Chapter 5

A Casualty of War? The cult of Kentigern of Glasgow, Scottish patron saints and the Bruce/Comyn conflict

Tom Turpie
University of Stirling

SAINTS and their shrines played a vital role in the prosecution of warfare during the middle ages. Before embarking upon a campaign the combatants prayed for victory and presented gifts at appropriate shrines. Belligerent English monarchs, such as Edward I (1272–1307) and Edward III (1327–77), had well-trodden pilgrimage circuits which preceded military action (Webb 2000: 111–40). The Scottish monarch James IV (1488–1513) valued the blessing of St Duthac, visiting his shrine at Tain on the eve of his ill-fated invasion of England in 1513 (Dickson 1887–1916, vol iv: 419, 36), while his predecessor Robert I (1306–29) favoured St Fillan (Taylor 2001). To the battle itself armies carried the symbols and relics of their patrons. At Neville's Cross in 1346 the Scots, bearing the Black Rood of St Margaret, were faced by an English army carrying a banner depicting St Cuthbert (Rollason 1998). Finally, when returning from the battlefield the victors made further gifts to shrines and religious houses in gratitude for their success. Richard Neville, believing that St Cuthbert had interceded to aid the English victory at Neville's Cross, presented the captured Black Rood to the custodians of the saint's relics at Durham (Rollason 1998). The association of a particular saint with victory, or defeat, and the political changes that resulted from warfare could therefore have a considerable influence on the popularity of a saint and its shrine. This article will explore the impact of the political changes that accompanied the Anglo-Scottish wars of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century upon the cult of the west of Scotland saint, Kentigern of Glasgow.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in which the Kentigern cult arguably reached the zenith of its popularity, were a period of considerable political, social and economic transition in the kingdom of Scotland. The story of how Andrew and Margaret became the patron saints of the Scottish church, royal dynasty and kingdom during this period is reasonably well known. St Andrews was a pilgrimage centre of international repute and the apostle had played an important role as a symbol of the independence of the northern kingdom in the conflict between the Scottish bishops and York over ecclesiastical superiority in the twelfth century (Ash & Broun 1994). The somewhat belated canonisation of St Margaret in 1250 provided the royal house with a source of prestige and dash of the sacred, placing the

MacMalcolm dynasty on something of a par with its neighbouring polities in the British Isles and Western Europe (Bartlett 2003; Baker 1978). The development of these two cults led to the gradual eclipse of earlier patrons of the national church and royal house, Columba and Cuthbert. However, this narrative presents too clean cut an image of the complex processes at work in this period. A fifth saint, Kentigern of Glasgow, had developed into a viable alternative for the role of royal patron, at least, in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It would be the political circumstances of the Wars of Independence and conflict between the opposing Bruce and Comyn parties that would put an end to this process and cement Andrew and Margaret's position as the undisputed formal patrons of Scotland and its royal house.

The cult of Kentigern of Glasgow was one of the saintly success stories of the central middle ages in Scotland. The only contemporary record for the career of the saint is the obit of his death recorded in a Welsh annal under the year AD 612, which suggests little else other than that he was considered to be a bishop (cited in Macquarrie 1997: 117). Whilst there may have been a local cult devoted to the saint in the former Kingdom of Strathclyde, and perhaps Lothian, in the early middle ages, recent works by John Reuben Davies (2009) and Dauvit Broun (2007: 124–8) have shown that there is little evidence of widespread interest in Kentigern prior to the twelfth century. The cult that developed from the early 1100s was the result of the promotional activities of a series of bishops who, following the creation of the reformed diocese of Glasgow by David I (1124–53), encouraged the cult of their patron with building campaigns, translations and the production of two new *Vitae* (Duncan 1998; Shead 1970).

