

Fife Pilgrim Way
Report Detailing Historical References to Pilgrimage and the Cult of the Saints in Fife
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Key

Historical References are presented in the following format;

4 Dec 1516

Letters of safe conduct made with the consent of the Regent (James Hamilton, earl of Arran, regent for James V), for all people of both sexes of the kingdoms of England, Spain and the Isle of Man, of all ranks, coming to the kingdom of the Scots by land and sea, on foot or horse to the church of Candida Casa (Whithorn) in honour of St Ninian confessor on pilgrimage.¹

St Ninian was the most popular Scottish saint in the later middle ages. As the safe conducts issued by James I and the regency council of James V quoted above show, pilgrims were travelling to his shrine from England, the Isle of Man and Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Italicised text = translated or transcribed primary source information from Latin or Middle Scots. The original language is kept where translation or modern spelling is unnecessary
Standard text = Dr Tom Turpie's explanatory comments or added factual information

Bibliographic details for each reference can be found in the accompanying footnote

Abbreviations

NLS- National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh)

NRS- National Archives of Scotland (Edinburgh)

PNF 1- Taylor. S & Markus. G, 2006, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume One. West Fife between Leven and Forth*, Donington,

PNF 2- Taylor. S & Markus. G, 2008, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume Two. Central Fife between the Rovers Leven and Eden*, Donington,

PNF 3- Taylor. S & Markus. G., 2009, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume Three. St Andrews and the East Neuk*, Donington,

PNF 4- Taylor. S & Markus. G., 2010, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume Four. North Fife between Eden and Tay*, Donington,

PNF 5- Taylor. S & Markus. G, 2012, *Place-Names of Fife. Volume Five. Discussion, Glossaries, Texts*, Donington,

RMS- Thomson. J. M et al, 1882-194, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh

SA Liber- Thomson, T. 1841, *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh,

StAUL- St Andrews University Library Special Collections

TA- Dickson. T, 1877-1916, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*. Edinburgh

¹ Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, i, no. 2844.

I. Introduction

Medieval Fife was host to two major shrines and number of smaller sites. This meant that the economy, communication networks, landscape and religious and cultural life of Fife, perhaps more than any other region of medieval Scotland, was shaped by the presence of pilgrims and the veneration of the saints. The national and international importance of the relics of St Andrew ensured that from the twelfth century, and possibly earlier, Fife would be home to the headquarters of the Scottish church and its largest and most impressive ecclesiastical building. The relics were therefore also the stimulus for the foundation of Scotland's first university in the town in 1412. The presence of the shrine of the St Margaret (d. 1093) at Dunfermline, medieval Scotland's only canonised saint and an important symbolic figure Scottish royal house, ensured that western Fife was also home to a significant royal and ecclesiastical centre. Large scale pilgrimage to these two shrines, particularly to St Andrews, had a considerable impact across Fife, leading to the development and maintenance of a communication and hospitality network designed to cater to the needs of pilgrims. This network, in addition to smaller scale pilgrimage to several other shrines and the cult of the saints in general, shaped settlement patterns and ecclesiastical architecture across medieval Fife. Despite their prohibition following the Protestant Reformation pilgrimage and the cult of the saints, in the names of places and topographical features, in the remains of ecclesiastical architecture, and more recently in heritage and tourism, continue to play a major role in the landscape and economy of Fife.

This report begins with a brief background discussion of pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in medieval Scotland and Fife followed by a short bibliography of primary and secondary sources related to the major shrines and saints in the region. Thereafter, sections II and III list all the relevant historical references to pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in medieval Fife, with explanatory comments and additional factual information where necessary. Section IV includes historical references to the impact of the Protestant Reformation on pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in Fife, followed by some recommendations in Section V for further avenues of study in this field. The report concludes with a full list of all sources consulted during the research.

i. Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland

In the middle ages the term ‘pilgrimage’ could have a number of applications, however it primarily referred to visits to the shrines of the saints. The decision by the people of medieval Europe to travel to a sacred site was based around the belief that the bodily remains of the saint retained the sanctity, and power, of that individual. The primary and underlying purpose of pilgrimage was to seek out this power. Objects associated with, or thought to belong to, saints, and on occasion images (statues in particular), were viewed as extensions of the saint’s body and therefore were also able to retain his or her power. This was particularly important in the veneration of the Virgin Mary and Christ, neither of whom had left corporeal relics. Beyond this primary purpose however, the people of medieval Europe undertook journeys to sacred sites for a number of more specific reasons: seeking help from a particular saint for an affliction or problem; as a penance for a crime or misdemeanour; shorten the amount of time their soul would spend in purgatory and as a form of recreation or cultural custom.² The popularity of pilgrimage in the middle ages necessitated, and encouraged, the development of a supporting infrastructure of roads, bridges, ferries, and services providing food, drink and accommodation for pilgrims.³ It also shaped the design of churches which were increasingly (by the later middle ages) organised to facilitate the control and access to relics of saints for pilgrims. Thus while pilgrimage was primarily a religious activity, it had a considerably broader economic, social, and on occasion political, impact.

The shrines of medieval Europe can be categorised or ranked by the numbers and range of pilgrims they attracted. In the top echelon were Rome, Jerusalem and the various other sites of the Holy Land. At the next level were shrines that attracted an international clientele, many of which, such as Santiago de Compostella (St James), Vezelay (Mary Magdalene), Amiens (John the Baptist) and Amalfi (Andrew), claimed to possess relics of the Apostles or other Biblical figures. Other shrines in this second category such as those at Tours (Martin), Cologne (Ursula) and Canterbury (Thomas Becket) possessed the relics of important early church martyrs or saints with an international reputation for the performance of miracles. Increasingly in the later middle ages the most popular sites within this second group were shrines associated with relics of Christ (Wilsnack, Hailes) or the Virgin Mary

² Webb. D, 1999, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London, pp. 49-71, Wilson. S. 1982, ‘Introduction’, in *Saints and their cults: studies in religious sociology, folklore and history*, Cambridge, pp. 1-16.

³ Locker. M, 2015, *Landscapes of Pilgrimage in Medieval Britain*, Oxford, pp. 1-10.

(Walsingham, Loretto). The third rank were shrines of national or regional significance, in the British Isles this included Durham (Cuthbert), St David's, Westminster (Edward the Confessor), Bury St Edmunds and Whithorn (Ninian). The fourth category was the most common and numerous, the myriad of churches, chapels, caves and wells found across Europe that claimed to possess the relics of saints and whose significance remained, for the most part, intensely local.

Throughout the middle ages, Scots travelled abroad seeking the sacred and the miraculous, visiting the top and second rank shrines in the Holy Land, Rome and Santiago de Compostella, as well as other shrines in the British Isles, Europe and the Middle East.⁴ The most common pilgrimages however, were much less grand in scope and involved visits to local shrines and sacred sites. Scotland, like other regions located on the geographical peripheries of Europe, had its own domestic pilgrimage network.⁵ There were dozens of shrines in medieval Scotland based around the relics of saints, miraculous crosses and statues. Beyond Fife, only four of these, those found at Whithorn (Ninian) and Glasgow (Kentigern or Mungo) and Iona and Dunkeld (Columba), attracted an international clientele. Most Scottish shrines were intensely local in their appeal, although some, like the shrines of St Duthac at Tain in Easter Ross, St Triduana at Restalrig near Edinburgh, two Marian shrines at Whitekirk in East Lothian and Musselburgh in Midlothian and a Holy Cross shrine at Peebles, had short periods of national fame. Below are just a few primary source national examples relating to pilgrimage to and from medieval Scotland.

Historical References to Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland

12 Aug 1222

*Alexander, king of Scots (Alexander II, 1214-1249) has letters of safe-conduct, without term, on his coming on pilgrimage to Canterbury (Thomas Becket) and to the Lord King (Henry III, 1216-1272) to speak with him, during his stay on his return.*⁶

11 Jan 1449

Item, since the church of Glasgow is noble and stately among the cathedrals of Scotland and the bodies of many saints repose there, especially the body of St Kentigern, at which innumerable miracles have been done and to which many people come from all parts on the

⁴ Ditchburn. D, 2000, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214-1560, Volume 1: Religion, Culture and Commerce*, East Linton, pp. 61-65, Yeoman. P. 1999, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, London, pp. 110-120.

⁵ Webb. D, 1999, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London, pp. 118-121.

⁶ Webb. D, 1999, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London, p. 216.

*saint's days, and since the church is known to be in need of repair due to wars, upheavals and other calamities in those part...therefore since no indulgence is granted by the apostolic see in uberiora forma and for the safety of souls in Scotland, which is at the ends of the earth and distant from the Roman Court, the Pope is supplicated for the part of the said king (James II, 1437-1460), to grant plenary absolution and remission to all Christ's faithful of both sexes who, truly penitent and confessed, visit the said church in any year on the feast of St Kentigern and of the dedication of the church and who stretch out helping hands for repair and conservation in each of the days of the feast and dedication from first vespers to the second inclusive.*⁷

In 1449, William Turnbull, the bishop of Glasgow, with the support of James II, successfully supplicated the papacy for the right to offer an indulgence linked to the Papal jubilee of 1450. It attracted sufficient numbers of pilgrims to allow the bishop, to lend the king £800 from the profits.

