

“Sacred Food for the Soul”: In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306–1329

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The personal piety and devotions to saints and their relics of Scotland’s most famous medieval monarch, Robert Bruce, or Robert I (1306–29), is an under-explored topic.¹ This neglect is perhaps due both to a predominantly Protestant post-Reformation Scottish historiographical tradition and to a perceived lack of sources. The latter sense is heightened by a general awareness that large quantities of records and artifacts were plundered or destroyed during the prolonged hostilities of the Scottish wars of succession and independence, ca. 1286–ca. 1357, and that further losses occurred in successive centuries.² Nevertheless, this paper offers new approaches to identifying and understanding the saintly venerations of King Robert. It seeks to illuminate the wide spectrum of motivations for his acts of piety throughout his reign, from clearly political or dynastic public demonstrations of faith to intensely personal expressions of belief. As a result, some aspects of the changing expectations of both Scottish royal piety and Robert I’s personal devotions are revealed, alongside often more nuanced insight into the dramatic political and military events of the period. This methodology might be applied cautiously to explore the religiosity of other medieval monarchs.

War, political crises, and natural disasters could be mixed blessings for the saints’ cults of the later Middle Ages. Material destruction and the displacement of peoples could, of course, be devastating, but prayers for protection, peace, remembrance, and salvation would naturally intensify in times of conflict. With longer-distance pilgrimage disrupted by hostilities, regional populations might increasingly seek the intercession of local saints. In Scotland, during internal struggles and hostilities against England throughout the “long fourteenth century,” such a

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¹ Geoffrey Barrow’s seminal *Robert the Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 412–15, makes only late, passing comment on Robert I’s piety. Colm McNamee’s *Robert Bruce: Our Most Valiant Prince, King and Lord* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006), 32–33, 111, 276, gives slightly more attention to Bruce and individual saints.

² David McRoberts, “Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation,” *Innes Review* 10 (1959): 126–72; David Stevenson, “The English and the Public Records of Scotland,” *Stair Society Miscellany*, 1 (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1971): 156–70; Bruce Webster, *Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975), 124–25.

development is illustrated by the growing popularity of Saint Ninian (fl. ca. 400), seen as a saintly ally in attempted escapes from captivity, and of his body cult at Whithorn Cathedral Priory in Galloway, regarded as a safe haven in the war-torn southwest of Scotland (see Fig. 1).³ A similar reaction to war is also to be found in the many new foundations throughout Scotland of chantry altars and votive chapels, dedicated to a variety of saints, as memorials to wartime dead and living veterans, predominantly established in the care of houses of secular canons.⁴ These Scottish patterns mirrored the growing popularity of particular saints' cults and foundations within mendicant houses in England and on the Continent during the Hundred Years War, devotions intensified by the effects of a great Europe-wide famine about 1315–18; animal murrains, such as the cattle pandemic of ca. 1316–21; and recurrent human plague from 1348.⁵ Moreover, these catalysts intensified the broader shifts in devotional behavior after ca. 1200: most notably, such behavior was characterized by patronal moves away from grand pious gestures of large-scale religious foundation toward more intimate, personal, or familial forms of intercessionary worship, often with a growing emphasis on “native,” insular, local, or interest-group saints and relics as much as upon worship of Christocentric, apostolic, or universal cults.⁶

³ *Legends of the Saints*, ed. W. M. Metcalfe, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1891), 2:304–415; Daphne Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places: St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1994), chaps. 7 and 8; John Higgitt, *Imageis Maid with mennis hand: Saints, Images, Belief and Identity in Later Medieval Scotland. The Ninth Whithorn Lecture, 2000* (Whithorn, Scotland: Whithorn Trust, 2003), n. 49; Thomas J. M. Turpie, “Scottish Saints’ Cults and Pilgrimage from the Black Death to the Reformation, c. 1349–1560” (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011), chap. 2, esp. 60–86.

⁴ A search in the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*, a UK Arts and Humanities Research Council project hosted by the University of Edinburgh, edited by Stephen Boardman et al., for all “chaplainry” dedications (not just wartime dead), ca. 1 January 1296 to ca. 31 December 1399 returns seventy-four hits; a search for ca. 1 January 1000 to ca. 31 December 1295 returns just five (<http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints>, accessed on 29 August 2012).

⁵ For example: B. Kemp, “English Church Monuments during the Period of the Hundred Years War,” in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 1994), 195–212; Michael E. Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), chap. 7; Timothy Newfield, “A Cattle Panzootic in Early Fourteenth-Century Europe,” *Agricultural History Review* 57 (2009): 155–90; William Chester Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); M. Ormrod and P. Lindley, eds., *The Black Death in England* (Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas, 2003).

⁶ R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 225–32; idem, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 115–22, 126–34; Simon Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife* (Chalford, UK: History Press, 2008); Alastair A. MacDonald, “Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Scotland,” in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. Alastair A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderboff, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 109–31; Richard D. Oram, “Lay Religiosity, Piety, and Devotion in Scotland c. 1300 to c. 1450,” *Florilegium* 25 (2008): 1–32; David Ditchburn, “The ‘McRoberts Thesis’ and Patterns of Sanctity in Late Medieval Scotland,” in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, ed. S. Boardman and E. Williamson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 177–94.



Fig. 1. Key regions and ecclesiastical sites mentioned in the text.
(Map: Author)

At the same time, however, elite patronage of a saint's cult continued to be stimulated by strategic or political concerns during crisis or conflict. Historians of late-thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century England are blessed with the survival of a number of complete years of Crown wardrobe accounts as well as fragmentary almoner's rolls, together with evidence for detailed itineraries for successive reigns, a reasonably full run of king's grants and letters, and a relative abundance of the material culture and architectural settings of late-medieval English royal religion.⁷ As a result, historians have been able to extrapolate Edward I's and Edward III's "personal" and dynastic devotions, in advance of invasion and occupation campaigns into Scotland, to such northern border saints as Saint John of Beverley in Yorkshire and Saint Cuthbert of the palatinate cathedral priory of Durham. Such observances were offered as a means of raising popular local and "national" war support but were contained within genuine prayers for saintly intercession. The shrine banners of these saints were also carried by English hosts into war against the Scots. Once across the border, Edward I especially emerged as skilled in the invocation of an eclectic range of cult festivals, locations, and relics to win the hearts and minds of both English troops and Scots through oblations, such as those offered to the cult of Saint Thomas Becket at Arbroath Abbey (1296); at the body shrines of Saint Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral, of Queen/Saint Margaret at Dunfermline Abbey, and, again, of Saint Ninian at Whithorn (1301–3); and to relics of Saint Andrew in his titular see in Fife (1304).⁸

War, therefore, could give a significant boost to a well-placed saint's cult. Conversely, the material damage and losses that raid and counterraid, vacillating political allegiances, and the deaths of elite patrons and their lineage often inflicted upon a cult and its center(s) could cause short- and long-term damage to a saint's influence. The relative fourteenth-century stagnation of the badly disrupted

⁷ For example, see Hilda Johnstone, "Poor-Relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 4 (1929): 149–67; A. J. Taylor, "Royal Alms and Oblations in the Later Thirteenth Century," in *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays Presented to Marc Fitch by Some of His Friends*, ed. F. G. Emmison and R. Stephens (London: Leopard's Head, 1976), 93–125; D. A. Carpenter, "The Household Rolls of King Henry III of England (1216–72)," *Historical Research* 80 (2007): 22–46; Nicholas Vincent, "The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154–1272," in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. C. Morris and P. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 12–45; J. Alexander and P. Binski, eds., *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1987); John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London: Routledge, 1993), chap. 2; Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 1998); and now John Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2011).

⁸ *Calendars of Documents Relating to Scotland* (hereafter CDS), ed. J. Bain, 5 vols. (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1881–88), 2, nos. 1177, 1413, 1441; 3, nos. 666, 669; 5, no. 266; Michael Prestwich, "The Piety of Edward I," in *England in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Grantham: Harlaxton College, 1985), 120–28; W. M. Ormrod, "The Personal Religion of Edward III," *Speculum* 64 (1989): 849–77, at 871–72 (and see now extensive references in idem, *Edward III* [London: Yale University Press, 2011], 12–13, 99–102, 121–22, 465–71, and index entry for "Edward III, religion"); D. W. Burton, "Requests for Prayers and Royal Propaganda under Edward I," in *Thirteenth-Century England*, 3, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 1991), 25–35; David S. Bachrach, "The Ecclesia Anglicana Goes to War: Prayers, Propaganda and Conquest during the Reign of Edward I of England, 1272–1307," *Albion* 36 (2004): 393–406.

cult of Saint Waltheof and the war-torn fabric of his repeatedly annexed Scottish Cistercian border abbey at Melrose illustrate this possibility; so, too, do the material forfeitures enforced in 1296 upon the deposed king of Scotland, John (Balliol, 1292–96), and the Augustinian abbey of Scone, a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity and Saint Michael and home of the royal inauguration stone of Scotland's monarchs, which Edward I removed to Westminster.⁹

In the cult observances of Robert I a similar mixture of wartime cult experiences can be identified. By far the majority of the Bruce king's known devotions to saints have been taken to reflect his political needs, broadly, his efforts to legitimize his violent seizure of the throne and to associate himself and his lineage, in his subjects' eyes, with the traditional spiritual lights of the royal house and the Scottish kingdom and its key regions: these cult figures represented a canon of saints, headed by the apostolic Saint Andrew, the western missionary Saint Columba (d. 597), and the royal dynastic Saint Margaret (d. 1093, canonized 1249).¹⁰ As a bachelor in Edward I's household before 1296, and often in attendance on the English king in England and Scotland up to 1305, Robert surely came to understand the political value of such public devotions.¹¹ Edward I's further development of Westminster Abbey and palace as a dynastic mausoleum and ideological arena around the royal ancestral shrine of Saint Edward the Confessor clearly continued to serve as an important model, too, for the burials of Bruce and of his kin and close supporters at the Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline in Fife, home to the shrine of Queen/Saint Margaret. In the same way, Edward I's example as a crusading veteran may have encouraged Robert to request that his heart be carried to the Holy Land after his death.¹²

⁹ Richard D. Oram and Richard Fawcett, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2004), 36–45; Helen Birkett, "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*, ed. Boardman and Williamson, 43–60; Emilia Jamrozak, "Cistercians and Border Conflicts: Some Comparisons between the Experiences of Scotland and Pomerania," in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. Burton and K. Stober (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2008), 40–50; R. Welander, D. J. Breeze, and T. O. Clancy, eds., *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), chaps. 3.1, 4.1–4.3.

¹⁰ Thomas Owen Clancy, "Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages," in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 397–421; Michael Penman, "Royal Piety in Thirteenth-Century Scotland: The Religion and Religiosity of Alexander II (1214–49) and Alexander III of Scotland (1249–86)," in *Thirteenth-Century England, 12: Proceedings of the Gregynog Conference 2007*, ed. J. Burton, P. Schofield, and B. Weiler (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2009), 13–30.

