26 June, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, pp.35-49, at 38 & 43.

Duthac.¹⁰⁵ Alongside the primary feast of the saint was an unusual June commemoration that only features in two other late medieval documents.¹⁰⁶ A market was held at Tain on June 26th which may have been a Duthac festival related to a translation or other significant event.¹⁰⁷ The inclusion of Duthac and his localised feast day may point to a connection between the Herdmanston branch of the Sinclair kindred and Easter Ross.¹⁰⁸ However, the owner of the calendar also had an interest in the Greyfriars, adding the feast of St Francis of Assisi, and it may well have been the connection to the friary in Haddington that prompted the interest in the saint.¹⁰⁹ Although the wider Sinclair kindred had territorial links to the north there is no direct evidence as to why this early cult developed in Lothian.¹¹⁰ This cluster of dedications was distinct from the parallel and later development of the cult. It involved minor or middle ranking nobility, celebrated his feast on an unusual day and seems to have been based around, or stimulated by, the altar in Haddington. The type of devotee, method of dissemination and style of commemoration in fourteenth-century Lothian would not prove to be characteristic of the late medieval Duthac cult.

ii. The Burghal cult

At the same time as the puzzling Lothian dedications a more significant development for the cult was taking place in the northeast. In 1359 Aberdeen burgesses Laurence de Crag and John Scherer founded an altar dedicated to the saint in the burgh church of St Nicholas (no.1). Aberdeen would become something of a secondary centre for the cult in the later middle ages with a well financed altar under

¹⁰⁵ The calendar has been dated by Forbes to the late thirteenth century and included additions until 1332, *ibid*, xviii-xix & 43.

¹⁰⁶ The feast was added to the calendar of the abbey of Fearn calendar in 1517x1560, *The Calendar of Ferne*, p.53 and was included in a breviary connected with Aberdeen which dates from c.1300, but had a number of later, probably fifteenth-century additions including the two Duthac feasts, EUL, MS 27, fol. 2. See Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library*, pp.38-9.

¹⁰⁷ In a charter of 1612 the annual markets of Tain were given as 26 June (St John's day), 6 March (Duthac) 30 December (Duthac) and 4 August (St Berchan), *RMS*, v. no. 492. The calendar of the nearby abbey of Fearn only mentions 3 fairs in March, August and December, *The Calendar of Ferne*, p.62.

¹⁰⁸ *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, 43. The additions to the calendar are an interesting mix of saints with a Lothian or Fife connection like Monan, Baldred, Margaret and Serf, or from England, including William of York, Oswin of Tynemouth and Edward the Confessor, *Ibid*, 37-42.

¹⁰⁹ The calendar does not include any other Franciscan saints like Bernardino of Siena, *ibid*, p.46.

¹¹⁰ The chapel dedicated to the saint in Kirkwall in the fifteenth century was under the patronage of the Sinclair earls of Orkney, Craven, *History of the Church in Orkney*. pp. 101-104. Peterkin, *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney*, pp.35 & 167-8.

the patronage of the Scherer family, and a relic and image of the saint housed in the burgh church.¹¹¹ Wider devotion to Duthac in the burgh was reflected in the appearance of a small cluster of men named after the saint in the late fourteenth century. These included Duthac Carnegie, a burghess and local landowner who perished at Harlaw in 1411, and his contemporaries, Duthac Barker and Duthac Lowman, who were also Aberdeen burghesses first recorded in 1398-1400.¹¹² The early provenance of these men, Carnegie witnessed his first charter in 1363, in conjunction with the small cluster of place-name dedications in the northeast, suggest that the cult was probably known in Aberdeen prior to the founding of the altar in 1359.¹¹³

The dedication in Aberdeen was followed by a further series of altars founded in honour of St Duthac by burghesses in Scottish towns. In 1438 an altar was founded in St Giles collegiate church in Edinburgh by town provost Thomas Cranstoun (no.7). The personal name Duthac had also spread to the city where we find two burghesses, Duthac Wigmore (first recorded in 1447) and Duthac Ker (1482), active in the fifteenth century.¹¹⁴ A canon of Aberdeen, Andrew Martin founded an altar dedicated to Duthac in the church of the Holy Trinity, St Andrews in 1481, which was supplemented by his brothers Hugh and Alexander Martin, both canons of Brechin, in 1487 (no.18). An altar was founded in Brechin itself in 1485 by a local burghess Malcolm Guthrie (no.4). In 1516 the skimmers' guild of Dundee dedicated its altar to Duthac in the burgh church of St Mary's (no.5). In 1524 a burghess of Arbroath, Robert Scot, founded a chapel dedicated to Duthac in the nearby abbey (no.2). An

¹¹¹ The first altar was established by Lawrence de Crag and John Scherer in 1359 which they also adorned with an image of the saint. The relic is mentioned in several inventories of St Nicholas's parish church from 1436 and not in the reliquary collection of St Machar's cathedral as has previously been suggested by Slade, *The Collegiate Church of St Duthac*, p.9. For the relic see *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii, 143 & 160. The altar was further endowed by John Scherer's grandson William and others in 1464, *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, ii, 17-18. The chaplaincy remained under the control of the Scherer's until paid off by the Burgh Council in 1630, *ibid*, ii, 297.

¹¹² Duthac Carnegie was second son of John de Balinhard, the progenitor of the Carnegie earls of South Esk. He owned lands in Forfar-shire and Angus, *The Scots Peerage*, viii, pp.46-9, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, 284, Fraser, W., *History of the Carnegie Earls of South Esk and of their Kindred* (Edinburgh, 1867), pp. 9-14. For Barker and Lowman see *Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, 94, 103, 185, 223 & 232.

¹¹³ Fraser, *History of the Carnegie Earls of South Esk and of their Kindred*, pp.29-32. Lowman and Barker were first recorded in 1398 and therefore may have been born after the altar was founded in 1359.

¹¹⁴ Duthac Wigmore was one of a number of men involved in the upkeep of both the High Altar and of the chaplain of St Michael's altar in St Giles, *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, 77 & 104. Duthac Ker was an Edinburgh burghess recorded in 1482, *Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1849), 275-6.

Elgin burghess, Alexander Garderer, founded an altar sometime before 1528 in his local cathedral (no.8). The location of dedications to the saint in the port towns of Kirkwall (b.1448), Perth (b.1515), Wick and possibly Ayr (nos.12, 16, 19 & 3), for which there is no foundation information, may suggest that they also fit within this category.

The primary catalyst behind the spread of the Duthac cult from the locality of Tain in late medieval Scotland was the interest of this group of prominent townsman. This urban and mercantile connection to the cult is further emphasised by the otherwise inexplicable presence of two burghesses, David Menzies of Edinburgh and James Levingtoun of Aberdeen, in Tain in 1487, witnessing the royal charter that conferred collegiate status on the church.¹¹⁵ The purpose of the altars established by these men was the salvation of the souls of both living and dead, a motive consistently stated in the foundation charters.¹¹⁶ What prompted the specific choice of Duthac is less obvious, a problem we will return to later. The type of devotee, and the location of the dedications in burgh churches and ports, do however, provide a strong hint as to how the cult was transmitted from the north. The earliest recorded dedication, aside from the small cluster in Lothian, was the altar in Aberdeen founded in 1359.¹¹⁷ Aberdeen was the commercial and political hub of the north and supplies of grain arrived in the city from Ross and Caithness throughout the period.¹¹⁸ Although Tain was not part of the direct trading hinterland of the burgh, produce from the small burgh and its locality would have been channelled through Aberdeen for distribution in Scotland and abroad.¹¹⁹ It was probably through the intermediary of Aberdeen, rather than direct contact with Tain, that the cult subsequently spread along the seaborne trading routes to Edinburgh, where the altar was founded in 1438, and other burghs of the east coast. The patrons of the Aberdeen and Edinburgh altars were merchants, but lacking information on mercantile networks in late medieval Scotland we can only surmise the role that personal relations may have played in spreading

¹¹⁵ The charter was witnessed in Tain on 12 September before being confirmed in Edinburgh on 3 December, *RMS*, ii, no. 1694. The other witnesses were entirely religious, the abbot of Fearn, a deacon of Caithness, 3 members of the Ross cathedral clergy and a canon from Moray.

¹¹⁶ This is most apparent in the charter of Robert Scot who provides an exhaustive list of friends, relatives and business partners who are to receive the benefits of the dedication, *Liber St Thome de Aberbrothoc*, ii, 438-42.

¹¹⁷ *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, i, 15.

¹¹⁸ Blanchard, I et al, 'The Economy; Town and Country', in *Aberdeen Before 1800. A New History*, eds. E. Dennison, D. Ditchburn & M. Lynch (East Linton, 2002), 129-158, at 156.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p153, Booten, H. W., 'Inland Trade. A Study of Aberdeen in the Late Middle Ages', *The Scottish Medieval Town*, eds. M. Lynch et al (Edinburgh, 1988), 148-161, at 148.

awareness of the Duthac cult within this community.¹²⁰ However, it would seem that economic and commercial influences played a significant role in the dissemination of the cult in late medieval Scotland.

iii. The Royal cult

The earliest connection between the Scottish royal house and the saint of Tain can be traced to 1306 when the wife and daughter of Robert I were captured at his shrine. As a punishment for this action William, 3rd earl of Ross, was forced by the king to pay for chaplains at Tain to say masses for the soul of John, earl of Atholl, who was executed shortly after being captured with Bruce's family.¹²¹ This was one of several similar 'spiritual' punishments meted out by the king and is not indicative of an active interest in the cult.¹²² Crown engagement with Duthac and Tain, like royal interest in Ninian, seems to have been stimulated by the conflict with the Black Douglases in the 1450s. The Black Douglas earls held extensive lordships in the north, including large estates in the Black Isle, just to the south of Tain.¹²³ Their engagement with the Duthac cult is hinted at by the 4th earls' involvement in Haldenstone's 1418 canonisation petition, but aside from this there is little extant evidence of patronage by the family.¹²⁴ However, following the annexation of the northern Douglas estates to the crown in 1455, James II seems to have viewed patronage of the cult as a means of establishing royal control in the region.¹²⁵ In 1456-7 the king toured the north staying at Inverness, Elgin and Aberdeen and perhaps came into contact with the cult through the intermediary of these burghs, in which

¹²⁰ William Scherer is mentioned as a former provost in the endowment of 1464, *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, i. pp.17-8, and as an alderman and merchant involved in the arrest of an English ship in 1442, and in a wine transaction with a Bruges merchant in 1433, *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844), 389-90 & 397-8.

¹²¹ This payment was made in 1321, *RRS, The Acts of Robert I*, no.196.

¹²² Other examples include similar penalties inflicted upon Sir Eustace Maxwell for the death of Sir Christopher Seton and the brethren of the Hospital of Turriff who paid for masses for Nigel Bruce. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland*, p.413.

¹²³ These were the estates of Avoch and Eddirdovar, collectively known the barony of Ardmeannach, which were converted into the earldom of Ormond for a brother of the 8th earl of Douglas in 1443. These lands came into the possession of the Douglases following the marriage between Archibald Douglas (the future 3rd earl) and Joanne Murray in 1362, Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp.96-7, 254 & 267.

¹²⁴ *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, pp.4-6 & 385. As we have seen a prominent supporter of the family, James Douglas of Dalkeith, also made a grant to Tain in his 1390 will, *Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii, 109.

¹²⁵ For the annexation of these lands see *APS*, ii, 41-3.

dedications to the saint could be found.¹²⁶ The most likely point of contact was Aberdeen where an altar dedicated to the saint, with an accompanying relic and image, had been established in the burgh church since 1359. But it was during his second visit to the north in 1457 that James made the first of a series of crown grants to the shrine, endowing a chaplainry in the newly built church at Tain with an annual subsidy of £6.¹²⁷

This royal patronage was continued by James III who seems to have developed a more personal connection to the saint, perhaps even visiting the shrine with his queen during their honeymoon progress through the north in 1470.¹²⁸ The shrine was located in the earldom of Ross which was taken from the MacDonalds, under whose control it had been since the 1430s, by the king in 1476.¹²⁹ This action provided a further stimulus for crown patronage of the cult. The king used the fermes of the earldom to pay the chaplain and town provost from 1479 and endowed a further chaplaincy at the church in 1482.¹³⁰ James also supported the raising of the church of Tain to collegiate status in 1487 and included Duthac amongst the patrons of his new foundation at Restalrig in the same year (no.17).¹³¹ During their period of control the MacDonalds had presided over the Tain inquest in 1439, contributed to the building of the new church in 1457 and, as late as 1468, made grants of land to the local clergy.¹³² With his sponsorship of Tain, James seems to have been consciously supplanting MacDonald lordship in Ross by assuming the role of patron of the main pilgrimage and sacred centre in the region

The better known devotion of James IV to St Duthac must be viewed in the context of this continuing Stewart-MacDonald conflict. The final forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles occurred in 1493 and was soon followed by a military campaign

¹²⁶ McGladdery, 'James II, (1437-60)', pp.104-5. As we have seen the Aberdeen dedication was definitely early, the altars in Elgin and Inverness were first attested in the sixteenth century, but may have had an earlier provenance.

¹²⁷ The first subsidy was provided from the lands of Dunscaithe in Ross, *ER*, vi, 465.

¹²⁸ James was in Inverness with his new wife between 23 July and 24 August and could conceivably have visited Tain, less than one days journey to the north, *ER*, viii, 80 & 85, Macdougall, *James III*, pp.89-90 & 364.

¹²⁹ Macdougall, N, 'Achilles' Heel? The Earldom of Ross, the Lordship of the Isles, and the Stewart Kings, 1449-1507', in *Alba. Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*, eds. E. J. Cowan & R. A. Macdonald, (Edinburgh, 2005), 248-75, at 249-51, *idem*, *James III*, pp.128-130.

¹³⁰ *ER*, viii, 596, *RMS*, ii, no.1513.

¹³¹ The other patrons of Restalrig where Triduana, Mary, Andrew, Ninian and Jerome. For Tain see *RMS*, ii, no.1694, Durkan, 'The Sanctuary and College of Tain', 150-4.

¹³² *Tain and Balnagown Documents*, p.369, *ER*, vi, 465, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493*, pp. 43-4 & 152. A supporter of the MacDonalds, Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath also left money to pay for masses at the church of St Duthac in his testament of 1456, *Bannatyne Miscellany*, iii, p.91.

in the west.¹³³ The king's first known pilgrimage to the shrine took place in October of that year, just two months after this military action.¹³⁴ Once James attained his majority these visits would become near annual events, placing the king in a region which, following the crown annexation of the earldom of Ross in 1476, would be wracked by thirty years of intermittent warfare.¹³⁵ The journeys through the north allowed James to coordinate military action and communicate with his lieutenants, as in 1506 when he paused in Badenoch to lend support to those dealing with the Donald Dubh rebellion.¹³⁶ In the summer following the defeat of the Islemen, James would also use pilgrimage to the shrine to underline his control over the region. In a symbolic act, James made the journey from Edinburgh to Tain in only two days and without an escort.¹³⁷ A more typical visit was the pilgrimage of 1504 in which the king made a leisurely three-week progress through the north with a large entourage, including his Italian minstrels and African drummer.¹³⁸ Along the route, and especially once he had arrived at Tain, the king was generous in distributing gifts to all and sundry. Visits such as this one, in addition to the gifts of several ornate reliquaries to the shrine, would have presented an image of royal power and munificence to the local populace that the Ross kindreds and various successors to the Lordship of the Isles could never have hoped to match.¹³⁹

Strategic political aims in the north were not, however, the only motivations behind crown patronage of the Duthac cult in this period. James IV continued to show a conspicuous interest in the saint and shrine in the latter part of his reign after the defeat of the Donald Dubh rebellion and temporary settling of the Isles problem.¹⁴⁰ This devotion to Duthac, which was manifested in the pilgrimages to Tain, the

¹³³ Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.101-2.

¹³⁴ James was in Dingwall having recently visited the shrine in October 1493, *RMS*, ii, no. 2181, *TA*, i, xiv. It was presumably for this pilgrimage that he received the 'victuals' recorded in *ER*, x, 439.

¹³⁵ In addition to 1493 there is direct evidence for 14 visits to Tain by the king, in March and July 1496, March 1497, October 1498, October 1501, October 1504, October 1506, July and October 1507, October 1509, after Easter 1510, May 1511 (although not in the *TA*, James issued a charter from Tain on the 27th of May, *RMS*, ii, no.3575) and August 1513, *TA*, i, 258, 260, 322-5, 362-4, ii, 123-126, 265-66, 464, 467, iii, 81, 294 & 412-16, *ER*, xiii, 12-13, 203, 209, 288 & 292, *TA*, iv, 419 & 436. There is indirect evidence of 4 more visits to the shrine. James is likely to have been on his way to or from Tain when he granted charters from Elgin in November 1494, Inverness in October 1499, Spynie in October 1505 and Fortrose in September 1506, *RMS*, ii, nos.2224, 2505, 2887 & 2991. For conflict in Ross see Macdougall, 'Achilles' Heel?', 261.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 274.

¹³⁷ *TA*, iii, 294 & 412-16, also described in Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, ii, 124, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 293-4.

¹³⁸ *TA*, ii, 265-6 & 462-5.

¹³⁹ For the reliquaries see *ibid.*, i, 282, 322, ii, 376, iii, 80, 28, iv, 40 & 553.

¹⁴⁰ Further pilgrimages to the shrine were made in 1509, 1510, 1511 and 1513.

marking of the saint's feast day with regular oblations away from the cult centre and the acquisition of relics for the royal collection, was grander in scale than that shown to other local saints in the period and was comparable to crown patronage of the Ninian cult.¹⁴¹ It was recognition that the Duthac cult had developed a national significance by the end of the fifteenth century with the popularity of the saint amongst urban/mercantile groups possibly proving an added attraction for the Stewart monarchs. In a similar manner to royal devotion to Ninian, the political motivations of patronage saint of Tain seem to have combined with a personal faith in the saint as an intercessor and, as we will discuss below, there were several aspects of the Duthac cultus with which James IV may have engaged. The relationship between crown and saint did not perish with James at Flodden and his son, James V, visited Tain on at least four occasions in 1533, 1534, 1535, and 1537 and gifted a silver reliquary to the shrine.¹⁴² The cult had retained its national significance into the 1530s and devotion to the saint and Tain had perhaps become something of a royal custom by this stage.¹⁴³ This tradition may also have been given a sharper focus by further risings in the Isles in 1513-15, 1516-19, 1529-33 and 1539.¹⁴⁴ It would be the Reformation rather than a change in fashion that would break the connection between the saint and the royal house.

The direct influence of this royal interest on the spread of the cult is difficult to trace. The only dedication that can be unequivocally attributed to the influence of the Stewarts was the inclusion of Duthac in the foundation of his new chapel of Restalrig by James III (no.17). Some further dedications, which only appear in the context of patronage by James IV, were probably at least indirectly related to that monarch. Patronage by the king is the only record for an altar in Linlithgow (no.14),

¹⁴¹ Payments to Duthac lights and altars on his feast day were made at Dysart, St Giles in Edinburgh and Holyrood abbey, *TA*, iii, 285, 287, iv, 39 & 18. Masses for the saint were paid for in Linlithgow, Tain and elsewhere, i, 276, 303, 337 & 363. A gilded relic and silver cross were gifted to the shrine in 1496, i, 282 & 322 and a further relic was mended and offered at the shrine in 1506, iii, 80, 280. The shirt first turned up in the royal collection in 1512, iv, 354.

¹⁴² The 1533 pilgrimage has been previously overlooked. A letter from Thomas Clifford, the keeper of Berwick, to Henry VIII recorded that in July of that year James was '*in the north parties of Scotland at a place called Saynt Dothons in Rose*', *State Papers. Henry the Eighth*, iv, pp.652-3. For the other pilgrimages see NAS, 'Libri Domicilii' James V, E31/5, fl. 45v, 99v & E31/7, fl. 108r, 'Libri Emptorum' James V, E32/5, fl. 26v-36r & E32/6, fl. 121r. For a broader discussion of the pilgrimage itinerary of James V see Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland*, pp.114-115. For the reliquary see *TA*, vi, 211 & 248.

¹⁴³ Thomas has outlined the similarities in pious interests of father and son, Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland*, p.115.

¹⁴⁴ Macdougall, 'Achilles' Heel?', 275, Cameron, J., *James V. The Personal Rule, 1528-1542* (East Linton, 1998), pp.255-85.

which was founded sometime after 1488 in the church that served James whilst he was in residence at the palace.¹⁴⁵ A royal bequest is also the only context in which a light and a possible altar at the abbey of Holyrood were recorded in 1511 (no.6), although Duthac had featured in the liturgical calendar of the Augustinian house from at least 1450.¹⁴⁶ A more interesting dedication was the designation of Duthac as a patron, alongside Katherine of Alexandria and Mary Magdalene, of the parish church at Newburgh in Fife (no.15), built in 1508. Although the location of this dedication suggests it fits within the burghal category, James IV was entertained by the abbot of the neighbouring Lindores Abbey in 1505, and this may have proved to be an impetus behind the dedication.¹⁴⁷

Royal patronage of Duthac would have given the cult a greater national and international profile, particularly from the reign of James IV. This was reflected in the inclusion of the saint in the 1513 *Ballad of Flodden*, and in the reference to ‘*Duthow*’ in David Lindsay’s poem of 1550.¹⁴⁸ It was also in this context that post-Reformation writers John Leslie and David Chambers chose to remember the saint and perhaps how he is best known today.¹⁴⁹ However, the impact of royal interest on the late medieval cult is difficult to quantify. In spite of the fact that from the reign of James IV the saint was a clear royal favourite, there is little evidence that the cult had become fashionable at the court.¹⁵⁰ Dedications for which we have founder information after 1488 were still predominantly burghal, and the limited range of individuals named after the saint were small scale tenant farmers or townsman.¹⁵¹ Although royal patronage was a catalyst for the expansion of the cult in the later middle ages it was probably not the most significant factor in the process.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ The involvement of the king in this dedication is suggested by Ferguson, *Ecclesia Antiqua*, p.327.

¹⁴⁶ *The Holyrood Ordinale*, p.8.

¹⁴⁷ Laing makes this suggestion; the new church at Newburgh being under the patronage of the abbey, Laing, *Lindores Abbey*, pp.156 & 512.

¹⁴⁸ *The Battle of Flodden Field*, p.27, *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 267. Lindsay describes *Duthow* as ‘*boird out of ane bloke*’, suggesting that he was referring to a wooden statue of the saint.

¹⁴⁹ Leslie includes two stories based around pilgrimages by the king to Tain, Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, ii, 124 & 133.

¹⁵⁰ As we have seen royal interest in Ninian had only a limited impact on his popularity amongst the Scottish elite, in comparison the popularity of the Kentigern cult at the royal court seems to have stimulated their wider popularity amongst the nobility, see Chapter 4, II.iii.

¹⁵¹ In addition to the Aberdeen and Edinburgh burghesses mentioned above there was a Duthac Scot who paid a rent of 36 shillings and 4 pence for some land in the Barony of Doune until 1492, when he seems to have died, *ER*, ix, 565, 598, 620 & 721. A Duthac Rutherford was murdered in 1495 with the trial held in Jedburgh, *Criminal trials in Scotland, from A.D. M.CCCC.LXXXVIII to A.D. M.DC.XXIV*, p.26.

¹⁵² A small group of dedications for which there is no foundation information do not fit comfortably into any of the above categories. An altar in the Dominican friary of Inverness, first mentioned in 1560,

III. The function of the saint and cult management

The emergence of Duthac as a broadly popular saint with a national cult took place in the period 1359-1560, as he became fashionable amongst the mercantile and urban elite of Scotland's east coast burghs. The spread of the cult received further momentum when the saint became a royal favourite, a process that began in the reign of James II and reached its peak with the pilgrimages to the shrine by James IV and James V. However, although it is clear that the saint and his shrine had achieved a broad popularity in this period, it is less apparent what attracted people to his cult. In this section we will consider how the cult and shrine were managed in this period and examine the textual and visual imagery of Duthac and the background of his typical supplicants, to explain this popularity and consider the social function that he played for the people of late medieval Scotland.

i. Duthac as a saint type

The earliest extended reference to Duthac's sanctity occurred in the 1418 petition for his canonisation.¹⁵³ In a brief synopsis of his career Haldenstone emphasised the saint's simple and austere lifestyle and the reputation for the miraculous that surrounded him in life and after death.¹⁵⁴ This image of the saint is expanded in nine lessons within the Aberdeen Breviary. In the AB Duthac is described as being born into a noble family, with a miracle in his youth providing a signal of his future holiness.¹⁵⁵ Having been educated in Ireland, Duthac returned to northern Scotland and settled into the role of a benevolent local holy man in the area of Tain and the Dornoch firth. The miracles associated with the saint during his lifetime are unspectacular, with the key themes revolving around the supply of food in

could have been a result of proximity to Tain, royal or burghal fashion, Table 5, no. 13. Similarly difficult to explain is an altar in the Tironensian abbey of Kelso (no.11) which falls outwith the typical patterns. The altar in Perth (no.16) may have been the result of royal fashion, and the two chapels in Kirkwall and Wick (nos. 12 & 19) may have been part of an earlier and local spread of the cult rather than networks of trade and commerce. A further northern chapel dedicated to the saint in Forres (no.9) was first recorded in 1611. Without further information it is impossible to be certain on the motives behind the foundation of any of these dedications to the saint.