The first of these new hagiographical works, of which only a fragment survives (Forbes 1874: 123–33), was produced during the episcopate of Herbert (1147–64). The purpose of this new life was to raise the saint's profile and emphasise his place within the wider canon of Scottish saints. This aim is also evident in another extant document from the end of Herbert's occupancy of the see, the *Carmen de Morte Sumerledi* (cited in Howlett 2000: 24–9). The subject of this fascinating poem is the rebellion of Somerled of the Isles in 1164. It ends dramatically with Herbert brandishing Somerled's severed head and attributing victory to the intercession of St Kentigern. Within the poem the saint is firmly identified as both a local and national protector, and as a central figure amongst the saints of Scotland (Clancy 2002: 397–9).

In spite of these promotional activities the cult still seems to have been regional in character in the 1170s and, as Duncan (1998: 11) has suggested, charter evidence from the reign of Malcolm IV (1153–64) show the possessions of Glasgow being treated in 'somewhat cavalier fashion' by the Crown.[1] The final catalyst for the transformation of Kentigern into a figure of national significance, closely associated with the Scottish royal house, was the transfer of Jocelin (1174–99) to Glasgow in 1174. Jocelin had built up a reputation as a keen promoter of in-house cults in his previous position as abbot of Melrose (Birkett 2010a). Whilst at Melrose he had championed the cult of an earlier abbot Waltheof, who was also the stepson of David I. Support for this saint with a connection to the royal house won him the favour of William I (1164–1214) and resulted in his elevation to Glasgow, to whose patron saint Jocelin transferred his promotional zeal.

Jocelin embarked on a three pronged promotional campaign at Glasgow, using as his model the recently martyred English saint Thomas Becket (d 1170, canonised 1173). The

Fig 5.1 View of Glasgow Cathedral from the Necroplis.

first step in this process was an ambitious building programme, successfully completed by 1197 (Stevenson 1835, 103). The second was the commissioning of a new and up to date life of the saint which was firmly in the European tradition of the late twelfth century. For this purpose Jocelin employed the well known Cistercian hagiographer Jocelin of Furness, a professional who was also responsible for lives of SS Patrick, Helen and Waltheof (Birkett 2010b). Although the exact dating of the *Vita Kentegerni* is unclear, it must have been finished in time for Bishop Jocelin's triumphant consecration of the cathedral on 6 July 1197 (fig 5.1). On that day the third stage in the promotional campaign was completed with the translation of Kentigern's relics to an elaborate new tomb in the cathedral (Stones & Hay 1967). This date coincided with the annual fair, granted to the burgh by William I, to be held 'for 8 days one week after 29 June' (Barrow 1971: 308). As a practical matter this translation was of considerable importance to Jocelin who was attempting to switch the focus of the cult from the intemperate 13 January, the official feast day of the saint, to a more practical summer date in July. This action mirrored the behaviour of the custodians of the shrine of Thomas Becket in 1220, a saint who had also inconveniently died in the depths of winter (Nilson 1998: 15–24).[2]

Jocelin's activities may have been intended as the prelude to a canonisation process (Duncan 1998: 16–17). The presence of an officially sanctified cult at Glasgow would have played an important role in any pretensions towards archiepiscopal status that the bishops may have had during this period. However, this process never appears to have been carried out. Jocelin's notable success was in developing a close relationship between the saint and

the royal house. For William I, Kentigern was a personal intercessor second only to his commitment to Thomas Becket, to whom his new foundation at Arbroath was dedicated. The relationship between Kentigern and the Crown may have been intended to mirror the bond between the kings of France and the abbey of St Denis. As Duncan (1998: 18–19) has shown, the gift by William of a symbolic tribute of four pence to the cathedral was remarkably similar to the four bezants presented annually by the French monarchs to St Denis. Precedence for this special bond is provided by the *Vita Kentegerni* in which King Rederech conceded 'the dominium and princedom over all his Kingdom' to Kentigern, in a deliberate parallel of the Donation of Constantine (Forbes 1874: 94–6).

