**“THE SAINTS OF THE SCOTTISH COUNTRY WILL FIGHT
TODAY”: ROBERT THE BRUCE’S ALLIANCE WITH THE SAINTS
AT BANNOCKBURN**

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According to Walter Bower’s *Scotichronicon*, the Scots who assembled at Bannockburn on 24 June 1314 were hoping for both earthly and heavenly support in battle.¹ And no wonder. Robert the Bruce, King of Scots, was outnumbered and underequipped as he faced an adversary, the English King Edward II, who was so confident of victory that he was already planning how to “subject the entire Scottish land to his rule for ever”. In a meeting with his magnates and commanders, Edward discussed options for the death of the Scottish king, and he spoke of how the English forces should not only root out those Scots who had opposed the English, but also remove the Scots’ very memory from the land.² As the English king sounded trumpets and horns to instil dread in his enemies, the king of Scots took practical measures to counter the opposing force’s threat. He reconnoitered the English troops, for example, and placed sharp stakes in pits as a special precaution against the strong English cavalry. King Robert then turned to efforts aimed at raising the spirits of his troops. He advised his men to make confession and hear masses, and he acknowledged the many hardships that his people had endured during the years of warfare. Robert contrasted

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the glory of the opposing force, which was in their wagons and horses, with the hope of the Scots, which was in the name of the Lord. Then, at the climax of this speech, the king of Scots delivered a message of special encouragement and spiritual optimism, saying: “Happy is this day; John the Baptist was born on it; And Saint Andrew and Thomas, his blood being shed, along with the saints of the Scottish country will fight today for the honour of the people, with Christ the Lord going before” (*Felix ista dies; natus Baptista Johannes; / Sanctus et Andreas ac fuso sanguine Thomas / cum sanctis Scocie patrie pro gentis honore / pugnabunt hodie, Christo Domino preeunte*).³ The people of medieval Scotland knew the legends of many saints, both native and adopted. What follows is an exploratory survey and speculation about which of these saints might have been called upon to help the Scots at Bannockburn. It is aimed primarily at a general audience of people who are interested in the Battle of Bannockburn or in medieval Scottish religion but who are not accustomed to thinking about the two topics together, and it proposes a way to join a bit of hagiographic detail from a medieval chronicle to one of Scotland’s most famous battles.

Medieval Scots, like other European Christians at the time, believed that saints were heavenly intercessors between the human and the divine, both conduits of supernatural power and models for human behaviour.⁴ In his studies of Robert the Bruce’s religious devotions, Michael Penman has built a persuasive case for how devotion to the saints by the king of Scots and his supporters reflected political desires as well as personal preferences.⁵ This paper draws from Penman’s findings that devotion to saints could be politically motivated, privately motivated, or both at once, to explore belief in saints at the Battle of Bannockburn. Of course, it is not possible to know exactly what was going through the minds of people who lived 700 years ago. What can be attempted is an informed conjecture. Based on which saints are depicted elsewhere in the *Scotichronicon* as being helpful to Scots, which are mentioned in other late medieval texts as militarily supportive in a Scottish cause, and which were favoured by Robert the Bruce personally, this approach provides several suggestions for what King Robert and his subjects might have hoped for when they

thought about saints fighting for Scotland at the Battle of Bannockburn.

An important first step in this informed conjecture is an examination of the main source for the call to the saints at Bannockburn. We are not hearing Robert the Bruce directly: we are hearing him mediated through the *Scotichronicon*. The author of the *Scotichronicon*, Walter Bower (1385-1449), was born and probably grew up in Haddington. He joined the community of Augustinian canons at St Andrews, and there he earned degrees in law and theology at the newly-founded university. Then, for more than 30 years, he served as abbot at the Abbey of Inchcolm, a small Augustinian house on an island within sight of Edinburgh. In this capacity, he attended the king's councils and parliaments.⁶ Bower was in a good position to understand what was happening with the governance of the realm, therefore, when he was asked by the laird Sir David Stewart of Rosyth to continue the chronicle that had been written and compiled by John of Fordun some eighty years previously. In fulfilling this request, Bower incorporated much of what he found in the earlier chronicle, to which he added additional material. The result of this work was the *Scotichronicon*. It is a long text in its final form, and a complex one too, described by its modern editor as "the most elaborate work of Latin literature to survive from medieval Scotland."⁷ It also has possibly the best concluding line in Scottish literature from the medieval, or indeed any, period: *Non Scotus est Christe cui liber non placet iste* ("Christ! He is not a Scot who is not pleased with this book").⁸

Bower was clearly not lacking in confidence that Scottish readers would enjoy his work, but those looking to the *Scotichronicon* as a historical source for the Battle of Bannockburn ought to be sure they consider factors beyond simply the author's enthusiasm. Because it presents an important written account of events, and also because one of its manuscripts contains the earliest known image of the battle, the *Scotichronicon* does make frequent appearances in discussions of Bannockburn.⁹ And yet, a primary concern for researchers using this text must certainly be that the *Scotichronicon* was written in the mid-fifteenth century, more than a hundred years after the battle itself took place. Although this chronology of composition might at first seem problematic, it

becomes less so upon recognition that Bower as a historian drew upon earlier material. In addition to Fordun's chronicle, he often made use of John Barbour's famous poem *Bruce*, composed in the 1370s; he possibly had access to other collections of traditional tales that have since been lost, and he incorporated some sources that were first written very soon after the events they describe. Passages from the *Scotichronicon*'s account of the Battle of Bannockburn belong to this last category of older sources, and Robert the Bruce's invocation of the saints in particular is actually attributed by Bower to a certain "Abbot Bernard." This Bernard was a Benedictine monk who was the chancellor to King Robert the Bruce from 1308 and abbot of Arbroath from 1310. He was also—and this is very important to historians weighing the significance of the *Scotichronicon* as a source—an eye-witness to the Battle of Bannockburn with accurate and probably detailed knowledge of the Scottish perspective.¹⁰ So even if Robert the Bruce's speech in the *Scotichronicon* belongs to the literary tradition of providing, or some would say "inventing," the speeches of leaders as they go into battle (Robert would not have spoken to his troops in Latin as he does in this source), we are, nevertheless, getting from the *Scotichronicon* a contemporary Scottish perspective on the Battle of Bannockburn. This perspective includes the expectation of saintly help.