¹⁵³ *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, pp.4-6.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp.5-6.

¹⁵⁵ In lesson 2 Duthac was able to carry hot coals in this shirt without being burnt, *Breviarium Aberdonense*, ii, fol. 65r. This is a common motif used to demonstrate a saint's precocity as a child, Henken, *The Welsh Saints. A Study in Patterned Lives*, p.65.

times of famine and control of the nature in the form of animals and inclement weather.¹⁵⁶ The lectiones in the AB concluded with the confirmation of Duthac's sanctity through the discovery of his uncorrupted body seven years after his death.¹⁵⁷ Traits of 'neighbourliness and homeliness' that are readily apparent in these Duthac legends have been identified by Duffy and Male as a distinctive feature of the profile of saints from late medieval England and France.¹⁵⁸ The stories in the AB also correspond with what Weinstein has characterised as the 'useful' miracles that were typical of the late medieval saint, as opposed to his more spectacular counterpart from the early middle ages.¹⁵⁹ The style of the 1418 petition and AB were undoubtedly influenced by the most prevalent hagiographical topos of the period. The presentation of Duthac as a humane ascetic, with a reputation for practical miracles, placed him firmly in the saint type described by Duffy as the 'kind neighbour'.¹⁶⁰

One of the more interesting secondary relics associated with the saint was his 'hairy shirt', recorded as part of the royal reliquary collection in 1512, and known to John Maior.¹⁶¹ The most famous insular example of this type of relic was the hair shirt worn by Thomas Becket, however it is perhaps more commonly associated with hermits and members of the mendicant orders.¹⁶² When we place this Duthac relic in conjunction with his wider legends, in particular the apparent repudiation of his noble background, it is clear that he also fell into a second, what might be described as Francis of Assisi, saint type.¹⁶³ This type was not unrelated to the 'good neighbour' and has been identified by Vauchez as most prevalent in the Mediterranean

¹⁵⁶ Three of the Duthac miracles included food, two featured storms and other inclement weather, *Brevarium Aberdonese*, ii, fol. 65r. These types of miracles also occurred regularly in the Welsh saint's lives explored by Henken, *The Welsh Saints*, pp.67, 74 & 80.

¹⁵⁷ This is described in lesson 9; no timeframe is mentioned for the event, *Brevarium Aberdonese*, ii, fol. 65r.

¹⁵⁸ Male, cited in Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.161.

¹⁵⁹ Weinstein & Bell, *Saints and Society*, p.144. Stuart Airlie has described early medieval saints as 'sombre batman type figures, brooding over communities entrusted to their protection', Airlie, S., 'The view from Maastricht', in *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*, ed. B. E. Crawford (St Andrews, 1994), 33-46, at 37. In contrast to Duthac the outmoded nature of miracles associated with Columba during this period will be discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁰ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.161.

¹⁶¹ This event, and the return of the shirt by the English after the battle, are described in *Chron. Maior*, 273. The shirt may have been the one worn by Duthac in one of his early miracles. Sent to collect some coals from a blacksmith the cruel man shovelled the coals into the young Duthac's lap. He, however, carried them home without burning himself or his shirt, *Brevarium Aberdonese*, ii, fol. 65r. The powers of the shirt seem to have been held in high regard by James IV who had it mended in 1512, *TA*, iv, 354.

¹⁶² For Becket see Barlow, F., *Thomas Becket* (London, 2000), pp.266-8. The association between hair shirts, hermits and friars is discussed in Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.190-207.

¹⁶³ Neither the 1418 petition nor the AB specifically mentions the repudiation of wealth but Duthac's noble birth and later austere life imply this.

countries.¹⁶⁴ These saints were generally men who had rejected their position in the social elite to lead a life of preaching away from major towns, although like Duthac not necessarily completely in the wilderness.¹⁶⁵ While the other Scottish saints in the core group could comfortably fit into the categories of early Christian apostle (Palladius, Ninian, Columba, and Kentigern), missionary (Adrian and Monan) or martyr (Adrian, Constantine and Triduana), Duthac would have been less easy to classify. The 1418 petition and AB solve this problem by presenting Duthac as a mendicant style figure, blending the type into a more recognisably northern European model of sanctity by also making him a bishop.¹⁶⁶ The kind neighbour and eremitical friar were two of the most common and popular saint types of this period and within a movement like the cult of the saints in which fashion played such an important part, the Duthac cult was firmly in harmony with contemporary trends.¹⁶⁷

ii. Other functions of the cult and main devotees

While it is clear that Duthac was a member of a common topos of saint in this period, this does not fully explain his widespread popularity. There are hints, but no hard evidence, that he had other, more specific, intercessionary functions. The shirt relic was believed to protect its wearer from harm and according to Maior, writing in the 1520s, Hugh, 4th earl of Ross (d.1333), had worn it at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333.¹⁶⁸ The relic failed spectacularly when Hugh was killed during the battle and although the shirt later appears in the royal collection, perhaps unsurprisingly there is no evidence that James IV wore it on any of his military campaigns.¹⁶⁹ However, the king made a specific pilgrimage to Tain in August 1513, in one of his last acts before the invasion of England.¹⁷⁰ In similar circumstances in 1482, shortly before summoning the host to face an English invasion, James III founded a chaplainry at the

¹⁶⁴ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.190-212.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp.212-14.

¹⁶⁶ Vauchez and Swanson have identified the holy bishop as the most common saint type in the later medieval British Isles and Scandinavia, *ibid*, pp.167-72, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p.148.

¹⁶⁷ The role of fashion in the cult of the saints has been commented on by Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.164 and Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, p.28.

¹⁶⁸ *Chron. Maior*, 273.

¹⁶⁹ *TA*, iv, 354.

¹⁷⁰ The king was given expenses money of £66 on the 8 August and seems to have gone with a very small retinue, *ibid*, iv, 419 & 436. The army mustered and invaded England some time between 22 and 24 August, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.272-4. This was the only recorded visit by the king to the shrine in August, typically he visited in March, October or May, see above nt. 135.

altar of St Duthac in Tain.¹⁷¹ James IV and his father may have been seeking a prophecy of military victory from Duthac, a function of the saint first recorded by David Chambers in 1631. According to Chambers, Duthac had predicted the Scottish victory at the Battle of Largs in 1263.¹⁷² The invocation of saints before battle was of course a widespread phenomenon in the middle ages.¹⁷³ Columba had been the primary military patron of the early Scottish monarchs, but by the time of the 1513 campaign the new royal navy was flying banners depicting SS Andrew and Margaret.¹⁷⁴ The identification of Andrew, Ninian and Duthac as the patrons of the Scots by an English observer at Flodden suggests that the Scottish land forces may have been carrying images or even relics of those saints in the field.¹⁷⁵ Whilst the reference to the prophecies of victory appears in a late source, and is uncorroborated, it is possible that the Duthac cult had a military function.

One of the most intriguing descriptions of the saint is the reference in an early sixteenth-century English source to '*Doffin their demi-God of Ross*'.¹⁷⁶ A similar theme is apparent in the chronicle of another English observer, Ralph Hollinshead, who commented that Duthac's relics were '*had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (...) than the holy gospel of God and merits of his son*'.¹⁷⁷ Whilst Hollinshead, writing 1578x82, was clearly influenced by Protestant rhetoric, the popularity of the saint and shrine amongst the '*pepill*', especially in the north, is a common theme in references to the cult throughout the later middle ages.¹⁷⁸ Whilst the cult is relatively easy to trace once it had spread south, there are only hints of his popularity within these northern communities. A casual reference to 'Dubthach, a saint of holy power', in a verse from the sixteenth-century Book of the Dean of Lismore gives us some indication as to his prominent standing in Gaelic society.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷¹ RMS, ii, no.1513. This connection is made in Macdougall, *James III*, p.195.

¹⁷² Chambers, *De Scotorum fortitudine*, pp.112-3.

¹⁷³ For example see the role of Cuthbert for the English kings, Bliese, 'Saint Cuthbert and War', 215-43.

¹⁷⁴ TA, iv, 521. For a discussion of these banners see Chapter 4, I.i.

¹⁷⁵ For the reference to the three saints, *The Battle of Flodden Field*, p.27.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.27.

¹⁷⁷ Ralph includes a translation of Boece in his chronicle and add his own comments such as the one quoted above, Hollinshead, *The Scottish Chronicle*, i, p.8.

¹⁷⁸ Haldenstone mentions the popularity of the cult in 1418, *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p.5, Boece mentions that the saint was '*haldin amang be pepill in grete veneracion*', *Chron. Boece*, ii, 229 and Leslie mentions his popularity amongst the *commune people*, Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, i, 43 & 355.

¹⁷⁹ The reference is included in a poem by Finlay the Red Bard, a poet from Highland Perthshire, who refers to the saint's vengeance on those that transgressed his sanctuary, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, ed. W. J. Watson (Edinburgh, 1937), p.137.

The presence of the cult in the Gaelic west is further indicated by the marking of Duthac's feast day in two liturgical documents from late medieval Argyll, the Murthly Hours and Glenorchy psalter.¹⁸⁰ According to the Martyrology of Aberdeen, people described as '*Hybernie*' made up a considerable proportion of the pilgrimage traffic to Tain in the early sixteenth century.¹⁸¹ This group of devotees of the saint remain something of a mystery. It is impossible to know exactly what functions of the saint interested communities in the north and in other parts of Gaelic and Norse Scotland, or how they engaged with the cult. The two English writers were clearly uncomfortable with some aspects of this popular cult, as may have been clerics like Haldenstone and Bower who were keen to bring the saint into the Scottish political and cultural mainstream in the fifteenth century. The canonisation attempt of 1418 and the commissioning of new and more standardised *vita* may have been a part of this process.

While there is more information on how groups like the Stewart dynasty and burghal elite engaged with the cult, it is still only possible to speculate as to what attracted them to the saint. Although political expediency appears to have been the initial catalyst for royal interest in the cult, and played a continuing role in Stewart engagement with Duthac, in the reigns of James III and James IV this early purpose was augmented by a more personal relationship with saint and shrine. Both monarchs would have been attracted by the miraculous reputation of the saint and the more specific military function may also have played a role. As we have seen Tain was the last port of call for James IV prior to joining the army for the Flodden campaign and for his father in 1482 in similar circumstances. It is clear that they were seeking the saint's blessing. Duthac's reputation for austerity may also have attracted James IV, who demonstrated a considerable generosity towards the Observant Friars and other mendicant groups.¹⁸² An obvious parallel can also be made between the hair shirt famously worn by the king and the relic associated with Duthac.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours*, Appendix 3, p.27, for Glenorchy see BL Egerton MS 2899, fol. 2.

¹⁸¹ This somewhat ambiguous term was used in contrast to other pilgrims described as *Britannie*. It could have been intended to either refer directly to the Irish, or to Gaelic speakers generally, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, p.129.

¹⁸² Various friaries received gifts from James to and from his visits to Tain. For the wider interest of the king in the friars see Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.216-7 and for a general discussion of James IV's piety see Brown, 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian', pp.152-57.

¹⁸³ For the king's penance after the death of his father see Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.53, 247 & 300.

The urban devotees of the cult were members of the burgh hierarchy. Cranstoun and John and William Scherer had been town provosts and it is clear from the list of the beneficiaries of Robert Scot's foundation in Arbroath that he was also a prominent figure in local society.¹⁸⁴ The foundation of altars by these men reflected the importance of the mass in late medieval popular religion, and what Le Goff has termed the 'new solidarity between living and dead' that characterised the adoption of the doctrine of purgatory in the later middle ages.¹⁸⁵ Although these foundations were also symbols of status in urban society, their primary objective was the relief of the torments of purgatory.¹⁸⁶ The specific choice of Duthac by these men, from the myriad of alternatives open to them, shows that he was viewed as a particularly effective intercessor for the soul in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is possible that this trait had become part of his general reputation. SS Nicholas and Patrick had come to be directly associated with purgatory in the thirteenth century and the reputation of an uncanonised Cistercian saint, Lutgard, was entirely based upon intercession for the soul in the afterlife.¹⁸⁷ There are few clues as to what other functions of the cult may have attracted these merchant burgesses. The popularity of the Ninian cult amongst this group can be partly explained by his propensity for helping those embarking on sea journeys.¹⁸⁸ It is possible that Duthac had a similar reputation. However, this image is lost to us and it is impossible to state for certain which aspects of his cult appealed to the Scottish urban elite in the later middle ages.

iii. Cult and shrine management

¹⁸⁴ Cranstoun was a town provost and is described as a merchant in *Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* i, 1, 9 & 40. William is mentioned as a former provost in the endowment of 1464, *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, i. 17-8, and as an alderman and merchant when involved in the arrest of an English ship in 1442, and in a wine transaction with a Bruges merchant in 1433, *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, 397-8 & 389-90. Several magistrates and other senior figures are included in Scot's foundation charter, *Registrum Abbatie de Aberbrothoc*, ii, 438-42.

¹⁸⁵ For purgatory and the belief in supernatural intercessors in Scotland see Fitch, A.B., 'The Search for Salvation: Lay faith in Scotland, 1480-1560', PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 1994), pp.207-51 & 237-49. For chantry dedications see Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, and more recently Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife*, pp.16-19. For the development of the doctrine of purgatory, Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, quote at p.326.

¹⁸⁶ For the more inherently secular purposes, such as providing a living for clerics within prominent burgess families see Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, p.177 and Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.139.

¹⁸⁷ For Lutgard see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp.324-5.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter 2, Section II.v.

Promotion and management lay at the heart of the cult of the saints and were key factors in the continued vitality of a shrine over an extended period of time.¹⁸⁹ There is clear evidence of cult promotion at Tain beginning with the translation/event that appears to have taken place in the mid-thirteenth century. Although the shrine was in existence by 1306 it may have been another century or so before it became the subject of regular and long distance pilgrimage traffic. This growing popularity was recognised by James Haldenstone in 1418 and the new reliquary church was finished by 1457.¹⁹⁰ By 1478 the popularity of the shrine had come to the attention of English traveller William of Worcester who described Duthac as '*the saint reckoned to be the most venerated in the land of Ross*'.¹⁹¹ Although small in scale a sophisticated pilgrimage network had been developed in the town by the time of the visits of James IV.¹⁹² In addition to the relics housed in the new church, pilgrims would also visit a ruined chapel on the links with its resident hermit and a second ruined chapel, which may have been the victim of the fire in 1427.¹⁹³ Once inside the main church a rood screen flanked by two altars, one of which would certainly have been dedicated to Mary, separated the crowds from the high altar on which would have been displayed the main relics.¹⁹⁴ The shrine custodians had created a complex multifocal system at Tain which presented a number of opportunities for the pilgrims to both engage with the saint, and perhaps as importantly, make offerings. Among the most important Scottish reliquary churches, the organisation of the northern shrine resembles most closely the layout of St Andrews after James Haldenstone's renovations in the 1420s,

¹⁸⁹ Susan Ridyard summarises this by stating that 'cults did not just develop, they were developed', Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, p.5. Duffy and Wilson also comment on the link between promotion and cult survival, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.164-5, Wilson, *Saints and their cults*, pp.26-8.

¹⁹⁰ Haldenstone mentions the renown of the shrine in the canonisation petition, *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p.5. The church was certainly completed by 1458 when the Exchequer Rolls list a payment by James II referring to the '*nova fundacione*' at Tain, *ER*, vi.465.

¹⁹¹ *William Worcester: Itineraries*, p.7.

¹⁹² Fawcett has described the 'particularly expansive architectural provisions' that were made for the Duthac cult in Tain, Fawcett, 'The Architectural framework of the cult of the saints', 74. For the similarities of the arrangement at Tain to other reliquary shrines in the British Isles see Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp.78-9.

¹⁹³ The first chapel was the reputed birthplace of the saint. In 1504 this was described as the chapel '*quair he was born*', *TA*, ii, 265. This item has been misread as suggesting that James IV himself was born in Tain, Brequet, 'The Early History of Tain', 40. James IV made gifts to the hermit at this chapel on at least one occasion. *TA*, ii, 125. The church burnt in 1427 was described as '*sanct Duthios chapel in the Kirk yard of Tayn*' in 1504, *TA*, ii, 125.

¹⁹⁴ These relics included the saint's head encased in silver, his breastbone in a gold container and the portable shrine, which was silver with gold gilding, *Tain and Balnagown Documents*, i, 8. For the screen see Hannah, I. C., 'Screens and Lofts in Scottish Churches', *PSAS*, lxx (1935-6), 181-201, at 192-3.

although the arrangement was fairly common and could be seen at Durham and a number of other English shrines.¹⁹⁵ Hints of active promotion outside of the cult centre can also be seen in references to a pardoner displaying Duthac's *coup* in Stirling in 1508 and in Edinburgh in 1511, seemingly on a nationwide tour.¹⁹⁶

The direction behind this management of the shrine and the construction of the new church is difficult to identify. In contrast to Whithorn and the shrines at Glasgow, St Andrews and Dunkeld there is little evidence of episcopal interest in the cult.¹⁹⁷ The first bishop of Ross mentioned in connection to the shrine was Thomas Hay (1483-92), who was involved in the upgrading of Tain to collegiate status in 1487.¹⁹⁸ However, the bishop and his successors do not appear to have played an active role in the later royal pilgrimages. They had their own diocesan saint to promote, and it was Boniface of Rosemarkie who was depicted on their episcopal seals throughout the period.¹⁹⁹ The wider cathedral and local clergy of Ross were also conspicuous by their absence in the promotion of the cult. As we have seen, local clergy had played a prominent role in promoting their diocesan and local saints in the fifteenth century through the dedication of altars in their home cathedrals and further a field.²⁰⁰ The vicar of Tain, who was a prebend of the cathedral chapter of Rosemarkie, is first mentioned in conjunction with the shrine in 1457, after which time he was also town provost. The officer seems to have played a more direct role in the operation of the shrine at the end of the fifteenth century and was a central figure during the royal visits.²⁰¹ It is possible that the White Canons of the neighbouring abbey of Fearn, who had a close relationship with the town, may have exercised some influence on the shrine.²⁰² However, the link between their mother house of Whithorn and Tain is

¹⁹⁵ McRoberts, D., 'The Glorious House of St Andrews', in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. *idem* (Glasgow, 1976), 63-120, for the pilgrim experience at St Andrews, 66-79.

¹⁹⁶ It cannot be stated for certain whether this was an independent activity on the part of the pardoner or part of the wider institutional promotion, *TA*, iv, 43 & 180.

¹⁹⁷ See Chapter 2, II. vi and Chapter 4, II.i-iii.

¹⁹⁸ Thomas Hay was behind the raising of Tain to Collegiate status in 1487, Durkan, 'The Sanctuary and College of Tain', 152-4.

¹⁹⁹ Boniface and Peter appeared on the seals of Robert (1255-70x1), and John Bullock (1418-1439x40), as well as on the chapter seals, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 160-163.

²⁰⁰ Most notably the cathedral clergy of Glasgow and Dunkeld, See Chapter 1, IV.

²⁰¹ The town vicar is mentioned as early as 1226, but did not play any role in the major events such as the canonisation petition of 1418 or the inquest of 1439, Durkan, 'The Sanctuary and College of Tain', 149-51. However, it was at his house that William Crichton stayed in 1483-4 when fleeing from the wrath of James III, and various vicars played a role in the later royal visits, *APS*, ii, 159.

²⁰² Fearn's records were stored in the church which was burnt in 1427 and the Premonstratensian's held some land in the burgh. The abbot was also a witness to the royal charter of 1487, *The Calendar of Fearn*, pp.24-6, *RMS*, ii, no.1513.

fairly tenuous, based upon gifts by James IV to pilgrims from Tain visiting Whithorn in 1504, and there is little evidence of direct influence from the monks.²⁰³

Secular control of the town was in the hands of those who witnessed the Inquest of 1439, and in the important position of town baillie.²⁰⁴ Although it is clear that external authorities like the Mactaggert, MacDonald and Stewart earls of Ross had an interest in the cult and shrine, direct influence on management and promotion from these groups is also difficult to identify. The local tradition that Euphemia, countess of Ross (d.1394x98), was involved in construction of the church is also unsupported.²⁰⁵ The lack of a guiding hand from these external powers may have been partly due to the complex political situation in the earldom between the fall of the native comital line in 1372 and its annexation to the crown in 1476.²⁰⁶ Conflict over the earldom between the Leslies, Stewarts and MacDonalds, each of whose main territorial interest was at some distance from Easter Ross, meant that external interference in the management of shrine and town was perfunctory during the key formative period of the cult in the fifteenth century.²⁰⁷ The shrine was the most prominent economic source in the town and its hinterland and during the visits of James IV it was a combination of local clergy, nobility and burgesses that benefited financially.²⁰⁸ In the absence of any other external authority it would seem to have been this combination that was behind the success of Duthac and the organisation of the shrine at Tain.

²⁰³ TA, ii, 445. The possibility of a connection between Whithorn and Tain is mentioned in Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, pp.179-82.

²⁰⁴ This position was held by the MacCullochs of Plaid from 1439, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493*, p.39. As previously mentioned the most significant local families were the Munros of Foulis and Rosses of Balnagown.

²⁰⁵ The role of Euphemia is discussed in Slade, *The Collegiate Kirk of St Duthac of Tain*, p.10.

²⁰⁶ For the most concise summary of the political situation in the earldom during that period see Macdougall, 'Achilles' Heel?', 248-75.

²⁰⁷ There is little evidence to connect the Leslies or Albany Stewarts to the cult or Tain but the Macdonald earls took a somewhat closer interest, appointing a new town baillie and presiding over the inquest in 1439, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493*, pp.43-5.

²⁰⁸ A typical visit by James IV in 1504 involved four separate offerings of fourteen shillings to the town's churches and relics, further offerings to the priests and to the provost Donald Reid, a payment to the man who bore Duthac's bell, and payment for entertainment by Ross of Balnagown's harper TA, ii, 256, 353 & 462.

Photograph 2. A typical devotee of St Duthac? A medieval Scottish merchant from the sixteenth-century fountain at Linlithgow palace.²⁰⁹



²⁰⁹ With permission of Carol Leslie.

Conclusion

Duthac is the most enigmatic of late medieval Scottish saints. Little can be said with confidence about the origins of the cult and there may have been as long as three hundred years between the career of the historical Duthac, if there was one as such, and the diffusion of his cult on a national scale. However, from the late fourteenth century to the Reformation the saint and his shrine at Tain achieved a broad popularity that is reflected in a series of extant commemorations and was recognised by contemporary and later observers. Although the cult may have had earlier origins it is clear from the model of sanctity presented in the 1418 petition and evolved in the AB, that we are dealing with a saint whose image was developed in the later middle ages, probably no earlier than the latter part of the thirteenth century.²¹⁰ The revival, or often complete reinvention, of older cults was not unusual in this period and there are numerous contemporaneous examples in Wales, Cornwall and Yorkshire.²¹¹ This type was prevalent in Scotland with the reinvention or rediscovery of Fillan and Monan in the fourteenth century, Triduana and Palladius at the end of the fifteenth and, as we will see in Chapter 4, attempts to revive the Columba and Kentigern cults.²¹²

The Duthac cult can be placed in this category but differed from the other reinvented Scottish saints in two fundamental ways. Firstly it developed without the obvious royal or episcopal patron that we see for the cults of Fillan (Robert I), Monan (David II), Triduana (James III) and Palladius (Archbishop Scheves). Although James IV and James V were major patrons, royal support seems to have been a reaction to the role of Duthac as a significant local patron in the north and the broad popularity of the saint and shrine, rather than a stimulant for the expansion of the cult. The second distinctive feature was the extended period, around two centuries, over which a widespread devotion to the saint can be seen. Popular devotion to the other cults mentioned above was either fleeting, often not lasting beyond the life of the major

²¹⁰ For typical miracle types in this period see Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle*, pp.4-6.

²¹¹ In a similar manner to Scotland, Wales saw no new saints after 1200, cults like that of St Caradoc were revived by Norman bishops, Garland, 'Aspects of Welsh Saints' Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.68 & 90. In late medieval Cornwall a series of saints were interpolated from place-names that meant other things, Orme, N., *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, 2000), pp.22 & 37. The cults of Anglo-Saxon saints like Cuthbert and William were revived in the diocese of York during the later middle ages, Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp.299 & 315-17.

²¹² For Fillan see Taylor, 'The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland', 175-211, for Monan see Penman, 'Christian Days and Knights', 249-72, for Triduana, Brown, 'Saint Triduana of Restalrig', 45-69.

patron, or localised as in the case of Palladius and Monan. The Duthac cult also appeared to lack a number of the characteristics that had contributed to the success of the other growing national cult in the period. For Ninian it is possible to identify the range of key social functions that the saint and his shrine had for late medieval Scots and others, and how these were managed by the shrine custodians. In contrast miracles were not consistently attributed to Duthac and the cult emerged on a national scale by the late fourteenth century without an obvious episcopal or institutional support base.

The questions that remain over promotion and control of the cult, in particular the role of local church and secular leadership, are perhaps the most problematic element of the cult. However, as Duffy has been keen to emphasise, it is possible to overstate the role that management and clerical encouragement had in influencing devotion to particular saints.²¹³ The role of 'lay report and word of mouth', which he stresses as equally important, is readily apparent in the dissemination of the Duthac cult.²¹⁴ What is clear is that the saint provided a model of sanctity that appealed to late medieval Scots, in particular the urban and mercantile elite. The influence of this group led to the dissemination of the cult on a national scale which, combined with the local significance of Duthac in the north, provided the catalysts for the royal engagement with the saint and shrine in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Like devotion to Ninian, the Duthac cult was a truly popular phenomenon in late medieval Scotland. However, unlike the assiduously managed saint of Whithorn, the cult of the northern saint appears to have been essentially outside the control of religious and secular authorities, a status consistently referred to in contemporary references to the saint and his shrine. Whilst the characteristics attributed to the saint reflected wider devotional trends in the period, the localised management and unusual emergence of the cult make Duthac something of an interesting anomaly both in late medieval Scotland and beyond.