17 Dec 1427

*The King (James I, 1406-1437) gives permission and licence to all those both sexes of the kingdom of England and Isle of Man who wish to visit on pilgrimage the church of St Ninian the confessor in the kingdom of the Scots at the church of Candida Casa (Whithorn) in Galloway in honour of the said saint, to come freely and safely without impediment; provided that the aforementioned wishing to visit the church by the West March from England by land, and from the isle of Man by sea come by the pilgrim roads and return within 15 days.*⁸

4 Dec 1516

*Letters of safe conduct made with the consent of the Regent (James Hamilton, earl of Arran, regent for James V, 1513-1542), for all people of both sexes of the kingdoms of England, Spain and the Isle of Man, of all ranks, coming to the kingdom of the Scots by land and sea, on foot or horse to the church of Candida Casa (Whithorn) in honour of St Ninian confessor on pilgrimage.*⁹

St Ninian was the most popular Scottish saint in the later middle ages. As the safe conducts issued by James I and the regency council of James V quoted above show, pilgrims were travelling to his shrine from England, the Isle of Man and Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

15 May 1525

It is appointed and agreed between Thomas Hamilton father to the late William Hamilton on that one part and John White, burgess of Edinburgh on the other part anent the slaughter committed by the said John White upon the late William Hamilton....in this manner. The said John is satisfaction of the said slaughter....shall be content and pay to the said Thomas the

⁷ Kirk, J et al, 1997, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1447-71*, 1997, Edinburgh, no. 239.

⁸ RMS, ii, no. 107.

⁹ Livingstone, M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, i, no. 2844.

*sum of 100 marks usual money of Scotland...and shall sustain one priest to sing a mass for the soul and likewise at the Scali Celi and four heid pilgrimages.*¹⁰

Pilgrimage could be undertaken as an imposed penance. Being sent to the “four heid pilgrimages” was a penitential sentence handed down by Scottish courts to perpetrators of homicides in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The shrines that made up this quartet seem to have varied over time, but generally included Whithorn, St Andrews and Tain.

ii. Pilgrimage in Fife

A diverse range of primary source materials, including hagiographical texts, miracle collections, royal, ecclesiastical and noble charters, poems, papal letters, governmental and civic records, church chronicles and diplomatic correspondence provide information on pilgrimage within medieval Fife. Fife was home to one shrine of the second rank, the cathedral church of St Andrews (II. i) which possessed relics of the Apostle and brother of St Peter. The international significance of the shrine from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries led to the development of a sophisticated network (II. ii) of ferries, bridges, roads, watering holes and accommodation to cater for the pilgrims who arrived in Fife by land and sea. Fife was also home to a shrine of the third rank, the Abbey of Dunfermline (II. iii) which housed the body of St Margaret (d.1093). During its heyday in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the shrine of St Margaret attracted pilgrims from Scotland and England. There were several other shrines in Fife that had short periods in which they developed a reputation that stretched beyond the local and required or prompted improvements to the local infrastructure or accommodation to cater for pilgrims. These included churches on the Isle of May (Adrian/Ethernan, II. viii), at Inverey (Monan, II. ix) and Culross (St Serf, II. vi) which claimed to possess the remains of local saints, the Abbey of Inchcolm (II. vii) which was associated with St Columba, a well located near Aberdour (II. iv) associated with the Perthshire saint, Fillan, and the church of Crail (II. v) which possessed a miraculous cross. Several smaller sites (II. x), churches at Inverkeithing and Kinghorn, a chapel in Dunfermline (St Mary), a cave in Pittenweem (St Serf) and wells near Loch Leven (Scotlandwell) and Collessie (St Bridget's), received papal indulgences to encourage pilgrims, or had a reputation for miracle working which was noted in post-medieval records. Whether these latter sites ever attracted large numbers of pilgrims is unclear from surviving source materials

¹⁰ Wood, M, 1944, *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514-28*, Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, ii, 592.

iii. The Cult of the Saints in Fife

In the middle ages the saints were part of the very fabric of Scottish society. Medieval theologians and the laity believed that the exceptional merit of the life and/or death of a saint gave them the power to intercede directly with God.¹¹ This fundamental belief meant that the saints and their relics played a significant role in the lives of all but the most unorthodox medieval Scots. They could be found everywhere in medieval Scotland, in the names given to places, objects, children and natural phenomenon, and most visibly in the churches which were filled with statues, murals and ornate rood screens depicting the saints and their legends.¹² Some of the earliest evidence for the cult of the saints can be gleaned from place-names (hagio-toponyms, III. i), and from the dedications of parish churches (III. ii). While place-names can be difficult to interpret, and church dedications difficult to date, they provide intriguing evidence of the origins of the Fife church, with dedications to a range of Pictish and Irish saints (Murdoch, Kenneth, Duncan, Coeti of Iona etc), details of whose lives are often obscure or lost. Place-names and parish church dedications also provide a clear indication of the importance in Fife from the tenth century of the cults of Andrew and Margaret, of the cult of the Virgin Mary, as well as other local saints like Serf and Adrian.

For the high and later middle ages evidence is more plentiful. From the twelfth century a number of monastic and mendicant houses (III. iv) were founded in Fife, as well as a small number of new parish churches and chapels (III. v). The most extensive sources are chantry or chaplainry dedications (III. vi) that could be found in Fife churches from the thirteenth, but most commonly from the fourteenth century. Monastic and Mendicant houses were generally dedicated to the order's founder (Francis for the Franciscans etc) or patron saint (Mary for the Cistercians), but sometimes jointly with a local saint (Serf at Culross), or one nominated by the founder (Edward the Confessor at Balmerino). Evidence from the foundation of chapels and chantries tells us more about the personal devotions of their royal, noble, burgess or clerical founders. The bulk of such foundations in Fife were made in honour of the Virgin Mary, Christ cults (Holy Blood, Holy Cross) and those of other scriptural saints (John the Baptist, Michael, Ann). Next in popularity were the universal saints, Nicholas (associated with mariners) and Katherine of Alexandria. Amongst Scottish saints, only Ninian was the subject of multiple dedications, although individual chaplainries

¹¹ Cameron. E. 2012, *European Reformation*, Oxford, p. 161.

¹² A guide to how these churches looked before the reformation can be found in Holmes. S. 2012, *Lost interiors: the furnishings of Scottish churches in the later Middle Ages: the Rhind lectures 1969-1970*, delivered by David McRoberts, Edinburgh.

dedications could be found in honour of Duthac, Fillan, Fergus and Serf. As evidenced by such dedications, devotion to the saints in late medieval the Fife was relatively conservative. While new fashions in devotion to the Virgin Mary, Christ and his family (Ann etc) were evident in the county, other exotic or new devotional trends seen elsewhere in Scotland, such as the cult of the Three Kings of Cologne, or of Roch, an anti-plague saint, were absent. The lack of large commercial centres with strong connections to the Low Countries (like Edinburgh, Dundee or Aberdeen), in Fife probably accounts for this. In general however, the combination of scriptural (Peter, Michael etc), Pan-European (Nicholas and Katherine), occupational (Eloi for metal workers, Hubert for bakers) national (Ninian, Duthac) and local (Fillan and Serf) intercessors venerated by Fifers was fairly typical of those embraced by communities across Western Europe in the later middle ages.

iv. Relevant printed texts

Select bibliography of printed primary and secondary sources on pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in Medieval Scotland and Fife and the main Fife saints/sites of pilgrimage

Pilgrimage and the cult of the saint in Medieval Scotland - for a general overview see:

Ditchburn. D. & Macdonald A., 2002, 'Medieval society: the construction and collapse of a Catholic community', and 'Bonds of medieval society: belief and birth', in Houston. R. A & Knox. W *New Penguin History of Scotland*, Edinburgh

Ditchburn. D, 2008, 'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles'? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c.1450-1550', in Goodare. J & MacDonald. A. A., *Sixteenth-Century Scotland. Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, Leiden, 69-98.

Turpie. T, 2015, *Kind Neighbours. Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, Leiden,

Yeoman. P. 1999, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, London,

Pilgrimage in Medieval Fife - for a general overview see:

Dove. G, 2000, 'Pilgrimage Sites', in Omand. D., *The Fife Book*, Edinburgh

St Andrew – for the arrival of his relics in Fife see:

Anderson. M. O, 1980, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, Edinburgh, pp. 258-260.

Taylor. S & Markus. G., 2010, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume Four. North Fife between Eden and Tay*, Donington, p. 610-

- for the cathedral shrine, Andrew as patron saint of the Scots and his cult see:

Ash. M & Broun. D, 1994, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland', in Higgitt. J, *Medieval art and architecture in the diocese of St Andrews*, London, 16-24,

McRoberts. D, 1976, *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, Glasgow (various articles)

Brown. M et al, 2017, *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult and City*, St Andrews (various articles)

St Margaret of Dunfermline – for details of her life and miracles recorded at her shrine see:

Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford,

- for the cult of St Margaret and the shrine at Dunfermline see:

Fawcett. R, 2005, *Royal Dunfermline*, Edinburgh (various articles)

Keene. C. 2013, *St Margaret, Queen of the Scots. A life in perspective*, Basingstoke

St Kentigern – for his early years at Culross and his connection to St Serf see:

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

St Adrian, Ethernan, Fillan Monan, Serf – for details of the lives and the legends of these saints and a useful bibliography:

Macquarrie. A, 2012, *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*. Dublin

- for discussion of their cults see:

Penman. M. 2005, 'Christian Days and Knights: the religious devotions and court of David II of Scotland 1329-71', *Historical Research* 75, 249-72 (Monan)

Taylor. S, 2001, 'The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland.', in Liszka. T & Walker. L, *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages- Studies in the Cultural History of North West Europe*, Dublin, 175-211.