As for which specific saints were thought likely to lend their assistance to the Scottish cause, some were named outright. The "happy" day upon which Robert made his speech is identified in the *Scotichronicon* as the feast day of the birth of St. John the Baptist. Falling on 24 June, this day was widely celebrated in medieval Europe as a midsummer festival. In many parts of Britain, its festivities centred around midsummer fires at the point in the year when the sun was at its greatest strength, the days at their longest.¹¹ Auspicious though this date sounds, perhaps not too much should be made of the naming of the day in the *Scotichronicon* as a way of calling upon saintly help, since dates in chronicles, letters, and other writings were commonly established by using festivals of saints without any further indication of religious significance.¹² For example, the very bureaucratic-sounding "deliverance made by the Inquest appointed under Breve

by the King regarding the Moss of Waltamshope” in Peebles from 1262 was dated “on the day of St. Leonard.”¹³ Bower uses saints’ days as dating tools elsewhere in the *Scotichronicon*, such as in 1171 “on Holy Innocents Day,” in 1181 “on the Sunday next the feast of St. Laurence” and “in 1263 around the time of the feast of St. Peter in Chains.”¹⁴ The fact that the Battle of Bannockburn was happening on the feast day of John the Baptist might have struck King Robert (and later Abbot Bernard and Walter Bower) as being a happy concurrence, but the Scottish king did not suggest in his speech that John the Baptist in particular would assist the Scots in battle. Other saints were selected for that role.

The *Scotichronicon* names two saints specifically who were invoked to fight on the Scottish side. The first was Andrew, which is probably not a surprising choice to people familiar with Scotland today or with its history. Indeed, Andrew had been considered a patron saint of Scotland by Scots and others in Europe since at least the century before Bannockburn. This position, however, might look less obvious when considering the historical figure of Andrew. He appears in the New Testament as an apostle of Christ and the brother of Simon Peter, and early Christian writings link him with Greece. His cult was widespread in Europe by the sixth century, and his connection to Scotland specifically was established only thanks to efforts made at high political levels and through the vector of his relics.¹⁵ Various Scottish sources, not entirely consistent with one another, say that some of Andrew’s relics were brought from Greece to Scotland in the fourth century by Regulus, also called Rule, who stopped in Fife and built a church at the site of the future city of St Andrews. As the centuries passed, St Andrews became an important pilgrimage site and a destination for people who travelled from near and far to be in the presence of Andrew’s bones, a collection that included three fingers from the right hand, part of an arm, a kneecap, and a tooth. It was for the purpose of transporting pilgrims to St Andrews across the Forth from Lothian to Fife that North and South Queensferry were established by Queen Margaret in the eleventh century.¹⁶ The church built around Andrew’s relics, and the town built around the church, flourished. A major rebuilding of the cathedral of St Andrews was completed in 1318, making it the largest church in

Scotland. Robert the Bruce himself oversaw the consecration ceremony that was attended by great prelates and nobles. According to the *Scotichronicon*, he also gave the very large sum of 100 merks annually to the Cathedral Priory to commemorate St. Andrew's help at Bannockburn.¹⁷

Despite the significance of St Andrews the site to medieval Scotland, and despite the king of Scots' acknowledgment of Andrew the saint's help at Bannockburn, St. Andrew is listed as distinct from the saints of the Scottish country in the *Scotichronicon*. This would seem to be a curious distinction, but while some scholars have found a good deal of popular support and widespread adherence to Andrew as patron of the Scottish people,¹⁸ others have found little interest in St. Andrew reflected through popular culture and art.¹⁹ A search for Andrew in the *Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* brings up almost 200 records, but most of these are grants by members of the royal family or donations associated with wealthy institutions, and many of the rest are references to his relics or payments being made on his feast day, rather than dedications to the saint by Scots more directly.²⁰

Whatever his popularity among Scots, there is no doubt that the presence of St. Andrew's bones on Scottish soil was used by medieval leaders in their arguments for the kingdom's independence. Among the most powerful uses of Andrew's image was on the great seal created as a symbol of authority for the Guardians of Scotland, the people chosen to care for the country after the death of Alexander III in 1286.²¹ This seal ingeniously both met and defied expectations of how political authority was represented. There was no king ruling in Scotland at the time the seal was made, and in the place where one would normally expect to find an image of the king on a seal, one finds instead St. Andrew with his X-shaped cross and the words "Andrew, be the leader of the Scottish compatriots" (*Andrea Scotis dux esto compatriotis*). Andrew stands in for the community of the realm, the political community of Scotland. On the reverse, one finds the royal arms of the lion rampant, symbol of Scottish royalty, and the words "the seal of Scotland appointed to the government of the kingdom" (*sigillum Scocie deputatum regimini regni*). When Scotland was

without a king, it was Andrew who represented royal authority.²² The connection between St. Andrew and Scotland's independence was maintained through the thirteenth century, and into the fourteenth too. In 1299, when the pope condemned Edward's invasion of Scotland in the bull *Scimus fili*, he said that the realm of Scotland "was converted, and won to the unity of the catholic faith, by the venerable relics of the blessed Apostle Andrew."²³ The letter sent to Pope John XXII in 1320, a document better known today as the Declaration of Arbroath, makes it especially clear that the Scots' connection to St. Andrew could be used to support political independence. It states that Christ called the Scots, "even though settled in the uttermost parts of the earth, almost the first to His most holy faith. Nor did He wish them to be confirmed in that faith by merely anyone but by the first of His Apostles...the most gentle Saint Andrew...and desired him to keep them under his protection as their patron for ever."²⁴ By 1320, therefore, Andrew was regarded not just as Scotland's patron saint, but also as the country's own apostle and the first of the apostles, giving the Scottish conversion to Christianity special precedence. Bower highlighted this precedence in the *Scotichronicon*, pointing out that through the relics of St. Andrew, the Scots "first received the Christian faith four hundred years before the Saxons or English."²⁵ Simply put, a connection to St. Andrew gave Scotland a Christian pedigree much longer than that of its invaders.

The identification of St. Andrew with Scottish military forces was not confined to Bannockburn. The *Scotichronicon* relates that after the Battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297, the victorious Scottish army, "dismounting and throwing themselves to the ground... glorified God and St. Andrew and the holy confessor Cuthbert whose memorable passage from this world was being celebrated on this day, because through the energy and care of such a leader the valour and power of their enemies withered away, and both the Scots and Scotland won the distinction of a famous victory with everlasting renown."²⁶ Cuthbert was glorified because it was his feast day, but Andrew was glorified because he was a helper of the Scottish cause. By the end of the fourteenth century, the iconography of St. Andrew was playing a prominent role in the Scottish military identity, so that in 1385 Scottish soldiers and their

French allies were ordered by an Act of Parliament to wear the white cross of St. Andrew on their fronts and backs.²⁷ St. Andrew's images were used again in battle in 1513, when banners of him and of St. Margaret (she who had established a ferry to take pilgrims to visit St Andrews) were assembled just before the start of the Battle of Flodden, and money was paid "to ane man to byde on the standartis to bring thaim with him in haist that nycht" as the king departed from Edinburgh.²⁸ In spite of the crushing defeat of the Scots at Flodden, a proclamation was made ten years later that every man taking part in an expedition against the English had to wear a St. Andrew's cross in white, on his front and back, on pain of death.²⁹ Considering Andrew's associations with Scottish military endeavours both before and after Bannockburn, King Robert's hope that this saint would support the Scots fighting in 1314 was entirely in keeping with tradition.