²¹³ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.165.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.168-9.

Chapter 4

The Scottish episcopal saints, Andrew, Columba and Kentigern in the later middle ages

According to Emile Male 'it may well be that the saints were never better loved than during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries'.¹ This claimed situation was the result of the upsurge in popular lay piety in the later middle ages, but to which saints did it refer? Even the popularity of the greatest cults fluctuated over time. In England the wider devotional changes of the period caused a decline in the importance, and perhaps more significantly the profits, of a number of established pilgrimage centres.² This process has been placed in a chronological framework by Ben Nilson. He has suggested that these shrines entered a period of stagnation in the early fourteenth century, were briefly boosted by a post Black Death boom, before experiencing a final slow decline until the Reformation.³ Nilson's hypothesis is supported by both Swanson and Duffy, with the latter suggesting that 'there is evidence of the comparative neglect of the traditional shrines like those of St Hugh at Lincoln, Cuthbert at Durham or Becket at Canterbury', at the end of the middle ages.⁴ There have been tentative suggestions that this process was also apparent in Scotland, with David Ditchburn noting declining pilgrimage numbers at St Andrews in the period.⁵ As we have seen the dynamic and expanding local cults in Scotland during the later middle ages were those based around SS Ninian and Duthac. Interest in these saints overshadowed the cults of episcopal patrons, Columba and Kentigern, and was matched by veneration of the regnal patron Andrew.⁶

¹ Male, *Religious art in France: the late middle ages*, p.147, also cited in Duffy, 'Holy Maydens, Holy Wives; The cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century England', 175.

² See Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.65, Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An image of Medieval Religion*, chapters xiv and xv, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.195-8, Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, pp.176-9, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p.167, Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Belief in Medieval England* pp.191-202.

³ Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, pp.176-9.

⁴ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p.167, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, quote at p.195.

⁵ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.60-1 and *idem*, 'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles', 68 & 92-5.

⁶ The cult of St Margaret was also initially included in this chapter. However, the lack of evidence for an active cult or promotion from Dunfermline in the later middle ages and available space led to it being discarded.

These three saints and their shrines have, alongside Ninian, dominated scholarship on the veneration of the saints in Scotland.⁷ However, research on these saints has been concerned primarily with their role in the ecclesiastical and political development of the Scottish kingdom in either the early middle ages or the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁸ The status and development of their cults in the later middle ages has been comparatively neglected.⁹ The first part of this chapter will consider the impact upon these cults of localised and external factors such as competition over the role of regnal patron, the Wars of Independence, the emergence of successive new royal dynasties after 1306 and the wider social and religious developments of the period. The second part will examine how interest groups like cathedral chapters, reacted to this religious and political climate and adapted their patrons to meet contemporary fashions in the fifteenth century.

I. Andrew, Columba and Kentigern in Scotland, c.1100-c1400

i. The development of Andrew into the Scottish regnal patron

The key stimulus for the emergence of St Andrew as the patron saint of the national church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the political value of the apostle in the competition between the Scottish bishops and York over ecclesiastical

⁷ For Andrew in a Scottish context see in particular, Anderson, M., 'St Andrews before Alexander I', in *The Scottish Tradition*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow, (Edinburgh, 1974), 1-14, Ash, M & Broun, D, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland', *Medieval art and architecture in the diocese of St Andrews*, ed. J. Higgitt (London, 1994), 16-24, Broun, D., 'The Church of St Andrews and its foundation legend in the early twelfth century: recovering the full text of version A of the foundation legend', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500-1297*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), 108-115 and Fraser, J. E., 'Rochester, Hexham and Cennrigmonaid: the movements of St Andrew in Britain, 604-747', in *Saints' cults in the Celtic World*, 1-17. For Columba in a Scottish context see Bannerman, J., 'Comarba Colum Chille and the Relics of Columba', *IR*, xlv (1997), 14-48; *idem* 'The Scottish Takeover of Pictland and the relics of Columba', *IR*, xlvii (1997), 27-45; Clancy, T. O., 'Columba, Adomnán and the cult of saints in Scotland', *IR*, xlviii (1997), 1-27; *idem*, 'Personal, Political and Pastoral: The multiple agenda of Adomnán's Life of St Columba', in *The Polar Twins*, eds. E. J. Cowan & D. Gifford, (Edinburgh, 1999), 39-59; Taylor, S., 'Seventh Century Iona Abbots in Scottish Place-Names', *IR*, xlvii (1997), 45-71; *idem*, 'Columba east of Drumalban', 109-128, and various articles in *Spes Scotorum = Hope of Scots: St Columba, Iona and Scotland*, eds. D. Broun & T. O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 1999). For Kentigern see Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, pp.124-8; Davies, J. R., 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', in *Saints' cults in the Celtic World*, 66-90; Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, 9-22, and Shead, N., 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', *IR*, xxi (1970), 3-16.

⁸ See Introduction for a discussion of this trend.

⁹ Passing references to these cults in works primarily concerned with the early middle ages by Clancy and Taylor refer to the role of institutional promotion and royal patronage in the continued popularity of Kentigern and Columban, Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages', 397 & 420, Taylor, 'Columba east of Drumalban', 117-120.

superiority.¹⁰ The image of Andrew as both patron and intermediary between the papacy and Scotland made a significant contribution to the Scots victory in this conflict, temporarily achieved in 1176 when Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) issued the bull *Super Anxietibus*, and confirmed by a further bull known as *Cum Universi* in 1189x1192.¹¹ Ironically whilst *Cum Universi* was a victory for the Scottish church, it was something of a defeat for the bishops of St Andrews. These bishops had, with the support of David I and Malcolm IV (1153-65), pushed for archiepiscopal status for their see as the best method of maintaining Scottish ecclesiastical independence. However, *Cum Universi* achieved those aims without the granting of primacy to St Andrews.¹²

Aside from what Clancy has described as these ‘hard headed church-political reasons’, two other factors played a significant role in the emergence of Andrew as the patron of the Scottish church in this period.¹³ The first of these was the importance and popularity of the pilgrimage centre at St Andrews from the tenth century.¹⁴ The second stimulus was the status of the diocese within the hierarchy of the Scottish church under the MacMalcolm monarchs. As Geoffrey Barrow has shown by the end of the thirteenth century the valuation of St Andrews diocese was double that of the next wealthiest see at Glasgow.¹⁵ By the thirteenth century it is clear that the bishops of St Andrews viewed themselves as the informal primates of the Scottish church, as reflected in their use of the title ‘*episcopatus Scottorum*’ in official documents.¹⁶ It was also during this period that the cult of the apostle emerged on a national scale with (see Map 9 overleaf) Andrean church, monastic and place-name dedications distributed over a broad swathe of the kingdom. However, although Broun and Ash have suggested that Andrew could be confidently described as patron of the Scots in

¹⁰ See Ash & Broun, ‘The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland’, 16-24, for a full discussion of this process and the other factors that contributed to this development.

¹¹ Duncan, *Scotland, The Making of the Kingdom*, pp.263-4. See also Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, pp.124-146.

¹² Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, p.143.

¹³ Clancy, ‘Columba, Adomnán and the cult of saints in Scotland’, 24-5.

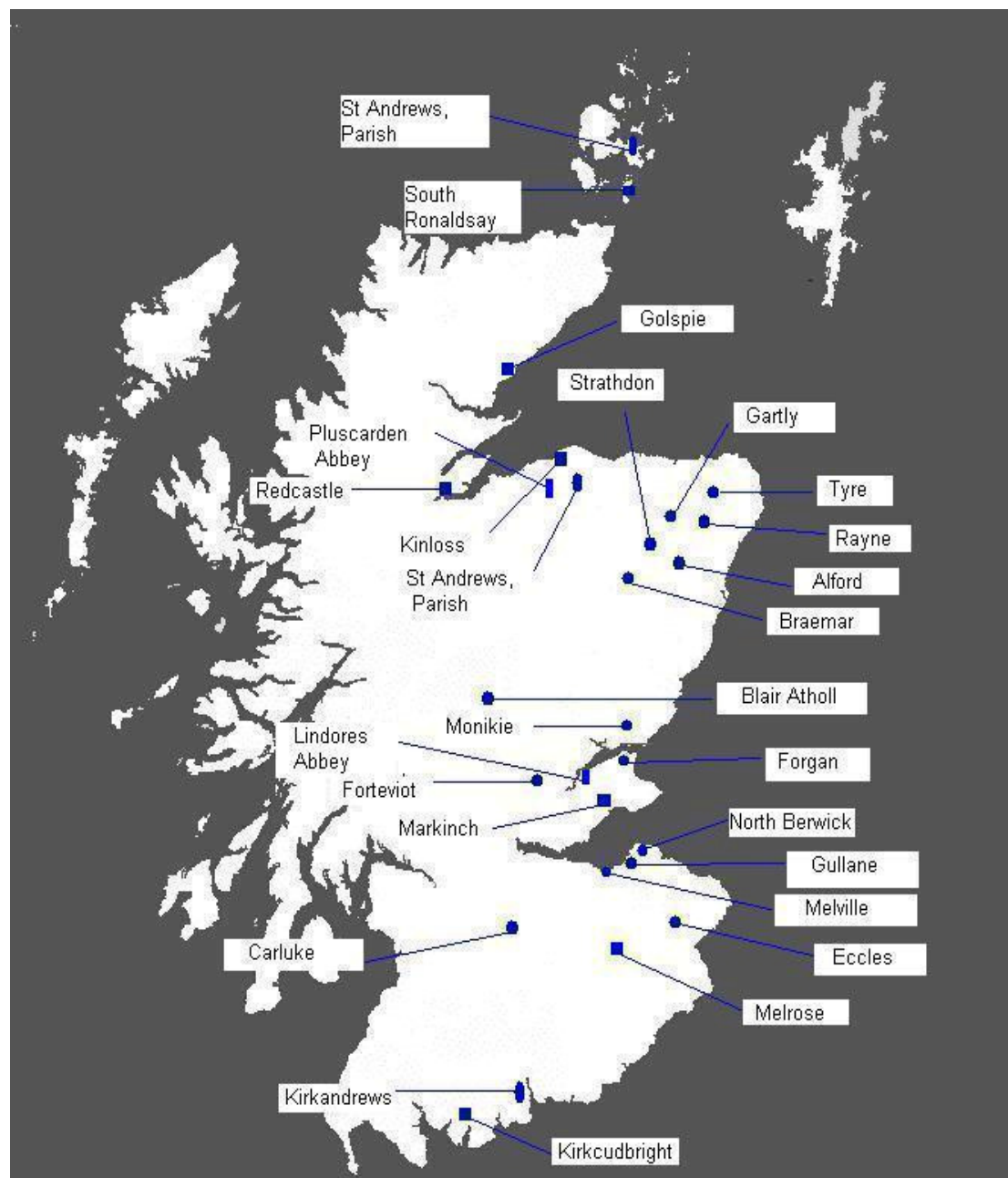
¹⁴ See below I.ii, for further discussion of St Andrews as a pilgrimage centre.

¹⁵ The income of the diocese of St Andrews was valued at £8008pa with Glasgow the next richest at £4080pa at the end of the thirteenth century, Barrow, G. W. S., ‘The Medieval Diocese of St Andrews’, in *Medieval art and architecture in the diocese of St Andrews*, 1-7 at 1.

¹⁶ Barrow, ‘The Medieval Diocese of St Andrews’, 2-3.

Map 9. Probable early Andrean ecclesiastical and place-name dedications.¹⁷

- Church dedication
- Chapel
- Parish or Place name
- ▬-Abbey



¹⁷ This list of early dedications is based upon Mackinlay, J., *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh, 1910), pp.202-20. It is not expected to be exhaustive and is intended to give a sense of the geography of the cult prior to 1349. Lindores was founded in 1191 and Pluscarden in 1230, Cowan & Easson, *Medieval religious houses, Scotland*, pp.69-70 & 61.

this period, there is little evidence of a direct connection between the saint and the kingdom as a whole prior to 1286.¹⁸

In that year the Scottish political community reacted to the unexpected death of Alexander III by setting up an interim government run by six guardians.¹⁹ The guardians commissioned a new seal which featured a conventional depiction of a monarch on the front, but on the reverse displayed an image of the apostle surrounded by the legend 'St Andrew be leader of the Scots, your fellow countryman'.²⁰ As one commentator has suggested, the image and legend purported to show continuity with the past.²¹ However, this was the past from a particular perspective. The placing of the apostle on the seal emphasised the informal position of the bishops of St Andrews as the '*episcopatus Scottorum*', a status they had been claiming since the twelfth century. The decision to directly connect the apostle to the Scottish realm in this manner can be attributed to one of the guardians, the bishop of St Andrews, William Fraser (1279-97). As Ash has shown, the episcopates of Fraser and his direct predecessors were characterised by sustained promotion of their diocesan saint. This included the development of the final elaborate version of the St Andrews origin legend and the depiction of the apostle on episcopal seals.²² It would be the image of the saint from Fraser's personal seal that was transferred onto the seal of the guardians in 1286.²³

Although as a universal saint Andrew appears to have been a non-partisan figure around which to unite national sentiment, he was figuratively and literally in the case of his relics, the property of the diocese of St Andrews. It is likely that there was some disquiet at the promotion of Andrew in this manner from the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries the bishops of Glasgow had developed a close relationship between their patron and the Scottish

¹⁸ Ash & Broun, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland', 23-4.

¹⁹ The six guardian included two representing the earls, Alexander Comyn of Buchan and Duncan of Fife, two for the church, William Fraser of St Andrews and Robert Wishart of Glasgow, and two for the barons, John Comyn of Badenoch and James Stewart. For the political background to the events of 1286 see Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland*, Chapter 1.

²⁰ *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 18. Translated in Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland*, p.17. The Latin reads '*Andreas Scotis Dux Est Et Compatriotis*'.

²¹ *Ibid*, p.17. Marinell Ash has suggested that the seal represented the new relationship between church and state that had developed during the reign of Alexander III, Ash, M., 'The Church in the Reign of Alexander III', in *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III, 1249-86*, ed. N .Reid (Edinburgh , 1990), 31-52, at 47.

²² *Ibid*, 47. The earliest extant use of the image of Andrew was on the seal of Bishop Gameline (1255-71), *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, p.85. All subsequent bishops and archbishops of the diocese depicted Andrew on their seals.

²³ *Ibid*, i, p.85.

royal house.²⁴ The manner in which they viewed this bond with the crown is neatly encapsulated in a seal belonging to Robert Wishart (1271-1316), the second episcopal representative on the committee of guardians. Wishart's counter seal was divided into three niches with Kentigern at the top, a royal couple in the middle and a praying bishop underneath, clearly emphasising Glasgow's perception of the special relationship between their saint, his successor bishop and the royal house.²⁵ The bishops of Dunkeld may also have had concerns over the use of Andrean imagery in 1286. Although their diocesan patron had been displaced as a dynastic and church patron by Margaret and Andrew in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Columban imagery continued to play an important role in royal ceremonials such as the inauguration of Alexander III in 1249.²⁶ Neither of these groups would have expected to see their patrons sidelined in 1286.

It would be the propaganda battles of the Wars of Independence that transformed the concept of Andrew as regnal patron, into a reality. As with the conflict between the Scottish bishops and York over primacy in the earlier period, the diplomacy of the Anglo-Scottish wars required a stronger and more internationally recognisable patron for the Scots, a role much better suited to Andrew than Columba or Kentigern. As early as 1301, the connection between Andrew and the kingdom was emphasised by Baldred Bisset (d.1311) who, during a mission to the Papacy, reiterated the Scottish argument against the primacy of York, describing the apostle as 'protector of the Kingdom'.²⁷ This role was fully elaborated in the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath in which Andrew was presented as the patron of the small kingdom located at the 'uttermost ends of the earth'.²⁸ The letter, with its papal audience in mind, argued that the patronage of the apostle was one of several factors that proved the sovereignty of the kingdom.²⁹ In the 1320 document Andrew was presented as the

²⁴ For the development of this relationship see below I.iv.

²⁵ *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, p.110.

²⁶ For Columban imagery in the inauguration ceremony of 1249 see Bannerman, J., 'The Kings Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III', *IR*, lxviii (1989), 120-150, Duncan, A. A. M., 'Before Coronation; Making a King at Scone in the thirteenth century', in *The Stone of Destiny, Artefact and Icon*, eds. R. Welander, D. J. Breeze & T. O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 2003), 139-168 and Broun, D., 'The Origin of the Stone of Scone as a National Icon', in *ibid.*, 182-197.

²⁷ The 'instructions' are included in *Chron. Bower*, vi, 135-169.

²⁸ The Latin and English text is printed in *The Declaration of Arbroath. History, Significance, Setting*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. xiii-v.

²⁹ Alongside papal recognition, the unbroken line of kings and victory over external enemies were used to prove the sovereignty of the kingdom, *ibid.*, pp. xiii-v.

sole patron, with alternative symbolic figures like Columba, Kentigern, and even dynastic patron Margaret, effectively sidelined.

The Declaration of Arbroath was the work of Robert I's promotional team and as Barrow has commented he was the first Scottish king 'known to have invoked (...) Andrew publicly as the nation's patron'.³⁰ It seems that Robert associated his victory at Bannockburn in 1314 with the intercession of the saint, granting an annual stipend of 100 merks to the cathedral priory at St Andrews in gratitude, and taking centre stage at the consecration of the rebuilt church in 1318.³¹ This ceremony has been described by one commentator as the 'vindication of Scottish independence', and is viewed by Broun and Ash as a 'thanksgiving by the whole nation' for the victory over the English.³² This notion is based upon Bower's account of the consecration written in the 1440s. Bower described the participation of Robert I, Bishop William Lamberton (1297-1328) and Duncan, earl of Fife (d.1353), symbolising the involvement of the three estates, and therefore of the whole kingdom, in showing appreciation for the role of St Andrew in Scottish victories.³³ While Bower's latent diocesan loyalties mean we must treat his description of events with a degree of caution, the consecration does appear to have been some form of national ceremony, emphasising the bond between the patronage of St Andrew and Scottish regnal independence, a theme evident in the Declaration of Arbroath just two years later.

The controversial manner in which Robert had seized the throne meant that the decision to identify his kingship with Andrew was a logical, and perhaps necessary, step. While his faith in Andrew as an intercessor may also have played a role, Robert would have been keen to attach himself to the apostle as a figure who had come to be associated with the independence of the Scottish realm. By the early fourteenth century it is clear that this connection was coming to be recognised beyond Scotland. An English political song from c.1300, about the ousting of John Balliol, referred to Andrew as the *leader* of the Scots.³⁴ St Andrews was not the only cult centre that had political value for a king whose accession to the throne had come in highly unusual

³⁰ Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland*, p.318.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.318, *Chron. Bower*, ii, 271-2.

³² Cant, R. G., 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, 11-33, quote at 26-7. Ash & Broun, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland', 16 & 20.

³³ *Chron. Bower*, vi, pp.363-6.

³⁴ The line reads 'Andrew will no longer be their leader', in reference to the defeated Scots, *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England. From the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (London, 1996), p.181.

circumstances. The search for legitimacy was also a strong motivation behind Robert's high profile patronage of the abbey at Dunfermline, where he was buried in 1329. As Steve Boardman has shown, with this act Robert was consciously identifying himself with both the patron saint and burial place of much of the dynasty through which he claimed the throne.³⁵

The symbolic relationship between St Andrew and the royal house was reinforced when Robert II came to the throne in 1371. The succession of the first Stewart king had not gone uncontested and when a fire at the cathedral in 1378 caused extensive damage, Robert was quick to identify with an apparently national cause, paying for masons to help reconstruct the building.³⁶ Wyntoun, who was a contemporary observer of the building work, or at least the finished product in the early 1400s, provides an interesting description of the project stating that Bishop Walter Trail (1385-1401) supplied the wood beams, and that the nine pillars of the church were engraved with the arms of 'sum lords' who had contributed towards the restoration.³⁷ The only extant fragment of these pillars contains the arms of the Lordship of Man, at that time claimed by George Dunbar, earl of March (d.1420).³⁸ A combination of dynastic failures and royal acquisitions had seen by the 1370s the seventeen earldoms of Scotland divided amongst only nine men, a number of whom were sons of Robert II.³⁹ It is possible that the reconstruction of St Andrews was considered a national project to which each of the top rank of the nobility were expected to contribute. However, Dunbar's earldom was also within the diocese of St Andrews and the nine lords may have been drawn from the ranks of the nobility of the see, men keen to enjoy the spiritual benefits this patronage would bring. Whichever

³⁵ As Boardman has shown in the following half century Dunfermline became something of a 'memorial to the political and military leadership that had sustained the Bruce cause in the struggles of the fourteenth century', Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum', 144.

³⁶ Contest seems to have come primarily from the Douglas family who had a slender claim to the throne, Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings. Robert II and Robert III*, p.39. The fire is mentioned by *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 309-11, but see also Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', 28-9.

Payments to the masons are mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls in 1381 and 1384, *ER*, iii, 70 & 674.

³⁷ Andrew Wyntoun was a canon of the cathedral; his description of the reconstruction is vague, not specifying the lords involved, *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 309-11.

³⁸ This fragment is preserved in the Cathedral Museum, Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', 30n 71.

³⁹ See Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 71-107. The nine lords were John Dunbar, earl of Moray, George Dunbar, earl of March, William, earl of Douglas & Mar, Duncan, earl of Lennox, Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney, Robert, earl of Sutherland, David Stewart, earl of Caithness & Strathearn, John Stewart (future Robert III (1390-1406), earl of Carrick & Atholl, Robert Stewart, earl of Fife & Mentieth. Alexander Stewart, the notorious 'Wolf of Badenoch', did not receive the earldom of Buchan until 1382.

scenario occurred, the involvement of the monarch, bishop and secular lords in the project of 1378 echoed the ceremony of 1318, suggesting that in the mind of the governing class and clergy, St Andrews was clearly established as a national shrine and cathedral at the end of the fourteenth century.

From this period a series of symbolic actions would further connect Andrew with the imagery of an independent Scottish kingdom and its royal dynasty. In 1385 a French expeditionary force under Jean de Vienne was ordered, along with their Scottish allies, to wear a saltire on their tunics.⁴⁰ This order was repeated in 1523, during another combined Franco-Scottish campaign, suggesting that the saltire was a useful symbol for distinguishing between the Scots and the English.⁴¹ During the reign of Robert III the saltire was first placed on the Scottish coinage, where it would remain throughout the later middle ages.⁴² The same symbol would also be placed on the royal privy seal during the reign of James II, and on all royal seals thereafter.⁴³ This process continued into the reigns of James III and James IV, which saw an increasingly close association between Andrew and the Stewart dynasty.⁴⁴ This connection was visualised on the Trinity Panels, a work commissioned by James III, in which the apostle was depicted in typically patronal mode, standing behind the king and his son.⁴⁵ A similar motif is evident in a book of hours which commemorated the wedding of James IV and Margaret Tudor in 1503. The king was shown kneeling, alongside his family patron and name saint, James of Compostella, in front of an altar triptych on which was displayed Jesus with St Andrew at his right hand.⁴⁶ During the reign of James IV the thistle collar and St Andrew pendant would also be incorporated

⁴⁰ The order is mentioned in the Parliament of 1385, *APS*, i, 555.

⁴¹ *TA*, v, 227.

⁴² Stewart, I. H., *Scottish Coinage* (London, 1955), pp.35-41.

⁴³ The Privy seal of James II had a saltire on the reverse, the same seals were used by James III, IV and V, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, pp.27-30.

⁴⁴ This process has been noted by Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy? Stewart Kingship (1469-1542)', 266. It is possible that James III also considered creating a Scottish order of chivalry akin to the English Order of the Garter or French Order of St Michael, with Andrew as its symbol. For a discussion of this see MacDonald, 'The Chapel of Restalrig: Royal folly or venerable shrine?', 27-61.

⁴⁵ Thompson, C & Campbell, L., *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh* (London, 1974), see p.55 for dating and Plate 1 for the panel depicting James and Andrew. James would also describe the saint more directly as our nation's patron in his Restalrig foundation charter, *Midlothian Charters*, i, 282.