¹¹ Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica, 1272–1363*, ed. Andy King (Woodbridge, UK: Surtees Society, 2005), 35. Robert I may have become aware, too, of the political potential of such recent secular cult figures as Simon de Monfort, Earl of Leicester (d. 1265), a noble whose defiance of the English Crown would be echoed in Robert I's own reign by the rebellion, execution, and beatification of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (d. 1322): Claire Valente, "Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Utility of Sanctity in Thirteenth-Century England," *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995): 27–49; Danna Pirovansky, *Martyrs in the Making: Political Martyrdom in Late Medieval England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), chap. 2.

¹² Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), chap. 3; Grant G. Simpson, "The Heart of King Robert I: Pious Crusade or Marketing Gambit?" in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval*

Yet it must be acknowledged that a number of Robert I's saintly observances and other acts of piety as a politician, lord, and king could also reflect quite genuine personal acts of faith by Robert Bruce the man. Perhaps the best-known example of such a devotional act by Robert is his revival and enlargement, in spring 1318, of a chapel (or priory) dedicated to Saint Fillan in Strathearn, in central Scotland, in the care of the Augustinian canons of Inchaffray Abbey.¹³ This foundation allowed Robert to invoke a cult with a wide dispersal of relics (including a bell shrine, an arm bone, and a famous crosier) as well as sites throughout a disputed earldom (Strathearn), and thus to appeal to the kindreds living and worshipping within this region (including the hereditary lay keepers, or *dewars*, of these relics). However, tradition maintains that this bequest was made in thanks for succor provided by Fillan when Robert and his much-reduced party fled west after defeat at Methven in 1306, just weeks after his hurried inauguration as king, and in thanks for later aid at the battle of Bannockburn, before Stirling Castle, in 1314. As Simon Taylor has pointed out, the presence of an image of Fillan's arm reliquary on Bruce of Annandale family seals suggests an enduring family devotion, one to which Sir Thomas Randolph, Bruce's nephew by marriage and key lieutenant (who was granted the lordship of Annandale by the king), perhaps responded by dedicating to Saint Fillan the church of his new coastal barony of Aberdour in Fife (a parish that included Inchcolm's Augustinian island abbey, dedicated to Saint Columba).¹⁴

Robert's gift to Fillan was not, though, exceptional, and a number of other Bruce cult associations can be identified. Indeed, such evidence can afford a unique glimpse into Robert's hopes, fears, mistakes, regrets, gratitude, and obligations as they evolved over his aristocratic career and then reign, over thirty years of

and *Early Renaissance Scotland*, ed. B. E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat, 1999), 173–86; Stephen Boardman, "Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum," in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. R. Fawcett (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2005), 139–54.

¹³ *Regesta regum Scottorum, 5: The Acts of Robert I, 1306–29* (hereafter RRS, 5), ed. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986), nos. 39, 134–35, 138; *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (hereafter ER), ed. J. Stuart et al., 23 vols. (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1878–1908), 1:214. Robert granted Inchaffray the church of Killin, in Strathfillan, to provide a canon to celebrate divine service; in 1329 the king's illegitimate son, Robert Bruce of Liddesdale and Clackmannan, granted twenty pounds annually to the upkeep of this chapel: *Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*, ed. W. A. Lindsay, J. Dowden, and J. M. Thomson (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1908), 44–45.

¹⁴ *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, ed. Donald E. R. Watt et al., 9 vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987–99), 9:135; Simon Taylor, "The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland," in *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages: Studies in the Cultural History of North-Western Europe*, ed. T. R. Liskza and L. E. M. Walker (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), 175–210, at 188–90. Malise, Earl of Strathearn, claimed that Robert and his men attacked his manor house at Saint Fillan's in 1306: John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. and trans. A. A. M. Duncan, Canongate Classics 78 (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), 89. Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, probably attended Bruce's inauguration at Scone and blessed the host at Bannockburn: *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, 6:365. For similar regional cult influence see M. A. Hall, "Of Holy Men and Heroes: The Cult of Saints in Medieval Perthshire," *Innes Review* 56 (2005): 61–88. For hereditary lay relic keepers see G. Márkus, "Dewars and Relics in Scotland: Some Clarifications and Questions," *Innes Review* 60 (2009): 95–114.

struggle, loss, and triumph. Violence there was aplenty as well as the deaths of four brothers and many friends; the prolonged and often cruel captivity of his wife, sisters, and a daughter (who also died young); a long wait for a son, marked also by recurrent illness and a drawn-out conflict that repeatedly brought broken loyalties, physical danger, hunger, exile, and remoteness from home; and several necessary acts of horror in war (often against churches)—and all of this amidst a campaign to assert his family's legal rights that, over time, surely became wedded to a genuine sense of national faith, that is, a burgeoning communal identity focused upon Robert as the leader of a people blessed by God (akin to the tribes of Israel, according to the Bruce regime's famous letter of supplication and protest to the papacy of 1320, now known as the "Declaration of Arbroath").¹⁵ This growing identity was attached to a wide range of saints, both those of the universal Roman church and those of distinctly insular "Scottis use." Crucially, this allied faith and force would have been encouraged by the preaching of the prominent churchmen who championed the Scottish *ecclesia*, a "special daughter" of Rome since the late twelfth century, in its fight to sustain the independent Scottish kingdom through its succession crisis from 1286 and who played a crucial role in counseling those who emerged as king: men like Bishops Wishart of Glasgow and Lamberton of Saint Andrews, as well as Chancellor Bernard, abbot of Arbroath.¹⁶ It is thus surely reasonable to argue that Robert I had a rich, deeply felt, firmly steered religious life that his family and followers would have shared on a day-to-day, year-to-year basis: the cult of saints in Scotland would play a central role in this political and personal context.

Furthermore, there were also pressing material reasons for Robert's association with a range of saints. Bruce sought to revive a kingship and royal household that by 1306 had been stripped of much of its accumulated spiritual heritage. In 1296 Edward I removed to Westminster and his own treasury not only the inauguration stone from Scone and the "Blak Rude," or piece of the true cross, which had belonged to Queen/Saint Margaret (as well as bones, additional crosses, and personal items), but also an uncertain number of other coffers and decorated reliquaries. These had been held in a repository for the Scottish royal household at Edinburgh Castle and were recorded by Edward's officials, with frustrating lack of detail, as containing "diverse relics." Only a handful of the more significant items from this collection (in English eyes) were described and their titular saint noted. Indeed, such a store of royal spiritual memories might have housed relics of Saint Cuthbert given to Scotland's King Alexander I (1107–24), who had attended that saint's translation at Durham in 1104; of Saint Waltheof of Melrose, whose tomb had been reopened in 1207 and 1240; and even of Saint Edmund of Abingdon (a canonized thirteenth-century archbishop of Canterbury), one of whose relics is known to have been given by (Saint) Louis IX of France to Alexander III of Scotland (1249–86) and his English queen. It was common

¹⁵ A. A. M. Duncan, *The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath (1320)*, Historical Association, General Series, 75 (London: Historical Association, 1970), 34–36.

¹⁶ For evidence of Scottish clerics reported as preaching in support of Bruce from ca. 1306 see CDS, 2, nos. 1827–28, 1926.

practice for patrons or prelates to distribute small relics to dignitaries and neighboring elites at crucial moments of cult (re)presentation.¹⁷ Moreover, to these possible acquisitions by the Scottish Crown might be added relics, of course, of Saint Andrew and Saint Columba but also of Saint Kentigern of Glasgow, Saint Thomas Becket (retranslated with international fanfare at Canterbury in 1220 and visited there by Alexander II of Scotland as a pilgrim seeking indulgence in 1222), and of Saint Margaret herself and her true cross collection, as well as of more minor saints of a Scottish royal or recent royal-service nature, such as King/Saint Constantine (d. 576? or d. 952); Margaret's husband, King Malcolm III (1058–93), and son, King David I (1124–53, founder of Melrose Abbey as well as Dunfermline and “stepfather” to Waltheof); or Saint Gilbert de Moravia (d. 1245), a martyred bishop of Caithness.¹⁸

Over and above any concern to recover or replace these possible lost Scottish royal relics, the often unpredictable demands of exile, civil war, and crisis kingship meant that throughout his life Robert Bruce's itinerary was far more geographically scattered than those of his royal predecessors.¹⁹ In the course of his travels and military and political struggles, Robert and his followers therefore had cause to seek the intercession of an impressive litany of saints and spiritual centers, as well as to incur numerous debts and, inevitably, transgress (not always unintentionally) against the physical bounds and spiritual powers of a number of cults (for example, those of Saints Malachy and Machutus, discussed below). Robert I, in short, had cause to add a number of personal as well as suitably political devotional acts to the conventional round of worship that would have been expected of him as king of Scots. In doing so, Robert clearly provided a strong religious example. Predictably, Chancellor-Abbot Bernard left an epitaph for Robert—preserved in Abbot Walter Bower of Inchcolm's fifteenth-century

¹⁷ London, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), E101/370/3; CDS, 2, no. 840, and 5, nos. 432, 494, 525, 706, 799; *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of his Majesty's Exchequer*, ed. F. Palgrave, 5 vols. (London: Eyre and Spotiswoode, 1836), 3:123–42, 166–95, 206–8, 262–70; *The Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh: Llanerch, 1991; reprint of 1855 ed.), 65–66; G. W. S. Barrow, “The Kings of Scots and Durham,” in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. D. Rollason and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 1994), 311–21, at 316; William M. Aird, “St Cuthbert, the Scots and the Normans,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 16 (1994): 1–20; Sally Crumplin, “Cuthbert the Cross-Border Saint in the Twelfth Century,” in *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, ed. S. Boardman, J. R. Davies, and E. Williamson (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2009), 119–29.

¹⁸ Constantine II consolidated the Scots' absorption of Pictland, resisted Athelstan of England, and then retired to a religious life at Saint Andrews (feast, 11 March); David I's death date (24 May) was observed in some Scottish liturgical calendars, and Abbot Bower of nearby Inchcolm (who used Dunfermline Abbey's library) styles him, and Malcolm III, as “Saint”—both were buried near Margaret at Dunfermline: D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 91, 102–3, 170–71; A. Boyle, “Notes on Scottish Saints,” *Innes Review* 32 (1981): 59–82, at 67; *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, 3:71 and 4:3, 251. See also now J. Huntingdon, “David of Scotland: ‘Vir tam necessarius mundo,’” in *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, ed. Boardman, Davies, and Williamson, 130–45. In June 1306 Edward's officials would still be at pains to track down further unspecified relics and liturgical accoutrements known to be held at Scone Abbey and associated with the inauguration rites of Scotland's kings: CDS, 5, no. 432.

¹⁹ RRS, 5, pp. 785–86; P. G. B. McNeil and H. L. MacQueen, eds., *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh: Scottish Medievalists, 1996), 95–96, 166–70.