The relationship between William and Kentigern may have been further strengthened by the birth of an heir, the future Alexander II (1214–49), in 1198. Duncan (1998, 13–15) suggests that William attributed the belated birth of a legitimate heir to the intercession of St Kentigern and the blessing of the marriage bed by Bishop Jocelin. In a story from the *Vita Kentegerni* (Forbes 1874: 95–6) the saint had helped Queen Langovereth 'long bowed down by the disgrace of continued barrenness' to conceive a child called Constantine, the heir of King Rederech. William and Ermegarde's child was baptised by Jocelin and the king continued to make grants of land, money and serfs to Kentigern and the see of Glasgow throughout the remainder of his reign (Barrow 1971: 216, 283, 426, 217).

Although it has been suggested that royal interest in the saint began to wane after William's death (Shead 1970: 14), Alexander II and his successor Alexander III (1249–86) continued to be major patrons of Glasgow cathedral (Scoular 1959: 232; Simpson 1960: 148). In 1284 Alexander III indicated his personal commitment to the saint by founding an altar dedicated to Kentigern in the nave of the cathedral (Innes 1843, vol i: 235) (fig 5.2). This poignant

Fig 5.2 Chapel and tomb of St Mungo in Glasgow Cathedral.

Fig 5.3 Thirteenth-century carved architectural fragment from the tomb of St Kentigern, on display in Glasgow Cathedral.

dedication was made in the midst of a period of personal tragedy for the king who lost his eldest son in January 1284 and his youngest son and daughter in 1280 and 1283. The altar was intended as a family commemoration, providing prayers for the souls of his ancestors and family, most notably his recently deceased children (Durkan 1970: 65). Acts such as this on the eve of the Wars of Independence would have helped to fuel the confidence of the bishops of Glasgow in the strength of their relationship with the royal house. The manner in which they perceived this bond can be seen in a seal belonging to Robert Wishart (1271–1316). Wishart's counter seal was divided into three niches with Kentigern at the top, a royal couple in the middle and a praying bishop underneath, emphasising Glasgow's perception of the special relationship between their saint, his successor bishop and the royal house (Stevenson & Wood 1940, vol i: 110).

The successful revival of the cult, and the increasing power and influence of the diocese of Glasgow, was also reflected in the dedication of a series of churches to the saint across southern Scotland and in Cumbria during this period (Davies 2009: 72–82; Mackinlay 1914; Watson 1926). Whilst as Davies has shown (2009: 72–82), dating these, and other early commemorations of the saint, is problematic, they give a strong sense of the geography of the cult prior to the fourteenth century. The impact of the twelfth-century promotional campaigns and royal patronage can also be seen in the explosion of interest in the cult amongst the Scottish nobility during the period. Kentigern developed a strong following amongst the Anglo-Norman incomers of the twelfth century, especially those with a landed

interest in the south west. Some of the earliest benefactors were the Bruces of Annandale and Walter fitz Alan, the High Steward, who gifted a number of churches and monies to the cathedral (Innes 1843, vol i: 72, 20). In the thirteenth century the most regular and generous patrons of the cult were the Comyn and Balliol kindreds. Individual benefactors from these families included Dervoguilla de Balliol, who granted lands to Kentigern in 1277, and her son John I (1292–6), who showed an interest in the saint during his brief reign (Innes 1843, vol i: 230; Simpson 1960: 369, 380). Patronage from the Comyn kindred came from William, earl of Buchan (d 1233), who contributed to the altar of St Kentigern in 1223, and Isabella de Valognes, who granted lands for her soul and the soul of her husband, David Comyn of Badenoch, in about 1250 (Innes 1843, vol i: 117, 199). John Comyn, probably one of the Kilbride branch, also made a grant to the cathedral in 1279 (Innes 1843, vol i: 233). In this period patronage also came from a number of less high profile families like the Somervilles, Vaus, Oliffards and de Moravias (Innes 1843, vol i: 16, 100, 184, 219, 120, 126, 203).