Turpie. T, 2015, *Kind Neighbours. Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, Leiden, (Andrew, Monan and Fillan)

II. Historical References to Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Fife

i. St Andrews

The relics of St Andrew, three fingers, part of his right arm, a kneecap, a tooth and a small bone from his head, probably arrived in Fife in the eighth century, brought north by Acca, bishop of Hexham (709-732).¹³ The elaborate, and entertaining, legend of their arrival in the care of St Regulus, a monk from Constantinople, seems to have been developed thereafter to explain the presence of relics of the Apostle in Scotland. The earliest recorded pilgrim to the shrine was one Aed, or Aodh, and Irish prince who died in St Andrews in 965AD, when the town was still known under its earlier name of Kinrymont. The shrine peaked in importance between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, when it attracted pilgrims from other parts of the British Isles and Northern Europe. By the later middle ages, St Andrew had been firmly established as the official patron saint of the Scots.¹⁴ His image adorned Scottish coins and royal seals, while altars and fraternities dedicated to the saint formed the focus for the communal identity of Scottish students and monks who resided abroad.¹⁵ While St Andrews was considered by the fourteenth century to be a national shrine, the later middle ages saw its decline from a centre of international importance to one of largely national or regional significance.¹⁶ The shrine was still attracting penitential pilgrims from Flanders in the early fourteenth century, but thereafter there is no further evidence of international pilgrims found in St Andrews, and only limited references to domestic pilgrim traffic. By 1512 it was noted by the Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St Andrews that the town was *without pilgrims*.¹⁷

Historical References

965

*Aed, Maelmithid's son, died in pilgrimage; that is to say in Kinrymont.*¹⁸

¹³ Fraser. J, 2009, 'Rochester, Hexham and Cennrigmonaid: the movements of St Andrew in Britain, 604-747', in Boardman. S et al, *Saints' cults in the Celtic World*, Woodbridge, pp. 1-17.

¹⁴ Ash. M & Broun. D, 1994, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland', in Higgitt. J, *Medieval art and architecture in the diocese of St Andrews*, London, pp. 16-24.

¹⁵ Turpie. T, 2015, *Kind Neighbours. Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, Leiden, pp. 34-37.

¹⁶ Turpie. T, 2017, 'When the miracles ceased. Shrine and cult management at St Andrews and Scottish cathedrals in the later middle ages', in Brown. M et al, *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult and City*, St Andrews, forthcoming.

¹⁷ Herkless. J & Hannay. R. 1905, *College of St. Leonard: being documents with translations, notes, and historical introductions*, Edinburgh, p.137.

¹⁸ Anderson. A. O. 1922, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, Edinburgh, i, p. 472.

Aed, or Aodh was an Irish Prince and Kinrymont/Kilrymont was the early name for the town before it came to be known as St Andrews in the twelfth century

1070x1093

Turgot in his *Vita St Margaretae* noted that;

*And since the religious devotion of the people coming from all over filled the church of St Andrew, she (Margaret) built little dwellings on both sides of the sea that divides Lothian and Scotia (Forth). . . . What the venerable queen had done out of reverence for the Holy Apostle Andrew, now conferred honour on her.*¹⁹

If Turgot's account is accurate, the patronage of the Queensferry by Margaret can be dated to the 1070s or 1080s. See below (Route 3) for the full quote from the *Vita Margaratae*.

c.1090 Vita Sancti Cadoci

*One day, his disciples having assembled in one place, he (St Cadoc) spoke to them after this manner; 'Since by divine will I have journeyed thrice to Jerusalem and seven times to Rome for the love of God, it now remains that for the sake of prayer I should go to the church of saint Andrew the Apostle, which is known to have been built in Albany, which they commonly call Scotland. . . . Therefore the man of God arising with three of his disciples went to Scotland, and arrived at the threshold of the aforesaid church of the blessed Andrew.'*²⁰

Lifris of Llancarfan, who produced this life of the sixth-century Welshman St Cadog in the 1090s, was aware of the shrine's reputation for miracles, describing his hero travelling to St Andrews with three disciples.

c.1090 Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Hermitae de Finchale

*Then he (Godric) offered his devotions at the most famous house of the Apostle St Andrew which is found in Scotland.*²¹

In the life and miracles of St Godric of Finchale (County Durham) produced in the 1170s by Reginald of Durham, the northern English saint is described as making several visits to Fife in the 1090s to what he calls the "most famous house of the apostle St Andrew".

c.1100

*And to this city (St Andrews) come pilgrims...Romans, Greeks, Armenians, Teutons, Germans, Saxons, Danes, Gauls, English, Britons, men and women, rich and poor, healthy and sick, lame and blind; with horses and carts the weak and crippled are carried, by God's glory and the honour and glory of the saint and apostle Andrew, they come for cures.*²²

¹⁹ Keene. C. 2013, *St Margaret, Queen of the Scots. A life in perspective*, Basingstoke, Appendix 1, p. 202, Metcalfe. William, 1998, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, Llanerch, i, 317, Anderson. A. O. 1922, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, Edinburgh, ii, 77,

²⁰ Wade-Evans. A, 1944, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, Cardiff, pp. 80-83.

²¹ Stevenson. J, 1847 *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Hermitae de Finchale. Auctore Reginaldo Monacho Dunelmensi. Adjicitur Appendix Miraculorum*, Durham: Surtees Society, pp. 28 & 31.

²² Anderson. M. O, 1980, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, Edinburgh, pp. 258-60

The earliest version of the foundation of St Andrews, known as Legend A (quoted above) was produced in the early twelfth century. It presented St Andrews as a “Second Rome”, attracting Greek, Armenian, Teutonic, Saxon, Danish, French, Welsh and English pilgrims. This may be something of an exaggeration, but by this point it was certainly a shrine of international significance.

c.1190. Vita et Miracula S. Aebbe Virginis

A miracle of astonishing novelty occurred to a certain cripple.....He happened to turn aside to this place (Coldingham) although he was on his way to St Andrews, and experienced something unexpected (St Aebbe appeared to the pilgrim in a dream and cured his ailment).²³

It is fairly common in miracle stories for pilgrims heading to more famous shrines (St Andrews, Canterbury etc) to be cured on the way at the shrine of a lesser known saint, in this case that of St Aebbe of Coldingham.

c.1260 Chronica Gentis Scotorum

In that place (St Andrews) by the touch of the relics, many astounding miracles were worked and are worked to this day, such had not until that day been seen or heard of in these islands since they embraced the faith; for instance, the blind from their mother’s womb received their sight, the dumb were made to speak, the lame to walk, and all who piously bespoken the favour of the apostle (Andrew), were immediately, by God’s mercy healed from the sickness that possessed them. As miracles were thus daily multiplied, people of all nations hastened thither with their gifts, clapping their hands, and humbly sending up boundless praises to God for so great a patron.²⁴

The *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* was compiled by John of Fordun in around 1380. Much of the work was earlier in origin, with the section from which this quote is taken dated with some confidence to the 1260s.²⁵

23 Aug 1273

The King (Edward I) grants safe conduct to Richard, son of Philip, Laurence Scot and Nicholas de Wygenhale, who have gone to Scotland to visit the threshold of St Andrew the Apostle.²⁶

Nov 1285

Cambridge. Proof of age of John le Hauckere, taken 10 June 1308. Robert de la Brok of Elesworth, William Frankelyn of Bokesworth, William Morel of Fendrayton, John Pint and

²³ Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, pp. 50-51.

²⁴ Skene. W. F, 1871-1872, *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum*. Edinburgh, i, p. 71-72.

²⁵ Broun. D, 2007, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III*. Edinburgh, pp. 215-32 & 235-268.

²⁶ Bain. J et al, 1881-1986, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Edinburgh, ii. no.8

*William de la Grave of Suavesheye, each 50 or more, agree, pretending their knowledge of the lapse of so much time because on the day the said John was baptized in the same church, they caused their staves and purses to be consecrated and all together took their journey for St Andrew's in Scotland.*²⁷

Two groups of English pilgrims in St Andrews, Edward I would himself visit in 1304 (see below)

8 Oct 1290

Indulgence

*Relaxation of one year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who visit the church of St Andrews in Scotland, on the feasts of St Andrew (30 Nov) and St Mary the Virgin (1 Jan), and on the anniversary of the foundation of the church.*²⁸

18 Mar 1304

*Gold jewel, worth 6 marks, offered by the king (Edward I) to the arm of St Andrew in the town of St Andrews in the church of the priory of the same.*²⁹

19 Mar 1304

*Gold jewel, worth 7 marks, offered by the Queen (Margaret of France, spouse of Edward I) to the arm of St Andrew in the town of St Andrews in the church of the priory of the same.*³⁰

1319

*Watiere Maisiere of Kortrijk (Bel) was directed to the shrine of St Andrew in Fife in penance for assaulting his wife.*³¹

1 May 1325

*Safe conduct until Christmas for John Host of Flanders, coming on pilgrimage to St Andrew's in Scotland in fulfilment of a vow, and returning home.*³²

29 May 1333

Pilgrimage Certificate

The year of God 1333, the 26 June, there compared Wille Bondolf, cleric, and presented the letters in the form following;

All who see these letters, greetings from John, prior of St Andrews.that William Bondolf, cleric and burgess of Dunkerque (Fra), undertook a pilgrimage to St Andrews in penance for

²⁷ Printed in Webb, D, 1999, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London, p. 217.

²⁸ Bliss, W. H, 1893-, *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal letters*, London, i, p. 520.

²⁹ Bain, J et al, 1881-1986, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Edinburgh, iv, p. 486.

³⁰ Bain, J et al, 1881-1986, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Edinburgh, iv, p. 486.

³¹ Ditchburn, D, 2000, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214-1560, Volume 1: Religion, Culture and Commerce*, East Linton, p. 60.

³² Printed in Webb, D, 1999, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London, p. 218.

*the murder of Andree d'Esquerdes and paid for masses for the soul of the said Andree. Dated 29 May 1333.*³³

William Bondolf, a cleric, had killed a man named Andre d'Esquerdes and been ordered, in expiation of the crime, to pay a fine of 12 livres, to have thirteen masses sung for the soul of the deceased and to make an expiatory pilgrimage to St Andrews in Scotland. Bondolf performed a pilgrimage to St Andrews on 29 May 1333 the Saturday before Trinity Sunday, he received his certificate, certifying the fulfilment of his pilgrimage, from the prior of St Andrews, John of Gowrie. On 26 June 1333, he was back in Saint-Omer (Fra), presenting the certificate to the judicial authorities and being absolved from his crime.