Scotichronicon—which alludes to the king as being as “gentle as Andrew . . . sacred food for the soul” of his subjects.²⁰

Nonetheless, evidence for Robert I’s interest in particular saints’ cults is limited. There survive only two fiscal years of audited royal exchequer accounts (1327–29) for his reign; no contemporary liturgical material, such as a book of hours, that can be directly associated with Robert or his immediate kin or supporters is extant.²¹ However, a starting point for Robert’s religious observances can be extrapolated from his surviving rolls of royal patronage and other lost acts preserved in secular church, monastic, aristocratic, and burghal cartularies. Indeed, by omitting days on which Robert is known to have issued acts over the course of his reign, scholars can tentatively identify the days that remain as constituting a “liturgical footprint” for this king, that is, dates in any year on which Robert may have refrained from government or military business in order to worship (see the Appendix below). As well as revealing a wide range of “secularized” liturgical events—anniversaries of battles, regnal markers, such as inaugurations and marriages, and dynastic birth and obit dates—this approach hints at Bruce’s focus on a significant core of universal and insular saints’ cults.

Admittedly, this potential starting point must be treated with extreme caution. At first glance it does appear to isolate the range of obsequies, devotional dates, and cults that it might be expected the first Bruce king would have inherited or introduced for veneration. It also seems to provide a parallel for royal Scotland to the observances identified from household rolls and liturgical books for English monarchs, like Henry III, Edward I, and Edward III, as well as for thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French monarchs and other European rulers.²² In addition, these findings apparently anticipate the confirmable pattern

²⁰ *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, 7:47–51, at lines 16, 73.

²¹ ER, 1; David McRoberts, ed., *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (Glasgow: Scottish Catholic Association, 1953); Turpie, “Scottish Saints’ Cults,” 21–25; Stephen Mark Holmes, “Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560,” *Innes Review* 62 (2011): 127–212.

²² The literature here is considerable, although there are still relatively few studies that focus on re-creating the regular devotions of individual late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century monarchs or dynasties. For contemporary England see, for example, in addition to nn. 5, 6, and 7, above, Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); S. A. Dixon-Smith, “Feeding the Poor to Commemorate the Dead: The Pro Anima Almsgiving of Henry III of England, 1227–72” (PhD thesis, University College London, 2003); K. A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England* (London: British Library, 2003); Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 63–72. For additional British Isles, French, and Burgundian material see John A. Claffey, “Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, c. 1260–1326” (PhD thesis, University College Galway, 1970), chap. 4; Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), chap. 4; Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Emma M. Hallam, “Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England 1060–1330,” *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1992): 359–80; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), part 3, chap. 7; John Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy and Luxury in Paris*,

of daily devotions to universal and local saints of late-fifteenth-century Scottish kings, like James IV (1488–1513), for whom almoner's rolls do survive in the treasurer's accounts extant from the 1470s.²³ Similarly, the obsequies of other royals or noble kin who fell in war, obsequies that were possibly marked by Robert I in this speculative calendar, do find firm echoes in later medieval liturgical fragments and books of hours in Scottish noble ownership.²⁴

Nevertheless, there are important caveats to these suggestive results, a number of them particular to the sources of Bruce's reign. Firstly, not all the sealed letters and charters of Robert I are extant, and acts now lost may have been issued on some of the dates initially identified by this methodology as free for worship by Robert and his court. This king's acts, moreover, survive only in larger numbers from 1315, and on some important feast days or anniversaries (for example, the king's birthday, 11 July), Robert may have actually preferred to issue patronage as well as to pray, confess, distribute the revived "king's special alms," or hear Mass.²⁵ More obviously, the dramatic events of the reign would not always

England and the Gaelic West (London: British Library, 2000); Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 220–46, 314–18 (table 14); Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald* (877), Subsidia 3 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001); M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008); Jonathan Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2009), chap. 3; William Chester Jordan, *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). For some other European royal comparisons see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship*, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), chap. 3; Philip Line, *Kingship and State Formation in Sweden, 1130–1290*, *The Northern World* 27 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), chap. 11; Thomas A. DuBois, ed., *Sanctity in the North: Saints, Lives and Cults in Scandinavia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), part 2; Nora Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Rita Costa-Gomes, "The Royal Chapel in Iberia: Models, Contacts and Influence," *Medieval History Journal* 12 (2009): 77–111.

²³ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed. T. Dickson and J. B. Paul, 12 vols. (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877–1902), 4:34–41, a daily almoner's account of James IV's offerings, lights, and alms for 1507. See also Norman Macdougall, *James IV*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), chap. 8.

²⁴ For example, an early-fifteenth-century breviary owned by a cadet of the Keith family (whose main line served as Bruce's hereditary marischals) recorded the obsequies of a number of kings and knights ca. 1286–ca. 1402 as well as such campaign dates as 5 February 1303 (battle of Rosslyn), 20 March 1296 (sack of Berwick), 18–19 June 1306 (battle of Methven), 24 June 1314 (battle of Bannockburn), 19 July 1333 (battle of Halidon Hill), 11 August 1332 (battle of Dupplin), 7 September 1319 (siege of Berwick), 17 October 1346 (battle of Neville's Cross), 30 November 1335 (battle of Culblean), and 16 December 1332 (battle of Annan): C. R. Borland, ed., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1916), no. 27. Thus, later generations commemorated obits for ancestors who fell in defeats as well as victories.

²⁵ There is, though, only one extant royal act dating from Robert's birthday (which was also the translation feast of Saints Benedict and Machutus; see n. 76 below): RRS, 5, no. 279, issued from his west-coast manor house at Cardross, Dumbartonshire, in 1325 to a "barber," of lands in return for the service of an archer.

have allowed for regularized worship. A military campaign, vital patronage, dispensing of justice, or crisis parliament might have to cut across an anniversary or saintly feast, or even a universal event like Easter. This may explain why key liturgical dates for some cult feasts or anniversaries that Robert I might have been expected to observe (marked in italics in the Appendix) were disturbed by often singular acts, liturgical dates including the Annunciation of the Virgin (25 March, Bruce's inauguration date), the feasts of Saint Cuthbert (20 March; translation, 4 September), Saint John the Baptist/battle of Bannockburn, day two (24 June), Queen/Saint Margaret (16 November; translation, 10 June), and Saint Thomas Becket (29 December).²⁶

This "footprint" methodology has been applied to earlier and later Scottish kings' reigns with verifiable results.²⁷ However, A. A. M. Duncan has rightly cautioned that the dates and, more crucially, the places of issue of surviving royal acts for 1306–29 often pinpoint not Robert I's whereabouts but the whereabouts of Abbot Bernard of Arbroath, the chancellor from ca. 1309 to 1328. This possibility may form part of the explanation for the acts' suggestion of a strong devotion by the Bruce regime to the cult of Becket, the dedicative saint of Arbroath Abbey, founded in penance by King William I ca. 1178 following his "miraculous" capture by the English in 1174 after Henry II had made his own penitential pilgrimage to Becket's shrine at Canterbury.²⁸ More generally, such a pattern underlines the important role of clergymen in actively soliciting royal patronage for their church and its relics.

Lastly, such a fixed speculative calendar cannot show us Robert's behavior at major movable feast days, such as Easter, each year or readily detect dates marked by religious worship introduced late in the reign.²⁹ There are only a few occasions when it might be stated positively where Robert I was throughout Holy Week or on the related feasts of Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi (with its popular relic processions). The most striking of these identifiable attendances by the king at major feasts places him at Berwick-upon-Tweed, on the

²⁶ For example, RRS, 5, nos. 6 (20 March 1309, at Dunfermline), 44 (16 November 1314, a grant of a church issued at and given to Dunfermline Abbey), 118 (24 June 1317, at Arbroath, confirmation of a private agreement between the Earl of Lennox and Arbroath Abbey, thus perhaps reflecting Abbot Bernard's interests/movements), 147 (25 March 1319, at Berwick), 285 (29 December 1325, at Scone, letters to officials confirming Scone Abbey possessions), 309 (16 November 1326, at Berwick).

²⁷ Penman, "Royal Piety in Thirteenth-Century Scotland"; idem, "Christian Days and Knights: The Religious Devotions and Court of David II of Scotland, 1329–71," *Historical Research* 75 (2002): 249–72; Nicola Scott, "The Court and Household of James I of Scotland, 1424–1437" (PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2007), chap. 5.

²⁸ RRS, 5, pp. 135–58 ("Itinerary"), 198–203. The possibly observed date of 2 December, the special *regressio de exilio* feast of Becket observed at Canterbury and Arbroath, may also indicate Bernard's duties: J. B. L. Tolhurst, "Notes on a Printed Monastic Breviary Used at Arbroath Abbey," *Innes Review* 5 (1954): 108–13; Keith Stringer, "Arbroath Abbey in Context," in *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Setting, Significance*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 116–42, at 122, 137 n. 36.

²⁹ Two exceptions: from 1318 Robert does seem to have left his calendar blank on 14 October, the death date of his brother and heir, Edward Bruce, and, from 1327, 26 October, the death date of Queen Elizabeth de Burgh.

Anglo-Scottish southeastern border, for Christmas in 1318, 1319, and 1324 and around Easter and related feasts in 1320, 1321, and 1323.³⁰ Robert's presence is surely evidence of his determination to retain Berwick as a Scottish royal burgh and major trading port after its recapture in 1318. Robert's interest in Berwick is also shown by his reappointment of Scottish clerics to the several minor mendicant houses of that town (only for Edward III to root them out again in 1333).³¹ However, Robert, as might be expected, clearly observed major liturgical festivals when he could, and further traces of his observances can be found in his extant financial accounts. For example, in 1328–29 the Crown assigned Aberdeen burgh *fermes* to pay for wine and corn for the altar of the martyred bishop Saint Gilbert at Dornoch Cathedral in Caithness, in northern Scotland, at the Feast of Corpus Christi.³² The king and his clerical supporters also clearly understood the legitimating value of associating his regime with key liturgical observances. The positioning of Robert's seemingly hurried inauguration at Scone Abbey on Friday, 25 March 1306, the Feast of the Annunciation, meant that Easter in that fateful year (3 April) fell exactly at the end of the octave of this feast of the Virgin: this overlap would have increased the indulgences offered in return for attendance at Scone at that time.³³

In sum, although the speculative calendar may hint at a good many possible observances by Robert I, conclusions must only be drawn from and about those devotions that can be confirmed and substantiated from extant primary sources: in other words, the internal evidence of the king's own surviving royal acts and financial accounts, English occupation records (the "Scottish Rolls"), contemporary ecclesiastical cartularies, contemporary and near-contemporary chronicles, and even material remains. Such instances of royal devotion that can thus be identified arguably gave these saints' cults valuable new and often restorative patronage in difficult times and can provide unprecedented insights into Bruce's character and formative reign.

Turning first to Robert I's devotion to Thomas Becket, we might at first glance take this to be a clear instance of veneration in pursuit of political goals.³⁴ Any invocation of this archbishop of Canterbury, martyred by knights of Henry II of England in 1170, could be highly potent as a tool in enlisting support against English royal authority and in seeking papal sympathy: throughout his reign Robert I clearly had need of both, not least as he was twice excommunicated (in

³⁰ RRS, 5, nos. 143–44, 162–65, 171–85, 220–32, 259–63.