The saint and his shrine were not exclusively identified with twelfth century incomers, and received further patronage from the native earls of Lennox and Carrick (Innes 1843, vol i: 101, 108, 177, 187). Alexander fitz William sheriff of Stirling, who was a descendant of Thorald, the native sheriff of Lothian for David I, also gifted monies to the saint in the mid-thirteenth century (Innes 1843, vol i: 121) On the whole aristocratic patronage of the saint and shrine came almost exclusively from individuals and families with a strong territorial interest in the diocese of Glasgow and neighbouring lands. By the late thirteenth century, the bishops of Glasgow had managed to create a strong connection between the exercise of temporal lordship in the region and reverence, whether genuine or emblematic, for the cult of St Kentigern. This process is best illustrated by the example of the Comyn kindreds, whose expanding landed interest in the Glasgow area during the thirteenth century corresponded with their increasing patronage of the cult (Young 1998: 19–20). At the end of the thirteenth century with an established relationship with the Scottish royal house and strong aristocratic support, the future looked bright for the cult of St Kentigern.

Things started to go wrong for St Kentigern shortly after the death of Alexander III in 1286. The Scottish political community reacted to the unexpected death of the king by setting up an interim government run by six guardians (Barrow 2005). A new seal was commissioned for the guardians featuring a conventional depiction of a monarch on the front, but displaying on the reverse an image of the apostle surrounded by the legend 'St Andrew be leader of the Scots, your fellow countryman' (Stevenson & Wood 1940, vol i: 18). As one commentator has suggested, the image and legend purported to show continuity with the past (Barrow 2005: 17). However, this was the past from a particular perspective. The placing of the apostle on the seal emphasised the informal position of the bishops of St Andrews as the '*episcopatus Scottorum*', 'bishops of the Scots', a status they had been claiming since the twelfth century (Barrow 1994: 2–3). The decision to directly connect the apostle to the Scottish realm in this manner can be attributed to one of the guardians, the bishop of St Andrews, William Fraser (1279–97). As Ash has shown (1990: 47), the episcopates of Fraser and his direct predecessors were characterised by sustained promotion of their diocesan saint. This included the development of the final elaborate version of the St Andrews origin legend and the depiction of the apostle on episcopal seals. It was the image of the saint from Fraser's personal seal that was transferred onto the seal of the guardians in 1286 (Stevenson & Wood 1940, vol i: 85).

Although as a universal saint Andrew appears to have been a non-partisan figure around which to unite national sentiment, he was figuratively, and literally in the case of his relics, the property of the diocese of St Andrews. It is likely that there was some disquiet at the promotion of Andrew in this manner from the bishops of Glasgow who, as we have seen, had a clear perception of the close relationship between their saint and the Crown. The bishops of Dunkeld may also have had concerns over the use of Andrean imagery in 1286. Although their diocesan patron had been displaced as a dynastic and church patron by Margaret and Andrew in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Columban imagery continued to play an important role in royal ceremonials such as the inauguration of Alexander III in 1249 (Bannerman 1989; Duncan 2003; Broun 2003). Neither of these groups would have expected to see their patrons sidelined in 1286.

The concept of Andrew as regnal patron was turned into a reality during the propaganda battles of the Wars of Independence. As with the conflict between the Scottish bishops and York over primacy in the earlier period, the diplomacy of the Anglo-Scottish wars required a stronger and more internationally recognisable patron for the Scots, a role much better suited to Andrew than Columba or Kentigern. As early as 1301, the connection between Andrew and the kingdom was emphasised by Baldred Bisset (d 1311) who, during a mission to the Papacy, reiterated the Scottish argument against the primacy of York, describing the apostle as 'protector of the Kingdom' (Watt 1987–99, vol vi: 135–69). This role was fully elaborated in the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath. In the Declaration Andrew was presented as the patron of the small kingdom located at the 'uttermost ends of the earth' (Barrow 2003: xiii–v). The letter, with its papal audience in mind, argued that the being under the patronage of the apostle was one of several factors that proved the sovereignty of the kingdom (Barrow 2003: xiii–v). In the 1320 document Andrew was presented as the sole patron, with alternative symbolic figures like Columba, Kentigern, and even dynastic patron Margaret, effectively sidelined.