Robert's speech in the *Scotichronicon* also mentions a Thomas who is listed as separate from the "saints of the Scottish country" but as an ally on the Scottish side. He is surely a less obvious selection than Andrew, for this was a distinctly English saint: Thomas Becket of Canterbury, the famous archbishop who had been murdered in 1170.³⁰ The language used in the *Scotichronicon* to describe Thomas is about the shedding of blood, a reference to Thomas' martyrdom. Historical accounts differ as to what exactly the English king Henry II might have said or done to set the violent events in motion, but he probably shouted something like the following in the presence of his knights, who interpreted the king's words as an order for assassination of the powerful archbishop: "What miserable drones and traitors have I nourished and promoted in my household, who let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low-born clerk!"³¹ Given the circumstances of Thomas' death, his brains smeared on the floor of his own cathedral by knights serving the English king, perhaps it is not all that surprising that he would be thought amenable to taking the side against the English. A more likely reason for the inclusion of this English saint and martyr in the *Scotichronicon* account, however, is that Bernard's abbey of Arbroath had been founded in honour of Thomas Becket, meaning that the original transcriber of King Robert's speech had a direct institutional connection to this

particular saint.³² The link between Arbroath and St. Thomas is displayed on the medieval seal of Arbroath Abbey, which showed a scene from the martyrdom of Thomas, and also on the medieval seal for the burgh, which showed Thomas in his archbishop's robes.³³

It might not have been just Abbot Bernard who called upon Thomas Becket to help the Scots at Bannockburn, just as Arbroath was not the only site of devotion to St. Thomas in Scotland. Between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, there were chapels to St. Thomas in Dumfries, in Perth, in Elgin, beside the castle in Crawford, and just to the west of Glasgow; altars in parish churches in Applegarth, Perth, Glasgow, Irvine, Dundee, Glamis, Edinburgh, and in the cathedral at Brechin; and a chantry in St. Nicholas, Aberdeen.³⁴ Some Scots traveled to England to visit Thomas' main shrine at Canterbury, as shown by records of miracles performed for Scots at Becket's tomb and also by two thirteenth-century ampullae of oil from Becket's shrine found at Perth.³⁵ Closer to home for many Scots, Glasgow cathedral by the 1430s had among its relics a comb and part of the breastplate of St. Thomas of Canterbury.³⁶ St. Thomas clearly did have Scots among those devoted to him, even at the very highest political levels. Kings during times of relatively good relations with England like William I (1165-1214), Alexander II (1214-1249), and Alexander III (1249-1286) supported devotion to St. Thomas, as did kings during times of greater tensions such as Robert I (1306-1329) and David II (1329-1371). The connection that Robert the Bruce felt with Thomas was put into liturgical form by Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, who in 1328 gave £24 annually to Elgin Cathedral for five masses with music that were dedicated to St. Thomas Becket and in memory of King Robert.³⁷

In the *Scotichronicon*, Andrew and Thomas are both presumed to be helpful to the Scots although separated from the "saints of the Scottish country", which raises the question of what the Scottish country was, or at least what it meant to the writer of Robert's speech. The simplest explanation for the distinction between these named saints and those of the Scottish country is one of basic geography: both Andrew and Thomas lived only outside the fourteenth-century borders of Scotland, which perhaps was

enough to separate them from the “saints of the Scottish country” group. Historians have noted that the political community in Scotland was acquiring a distinct sense of Scottishness during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In some ways, this development in nationalism can be seen as being entirely in line with European trends more broadly that were pointing towards a more articulate self-consciousness of nationhood.³⁸ In other ways, the Scottish development of national consciousness was strongly influenced by particularly local conditions, and especially during prolonged periods of Anglo-Scottish warfare.³⁹ Significant differences certainly did exist among people living in Scotland, such as linguistic disparities between the largely Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of the Highlands and the largely Scots-speaking inhabitants in the Lowlands,⁴⁰ and political divisions between people from Scotland fighting with King Robert and people from Scotland fighting with King Edward at Bannockburn.⁴¹ Transcending these differences, a sense of Scotland as a unified country was emerging toward the end of the thirteenth century when the Guardians were acting in the name of the community of the realm. Scotland may have been a country of many parts, but it was, nonetheless, a single country.⁴² The plural “saints of the Scottish country” in Robert’s speech could reflect the diversity of the country itself, since the Scots fighting with Robert the Bruce at Bannockburn came from west, south, east, and north, from both town and countryside, from the nobility and the commoners and the middling.⁴³ Even though no specific identities for these saints are provided in this passage, other late medieval texts present several good contenders.

One of the saints most often associated with Robert the Bruce at Bannockburn is St. Columba. Columba was born in Ireland in about 521, but he spent most of his time in Scotland, where he founded several monasteries. His most famous monastic foundation was Iona, which later became very influential in the conversion of the Picts and of Northumbria.⁴⁴ His life is recorded in several early medieval sources, including Adomnán’s *Life of Columba*, written around the year 700. Here, Columba is already being portrayed as a saintly warrior with power over the fate of kings. “In the terrifying crashings of wars,” it says, “he has

obtained from God by the strength of his prayers that some kings should be defeated and that other kings should be made victors.”⁴⁵ St. Columba is usually associated with the Battle of Bannockburn through the presumed presence of his relics there in something called the “Breccbennach”. Since the nineteenth century, the Breccbennach has often been identified with the Monymusk Reliquary that is now part of the National Museum of Scotland’s collection. Recent scholarship drawing on linguistic and historical evidence, as well as the provenance of the object in question, has cast some doubt on the identification of the Monymusk Reliquary with the Breccbennach, and has suggested instead the possibility that these were two separate things: the Monymusk Reliquary some kind of container for saints’ relics, and the Breccbennach perhaps a banner associated with St. Columba.⁴⁶ In any case, the Breccbennach must have been at Arbroath Abbey before the year 1211, when King William I granted to the abbey of Arbroath a charter confirming the earlier gift of its custody. A condition of this gift was that when the abbey’s tenants in Forglen would be called upon to do military service for the king, they were to bring the Breccbennach with them, and so although no contemporary source mentions the presence of the Breccbennach in battle, it certainly might have traveled with Scottish armies. Its role at Bannockburn, if any, is unclear, however, and rests on the assumption that Bernard the abbot of Arbroath, rather than the custodians at Forglen, would have had it with him.⁴⁷

Whether or not the Monymusk Reliquary is in fact the Breccbennach of St. Columba, and whether or not the Breccbennach, whatever it was, was at the Battle of Bannockburn, Columba himself might well have been invoked by some of the Scots assembled there. He was undoubtedly one of the most popular saints in later medieval Scotland, as indicated by the number of place names and personal names deriving from his, as well as by the many church dedications and the widespread celebration of his feast day.⁴⁸ Moreover, in the *Scotichronicon* Columba is associated with fierce retribution, a characteristic that might have been especially appealing to people at war against an invader. Bower reports that in 1336, a group of English pirates was laying waste to the coast near Dollar, whose parish church had

recently been beautifully restored by the abbot of Inchcolm. The frame of the choir in this church had been constructed using great oak beams “carved with wonderful artistry” so that they fit together by means of dovetailing, “which provided a pleasant sight to look at.” The pirates, remarking on this fine woodwork, decided to disassemble it and take away all the beams, ceiling panels, and outer roofing. When they came alongside the abbey of Inchcolm, however, the calm water turned turbulent. The ships carrying the stolen materials “sank into the deep like a stone, and their memory perished with their sound.” Survivors on the remaining ships in the fleet were struck with terror, and, “whether they wanted or not, glorified God in St. Columba because of such unforeseen retribution,” then swore to do no more violence upon him or his servants or their buildings in the future. Bower adds the interesting detail that because of this event, it became a proverb in England that St. Columba would punish and take revenge upon anyone who commits a crime against him,⁴⁹ and so Columba might have been considered a likely ally of Scottish forces by both the Scots and the English.