³¹ D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London: Longmans, 1957), 116, 125, 136, 145.

³² ER, 1:60, 90, 155, 261, 341, 480, 525. This gift to Dornoch perhaps originated as early as 1 July 1309, when Robert was in the north at Cromarty following the submission of the Earl of Ross: RRS, 5, no. 8.

³³ *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, 6:317 and notes. As A. A. M. Duncan has stressed in conversation, Palm Sunday in 1306, two days after Bruce's inauguration, would have been marked by Psalm 24, celebrating the entry of a king into the Holy City, and a sermon possibly given by the late arrival, Bishop Lamberton of Saint Andrews.

³⁴ For more details on this and what follows see Michael Penman, "The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c. 1178–c. 1404," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 346–70.

1306 for committing murder in a church and in 1318 for breaking a papal truce). An interest in Becket could also have been used by Robert to counter Edward I's and Edward II's frequent invocation of this saint in their campaigns against Scotland: Robert must have known that Edward I, for example, had given some of the captured muniments of his unfortunate predecessor King John (Balliol) to Becket's tomb altar at Canterbury following Balliol's surrender near Arbroath about 7 July 1296, Becket's translation feast.³⁵ This precedent may in part explain why Robert I was so generous to Arbroath's Tironensian abbey, dedicated to Becket, where the king quickly established his chancery. Indeed, Robert's favor to this cult and house was equaled only by his grants to Dunfermline and Melrose Abbeys (and, in doing so, embraced the three monastic burial grounds of Scotland's kings since 1093).³⁶

Nevertheless, Robert may also have had genuine personal empathy with Becket. Bruce's great-grandparents had attended and patronized the great translation feast of Becket of 7 July 1220 at Canterbury, and Applegarth Church in the Bruce West March lordship of Annandale was also dedicated to the saint (and its altars to Saints Nicholas and Thomas were venerated by no less a visitor than Edward I on 7 July 1300, en route to besiege Caerlaverock Castle). Robert's family thus presumably had long-standing votive obligations to sustain within the Becket cult. Maintaining this link, Robert I himself, while still Earl of Carrick, may have paid for two rings to be laid on Becket's tomb at Canterbury, perhaps to mark his marriage to Elizabeth de Burgh of Ulster in 1302.³⁷ Robert had certainly already been made to repledge his loyalty to Edward I in 1297 on a Becket relic held at Carlisle Cathedral, one of the swords used to slay the archbishop. Bruce's guilt at quickly breaking this oath in 1298 may have been further stirred by his own sacrilegious killing of a political rival, John (the "Red") Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, before the altar of the Greyfriars church in Dumfries (dedicated to the Virgin) in February 1306.³⁸

Thereafter, Bruce endured hardship and exile—as had Becket—only to see his cause blessed with the chance of revival in 1307, when Edward I died. Crucially, that Edward expired on 7 July, the translation feast of Becket once again, must have been taken as a spiritual sign by Robert. This may further explain Robert's apparent interest in King William I of Scotland, founder in 1178 of Arbroath Abbey, dedicated to Becket, and a king who had continued to defy English overlordship

³⁵ *Willelmi Rishanger chronica et annales*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, 1865), 1:78; *Itinerary of Edward I*, part 2: 1291–1307, ed. E. W. Stafford, List and Index Society 132 (London: Swift, 1976), 91.

³⁶ RRS, 5, nos. 4, 13–14, 19–20, 22, 28–34, 49, 74–75, 112, 118, 132, 151, 153, 169, 175, 203, 213–14, 219, 221, 241, 260, 280, 376, 390, 402, 455, 505. And see below, nn. 89 and 91.

³⁷ Canterbury, Cathedral Archives, Register E, fol. 127a, no. 1, and fol. 143r, and DCc Eastry Correspondence, EC III/3; CDS, 5, no. 243 and *Itinerary of Edward I*, part 2, 158 (Applegarth); John M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, 2: *Non-Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1914), 284.

³⁸ *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell, Camden Third Series 89 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1957), 295. Dumfries burgh was also home to a chapel dedicated to Saint Thomas, held by Arbroath's motherhouse, Kelso Abbey: *Regesta regum Scottorum*, 2: *The Acts of William I, 1165–1214*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), no. 254.

despite an early defeat and capture by (followed by submission to) Henry II. On 10 October 1315 Robert paid for lights and prayers to the memory of King William (d. 4 December 1214) at Arbroath; Robert or Abbot Bernard may also have commissioned a marble effigy of William for the abbey about that time.³⁹

If these actions reflected strong internal belief in Becket's intercessionary powers, historians might also interpret as a genuine act of faith the recorded invocation by Bruce and his host on the field at Bannockburn of "John the Baptist . . . and St Andrew and St Thomas who shed his blood along with the Saints of the Scottish Fatherland [who] will fight today for the honour of the people, with Christ the Lord in the van."⁴⁰ As Geoffrey Barrow notes, this call was again probably recorded in verse by Abbot Bernard. Nonetheless, there is no compelling reason to doubt that such a prayer was offered on 23 or 24 June in 1314 (Saint John the Baptist's feast day). If so, this plea was thus associated consciously with the canon of saints of the Scottish *ecclesia* and kingdom and thus with the relics known to have been brought to the host on the battlefield by attendant clergy, namely, those of Saint Columba (perhaps in the portable Breccbennach reliquary, traditionally held at Arbroath Abbey) and of Saint Fillan. Robert I may have observed key feasts of both those saints and Becket, according to his speculative calendar.⁴¹

The saints chosen by the Bruce king for intercession were also clearly venerated by his subjects. For example, on 16 May 1328 Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, gave twenty-four pounds annually to Elgin Cathedral, in Moray, for five chantry masses "with music" dedicated to "St Thomas Becket, martyr," and in memory of King Robert.⁴² In 1327 Sir David Lindsay of Crawford had established a chapel to Saint Thomas in his South Lanarkshire castle, an act witnessed by Bruce supporters, such as Robert Keith, the marischal; Robert Lauder, the justiciar of Lothian; and Robert Boyd of Nithsdale, then sheriff of Lanarkshire.⁴³ Such a commitment by the king and key members of the Scottish community at this time may have been perceived as being in stark contrast to

³⁹ On 1 November 1325 the king made a further grant in memory of William I to the house of Premonstratensian canons at Dryburgh Abbey: RRS, 5, nos. 74, 283; G. S. Gimson, "Lion Hunt: A Royal Tomb-Effigy at Arbroath Abbey," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125 (1995): 901–16. For Edward I at Canterbury ca. 7 July in 1299 and 1305 see *Itinerary of Edward I*, part 2, 140, 247.

⁴⁰ *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, 6:363–65.

⁴¹ David H. Caldwell, "The Monymusk Reliquary: The Breccbennach of St. Columba," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 131 (2000): 262–82; S. Taylor, "Columba East of Drumalban: Some Aspects of the Cult of Columba in Eastern Scotland," *Innes Review* 51 (2000): 109–28; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 413–15.

⁴² *Registrum episcopatus Moraviensis* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1837), no. 224. The aforementioned search (above, n. 4) of the *Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* database for "chaplainry" gifts between 1296 and 1400 returned forty-one items relating to the upkeep of Randolph's bequest (which also included masses for the Virgin, the dead, and Saint John the Baptist: the last may reflect the victory day of Bannockburn, a communal day of worship also perhaps echoed in the choice of the name John for sons born after 1314 to the Bruce, Randolph, Douglas, Stewart, Campbell, and other families). Prominent among the other chaplainry dedications from this period were Saint Lawrence (feast, 10 August), Saint Ninian, the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Catherine of Alexandria (feast, 25 November), Saint Nicholas, Saint Monan (feast, 1 March), the Holy Cross, and Saint George (feast, 23 April).

⁴³ Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, GD 40/137/41.

the religious observances of Edward II, who faced mounting criticism, according to one contemporary English chronicle, because he had neglected devotions to England's major cults.⁴⁴

Arguably, Becket would have been a possible dedication, too, for the border abbey that Robert declared himself prepared to build in peace talks of 1323 to honor the memory of those killed in Anglo-Scottish warfare.⁴⁵ Bruce's sense of guilt, like that of William I in 1174–78, may have been all the more real and personal if it took account of the many churches assaulted by the Scots in northern England and Ireland before 1328. Alternatively, Saint Cuthbert may have been a more likely dedication for such a penitential foundation: on 26 December 1327 (while staying at the Cistercian abbey of Newbattle in Lothian, southeast Scotland), Robert granted Durham Cathedral Priory five stags annually from his royal forest of Selkirk "on account of the devotion which he has towards St Cuthbert"; it was stipulated that the animals were to be captured on the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August) and delivered through the Benedictine border priory of Coldingham by Cuthbert's translation feast (4 September). Then at Edinburgh on 16 March 1328, four days before the feast of Saint Cuthbert and as peace talks with Edward III's guardians neared their completion, Robert inspected and confirmed Scottish royal and magnate charters to Durham's Benedictine cathedral priory.⁴⁶ As with Becket/Arbroath, Bruce's timely devotions to Cuthbert/Durham may have served both antagonistic and peacemaking ends, at once challenging royal England but also harking back to cross-border religious observances shared by English and Scottish royals and aristocracy before 1286.⁴⁷

A somewhat different approach may explain Robert I's apparent devotions to Saint Kentigern of Glasgow, the patron saint of another of his chief ecclesiastical advisers, Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow until his death in November 1316. The diocese of Glasgow stretched from western central and coastal Scotland southwards to embrace the western and middle Anglo-Scottish border marches (including the Bruce lordship of Annandale). This vast geographical influence, Bishop Wishart's inspiring influence over the Scottish independence cause, and even Edward I's pointed worship at Kentigern's shrine in Glasgow Cathedral in 1301 would all seem to have given Robert I ample political motivation for devotion to this saint. Crucially, it had also been Wishart, at Glasgow, who had absolved Robert for his murder of Comyn in 1306 and provided him with royal inauguration robes for his hasty inauguration as king. It would have been logical for Wishart to deploy Kentigern's relics and altar in extracting Bruce's repentance, as well as his oaths as king to protect the Scottish church, and in beginning the

⁴⁴ *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272–1346*, trans. Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1913), 240.

⁴⁵ *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents*, ed. E. L. G. Stones (London: Nelson, 1965), no. 39.

⁴⁶ RRS, 5, nos. 329 (which came two months after Robert I had presented fresh peace demands to Edward III [RRS, 5, no. 326]) and 340.