The Declaration of Arbroath was the work of Robert I's promotional team and as Barrow has commented he was the first Scottish king 'known to have invoked (…) Andrew publicly as the nation's patron' (2005: 218). It seems that Robert associated his victory at Bannockburn in 1314 with the intercession of the saint, granting an annual stipend of 100 merks to the cathedral priory at St Andrews in gratitude, and taking centre stage at the consecration of the rebuilt church in 1318 (Barrow 2005: 318; Watt 1987–99, vol ii: 271–2). This ceremony has been described by one commentator (Cant 1976: 26–7) as the 'vindication of Scottish independence', and is viewed by Ash and Broun as a 'thanksgiving by the whole nation' for the victory over the English (1994: 16, 20). This notion is based upon Bower's account of the ceremony written in the 1440s. Bower (Watt 1987–99, vol vi: 363–6) described the presence of Robert I, Bishop William Lamberton (1297–1328) and Duncan, earl of Fife (d 1353) at the consecration, symbolising the involvement of the three estates, and therefore of the whole kingdom, in showing appreciation for the role of St Andrew in Scottish victories. While Bower's latent diocesan loyalties mean that we must treat his description of events with a degree of caution, the abbot having been born and spending his whole career in the diocese of St Andrews, the consecration does appear to have been some form of national event. The ceremony emphasised the bond between the patronage of St Andrew and Scottish regnal independence, a theme evident in the Declaration of Arbroath just two years later.

The controversial manner in which Robert I had seized the throne meant that the decision to identify his kingship with Andrew was a logical, and perhaps necessary, step. While his faith in Andrew as an intercessor may also have played a role, Robert would have been keen to attach himself to the apostle as a figure who had come to be associated with the independence of the Scottish realm. By the early fourteenth century this connection was coming to be recognised beyond Scotland. An English political song from about 1300, whose subject was the ousting of John Balliol, referred to Andrew as the '*leader*' of the Scots (Wright 1839: 181). St Andrews was not the only cult centre that had political value for a king whose accession to the throne had come in highly unusual circumstances. The search for legitimacy was also a strong motivation behind Robert's high profile patronage of Dunfermline Abbey, where he was buried in 1329. As Boardman has shown (2005: 144), with this act Robert was consciously identifying himself with both the patron saint and burial place of much of the dynasty through which he claimed the throne.

Whilst the cult centres of SS Andrew and Margaret benefited from the succession of the new dynasty, Kentigern and Glasgow did not. The carefully cultivated relationship between the saint and royal house did not survive the Wars of Independence, with the Bruce dynasty displaying little interest in Kentigern (Duncan 1986: 50, 52–4; Webster 1982: 82, 87, 91, 443).[3] This is surprising as Robert Wishart had been a key supporter of the Bruce regime. Dubbed the '*bad bishop*' by the English, he was eventually captured and imprisoned by Edward I, and was only released after Bannockburn (Bain 1881, vol ii: 1286; Barrow 2005: 106, 193, 197). Wishart had exhorted his flock to support Bruce, regardless of the sacrilegious murder of John Comyn within his diocese, and had even used wood intended for his cathedral to make siege engines. However, Wishart was dead by 1316 and his cathedral would not receive the same patronage from the king as that of his contemporary, Lamberton of St Andrews. The early Stewart kings also had a traditional ancestral interest in the saint dating back to the twelfth century. This interest appears to have been continued by the future Robert II (1371–90), who in 1364 confirmed an annuity of £40 from his lands near Stirling to found an altar dedicated to Kentigern in Glasgow cathedral (Innes 1843, vol i: 302). However, this was not a personal dedication. It was part of the cost of the legitimisation of Robert's marriage to Elizabeth Mure which had been arranged in 1347 by the bishop of Glasgow, William Rae (1339–67) (Penman 2004: 312; Boardman 1996: 20). Like the Bruce monarchs, the Stewart kings showed little interest in the saint prior to the reign of James II (1437–60).