The pilgrimages by Bondolf and Maisiere (1319) were court imposed penances. In 1338 St Andrews was included on the list of destinations for penitents from Oudenaarde (Bel) and was the 3rd most common destination for penitents from Ypres (Bel) in the same period.³⁴

*c.1420 Chronicle of John Hardyng
And at his home commyng one Regalo (Regulus)
Fro Constantyne, by revelacion,
Brought certayn bones of saynt Andrewe tho,
To king Ungust, where, by his relacion,
He founded then a mynster of his fundacion,
Of saynt Andrewe, where his bones shryned been,
As there in dede I was, and have it seen.*³⁵

John Hardyng was an English spy who spent time in Scotland in the reign of James I (1424-1437). In this excerpt from his metrical chronicle, John recorded part of the St Andrews foundation legend. In the last line he noted that he had seen the shrine of St Andrew, having presumably visited during his visit to Scotland.

1418x1442

Letter (undated) regarding the fabric of the cathedral of St Andrews circulated to the bishops of Scotland by James Haldenstone, prior of St Andrews. Haldenstone bemoaned the condition of the fabric of the church which is the principal church in Scotland and holds *the right arm, collarbone, three fingers from his right hand and his right knee cap, one tooth and bones from his head....of the teacher and special patron of all the Scots.*³⁶

³³ McRoberts. D, 1976, 'A St Andrews Pilgrimage Certificate of 1333 at Saint-Omer', in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, Glasgow, pp. 155-6,

³⁴ Webb. D, 1999, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London, pp. 60-61, Ditchburn. D, 2000, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214-1560, Volume 1: Religion, Culture and Commerce*, East Linton, p. 60.

³⁵ Ellis. H. 1812, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, London, p. 188.

³⁶ Baxter. J. H, 1930, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree. The Letter-Book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St Andrews (1418-1443)*. Edinburgh, pp. 119-21.

Haldenstone's circular begging letter for the fabric of St Andrews Cathedral followed damage to the building by a fire in 1378 and a storm in 1410. In the letter Haldenstone stressed the national significance of the relics at St Andrews, urging his fellow churchmen to provide financial support for the fabric of the cathedral and to encourage their diocesan clergy to promote the shrine amongst their congregations. The tone of desperation in the correspondence suggests that pilgrim income was no longer sufficient to cover costs or repair the damage caused by fire and storm.

1461

13 shillings offered by the Queen (Mary of Gueldres) at the relics of St Andrew in the cathedral church (no specific date for visit).³⁷

24 Aug 1473

Indulgence

Grant in perpetuity of plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins to all who, being truly penitent and having confessed, visit the church of St Andrews in Scotland on the feast of St Michael the Archangel in September (29th), from the first to the second vespers, and throughout the octave, every year for the next seven years, and thereafter every three years, the Jubilee year always excepted, and give alms for the conservation etc. of its buildings.³⁸

10 May 1487

Indulgence

Desiring, therefore, that the indulgence and the faculties for carrying out the one granted by the predecessor (in 1473), may begin anew from the first vespers on the feast of St Michael in the month of September (29th) after the year of the Incarnation 1488, and continue during the octaves of the said feast for the following seven years, and afterwards triennially on the said feast and during its octaves, for ever, the pope (Innocent VIII, 1484-1492) hereby approves the indulgence of his predecessor, the which shall begin to take effect immediately.³⁹

It is striking that neither of these indulgences (1472 & 1487) mention Andrew or his relics, suggesting that they were no longer the primary attraction for visitors to the church

22 Aug 1496

Item, in Sanctandros, to the Kingis (James IV, 1488-1513), offerand to the reliques, 13 shillings.⁴⁰

29 Apr 1497

³⁷ Stuart. J. 1878-1908, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. Edinburgh, vii, p. 79.

³⁸ Bliss. W. H, 1893-, *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal letters*, London, xiii, p. 203.

³⁹ Bliss. W. H, 1893-, *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal letters*, London, xiv, pp. 178-179.

⁴⁰ TA, i, p. 290.

*Item, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand to the reliquies of Sanctandrois, 15 shillings and vi pence.*⁴¹

17 Dec 1497

*Item, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand to the reliquies in Sanctandrois, 14 shillings.*⁴²

25 Nov 1504

*Item, that samyn day, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand at the reliques thare, 28 shillings.*⁴³

26 Jan 1506

*Item, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand at the reliques thare, 28 shillings.*⁴⁴

15 Mar 1506

*Item, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand at the reliques thare, 14 shillings.*⁴⁵

30 Apr 1508

*Item, the last day of April, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand to the reliques in Sanctandrois, 14 shillings.*⁴⁶

St Andrews was one of a number of shrines visited by James IV. His favourite locations were the shrines at Whithorn (Ninian) and Tain (Duthac), which he visited annually. St Andrews, along with the Isle of May, was a regular, but less frequent recipient of royal patronage.

20 Aug 1512

Royal (James IV) charter confirming the transformation by Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St Andrews of a hospital, probably founded in 1144 to cater for pilgrims, into student accommodation for the newly formed St Leonard's college. Alexander explained that accommodation for pilgrims was no longer necessary;

From divers lands, far and near, divers pilgrims did set forth to the Church of St Andrews because of the wonders for which the relics of the said Apostle became famous, and in the zeal of their devotion thronged thither from day to day; and for the reception of these pilgrims the Prior and Convent of our church aforesaid did out of their piety build a Hospital of St Andrews, joined onto the church of the blessed Leonard; and whereas in the course of time the Christian faith had been established in our parts and miracles and pilgrimages, as we may without impiety believe, had in a measure ceased, so that the Hospital was without pilgrims and the Priors aforesaid did set therein certain women chosen by reason of old age who did give little or no return in devotion or virtue; We, with intent to steady the tossing

⁴¹ TA, i, p. 332.

⁴² TA, i, p. 332.

⁴³ TA, ii, p. 264.

⁴⁴ TA, iii, p. 70.

⁴⁵ TA, iii, p. 71.

⁴⁶ TA, iv, p. 40.

*bark of St Peter and make better the church of God, so far at least as it is committed to our own jurisdiction and power, now that is falling away from virtuous exercises, do erect and create as a College by our ordinary authority the Hospital and Church of St Leonard.*⁴⁷

ii. St Andrews Pilgrim Network

The peak of popularity of the shrine of St Andrew in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries saw the creation of a complex network of ferries, roads, bridges, chapels, wells and hospitals to accommodate pilgrims, culminating in the Hospital of St Leonard in St Andrews itself.⁴⁸ There were four main routes to the shrine, from which a limited range of documentary and physical evidence has survived.

Route 1. From the North-West

The route from the north-west and the direction of Perth and Scone began with a ferry across the Tay at its confluence with the River Earn. Pilgrims then travelled to St Andrews via Lindores and Moonzie, where shelter and food may have been provided, before bypassing Cupar to the north and crossing the Eden near Dairsie.⁴⁹ Evidence for this route is limited to the dedication to St Andrew of churches at Abdie and Collessie, the possession of the church of Moonzie by the Trinitarian Friars of Scotlandwell, and references to a chapel in Dairsie.

Historical References to Route 1

Abdie

1248

Charter David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews, regarding the controversy between the abbey and convent of Lindores and Henry, lord of Denmuir. With the mediation of the bishop, the abbot of Lindores granted Henry the right to establish a chapel on his land, but it was stated *that all parishioners of Denmuir, except for Sir Henry's own household, were to come to the mother church of Abdie thrice yearly, that is on Christmas Day (25 Dec), Easter Sunday and St Andrew's Day (30 Nov), and that they were to receive all their sacraments in the said mother church.*⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Herkless. J & Hannay. R. 1905, *College of St. Leonard: being documents with translations, notes, and historical introductions*, Edinburgh, p.137.

⁴⁸ Yeoman. P. 1999, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, London, p. 55, Silver. O, 1987, *Roads of Fife*, Edinburgh, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁹ Yeoman. P. 1999, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, London, p. 57.

⁵⁰ Dowden. J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 63.

PNF (4) notes that ‘the emphasis on St Andrew’s day as one of the three most important days of the liturgical year of Abdie parish strongly suggests that Andrew was its patron saint,. Furthermore, from the outset Andrew is the co-dedicatee, with Mary, of the abbey of Lindores.....These strong links with St Andrew are hardly surprising, given Lindore’s position on the major route from Perth and the north via Abernethy to the saint’s shrine at St Andrews. A parallel can be found in the neighbouring parish church of Collessie also dedicated to St Andrew, and also on one of the main routes to St Andrews’.⁵¹

Collessie

1240x1256

Charter by Sahar of St Andrew granting to the Abbey of Lindores *the church of St Andrew of Collessie*.⁵²

PNF (4) notes that the charter above ‘contains the earliest reference to the fact that the church of Collessie was dedicated to St Andrew. This dedication underlines the fact that the kirkton of Collessie lay on one of the important pilgrim routes to St Andrews’.⁵³

Moonzie

c.1230

William de Malvoisin, bishop of St Andrews (1202-1238), granted to the *hospital of St Mary of Lochleven for its own support and that of the poor gathering there, the church of the Holy Trinity of Auchtermoonzie with all its fruits for their own use and that of the poor*.⁵⁴

The church passed thereafter in 1250-51 with the other possessions of that hospital to the Trinitarian Friars of Scotlandwell

c.1256

Charter by Richard of Nidyn gifting to the abbey of Balmerino a piece of land in the parish of Moonzie. The land was noted *as extending to the road of the king that leads to the town of St Andrews*.⁵⁵

PNF (4) notes that ‘By the thirteenth century St Andrews was firmly established as the most important pilgrimage destination in Scotland. Moonzie was approximately a day’s journey from the famous shrine, on one of the main routes from the west. It is therefore no coincidence that its church was given to the Trinitarian Friars, one of whose duties was the

⁵¹ PNF 4, pp. 61-62.