⁴⁶ Macfarlane, L., 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', *IR*, xvii (1966), 3-21.

onto the royal coat of arms, while banners and standards bearing the saltire and other images of the saint were flown by the king's new naval forces.⁴⁷

The filtering of this process into popular culture is evident in the actions of some Scots expatriate groups. Although as we have seen in Chapter 2, Ninian was the saint most commonly patronised by mercantile groups abroad, the saltire was the emblem of the Scottish nation at the University of Orleans, and its students, and those at Paris, observed 30 November as a special feast day.⁴⁸ Altars were also dedicated to Andrew in Bruges and Regensburg by expatriate communities, and an image of the saint flanked Ninian on the Elsinore altarpiece.⁴⁹ This association between Andrew and the kingdom was also reflected in the use of his symbols by a number of international religious orders to represent their Scottish province. The Dominicans depicted Andrew on the seal of their Vicar General in Scotland from the fifteenth century, the Franciscans placed the apostle alongside Francis on the seal of their provincial minister from 1482 and the Carmelite friars had Andrew on their common seal from 1492.⁵⁰

ii. Pilgrimage to St Andrews

Although in the later middle ages the localised universal Andrew was coming to be firmly identified as the patron of an independent Scottish kingdom and its royal dynasty, the period would see significant changes in the status of his shrine in Fife. The importance and popularity of the pilgrimage centre at St Andrews had been a major factor in the emergence of the apostle as the patron saint of the Scottish church in the twelfth century.⁵¹ The first recorded pilgrim was an Irish royal who died there in 965, and according to Turgot, the numbers had swelled by the late eleventh-century prompting St Margaret to improve the local infrastructure.⁵² Two cases of shrine rivalry provide a further indication of St Andrew's prominence amongst northern

⁴⁷ The collar and pendant first appear in the book of hours mentioned above, Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy', 266. Standards with the saltire were ordered for the Great Michael and the Queen's ship and other banners of St Andrew are mentioned in 1512, *TA*, iv, 297, 477 & 521.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2, II.iv, Watt, 'Scottish Student life abroad in the fourteenth century', 7, also mentioned in Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.247.

⁴⁹ Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', 98, Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia*, p.19.

⁵⁰ *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, pp.205-208, 209 & 210.

⁵¹ See Ash, & Broun, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland', 16-24.

⁵² *Early Sources of Scottish History*, i, p.216. Turgot noted that Margaret built hostels on either side of the Forth and paid for ships to transport the pilgrims, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, trans. W. M. Metcalfe (Llanerch, 2 vols, 1998), i, 317.

sacred centres in the twelfth century. Reginald of Durham's life of St Godric of Finchale compared his saint favourably with the healing abilities of the shrines of Thomas Becket, Cuthbert of Durham and Andrew.⁵³ A similar sense of rivalry between Cuthbert and Andrew was also apparent in twelfth-century miracle stories by Symeon of Durham.⁵⁴ It is clear that English clerics like Reginald and Symeon considered St Andrews to be one of the premier pilgrimage centres in the north in this period.

The image of a thriving pilgrimage centre in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is also apparent from descriptions of the shrine in Fordun and Bower. In the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, 'crowds of the faithful' were described approaching the town, along with the occurrence of a variety of miracles at the shrine.⁵⁵ Bower provides a particularly vivid description of the 'motley throng' of foreign visitors to the shrine including the 'boastful Frank, the war loving Norman, the Flemish weaver and rough Teuton'.⁵⁶ As an explanation of the somewhat antiquated language of this excerpt, Bower suggests that his source was 'found written in olden times at Rymont', probably at some point prior to the twelfth century.⁵⁷ Although St Andrews was located on the peripheries of Europe, its coastal position meant that the shrine was far from inaccessible. Maritime communications were augmented by the development of a pilgrimage network, helpfully visualised by Yeoman.⁵⁸ The Queen's and Earl's ferries across the Forth provided access from the south, and for pilgrims coming from the north there were further transports across the Tay near Perth and Dundee.⁵⁹ Jonathan Sumption has shown that a combination of 'shrewd promotion and excellent communications' were behind the success of the shrine of St James at Compostella,

⁵³ Godric visited the shrine and burgh himself as a pilgrim and merchant. In three posthumous miracles supplicants appeal unsuccessfully to St Andrew before their cure at the hands of the northern English hermit, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitaie de Finchale. Auctore Reginaldo Monacho Dunelmensi. Adjicitur Appendix Miraculorum*, ed. J. Stevenson (Surtees Society, Durham, 1847), pp.219, 376, 426 & 446, discussed in Frank, R. F., 'Shrine rivalry in the North Sea World', in *The North Sea world in the Middle Ages: studies in the cultural history of northwestern Europe*, eds. T. Lyszka & L. Walker (Dublin, 2001), 230-243, at 233.

⁵⁴ These have been explored by Crumplin, 'Cuthbert the cross-border saint in the twelfth century', 124.

⁵⁵ The miracles included restoring sight, speech and healing, *Chron. Fordun*, i, 70-1. This description occurs in Book 1 of the work which Broun's analysis places in a twelfth or thirteenth century context, see Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, pp.170-179.

⁵⁶ *Chron. Bower*, i, p.317.

⁵⁷ Bower generally used *Kilrymont* to describe St Andrews before the twelfth century, *ibid*, i, 15, 317, ii, 299, 321, iii, 85, 107, 110, viii, 77.

⁵⁸ See diagram in Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, p.57.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, the southern ferries are discussed in *Scottish History Society Miscellany IV* (Edinburgh, 1926), pp.308-9.

one of the few other shrines in the west, outside of Rome, to contain the relics of an apostle.⁶⁰ It is therefore unsurprising that the shrine at St Andrews, well supplied with relics and with an organised infrastructure, came to prominence between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.

The shrine seems to have retained this prominence as an international pilgrimage centre up to the eve of the Wars of Independence, when we find evidence of English visitors. In 1273 a group of three men received a safe conduct to visit St Andrews, one of whom, Lawrence Scot, may have been of Scottish extraction.⁶¹ At a post mortem inquest held in 1308, four men from Cambridgeshire also recalled a pilgrimage they had made to the shrine in 1285.⁶² St Andrews was also visited by Edward I during his attempted conquest of Scotland, with the English king making a donation to the relics in 1304.⁶³ It is difficult to quantify the impact of the Anglo-Scottish wars on this traffic, but there is little evidence of large scale international pilgrimage to the shrine from the fourteenth century. The only indication of foreign visitors to St Andrews comes from the early fourteenth century in the form of expiatory pilgrimages from the Low Countries and northern France. St Andrews was the third most popular destination for these imposed atonements from the court of Ypres.⁶⁴ In two other well known cases Watier Masiere of Kortrijk (1319) was ordered to the shrine after an incident of domestic abuse and a pilgrim certificate found at St Omer tells the story of William Bondolf of Dunkirk, sent to the shrine in 1333 after committing murder.⁶⁵ In 1325 another Fleming, John Host, was recorded as visiting St Andrews in fulfilment of a vow.⁶⁶ St Andrews, and Scotland as a whole, was an ideal location for this style of pilgrimage, however, as a form of punishment it had apparently gone out of fashion by the end of the fifteenth century.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An image of Medieval Religion*, p.116. The relics included 3 fingers from the right hand, part of the arm, a kneecap and a tooth, Ash & Broun, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland', 17.

⁶¹ Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, p.217. The other pilgrims were Richard son of Philip and Nicholas de Wygennale.

⁶² *Ibid*, p.217, the men were Robert de la Broke of Elesworth, William Frankelyn of Fen Drayton, John Pint, and William de la Grave of Swavesay.

⁶³ *CDS*, ii. no.8.

⁶⁴ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.60, nt 123, and *ibid*, 'Saints at the Dorr', 93-95. Ditchburn suggests that the interest in St Andrew from these regions may have been prompted by the apostle's status as patron of the Dukes of Burgundy.

⁶⁵ Kortrijk is in modern day Belgium, *ibid*, p.60 & McRoberts, D., 'A St Andrews Pilgrimage Certificate of 1333 at Saint-Omer', in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, 155-6.

⁶⁶ Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, p.218.

⁶⁷ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.60 and *ibid*, 'Saints at the Dorr', 93-95.

From the mid-fourteenth century St Andrews' status as an international pilgrimage centre seems to have gradually declined. After the foundation of the university in 1412 the shrine of the apostle may no longer have been the primary attraction for visitors to the burgh. In 1419 an indulgence granted to William Wardlaw (1403-40) to help towards rebuilding a bridge to the west of the town, emphasised the need to safeguard passage for students, with no mention of pilgrims.⁶⁸ Something of the low point that the shrine had reached by this time is also evident in a promotional letter sent by the prior of St Andrews, James Haldenstone to the Scottish bishops in the 1420s.⁶⁹ In the letter Haldenstone made a request for financial support for the fabric of the cathedral, stressing the national significance of the relics at St Andrews.⁷⁰ The tone of desperation in the correspondence suggests that there had been a significant failure in pilgrimage traffic to the shrine. This decline is eloquently summarised in the charter of a new college founded at the University of St Andrews in 1512. A hospital, probably founded in 1144 to cater for pilgrims, was to be transformed into student accommodation for St Leonard's college.⁷¹ As Archbishop Alexander Stewart (1504-1513) explained, the pilgrim hospice was no longer needed as '*miracles and pilgrimages, as we may without impiety believe, had in a measure ceased*'.⁷²

This image of a moribund shrine is also evident in chronicles and other literary works of the period. As we have seen both Fordun and Bower included descriptions of pilgrims at St Andrews and miracles emanating from the shrine, neither of which were contemporary accounts. Hector Boece, John Maior and David Lindsay are similarly reticent in the sixteenth century, a silence marked in comparison to their descriptions of the vibrancy of Tain, Whithorn and various Marian shrines and in the period.⁷³ In the fourteenth-century *Legends of the Saints* the author provides an interesting prologue to the legend of the apostle, expressing his personal devotion to

⁶⁸ This was the Guardbridge, an important crossing over the River Eden, *CSSR*, 1418-22, 109. Yeoman suggests that a recent drowning of monks and clerics had prompted the construction of the bridge, but no mention is made of this in the supplication, Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, p.58.

⁶⁹ *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, pp.119-21 & 454-6.

⁷⁰ The relics described are those mentioned above, 3 fingers, a thigh bone and a kneecap, *ibid*, p.120.

⁷¹ *The College of St. Leonard: being documents with translations, notes, and historical introductions*, eds. J. Herkless & R. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1905), p.137, Cowan & Easson, *Medieval religious houses*, p.190.

⁷² *The College of St. Leonard*, p.137.

⁷³ As we have seen in Chapter 2, Maior himself visited Whithorn and Boece described the shrine as the most active in *Alba*, *Chron. Maior*, 37, *Chron. Boece*, ii, 229. Lindsay refers to popular Marian and Passion shrines, *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 40-41.

Andrew, but again makes no mention of contemporary miracles and fails to place the saint in a Scottish context.⁷⁴ Whilst Andrew is accorded a position of prominence in the Aberdeen Breviary, his legends remain the standard fare, with no indication of either a Scottish milieu or contemporary interest in the shrine.⁷⁵ As Ditchburn has suggested, by the end of the middle ages St Andrews seems to have become a pilgrimage destination of largely local significance.⁷⁶

iii. Columba of Dunkeld and Inchcolm

In late medieval Scotland the Columban cult was split between the three centres of Iona, Dunkeld and Inchcolm.⁷⁷ The Hebridean cult, centred upon Iona, appears to have thrived throughout the middle ages, with Columba regarded as the most important regional patron from the sixth to the thirteenth century and beyond.⁷⁸ The popularity of the second, and to some extent separate, cult which developed in lowland and eastern Scotland, centred upon Dunkeld and the island of Inchcolm in the Forth, would be less constant.⁷⁹ The initial success of this cult can be seen in the proliferation of place-name, church and topographical commemorations of the saint which have been tentatively dated to the early and central middle ages (see Map 10 overleaf). The central Scotland diocese of Dunkeld played a key role in the spread of the cult in the east during this period, in particular by encouraging veneration of the

⁷⁴ *Legends of the Saints*, i, p.63.

⁷⁵ Andrew's lessons were removed from the chronological arrangement of the rest of the breviary and placed at the start, second only to Mary, *Breviarium Aberdonese*, ii, fol. cxxxii.

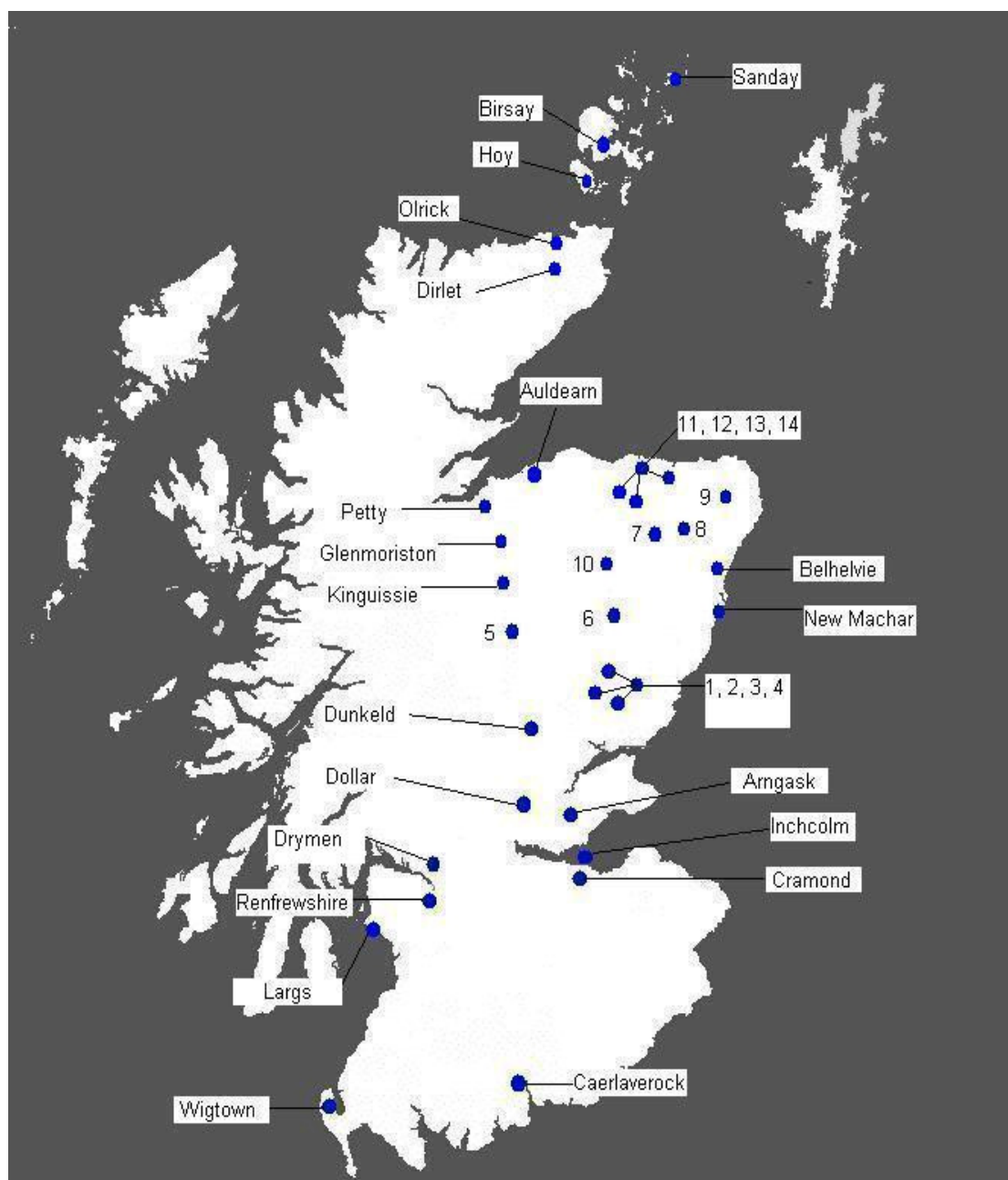
⁷⁶ Ditchburn, 'Saints at the Door', 94.

⁷⁷ The divided and contested nature of the Columba cult is also reflected in secondary works. Taylor and Clancy describe Columba as 'the most important indigenous Scottish saint', Taylor, S., 'Seventh Century Iona Abbots in Scottish Place-Names', *IR*, xlvii (1997), 45-71, at 46; Clancy, 'Personal, Political and Pastoral', 57. Irish historians like Cormac Bourke have called Columba a 'symbol and patron of the Irish Sea World', see *Studies in the cult of Saint Columba*, ed. C. Bourke (Dublin, 1997) and Herbert, M., *Iona, Kells and Derry. The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (Dublin, 1996). Bannerman and Macdonald provide a differing viewpoint, identifying Columba as a Hebridean saint, Bannerman, J., 'The Lordship of the Isles', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Brown, (London 1977), 209-41 and Macdonald, R. A., *The Kingdom of the Isles. Scotland's Western Seaboard, c.1100-1336* (East Linton, 1997).

⁷⁸ This cult will not be discussed at length here but will be referred to on occasion. For a list of the numerous western dedications to the saint see O'Muraile, N., 'The Columban Onomastic Legacy', in *Studies in the cult of Saint Columba*, 205-11, Maps 6 & 8. For a discussion of this western cult in the central middle ages see, Macdonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles*. 229-33. For this cult in the later middle ages see Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles', at 229 and Sharpe, 'Roderick Maclean's *Life of St Columba in Latin Verse* (1549)', 111-137.

⁷⁹ For the relics see Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, p.279 & *The Annals of Ulster*, pp.308-9. For a discussion of the Inchcolm foundation legends see *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, eds. D. Easson & A. Macdonald (Scottish Historical Society, Edinburgh, 1938), xiii-v.

Map 10. Taylor and O'Muraile's suggested early Columban sites in eastern and lowland Scotland.⁸⁰



Numbered locations

- | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Cortachy | 4. Tannadice | 7. Daviot | 10. Gartly | 13. Fordyce |
| 2. Kirriemuir | 5. Crathie | 8. Old Deer | 11. Turriff | 14. Alvah |
| 3. Menmuir | 6. Birse | 9. Lonmay | 12. Forglen | |

⁸⁰ The Columba commemorations shown on Map 10 are those accepted by O'Muraile and Taylor as likely to have originated in the early and central middle ages. The map is intended to give an indication of the geography of the cult in that period, O'Muraile, 'The Columban Onomastic Legacy', 205-11, 224 & 226, Taylor, 'Columba east of Drumalban', 109-111, 120-125.

saint in a series of dependant parishes in Fife and Lothian.⁸¹ Dedications in the southwest and northeast were perhaps a result of other influences. The Lennox, Ayrshire and Galloway were subject to Columban influences from an early period and had strong maritime links to the heartland of the cult in Argyll and the Hebrides.⁸² Clancy has suggested that the dedications in the northeast can be attributed to Gaelic expansion into the area, with local cults like those of Drostan and Machar deliberately linked to Columba.⁸³ In addition to these clusters, chapels and churches dedicated to the saint could be found in Sutherland, Caithness and Orkney.⁸⁴ As Taylor has suggested, there appear to have been two main catalysts for the successful transmission of the Columban cult to the east. The first of these was monastic expansion along the communication line between Iona and Lindisfarne in the seventh century with the second, and perhaps more significant, catalyst the political victory of the Cenel nGabrian dynasty, who carried their patron saint eastwards into their new territories from the ninth century.⁸⁵

An important factor in the continuing popularity of Columba in this region during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was support from the custodians of the two main eastern centres of the cult at Dunkeld and Inchcolm. The close identification between the early medieval bishops of Dunkeld and their patron can be seen in the

⁸¹ Taylor has linked the commemorations at Arngask, Cramond, Menmuir, Dollar and the presence of a Columban well in Moulin near Dunkeld, to the influence of the cathedral chapter, Taylor, 'Columba east of Drumalban', 112-3.

⁸² In the west there was a Kilmalcolm parish in Renfrewshire and the parish churches of Largs and Drymen were dedicated to Columba. In the far southwest there was the parish of Kirkcolm and a well in Wigtownshire, and a chapel and well in Caerlaverock parish.

⁸³ For example Drostan is described as Columba's nephew in the origin legend of the abbey of Deer and as we will discuss below, Machar was thought to have been a pupil of the saint, Clancy, T. O., 'Deer and the early church in North-Eastern Scotland', in *Studies in the Book of Deer*, ed. K. Forsyth (Dublin, 2008), 363-97.

⁸⁴ To the north of Inverness there was Kilcolmkill near Brora, the chapel of Dirlet near Halkirk, a church in Olrick, several chapels on Hoy as well as others in Burness and at the Brough of Birsay on Orkney and on Sanday.

⁸⁵ Columba's role as patron of the Cenel nGabrian can clearly be seen in a tenth-century praise poem known as the Duaid Mac-Fibris fragment which described him as an effective saint of war, represented on the battlefield by the Cathbuaid or Battle Victory, a secondary relic, perhaps a crozier, carried into battle by the men of Alba, printed in Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, i, p.407, Taylor, 'Columba east of Drumalban', 114-5. Naming patterns also seem to indicate the popularity of the Columba cult in the east during this period. A search for the name in the POMS database, www.poms.ac.uk, revealed *Mael Coluim* as the most commonly attested Gaelic forename, with 112 examples recorded in the period 1093-1286. The name was a popular amongst both native and immigrant noble kindreds in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, as Hammond has shown, the popularity of Mael Coluim was part of trend in which these families adopted royal names, rather than an indication of interest in the saint and his cult, Hammond, M., 'Ethnicity, Personal names and the nature of Scottish Europeanisation', in *Thirteenth Century England, XI*, eds B. Weiler et al (Woodbridge, 2007), 82-91, at 86-90.

depiction of Columba on a number of chapter and episcopal seals from the late twelfth century, and from the epitaph on the tomb of the thirteenth-century bishop Geoffrey (1236-49) which read; 'Galfridus rests here entombed in our father Columba's care'.⁸⁶ Inchcolm was in the diocese of Dunkeld and first bishop Cormac (c.1120-1131x32), and later Gregory (1147-69), were entrusted by David I with the endowments of the new church on the island, and in the thirteenth century Bishop Richard of Inverkeithing (1250-72) made several grants to the abbey.⁸⁷ Richard also instigated a building campaign on the site completed in 1266, before having his heart buried in the choir in 1272.⁸⁸ Although as his surname suggests Richard was a local man, this act was not unprecedented as previous bishops, Richard de Prebenda (1203-10), John of Leicester (1211-14) and Gilbert (1229x30-36) had chosen to be buried on the island.⁸⁹ This seems to indicate that Inchcolm was regarded as a more sacred site than the administrative centre of the eastern Columban cult at Dunkeld.⁹⁰

Another significant factor in the popularity of the cult in the early middle ages had been the connection to the royal house.⁹¹ However, as we have seen the saint was effectively sidelined in favour of Andrew in the diplomacy of the Wars of Independence, and seems to have held little interest for the new dynasty after 1306.⁹² In 1329 the Scottish kings were finally granted the right of unction by Pope John XII (1316-34).⁹³ In a ceremony held on the 24 November 1331, David II became the first king to be crowned and anointed with holy oil, placing him on a par with the

⁸⁶ For Dunkeld seals see Glen, V., 'The 13th Century Chapter seals of Dunkeld and Oslo Cathedrals', *PSAS*, cxxxii (2002), 439-58 & *eadem* 'A Newly discovered Dunkeld Seal', *IR*, lviii (2007), 217-21. Geoffrey's epitaph from his tomb at Dunkeld is translated and printed in *The Triumph Tree. Scotland's Earliest Poetry, AD 550-1350*, ed. T. O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 287.

⁸⁷ This is somewhat surprising as Dunkeld was not of the Augustinian order. Richard gave the church of Rosyth and chapel of Logy in 1251x72, and monies from the church of Cramond to pay for candles in 1256, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, nos.22 & 24.

⁸⁸ The building campaign is discussed in Fawcett, R., 'Inchcolm Abbey', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. B. E. Crawford, (Edinburgh, 1999), 93-108, see *Chron. Bower*, v, 385-7 for the heart burial.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, iv, 465, v, 81, 159, 357-9 & 387 for burials at Inchcolm.

⁹⁰ *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, xxii. This may suggest a waning of interest in the shrine at Dunkeld. In the eleventh century, *Duncachen* near the river 'Tau' had been the only Scottish shrine to feature in an Anglo-Saxon document listing saint's resting places, Rollason, B. W., 'Lists of Saints resting places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vii (1978), 61-95, at 87.

⁹¹ Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages', 408.

⁹² Columba had featured in the Scottish narrative presented to the Papacy by Baldred Bisset in 1301. However, he was described, alongside Aidan and Finnan, only as one of the 'first teachers of the Scots', *Chron. Bower*, vi, 149. There is no documentary evidence to link Robert I or David II to any of the eastern or western Columban cult centres after 1306.

⁹³ Penman, *David II, 1329-71*, pp.45-6.

monarchs of England and France.⁹⁴ This put an end to one of the last traces of Columban tradition in Scottish kingship, and it would be another 150 years before a Scottish monarch would again display a significant interest in the saint.⁹⁵ A further remnant of the connection between Columba and the royal house was the Brecbannach, a reliquary/banner connected to the saint.⁹⁶ This relic was in the royal collection until c.1211, when it was gifted by William I to his new foundation at Arbroath.⁹⁷ According to Bower it was carried to Bannockburn in 1314 by Bernard, abbot of Arbroath.⁹⁸ However, shortly after the battle Bernard leased the object, and the associated lands of Forglen in Nairnshire, to the Monymusk family.⁹⁹ For the next century the Brecbannach changed owners through inheritance into the Fraser and Urry families, finally coming into the hands of the Irvines of Drum in around 1420.¹⁰⁰ While the burdens of military service may have prompted the leasing out of the relic by the abbey, it is tempting to see the Columban object becoming less relevant and perhaps even something of an embarrassment to the monks in the later middle ages. There is little evidence after 1314 that the Brecbannach was an important part of Scottish military symbolism with no mention of it associated with Neville's Cross (1346), where David II lost the Holy Rood of St Margaret, Sauchieburn (1488), where the sword of Robert the Bruce was found after the battle or during the Flodden campaign when Scottish naval forces flew banners depicting SS Andrew and Margaret.¹⁰¹

iv. Walter Bower and the Columba cult in the fourteenth century

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, pp.45-6.