This decline in royal veneration has been noted by Shead (1970: 16) and Yeoman (1999: 28), with the latter tentatively suggesting that patronage of the shrine by Edward I may have led to this distancing by the Bruce and Stewart dynasties. Edward visited Glasgow in August and September 1301, making four separate offerings at the tomb (Bain 1881, vol iv: 448–9). The suggestion that the shrine was considered to have been polluted is an intriguing one. However, similar visits by the English monarch and his son to Whithorn, Dunfermline and St Andrews appear to have had little effect on their popularity with the Scottish public or royal house (Bain 1881, vol ii: 8 & 1225: vol iv: 448, 486, 487). A more compelling explanation is that the break with Glasgow resulted from the conflict between the Bruce and Comyn kindreds. Although members of the Bruce family had been patrons of the shrine in the twelfth century, Glasgow Cathedral had never been a primary focus of their patronage. As Ruth Blakely (2005: 167–80) has shown, disputes over the control of churches in Annandale had also led to tensions between the family and Glasgow bishops in

the late twelfth century. As we have seen the main patrons of the cathedral in the thirteenth century had been the Comyn and Balliol kindreds. It is possible that the association with these groups, who had opposed the Bruce succession, made the cult too controversial for the new regime, breaking the personal relationship between crown and saint which had existed from the reign of William I.

This decline in royal veneration was matched by a considerable reduction in aristocratic interest in the cult. Between 1296 and 1450 the only dedications by nobles of comital rank came from the future Robert II and members of the Douglas kindred. The Black Douglases had acquired a considerable landed stake in the diocese of Glasgow in the late fourteenth century, through the marriage of Joanna Murray to Archibald Douglas (d 1401) (Brown 1998: 96–7).[4] Evidence of Douglas interest in the cult during this period is limited to gifts to the saint and shrine by William Douglas of Liddesdale in 1340, Joanna Murray in 1401 and the erection of his church of Cambuslang into a prebend of the cathedral by Archibald, the fifth earl in 1429 (Innes 1843, vol i: 290, 321; vol ii: 335). The lack of dedications by the top rank of the nobility is marked when compared to the thirteenth century when patronage came from the families of three earls and other major kindreds. However, of the main twelfth and thirteenth century patrons only the Stewarts would survive into the fifteenth, with families like the Bruces, Comyns, Balliols, Murrays and the native earls of Lennox and Carrick failing due to the politics of the wars or the lottery of dynastic succession. The main heirs to the territorial interest of these groups were the royal Stewarts and the Douglas kindred. Whilst the Douglases were well aware of the political cachet of well directed religious patronage, their broad property portfolio meant that this was distributed over a wide range of regional saints from Duthac in the north, to Cuthbert and Ninian in the south (Brown 1998: 183–98).

Although dedications to the saint from earls were rare in this period, a number of the lesser nobility continued to show an interest in the cult. Apart from the earl of Douglas, theother five prebends created in 1429 were under the patronage of John Stewart of Darnley, Alexander Montgomery of Eglinton, John Colquhoun of Luss, Patrick Graham of Killearn and John Forester (Innes 1843, vol ii: 340, 346). Grants to the saint were also made by emerging regional families like the Hamiltons in 1361, and the Stewarts of Lennox, who gifted a set of vestments to the cathedral chapter in 1429 (Innes 1843, vol ii: 297, 337). Further grants were made by minor local nobles Duncan Wallace and John Danielston (Innes 1843, vol ii: 308, 315). The somewhat token devotions of the Douglases and the continuing interest of the regional nobility in the cult suggest that the institutionalised relationship between local secular lordship and the diocesan saint continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, there was a considerable disparity in value between the foundation of a chaplaincy and a gift of vestments, which characterised the post-1300 devotions, and the granting of churches or wax that were typical of the earlier period.