⁵² Dowden. J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 91.

⁵³ PNF 4, p. 193.

⁵⁴ *SA Liber*, pp. 175-176.

⁵⁵ Turnbull. W, 1841, *Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores*, 1841, Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, no. 50.

care of pilgrims, a duty they certainly carried out at Scotlandwell, and no doubt as at their dependent churches of Moonzie and Carnock'.⁵⁶

Dairsie

18 May 1569

James Commendator of St Andrews feued to David Melville, the grain mill with the lands adjacent to it extending to 8 acres, *with the gardens of the chapel of St Leonard lying beside Dairsie.*⁵⁷

PNF (4) notes that the modern parish church of Dairsie 'was built in 1843 and dedicated to St Leonard. This dedication was no doubt taken from the chapel of St Leonard, which is first mentioned (in above charter) in 1569... This chapel may have lain at or near Chapelwell' in the parish. Chapelwell lay very near one of the main pilgrim routes from the northwest to St Andrews (by-passing Cupar).⁵⁸

Route 2. From the North

The second route from the north began with a ferry crossing of the Tay, disembarking at Port-in-Craig (Tayport). The route south passed the old parish church at Forgan, then onto Vicarsford and Leuchars, across the Eden at the Guardbridge (after 1419), which Yeoman suggests was 'a *statio* or meeting place, provided with a hostel where pilgrims banded together before making their triumphant approach to St Andrews over the last few kilometres of their journey'.⁵⁹ References to this route are limited to the possible location of a hospital and chapel at the ferry town of Port-in-Craig, a pilgrim well, the road past Forgan and the Guardbridge.

Historical References to Route 2.

Port-on-Craig

1199x1200

Charter by which Gillebride, earl of Angus, gave land to Arbroath Abbey to build '*a hospital at Portincrag.*'⁶⁰

⁵⁶ PNF 4, pp. 612-613.

⁵⁷ Thomson. J. M et al, 1882-194, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, v, no. 108.

⁵⁸ PNF 4, pp. 322 & 324.

⁵⁹ Yeoman. P. 1999, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, London, p. 58.

⁶⁰ Innes. C & Chalmers. P, 1848-56, *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, i, no. 50.

PNF (4) notes that this grant probably relates to the land now occupied by Broughty Ferry on the north side of the Tay, rather than in Tayport. However, local historian James Scott was convinced that this hospital was located on the south side of the Tay, noting that he located the remains as ‘near Port-on-Craig in the field to the south west of Lovers’ Loan.’⁶¹

6 Apr 1593

Royal Charter (James VI) to Ludovic, duke of Lennox of lands formerly belonging to the archbishops of St Andrews, including *lordship and barony of Scottiscraig, containing the town and lands of Ferrietoun, Chapelton, the mill of Ferrytoun, town of East Ferry, the fisheries of the same, the ferribott across the Tay.*⁶²

St Bridget’s Well

1328x1332

Charter by John Hay of Naughton to Balmerino Abbey regarding the land of Gauldry. It notes that the granted land *runs towards the east from the ancient royal highway by which you go towards the ferry of Port-on-Craig, and from the said royal highway in a straight line toward the south as far as a certain well which is called Bridiis Well.*⁶³

PNF (4) notes that the ‘early link (of the church of Coultra, later Balmerino) with the church of St Brigit, Abernethy, is recalled in Bridie’s Well, now in The Gauldry, which lay on what was formerly the boundary between Forgan and Balmerino, and thus on the eastern boundary of Abernethy territory.’⁶⁴

The well has now disappeared, but the name survives in Bridieswell Gardens.⁶⁵

Forgan

Pilgrim Road

1230x1240

Charter by Richard Lascelles to the prior of St Andrews of *three acres of land with their pertinents on the east side of the land of Friarton and on the north side of the road which goes from Friarton to the church of Forgan bounded by the causeway on one side and by the burn on the other, and by the pile of stones beside the road from Inverdovat to St Andrews on the third.*⁶⁶

Guardbridge

⁶¹ PNF 4, pp. 368-369.

⁶² RMS, v, no. 2273.

⁶³ Turnbull, W, 1841, *Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores*, 1841, Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, no. 51.

⁶⁴ PNF 4, p. 146.

⁶⁵ PNF 4, p. 163.

⁶⁶ SA Liber, p. 274.

12 Sept 1419

*Since through the said city there flows a certain river named Eden, which has commonly to be crossed by the scholars, citizens and inhabitants of Scotland, and because with its wide and deep and muddy bed it is so perilous as it goes down to the sea that people are often drowned in fording it, as of late fifteen hapless priests at the same moment, therefore the Bishop, considering all this and fearing that the university would have to withdraw from the city, began to construct a bridge which he cannot carry to completion without the alms of Christ's faithful. He therefore supplicates that the Pope, remitting a third part of their sins, would grant an indulgence of seven years and as many quarantines to all and sundry Christ's faithful who, being in a state of grace, then or within eight days immediately following, stretch out helping hands for the building of the bridge each day that they do so.*⁶⁷

PNF (3) notes that the Scots version of this name is Gairbrig. It is clear that the specific had nothing to do with the English *guard*. McRoberts assumed that the first element is an otherwise unattested loanword into Scots from French, *gare* 'statio, halting place, assembly point', referring to a place where pilgrims assembled to cross the river Eden, either by ford or bridge. The oldest bridge still extant was built by Bishop Henry Wardlaw in 1419 (as above).⁶⁸

Route 3. From Edinburgh and the South-East

The most famous, and best recorded, route was from the southwest, beginning the Queensferry, reputedly established by St Margaret in the late eleventh century. From there the road headed north past Scotlandwell, crossing a bridge there over the river Leven and then on St Andrews through Markinch, Kennoway and Ceres.⁶⁹ References to this route include the ferry service, pilgrim accommodation and chapel at North Queensferry, further accommodation at Inverkeithing and at Scotlandwell and references to the pilgrim road at Ceres. This was also the pilgrim route to Dunfermline and the relics of St Margaret, as can be seen by the reference to James IV, who in 1504 made an offering at the chapel in North Queensferry on his way to Dunfermline.

Historical references to Route 3.

North Queensferry

Pilgrim Ferry

⁶⁷ Lindsay. E. R & Cameron. A.I, 1934, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-22*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, p. 109.

⁶⁸ PNF 3, pp. 45-47.

⁶⁹ Yeoman. P. 1999, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, London, pp. 58-59.

c.1107

Turgot in his *Vita St Margaretae* noted that;

*And since the church of St Andrews is frequented by the religious devotion of visitors from the peoples around about, she (Margaret) had built dwellings on either shore of the sea that separates Lothian and Scotland; so that pilgrims and poor might turn aside there to rest, after the labour of the journey; and might find there ready everything that necessity might require for the restoration of the body. She appointed attendants for this purpose alone, to have always ready all that was needed for guests, and to wait upon them with great care. She provided them also ships, to carry them across, both going and returning, without ever demanding any price for the passage from those who were taken over.*⁷⁰

PNF (1) noted that A regular ferry was established here by Queen Margaret for pilgrims going to and from St Andrews in the late eleventh century, and it is from her that the place (NQ) gets its name. Turgot, biographer (hagiographer), of Queen Margaret, writing in the early twelfth century, tells the foundation story of Queensferry as above.⁷¹

Pilgrim Hospice

14 July 1233

Charter referring to the control of the hospital of North Queensferry by the abbey of Dunfermline. *Further charter in 1400 notes lands belonging to the hospital near Inverkeithing.*⁷²

Pilgrim Chapel

1320x1322

*Charter to Dunfermline abbey by Robert I of half the Queensferry held by the late Roger de Mowbray with the chapel on the north side of the ferry. The abbey must find two chaplains for the chapel, and repair, preserve and plenish it.*⁷³

1 Apr 1322

*Letter patent to the provost and bailies of Inverkeithing to pay to Dunfermline abbey an annual of five merks which the king granted along with half the Queensferry passage to support two chaplains saying masses in the chapel of North Queensferry.*⁷⁴

30 Nov 1323

⁷⁰ Keene. C. 2013, *St Margaret, Queen of the Scots. A life in perspective*, Basingstoke, Appendix 1, 202, Metcalfe. William, 1998, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, Llanerch, i, 317, Anderson. A. O. 1922, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, Edinburgh, ii, 77, PNF 1, p. 381.

⁷¹ PNF 1, pp. 380-381.

⁷² Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 250, 268 & 397.

⁷³ Duncan. A. A. M, 1986, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V: The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*. Edinburgh, no. 413.

⁷⁴ Duncan. A. A. M, 1986, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V: The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*. Edinburgh, no. 206.

Confirmation by William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, of the grant to Dunfermline by Robert I. He identifies it *as the chapel of St James*.⁷⁵

24 Nov 1504

To the Kingis (James IV), offerand in Sanct James chapel of the North Ferye.⁷⁶

PNF (1) Notes that ‘There was a chapel of St James in NQ, the remains of which are still extant. It will have been linked with the heavy pilgrim traffic using the ferry, originally for St Andrews, but latterly also for St Margaret herself in Dunfermline. Its close links with the ferry itself are clear from when it was first mentioned between 1320 and 1322. This is in a charter whereby Robert I grants to Dunfermline Abbey half of the queen’s ferry held by the late Roger de Moubray along with the chapel on the north side of the ferry and an annual rent from Inverkeithing, with the proviso that the abbey must find two chaplains for the chapel and repair and preserve it. That it was already and old foundation is suggested by the fact that Robert I grants the chapel with the teinds of offerings and all other pertinents which belonged to the chapel by right and of old. It is referred to as the chapel of St James in the confirmation of Robert I’s grant by William Lamberton, bishop of S Andrews.’⁷⁷

Inverkeithing

Hospitals

1) 15 March 1196

Papal Bull confirms amongst the possessions of the Abbey of Dryburgh, *the hospital of Innerkethyn*.⁷⁸

2) The fourteenth-century Franciscan Friary of Inverkeithing (founded 1346x84) included a *hospitium*, a building set aside for providing guests/travellers with hospitality. Although none of the surviving sources specifically mention pilgrims, the location of the friary so close to the ferry at North Queensferry, and on the pilgrim road to St Andrews, suggests that it may have accommodated pilgrims.