Additional contenders for “saints of the Scottish country” are provided in other medieval texts that speak of saintly help in battles. In the *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, for example, a chronicle written in the early fifteenth century, Andrew of Wyntoun records a sermon delivered to a group of Scots assembled before the Battle of Roslin against the English in 1303. The priest tells his listeners to place their hope in St. Andrew and two other saints: “Gyve God will, owris sall be this day. / In God all yhoure hope yhe set, / Saynt Andrew, Saynt Nynnyane, and Saynt Margret.”⁵⁰ Perhaps Ninian and Margaret were also in the thoughts of the Scots at Bannockburn.

We know very little about the historical figure of Ninian. Scholars do not agree on exactly when he lived, where his influence was felt, or even what the correct form of his name should be.⁵¹ He probably flourished at some time in the fifth or sixth century, served as a missionary and bishop, and built the church of Candida Casa at Whithorn, which was said to have been the first stone church in Britain.⁵² The most extensive account of his life is that provided in the twelfth-century *Vita Niniani* by Aelred of Rievaulx.

This account's wide range of stories about the saint, from support at high levels of politics to culinary assistance at a local monastery, may have helped to establish or reflect Ninian's popularity widely among Scots.⁵³ Miracles and accomplishments in this *Vita* include the healing of a king, the convincing of a one-day-old infant to declare the true identity of its father, and, his best-known activity, the conversion of the Picts. The most amusing of Aelred's stories about Ninian is possibly the so-called "Miracle among the Leeks." Ninian noticed one day that no herbs or vegetables were placed on the table of a monastery's refectory for dinner. Informed that the garden had not yet produced any food, he ordered the gardener to gather whatever his hand found in the garden. "Then followed a wonder," the *Vita* says. "He beheld leeks and other kinds of herbs not only grown, but bearing seed." With the leeks placed on the table, the guests praised God working in his saints. This would seem to be an excellent testimonial for Ninian's power, but then Aelred's text suggests that the witnesses were left in the end feeling somewhat underwhelmed with the miraculous leeks, for they "retired much better refreshed in mind than in body."⁵⁴

Whatever he thought of the saint's influence over leeks and other achievements, Bower in the *Scotichronicon* characterizes Ninian as having been a person of "wonderful virtue and holiness in the eyes of God and man," adding that "both while he was living and after his passing right up to the present day, he is a magnificent worker of miracles."⁵⁵ Among the miracles attributed to Ninian that may have contributed to his popularity with soldiers were those involving the rescue of captives. Several stories written in Scots between about 1330 and 1440 serve as typical examples of "rescue miracles" in which victims are saved from a violent death during a turbulent age.⁵⁶ The centre of Ninian's cult was at Whithorn in Galloway, where his tomb was located, and by the later Middle Ages Whithorn was an important pilgrimage site. Robert the Bruce's well-known devotion to Ninian might have been inspired by his mother, Marjorie of Carrick, who came from Ninian's home region, and Robert's devotion seems to have been deeply felt: the king made a 250-mile round-trip journey to Ninian's shrine in 1329, in the midst of a painful illness that would lead to his death in just a few months' time.⁵⁷ Devotion to Ninian extended beyond

Galloway and dedications to him were widely distributed throughout the country.⁵⁸ Nor did Scots' devotions to this saint stop at the kingdom's borders. Altars to St. Ninian were found in Bruges (Flanders), Copenhagen (Denmark), and Bergen-op-Zoom (Brabant), and a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian was sited at Roscoff (Brittany). Each of these foundations was associated with a Scottish community in the area.⁵⁹

Margaret, another saint invoked by the Scots at Roslin according to the *Orygynale Cronykil*, was born into the royal Anglo-Saxon family while they were living in exile in Hungary. She arrived in Scotland as a young woman and became Scotland's queen when she married Malcolm III Canmore in about 1070. In the biography of Margaret written likely by Turgot, her confessor, Margaret comes across as a pious, intelligent and assertive woman. She arranged for church councils to be held, arguing in person at one of them that practises should be brought into closer alignment with European norms.⁶⁰ She also purchased from traders clothing of various colours and ornaments, thereby encouraging the adoption of new manners of dress, and she extended this fashionable influence still further by having the royal palace redecorated.⁶¹ In contrast to these rather stylish contributions to medieval Scotland, the only miracle attributed to Margaret during her lifetime is a rather bookish one. She owned a beautifully adorned book of Gospels, decorated with gold and precious stones, now held at the Bodleian Library. Someone carrying it for her let it fall into a stream and left it there for some time. When the book was finally recovered, the only mark left by the water was on the margin of the leaves.⁶²

The Scottish royal family maintained its connection to Margaret through succeeding generations. Her children made efforts to establish her cult, which took root at the site of her tomb in Dunfermline Abbey.⁶³ They and their descendants also secured papal canonization of Margaret in 1250, thereby joining the European trend of creating royal saints who helped legitimize the rule of the royal house descended from the saint.⁶⁴ Robert the Bruce supported Dunfermline Abbey during his reign through donations and patronage, and he chose Dunfermline to be his burial place (other than for his heart, which was to be interred at Melrose

Abbey). After his death, Robert was brought into proximity to Margaret through his funeral and his effigy at Dunfermline.⁶⁵ Other Scottish kings and queens also cultivated a connection to their saintly predecessor Margaret, regularly making offerings during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to her chapel at Edinburgh Castle and her altar in St. Giles.⁶⁶