The decline in crown and aristocratic interest in the cult seems to have had a concomitant impact on wider interest in the saint during this period. There were no new altars dedicated to Kentigern in major Scottish churches prior to 1451, and the saint's feast day fails to appear in any of the extant liturgical fragments from the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (Turpie 2011: 17–22). The absence from a calendar based at Culross (Forbes 1872: 50–64) is perhaps the most surprising. The patron of the local church was St Serf, who was presented in the hagiographical tradition as Kentigern's mentor and teacher. In the late fourteenth century

Fig 5.4 Symbols of St Mungo in the streets of modern Glasgow.

the invocation of the saint by a group of Scots was recorded by an English chronicler. In 1379 Thomas Walsingham described a strange ritual carried out by Scots raiding the plague-ridden north of England. The senior man would lead them in praying to '*God and St Kentigern*' to save them from the '*foul death*' that was killing the English (Taylor 2003: 310–11). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the cult of the Kentigern seems to have declined to one of regional rather than national importance with the reference to the invocation of the saint by Walsingham, and continued interest in the shrine by the minor nobility, underlining his enduring patronal role in the Glasgow area. In the fifteenth century the custodians of the shrine of St Kentigern would attempt to address this situation with a concerted promotional campaign based around their patron saint (Turpie 2011: 191–7). However, that is another story.

This paper has argued that Kentigern emerged in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a viable alternative to the dominance of the Fife-based saints. The success of the cult was based upon promotion by the bishops of Glasgow and the personal relationship between the saint and the royal house. However, the civil wars of the early fourteenth century led to the extinction of a number of elite patrons of the cult, while the succession of the Bruce and later Stewart dynasties broke the connection between the saint and royal house that had lasted since the reign of William I. Had John Balliol and his Comyn supporters emerged victorious from the wars, Kentigern would surely have benefited. It is even possible that the saint of Glasgow, with crown support, might have assumed the role of official national patron in the later middle ages rather than Andrew. Unfortunately for the bishops of Glasgow their patron saint became a casualty of the Bruce/Comyn conflict. When the parliament at Holyrood made the feast day of the patron saint of Scotland an optional bank holiday in 2008, it would be on 30 November, rather than 13 January, that the Scottish national day would be celebrated.

Notes

1. A charter of Malcolm IV and an early charter of William I mention recompense for 'transgressions' against the see of Glasgow.
2. Thomas was killed on 29 December. The translation was on 7 July 1220 and was subsequently celebrated as the main feast day of the saint, which was a common occurrence as the date of translation was open to manipulation whereas the death or martyr date was not.
3. Robert I made no new grants to the cathedral or saint, merely confirming the traditional royal stipends from Rutherglen and Cadzow which had presumably gone into abeyance during the interregnum. David II also showed little interest in the saint and re-assigned the payment from Cadzow to the Hamilton family in 1369.
4. Joanne was the heir of Maurice Murray of Drumsagard, a prominent supporter of David II who was killed at Neville's Cross in 1346. The inheritance fell to the Douglas family in 1408 and included twenty six estates in northern and central Scotland, including the barony of Bothwell.

References

Ash, M 1990 'The Church in the Reign of Alexander III', in Reid, N (ed) *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III, 1249–86*, 31–52. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Ash, M & Broun, D 1994 'The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland', in Higgitt (ed), 16–24.

Baker, D 1978 ' "A nursery of Saints" St Margaret of Scotland reconsidered', in Ash, M (ed) *Medieval Women*, 119–41. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bain, J et al (eds) 1881–1986 *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*. Edinburgh: H M General Register House.

Bannerman, J 1989 'The Kings Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III', *Innes Review* 68, 120–50.

Barrow, G W S (ed) 1971 *The acts of William I: King of Scots, 1165–1214*. Regesta Regum Scottorum 2. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Barrow, G W S 1994 'The Medieval Diocese of St Andrews', in Higgitt (ed), 1–7.

Barrow, G W S 2005 *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Barrow, G W S (ed) 2003 *The Declaration of Arbroath. History, Significance, Setting*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Bartlett, R (ed) 2003 *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Birkett, H 2010a 'The struggle for sanctity: St Waltheof of Melrose, Cistercian in-house cults and canonisation procedure at the turn of the thirteenth century', in Boardman, S & Williamson, E (eds) *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 43–60. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Birkett, H 2010b *The saints' lives of Jocelin of Furness: hagiography, patronage and ecclesiastical politics*. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press.