Stephen notes that the ‘Hospitium formed the west end (of the friary). The appearance of the building has been considerably altered since medieval times, old arched openings have been enlarged or built up, and new doorways, windows, and external stairs constructed. But in its massive walls and vaulted chambers it still retains much of its pristine beauty and ample evidence of its fourteenth-century construction. In the basement of the building may be seen the large arched passage, now built up, which formed the entrance to the Friary.’⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 367.

⁷⁶ TA, ii, p. 267.

⁷⁷ PNF 1, p. 371.

⁷⁸ Spottiswoode. J, 1847, *Liber S. Mari de Dryburgh*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 250.

⁷⁹ Stephen. W, 1921, *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth*, Aberdeen, p. 302.

Kinghorn Easter

Pilgrim Hospice

22 July 1211x32

Charter by William, Bishop of St Andrews to the abbot of Holyrood. It confirmed the right of the canons *to half of the corn teinds due to the church of Kinghorn to sustain the canons, the poor and pilgrims.*⁸⁰

PNF (1) ‘In the burgh of Kinghorn there was a chapel, and probably also a hospice, dedicated to St Leonard. We may be witnessing the foundation of this hospice in the early 13th century, when Bishop William of St Andrews granted half of the teinds of corn due to the church of Kinghorn for the support not only of the canons of Holyrood but also of the poor and of pilgrims.’⁸¹

5 Mar 1529

*Royal Charter (James V) confirming the landed possessions of William Scott of Balwerie. They included the lands of the chapel of St Leonard in the burgh of Kinghorn.*⁸²

Fair

22 Sept 1510

*A Letter made to the bailies, burgesses and inhabitants of the burgh of Kinghorn, giving them power to proclaim a fair on the morning after the feast of St James the Apostle, and yearly to endure for six days and a marcket day weekly on Saturdays.*⁸³

Scotlandwell

Pilgrim Hospital

2 Jan 1251

Bishop David de Bernham issued a charter in which he noted that his predecessor William de Malveisin (1202-1238) had founded *a house at Scotlandwell for the receiving and succouring of the poor and destitute gathering there.* David went on to grant *the to God, Blessed Mary and the brothers of the Order of the Holy Trinity and of Captives*, i.e the Trinitarian or Red Friars *including the churches of Moonzie and Carnock.*⁸⁴

Kemback

⁸⁰ Innes. C, 1840, *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 47.

⁸¹ *PNF 1*, p. 391.

⁸² *RMS*, iii, no. 760.

⁸³ Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, I, no. 2130.

⁸⁴ NRS, Papers of the Earl of Morton, HGD150/1, cited in *PNF 4* p. 611.

Pilgrim Well

1263x64

*Charter mentions 'the well of St Andrew', located on the border of the parishes of Kemback and St Andrews.*⁸⁵

PNF (2) 'Until 1621 it was on the Kemback/St Andrews border, and it may have been its position right at the edge of St Andrews parish which gave rise to its name. It lay on the main medieval route into St Andrews, and would have marked the spot where pilgrims and other travellers enter the immediate lands of St Andrew, and only a hundred or so metres west of the place where they would get their first view of the church of St Andrew. The first sight the pilgrims get of their destination is a ritually significant moment on pilgrimage. A small shrine may have stood at St Andrews Wells'.⁸⁶

Ceres

Pilgrim Road/Rest Stop

1310x27

*Charter by which Johanna, daughter of the late Robert of Balcurvie, have given, granted and by this charter confirmed in my free widowhood to Alexander de Beaton a part of my land of Carskerdo. Description of the lands notes that they lie up to the public way which is called in Scots Pilgrims Gait (the road from Kirkcaldy and the southwest to St Andrews).*⁸⁷

PNF (2) 'Given Cere's important position as the last overnight stop on the main pilgrim route to St Andrews, this close connection with the Culdees (lands held in the parish by them) of St Andrews probably dates back to the time when they controlled the cult of St Andrew at Kilrymont and its resultant pilgrimage traffic. However, responsibility for providing board and lodging for pilgrims to St Andrews, which no doubt formed an integral part of any Culdee duties in both St Andrews and Ceres, had in St Andrews been devolved onto another group by the mid-12th century. It is probable, though not provable, that the Culdees maintained these duties in Ceres for longer, for there no hint that the Augustinians, who ultimately took over pilgrim hospitality duties in St Andrews, did so here'.⁸⁸

Route 4. The Earlsferry

A further route from the south was the Earlsferry, carrying pilgrims from North Berwick to Fife. Once the pilgrims had arrived on the Fife shore, they had to travel a further 22 miles

⁸⁵ PNF 2, p. 203.

⁸⁶ PNF 2, pp. 203-204

⁸⁷ StAUL Barclay of Collairnie Charters, ms37490 cited in PNF 2, p. 56.

⁸⁸ PNF 2, p. 54.

north to St Andrews, passing by the nun's grange farm as they left Earlsferry behind.⁸⁹ References to this route involve the ferry itself and the pilgrim's hospices established on either side of the Forth.

Historical References to Route 4.

North Berwick and Earlsferry (Ardross)

Pilgrim Hospital

1177

*Earl Duncan of Fife granted to the nuns of North Berwick two hospitals, one besides the southern sea harbour (North Berwick), the other besides the north harbour of the same crossing (Earl's Ferry), which (hospitals) my father established for the reception of the poor and pilgrims.*⁹⁰

PNF (3) notes that 'it can be assumed that a regular crossing was established at the same time as the hospitals, and both the ferry and the hospitals were put in place to cater for the increasing pilgrim traffic to St Andrews.'⁹¹

Pilgrim Facilities in St Andrews

Pilgrim Hospital

1144

Charter by Robert, bishop of St Andrews assigning the hospital of the Culdees to the newly founded priory of St Andrews and endowing it *for the reception of visitors and pilgrims.*⁹²

1183

Confirmation of the possessions of the priory of St Andrews by Pope Lucius III, notes that the hospital was for the reception of *visitors, the poor and pilgrims.*⁹³

1248

Confirmation of the possessions of the priory of St Andrews by Pope Innocent IV describes it as the *Hospital of St Leonard.*⁹⁴

20 Aug 1512

⁸⁹ Yeoman. P. 1999, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, London, pp. 59-62.

⁹⁰ Innes. C, 1847, *Carte Monialium de Northberwic. Prioratus Cisterciensis B. Marie de Northberwic*, Bannatyne club, no. 3.

⁹¹ *PNF 3*, p. 272.

⁹² *SA Liber*, p. 123.

⁹³ *SA Liber*, p. 58.

⁹⁴ *SA Liber*, p. 103.

Royal (James IV) charter confirming the transformation by Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St Andrews of a hospital, probably founded in 1144 to cater for pilgrims, into student accommodation for St Leonard's college. Alexander explained that accommodation for pilgrims was no longer necessary;

From divers lands, far and near, divers pilgrims did set forth to the Church of St Andrews because of the wonders for which the relics of the said Apostle became famous, and in the zeal of their devotion thronged thither from day to day; and for the reception of these pilgrims the Prior and Convent of our church aforesaid did out of their piety build a Hospital of St Andrews, joined onto the church of the blessed Leonard; and whereas in the course of time the Christian faith had been established in our parts and miracles and pilgrimages, as we may without impiety believe, had in a measure ceased, so that the Hospital was without pilgrims and the Priors aforesaid did set therein certain women chosen by reason of old age who did give little or no return in devotion or virtue; We, with intent to steady the tossing bark of St Peter and make better the church of God, so far at least as it is committed to our own jurisdiction and power, now that is falling away from virtuous exercises, do erect and create as a College by our ordinary authority the Hospital and Church of St Leonard.⁹⁵

iii. Dunfermline and the relics of St Margaret

In 1249, Queen Margaret of Scotland (c.1040-1093) became the only medieval Scottish saint to be officially canonised. It is clear that Margaret was considered a saint in Scotland, and perhaps in England, long before her official canonisation by Innocent IV (1243-54) in that year. A hagiographical work, the *Vita S. Margaretae Scotum Reginae* was written by her former chaplain Turgot shortly after her death in 1100x1107, and there are a number of other indicators of her veneration as a saint (church and chapel dedications, inclusion of her feast day in liturgical calendars etc) in twelfth and thirteenth-century Scotland and England. A number of miracles were attributed to Margaret following her death, some of which were collated in a dossier that probably formed part of the materials provided to the papal inquiry into her canonisation the mid-thirteenth century. Like Andrew, the peak of interest in the shrine of St Margaret at Dunfermline can be traced to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the majority of primary source references to the shrine, miracles and pilgrims stem from that period. Evidence for pilgrimage to the shrine in the later middle ages is limited, suggesting that interest in Margaret as an intercessor and miracle worker was on the wane by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Political problems from the late thirteenth century would also have deterred English pilgrims. In that period however, Margaret's continued

⁹⁵ Herkless. J & Hannay. R. 1905, *College of St. Leonard: being documents with translations, notes, and historical introductions*, Edinburgh, p.137.

significance as a dynastic founder of the Scottish royal house, and the regional and local importance of Dunfermline as a sacred centre, ensured that her shrine remained an important destination for pilgrims, if not on the scale of the twelfth and thirteenth century peak.