Margaret was obviously an important saint to Scotland's royal family, but it is difficult to assess the popularity of her cult among Scots more generally. One reason for the difficulty is that there was more than one saint with that name, and it is not always clear if a record refers to St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, or to a different St. Margaret. That medieval Scots themselves sometimes confused or conflated more than one St. Margaret is shown by a collection of St. Margaret of Scotland's miracles at Dunfermline, preserved in a fifteenth-century copy of a text originally composed in the mid-thirteenth century.⁶⁷ It records that "a large body of ordinary faithful folk" were assembled at the Abbey of Dunfermline on the feast day of St. Margaret of Antioch, who was a virgin martyr from the early years of Christianity, and "perhaps because they had the same name, many of those present believed the precious martyr who bore the same name to be our Margaret." The anonymous scribe was unconcerned with this "devout error," as he calls it, for "there is no disunity between those who reign jointly in the heavenly place."⁶⁸ The special areas of patronage for the two saints might also have become at times conflated. For example, it is recorded in the Exchequer Roll that in 1451, when Mary of Gueldres was giving birth to the future James III, Margaret's shirt was brought to her, and it is recorded in the Treasurers' Accounts for 1512 that when Queen Margaret was giving birth to the future James V, a man named "Luke of the wardrobe" was given eight shillings "to feche Sanct Margaretis sark to the Quene."⁶⁹ Calling upon St. Margaret for help with childbirth is also mentioned in Sir David Lyndsay's poem *Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and an Courteour* when he says that "Sum wyffis sanct Margret doith exhort / In to thare byrth thame to support."⁷⁰ It was not St. Margaret of Scotland, however, who was popularly believed in medieval Europe to have patronage for childbirth, but rather St. Margaret of Antioch. As Margaret of

Antioch says in a fourteenth-century Scots translation of the popular compilation of saints' lives known as the *Golden Legend*, whatever woman calls on her at the time of childbirth, both she and the child will be delivered.⁷¹

Help in childbirth was likely not something being sought by the soldiers at Bannockburn while on the field of battle, but St. Margaret of Scotland was also associated with providing aid in other circumstances too. Some historians have found that Margaret was revered widely throughout Scotland, but clear evidence for popular devotion to Margaret is very limited beyond Edinburgh and Dunfermline.⁷² In 1249, Pope Innocent IV granted an indulgence to anyone visiting the church of Dunfermline on St. Margaret's feast day,⁷³ and as part of his oration when Margaret was canonized the following year, the pope invited pilgrims on their journey to the shrine of St. Andrew to "find sanctuary and comfort" at the shrine of Margaret, so spiritual incentives for pilgrimage to her shrine were in place. In analyzing the miracles recorded at her shrine in the thirteenth-century collection, the text's editor Robert Bartlett has determined that St. Margaret's cult was "a typical regional cult with a strong monastic core" in terms of division between the sexes, ailments, social class, and geographical origin of the forty-four individuals visiting Margaret's shrine.⁷⁴ At least two of Margaret's post-mortem miracles described in the *Scotichronicon* appear to demonstrate her political commitment to Scotland. The first happened during the translation of her remains in 1250. Bishops and abbots were carrying Margaret's casket to its intended place of reburial in the choir beyond the high altar, but, as they reached the chancel door opposite the body of Margaret's husband King Malcolm, the arms of the bearers became paralyzed and they could no longer move the casket because of its weight. Other bearers were added, but none could move it. While they were seeking a reason for their failure, a voice called out from among the bystanders telling them that perhaps it was not God's will that Margaret's bones should be moved before her husband's had been honoured in the same way. Approving of this idea, King Alexander and his helpers lifted the casket holding the remains of King Malcolm, at which point the bearers of the casket with the remains of Queen Margaret could lift and move it without any effort.⁷⁵ The

message here would seem to be that after death, Queen Margaret wished to remain close to her kingly husband, perhaps, therefore, also close to the Scottish royal family by extension. She wished to help Scots in their military endeavours too, as seen in a second miracle recounted in the *Scotichronicon*. In 1263, King Haakon of Norway came to Scotland with 160 ships, asserting that the islands between Scotland and Ireland were his by right of inheritance. A Scottish knight named John Wemyss, courageous in character but worn out by daily fevers, had a vision in which he saw himself standing at the doorway of the church at Dunfermline and a “lady of radiant beauty and resplendent in full royal attire,” attended by four knights in gleaming armour, coming out of the church. The slumbering Wemyss asked the lady who she was and where she and her companions were going, and she answered that she was Margaret, formerly queen of Scots, and that her companions were King Malcolm and their sons, former kings of Scots. She then told him her patriotic purpose: “In company with them I am hurrying to defend our country at Largs, and to win a victory over the usurper who is unjustly trying to make my kingdom subject to his rule.” In explaining the reason behind her determination to offer military assistance, she added, “for you must know that I received this kingdom from God, granted in trust to me and to our heirs for ever.” When Wemyss awoke, he remained very weak, but he journeyed regardless to Dunfermline and told the prior of the monastery about his dream. Held up by his servants’ hands, he kissed the whole area around St. Margaret’s shrine, and as he was moving towards the relics themselves he was cured of his infirmity. At that moment, a servant came in to bring the good news of the Scottish victory at Largs.⁷⁶ As this story and others about her attest, Margaret was a foreigner born and raised, but she certainly had a good record of fighting for the Scottish country. She might therefore have been thought willing to do so again at Bannockburn.

Other Scottish sources provide still more contenders for membership among the “saints of the Scottish country.” According to Thomas Walsingham’s *Historia Anglicana*, written in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, when the Scots were preparing to make a raid on northern England during an outbreak of plague in 1379, they prayed to several saints including St. Andrew and St.

Mungo to “scheld us this day for Goddis grace, and the foule deth that Yngless men dyene upon.”⁷⁷ “Mungo” was the affectionate nickname that Scots used for the saint who was also called Kentigern, a bishop of Glasgow in the seventh century. The only near-contemporary source to mention the historic Kentigern is the *Annales Cambriae*, a series of chronicles from Wales, which says that he died in 612, although some scholars think the chronicler was off by a year or two and that Kentigern’s death might better be dated in the year 613 or 614.⁷⁸ Kentigern maintained a strong presence in Glasgow centuries later through at least three written texts as well as the oral traditions of local Glaswegians themselves.⁷⁹ He also maintained a physical presence. An inventory of Glasgow Cathedral taken in 1432 mentions an assortment of relics including pieces of the clothing of St. Kentigern, his combs, and his bones.⁸⁰ His tomb, located in the lower level of the cathedral, was adorned with a great cloth of Arras featuring stories from his life.⁸¹ A bell of St. Kentigern was rung during requiem masses of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries,⁸² perhaps the same “Sanct Mungowis Bell” that was still being rung through Glasgow at the burial of the dead in 1577, and that in 1578 was provided with a new tongue.⁸³

St. Kentigern’s military assistance specifically was recorded in the twelfth-century *Carmen de Morte Somerledi*, where he helped the Scots in repel the Hebridean invader Somerled.⁸⁴ His reputation reached Bower too, who describes Bishop Kentigern in the *Scotichronicon* as being “a man of amazing sanctity,” whose bones in Glasgow “lie buried in the same place famous for many miracles performed to the glory of God.” According to one of the more fantastic episodes from the *Scotichronicon*, Kentigern even encountered the prophet Merlin, who appeared as “a certain madman naked and hairy and devoid of all worldly comfort” and crossed Kentigern’s path “like a raging wild beast” while the bishop was praying in a thicket. Kentigern ordered the strange figure to explain who he was and why he wandered alone in the wilderness. Merlin identified himself, then said that he was suffering with the beasts because he did not deserve to suffer in the company of men on account of his role in the slaughter of many people. Kentigern, compassionate for the wretchedness of Merlin,

offered communion. Although Merlin died a threefold death shortly thereafter (stoned and beaten by shepherds, impaled by a sharp stake in a fish trap, and drowned in a river), he spent his final day on earth happily, leaping “like a wild goat set free from the hunter’s snare” and singing an exultant song.⁸⁵