⁹⁵ See II.ii below.

⁹⁶ For a recent discussion of the relationship between this object and the Monymusk reliquary held in the National Museum of Scotland see Caldwell, D., 'The Monymusk Reliquary, the Brechbennach of St Columba?', *PSAS*, cxxxi (2001), 267-82.

⁹⁷ The date range of the charter is 1208x1211. Barrow suggests 1211 as a likely date, *Regesta regum Scottorum, The Acts of William I. King of Scots, 1164-1216*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow, (Edinburgh, 1971), no.499. This has been refuted by Hammond who argues for 1209 as more likely, Hammond, 'Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland', 76nt .79.

⁹⁸ *Chron. Bower*, vi, 365.

⁹⁹ *Liber St Thome de Aberbrothoc*, i, 340.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, ii, 39, 108, 208, 349, 236 & 409.

¹⁰¹ For Margaret's relic at Neville's Cross see Rollason, L., 'Spoils of War? Durham Cathedral and the Black Rood of Scotland', in *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346*, eds. D. Rollason & M. Prestwich (Stamford, 1998), 57-65. For Robert's sword see *ER*, x, 82, also discussed in Macdougall, *James III*, pp.275-6. For the banners see *TA*, iv, 521. As we seen other banners or relics of Andrew, Ninian and Duthac may also have been present with the Scottish forces at Flodden.

The end of the connection between the saint and the Scottish royal house corresponded with a waning of the eastern/lowland cult in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although there is little extant information for Dunkeld, patronage of the abbey of Inchcolm declined considerably after the Wars of Independence. Support prior to 1286 had come predominantly from local families like the Avenals, Lascalles and Mortimers, alongside occasional wider interest from individuals like Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan (d.1289), and as we have seen, from thirteenth-century bishops of Dunkeld.¹⁰² The fourteenth century saw little fresh patronage and was characterised by the concerted efforts of a series of abbots to secure earlier grants from the heirs to local families.¹⁰³ Columba's feast day on 4 June was also absent from the few fourteenth-century liturgical documents that survive, most notably from the calendars of Herdmanston and Culross which had a provenance from areas with strong Columban traditions.¹⁰⁴ Prior to 1470, in a period where there were numerous dedications to Ninian and Duthac, there is also evidence of only one new altar commemorating Columba in a major Scottish church.¹⁰⁵ In the thirteenth century the primary publicists of the eastern cult had been the bishops of Dunkeld who, as we have seen, displayed the saint on their personal seals. However, after the death of Matthew Crambeth (1288-1309), Columba was replaced on episcopal seals by biblical and international saints such as John and Katherine.¹⁰⁶ The correspondence of this period of apparent episcopal disinterest with other signs of stagnation in the wider cult suggests that the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries had seen a failure in eastern and lowland devotion to Columba. This may have led some of the bishops to distance themselves from the cult.

While there were issues at Dunkeld, it is clear that Inchcolm was still promoting its patron throughout this period. The Inchcolm Antiphoner, a musical piece which dates from the mid-fourteenth century, memorably described Columba as *Spes Scotorum*, 'hope of the Scots', presenting the saint as an active defender of the

¹⁰² Local lords also included the Lord of Lundy and Robert of London, illegitimate son of William I, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, 3-4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 18, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28 & 31. There was also a Malcolm de Lascalles active c.1200, *RRS, The Acts of William I*, no.428.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, xxiv, 35 & 38.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 1, Table 1 & *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, pp.35-49 & 50-64.

¹⁰⁵ A missal at the altar of St Columba is first mentioned at Aberdeen in 1436, but the altar was probably in existence prior to that date, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii, 137. See Chapter 1, Table 2 for dedications to the saint in major Scottish churches, the new set of altars founded after c.1470 will be discussed below in Section II.ii.

¹⁰⁶ From Crambeth through to Gavin Douglas (1515-27), Columba does not appear on any episcopal seals, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, pp.141-6.

house against foreign incursion, who would 'save our choir from the assaults of English men'.¹⁰⁷ This image of Columba was elaborated by Walter Bower in the *Scotichronicon*. Two prevalent themes in Bower's work are an intense Anglophobia and promotion of Inchcolm's patron Columba.¹⁰⁸ These themes combine in four miracle stories which were said to have occurred in the period 1317-85. The first story concerned the heroic bishop of Dunkeld, William Sinclair (1309-37), who led the men of Fife and his own entourage against English invaders in 1317.¹⁰⁹ Bower noted with relish the casualties amongst the invaders and how afterwards Sinclair was known as 'our bishop' by Robert I.¹¹⁰ The three other stories described incidents in which Columba intervened to punish pirates and English soldiers who had violated the lands of the saint at Inchcolm and elsewhere.¹¹¹

Aside from the incident involving Sinclair, these anecdotes are vague when it comes to details such as dates or names. A comparison with other works of the period suggests that Bower had a rather different view of the role of Columba in the wars than his contemporaries. The miracle stories did not feature in *Gesta Annalia II* or in Wyntoun, and only the Sinclair legend is verified by another source, John Barbour's heroic poem about Robert I, written in the 1370s.¹¹² Bower's vision of Columba was in keeping with the tone of his chronicle in which saintly intercession was often swift and deadly.¹¹³ However, his message was also about the prestige and antiquity of the Augustinian house at Inchcolm, as reflected in the power of its guardian. This idea is also enconced in the author's insistence that Inchcolm was founded by Alexander I

¹⁰⁷ *The Triumph Tree*, pp.317-19.

¹⁰⁸ Bower was abbot from 1417 to his death in 1449. One commentator has described Bower as a 'professional Scotsman', *Chron. Bower*, ix, 352.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, vi, 383.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vi, 383.

¹¹¹ The second story occurred in 1335 when an English ship raided the island of Inchcolm. Having removed all the valuables including a 'famous image of St Columba', the ship was caught in storms and a whirlwind after which the terrified plunderers returned their spoils and were allowed to go on their way. The third anecdote occurred a year later when more English pirates came to the church of Dollar and stole various objects. On their return along the Forth the ship unaccountably sunk close to Inchcolm and fear and awe of Columba spread among the English army. The final tale was set in 1385 and involved a large group of English soldiers landing on Inchcolm and setting fire to the abbey, *ibid.*, vii, 109, 119-21 & 399-403.

¹¹² Both Fordun and Wyntoun provided Columba with a minor role in their Scottish history narrative, and made no reference to the saint as a contemporary intercessor, *Chron. Fordun*, i, 103-9 & 142-3, *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, 75, 171, v, 31. For the Sinclair legend see *John Barbour. The Bruce*, pp.608-14.

¹¹³ Other saints who appear as effective intercessors are Serf at Loch Leven in 1335 and Cuthbert at Neville's Cross in 1346, Watt comments that 'he (Bower) takes for granted the active participation of the Virgin Mary or saints such as Andrew (iv, c.14) or Cuthbert (v. c.30) or (especially) Columba in human affairs by means of visions or unseen controlling of events', *Chron. Bower*, ix, 347.

(1107-24), giving it greater antiquity than Holyrood, for whose abbacy Bower twice applied unsuccessfully.¹¹⁴ Bower's eagerness to provide Columba with a place as a hero of the wars with England tells us more about the thwarted career ambitions of the author, and the development of the cult in the 1440s, than the general perception of the saint in fourteenth-century Scotland.

The image of the saint presented by Bower and the Antiphoner is similar to the Hebridean tradition in which Columba was also shown acting as an effective defender of the region against foreign incursion. This image of the saint can be seen in a thirteenth-century miracle story from Hakon's Saga. In this legend Columba appeared to Alexander II at the head of a saintly deputation demanding the withdrawal of his forces from the Hebrides. Having rejected this ultimatum, Alexander perished on the island of Kerrara before he could inflict further damage on the region.¹¹⁵ The Columba depicted in Hakon's saga, and in Bower, is a distinctly early medieval saint type. He is a member of the 'sombre batman' topos that Airlie has shown was perhaps the most common type in the insular world during that period.¹¹⁶ This style of saint was somewhat out of date in the later middle ages with the most popular intercessors, those like Ninian and Duthac, fitting into the category of the 'kind neighbour', performing useful miracles rather than acting as vengeful guardians.¹¹⁷ A different contemporary image of the saint can be seen in the late fourteenth-century *Legends of the Saints*, where Columba appears frequently in the life of St Machar as a teacher and later companion of the saint.¹¹⁸ He is presented as having a fatherly relationship with his powerful pupil who, in a fairly common hagiographical trope, eventually outgrew his master and departed to find his destiny in northern Scotland. The Columba of the *Legends* is far removed from the daunting figure of the *Scotichronicon* and was unable to stop other students attempting to harm Machar out of jealousy.¹¹⁹ These

¹¹⁴ For the career of Walter Bower see *ibid.*, ix, 203-9.

¹¹⁵ The legend is translated and printed in Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ii, 557. The contemporary chronicles of Man and Melrose make no mention of this legend, but it is recorded in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris who had been at the Norwegian court in 1248 and had some experience of Hebridean affairs. In the Norwegian version Columba is accompanied by Norse saints Olaf and Magnus, but it is he who takes the central role, talking to Alexander. The Norse saintly reinforcements are not included in Matthew's version and were probably added for the Scandinavian audience of the Saga. In the *Chronica Majora* it says that Alexander II 'incurred the displeasure of God and St Columba' and makes no mention of other saints, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles, AD 500-1286*, ed. A. Anderson (London, 1991), pp.360-1.

¹¹⁶ Airlie, 'The view from Maastricht', 37.

¹¹⁷ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.160-1.

¹¹⁸ *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 1-46.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, 11-13.

dual images of Columba from this period can provide a partial explanation for the decline of his cult. The saint type depicted in Bower was somewhat dated, while the figure in the *Legends* was an ineffective intercessor.

v. Kentigern of Glasgow, c.1100-1400

Whilst there may have been a local cult of St Kentigern in the former kingdom of Strathclyde, and perhaps Lothian, in the early middle ages, recent works by John Reuben Davies and Dauvit Broun have shown that there is little evidence of widespread interest in the saint prior to the twelfth century.¹²⁰ The cult that developed from the early 1100s was the result of the promotional activities of a series of bishops who, following the creation of the reformed diocese of Glasgow by David I, encouraged the cult of their patron with building campaigns, translations and the production of two new *Vitae*.¹²¹ The most active of these bishops was Jocelin (1174-99), who used as his models the recently canonised Thomas of Canterbury (1173) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1174).¹²² Jocelin's most notable success was the development of a close relationship between the saint and the royal house. For William I, Kentigern was a personal intercessor second only to his commitment to Thomas Becket, to whom his new foundation at Arbroath was dedicated.¹²³ Although it has been suggested that royal interest in the saint began to wane after William's death, Alexander II and III continued to be major patrons of Glasgow Cathedral.¹²⁴ In a poignant act, Alexander III founded an altar dedicated to St Kentigern in the nave of the cathedral in 1284, for the souls of his ancestors and family, including his recently

¹²⁰ Davies, 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', 66-73, Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, 124-8.

¹²¹ For the twelfth and thirteenth century cult of St Kentigern see Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', 9-22, Davies, 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', 66-90, Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, 124-8 and Shead, 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', 3-16.

¹²² Some relics of Thomas were recorded in an inventory at the cathedral in 1432, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 175. Another contemporary model may have been the translation that occurred as part of the canonisation process of Edward the Confessor in 1161-3, Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, p. 16.

¹²³ RRS, *The Acts of William I*. nos. 216, 283, 426 & 217.

¹²⁴ Shead has suggested that royal interest in the cult had begun to wane from the accession of Alexander II in 1214. However, although neither Alexander II nor Alexander III granted new lands or churches to the saint, they remained major patrons of the cathedral. Alexander II augmented an earlier granted of his father with an annual stipend of 4 marks from the royal demesne lands in Cadzow and Alexander III granted 100s from the fermes of Rutherglen to pay for various members of the cathedral clergy, Shead, 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', 14, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II, 1214-49*, ed. J. M. Scouler (Edinburgh, 1959), no.232, RRS, *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III, Guardians and John*, no.148.

deceased sons and daughter.¹²⁵ The continuing importance of this special relationship for the bishops of Glasgow can clearly be seen in the imagery of Robert Wishart's elaborate seal, which dates from the period preceding the Anglo-Scottish wars.¹²⁶

The successful revival of the cult, and the increasing power and influence of the diocese of Glasgow, was also reflected in the dedication of a series of churches to the saint across southern Scotland and in Cumbria during this period.¹²⁷ Whilst as Davies has shown, dating these and other early commemorations of the saint is problematic, they give a strong sense of the geography of the cult prior to the fourteenth century (see Map 11 overleaf).¹²⁸ The impact of the twelfth-century promotional campaigns and royal patronage can also be seen in the explosion of interest in the cult amongst the Scottish nobility during the period. Kentigern developed a strong following amongst the Anglo-Norman incomers of the twelfth century, especially those with a landed interest in the south west. Some of the earliest benefactors were the Bruces of Annandale and Walter Fitz Alan, the High Steward, who gifted a number of churches and monies to the cathedral.¹²⁹ In the thirteenth century the most regular and generous patrons of the cult were the Comyn and Balliol kindreds. Individual benefactors from these families included Dervoguilla de Balliol, who granted lands to Kentigern in 1277, and her son John I (1292-6), who showed an

¹²⁵ Alexander III's oldest son had died in January of that year, his daughter in 1283 and his younger son in 1280. The altar is described in Shead, 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', 11, Durkan, 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', 65, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 235.

¹²⁶ Discussed above in I.i, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, p.110.

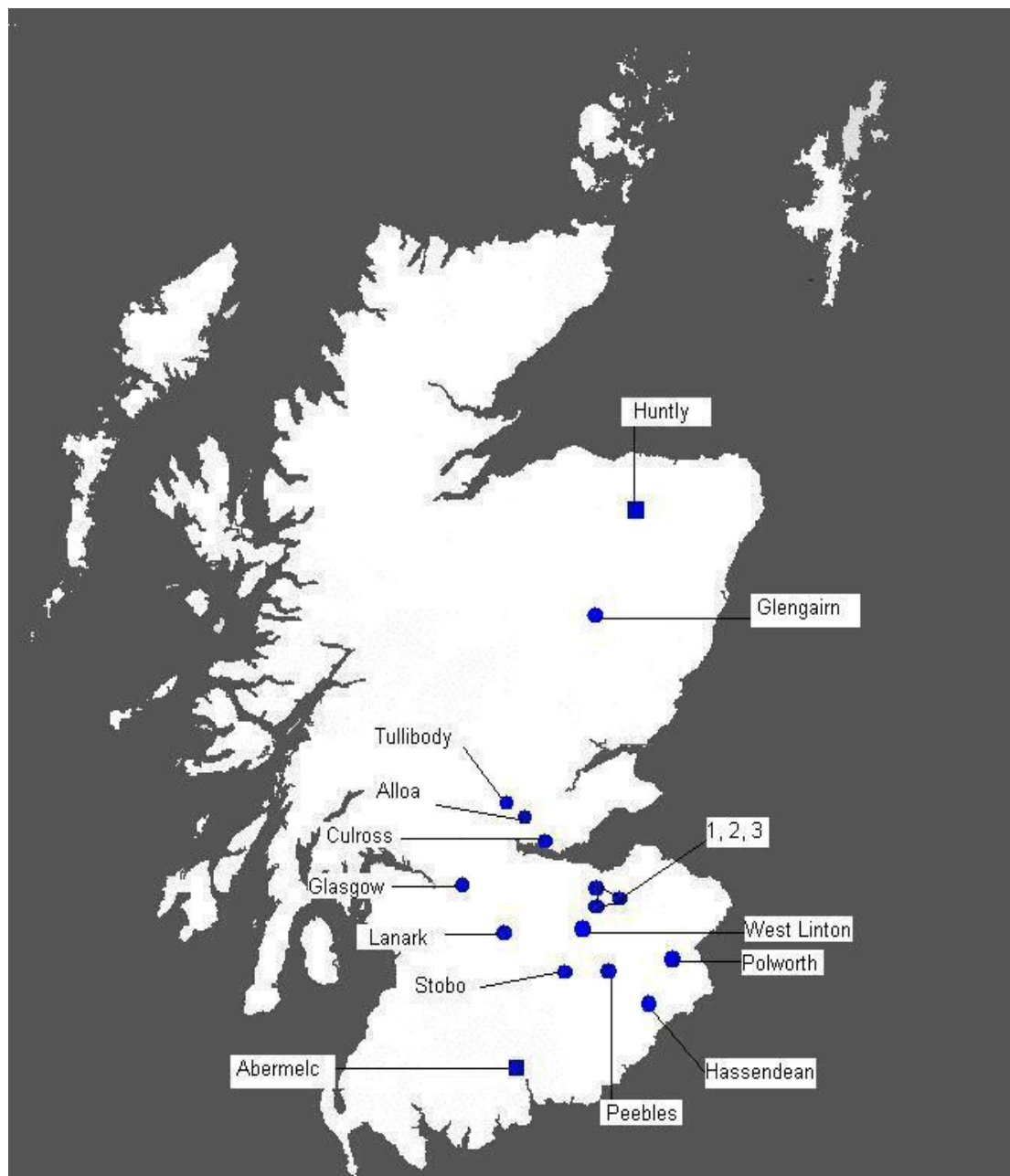
¹²⁷ As Davies has suggested, the churches dedicated to Kentigern in Cumbria can probably be traced to the period of Scottish control in the region in the 1130s-50s, Davies, 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', 72-82. A place-name in Cumbria connected to the saint was Mungrisdale, and there was a cross stone connected to the saint at Crostwaithe, near Keswick as well as nine church dedications, see *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, eds. A. M. Armstrong et al (English Place-Name Society, 3 Vols, Cambridge, 1950-2), i, 226, Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications or England's Patron Saints*, ii, pp.225-6. Place-names connected with the saint in Scotland included Abermelc in Dumfriesshire, and St Mungo's hill near Huntly, where there was also a holy well, and cross stones could be found near Auchterarder in Perthshire, Penicuik near Edinburgh and Borthwick in Midlothian. There were three churches dedicated to the saint in central Scotland near Alloa, eight in the south east, three in the west around Glasgow, a chapel in Perthshire and two parish churches in Moray. As Davies has shown only a few of these can be dated to the early and central middle ages with any confidence, Davies, 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', 72-82, Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, pp.150, 324 & 519, Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, pp.178-87.

¹²⁸ Davies, 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', 72-82.

¹²⁹ Robert Bruce (d.1194) negotiated with various bishops of Glasgow, exchanging lands in Annandale and receiving and giving churches between the 1140s and his death, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 72, *CDS*, i, nos. 30 & 197, Blakely, R. M., *The Brus Family In England and Scotland, 1100-1295* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.173-4. Walter, son of Alan was a supporter of David I and was made High Steward during his reign, he was also the founder of Paisley abbey, *The Scots Peerage*, i, 10. He gifted the money from Renfrew sometime after 1177, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 20. A further grant was made by his descendant Alexander in the thirteenth century, *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, ed. W. Fraser (Bannatyne Club, 1847), pp.152-3.

Map 11. Early Kentigern ecclesiastical and place-name dedications accepted by Davies.¹³⁰

- Place-name
- Church dedications



Numbered locations

1. Borthwick 2. Penicuik 3. Currie

¹³⁰ The dedications shown on Map 11 are those posited by Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, pp.150, 324, 519 and Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland.*, pp.178-87 and accepted by Davies, 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', 72-82. The definite locations of two further dedications at East Garelton in Lothian and Kinnair in Moray are unclear and have therefore not been included.

interest in the saint during his brief reign.¹³¹ Patronage from the Comyn kindred came from William, earl of Buchan (d.1233), who contributed to the altar of St Kentigern in 1223, and Isabella de Valognes, who granted lands for her soul and the soul of her husband, David Comyn of Badenoch, in c.1250.¹³² John Comyn, probably one of the Kilbride branch, also made a grant to the cathedral in 1279.¹³³ In this period patronage also came from a number of less high profile families and individuals like the Somervilles, Vaus, Oliffards and de Moravias.¹³⁴

The saint and his shrine were not exclusively identified with twelfth-century incomers, and received further patronage from the native earls of Lennox and Carrick.¹³⁵ Alexander fitz William sheriff of Stirling, who was a descendant of Thorald, the native sheriff of Lothian for David I, also gifted monies to the saint in the mid-thirteenth century.¹³⁶ On the whole aristocratic patronage of the saint and shrine came almost exclusively from individuals and families with a strong territorial interest in the diocese of Glasgow and neighbouring lands. By the late thirteenth century, the bishops of Glasgow had managed to create a strong connection between the exercise of temporal lordship in the region and reverence, whether genuine or emblematic, for the cult of St Kentigern. This process is best illustrated by the example of the Comyn

¹³¹ These dedications specifically referred to Kentigern as the beneficiary. Dervoguilla granted lands in Cunningham and near Largs to the saint in 1277, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 230, *RRS. Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III*, no.109, her son also made a grant of other lands in Cunningham 1295 and confirmed the traditional royal contribution towards the cathedral lights in 1293, *ibid*, nos.369 & 380.

¹³² Despite his title as earl of Buchan, William had extensive property interests in the southwest with the Lordships of Lenzie and Kirkintilloch north of Glasgow, and Machan in the Clyde Valley, Young, A., *Robert the Bruce's Rivals. The Comyns, 1212-1314* (East Linton, 1998), p.19. William contributed to the altar at the tomb of Kentigern, perhaps the empty shrine in the crypt, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 117. Isabella was the aunt of William and the heiress of Easter Kilbride, she gifted the forest of Dalkain and some monies to the church for the soul of her predecessors, successors and husband, David Comyn, son of Richard Comyn, lord of Badenoch, *The Scots Peerage*, i, 505, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 199.

¹³³ *RRS, Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III*, no.123. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 233.

¹³⁴ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 16, 100, 184, 219, 120, 126 & 203.

¹³⁵ Alewin (d.1208x14), earl of Lennox, and his son, Maldoven (d.1265), gifted the churches of Campsie and Cardinros to Kentigern in the early thirteenth century, *ibid*, i, 101 & 108. Interest in the cult seems to have filtered down to junior branches of the Lennox family with Foreveleth, the great-granddaughter of Alewin, granting lands in Buittle to the saint in 1246, *ibid*, i, 177. John de Carrick, son of Earl Duncan, granted the lands of Straiton to the church in 1244, *ibid*, i, 187.

¹³⁶ Alexander granted 3 merks to pay for a chaplain at the altar of St Serf in the cathedral, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 121; for Alexander's lineage see Duncan, *Scotland, The Making of the Kingdom*, pp.205 & 212. Outside of aristocratic groups, devotion to the saint was shown by the abbots of Kilwinning and Paisley, who granted monies and a church to the cathedral in the early thirteenth century, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 98 & 112.

kindreds, whose expanding landed interest in the Glasgow area during the thirteenth century corresponded with their increasing patronage of the cult.¹³⁷

The carefully cultivated relationship between the saint and crown did not survive the Wars of Independence, with the Bruce dynasty displaying little interest in Kentigern.¹³⁸ This is surprising as Robert Wishart had been a key supporter of the Bruce regime. Dubbed the 'bad bishop' by the English, he was eventually captured and imprisoned by Edward I, and was only released after Bannockburn.¹³⁹ Wishart had exhorted his flock to support Bruce, regardless of the sacrilegious murder of John Comyn within his diocese, and had even used wood intended for his cathedral to make siege engines. Although members of the Bruce family had been patrons of the shrine in the twelfth century, Glasgow Cathedral had never been a primary focus of their patronage.¹⁴⁰ As Ruth Blakely has shown, disputes over the control of churches in Annandale had also led to tensions between the family and Glasgow bishops in the late twelfth century.¹⁴¹ As we have seen the main patrons of the cathedral in the thirteenth century had been the Comyn and Balliol kindreds. It is possible that the association with these groups, who had opposed the Bruce succession, made the cult too controversial for the new regime, breaking the personal relationship between the saint and the royal house which had existed from the reign of William I.

The early Stewart kings also had a traditional ancestral interest in the saint dating back to the twelfth century.¹⁴² This interest appears to have been continued by the future Robert II, who in 1364 confirmed an annuity of £40 from his lands near Stirling to fund an altar dedicated to Kentigern in Glasgow Cathedral.¹⁴³ However, this was not a personal dedication but part of the cost of the legitimisation of his marriage to Elizabeth Mure that had been arranged by the bishop of Glasgow,

¹³⁷ See Young, *The Comyns*, pp.19-20 for the expansion of Comyn lordship in the region during the thirteenth century.

¹³⁸ Robert I made no new grants to the cathedral or saint, merely confirming the traditional royal stipends from Rutherglen and Cadzow which had presumably gone into abeyance during the interregnum, *RRS, The Acts of Robert I*, nos.50 & 52-54. David II also showed little interest in the saint and re-assigned the payment from Cadzow to the Hamilton family in 1369, *RRS, The Acts of David II*, nos, 82, 87, 91 & 443.

¹³⁹ In a letter of 1306, Edward I expressed his delight at the capture of Wishart, *CDS*, ii, no.1286, the career of the bishop is discussed in Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland*, pp.106, 193 & 197.

¹⁴⁰ The church at Guisborough was the traditional recipient of patronage from both the English and Scottish branches of the family, see Blakely, *The Brus Family In England and Scotland*, pp.167-80.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp.174-175.