⁴⁷ See above, n. 17; J. R. E. Bliese, "Saint Cuthbert and War," *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998): 215–41; Michael Penman, "Faith in War: The Religious Experience of Scottish soldiery, c. 1100–c. 1500," *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011): 295–303.

process of securing pardon for Bruce from his first excommunication (a goal achieved by 1308).⁴⁸

However, Robert's interest in Glasgow's patron saint may have intensified. The cathedral dedication/translation feast of Kentigern at Glasgow—identified convincingly by Duncan as 6 July—may also have afforded Robert the chance to make a powerful statement when he faced excommunication for a second time (following the recapture of Berwick-upon-Tweed during a truce sanctioned by the curia) as well as, for the first time, interdict upon his realm and papal dissolution of his subjects' oaths of fealty.⁴⁹ According to Scottish chronicles, on 5 July 1318 Robert oversaw a great consecration ceremony at Saint Andrews in Fife of the completed cathedral of Scotland's patron saint, Saint Andrew, an event reportedly attended by all key prelates and nobles. Abbot Bower, of nearby Inchcolm Abbey, in the Forth estuary—writing his *Scotichronicon* in the 1440s with access to royal and Saint Andrews diocesan records—relates how on that occasion Robert gave one hundred merks annually to Saint Andrews Cathedral Priory to commemorate Andrew's aid in the victory at Bannockburn (hinting, too, at the presentation of further relics on the battlefield in 1314): this was a considerable sum, capable of sustaining many chaplains and perpetual masses.⁵⁰ Robert could thus easily have combined this defiant public event on 5 July, at the seat of Scotland's chief bishop (whose vast eastern diocese extended from Angus and Fife south to the retaken Berwick-upon-Tweed burgh and castle), with the translation feast a day later (6 July) of Kentigern, the saint of Scotland's "second" bishop at Glasgow, whose diocesan jurisdiction also ran to the border. The two sees had been the main focus of English occupation since 1296; Bishop Lamberton of Saint Andrews, moreover, had been chancellor of the Glasgow diocese before his promotion, and his Saint Andrews seals always bore images of the fish, ring, bell, branch, and bird associated with miracles from the vitae of Saint Kentigern, whose feast remained a major liturgical day (a duplex with nine lessons) in Saint Andrews's liturgy.⁵¹ Furthermore, on the next day, 7 July 1318, the translation feast of Becket could

⁴⁸ *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1843), 2, no. 548; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 106, 193–94; Donald E. R. Watt, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 585–90. Robert I's younger brother, Alexander Bruce (d. 1307), was initially presented to a Galloway prebend but became dean of Glasgow ca. 1305–6 [Watt, *Biographical Dictionary*, 66].

⁴⁹ A. A. M. Duncan, "St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century," in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, ed. R. Fawcett, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 23 (London: British Archaeological Association, 1998), 9–24.

⁵⁰ *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, 6:413, confirmed by RRS, 5, no. 500. Robert I's extant acts for 1318 place him (or at least his great seal) at Berwick on 5 June and next at Leith in Perthshire on 27 July (RRS, 5, nos. 137–38), thus allowing for his passage from south to north to take in Saint Andrews around these feast dates.

⁵¹ *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, 6:413; Henry Laing, ed., *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals . . . from A.D. 1054 to the Commonwealth*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1850–66), 2, plate 6, no. 2. The saint's life as recorded by Jocelin of Furness, moreover, surely contained events that resonated with King Robert, for example, Kentigern's resistance of Anglian kings and his blessing of the barren queen of "King Redered," which helped her conceive a son and heir, Saint/King Constantine I: *Lives of S Ninian and S Kentigern*, ed. A. P. Forbes (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1874), xciii, 95.

also have been observed through alms and masses (with Arbroath Abbey in reach from Saint Andrews within a day). What better a series of days of worship to legitimize the Bruce regime in the face of papal bulls of censure that were at that time being publicized by Edward II and his prelates?

Robert had clearly determined to build upon these cult connections. On 25 February 1315 he had reassigned *fermes* from Rutherglen and Cadzow for officials and lights at Saint Kentigern's tomb in nearby Glasgow, first granted "in the time of King Alexander [III] of good memory, our predecessor"; then on 20 October 1321 the king gave the church of Saint Kentigern in Kirkmahoe parish, Nithsdale, just north of Dumfries (and a few miles west of the Bruce seat at Lochmaben in Annandale), to Arbroath Abbey.⁵² Robert and his supporters could also have borne Kentigern relics to Bannockburn in 1314, borrowing them from Glasgow Cathedral, where they were venerated alongside other relics, among them, significantly, pieces of the shirt and comb of Thomas Becket.⁵³

Bruce's veneration of Saint Kentigern and his patronage of the chapel of thanks to Saint Fillan (also founded in 1318) highlight what might be characterized as Bruce's natural devotion to a nexus of spiritual feasts, figures, and sites of early mission origin with established cults throughout the ancient western Strathclyde/Cymric kingdoms and beyond. Again, such royal devotions may reflect the interconnections of cult and religious order shared by Robert's close ecclesiastical supporters and the ability of these men to shape Crown worship. For example, the king's request about 1312 to Bishop Wishart that he appropriate the church of Kilmarnock to the nearby Tironensian abbey of Kilwinning in Ayrshire (like Arbroath, a daughter-house of Kelso Abbey), dedicated to a Saint Winnin (feast day, 21 January), for "our soul," perhaps reflected the early support of Abbot Bernard (who had been deprived of the abbot's role at Kilwinning by Edward I but who would be buried there): such patronage may have enabled Bruce to access widespread spiritual sympathy through Winnin as an ambiguous saint for whom multiple vitae exist.⁵⁴ Yet Robert's two recorded stays at Kilwinning (in 1315 and 1316), plus his further gift on 4 May 1320 to that abbey of the patronage of the church of the key west-coast royal burgh of Dumbarton (dedicated to Saint Patrick), suggest a more heartfelt link to this cult, perhaps again for succor during his flight west to the Irish Sea or western approaches to Scotland in 1306–7 or for support during the Bruces' campaigns in Ireland of 1315–18.⁵⁵ Similarly, Winnin may also have had strong associations with the celebrated curative center at Inchinnan in Govan, west of Glasgow, of Saint Convall (feast day,

⁵² RRS, 5, nos. 50 and 203.

⁵³ John Dowden, "The Inventory of Ornaments, Jewels, Relicks, Vestments, Service Books &c. Belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow in 1432 . . .," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 33 (1898–99): 280–329, at 298–99.

⁵⁴ RRS, 5, no. 422; Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, 2:81–83, equates "Wynnin" with "Saint Fin(n)an," the titular of several cult heads with dedications in Wigtownshire, Perthshire, the Hebrides, and Aberdeenshire. Boyle, "Notes on Scottish Saints," 64–65, favors no firm identification. Intermingled Winnin traditions are also recognized by Alan Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), 9. See <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2237>, accessed on 29 August 2012, for Bernard's burial.

⁵⁵ RRS, 5, nos. 68, 96, 165.

28 September), a reputed contemporary and disciple of Saint Kentigern: in 1328, the by-then terminally ill Robert assigned further Rutherglen *fermes* to pay for lights for Convall's tomb.⁵⁶

The most important early mission figure for Robert was Saint Ninian of Whithorn, a fifth-century Briton whose cult, like those of Cuthbert and, to a lesser extent, of Waltheof of Melrose, transcended the Anglo-Scottish border.⁵⁷ Ninian's body shrine lay in a diocese, Whithorn or Galloway, long a source of jurisdictional dispute between the realms (officially part of the English church until ca. 1350); indeed, southwest Scotland was more naturally associated with Balliol-Comyn support in dynastic opposition to the Bruces. Historians should not overlook the likely influence of Robert's mother, Marjorie of Carrick, in instilling in all five of her sons a genuine personal interest in Ninian's cult.⁵⁸ The ailing Robert made a final, painful pilgrimage to Saint Ninian's tomb at Whithorn priory (dedicated to Saint Martin) in spring 1329. This link has been seen to substantiate the tradition that Robert I suffered from leprosy and sought a cure from a saint reputed to relieve that disease. Yet the journey was also a round trip of almost 250 miles from his personal manor house at Cardross, Dumbartonshire, a trip that Robert used to distribute patronage to men in the sensitive southwest in return for military services.⁵⁹

However, again, further evidence of internalized faith in Robert's interest in this cult may be detectable. John Higgitt has emphasized that Ninian became a popular figure in the fourteenth century in what can be described as recorded rescue miracles. In these vitae, written in the vernacular of ca. 1330–ca. 1400, Scots are saved from captivity or harm at the hands of English invaders after 1296 by Ninian's intervention (although the *miracula* do also relate relief attained by English pilgrims to the saint's shrine).⁶⁰ Undeniably, Robert I's own period of roving warfare in the southwest in 1307 may have seen him invoking just such a saint for self-preservation. The tales of Robert being hunted in this region by the English with their hounds, as well as by his Scottish enemies, later recorded in the vernacular by Archdeacon John Barbour in *The Bruce* (1371–75), echo these

⁵⁶ ER, 1:70, 87, 163, 270, 300, 357; *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, ed. A. P. Forbes (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1872), 277; Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London: Batsford, 1999), 29; Boyle, "Notes on Scottish Saints," 74, notes Convall's cult as far south as Irvine in Ayrshire, the site of Robert Bruce's and Bishop Wishart's accommodation with Edward I in 1297.

⁵⁷ James E. Fraser, "Northumbrian Whithorn and the Making of St Ninian," *Innes Review* 53 (2002): 40–59; Turpie, "Scottish Saints' Cults," 68–80. At the same time as perhaps appealing to northern English sympathies through Ninian, Robert I may also have been keen to counter English royal association with this saint and his territory, such as the claim that in September 1301 Prince Edward had sought to worship at Whithorn but the Scots had spirited away the priory's image of Ninian, only for the altar figure to miraculously reappear for the prince's visit the next day: CDS, 2, no. 1225.

⁵⁸ Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, chaps. 7–8. In 1293 the Bruces had defied King John (Balliol), who was also Lord of Galloway, to appoint their own choice as bishop of Whithorn/Galloway.

⁵⁹ RRS, 5, nos. 362–75; *Registrum magni sigilli regum Scottorum* (hereafter RMS), ed. J. M. Thompson and J. B. Paul, 11 vols. (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882–1914), 1, app. 2, nos. 607–10, 612–15, 617, 622–24.