Historical References

1160s Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti

Reginald of Durham, in his book of the miracles of St Cuthbert, described crowds assembling at Dunfermline to celebrate *the festive natal day of St Margaret the queen* (16 Nov)...*for there rests the holy body of the queen, whose power of sanctity the whole region of Scotland venerates and reveres.*⁹⁶

1199 Chronicle of Roger of Howden

In that same year (1199) when William, king of the Scots (William I, 1163-1214), was in the purpose of coming into England with an army, he went to the tomb (which is at Dunfermline) of St Margaret, formerly queen of the Scots, and passed the night there.

*And being warned in his dreams by a divine oracle not to invade England with an army he allowed his army to return home.*⁹⁷

Although not specified by Roger, the *divine oracle* is presumably understood to have been Margaret.

Miracles from the *Miracula S. Margarite Scotorum regine* (1245x63)

1. 15 June 1180

*In the year 1180AD....the thought was sent from above into the minds of the brethren of the church of Dunfermline that they should move the tomb of St Margaret the queen from the place in which it was situated. And since the place of her last repose had been prepared in a less than suitable way, they should raise it up and employ more elegant craftsmanship. To increase devotion to her they had already employed an artist called Ralph, a man of great reputation and most renowned creator of carvings. He prepared a reliquary for the blessed queen, covered with gold leaf and with carved images.*⁹⁸ (During the construction a woman called Emma was cured of a toothache)

2. 20 March 1239 or 1250

⁹⁶ Raine. J, 1835, *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus que novellis patratae sunt temporibus*, Surtees Society, London, pp. 217-218.

⁹⁷ Anderson. A. O, 1999, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*, Stamford, p. 322.

⁹⁸ Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, pp. 93-94.

There was a poor little woman, English by birth and race..... who was afflicted for a long time with a very serious ailment. Her arm, from the shoulder to the tip of the fingers, was so weakened by swelling of the skin and flesh that she was unable to lift it...

Having undertaken to visit the shrine of St Edmund (Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk), she was visited in a dream she was visited by a lady who suggested she visit the shrine of St Margaret

It was late on Palm Sunday when she entered the church of Dunfermline and sought permission to spend the night in the church from the guardian of the outer church...A thing very marvelous and always praiseworthy in God in that same hour she fell headlong to the ground before the holy altar like a lifeless stone, losing all strength in her limbs, and she lay there for about an hour, seeming to bystanders to be already close to death. But soon sadness was turned to joy, the health of her limbs restored to her.⁹⁹

2. Undated

At another time there was a girl crippled by a miserable hump on her back, with feet so twisted back and ankles pressed up against her buttocks that she had completely lost the natural ability to walk.....She was carried to the glorious tomb of St Margaret, where that precious body used to lie hidden. However, according to the decision of our elders, as miracles multiplied, the body, as was proper, is kept entombed next to the high altar with great honour to the present day.¹⁰⁰ (once at the tomb Margaret appeared to the girl in a dreamed an cured her malady)

3. Undated

*In a miracle entitled *another girl freed from a demon*, St Margaret appeared to the girl as she slept before the High Altar in Dunfermline Abbey and ordered her to *Arise, go to the place where my bones rested for there you will receive healing. Straightway, waking as if she had been cured, she went alone to the place, and there went to sleep on the stone of the queen's tomb*. Following another vision the girl was cured and her parent *led her joyfully to St Margaret's shrine.*¹⁰¹*

4. 1250x1263

Meanwhile, the festive day of her holy translation arrived (19 June), when from all the surrounding region a great crowd of sick people, weighed down with infirmities of mind or body, hurried to be present as such important vigils in the hope of recovering their health.¹⁰²

5. 1239 or 1250

⁹⁹ Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, pp. 72-75.

¹⁰⁰ Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, pp. 77-78.

¹⁰¹ Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, pp. 102-105.

¹⁰² Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, pp. 84-85.

*There was in that region a local woman who for the space of five years had lost the use of her eyes.....She directed herself, carried by those she asked, to the neighbourhood of the venerable tomb, where she knew there was a spring of inexhaustible kindness and rich with all goodness. (following prayers at the well she was cured of her blindness and paralysis).*¹⁰³

The examples above are selected from the 45 miracles recorded in a collection called the *Miracula S. Margarite Scotorum regine*. It is extant in only one copy dating from the late fifteenth century and housed in the Spanish Royal Archives in Madrid. The collection was composed sometime in the middle of the thirteenth century and was probably intended to provide evidence to support the case for Margaret's canonization. Those miracles mentioned above gives us a clear idea of the arrangements at the shrine (1-3) and of the most popular days with pilgrims (4). They show that there was a translation of the relics in 1180 (1) from the 'old church', constructed by Margaret herself in the late eleventh century, to the 'north side of the high altar' in the new church built by her son David I and consecrated in 1150. In 1250, following her canonization, the relics were moved again to a specially constructed east-end chapel (see below). In miracles 2 & 3 we can see that the former locations of her tomb were still considered to be sites of her power. Also found in the church was 'St Margaret's well' (5) which featured in 8 separate miracle stories. It was located in the south aisle of the church built by David I, having initially lain outside the structure built by Margaret

The collection presents an image of an effective and powerful intercessor. Often appearing to her supplicants in visions, Margaret works curative miracles, drives out demons and lizards and in a story which is repeated in Bower, acts as a defender of the Scots at the battle of Largs (1263). The miracles are acted over a relatively broad geographical range with the majority of the supplicants either monks of the Abbey or from Fife and East Lothian. The exceptions to this rule are six people from England, two Aberdonians and a nobleman from Galloway.¹⁰⁴

The canonisation of St Margaret

27 July 1245

Letter from Pope Innocent IV (1243-54) to the bishops of Dunkeld, St Andrews and Dunblane states that he had received a request from Alexander II asking that Margaret be inscribed into the catalogue of saints. The letter stated that *the remains of Margaret, queen of the Scots are the site of innumerable miracles* and asked the bishops to investigate the life of the queen and the miracles and prepare a dossier of witness statements to support the king's request.¹⁰⁵

13 Aug 1246

¹⁰³ Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, pp. 79-81.

¹⁰⁴ Bartlett. R, 2003, *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, pp. xxxi-xxxviii.

¹⁰⁵ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 281.

Further letter from Innocent IV to the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow which ordered a new inquest into *the life and miracles of Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, because the previous inquest had failed to provide sufficient evidence and had failed to submit the statements or names of the witnesses.¹⁰⁶

16 Sept 1249

Letter from Innocent IV informing the abbot of Dunfermline that in response to his petitions the cardinal of Sainte-Sabine, who examined *the miracles and memory of the blessed Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, has come to a favourable conclusion.¹⁰⁷

21 Sept 1249

*Innocent IV grants an indulgence of 40 days to all penitents who visit the monastic church of Dunfermline on the feast day of St Margaret (16 Nov).*¹⁰⁸

There is some contention as to whether Margaret was ever fully canonised as important documents, such as the papal bull of canonisation, are lacking. However, the wording of the letter of 16 Sept 1249, the granting of an indulgence shortly after which describes Margaret as *sanctus* and the subsequent translation of her relics (see below) suggest that she was formally canonised. Although the bull has not survived, as Keene notes there is strong evidence that ‘the papacy did nevertheless recognise Margaret’s sanctity through a formal and successful canonisation process’.¹⁰⁹

The translation of 1250

19 June 1250 Chronica Gentis Scotorum

*Again in the second year of King Alexander III (1249-1286), on the 19th of June 1250, this king and the queen his mother, with bishops and abbots, earls and barons, and other good men, both clerics and laymen, in great numbers, met at Dunfermline, and took up, in great state the bones of the blessed Margaret, sometime queen of Scots, out of the stone monument where they had lain through a long course of years; and these they laid, with the deepest devoutness, in a shrine of deal, set with gold, and precious stones.*¹¹⁰

19 June 1250 Scotichronicon

The next year, that is 1250, the king (Alexander III) and his queen his mother (Marie de Coucy) along with the bishops and abbots and other magnates of the realm assembled at Dunfermline. There they raised the bones and earthly remains of the glorious Queen Margaret....from the stone sepulchre in which they rested for many years and with the utmost reverence raised them in casket of firwood entwined with gold and precious stones. When the grave had been opened up by digging, such and intense and sweet smelling fragrance poured

¹⁰⁶ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 285.

¹⁰⁷ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 290.

¹⁰⁸ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no 291.

¹⁰⁹ Keene. C. 2013, *St Margaret, Queen of the Scots. A life in perspective*, Basingstoke, p. 123.

¹¹⁰ Skene. W. F, 1871-1872, *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum*. Edinburgh, ii, p. 291.

from it that men thought that the entire sanctuary had been sprinkled with the fragrance of spices and the scents of flowers in full bloom. And a miracle sent by God was forthcoming there. When that famous treasure had been placed in the outer church preparatory to re-burial in the choir beyond the high altar, a move intended as a mark of honour, it was raised without difficulty by the holy hands of the bishops and abbots, and was being carried in procession, with instruments playing and the choir singing harmoniously. They got as far as the chancel door just opposite the body of Margaret's husband, King Malcolm (III), which lay under the arched roof on the north side of the nave, when all at once the arms of the bearers became paralysed, and because of the great weight they were no longer able to move the shrine which held the remains.At last, as they were all marvelling one to another....they heard a voice coming from one of the bystander, bit as it is believed divinely inspired, which loudly proclaimed that it was perhaps not God's will that the bones of the holy queen be translated before her husband's tomb had been opened, and his body raised and honoured in the same way. The words me with general approval, and following the advice which they conveyed, King Alexander, with companions chosen for thus purpose, lifted up the casket containing the bones of the king along with that, now raised, which held the remains of the queen, without expending any effort or encountering any obstacle. They solemnly placed both coffins in tombs which had been decked out elegantly for that purpose, as congregation sang and a choir of prelates followed in solemn procession, on 19 June. There God in his mercy has often worked all manner of miracles through (the merits of) the holy queen.¹¹¹

The account of the translation of the relics in the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* is probably the nearest contemporary description of the events (dating from the 1260s), but Bower's account from the 1440s includes more detail and the associated miracle story.