¹⁴² *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 20.

¹⁴³ The altar was dedicated jointly to Kentigern and Mary, *ibid*, i, 302.

William Rae (1339-67) in 1347.¹⁴⁴ Like the Bruce monarchs, the Stewart kings showed little interest in the saint prior to the reign of James II.¹⁴⁵ This decline in royal veneration was matched by a considerable reduction in aristocratic interest in the cult. Between 1296 and 1450 the only dedications by nobles of comital rank came from the future Robert II and members of the Douglas kindred. The Black Douglases had acquired a considerable landed stake in the diocese of Glasgow in the late fourteenth century, through the marriage of Joanna Murray to Archibald Douglas (d.1401).¹⁴⁶ Evidence of Douglas interest in the cult during this period is limited to gifts to the saint and shrine by William Douglas of Liddesdale in 1340, Joanna Murray in 1401 and the erection of his church of Cambuslang into a prebend of the cathedral by Archibald, the fifth earl in 1429.¹⁴⁷

The lack of major magnate dedications is marked when compared to the thirteenth century when patronage came from the families of three earls and other major kindreds. However, of the main patrons of twelfth and thirteenth centuries, only the Stewarts would survive into the fifteenth, with families like the Bruces, Comyns, Balliols, Murrays and the native earls of Lennox and Carrick falling due to the politics of the wars or the lottery of dynastic succession. The main heirs to the territorial interest of these groups were the royal Stewarts and the Douglas kindred. Whilst the Douglases were well aware of the political usages of religious patronage, their broad property portfolio meant that this was distributed over a wide range of regional saints from Duthac in the north to Cuthbert and Ninian in the south.¹⁴⁸ Although dedications to the saint from earls were rare in this period, a number of the lesser nobility continued to show an interest in the cult. Apart from the earl of Douglas, the other five prebends created in 1429 were under the patronage of John Stewart of Darnley, Alexander Montgomery, lord of Eglinton, John Colquhoun, lord of Luss, Patrick

¹⁴⁴ This is discussed in Penman, *David II*, p.312 and in Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, p.20.

¹⁴⁵ For the relationship between James II and the cult see II.iii below.

¹⁴⁶ Joanne was the heir of Maurice Murray of Drumsagard, a prominent supporter of David II who was killed at Neville's Cross in 1346. The inheritance fell to the Douglases in 1408 and included 26 estates in northern and central Scotland, including the barony of Bothwell. For a list of the estates and their distribution see Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp.96-7.

¹⁴⁷ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 290. Joanna made the grant for the memory of her husband Archibald who died 1400/01 and because of her reverence for the Virgin and Kentigern, *ibid*, i, 321. The other prebends that were erected in 1429 will be discussed below, *ibid*, ii, 335.

¹⁴⁸ For Douglas religious patronage see Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp.183-98. Douglas interest in the Ninian and Duthac cults has been discussed in previous chapters.

Graham, lord of Killearn and John Forester.¹⁴⁹ Grants to the saint were also made by emerging regional families like the Hamiltons in 1361, and the Stewarts of Lennox, who gifted a set of vestments to the cathedral chapter in 1429.¹⁵⁰ Further grants were made by minor local nobles Duncan Wallace and John Danielston.¹⁵¹ The somewhat token devotions of the Douglases and the continuing interest of the regional nobility in the cult suggest that the institutionalised relationship between local secular lordship and the diocesan saint continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, there was a considerable disparity in value between the foundation of a chaplaincy or a gift of vestments, which characterised the post-1300 devotions, and the granting of churches or wax that were typical of the earlier period.

The decline in crown and aristocratic interest in the cult seems to have had a concomitant impact on wider interest in the saint during this period. There were no new altars dedicated to Kentigern in major Scottish churches prior to 1451, and the saint's 13 January feast day fails to appear in any of the extant liturgical fragments from the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.¹⁵² The absence from a calendar based at Culross is perhaps the most surprising. The patron of the local church was St Serf, who was presented in the hagiographical tradition as Kentigern's mentor and teacher.¹⁵³ However, in the late fourteenth century the invocation of the saint's name was recorded by an English chronicler. In 1379 Thomas Walsingham described Scottish raiders praying to '*God and St Kentigern*' in an attempt to ward off the plague.¹⁵⁴ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the cult of the Kentigern seems to have declined to one of regional rather than national importance with the reference to the invocation of the saint in Walsingham, and continued interest in the shrine by the minor nobility underlining his enduring patronal role in the Glasgow area.

¹⁴⁹ In 1429 six churches were erected into prebends with a record being made of whose patronage they had previously been under, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 340 & 346.

¹⁵⁰ As we have seen the Hamiltons also took over the payment from Cadzow, *ibid*, ii, 297, for Alan Stewart of Darnley see *ibid*, ii, 337. His father John would also found one of the prebends in 1429.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, ii, 308 & 315. Duncan founded a chaplaincy for the soul of his wife, Eleanor Bruce, Danielston's dedication was for his wife Marie and for the soul of Robert II.

¹⁵² See Chapter 1, Table 1, no. 1-10, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, pp. 50-64. The altars founded after 1451 will be discussed below in Section II.iii.

¹⁵³ This connection would be emphasised by later shrine custodians of Glasgow.

¹⁵⁴ *The St Albans Chronicle, Volume 1, 1376-94*, eds. J. Taylor et al (Oxford, 2003), pp.310-11. This reference to the saint will be discussed further below.

II. When the miracles ceased. Shrine and cult management in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland

In late medieval Scotland the major episcopal cults were in a period of transition, with the decline in importance of St Andrews as a pilgrimage centre and the contraction of the Columba and Kentigern cults. To this pattern we can add Margaret, for whom there is little evidence of an active cult in the period.¹⁵⁵ Duffy, Swanson, Finucane and Sumption have attributed similar changes in England to shifting devotional patterns and the fluid nature of the cult of the saints.¹⁵⁶ These devotional patterns, such as the growth of Marian and Christocentric cults, were also evident in Scotland and it is therefore unsurprising that the cults of long established saints like Andrew, Columba and Kentigern were undergoing changes in this period. In each of these cases more specific factors combined with these wider trends to contribute to this process. As Ditchburn has commented contemporary miracles were notably lacking from late medieval references to the shrine of the apostle at St Andrews, and without this important element pilgrimage numbers gradually declined.¹⁵⁷ The Columban cult was damaged by the withdrawal of royal patronage and the lack of support from Dunkeld, two factors that had been integral to the popularity of the saint in the early middle ages, while the image of the saint also appears to have been somewhat out of touch with contemporary patterns in saintly veneration. The growth that the Kentigern cult had enjoyed since the late twelfth century was brought to a halt by the political changes in the Strathclyde region, and the loss of crown patronage after the change of dynasty in 1306.

The major episcopal centres did not sit idly by as pilgrim numbers and the cults of their patrons stagnated in the later middle ages. What Webb has described as the 'raison d'être' of institutions like St Andrews, Dunkeld and Glasgow was the shrine of their patron saint.¹⁵⁸ This meant that the maintenance of steady pilgrimage traffic was essential in justifying their existence and protecting hard fought privileges. In the later middle ages the episcopal saints had been the victims of a combination of

¹⁵⁵ There is evidence of only two extant altars dedicated to Margaret in the later middle ages, and as we have seen in Chapter 1 there is little indication that Dunfermline was a popular pilgrimage centre in the period.

¹⁵⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.195-8, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p.167, Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An image of Medieval Religion*, see chapters xiv and xv, Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp.191-202.

¹⁵⁷ Ditchburn, 'Saints at the Door', 93.

¹⁵⁸ Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.65.

changes in wider devotional patterns and the politics of late medieval Scotland. Duffy has commented that ‘such changes could be managed’, but they could also be resisted, and the fifteenth century saw a strong reaction against this loss of status from the three most important cathedrals of late medieval Scotland.¹⁵⁹ In the twelfth century the promotional campaigns instigated by Jocelin at Glasgow illustrate the range of methods that were available to shrine custodians in that period. The bishop employed a four-pronged strategy of building, translation, hagiography and possibly attempted canonisation, to promote the cult of his patron, St Kentigern. The promotion of a cult in the later middle ages was a slightly different process with a number of new resources available to shrine custodians, such as the indulgences utilised so effectively by the priors of Whithorn in the mid-fifteenth century. This section will consider the manner in which the shrine custodians of St Andrews, Dunkeld and Glasgow attempted to refresh their cults and shrines in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and analyse the impact of this process on the wider popularity and function of Andrew, Columba and Kentigern in late medieval Scotland.

i. The Andrean cult and his Fife shrine, c.1378-1560

The campaign to renew interest in the shrine at St Andrews began following the fire that swept through the cathedral in 1378.¹⁶⁰ In addition to enlisting the help of Robert II and a number of aristocratic patrons, Walter Trail was granted an indulgence to attract benefactors for the rebuilding work.¹⁶¹ The restoration was apparently still incomplete when a fresh indulgence was granted in 1418, the papal supplication again citing damage caused by the fire.¹⁶² This was followed up by a concerted building campaign led by Prior James Haldenstone, under the watchful eye of his bishop, William Wardlaw. As part of this campaign the shrine was re-modelled and modernised in the style of other British reliquary churches at Durham and Canterbury.¹⁶³ As one commentator has emphasised ‘large new reliquary churches

¹⁵⁹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.196.

¹⁶⁰ *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 309-11, see also Cant, ‘The Building of St Andrews Cathedral’, 28-9.

¹⁶¹ *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*, pp.115 & 452.

¹⁶² The letter mentions the cathedral was a victim of ‘*casualiter incendium*’, *ibid*, p.116.

¹⁶³ For a description of the building work at St Andrews see McRoberts, ‘The Glorious House of St Andrew’, 69-70.

and re-built shrines were calculated investments'.¹⁶⁴ Haldenstone seems to have adhered to the maxim of 'build it and they will come', with little evidence in the early 1400s that he had been forced into this renewal by an excess of pilgrims. As we have seen there were a number of indicators of a drop off in pilgrim numbers at St Andrews from the mid-fourteenth century.

Haldenstone and his successors seem to have been aware that by the fifteenth century the Andrew relics alone were no longer the draw for pilgrims that they had once been. Attempts were made to diversify the attractions for pilgrims in the cathedral and to bolster the cult of the apostle with saintly reinforcements.¹⁶⁵ Within the remodelling work of the 1420s greater prominence was given to the Lady Chapel, which now flanked the High altar.¹⁶⁶ Haldenstone would choose to be buried there in 1443, and in 1465 Bishop James Kennedy (1440-65) endowed a further chaplaincy at the altar.¹⁶⁷ A statue of the Virgin was also placed alongside an image of Andrew that rested on the High altar.¹⁶⁸ In addition to encouraging Marian devotion, an attempt was also made to tap into interest in St Michael. Further indulgences, granted to help sustain the fabric of the cathedral in 1472 and 1487, were for pilgrims who visited on the feast of the archangel, to whom an altar was dedicated in the nave of the cathedral.¹⁶⁹ These efforts to diversify the attractions at the cathedral were clearly official policy with Kennedy and later Archbishop Scheves, depicting Mary and Michael alongside the apostle on their personal seals.¹⁷⁰ Local saints were also pressed into service with Haldenstone and former canon Walter Bower incorporating Duthac and Triduana into the St Andrews origin legend in the fifteenth century. There may well have been altars dedicated to these saints in the cathedral around which a localised worship was based. An altar dedicated to Duthac and a relic of Triduana

¹⁶⁴ Abou El Haj, B., *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1986), p.17.

¹⁶⁵ As Webb has stated it was 'prudent' for all churches to maintain as many attractions for pilgrims as possible, Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.78.

¹⁶⁶ McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', 66-67.

¹⁶⁷ The chaplaincy was to say mass for his mother and family, *ibid*, 66-67.

¹⁶⁸ The two statues of Andrew and Mary were known as the principal images in the cathedral, *ibid*, 68 & 70.

¹⁶⁹ The 1471 indulgence was to be granted every 3 years on St Michael's day for conservation of the buildings, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, xii, p.203. The 1487 supplication was granted every year for 7 years, on St Michael's day, *ibid*, xiv, p.178. The perception that Michael was a particularly effective saint for souls in purgatory contributed to the broad popularity of the cult in Scotland, Fitch, *The Search for Salvation: Lay faith in Scotland, 1480-1560*, pp.237-49. For a general discussion of this cult in Scotland see McRoberts, D., *Cult of St Michael in Scotland* (Paris, 1966).

¹⁷⁰ *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, pp.87-88.

were certainly present in the nearby church of the Holy Trinity in St Andrews.¹⁷¹ A similar tactic may also have been behind efforts by Scheves to revive the cult of another diocesan saint, Palladius, at the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁷²

As we have seen the despondent tone of the 1512 college charter suggests that the campaign had not been entirely successful. However, the late fifteenth century did see the return of royal interest in the shrine of the apostle. James IV made offerings at the shrine on seven occasions between 1496 and 1508.¹⁷³ The king may have been attracted by the St Michael indulgence as it was on the feast day of the Archangel that he visited in 1504.¹⁷⁴ His personal interest in that saint was indicated by the naming of his flagship of his new fleet the 'Great Michael' in 1511. However, royal patronage of St Andrews pales in comparison with the frequency of the king's offerings at his favourite shrines of Tain and Whithorn, which often received more than one royal visit each year.¹⁷⁵ In Norman Macdougall's analysis of the pious habits of the monarch, St Andrews fails to feature in the top five destinations.¹⁷⁶ The need for further supplications at the end of the fifteenth century, in addition to the comment from the 1512 charter, suggests that overall the promotional campaign had failed and that pilgrim numbers were still a problem.

Although the Fife shrine was struggling to attract pilgrims, the wider Andean cult continued to flourish in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, whilst early dedications to the saint had been distributed throughout the kingdom, ranging from churches in Galloway and Aberdeenshire to the abbey of Lindores in Fife, as we can see in Map 12 (overleaf), the late medieval cult had a more limited spatial distribution.¹⁷⁷ By the later middle ages the cult was based primarily around the

¹⁷¹ Unfortunately little information survives of the numerous altars in the cathedral during this period, McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', 79-83. The Duthac altar was already in existence before it was refounded in 1481 by Andrew Martin, a canon of Aberdeen, NAS, Records of Thomson and Baxter, GD241/198. It was further augmented by Brechin canons Hugh and Alexander Martin, presumably relatives of the Andrew, the Triduana relic was held at the altar dedicated to St Fergus, Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews*, pp.76-77 & 78-9.

¹⁷² Boece mentions a search made by Archbishop Scheves of St Andrews for the relics of Palladius, *Chron. Boece*, i, p.299, which McRoberts places in around 1490, McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', 10.

¹⁷³ Visits to the relics by the king were recorded twice in 1496, and once in 1497, 1498, 1504, 1506 & 1508, *TA*, i, 290, 332, 371, ii, 264, iii, 70-1, iv, 40.

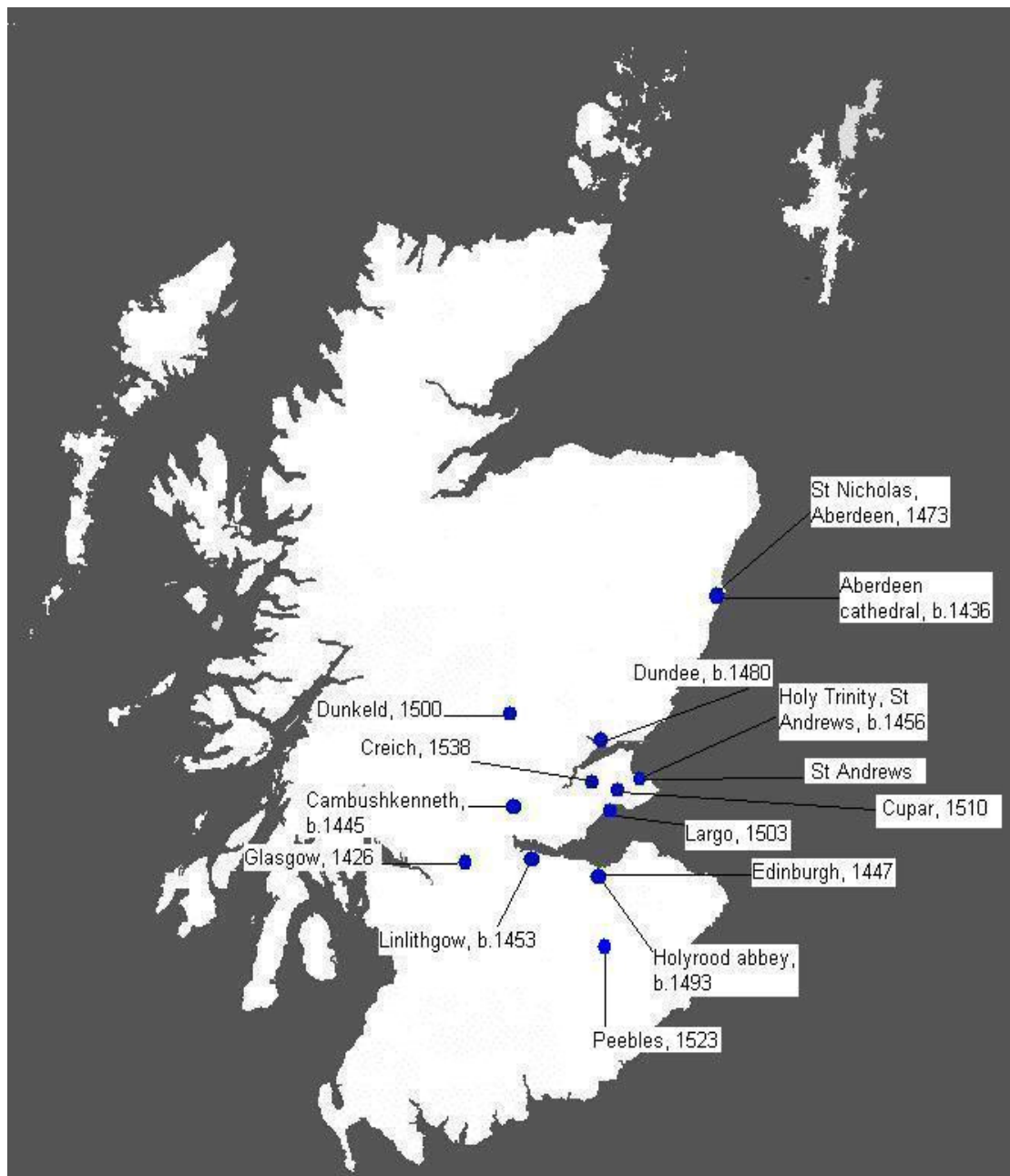
¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, ii, 264.

¹⁷⁵ For the piety of James IV see Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.196-222 and Brown, 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian', pp.152-57.

¹⁷⁶ These were Whithorn, Tain, the Isle of May, Whitekirk and the Loretto shrine in Musselburgh, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.196-7.

¹⁷⁷ See above Li and Map 9 for the early cult.

Map 12. Altars dedicated to Andrew in late medieval Scotland



diocese of St Andrews where there were a number of fresh altar and church dedications. These included altars in Linlithgow (b.1453), Cambuskenneth (b.1445), Holyrood (b.1493), Roslyn (1523) and Edinburgh (1447).¹⁷⁸ Several altars were also founded close to the shrine in Fife, at the church of the Holy Trinity in St Andrews itself (b.1456) and in the parish churches of Largo (1503), Cupar (1510) and Creich (1538).¹⁷⁹ A secondary centre of the cult had also developed around Aberdeen. In that city a relic of the apostle encased in a silver cross was part of the St Machar's reliquary collection from the late fourteenth century, having supposedly been gifted to Bishop Gilbert Greenlaw (1390-1421) by Robert II.¹⁸⁰ An altar in the cathedral church of Aberdeen was founded before 1436 and was patronised by a series of clergy from the cathedral chapter.¹⁸¹ A further altar was founded in the burgh church of St Nicholas in 1450 by a burgess Richard Rutherford, and received regular patronage from the townsmen of Aberdeen.¹⁸² Dedications outside St Andrews and the northeast were rare, but an altar was founded by a Glasgow cleric, Nicholas Greenlaw in his cathedral c.1426, and other altars could be found in Dunkeld, under the patronage of local bishop George Brown (1500) and in the burgh church of Dundee.¹⁸³

The majority of Andean dedications in this period were the responsibility of the clergy, with altars in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Largo and Cupar the rare exceptions.¹⁸⁴ The one recorded Scottish pilgrim to the shrine of the apostle at Amalfi near Naples also involved a cleric, James Watson, who was granted a safe conduct to

¹⁷⁸ Ferguson, *Ecclesia Antiqua. The Church of St Michaels Linlithgow*, p.295. *Registrum Monasterii S Marie De Cambushkenneth*, lxii. An inventory at Holyrood in 1493 mentioned the altar of St Andrew, *Historia Miraculous fundationa monasterii Sancte Crucis prope Edinburgh (1128)*, Bannatyne Miscellany II, Bannatyne Club, xix (Edinburgh, 1866), 9-31, at 9. *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, 58 & 74.

¹⁷⁹ Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews*, p. 67, for Largo see *RMS*, ii, no. 2825, for Cupar see *ibid*, ii, no.3491, for Creich see *ibid*, iii, no.1877.

¹⁸⁰ The silver cross is first recorded in the reliquary collection of the cathedral in 1436, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii, 127-53; however, by 1518 the wood seems to have been lost, ii, 172-3.

¹⁸¹ The altar was founded by Archdeacon Lawrence Piot in 1436, *ibid*, i, 314 and was patronised by a series of clergy ranging from Duncan Piot (brother of the founder) to William Elphinstone in 1498, *ibid*, i, 343.

¹⁸² *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, ii, 92-4.

¹⁸³ Durkan, 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', 58. According to Myln, George Brown founded seven altars in Dunkeld dedicated to Andrew, Martin, Nicholas, Innocent, All Saints, Stephen, John the Baptist, Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, p.41. The chapel in St Mary's, Dundee was patronised by the guildry of the city and Elizabeth Masoun, widow of the burgess John Scrimgeour, *RMS*, ii, no.1970.

¹⁸⁴ These were founded by burgesses in Edinburgh (Patrick Cockburn) and Aberdeen (Richard Rutherford) and by local nobles in Largo (Andrew Wood) and Cupar (John Fouty).

pass to *'sanct andrea grafe'* in 1507.¹⁸⁵ The popularity of the apostle amongst the wider church elite can also be seen in the appearance of imagery associated with the saint on the episcopal seals of Aberdeen and Ross from 1357.¹⁸⁶ While Andrew was gradually emerging as a patron of the kingdom in this period, he had been firmly identified by many as the patron and informal leader of the Scottish church for nearly three centuries. With St Andrews the administrative centre of the Scottish church, and home to a university after 1412, it is unsurprising that clerics, some of whom were also alumni, should have been committed to his cult.¹⁸⁷ It would be this clerical interest and his role as regnal patron that ensured the Andrew cult would remain a national rather than a local concern in late medieval Scotland.

ii. Columba in eastern and lowland Scotland

The eastern centres of the Columban cult also attempted to refresh their saint and shrine in this period.¹⁸⁸ Walter Bower and his successor abbots at Inchcolm have been credited with instituting a promotional campaign that centred on marketing the powers of their patron saint in the fifteenth century. As David Easson has suggested, Bower probably saw Inchcolm as the 'Iona of the East'.¹⁸⁹ The abbot was able to secure a confirmation of the abbey's lands from the minority government of James II in 1441, having stressed the damage caused to the monastic properties by English pirates.¹⁹⁰ However, although Inchcolm was to benefit from the wider promotion of the cult in the fifteenth century, there is little documentary evidence to suggest that, other than Bower's influence on late medieval literature, the abbots of Inchcolm were heavily involved in the promotion of their patron saint. The main instigators behind the campaign in the east were the bishops of Dunkeld. In the fourteenth century these bishops had become strangely detached from the cult of their diocesan

¹⁸⁵ The safe-conduct identifies Watson as *'parson of Elcem'*, a location I have been unable to identify, *RSS*, i, no.1606.

¹⁸⁶ The saltire and an image of Andrew appear on these seals, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, pp.122 & 161.

¹⁸⁷ George Brown was an alumnus of the university, Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, p.27.

¹⁸⁸ Iona also seems to have instituted a campaign of renewal during this period. In a letter to Benedict XIII, the abbot complained of the ruinous nature of many of the monastic buildings and that abbey lands were unlawfully occupied by *wicked men*, *CPL, Benedict XIII*, p.194. These claims were repeated in 1421 when the abbey is described as situated *'inter Scotos silvestres'*, 'amongst the wild Scots', *CSSR, 1418-22*, 264-5. These appeals were successful and prompted the taking of the abbey into Papal care followed by the granting of an indulgence in 1428 to help fund the repair of the buildings, *CSSR, 1423-1428*, 193.

¹⁸⁹ *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, xxxii.