Whatever this curious encounter meant to Robert the Bruce, if he even knew of the story, the king of Scots may have been especially motivated to support devotion to Kentigern because of a political debt. Kentigern’s successor as bishop of Glasgow at the time of the Battle of Bannockburn was Robert Wishart, who had a very large diocese stretching throughout much of western central Scotland right down to the border. Wishart was one of the king’s chief ecclesiastical advisors, and Robert likely felt especially beholden to this episcopal successor of Kentigern because it was Bishop Wishart of Glasgow who had absolved Robert for his murder of John Comyn in 1306.⁸⁶ Kentigern’s earthly representatives were certainly keen supporters of Scottish independence, so perhaps the Scots fighting at Bannockburn were hoping that Kentigern himself would be as well.

One more saint with a legendary connection to Robert the Bruce and the Scottish army at Bannockburn is St. Fillan. This saint had origins in the sixth century, possibly from four separate clerics all named Fillan who were active in the early Middle Ages. St. Fillan is not mentioned in the *Scotichronicon*, but Hector Boece’s *Scotorum Historia*, published in 1527, relates that on the night before the Battle of Bannockburn, King Robert prayed to this saint for victory and had a vision of the silver case containing St. Fillan’s arm bone opening and closing by itself. A priest inspected the case, not expecting to find the relic within since he had purposely brought an empty case to preserve the relic from loss in battle. This priest found—surely to his astonishment—that the case did indeed contain the arm bone of St. Fillan.⁸⁷ In this account at least, St. Fillan had a presence with the Scottish forces at the Battle of Bannockburn through his relics. Whether the story of the Scottish king’s vision of St. Fillan at Bannockburn actually dates from the time of the battle itself or from much later, other evidence confirms that Robert the Bruce was devoted to this saint. He enlarged the chapel dedicated to Fillan in Strathearn in 1318,⁸⁸ and in the year

that he died his natural son Sir Robert Bruce of Liddesdale gave £20 to the church of St. Fillan in Strathfillan.⁸⁹ These devotions likely had political connections to the people associated with the church of St. Fillan in Strathfillan, who gave Robert vital support upon his seizure of the Scottish throne in 1306.⁹⁰

In addition to the possible presence of his arm bone on the field and the certainly strong personal devotion of Robert the Bruce, there was yet another reason why St. Fillan might have been popular among the Scots at Bannockburn. His crozier was reputedly able to locate lost goods and cattle, surely a power with wide appeal, and also one that goes back at least to the time of Bannockburn. An inquest held in 1428 before the bailie of Glendochart on the authority and privileges of the crozier of St. Fillan found that the office of carrying the relic had been passed down as an inheritance from the successor of St. Fillan, and that the keeper of the crozier was required to provide a service: if any goods or cattle were stolen or carried off from any dwelling in Glendochart, and if the person from whom the goods or cattle were stolen did not dare to follow his property either because of not knowing the identity of the thief or because of feud, he should send a messenger to the keeper of St. Fillan's crozier with fourpence, or a pair of shoes, and food for the first night, and then the crozier's keeper would follow the cattle wherever they were to be found within the kingdom of Scotland.⁹¹ A letter signed by the king in 1487 makes a clear link to the time period of the Battle of Bannockburn by speaking of Malice Doire, the current keeper of the crozier, "and his forebearis" who had "ane relik of Sanct Fulane callit the Quargich in keping" since the time of Robert the Bruce, adding that this Malice Doire did not answer to anyone spiritual or temporal in any matter relating to this relic, and that he was to be assisted and in no way disturbed while passing with this relic through the country.⁹²

St. Fillan's crozier remained in the family of its keepers for hundreds of years, and even spent some time in Canada during the nineteenth century when its hereditary keepers emigrated to Lanark County, in eastern Ontario. The crozier's reputation for miraculous properties by this time was much diminished in comparison to centuries earlier and thousands of miles distant, but at least a few

people still knew of its reputed powers. Alexander Dewar, last of the hereditary keepers, said that he had “not been much troubled with it” as a “charm,” but he did recall that the crozier was still sought for curing diseases of cattle, reporting that two men “who had sick cattle, came to get water of it for them.” Mr Dewar seems not to have been especially interested in the result, for he also said that he “never inquired whether it cured them or not.”⁹³ In 1876, the rights and ownership of the crozier were transferred to the Society of Antiquaries for the National Museum of Scotland, “there to remain in all time to come for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the Scottish nation.” The negotiations and persuasions for the transfer were largely undertaken by Daniel Wilson, Professor of History and English Literature and President at the University of Toronto. Thus did a relic of one of the saints of the Scottish country join, for a time, the expansive Scottish diaspora, before returning to Scotland with Canadian help.⁹⁴

Walter Bower would not have anticipated such a trans-Atlantic development in the cult of a Scottish saint when he was writing the *Scotichronicon*, and, to be sure, his account does not agree with even all medieval European sources that discuss the Battle of Bannockburn. Some accounts do not mention the saints of the Scottish country, or indeed, any saints at all. In John Barbour’s epic *The Bruce*, when Robert attempts to raise the morale of his troops by telling them why they have the advantage over the English, he provides three reasons, and none of these is concerned with saintly help: the Scots have right on their side and God will always fight for right; the English have come to the battle trusting in their power to seek the Scots even in the Scots’ own land; and the Scots stand in battle for their lives, for their children and wives, for their freedom and lands, while the English stand only for their power.⁹⁵ The English *Chronicle of Lanercost* provides another account of the battle without saintly reference. It says that on this “evil, miserable, and calamitous day for the English,” the Scots fell on their knees and said a *pater noster* before the start of battle, commending themselves to God and seeking help from heaven. It says nothing about appeals to saints.⁹⁶ This absence of saints is perhaps especially striking when considering that earlier in this chronicle a story is told of a saintly tradition in the family of the

king of Scots. Robert the Bruce's ancestor, Robert Bruce of Annandale, had deceived St. Malachy, bishop of Armagh, by promising to spare the life of a robber but then having the robber hanged. Malachy "pronounced a heavy sentence" on Robert and his descendants, which led to the untimely deaths of Robert and three of his heirs. Hearing of this, a surviving descendant, grandfather of King Robert, sought pardon from the saint at his tomb and offered the gift of perpetual rents to pay for silver lights there.⁹⁷ The Lanercost chronicler was clearly not averse to reporting saintly influence over kings, and yet he refrained from attributing to the saints any inspiration at Bannockburn.