⁶⁰ Higgitt, *Imageis Maid with mennis hand*, n. 49. These rescue tales are preserved in a fourteenth-century life of Saint Ninian: *Legends of the Saints*, 2:304–415, at lines 815–942, 943–1086, and 1087–1358; Barbour, *The Bruce*, pp. 16–21 and books 7 and 8.

miraculous escapes and arguably originated as contemporary—and in some ways penitential—epic verse commissioned from Bruce's perspective.⁶¹ Such royal patronage may at once have reflected and encouraged popular veneration of Ninian's cult, raising invocations of his name by Scottish soldiers and merchants alike to be part of a shared communal faith.⁶² Robert may also have been at pains to make amends for the material damage caused to Whithorn's lands and appropriated churches during hostilities in 1286–89, 1298–1302, and after 1306. About 1313, Robert granted the patronage of the church of Kells in Galloway to Gilbert, archdeacon of Galloway, "because of the damage, injury and oppression of the church of Whithorn, and especially to its archdeaconry, by his past wars, and because of the devotion he has to St Ninian."⁶³ Certainly Ninian's key feast dates may have been observed by Robert throughout his reign; as Lord of Galloway until October 1318 the king's brother, Edward Bruce, also showed considerable favor to the cult.⁶⁴

Elsewhere, a rather more singular Gaelic saint included in Robert's liturgy was Saint Malachy (feast, 3 November). As Geoffrey Barrow has shown, this twelfth-century Irish bishop of Armagh, buried at the Cistercian motherhouse of Clairvaux in France, was the focus of a widespread cult and during his lifetime had laid a curse on Robert (IV) Bruce of Annandale.⁶⁵ As a result, Robert I's grandfather, the "Old Competitor," Robert (V) Bruce of Annandale (d. 1295), had given lands in his lordship to Clairvaux to pay for lights at the saint's tomb. King Robert, in turn—perhaps anxious to avoid the fate of Alexander II, who is said to have been afflicted by fatal illness after attacking the cult lands of Saint Bridget of Larne—continued the family penance to Malachy, paying on 8 February 1319 for candles as well as for one lamp "burning continuously day and night with ample light" at the altar of Saint Malachy in the Cistercian abbey of Coupar-Angus (west of Arbroath), with masses to be said for the king and his successors.⁶⁶ This payment could have reflected penance by the king for fresh offense to Malachy's cult caused during Bruce invasions of Ireland from 1315 to 1318, when extensive destruction was done to a number of monastic houses and their lands, including perhaps Saint Malachy's abbey at Mellifont in Louth. Alternatively, Robert may have felt compelled to thank Malachy for preserving the king, Edward Bruce (then claimant high king of Ireland), Thomas Randolph, and western lords, like the MacDonalds and MacRuaridhs, and their men during

⁶¹ Sarah Tolmie, "Sacrilege, Sacrifice and John Barbour's *Bruce*," *International Review of Scottish Studies* 32 (2007): 7–32.

⁶² Andrew Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*, written ca. 1410–20, asserted that before battle at Rosslyn in 1303 the Scots prayed: "In God all yhoure hope yhe set, / Saynt Andrew, Saynt Nynyan, and Saynt Margret" (cited in Higgitt, *Imageis Maid with mennis hand*).

⁶³ RMS, 1, app. 1, no. 22; RRS, 5, pp. 9–10 ("Spiritual Reasons"); Richard D. Oram, "The Medieval Bishops of Whithorn, Their Cathedral and Their Tombs," in *"Clothing for the Soul Divine": Burials at the Tomb of St Ninian. Excavations at Whithorn Priory, 1957–67*, ed. C. Lowe et al., Archaeology Report 3 (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2009), 131–66, at 132–39.

⁶⁴ RRS, 5, no. 275 (confirmation by Robert I of Whithorn Priory's possessions, including lands given by Edward Bruce to support Ninian's lights).

⁶⁵ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 33, 413.

⁶⁶ RRS, 5, no. 145.

a desperate campaign in Ireland in 1317: on several occasions during those incursions, hunger and ambush almost ended the Bruce dynasty.⁶⁷ Indeed, Robert's veneration of this Irish cult may have formed an important facet of a wider appeal for a pan-Celtic alliance across Ireland, Wales, and Scotland against English rule.⁶⁸ Yet, if so, Robert's interaction with Malachy illustrates the degree to which motivation for worship could change over time, for, on a final personal note, the lights payment of 1319 might also have formed part of the obsequies for Edward Bruce, killed in Ireland on 14 October 1318.

Similarly, the Bruce brothers' costly involvement in Ireland may have influenced Robert's worship of another western cult, that of Machutus. This saint is variously claimed as being of sixth-century Irish, Welsh, or English birth; is often amalgamated with other saints in hagiographical texts (as were Saint Convall and Saint Winnin, discussed above); and, as Saint Malo, was the subject of an extensive cult in Brittany. Canterbury and at least ten other English churches also held relics of a Machutus. However, this saint was most likely a follower of Saint Brendan and an exiled wanderer of the Scottish isles by sea (akin to Bruce, in 1306–7?) and thus was the object of an extensive cult in Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Scottish western isles. By the late thirteenth century the Scottish Crown also possessed a “key” attributed to Machutus within its household reliquaries.⁶⁹

Thus Robert's distinctive gift, on 8 March 1316, of ten merks to pay for eight one-pound candles on Sundays and all major festivals to be lit around what his charter described as the tomb (“tumba”) of Saint Machutus, in the priory of Lesmahagow in Lanarkshire (founded by David I in 1144 and, like Arbroath and Kilwinning, a Tironensian daughter-house of Kelso Abbey), speaks to what the king must have felt was a substantial personal debt as well as perhaps an inherited royal observance.⁷⁰ The date of Robert's charter perhaps again suggests association with the campaign then under way in Ireland. Edward Bruce, as the new Lord of Galloway and claimant high king of Ireland, had transferred the patronage of a church dedicated to Machutus at Wigtown, in Galloway, to Whithorn Cathedral Priory. The Bruces may also have been concerned to protect

⁶⁷ Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, 257–59; Sean Duffy, “The Bruce Invasion of Ireland: A Revised Itinerary and Chronology,” in idem, ed., *Robert the Bruce's Irish Wars* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2002), 9–44; idem, ed., *Atlas of Irish History* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1997), 28–29, 42–43.

⁶⁸ S. Duffy, “The Bruce Brothers and the Irish Sea World, 1306–29,” *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 21 (1991): 55–86, repr. as idem, ed., *Robert the Bruce's Irish Wars*, chap. 2. Alternatively, A. A. M. Duncan has dismissed notions of a Bruce pan-Celtic alliance as a “fishing” expedition to simply stir up trouble and weaken England: “The Scots' Invasion of Ireland, 1315,” in *The British Isles, 1100–1500*, ed. R. R. Davies (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), 100–117.

⁶⁹ Alan O. Anderson, ed., *Early Sources of Scottish History, AD 500 to 1286*, 2 vols. (Stamford, UK: Paul Watkins, 1990), 2:18–19; David Yerkes, ed., *The Old English Life of Machutus*, Toronto Old English Series 9 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), xl n. 16, 18–21; Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, 259; Duffy, ed., *Atlas of Irish History*, 28–29; Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306–28* (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell, 1997), 58, 60, 78.

⁷⁰ RRS, 5, no. 85. About the same time, or possibly earlier in the reign, Robert also gave the priory another ten-merk annual payment from local mills but this time in “free alms” (RRS, 5, no. 401). The 1316 grant may also have been linked to the recent birth, ca. 2 March 1316, of Robert Stewart, Bruce's grandson and heir presumptive, 1318–24: Barbour, *The Bruce*, 516.

themselves from Machutus's wrath following Scottish assaults in 1313–15 on the Isle of Man, where the saint's cult was also strong.⁷¹

However, there is another possibility. There survives a fragment of Edward I's wardrobe expenses that shows that, in November 1302, he distributed alms on the Feast of Saint Machutus. In English (and later Scottish) calendars, this feast fell on 15 November, the eve of the feasts of Saint Margaret of Scotland and Saint Edmund of Abingdon.⁷² Edward had already removed the relic "key" of Machutus from the Scottish royal collection six years earlier. These points raise the likelihood that the English king observed this saint's feasts regularly and may thus have made a similar alms payment on 15 November, when in Scotland on campaign in the summer and autumn of 1301. Indeed, at that time, Edward—traveling through central Scotland—must have passed close by, possibly through, Lesmahagow Priory in August or September, moving on to Glasgow and perhaps Stirling; he then wintered at Linlithgow from October until the following January (but occasionally ventured out to other sites). Could this then be the convenient location—Lesmahagow Priory, though not necessarily the exact date, ca. 15 November 1301—where Robert Bruce, then still Earl of Carrick (to the southeast of the priory), resubmitted to Edward I or, at least, began preliminary discussions about reentering the English king's peace and striking a deal with him to protect the Bruce family "right" to pursue the Scottish throne (an event hitherto only roughly dated by historians as having occurred by 16 February 1302)?⁷³

This hypothesis would make sense. Robert's birthplace and family sea castle in Carrick, Turnberry, fell to English forces probably in early to mid-September 1301, just after Scottish forces under Comyn of Badenoch's control had assaulted the English-held Bruce stronghold of Lochmaben in Annandale.⁷⁴ Thus assailed on both sides and perhaps homeless, Robert may have agreed to meet the English king at Lesmahagow (or already sought refuge there) as a holy place that extended sanctuary and "girth" and, about 15 November, significant indulgences.⁷⁵ In turn, Edward I, in person or through his officials, perhaps made Bruce

⁷¹ RRS, 5, nos. 275, 401; A. Boyle and M. Dilworth, "Some Identifications of Scottish Saints," *Innes Review* 35 (1984): 39–41, no. 5; Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications*, 2:206–8. The thirteenth-century *Chronicle of Man* asserts that the Western Isles warrior Somerled had been forced to withdraw from his invasion of Man in the 1140s because of the intercession of Saint Machutus: Anderson, ed., *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 2:239 n. 1.

⁷² TNA, E101/361/21, reproduced in Vale, *The Princely Court*, 318 (table 14); *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland* (hereafter RPS), 10/151, <http://www.rps.ac.uk>, accessed on 29 August 2012.

⁷³ *Itinerary of Edward I*, part 2, 177–86: Edward I at Bothwell Castle, 4–22 September 1301; at Cambusnethan, 18–19 August; at Dunipace, 27–30 September, 1–30 October (note the overlap with Linlithgow) and 16 November; at Glasgow, 21–30 August and 1–4, 8, 17, 24 September; at Linlithgow, 23–28, 30, 31 October and 1 November, 1–31 January 1302. See also McNeill and MacQueen, eds., *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, 88; *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no. 32 (agreement regarding a Bruce "right"); Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 159 (discussion of Bruce's formal secular submission to Sir John de Saint John, 16 February 1302).

⁷⁴ CDS, 4, no. 451; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 159–62.

⁷⁵ *Liber S. Marie d. Calchou: Registrum cartarum abacie Tironensis de Kelso*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846), 2:xxii and nos. 8, 9, 12, 204, 476; Hector MacQueen, "Girth: Society and the Law of Sanctuary in Scotland," in *Critical Studies in Ancient Law, Comparative Law and Legal*

reswear his oath of allegiance on or about the feast day, or on the relic altar, of a saint, Machutus, whose cult extended to Scotland, England, Ireland, Wales, Man, and France. Then in early 1306 Robert irrevocably broke that oath. A decade later, when he was relatively secure on his throne after the victory of Bannockburn and the birth of a grandson (ca. 2 March 1316, six days before the royal gift of candles), Robert thus felt obliged to pay penance with perpetual lights for Machutus at Lesmahagow, just as he later paid penance for breaking oaths to England that were given on a Becket relic.