¹⁹⁰ *RMS*, ii, no.268.

patron, no longer displaying him on their personal seals.¹⁹¹ However, this would change in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when a concerted promotional campaign, centred on their diocesan saint, was carried out by a series of bishops and the cathedral chapter. This began in 1378 when John de Peebles (1378-90) successfully petitioned Clement VII for an indulgence of one year and forty days for visitors to Dunkeld, citing the ruinous condition of the church due to *wars and pestilence*.¹⁹² In 1419 Robert de Cardeny (1398-1437) elaborated on the problems of his diocese, which he described as ‘largely mountainous and desert and often perilous for travellers’, to gain a personal remission from Martin V.¹⁹³ A further indulgence of ten years for pilgrims who visited the cathedral on the feast of Columba, or otherwise gave alms towards the restoration of the buildings, was obtained posthumously by James Bruce (1441-7) in 1448.¹⁹⁴

In addition to papal indulgences a series of bishops and members of the chapter of Dunkeld bolstered the cult by making personal grants and funding commemorations of the saint at Dunkeld and elsewhere. James Bruce, who died shortly before the indulgence was granted in 1448, bequeathed money to finance four new chaplainries in the cathedral.¹⁹⁵ His successor, Thomas Lauder (1452-75), decorated the church with a sequence of twenty murals depicting the miracles of St Columba, and provided the high altar with two statues of the saint. Lauder also made a contribution to the pilgrimage network by organising the building of a bridge across the Tay in 1461.¹⁹⁶ James Livingstone (1475-83) who succeeded Lauder, founded a chaplaincy devoted to Columba, who he described as ‘*patrono nostro*’, in 1477 at the altar of SS Martin and Thomas in Edinburgh.¹⁹⁷ In an action akin to the thirteenth-century bishops of Dunkeld, James also chose to be buried at Inchcolm, the first bishop recorded to have done so since Richard of Inverkeithing’s heart burial in 1272.¹⁹⁸ A canon who witnessed Livingstone’s grant in 1477 made his own contributions to the promotion of his patronal cult. David Meldrum, a graduate and later official of the University of St Andrews, founded an altar in the Trinity church of

¹⁹¹ From Matthew Crambeth (1288-1309) through to Gavin Douglas (1515-27) Columba does not appear on the extant seals of Dunkeld bishops, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, pp.141-6.

¹⁹² *CPL, Benedict XIII*, p.27.

¹⁹³ *CSSR, 1418-22*, 99.

¹⁹⁴ This petition was granted after Bruce’s death in 1448, *CSSR, 1447-1471*, no.199.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, no.193.

¹⁹⁶ The crossing was located on the pilgrim road to the shrine, Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, pp.23-4.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p.26 and *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, 122-3.

¹⁹⁸ Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, p.26.

that town in 1494, and gifted a paten with an image of Columba to Dunkeld cathedral.¹⁹⁹

Perhaps the most famous of the late medieval bishops of Dunkeld was George Brown.²⁰⁰ Although Brown had played a prominent part in the rebellion of 1488, Macdougall has shown that the political role of the bishop diminished after 1490, and by 1512 his relationship with James IV had completely broken down.²⁰¹ This political eclipse seems to have allowed Brown to continue the tradition of his fifteenth-century forebears at Dunkeld by promoting the cult of his diocesan patron. Brown's contributions to the cult included the founding of altars dedicated to Columba in Dundee and Perth and the naming of a new church bell at Dunkeld after the saint.²⁰² It was also during Brown's episcopate that the miracle story, in which water mixed with a Columban relic cured plague victims in a village close to Dunkeld, is said to have occurred.²⁰³ The pastoral and curative elements of this story were in keeping with the 'kind neighbour' saint type that, as we have seen, was characteristic of popular late medieval saints. However, the death of the sceptical local, and others, at the end of the story is more reminiscent of the vengeful Columba of Bower and the Inchcolm Antiphoner. The inclusion of this legend by Myln suggests that some attempts had been made to modernise the image of the saint through the marrying of contemporary ascetic and contemplative fashions with the traditional template image of the saint evident in the fourteenth century.

Easson has suggested that the fifteenth century saw 'a new lease of life' for the eastern Columba cult, providing three examples of this revival.²⁰⁴ The first piece of evidence was a story included in the *Scotichronicon* in which Archibald, 4th earl of Douglas, sought a blessing from Columba at Inchcolm.²⁰⁵ The incident appears

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp.61-2 and Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews*, pp. 74-5.

²⁰⁰ Brown's career is well known to us through Alexander Myln's *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* which was written shortly after the death of the bishop in 1516, Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, see also MacQueen, 'Alexander Myln, Bishop George Brown and the chapter of Dunkeld', 349-61.

²⁰¹ Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.27 & 202.

²⁰² A second bell was named after his personal patron George, a third bell to be named Mary, was planned but never completed, Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, pp. 45-6, for Perth see *ibid*, pp.228 & 243, for Dundee see Maxwell, *Old Dundee. Ecclesiastical, Burghal and Social*, pp.226 & 243. For Brown's devotion to St George see Boardman, 'The Cult of St George in Scotland', 146-159.

²⁰³ This was the miracle story discussed in the Introduction, p.1. *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, p.43, the section on the episcopate of Brown is translated in *Rentale Dunkeldense*, pp.302-34.

²⁰⁴ Easson credits Bower and other abbots of Inchcolm with the renewed interest in the saint, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, xxxii-xxxiv.

²⁰⁵ Bower places the incident in 1412. It was apparently Henry Sinclair's idea, *Chron. Bower*, viii, 81-83.

exclusively in Bower and receives no credence from Michael Brown in his study of the Black Douglases. It was probably part of Bower's wider agenda in presenting Columba as an effective maritime saint.²⁰⁶ Another example referred to by Easson is a grant to Inchcolm of the lands of Brego by James, earl of Morton, in 1480.²⁰⁷ The earl was baron of nearby Aberdour, and made the grant for the souls of James III and Margaret of Denmark.²⁰⁸ Although it was from a local lord, this bequest stands out due to the paucity of other patronage of the abbey in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁰⁹ Columba also appears towards the end of the fifteenth century in the name of a ship belonging to Robert Barton.²¹⁰ The ship, referred to in the Treasurer's Accounts as the *Columb*, must surely have been named after the saint, rather than the Latin word for dove, and suggests the interest of the seafaring Barton family, who had lands close to Inchcolm, in the cult.²¹¹

Easson has also pointed to the apparent renewal of the relationship between crown and saint as evidence of the revival of the cult in the fifteenth century.²¹² Although the minority government of James II initiated an inquiry into the lands of the abbey of Iona, and James III confirmed the earl of Morton's grant in 1480, neither monarch showed any obvious interest in the Columban cult.²¹³ This seems to have changed in the reign of James IV, when the king displayed a concern for Dunkeld, Inchcolm and Iona. In 1497 James confirmed Dunkeld's possession of a number of properties, stating that he did so 'for the singular devotion that he holds for St Columba'.²¹⁴ The king confirmed this gift in his Act of Revocation of 1506, adding his affection for George Brown and repeating his special devotion to the saint.²¹⁵ In 1512 James again emphasised his commitment to the saint when granting various liberties to the burgh of Dunkeld.²¹⁶ James also gave patronage to Inchcolm, elevating the abbey's town of Aberdour to burgh status in 1501 as a sign of his favour towards

²⁰⁶ The safety at sea theme can be seen in Bower's note that 'with Columba as his guide he (Douglas) returned home successfully', *ibid*, viii, 81-83.

²⁰⁷ *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, xxxiv.

²⁰⁸ *RMS*, ii, no.1455.

²⁰⁹ The cartulary of Inchcolm has few patrons recorded after 1300, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*.

²¹⁰ *TA*, ii, lxxxix, 285, 448, 452, 461, iii, 84.

²¹¹ Barton had a house in Leith and his father and brothers had landed interests on both sides of the Forth close to Inchcolm, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.238-9.

²¹² *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, xxxii.

²¹³ *CSSR, 1433-1447*, no.968, *RMS*, ii, no.1455.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, ii, no.2347.

²¹⁵ *ER*, xiii, 53n.

²¹⁶ *RMS*, ii, no.3689.

Abbot Thomas Inglis (1492-1502).²¹⁷ More significantly James stayed on the island in July 1507 and October 1511, visits Easson has identified as pilgrimages.²¹⁸ James displayed less obvious interest in Iona although he attempted to have the episcopal centre of the bishopric of the Isles transferred to the island in 1498, and extended his protection to the monastery in 1509.²¹⁹

Crown patronage of Dunkeld in this period is particularly surprising in the context of the deteriorating relationship between James and the bishop of Dunkeld. In a letter of 1506, James had suggested that Brown was 'labouring under the burden of his years', repeatedly encouraging him to retire in favour of James Beaton.²²⁰ Things were particularly bad by 1512 when, after competition with Brown over the election of a new archdeacon at Dunkeld, the king described the bishop as 'old' and accused him of avoiding the royal court.²²¹ Despite this the king continued to show an interest in Columba, although there are reasons to believe that the relationship between James and the saint was more political than personal. Aside from the gifts to Dunkeld and Inchcolm, the king did not include Columba in his general cycle of saintly devotions.²²² Columban shrines were not part of his regular pilgrimage itinerary, with little evidence that the visits to Inchcolm in 1507 and 1511 were specifically motivated by devotion to the saint.²²³ On the second of these visits the king paid for masses at the abbey, but Columba was not specified as the target of these prayers. As Helen Brown has shown payments for trentals of masses by James IV almost always specified the saint who was the intended audience.²²⁴ Whilst James does not appear to have valued Columba as an intercessor, he clearly viewed him as an important part of the wider saints of Scotland in whom he was obliged to take an interest.

The impact of these putative promotional campaigns and royal patronage on the wider popularity of the eastern Columban cult appears to have been limited. There

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, ii. no.2574.

²¹⁸ *TA*, iv, 130-1 & 176, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, xxxii.

²¹⁹ *RSS*, i, nos. 184 & 1797.

²²⁰ *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513*, p.32.

²²¹ In a somewhat melodramatic letter to the French king, James wrote that; '*the bishop of Dunkeld is old and does not come to court, and if James dealt with him according to reason and law, he would be accused of causing his death, even though he really died of old age*', *ibid*, p256.

²²² These involved regular donations to the relics of his favourite saints, such as Duthac, Ninian and even Andrew, Margaret and Kentigern and a small offering on the feast day at the nearest convenient light or location. For further discussion of James's piety see Conclusion and Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.196-219.

²²³ *Ibid*, pp.196-198.

²²⁴ For example masses paid for at the abbey of Culross in this period specified SS Mungo, Gabriel, the Holy Spirit and Our Lady, Brown, 'Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian', pp.125-6.

is no extant quantitative evidence for a growth in pilgrimage at either Inchcolm or Dunkeld in this period, although Lauder's improvement of a bridge across the Tay in 1461 is interesting, especially coming shortly after the indulgence of 1448.²²⁵ The new bridge may have been a response to increased demands for access to Dunkeld after 1448 or conversely may have been part of the campaign to encourage visitors to the shrine. Without other evidence it is impossible to say whether there was an upswing in pilgrimage traffic during this period. Although there were a series of new altars dedicated to the saint after 1436, they were all the responsibility of clergy with connections to Dunkeld or other centres of Columban worship.²²⁶ Columba did make a recovery in the liturgical fragments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, becoming firmly embedded in the core group of Scottish saints, although not appearing as regularly in extant calendars as Ninian, Duthac, Andrew, Monan or Baldred.²²⁷ This position, amongst the top rank of national saints, is also apparent in the Aberdeen Breviary where Columba, along with all the other diocesan patrons, was afforded a double feast.²²⁸ Whilst the promotional campaign appears to have had only modest success in boosting the wider cult in the east and lowlands, its real achievement was in ensuring the recognition by the wider church establishment of Columba's position amongst the symbolic saintly founders of Scotland, a status that had been threatening to slip in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²²⁹

iii. Kentigern and Mungo, c.1400-1560

The fourteenth-century decline in aristocratic and crown interest in St Kentigern was further exacerbated by a major fire which swept through Glasgow Cathedral sometime between 1387x1406, during the episcopate of Matthew

²²⁵ Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, pp. 23-4.

²²⁶ As we have seen the altars at Perth, Dundee, Edinburgh and St Andrews were founded by bishops and members of the cathedral chapter of Dunkeld.

²²⁷ See Chapter 1, Table 1.

²²⁸ *Ibid*, p.117, *Breviarium Aberdonense*, i, fol. 105v. As Macquarrie has suggested that the prose lessons and hymns recorded in the Breviary 'present tantalising possibilities about the transmission of traditions about Columba in Scotland during the Middle ages', Macquarrie, A., 'The Offices for St Columba (June 9th) and St Adomnán (23 September) in the Aberdeen Breviary', *IR*, li (2000), 1-39 at 2. Boece stated that Elphinstone probably acquired much of his materials for the Offices of Columba directly from Iona, which in turn may have received some of the hymns from a mid-twelfth century life composed at Derry, *Hectoris Boetii Murchlacensium et Aberdonensis Episcoporum Vitae*, p.99.

²²⁹ This status is hinted at in Maior and Boece, both of whom include Columba as part of their historical narrative, *Chron. Maior*, 86-7, *Chron. Boece*, i, 382.

Glendinning (1387-1408).²³⁰ Like their contemporaries at St Andrews and Dunkeld, the bishops of Glasgow embarked on a promotional campaign based upon their diocesan patron. The first stage was a 1420 papal supplication by William Lauder (1408-25), to have the bones and relics of Kentigern translated into a 'chest of gold or silver so that they may be the more devoutly honoured by Christ's faithful'.²³¹ The translation does not seem to have been carried out, perhaps because, as the papal reply suggests, Kentigern's uncanonised status proved a stumbling block.²³² The campaign was continued by William Turnbull, who used his close relationship with James II to promote the cult of his patron. In 1449 Turnbull was able to secure, with royal support, a local indulgence for those unable to visit Rome for the Papal Jubilee.²³³ Although Turnbull may have been exaggerating the 'need of repair due to wars, upheavals and other calamities', the avowed motivation behind the supplication, it is clear that activities of the 1420s had been unsuccessful in providing the resources to fully repair the cathedral.²³⁴ The renewed relationship between Glasgow and the crown was underlined on 20 April 1450, when James granted to Turnbull in regality the city, bishop's forest and barony.²³⁵ James became a canon of the cathedral and further rewarded the bishop by supporting his creation of the University of Glasgow in 1451.²³⁶ The king also gifted a tenement in Stirling to the cathedral, the first such crown grant since the thirteenth century.²³⁷

The renewal of royal engagement with the Kentigern cult in the 1450s appears to have had similar motivations to crown interest in Ninian and Duthac in the same period. The Douglas family had a considerable landed interest in the diocese of Glasgow and the Strathclyde region, the area of which Kentigern was the major local patron.²³⁸ James, encouraged no doubt by his advisor Turnbull, seems to have used patronage of the saint as part of his policy of first undermining, and later replacing,

²³⁰ The fire happened sometime before 1406, Fawcett, R., 'Introduction', 1-9, in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, ed. *idem* (Leeds, 1998), & Durkan, J., 'The Great Fire at Glasgow Cathedral', *IR*, (1975), 89-92.

²³¹ The supplication was dated 10 March 1420, *CSSR*, 1418-22, 182-3.

²³² The papal reply to the supplication states that the indulgence would be agreed only if it was proved that the saint had been canonised, *ibid*, pp.182-3.

²³³ As the Auchinleck chronicle records, the indulgence was connected with the papal jubilee of 1450 so that '*thair myycht haf (as) in rome*', printed in McGladdery, *James II*, p.163. The request was made on 11 January 1449, *CSSR*, 1447-1471, no.239.

²³⁴ *Ibid*, no.239.

²³⁵ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 356.

²³⁶ *Ibid*, ii, 356, Durkan, J., *William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1951), pp.36-8.

²³⁷ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 355.

²³⁸ For the Black Douglas lands in the region see Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, pp.96-7.

Douglas lordship in the region. Turnbull was a close advisor to the young king and played a central role in the conflict with the Douglas family.²³⁹ The bishop may have had his own reasons for supporting their downfall.²⁴⁰ The Douglasses had replaced many of the traditional benefactors of the cathedral following the Anglo-Scottish wars, but, as we have seen, had proved to be modest patrons of the saint and cathedral. Turnbull's relationship with James would prove costly, as he loaned the monarch £800 from the profits from the indulgence in 1452 to aid him in the conflict with the Douglasses, money that subsequent bishops would struggle to recover.²⁴¹

The renewed relationship between crown and saint survived the accidental death of James II at Roxburgh in 1460, with James III making a grant of three stones of wax to Glasgow because of the 'particular devotion that we have towards Blessed Kentigern the Confessor and his mother Saint Teneu'.²⁴² This grant, and two other confirmations by James III, occurred in the midst of the controversy surrounding the creation of an archiepiscopal see for St Andrews in 1472.²⁴³ The action was not a crown policy and seems to have been the initiative of the bishop of St Andrews, Robert Graham (1465-1478) and Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84).²⁴⁴ Pressure from the crown and other Scottish bishops, contributed to the mental breakdown of Graham in 1476 and he was eventually replaced by James III's candidate, his former physician William Scheves. This seems to have transformed the situation between the competing dioceses, as in spite of the transfer of another crown nominee, Robert Blacadder, to Glasgow, no further crown patronage for St Kentigern was forthcoming after 1476.²⁴⁵ The relationship between Blacadder and James III deteriorated dramatically in the late 1480s, reaching breaking point when Scheves, with royal

²³⁹ McGladdery, *James II*, p.49.

²⁴⁰ In the most recent work on the period Boardman describes Turnbull as a 'fierce opponent of Douglas Power', and the John Law Chronicle identifies the bishop as one of the key figures in the attack on Douglas interests in 1450-1, Boardman, S., *The Campbells, 1250-1513* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp.151-4.

²⁴¹ A grant to the cathedral by James II of fermes, revenues and profits from Bute, Arran, Cowal and burgh customs from Ayr, Irvine and Dumbarton was part of the repayment of this debt, *RMS*, ii, no.542. However, these funds would prove difficult to access in the face of hostility from the Lord of the Isles and other local kindreds, Boardman, *The Campbells*, pp.152-3.

²⁴² *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 407 & 419. The grant was to come from Uddingston in the barony of Bothwell and may have represented a continuation of the traditional payment of wax from that territorial unit, which had come into the possession of the crown after the fall of the Douglasses in 1455. See above I.v for Douglas, Murray and Oliffard grants to Glasgow.

²⁴³ For the controversy see Macfarlane, C., 'The Primacy of the Scottish Church', *IR*, xx (1969), 111-29.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 112.

²⁴⁵ The last interest shown by James III in the cult seems to have been the gift of 1476.

support, secured primatial status for St Andrews at the curia in 1487.²⁴⁶ This pushed Blacadder into the arms of the rebels with the bishop playing a significant role in the upheavals of 1488 that culminated in the death of James III near Stirling.²⁴⁷

Blacadder, described by Macdougall as a ‘forceful careerist’, had chosen the winning side in 1488, and was immediately rewarded by the new regime with a confirmation of all previous royal gifts and obligations, and a grant of land to the cathedral in 1489.²⁴⁸ While this grant may have been political in nature, the charter referred to James IV’s ‘singular devotion’ for St Kentigern and his *special favour* for Blacadder.²⁴⁹ An atmosphere of special veneration for the saint seems to have existed at the royal court, where in addition to promotion by the bishop of Glasgow, William Elphinstone was also a keen advocate of the cult. The influence of the bishop of Aberdeen created a secondary centre of the Kentigern cult in his diocese at the end of the fifteenth century. Elphinstone had spent his youth in Glasgow as a canon and showed his devotion to Kentigern by displaying the saint on his episcopal seal.²⁵⁰ A statue of Kentigern was also placed on the altar of the Virgin at the chapel of King’s College in Aberdeen.²⁵¹ McFarlane has suggested that this altar was Elphinstone’s personal foundation and acted as a reminder of his childhood and early career in Glasgow.²⁵² The bishop’s interest in the saint seems to have filtered down to his subordinates with Duncan Shearer, an assistant to Elphinstone in the Aberdeen Breviary project, decorating the altar of St Duthac in St Nicholas’s burgh church with a silver chalice bearing the images of SS Moluag, Pothinus, Kentigern and Brigid in 1503.²⁵³ In 1502 an altar had also been founded in the burgh church, dedicated to ‘*Sanctis Mongow and Tovine*’, by another cleric, Walter Leslie.²⁵⁴ Kentigern’s brief period of vogue at the Scottish court was confirmed by the foundation of altars dedicated to the saint in Currie, by royal secretary Archibald Whitelaw, and in Alloa

²⁴⁶ See Thomson, J.A.F., ‘Innocent VIII and the Scottish Church’, *IR*, xix (1968), 23-31.

²⁴⁷ Macdougall, *James III*, pp.288-91 & 320-321.

²⁴⁸ For the land grant see *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 340 & 335. For the confirmation *RMS*, ii, no. 1915. The quote is in Macdougall, *James IV*, p.213.

²⁴⁹ *RMS*, ii, no.1915.

²⁵⁰ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, p.219, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, p.213.

²⁵¹ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, pp.219 & 333. In addition to this, a grant by James IV to pay for a doctor in medicine at the new university mentioned his devotion to Kentigern, *ER*, xi, 65-9.

²⁵² Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, p.333.

²⁵³ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii, 64.

²⁵⁴ Leslie was the parson of Menmuir. This is the only extant example of an altar dedicated to both Kentigern and his mother (Thanay) in late medieval Scotland, *ibid*, ii, 341.

by Alexander Erskine.²⁵⁵ The dedication by Erskine is particularly significant as it represents the first patronage of the cult by an aristocrat without an obvious landed interest in the diocese of Glasgow since the thirteenth century.

The diocesan struggle between Glasgow and St Andrews had continued into the minority of James IV. With his support for the new regime, and the association of Scheves with James III, Blacadder soon gained the upper hand. Royal pressure and a personal visit to the curia in 1491 resulted in the creation of a second Scottish archbishopric in 1492 for Blacadder, with jurisdiction over the sees of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Argyll and Whithorn.²⁵⁶ The seeds of Blacadder's political demise however, had already been sown in the early 1490s when concerns were expressed in parliament about the continuing feud between Glasgow and St Andrews.²⁵⁷ With the accession of James IV's brother, and later his natural son, to the archbishopric of St Andrews in 1497 and 1504, the feud would no longer be tolerated. As Macdougall has shown, Blacadder's failure in Spain to secure the Infanta as bride for the king in 1495 was followed by a period of political eclipse.²⁵⁸

Like his contemporary, Bishop Brown of Dunkeld, this exile from court politics allowed Blacadder time to pursue the promotion of his diocesan saint.²⁵⁹ The archbishop endowed a new altar dedicated to his patron in Glasgow Cathedral and founded a chapel devoted to Kentigern at Culross in Fife in 1503.²⁶⁰ Culross was the reputed birthplace of Kentigern and this personal dedication by Blacadder may have been part of a wider campaign by the archbishop to reactivate the cult in areas like western Fife, Moray and Alloa where there were churches, crosses and wells dedicated to the saint from the earlier period.²⁶¹ Blacadder also instigated a building campaign to further rejuvenate the cult, with plans for an ambitious new aisle in his

²⁵⁵ Whitelaw was Archdeacon of St Andrews in Lothian and a sub-dean of Glasgow cathedral; he founded an altar in Currie Parish Church in 1493, *RMS*, ii, no.2154. Robert Lord Erskine's landed interest was in Stirlingshire and Clackmannanshire, he founded an altar in Alloa in 1497, *RMS*, ii, no.2377.

²⁵⁶ Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.211-2.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp.211-2.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp.212-3, *APS*, ii, 232-3.

²⁵⁹ There are a number of similarities between the careers of Blacadder and Brown as noted by Macdougall who has described them both as ambitious career clerics, Macdougall, *James III*, p.288.

²⁶⁰ *RMS*, ii, no.2723.

²⁶¹ This would have included the dedication by Erskine in Alloa, the renewed interest in Aberdeen connected to Elphinstone and Blacadder's chaplaincy in Culross. In Glasgow Blacadder himself added a chaplaincy at the altar of St Kentigern founded by his brother Sir Patrick Blacadder of Tulliallan, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 486, and Andrew Stewart, archdeacon of Whithorn endowed a chaplain at another altar dedicated to Kentigern which had been founded by his father Walter Stewart, ii, 481.

cathedral.²⁶² Although no longer prominent in domestic politics the Archbishop was still used by James for diplomatic missions, and it was on an embassy to Venice and the Holy Land in 1508 that Blacadder died, along with twenty seven of the other thirty six pilgrims on board his ship.²⁶³ James IV continued to show a personal interest in Kentigern throughout his reign, twice visiting the shrine and making offerings on the saint's feast day on at least four occasions.²⁶⁴ However, the brief revival of the cult in court circles did not survive the deaths of Blacadder in 1508 and James in 1513, and there is little evidence that James V showed any interest in the saint.²⁶⁵ The incomplete Blacadder aisle is a testament to the failure of the cult to gain sufficient patronage after 1513.²⁶⁶

Whilst high status interest in the cult fluctuated, there was an unbroken strand of popular support for Kentigern within the diocese of Glasgow throughout the period. As we have seen Kentigern/Mungo was an increasingly common forename across southern Scotland in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, appearing within urban groups and in the families of minor nobles.²⁶⁷ As Shead has shown from the fourteenth century it was these groups, alongside clerics, who were the most regular benefactors of Glasgow Cathedral.²⁶⁸ This pattern was continued into the fifteenth century, as illustrated by the six prebends erected in 1430, of which only one was supported by a noble of comital rank.²⁶⁹ By the end of the fifteenth century benefactions to the cathedral were almost exclusively burghal or clerical, like the 12s given by David Hyde to the light of St Kentigern in 1460 and a gift of 20s by George

²⁶² The Blacadder Aisle was the last major building work completed at the cathedral, what remains today is a remnant of the ambitious plans that the archbishop had for a new east wing, Shead, 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', 15.