Even the *Scotichronicon* itself, in its assessment of the reasons for the Scottish victory at Bannockburn (as opposed to its reporting of the hopes of the Scots), leaves aside the help of saints in favour of other explanations: the English king's war against the Scots was unjust, the English king had no fear of God, he despised his peer the king of Scots, he had too much confidence in his own ability and the size of his army, he unjustly attacked an innocent people in a foreign land, and he experienced divine punishment because of his shedding of innocent blood.⁹⁸ All these reasons are related to character flaws or mistakes on the part of the English king rather than to good character or decisions by the Scots, and none has any direct connection to the help of saints. Interestingly, the *Scotichronicon* follows this list of reasons with an account of an event that involves some kind of supernatural presence as a sign of God's punishment for the English shedding of innocent blood. On the eve of John the Baptist's feast day (which is to say, on the eve of the Battle of Bannockburn), the sacrist at the monastery of Glastonbury in England was finishing his evening tasks and was about to go to bed, when suddenly two armed men on white horses appeared in the courtyard. They asked for hospitality and the sacrist provided them and their horses with food. Impressed by the men's dignity and eloquence, the sacrist also offered them a bed for the night, but the visitors refused. They thanked the sacrist repeatedly for the refreshment and explained that "on that very same night before sunrise they must of necessity take part in a certain battle at Bannockburn which was to be fought between the kings of Scotland and England, and give help on the side of the Scots" as

revenge for the unjust deaths of Simon Montfort and his followers at the battle of Evesham fifty years previously. After providing this explanation, the visitors “glided from the sight of the listener and were seen there no longer.” The sacrist, “greatly astonished,” considered the matter, and brought it to the attention of the abbot, who was also astonished. It was not until they found an old Scot, hitherto presumed to be English, that they were to discover even where this place called Bannockburn was.⁹⁹ Nothing in the account suggests that these mysterious visitors were saints, but their strange appearance and even stranger disappearance indicated to the sacrist some kind of supernatural connection between the Battle of Bannockburn and the Scots who fought there.

The *Scotichronicon* and other sources agree that the saints’ support could benefit the Scots in battle, even though none is clear on exactly what form the support would take. The word used in the *Scotichronicon* to describe the saints’ assistance, *pugnabunt*, is from the verb *pugnare*, which generally meant to fight physically.¹⁰⁰ Physical fighting, however, is not what these sources describe as the saints’ contribution. They portray the saints as working through the people on the field rather than as independent agents in combat: the saints were being called upon not to fight in the heat of battle alongside the mortal combatants, but to strengthen the spirit of the Scottish forces. If this hoped-for contribution seems indirect almost to the point of irrelevance, it is worth noting that saints’ cults could strongly encourage a sense of bonding and a raising of morale. Both the Scottish and the English leaders in the Wars of Independence understood this power of saints’ cults well. Edward I demonstrated a conspicuous piety in local centres of devotion after invading Scotland, making offerings to the cult of St. Thomas Becket at Arbroath Abbey, to the shrine of St. Margaret at Dunfermline Abbey, to the shrine of St. Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral, to the shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn, and to the relics of St. Andrew at St. Andrews.¹⁰¹ Edward also removed an assortment of saintly objects from Scotland and brought them to Westminster. Among these were some personal items belonging to Queen Margaret, an uncertain number of “diverse relics,” as they were recorded by Edward’s officials, and most notably the “Black Rude,” which was either a piece of the true cross or a vessel

containing a piece of the true cross. These items were sufficiently important that their return to Scotland was promised in the 1328 Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton.¹⁰² As both the English king and the king of Scots knew, devotion to saints in heaven could serve very worldly political ends.

Walter Bower understood the political significance of saints too. In this respect he was a writer very much of his own time, but he was also a thinker precociously aware of the future. He shows his appreciation for the mutability of historical interpretation in the *Scotichronicon*'s concluding chapter, asking that "any courteous reader" not blame him when he has followed inaccurate written texts or oral accounts, "but to correct and change any errors without ill-will in accordance with fuller knowledge." He adds that he will not be able to deny "that several things may possibly occur to the mind of the reader in a better and even clearer form, and these ought deservedly to be corrected."¹⁰³ In the same spirit of openness, this paper has taken the report of Robert the Bruce's claim to an alliance with the saints as a starting point from which to launch an exploration of which particular saints might have been in the thoughts of the Scots at the Battle of Bannockburn. By examining Robert the Bruce's call to the saints as recorded in the *Scotichronicon* within a larger historical context, it becomes clear that both the literary and the actual troops at Bannockburn could have invoked a variety of saints to help them in their cause, and that King Robert's confidence in the support of St. Andrew and St. Thomas and the "saints of the Scottish country" was equally an expression of confidence in what his people were about to achieve.

NOTES

¹ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. E. R. Watt, Vol. 6 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991), 360-367.

² Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 362-363.

³ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 362-365. My translation differs somewhat from Watt's, which has "Happy is this day! John the Baptist was born on it; / and St. Andrew and Thomas who shed his blood / along with the

saints of the Scottish fatherland will fight today / for the honour of the people, with Christ the Lord in the van.”

⁴ Mairi Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change in Scottish Towns, c. 1350-1560* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 58-74.

⁵ Michael Penman, “The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury”, *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 346-70; Michael Penman, “‘Sacred Food for the Soul’: In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329”, *Speculum* 88,4 (October, 2013), 1035-1062; Michael Penman, *Robert the Bruce: King of Scots* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

⁶ D. E. R. Watt, “Bower, Walter (1385–1449)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., May 2006.

⁷ Watt, “Bower, Walter (1385–1449)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 8, 340-341.

⁹ CCCC MS 171B f. 265 r. See for digital images:

http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=171B

¹⁰ G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce & The Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), 225; Watt, Introduction to Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, xvi-xvii, also endnotes p. 456.

¹¹ Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 312-321.

¹² C. R. Cheney, Michael Jones (eds.), *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15-16, 59-95.

¹³ *Charters and Documents Relating to The Burgh of Peebles with Extracts from the Records of the Burgh A.D. 1165-1710* (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1872), 5.

¹⁴ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 4, 293, 339; *Scotichronicon* 5, 336-337.

¹⁵ *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th rev. ed., ed. by David Hugh Farmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Marinell Ash and Dauvit Broun, “The Adoption of St Andrew as Patron Saint of Scotland”, in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews*, ed. John Higgitt (Leeds: The British Archaeological Association, 1994), 18-21.

¹⁶ Turgot, *Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, trans. by William Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1884), 59-60.

¹⁷ James Murray Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1914), 208; Penman, ““Sacred Food for the Soul””, 1050; Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 413.

¹⁸ David McRoberts, “The Glorious House of St Andrew”, *Innes Review* 25,2 (1974), 146; Bruce Webster, *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity* (London: St Martin’s Press, 1997), 55; Barrow, *Robert Bruce & The Community of the Realm in Scotland*, 7.

¹⁹ Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* (St Andrews: St Andrews University Library, 1994), ix, 130; Mairi Cowan, “Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation: Individuals, Communities, and Nation” (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2003), 186-207.

²⁰ *Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*,
<http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/Research/saints/>

²¹ Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland*, 107-108.