Blakely, R M 2005 *The Brus Family In England and Scotland, 1100–1295*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Boardman, S 1996 *The Early Stewart Kings. Robert II and Robert III, 1371–1406*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.

Boardman, S 2005 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum', in Fawcett, R (ed) *Royal Dunfermline*, 139–54. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Broun, D 2003 'The Origin of the Stone of Scone as a National Icon', in Welander et al (eds), 182–97.

Broun, D 2007 *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Brown, M 1998 *The Black Douglases*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.

Cant, R G 1976 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', in McRoberts, D (ed) *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, 11–33. Glasgow: Burns.

Clancy, TO 2002 'Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages', in Thacker, A & Sharpe, R (eds) *Local saints and local churches in the early medieval West*, 397–420. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davies, J R 2009 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', in Boardman, S & Williamson, E (eds) *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, 66–90. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Dickson, T (ed) 1877–1916 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House.

Duncan, A A M (ed) 1986 *The Acts of Robert I, 1306–29*. Regesta Regum Scottorum 5. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Duncan, A A M 1998 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', in Fawcett, R (ed) *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, 9–22. Leeds: British Archaeological Association.

Duncan, A A M 2003 'Before Coronation; Making a King at Scone in the thirteenth century', in Welander et al (eds), 1399–68.

Durkan, J 1970 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', *Innes Review* 21, 46–76.

Forbes, A P (ed) 1872 *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

Forbes, A P (ed) 1874 *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*. Edinburgh.

Innes, C (ed) 1843 *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club.

Higgitt, J (ed) 1994 *Medieval art and architecture in the diocese of St Andrews*. Tring: British Archaeological Association.
Howlett, D 2000 *Caledonian Craftsmanship. The Scottish Latin Tradition*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
Mackinlay, J 1914 *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Non-Scriptural Dedications*. Edinburgh.
Macquarrie, A 1997 *The Saints of Scotland. Essays in Scottish Church History, AD 450-1093*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
Nilson, B 1998 *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
Penman, M 2004 *David II, 1329–71*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
Rollason, L 1998 'Spoils of War? Durham Cathedral and the Black Rood of Scotland', in Rollason, D & Prestwich, M (eds) *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346*, 57–65. Stamford: Shaun Tyas Press.
Scoular, J M (ed) 1959 *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II, 1214–1249*. Regesta Regum Scottorum 3. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Shead, N 1970 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', *Innes Review* 21, 3–16.
Simpson, G G (ed) 1960 *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III, Guardians and John, 1249–1296*. Regesta Regum Scottorum 4. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Stevenson, J (ed) 1835 *Chronica de Mailros*. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club.
Stevenson, J & Wood, M (eds) 1940 *Scottish Heraldic Seals*. Glasgow.
Stones, E L G & Hay, G 1967 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', *Innes Review* 18, 88–99.
Taylor, S 2001 'The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland', in Luiszka, T R & Walker, E M (eds) *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages – Studies in the Cultural History of North West Europe*, 175–211. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
Taylor, J (ed) 2003 *The St Albans Chronicle, Volume 1, 1376–94*. Oxford: Clarendon.
Turpie, T 2011 *Scottish Saints cults and Pilgrimage from the Black Death to the Reformation, c.1349–1560*. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.
Watson, W J 1926 *A History of Celtic Place names in* Scotland. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons.
Watt, D E R (ed) 1987–99 *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and* English Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
Webb, D 2000 *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*. London: Hambledon.
Webster, B (ed) 1982 *The Acts of David II, 1329–71*. Regesta Regum Scottorum 6. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Welander, R, Breeze, D J & Clancy, T O (eds) *The Stone of Destiny, Artefact and Icon*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Wright, T (ed) 1839 *Political Songs of England. From the Reign of John to that of Edward II*. London: Camden Society.
Yeoman, P 1999 *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.
Young, A 1998 *Robert the Bruce's Rivals. The Comyns, 1212–1314*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.