Robert's speculative calendar does include what may have been the recognized feast day of Machutus found in near-contemporary medieval Scottish calendars, 25 April.⁷⁶ Moreover, the conventional practice of taking oaths on relics seems to have been adopted by Robert I himself at crucial moments. The parliamentary act of royal succession of December 1318, issued at Scone, was sworn on the relics of unnamed saints.⁷⁷ In a similar fashion, the king may have punished former opponents by compelling penitential acts of devotion. For example, at Cullen on 5 August 1321, Robert granted William, Earl of Ross, the far northern lands and castle of Dingwall in return for twenty pounds annually to pay for six chaplainries dedicating prayer in the Ross-shire chapel at Tain of Saint Duthac (feast day, 8 March) for the souls of Alexander III and John, Earl of Atholl. The latter was a Bruce ally captured by Earl William's father, Hugh, in 1306 and then executed: Atholl had been protecting Bruce's womenfolk using the sanctuary also offered by Tain, but his whole party had been betrayed and taken.⁷⁸

Similar family obsequies and personal ties shaped a number of Robert's dedications. No firm record survives of any oblations by Robert to mark the death of his brother and heir, Edward Bruce, at the battle of Dundalk on 14 October 1318, or the birth of Robert's son, David, on 5 March 1324 at Dunfermline, where his queen, Elizabeth de Burgh, perhaps wore the "birthing serk" (shirt) relic of Saint Margaret while in labor.⁷⁹ However, Robert did choose to bury his other son, John—a twin who died as an infant—at the Augustinian priory of Restenneth, in Angus, dedicated to Saint Peter: this perhaps indicates a date of 29 May (Peter's feast) 1326 for the child's death.⁸⁰ Robert may also have marked the anniversary of the deaths, after capture, of his younger brothers Thomas and Alexander

History, ed. J. W. Cairns and O. F. Robinson (London: Hart Publishing, 2001), 333–52. In 1314 Robert confirmed the girth of the sanctuary of Saint Kessog (feast, 10 March) at Luss, Loch Lomond.

⁷⁶ *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, 382. Perhaps significantly, the English translation feast of Machutus (shared with that of Saint Benedict) was 11 July, Robert I's birthday; Arbroath Abbey's liturgy also marked Machutus's feast day: Stringer, "Arbroath Abbey in Context," 137 n. 41.

⁷⁷ RRS, 5, no. 301 (and notes); RPS, 1318/30, <http://www.rps.ac.uk>, accessed on 29 August 2012.

⁷⁸ RRS, 5, no. 196; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 208–9; Turpie, "Scottish Saints' Cults," chap. 3 ("The Cult of St Duthac").

⁷⁹ ER, 5:447, 512. Some slight indication of Robert I's prayers for Saint Margaret's intercession in the safe delivery of his issue comes in the naming of his daughters as Margaret and Matilda (after the saint's own pious daughter).

⁸⁰ RMS, 1, app. 1, no. 118. A third parliamentary act of succession followed on 15 July 1326 (RRS, 5, no. 301), a fitting parliamentary summons gap of roughly forty-seven days after 29 May (forty days was usually required).

(d. 1307) as regularly as he marked the death of Alexander III, his recognized predecessor as king of Scots (thus deliberately ignoring the Balliol King John, d. 1313). On 16 October 1328, at Kinkell in Aberdeenshire, Robert did pay for a chaplain to say masses for the soul of his other captured and executed brother, Neil (d. 1306), at the neighboring hospital at Turriff. This almshouse was attached to the church at Turriff, a former monastery dedicated to the Virgin and to a Saint Congan, uncle of Saint Fillan, whose feast was celebrated on 13 October, three days before Robert's grant, which thus fell within its octave. The hospital itself had been a charitable foundation of the Comyn earls of Buchan in 1272, but it is unlikely that the king's grant was in part an act of repentance for the "heirschip," or deliberate wasting, of Buchan in 1308.⁸¹ In 1316 Robert had also paid for lights at the Blackfriars church (dedicated to Saint Andrew), in the royal burgh of Perth (or Saint John's Town, after John the Baptist), to commemorate the memory of the founder of that house, King Alexander II, whose death was said to have been the result of his defiance of Saint Columba and, perhaps, offense given to Saint Bridget of Larne.⁸² On 14 January 1321, while at Holywood hospital in Dumfriesshire, Robert also assigned a ten-pound annual payment from the lands of the lords of Buittle in Galloway (a forfeited Balliol possession) to the Cistercian abbey of Holm Cultram in Northumberland: this was given in memory of Robert's ancestors and royal predecessors, but perhaps in repentance, too, for an attack in 1319, when Scottish forces had sacked Holm Cultram, despite the burial there of Bruce's own father (d. 1304).⁸³

However, far more poignant was Robert's payment from 26 October 1327 for masses at the church of the Virgin in Cullen, on the Banffshire northern coast, in memory of Queen Elizabeth de Burgh: her organs were interred there, while her body was laid to rest in Dunfermline Abbey, perhaps in the extended northern Lady Chapel.⁸⁴ This deliberate separation of royal remains and corpse, allowing a multiplicity of relic or associated saintly dedications and masses to be spread across churches throughout the realm, is a process worth emphasizing. Robert I's own funerary arrangements—perhaps begun as early as 1315, with the commissioning of a French marble tomb destined for Dunfermline Abbey—reflected such political and spiritual exploitation of earthly remains. His gilded monumental effigy and state funeral at Dunfermline bound him to his royal predecessors,

⁸¹ RRS, 5, no. 356; Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, 51, 194. James Stuart, "Notice of the Church of St Congan at Turriff, in Aberdeenshire, and of a Fresco of St Ninian Discovered in It in 1861," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 6 (1866): 427–33, details the gift of Turriff church to the abbey of Arbroath in 1214 by a countess of Buchan and the later earl's foundation of the hospital (which reclaimed the church from Arbroath).

⁸² RRS, 5, no. 91; Penman, "Royal Piety in Thirteenth-Century Scotland," 20–22, 25 n. 74. Alexander III's heart may have been buried in Perth's Dominican priory.

⁸³ RRS, 5, no. 170; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope* (hereafter CPR), ed. W. H. Bliss, 16 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1896), 1:588; *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 220–22, 226–28, 237.

⁸⁴ ER, 1:xciv, cxxiv, 61, 91, 170, 271, 310, 355, 408, 469, 477, 549; Boardman, "Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum," 147, 150. A frequent Dunfermline visitor, Abbot Bower, claimed in the 1440s that Queen Elizabeth had been "buried in the choir at Dunfermline next to her husband King Robert": *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, 7:35.

particularly Saint Margaret, while his heart's interment at Melrose Abbey after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land also served to stake out Bruce's Scotland in the face of future English border transgressions.⁸⁵

Beyond these stratagems, the strength of Robert I's personal commitment to the cult of Margaret is underlined by his grant to Dunfermline Abbey, on 8 July 1321, of the patronage of the church of nearby Inverkeithing (dedicated to Saint Peter) to pay for a candle to burn perpetually "to God and the church of the Holy Trinity and Saint Margaret," to be placed "in the choir in front of her shrine": this was a position akin to Becket's perpetual light at Canterbury's high altar and possibly close to the later recorded location of Bruce's tomb at Dunfermline "in medio chori."⁸⁶ In addition, in the year of Bannockburn (1314) and the very month of Robert's parliamentary forfeiture of his defeated enemies, the king had traveled to Dunfermline for Margaret's translation feast of 16 November and on that date ordered Bishop Lamberton of Saint Andrews to appropriate to Dunfermline Abbey the nearby church of Kinross (dedicated to Saint Luke?) and the chapel of Orwell (between modern Milnathort and Lochleven in Fife, dedication unknown).⁸⁷ Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray and future guardian (1329–32) during the minority of David II (1329–71), again matched his king's devotion by assigning income to Dunfermline from his Fife lands of nearby Aberdour, ca. 1312–19, for lights for the Holy Trinity and Saint Margaret on three great feast days (Christmas, Candlemas, and the Assumption of the Virgin).⁸⁸ Overall, the favor of the Bruce regime to Margaret's Benedictine cult center was sustained throughout the reign.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ ER, 1:150, 167, 175, 176, 193, 213, 214, 215, 221, 243, 255, 297; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator* 12 (1981): 221–69. Perpetual masses were also paid for Robert I's soul at Ayr Blackfriars and Dunfermline Abbey, and alms were given to Berwick Dominicans and seven paupers (ER, 1:162, 267, 288, 298, 303; RRS, 5, no. 380). See also Michael Penman, "A Programme for Royal Tombs in Scotland? A Review of the Evidence, c. 1093–c. 1542," in idem, ed., *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas, 2013), 239–53.

⁸⁶ RRS, 5, no. 188; ER, 1:192, 213, 214, 215, 245, 288, 333; Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications*, 1:231; Iain Fraser, "The Tomb of the Hero King: The Death and Burial of Robert I, and the Discoveries of 1818–19," in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. Fawcett, 155–77, at 156–57, 172–75. Robert I's attendance at Dunfermline about and on this feast date in 1321 would have enabled him to collect the one year and forty days of indulgence granted to pilgrims by the papacy in 1290 (CPR, 1:520). For comparisons with Edward II's burial in 1327 see Joel Burden, "Rewriting a Rite of Passage: The Peculiar Funeral of Edward II," in *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. N. F. McDonald and W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2004), 13–29.

⁸⁷ RRS, 5, nos. 43–44.

⁸⁸ *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1842), no. 357. This perhaps hints that Randolph (d. 1332) had also requested his burial at Dunfermline some years before it took place. On 28 June 1309 Wishart, then an English captive, was made to repledge his loyalty to Edward II on a relic of the true cross owned by Saint Margaret (CDS, 5, no. 525).

⁸⁹ RRS, 5, nos. 125, 199, 206, 234, 303, 305, 331, 394, 407, 411, 413, 416, 475, 486–87. Some of this patronage may have been solicited by Abbot Bernard of Arbroath, originally a Benedictine. For important royal, institutional, spiritual, personnel, and textual (both hagiographic and chronicle) connections between Dunfermline and a number of other key Scottish churches and monastic

Robert's patronage to Melrose's Cistercian abbey, close to the border but within the diocese of Glasgow, was also generous. For example, on 10 January 1326 the king acted to award Melrose the considerable sum of one hundred pounds a year out of the burgh *fermes* of nearby Berwick to pay for a "King's Dish": this was to be given annually to the abbey's clergy, who were also to clothe fifteen paupers each year.⁹⁰ Again, along with Robert's celebrated request for burial of his heart at the abbey, this may have reflected an unrecorded personal (and even penitential) tie to Saint Waltheof of Melrose and was echoed, again, by a gift from Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, on the translation feast of Saint Cuthbert ca. 1319–29.⁹¹ Similarly, speculation about Robert's insistence that his viscera be buried separately at a chapel dedicated to Saint Serf (held to be the protector of the infant Saint Kentigern) near his manor house at Cardross, Dumbartonshire (on the west coast of central Scotland), may again have identified a genuine personal association with a local cult that had been of comfort or aid in 1306–7 or during the king's years of ill health.⁹²

Robert I, of course, like Edward I, would surely not have seen any exclusive difference between his public or royal worship and his personal faith. His subjects and successors certainly seem to have readily accepted many of his cult observances as a dynastic legacy deserving of maintenance. A similar speculative "liturgical footprint" exercise, based on the royal acts of his son, King David II (1329–71), has already suggested a sustained Bruce interest in such cults and relics as those of Becket, Ninian, Columba, Andrew, Malachy, Kentigern, Fillan, and Margaret, together with the addition of Robert I's own secular calendar—the dates of his birth, inauguration, battles, and death—alongside those of his

houses, all dedicated to the Trinity (e.g., Scone Abbey, the site of royal inauguration), see Matthew Hammond, "Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland," in *The Cult of Saints*, ed. Boardman and Williamson, 61–86, at 68–72; Alice Taylor, "Historical Writing in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland: The Dunfermline Compilation," *Historical Research* 83 (2010): 228–52. Robert I's acts of succession were enacted "in the name of the sacred and indivisible Trinity" (RPS, 1315/1, 1318/2 and /30, accessed on 29 August 2012). It is interesting to speculate that, as Robert I's regime sought the full rite of royal coronation for an independent Scotland as part of any peace with England (and both were achieved by 1328–29), the religious practices and devotions of Robert's reign may have seen some development of the ideology, imagery, settings, and liturgy of sacral kingship within Scotland.