²² Norman Reid, “The Kingless Kingdom: The Scottish Guardianships of 1286-1306”, *Scottish Historical Review* 61,2 (October, 1982), 125-126.

²³ *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328: Some Selected Documents*, ed. E. L. G. Stones (London: Nelson, 1965) #28.

²⁴ Translation of the Declaration of Arbroath compiled by Alan Borthwick, rev. version (2005), based on Sir James Fergusson, *The Declaration of Arbroath 1320* (1970), 5-11, with reference to A. A. M. Duncan, *The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath* (Historical Association pamphlet, 1970), 34-37 and D. E. R. Watt (ed.) *Scotichronicon* 7, 4-9.

<http://www.nas.gov.uk/downloads/declarationArbroath.pdf>

²⁵ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 149.

²⁶ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 91.

²⁷ Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland*, 127-8.

²⁸ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, Vol. IV (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House), 521.

²⁹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, Vol. V, 227.

³⁰ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 457.

³¹ Frank Barlow, “Becket, Thomas (1120?–1170)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed, May 2006.

³² Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London: Longman, 1976), 66-67.

³³ James Murray Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1914), 284;

Walter de Gray Birch, *History of Scottish Seals, Volume II* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1907), 185; Alexander Porteous, *Town Council Seals of Scotland Historical, Legendary and Heraldic* (Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston, 1906), 17.

³⁴ Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural Dedications*, 284-288.

³⁵ Michael Penman, "The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c.1178-c.1404", *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 346-370.

³⁶ *Inventory of the Ornaments, Reliques, Jewels, Vestments, Books, & c. Belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, M.CCCC.XXXII*, ed. By John Dillon, (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1831), 3.

³⁷ Penman, "'Sacred Food for the Soul': In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329", 1046-1048; Penman, "The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury", 346-70.

³⁸ Antony Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9-10.

³⁹ R. James Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical narrative in medieval Scotland* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 23, 55-56.

⁴⁰ I. F. Grant and Hugh Cheape, *Periods of Highland History* (London: Shephard-Walyn, 1987), 34-59; R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard c. 1100-c. 1336* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997).

⁴¹ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 361.

⁴² Keith Stringer, "The Emergence of a Nation State, 1100-1300" in *Scotland: A History*, ed. by Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 38, 66, 67; Webster, *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity*, 41; Norman Reid, "The Kingless Kingdom: The Scottish Guardianships of 1286-1306", *Scottish Historical Review* 61,2 (October, 1982): 105-129.

⁴³ Jonathan Gledhill, "The Scots and the battle of Bannockburn (act. 1314)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁴⁴ *Legends of Scottish Saints: Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*, ed. by Alan Macquarrie (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 344.

⁴⁵ Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, in Gilbert Márkus, “Dewars and Relics in Scotland: Some clarifications and questions”, *Innes Review* 60,2 (2009), 109.

⁴⁶ David H. Caldwell, “The Monymusk Reliquary: The Breccbennach of St Columba?” *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 131 (2001): 267-282.

⁴⁷ Caldwell, “The Monymusk Reliquary: The Breccbennach of St Columba?”, 267-282.

⁴⁸ *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 339, 343; *Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*.

⁴⁹ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 7, 118-121. See also pp. 398-403 for an example of Columba taking revenge against English forces who tried to burn the monastery in 1384.

⁵⁰ Andrew of Wyntoun, *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, ed. by David Laing (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1872-1879), lines 2562-2567.

⁵¹ Daphne Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places: St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1994); John MacQueen, *St Nynia* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990); Alan Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History AD 450-1093* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1997); Andrew McCulloch, *Galloway: A Land Apart* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000); Alexander Boyle, “St. Ninian or Ringan”, *Innes Review* 19,2 (Autumn, 1968), 173-4; Thomas Owen Clancy, “The Real St Ninian”, *Innes Review* 42 (2001), 21-25; Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, 33.

⁵² Bower, *Scotichronicon* 2, 24-25; Ailred of Rievaulx, *Vita Niniani* in Forbes (ed.), *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, 11; John Higgitt, “From Bede to Rabelais – or How St Ninian Got his Chain” in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. by Paul Binski and William Noel (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 2001), 187-209; Dauvit Broun, “Ninian [St Ninian] (*supp. fl.* 5th–6th cent.)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., May 2006.

⁵³ The 238 references in the *Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* show devotion to Ninian from a wide diversity of people in terms of region and class.

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Ninian and Machar, from a Unique MS. in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1904).

⁵⁵ Bower, *Scotichronicon* 2, 24-25.

⁵⁶ *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. 2, ed. by W. M. Metcalf (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1896), 304-415, ll. 815-1358; Penman, "'Sacred Food for the Soul': In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329", 1052; Higgitt, "From Bede to Rabelais", 188; Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), x, 51-3, 130-154.

⁵⁷ Penman, "'Sacred Food for the Soul': In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329", 1052.

⁵⁸ Higgitt, "From Bede to Rabelais", 187; *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 403.

⁵⁹ George Hay, "A Scottish Altarpiece in Copenhagen", *Innes Review* 7 (1956), 5-10; Alexander W. K. Stevenson, "Notice of an Early Sixteenth-Century Scottish Colony at Bergen-op-Zoom and an Altar there once dedicated to St Ninian", *Innes Review* 26 (1975), 50-52.

⁶⁰ Turgot, *Life of St Margaret*, 37, 43-51.

⁶¹ Turgot, *Life of St Margaret*, 40-41.

⁶² Turgot, *Life of St Margaret*, 66-68.

⁶³ Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 95, 97, 115, 117, 133; Derek Baker, "'A nursery of saints': St Margaret of Scotland reconsidered" in *Medieval Women* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), 120.

⁶⁴ Gábor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, trans. by Susan Singerman, ed. by Karen Margolis (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 125; Fiona Watson, "The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland, Kingship and National Identity in the Wars of Independence" in *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages*, ed. by Dauvit Broun, R. J. Finlay, and Michael Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1998), 19.

⁶⁵ Penman, "'Sacred Food for the Soul': In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329", 1058.

⁶⁶ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, I, 64; 368; II, 74, 256, 267; III, 75, 76, 291; IV, 42, 189, 190.

⁶⁷ Robert Bartlett (ed.), *The Miracles of St Aebbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003).

⁶⁸ Bartlett, *The Miracles of St Aebbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland*, 91.

⁶⁹ *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, Vol. 5, 447; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, IV, 324. Catherine Keene thinks these were the shirts of Queen Margaret. *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 133.

⁷⁰ *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*, ed. by Douglas Hamer (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society), 1931, II 2379-80.

⁷¹ Priscilla Bawcutt, "Two Cases of Mistaken Identity: Sir David Lindsay's St Syth and St Margaret", *Innes Review* 52 (2001): 189-194.

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⁷⁴ Bartlett, *The Miracles of St Aebbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland*, xxxviii-xli.

⁷⁵ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Volume 5, 296-299.

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⁸³ *Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow*, pp. 87, 104.

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⁸⁶ Penman, "Sacred Food for the Soul", 1049-1050.

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