²⁶³ See Laing, D., 'Notice of the death of Robert Blacadder, archbishop of Glasgow, during a pilgrimage to the holy Land, in the year 1508', *PSAS*, ii (1857), 222-226 at 224.

²⁶⁴ James is recorded as visiting the shrine and making offerings in 1495 and 1506, *TA*, ii, 242, iii, 73, he made offerings on the feast day in 1488, 1494, 1507 & 1512, i, 102, 240, iii, 286, iv, 182.

²⁶⁵ The Treasurer's accounts and Great Seal make no reference to offerings by James V. For shrines visited by the king see Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland*, pp.114-115.

²⁶⁶ Blacadder's ambitious plan was never completed, Shead, 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', 15.

²⁶⁷ See Chapter 1, V.ii.

²⁶⁸ Shead, 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', 14. These included gifts made by Walter son of Gilbert in 1320, William Lindsay in 1327, William Douglas in 1340, David Hamilton in 1361, Duncan Wallace in 1368 and John Danielston in 1377, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 267, 275, 290 & 297, ii, 308 & 315.

²⁶⁹ Discussed above, the only major noble to grant a church was Archibald, 5th earl of Douglas, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 346

Hutchinson in 1477.²⁷⁰ This pattern was also evident in the few traces of the cult outside of the diocese of Glasgow in the later middle ages, with Alexander Erskine's 1497 dedication in Alloa something of a rare exception.²⁷¹ Other altars dedicated to the saint were founded by clerics, John Grey in Edinburgh in 1451, James Newton in Jedburgh in 1479 and James Fenton in Perth in 1523.²⁷² Like Columba, Kentigern had not featured in the few liturgical fragments from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but from 1450 was a regular member of the core group of Scottish saints who began to appear consistently in calendars, and was allotted a double feast in the Aberdeen Breviary, indicating his perceived status within the '*Sancti Scotticani*'.²⁷³

Other references to the popular cult of the saint, often characterised by the use of the hypocristic Mungo rather than the Latin version, Kentigern, are found in works of literature from the period.²⁷⁴ Thomas of Walsingham's account of the Scottish raid into England in 1379, mentioned above, has been identified as an example of the multi-layers of saintly devotion with the inclusion of national (Andrew), regional (Kentigern) and extremely local or specialist saints (Romanus).²⁷⁵ It is interesting that neither of the saints traditionally associated with the alleviation of plague, Roche or Sebastian, are mentioned in this passage suggesting that the invocation of powerful local patrons, like '*seynt Mungo*', could be considered adequate protection against the virulent disease. The saint also appears twice within the satirical poetry of David Lindsay. In his *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, written in 1530, Lindsay described a funeral with Dominican Friars singing

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, ii, 386 for Hyde, ii, 395 for Hutchinson who left the money in his will. Other burghal dedications included gifts to altars by John Mason and his wife and Robert Brewster and wife, ii, 447 & 499. There were numerous dedications by clerics to specific altars and the cathedral in general in the late fifteenth century, see ii, 446, 476, 480, 481, 485, 451, 468, 469, 495 & 489.

²⁷¹ *RMS*, ii, no.2377. The other exception was the Moray cult of the saint which can be attributed to the influence of William Elphinstone.

²⁷² Grey was the rector of Kirkliston, see *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, 99 & 130. For Newton who was the rector of Bedrule, *RMS*, ii, no.1432. For Fenton, who was the Precentor of Dunkeld cathedral, *NAS, Records of King James VI Hospital, Perth, Altarages, GD79/4/94*. Edinburgh was also home to a fraternity of St Mungo that is first mentioned just prior to the Reformation, unfortunately no information survives regarding membership. Both the references to the fraternity come from 1566, *Edinburgh- Records of the Burgh Accounts*, ed. R. Adam (Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1899), i, pp.83 & 235.

²⁷³ See Chapter 1, Section I.

²⁷⁴ He is called Mungo in Wyntoun, Bellenden's translation of Boece, Lindsay and in the reported speech in Walsingham. Most crown, episcopal and hagiographical references to the saint use his official name Kentigern. A glimpse of the popular cult is provided by Jocelin of Furness in the twelfth century who stated that 'stupid and foolish people, who live in the diocese of S. Kentigern, go as far as to assert that he was conceived of a virgin', *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, p.35.

²⁷⁵ *The St Albans Chronicle*, pp.310-11.

sanct Mongois matynis around the grave.²⁷⁶ In *Ane Dialog Betuix Experience and ane Courtear*, written in 1550, the poet scorned the practice of bringing ‘*mad men, on fuit and horsse and byndis thame to saint Mongose cross*’.²⁷⁷ These literary references, in conjunction with continuing patronage of the shrine and wider cult by minor nobles, clerics and burgess, the reappearance of the saint’s feast in calendars and the growing popularity of the use of his forename, present an image of a popular local patron and saint of civic significance who was still considered to be an effective intercessor on the eve of the Reformation.

Conclusion

The changes in devotional patterns that swept through Western Europe in the later middle ages had a profound impact on the cults and shrines of Scotland’s major episcopal patrons. The cult of the saints was a movement in constant transition, forcing shrine custodians to continually adapt their saints to cope with new trends. The communities responsible for the shrines of Andrew, Columba and Kentigern had the resources and will to react to these developments. Their response had similar structural features, suggesting that even if they did not work together, they were able to learn and adapt from the example set by their rivals.²⁷⁸ These structural features included the utilisation of indulgences, building campaigns and relic translations, alongside personal promotion by the bishops and cathedral chapter, in an effort to refresh their cults and shrines. At St Andrews efforts were also made to diversify the appeal of the cathedral for pilgrims by connecting the apostle to other popular cults. At Dunkeld and Glasgow, a further key element in this process was the restoration of their traditional relationship with the crown, a bond that had been severed by the fourteenth-century wars and change of royal dynasties.

Although individuals and communities were able to manipulate the cult of the saints, like any popular phenomenon it was subject to fashions often outside their control.²⁷⁹ This meant that the success of any promotional campaign was not inevitable, and despite the structural similarities between the marketing undertaken by the three reliquary centres, the results were considerably varied. Between 1286 and

²⁷⁶ *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 704.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, iii, 2374.

²⁷⁸ As Webb has shown shrine custodians were well aware of each other and the promotional efforts of their rivals, Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.82.

²⁷⁹ The competition between popular veneration and the control of sacred centres is explored in Abou El Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and Transformations*, Chapter 1.

1560 a combination of ecclesiastical promotion and royal acquiescence led to the firm association of St Andrew with the security and prosperity of the Scottish regnal unit. Paradoxically in the same period the view of Andrew, through his relics in Fife, as an effective intercessor seems to have gradually altered, causing the steady decline of pilgrimage traffic to his shrine. Despite ecclesiastical and nationalist promotion, the competitive nature of the cult of saints meant that once the relics of St Andrew were deemed to have lost their potency, habitual and potential new supplicants of the cult were able to turn instead to a host of fresh Marian shrines and flourishing regional saints like Ninian and Duthac. Andrean devotion in late medieval Scotland provides an example of a trend that Vauchez has suggested characterized this period, in which the cult of a saint could become separated from his reliquary centre.²⁸⁰ Although the wider cult continued to flourish, in the case of Andrew primarily amongst clerics, the original shrine gradually declined in importance as a pilgrim destination and focus for the cult.

The decline of the eastern Columban cult is perhaps less surprising, with the saint becoming seemingly less relevant and his cult somewhat outmoded from the thirteenth century. The reaction to this development by the custodians at Dunkeld was perhaps the most sustained of those explored in this chapter. Whilst the wider goal of reviving popular interest in the cult seems to have failed, the real success of the campaign was the recognition by the national church and crown that at the end of the fifteenth century Columba remained, symbolically at least, at the top table of Scottish saints. The promotional efforts of a series of bishops at Glasgow managed to briefly restore the connection between their patron and the crown in the mid-fifteenth century. However, the fragile reliance of the cult upon the relationship of bishop and monarch after 1296 meant that only fleetingly did Kentigern regain the official prominence the saint had enjoyed in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Mungo, the popular manifestation of the cult, however, retained his civic and regional significance throughout the later middle ages, as characterised by the enduring support of the lower level nobility, clergy and residents of the diocese of Glasgow. Whilst neither Columba nor Kentigern could accurately be described as having a national cult on the eve of the Reformation, only Mungo of the episcopal saints

²⁸⁰ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.447-49.

discussed here seems to have successfully retained his status as both a symbol of a regional identity, and as an effective intercessor throughout the period.

Conclusion

In 1550 when David Lindsay wrote *Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour*, the social and religious phenomenon that was the cult of the saints was still flourishing in Scotland.¹ A handful of recognisably Scottish saints thought, by the church establishment at least, to have a personal connection to the kingdom feature in the poem. These make up a small but significant part of the list of cults whose veneration Lindsay considered to be verging on the idolatrous. 'Small but significant' is a phrase that perhaps encapsulates the role that this group of saints played in Scottish religious practice in the later middle ages. The individuals who feature in this poem, the national patron Andrew, Ninian of Whithorn, Duthac of Tain, Kentigern of Glasgow and the less well known Triduana of Restalrig, also reflected the new pantheon of Scottish saints who emerged in the two centuries prior to the Reformation. The evolution of this new canon, dominated by Ninian, Duthac and Andrew, was matched by a concomitant decline in the popularity and importance of a number of cults that had flourished in the early and central middle ages. That there were changes in the cult of the saints in Scotland should not be unexpected.² As Duffy and others have shown it was a movement in constant transition, subject to changes in the social, economic and ecclesiastical environment in which it operated.³ What this study has suggested is that there are compelling alternative explanations for these changes beyond the nationalist and monarchical patronage paradigms which have had a pervasive, and perhaps limiting, influence on scholarship on the topic.

Prior to the Aberdeen Breviary project there is little indication that the people of late medieval Scotland, ecclesiastical or lay, consistently viewed the cult of the saints through a nationalistic lens. Identifiably Scottish saints made up only a segment of the wide variety of cults that proved attractive to lay Scots in this period. Amongst ecclesiastics, the promotion of saints in the fifteenth century by cathedral chapters and the writings of clerics like Walter Bower, point toward an overriding concern with the

¹ The full title of the poem is *Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World*, in *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 267-70.

² As David Ditchburn has pointed out new developments in the veneration of saints occurred across Western Europe during this period, Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis' and patterns of Sanctity in Late Medieval Scotland', 192.

³ Duffy described the cult of the saints as 'a process in which fashion played a part', Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.164, Brown has also stressed this in Brown, *Church and Society in England*, pp.81-84.

diocesan, institutional and local, rather than the national. Although extant calendars from the fifteenth century suggest that local saints were playing an increasingly prominent role in the religious practices of Scottish institutions, the Aberdeen Breviary project with its nationalisation of the liturgy was ultimately a failure.⁴ This failure, and the lack of evidence of a quickening of interest in many of the local figures included in the project, is a further sign that the systematic and national approach taken by Elphinstone was an anomaly, perhaps as Ditchburn has suggested an ‘Aberdonian idiosyncrasy’, rather than the culmination of a wider reorientation of religious sentiment in Scotland.⁵

The explanation of the distinctive aspects of the late medieval Scottish religious landscape, like the success of the Duthac cult, through the influence of crown patronage and court fashions also betrays the influence of the McRoberts thesis. The reference to ‘*Scottis Sanctis*’ in the printing licence granted to Chepman and Millar in 1507 by James IV, and the striking patronage of a number of local saints by that monarch, led McRoberts and Macfarlane to suggest that the nationalist/patriotic movement was a joint venture between church and crown.⁶ In the fifteenth century there is evidence of a change in the manner in which Scottish monarchs engaged with the cults of local saints. This change in approach can be traced to the reign of James II, who displayed a conspicuous interest in the shrines and cults of Ninian, Duthac and Kentigern. The initial catalyst for royal engagement with these cults and shrines seems to have been conflict with the Black Douglas and Macdonald kindreds, and the need to replace their lordship in lands forfeited to the crown in the 1450s and 1470s. By the reign of James V, royal patronage of the saints of Tain and Whithorn in particular, had been gradually incorporated into what Mason has described as ‘calculated displays of religiosity’, that were an established and expected part of Scottish kingship.⁷

Whilst fourteenth-century Scottish kings were clearly aware of the political cachet generated by identifying with local cults, the greater record survival from the reigns of James IV and James V makes it tempting to view their engagement with

⁴ Pfaff has commented on the problem of judging the extent to which liturgical changes were intended to create changes in religious sentiment, or simply reflected them, Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints and Services in Medieval England*, pp.4-5.

⁵ Ditchburn, ‘The ‘McRoberts Thesis’, 177.

⁶ McRoberts, ‘The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century’, 4-8, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, p.234.

⁷ Mason, ‘Renaissance Monarchy? Stewart kingship, 1469-1542’, 266.

local saints and shrines as more systematic than their predecessors.⁸ However, even during the reign of James IV, from which the widest range of records survive, there is little evidence of a methodical exploitation of the cults of these saints by the Scottish crown, particularly in comparison to the activities of their English contemporaries.⁹ The native saints on whom James bestowed patronage corresponded with the core group who had begun to feature regularly in the Scottish liturgy from the mid-fifteenth century. The highest profile patronage was granted to Ninian and Duthac, with annual personal pilgrimages to their shrines and gifts and oblations made by the monarchs at Tain, Whithorn and elsewhere on their feast days.¹⁰ James also made regular gifts and pilgrimages to the shrines of SS Andrew, Kentigern and Adrian.¹¹ A third group of saints that included Columba, Fergus, Fillan, Margaret, Monan, Serf and Triduana were the recipients of more intermittent royal patronage.¹²

When comparing the nature of the religious patronage of James IV and James V to their predecessors, we must remain aware that our findings are heavily influenced by this greater record survival. Some of James IV's displays of piety, such as his annual pilgrimages to Whithorn and Tain, were undoubtedly novel. However, it is impossible to ascertain whether other aspects of his habitual piety, such as payments for masses or offerings on specific saints' feast days, were also new. They may have been a continuation of pre-established customs of kingship, only brought to light by the chance survival of regular Treasurer's Accounts from the 1490s. There is also little indication within the patronage of James IV and his two predecessors that the crown actively attempted to shape devotion to native saints in late medieval Scotland.¹³ This is in sharp contrast to Elphinstone's project which was a clear attempt to direct devotion towards local and national cults and shrines. Scottish monarchs in the later middle ages seem to have reacted to changes in the saintly landscape rather than dictated them.

⁸ For example David II and Monan, the early Stewarts and Brendan etc.

⁹ By the fourteenth century English kings had developed a series of well trodden regional pilgrimage circuits. For these circuits and other aspects of the habitual piety shown by English kings in this period see Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp.111-140.

¹⁰ See Chapters 2 & 3.

¹¹ For Andrew and Kentigern see Chapter 4, the pilgrimages to the shrine of St Adrian on the Isle of May see Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.197-8.

¹² For Columba see Chapter 4. For Fergus, *TA* ii, 265, iii, 283. Fillan, *TA*, i, 88, iii, 281, iv, 38. Margaret *TA*, i, 368, ii, 74, 256, 267, iii, 65, 71, 75, 291, 295, iv, 42, 178, 189, 334 & 521. Monan, *TA*, i, 248, 261, iii, 294, iv, 42. Serf, *TA*, iv, 176. Triduana, *TA*, i, 296, ii, 74, 248, iii, 66.

¹³ There is little evidence that saints popular with the crown, like Ninian and Duthac, became favourites at the royal court.

As the case studies of the Ninian, Duthac, Andrew, Columba and Kentigern cults have demonstrated, it was neither nationalism nor royal patronage that determined the shape of the saintly landscape of late medieval Scotland. This landscape was dictated by broader Western European changes in saintly fashions, the distinctive political and economic circumstances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and a degree of shrine management and promotion. To reach these conclusions the most significant cults from the period have been viewed as what one commentator has described as ‘malleable and mutable’ phenomenon, rather than static entities whose meaning and function remained unchanged over time.¹⁴ Through the application of this methodology, and the use of a broad range of sources, this study has endeavoured to show that, although Scotland lacks a number of orthodox resources for the study of this phenomenon, it is still possible to present a picture of the appeal, function and management of the most significant saints’ cults in the kingdom during the period 1349-1560. It is hoped that this study has therefore provided a new and alternative model for the examination of the movement both in Scotland, and in other regions and periods that lack what has been considered conventional sources.

This thesis has also emphasised several avenues within the study of late medieval Scotland which require further research. The almost surgical engagement with specific cults and shrines by the Stewart monarchs from the reign of James II suggests a new approach to crown religious patronage. What was the model, or models, for the sophisticated use of religious patronage by these fifteenth-century monarchs? The fragmented political situation in England during this period makes it an unlikely candidate. Was it perhaps the court of the Dukes of Burgundy, to which James II had privileged access through his marriage to Mary of Guelders, that provided the inspiration for new styles of kingship in the fifteenth century? A nagging backdrop to this study has also been the impact on the kingdom of the initial and later outbreaks of the Black Death, hence its inclusion in the title of this thesis. The lack of studies of the impact of the disease in a Scottish context is partly a matter of the paucity of adequate source materials, particularly for making direct comparisons

¹⁴ ‘Introduction’, *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, xi-xiv at xii. For this trend in recent English and Welsh hagiology see Introduction, pp.9-10.

between the economic and social situation before and after 1349.¹⁵ An examination of pious trends, such as the bursts of popularity of saints directly associated with the plague, like Roche and Sebastian, may prove to be a starting place for a more nuanced, if necessarily tentative, examination of the impacts of the disease on the late medieval kingdom.¹⁶

In a broader context there is also the question of late medieval Scotland's distinctiveness or similarity to other areas of northern Europe. It is clear that the kingdom was subject to what Duffy and others have identified as the two key devotional energies in religious practice during this period.¹⁷ These were on the one hand what might be termed cosmopolitan devotion to Mary, Jesus and their family, virgin martyrs and fashionable international cults, and on the other a localism or regionalism.¹⁸ Recent scholarship on the British Isles has indicated that there was considerable regional diversity in the manner in which these trends, in particular localism, were manifested in different places. In the diocese of York they led to efforts by the cathedral clergy to create a number of new local cults, and revive long established northern saints like Cuthbert and William.¹⁹ In Salisbury, the cathedral chapter spent considerable time and effort securing the canonisation of Bishop Osmund, who had died in the eleventh century, rather than promoting new patrons.²⁰ By contrast in the diocese of Norwich during the period there was a notable lack of enthusiasm, both clerical and lay, for local East Anglian saints.²¹

The situation in Scotland most closely resembles that in late medieval Wales and Cornwall, from which there is also little evidence of the emergence of cults based around contemporary individuals. In Wales the period was characterised by growing interest in national patron David, and the revival of a number of pre-existing cults.²²

¹⁵ The only direct study of the subject is brief, and primarily comparative in nature, Jillings, *Scotland's Black Death: the foul death of the English*.

¹⁶ For example why was James IV so interested in St Roch? Did this correspond with an outbreak of the disease in Scotland?

¹⁷ For a brief discussion of this see Duffy, 'The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England', 165-66 & 177.

¹⁸ Ditchburn uses the term 'cosmopolitan' to describe these trends, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.52-3.

¹⁹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries. Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, pp.298-347

²⁰ Osmund was finally canonised in 1456, Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. The Diocese of Salisbury*, pp.57-63.

²¹ Tanner, N., *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370-1552* (Toronto, 1984), pp.35-37 & 82-91.

²² In a similar manner to Scotland, Wales saw no new saints after 1200, cults like that of St Caradoc were revived by Norman bishops, Garland, 'Aspects of Welsh Saints' Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.68 & 90, Wooding, 'The Figure of David', 1-19, Cornwall also saw the revival of a number of local cults in this period, Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, pp.32-37.

The absence of newly canonised saints or even obvious candidates for sainthood in this period can be partly explained by the physical remoteness of Scotland and Wales from the centres of Papal power, and the prohibitive costs that surrounded the canonisation process in the later middle ages.²³ A further factor in Scotland was the policy decisions of the chapters of St Andrews, Glasgow and Dunkeld. These were amongst the few groups who had the financial stamina to contemplate a canonisation process, but chose to use their resources to promote their established patrons rather than develop new cults around contemporary figures. The vacuum was filled by the phenomenon of the revived or recycled cult, which was a distinctive element of devotion to Scottish saints in the later middle ages. Further research is required to consider how widespread this phenomenon was, what prompted the popularity of this saint type in certain areas, and what this can tell us about piety and perceptions of sanctity on the peripheries of Western Europe in the later middle ages.

²³ Swanson has pointed out that geographical proximity to the papacy as well as finance were the key factors in achieving successful canonisations in the later middle ages, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, pp.148-150.

Appendix

The category 'Scottish' saints

When the Aberdeen Breviary was printed in 1509-10 it included the feasts of some 81 saints claimed by the compilers to have a Scottish origin or to have had some hagiographical connection to Scotland.¹ The category '*Scottis Sanctis*' was for Elphinstone and his team an inclusive one which incorporated a number of Irish (Patrick), Northumbrian (Cuthbert and Colman) and continental European saints (Rumbald, Fursus, Fiacre), into the Scottish fold.² Modern scholars have been less flexible with their choice of the saints who fitted into this category. Alan Macquarrie mentioned only 45 individuals in his *Saints of Scotland* monograph, and Alexander Boyle listed 42 in his 1981 article.³ This study has used a similar range of saints to Macquarrie and Boyle for its sample, eliminating those like Patrick whose connection to Scotland was tenuous at best.⁴ The remaining group include those saints from the Aberdeen Breviary for whom there is corroborating evidence of an active cult in Scotland in the later middle ages through their inclusion in the liturgy, within ecclesiastical dedications or in contemporary literature. This group has been divided into four categories corresponding to the frequency with which they occurred in those sources. They are listed below under the name that they were recorded in the Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland project.

Key

Given name of the saint in this study/location of their relics or main church associated with the cult.

1) The core group (in alphabetical order)

Andrew

Baldred of Tynningham

Columba of Dunkeld/Iona

¹ For a list of these saints and their feast days see Macquarrie, 'Scottish saints' legends in the Aberdeen Breviary', 155-157.

² This has been commented upon by Macquarrie, *Ibid*, 149-151.

³ Macquarrie focuses on SS Patrick, Ninian, Columba, Kentigern, Serf, Maelrubha, Adomnán, Bridget, Peter, Andrew, Constantine, Catroe of Metz and Margaret, but lists a number of other 'Scottish' saints, Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland. Essays in Scottish Church History*, p.1-9. Boyle has short discussion of thirty seven 'Scottish' saints and mentions five more in passing, Boyle, 'Notes on Scottish Saints', 59-83.

⁴ See below group 5 for a list of saints claimed to be of Scottish origin in the AB but were too obscure or had little obvious connection to Scotland to be included in this study.

Constantine of Govan
 Duthac of Tain
 Fillan of Strathfillan
 Kentigern of Glasgow
 Kessog of Luss
 Monan of Inverey
 Ninian of Whithorn

2) The secondary group

Adrian of the Isle of May
 Boniface/Curetán of Rosemarkie
 Gilbert of Dornoch
 Margaret of Dunfermline
 Magnus of Kirkwall
 Palladius of Fordoun
 Serf of Culross
 Triduana of Restalrig

3) Rare but appear in more than one dedication type

Brendan of Bute
 Comgan of Turriff
 Devenick of Banchory
 Drostán of Aberdour
 Ebbe of Coldingham
 Fergus of Scone/Glamis
 Maelrubha of Applecross
 Machar of Aberdeen
 Machan of Campsie
 Mirin of Paisley
 Moluag of Lismore
 Regulus/Rule of St Andrews
 Ternan of Banchory
 Thanay/Tenew of Glasgow

4) Those who only appear in liturgical fragments

Adomnán of Iona
 Blane of Dunblane
 Bean of Morthlach
 Donnan of Eigg
 Findoc of Inishail
 Kentigerna of Inchcailloch
 Marnan
 Marnoc of Kilmarnock
 Medan of Galloway
 Modan of Rosneath/ Fraserburgh/Fintray
 Moroc of Dunblane
 Nathalan/Nechtan of Tullich
 Vigean

5) Saints given a Scottish provenance in Aberdeen Breviary, but not featuring in this study

Aidan
 Asaph
 Baya and Maura
 Begha of Hartlepool
 Brigid
 Caran of Fetteresso
 Colman of Lindisfarne
 Colmoc
 Comgall of Bangor
 Conval
 Cunera of Rhenen
 Cuthbert of Durham (two feasts in AB)
 Englacious
 Etheldreda (two feasts in AB)
 Ethernasc
 Fiacre of Meaux

Finnan of Lindisfarne
 Finnbar of Cork
 Finnchan and Finndoch
 Finian
 Fursey of Peronne
 Gartnait
 Glassie
 Irchard of Kincardine O'Neil
 Kennera
 Kenneth
 Kevoca of Kyle
 Levin
 Lolan
 Machutus/Malo
 Maiden
 Manirus of Crathie
 Mayhota/Mayoca
 Modoc
 Moroc
 Munnu of Argyll
 Oswald of Northumbria
 Patrick
 Photinus of Lyon
 Ronan
 Rumbald of Mechlin
 Talorcan
 Willibrord of Utrecht
 Winnin of Kilwinning
 Volocus/Walloch

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