⁹⁰ RRS, 5, nos. 288–89.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 380, 412; G. Ewart, D. Gallagher, P. Sherman, et al., "Graveheart: Cult and Burial in a Cistercian Chapter House. Excavations at Melrose, 1921 and 1996," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 139 (2009): 259–304. For Robert's patronage, rebuilding, and protection of Melrose see RRS, 5, nos. 64–65, 96, 100 (18 July 1316, confirmation of Eustacia de Colville's grant to Melrose of the church of Ochiltree, Ayrshire, dedicated to Saint Convall), 110, 120, 122, 169, 180, 201, 269, 287, 308, 379–80, 385, 408. Robert was at Melrose on 8 June and 21 November 1316, 24 July 1317, 1 November 1325, and 14 August 1327.

⁹² *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 29 March 2001 (report of a local archaeologist's theory about the nature and dedication of this chapel). Robert I issued a number of charters from Saint Serf's priory at Lochleven in Fife in 1313 (RRS, 5, nos. 245–47), which also housed a hospital dedicated to Becket. Bruce's Cardross manor house, built ca. 1326, contained a chapel and a queen's chapel, but the dedications of these possible portable altars are not known (ER, 1:359, 360).

ancestors.⁹³ Beyond the fourteenth century, the methodology offered in this paper might be used to explore the piety of later medieval rulers. Governor Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany (d. 1420), displayed devotion to Saint Fillan and Saint Margaret at Dunfermline (as well as developing something of a cult of Bruce kingship), as did successive queens who wore Margaret's birthing shirt.⁹⁴ James I (1406–37) sought to develop a cult of Saint John the Baptist and to facilitate renewed cross-border pilgrimage to Saint Ninian's, Whithorn.⁹⁵ Saints like Machutus continued to provide relics of great interest to monarchs like James IV and James V (1513–42), with the former king also making celebrated pilgrimages to Whithorn and Tain.⁹⁶ Generally, the royal treasurer's accounts for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries reflect the Crown's provision and maintenance of altars, lights, masses, vestments, alms, and bejeweled reliquaries for the cults of Saints Duthac, Fillan, Ninian, and Margaret.⁹⁷

In conclusion, the first Bruce king and his chief clerical and lay supporters clearly revitalized the Scottish Crown's association with a wide geographical range of cult centers and relics, embracing both universal and insular cults and, with them, many of the chief monastic houses and secular churches of the realm. Robert I's wartime reign was therefore a vital factor in the recovery or growth of a number of saints' cults in late-medieval Scotland, many of them as an integral element of Scottish dynastic and subject identity. However, it is perhaps fitting to close by reiterating the caveat that, while religion was a crucial aspect of Robert I's kingship—and one in which guilt, uncertainty, misjudgment, gratitude, joy, confidence, triumph, remembrance, and other deeply felt personal concerns could have a prominent role—worship was to be shaped, too, by political goals.

Thus Robert's personal piety was carefully considered and had limits. His devotions to a number of saints—Becket, Fillan, Ninian, Machutus, Cuthbert, Margaret, and others—arguably reflected a striking degree of contrition for broken oaths or wartime damage, of obligation for support in times of crisis, or of prayer for the safe delivery of a child and heir. Indeed, these motives—rather than, say, the grief of loss allied to prayer for the posthumous salvation of relatives or supporters—are arguably the ones most strikingly revealed by the extant evidence. Yet there is certainly no trace of spiritual regret expressed directly by Robert over the slaughter of John Comyn of Badenoch in Dumfries's Greyfriars church in 1306, no oblatinal penance for that sacrilegious act. In fact, there may have been a conscious attempt to deflect the growth of any Comyn martyr's cult. Instead, on

⁹³ Penman, "Christian Days and Knights." Several Bruce family members and their spouses were interred in the extended mausoleum at Dunfermline ca. 1332–58.

⁹⁴ Taylor, "The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland," 192; ER, 5:447, 512.

⁹⁵ RMS, 2, no. 107; Scott, "The Court and Household of James I of Scotland, 1424–1437," chap. 5.

⁹⁶ *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, 382; Macdougall, *James IV*, chap. 8; Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, chap. 7.

⁹⁷ For example, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 1: 1473–1498, 88 (Fillan bell), 275 (Ninian chapel, Stirling), 280 (Duthac reliquary); 2: 1500–1504, 73 (Ninian arm bone brought to Stirling Castle), 267 (offering to Margaret's head relic), 376 (Duthac relic gilding); 4: 1507–1513, 38 (Fillan light), 40 (Duthac reliquary), 349 (Ninian reliquary); 6: 1531–1538, 248 (Duthac reliquary); 7: 1538–1541, 395 (Machutus reliquary).

31 December 1324, Robert endorsed his sister Christina Bruce's foundation of a chapel dedicated to the holy cross in Dumfries in memory of her first husband, Sir Christopher Seton, who had been betrayed to, and executed by, Edward I in 1306 for his role in Comyn's death.⁹⁸ The growing cult of the holy cross throughout Europe—closely bound to Easter week, as elsewhere, through the liturgical adoration of the cross—had strong associations in Scotland with the royal house, not least through Saint Margaret and her various recorded roods. Robert went to considerable lengths to recover from England the most famous of these relics, the "Blak Rude," through the same 1328 peace treaty (sealed at Holyrood Abbey, no less) that failed to secure the return of the inauguration stone of Scone.⁹⁹ By contrast, there would never be a red-letter day for the Red Comyn in Bruce Scotland.

APPENDIX
Speculative Devotional Calendar
of Robert I, ca. 1306–29

January: 1, Solemnity of Blessed Virgin Mary; 6, Epiphany; 7, Saint Kentigerna (mother of Saint Fillan)/Perth burgh retaken (1319); 9, Saint Fillan; 11; 12; 13, Saint Kentigern; 15; 17; 18; 19; 21, Saint Winnin/birth of Prince Alexander (1264); 23; 24; 27; 28, death of Prince Alexander (1283).

February: 3; 5; 9; 11; 13; 17, deaths of Thomas and Alexander Bruce (1307); 19, Roxburgh Castle retaken (1314); 23; 27.

March: 2; 11, Saint Constantine; 19, death of Alexander III (1286); 25, *Annunciation of Blessed Virgin Mary/inauguration of Robert I* (1306).

April: 5; 9, Berwick Burgh/Castle retaken (1318); 11; 19; 23, Saint George; 25, Saints Mark and Machutus (Scottish medieval calendars); 27; 29.

May: 9, Translation of Saint Andrew; 13; 14; 15; 16, Saint Brendan; 17; 19; 21; 22; 25; 26; 27; 30; 31.

June: 2; 6; 9, Saint Columba; 11, Bruce's bond with Bishop Lamberton of Saint Andrews (1304); 15; 16; 17, death of David, Earl of Huntingdon (1219); 20, Birth of Saint Fillan; 21; 23, day 1 of battle of Bannockburn (1314); 24, *day 2 of battle of Bannockburn (1314)/Saint John the Baptist*; 25; 26; 27; 29, Saints Peter and Paul/death of John Bruce (between 5 March 1324 and August 1326); 30.

July: 2, Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; 5, Consecration of Saint Andrews Cathedral (1318); 6, Translation of Saint Kentigern/Canonization of Saint Malachy; 7, Translation of Saint Thomas Becket/death of Edward I (1307); 9; 13, inauguration of Alexander III (1249); 17; 19; 23; 30; 31.

⁹⁸ RRS, 5, no. 262. For the development of a short-lived unofficial cult around a Scottish prince killed by his political rivals in 1402 see Stephen Boardman, "A Saintly Sinner? The 'Martyrdom' of David Duke of Rothesay," in *The Cult of Saints*, ed. Boardman and Williamson, 87–104.

⁹⁹ George Watson, "The Black Rood of Scotland," *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 2 (1909): 27–46. That the army of David II lost a "Blak Rude" of Margaret (though perhaps not the original) in battle against England at Neville's Cross in 1346 suggests such fragments of the true cross may also have been used as a totem in earlier campaigns: Linda Rollason, "Spoils of War? Durham Cathedral and the Black Rood of Scotland," in *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346*, ed. D. Rollason and M. Prestwich (Stamford, UK: Shaun Tyas, 1998), 57–65.

August: 7; 9, foundation of Arbroath Abbey (1178); 11; 12; 15, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; 17; 18; 21; 22; 25; 26, Saint Ninian; 28; 29, Death of Saint John the Baptist; 30; 31, Translation of Saint Ninian.

September: 1, Saint Giles; 2; 3; 7, siege of Berwick (1319); 11, battle of Stirling Bridge (1297); 12; 13; 15, Saint Mirren (Robert I's daughter Marjorie, died 1317, buried at Paisley in Mirren's aisle?); 18; 19; 26; 27; 29, Saint Michael.

October: 2; 3; 6; 9, Saint Denis; 11; 17; 19; 22; 23; 26, death of Queen Elizabeth de Burgh (1327); 27; 28; 30; 31.

November: 3, Saint Malachy; 4; 5; 9; 10, Saint Leonard; 11, Saint Martin; 13; 16, *Saint Margaret*; 17; 19; 23; 25, Saint Katherine of Alexandria/death of Bishop Wishart of Glasgow (1316); 28; 30, Saint Andrew.

December: 2, Feast of Becket's Return from Exile ("regressio de exilio"); 9; 11; 13; 19; 21, Saint Thomas the Apostle; 23; 24; 27, Saint John the Evangelist; 28, Holy Innocents; 29, *Saint Thomas Becket*; 30.

SOURCE: Extrapolated from *Regesta regum Scottorum, 5: The Acts of Robert I, 1306–29*, ed. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986), by removing days on which Robert issued an act in any year of his reign. Exception: dates in italics indicate key feasts upon which Robert I did issue one act.

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Speculum