1263 Bower Scotichronicon

At that time it chanced that a courageous knight, John Wemyss by name, who was completely worn out by the severity of fevers which recurred daily, had gladly abandoned his weary limbs to sleep, as the illness had in some small degree abated, when he was privileged to see the following vision. He appeared to be standing at the (north) doorway of the church at Dunfermline. A lady of radiant beauty and resplendent in full royal attire came quickly out of the aforesaid church. She was leading on her right arm an distinguished looking knight.....The knight (Wemyss) was not a little disturbed by the suddenness of this unexpected encounter, but took comfort from the beauty and benevolence of the lady who headed the group, and so addressed the sainted queen as follows 'Glorious lady, please tell me who you are and where you and your noble companions are going'. She replied: 'I am Margaret, formerly queen of Scots. The knight who has my arm is the lord king Malcolm my husband and these knights who are following us are our sons (Edgar, Alexander I and David I), the most renowned kings of this realm while they lived. In company with them I am hurrying to defend our country at Largs, and to win a victory over the usurper (Haakon of

¹¹¹ Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, v, pp. 297-299.

Norway) who is unjustly trying to make my kingdom subject to his rule.....When the queen finished speaking she quickly disappeared and the knight awoke.

He was afflicted with chronic illness more severely than one could believe possible.....Yet this man, feeble as he was, struggled against his own constitution and against the advice of his men that he set out on a journey he would die without getting anywhere, immediately as it seemed to them. But whatever the wishes of his servants, the knight did not abandon his design; but travelling in a carriage or on a litter he finished the journey he had undertaken and reached Dunfermline. On arrival there he summoned the prior of the monastery and told him about his dream. It was not the sort of dream by which we are often deluded, but one revealed by heaven, as the outcome showed. For as yet his illness was so severe that his servants' hands could hardly hold him up so that he could, with tearful devotion, kiss the whole area around the shrine in which the relics of the queen were kept. As he was hurrying over to the relics to kiss them and pray with tearful jerks of his head, he suddenly felt well and in good spirits; and the man who had come there a permanent invalid went cured, giving praises to God. At this point, suddenly a servant came in, the bringer of the good news of the victory just won at Largs.¹¹²

8 Oct 1290

Indulgence

Relaxation of one year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who visit the church of St Margaret, Dunfermline, on her feast (16 Nov).¹¹³

c.1297 Vita Nobilissimi Defensoris Scotie Wilelmi Wallace Militis

Than Wallace wald na langar soiorne thar (Dundee)

His modyr graithit hir in pilgrame weid

Hym self disgysyt syne glaidlye with hir yeid

A schort swerd undyr his weid prevale

In all that land full mony fays had he.

Baith on thar fute, with thaim may tuk thai socht.

Quha sperd, scho said to sanct Margret thai socht.

Quha servit hir, full gret frendschiipe thai fand

With Sothroun folk, for scho was of Ingland.

Besyrd Lundoris the ferrye our thai past,

Syn throw the Ochtell sped thaim wonder fast.

In Dunfermline thai lugyt all tht nycht.

Apon the morn quhen that the day was brycht,

With gentill wemen hapynt thaim to pas,

Off Ingland born, in Lithquhow (Linlithgow) woundand was.

The captans wiff, in pilgrimage had beyne,

Fra shcho thaim mett and had young Wallace sene.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Watt. D. E. R., 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, v, pp. 337-339.

¹¹³ Bliss. W. H., 1893-, *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal letters*, London, i, p. 520.

In this excerpt from Blind Hary's *The Wallace*, the hero lies low from his enemies by mingling with pilgrim crowds at Dunfermline, which includes a number of *sothron folk* (English people), because he explains, Margaret was *of England*. The section notes that they travelled south from Dundee via the ferry (see above St Andrews Route 2), and Lindores Abbey. While it is unlikely that this incident happened, it does show that Hary (writing in the 1470s) was aware of the pilgrim route from the north and of the popularity of the shrine with English pilgrims.

8 Dec 1304

*Gold brooch worth 8 marks. Offered by the Queen (Margaret of France, spouse of Edward I, 1272-1307) at the shrine of St Margaret in Dunfermline.*¹¹⁵

25 Feb 1304

*Gold jewel, worth 6 marks. Offered by lord Edward, son of the king (Edward I) and Prince of Wales at the shrine of St Margaret at Dunfermline.*¹¹⁶

8 July 1321

*Robert King of Scots (Robert I, 1306-1329) makes a grant and confirmation to God, Blessed Mary the Virgin, and to the church of the Holy Trinity and Saint Margaret, Queen of Scotland, at Dunfermline, and to the monks serving God there. He provides for the setting up, in honour of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the aforementioned Blessed Margaret, in the choir in front of her shrine, a candle continuously and solemnly burning for ever.*¹¹⁷

10 June 1334

*In 1335 (sic) Sir John de Strivelyn, a knight of the king of England, with a great multitude of both English and Anglicised (Scots).....all assembled together in the middle of Lent in the aforesaid year to besiege the castle of Loch Leven.....Meanwhile (after the English forces had tried various stratagems against the castle), the annual celebration of the blessed Margaret queen of Scots was drawing near, and the aforesaid John de Strivelyn, desiring to attend this celebration which is customarily held every year at Dunfermline, made some of this people go with him; but he ordered many to stay and keep watch in the fortress and around the loch because of the siege of the castle (following the departure of Sir John the garrison, with the help of St Serf, managed to divert the loch to flood the English camp and lift the siege).*¹¹⁸

While this incident indicates the popularity of St Margaret with both the English and the Scots, the miracle itself was attributed by Bower to St Serf.

¹¹⁴ McDiarmid. M, 1968, *Vita Nobilissimi Defensori Scotie Willelmi Wallace Militis*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, i, pp. 10-11.

¹¹⁵ Bain. J et al, 1881-1986, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Edinburgh, iv, p. 487.

¹¹⁶ Bain. J et al, 1881-1986, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Edinburgh, iv, p. 486.

¹¹⁷ Duncan. A. A. M, 1986, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V : The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*. Edinburgh, no. 188.

¹¹⁸ Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, vii, pp. 99-101.

19 July 1451

*Memorandum that 6 shillings are to allocated by the said bailies (of Inverkeithing) for the passage-money of William Craig bringing down the shirt of blessed Margaret the queen to the lady our queen (Mary of Gueldres) in her confinement within the time of this account.*¹¹⁹

25 Nov 1497

*Item, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand in the Castel of Edinburgh on Sanct Margretis day, 14 shillings.*¹²⁰

24 Nov 1504

*To the Kingis (James IV), offerand in Sanct James chapel of the North Ferye.*¹²¹

While Pilgrim Route 3 from Edinburgh and the southwest, which included the Queensferry and pilgrim facilities in North Queensferry and Inverkeithing, initially served pilgrims heading to St Andrews it was also pilgrim route to Dunfermline and the relics of St Margaret, as can be seen by the reference to James IV, who in 1504 made an offering at the chapel in North Queensferry on his way to Dunfermline.

25 Nov 1504

*Item, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand, in Dunfermline, to Sanct Margretis Hede (head relic), 14 shillings.*¹²²

2 Oct 1505

*Item, the second day of October, to the Kingis (James IV), offerand at the reliques in Dunfermlyn, 14 shillings.*¹²³

6 Mar 1506

*Item, the vi day of March, in Dunfermlyn, to Sir Andro Makbrek to dispone, 40 shillings, Item, to the Kingis (James IV), offerand at the reliques thare, 14 shillings.*¹²⁴

10 Mar 1512

*Item, to Luke of the wardrop (Wardrobe), to feche Sanct Margaretis sark (shirt) to the queen.*¹²⁵

The future James V was born one month after this reference. The shirt of St Margaret was a relic from the royal collection that seems to have been part of the paraphernalia and ceremony of royal birth by the mid-fifteenth century (see ref to Mary of Gueldres above). There are also a number of references to the marking of Margaret's feast day by James IV,

¹¹⁹ Stuart. J. 1878-1908, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. Edinburgh, v, p. 447.

¹²⁰ TA, i, p. 368.

¹²¹ TA, ii, p. 267.

¹²² TA, ii, p. 267.

¹²³ TA, iii, p. 65.

¹²⁴ TA, iii, p. 71.

¹²⁵ TA, iv, p. 334.

and of him visiting the relics in Dunfermline, which illustrate the continuing importance of the cult to the Scottish royal house, even when popular interest in Margaret as a miracle worker and intercessor appears to have been on the wane.

Other sites associated with St Margaret and/or pilgrims to her shrine

Dunfermline parish

1536

*Sanct Margret Stane.*¹²⁶

St Margaret's Stone is still visibly on the west side of the main road near the farm (Stone Farm). It was traditionally thought that St Margaret rested on this stone on her first journey to Dunfermline, as a nineteenth-century inscription on the stone records.¹²⁷

St Margaret's cave

No medieval references

Canmore ID: 49334

OS 6" map, (1938).

St Margaret's Cave is situated a short distance N of Tower Hill, on the E side of the ravine, nearly opposite Chalmers Street Church. It consists of an open apartment in the solid rock, 6'9" in height, 8'6" in width and 11'9" in depth. There is at present a small spring well at the bottom.

The tradition is that the cave had been used by Queen Margaret for her private devotions and that it was later suitably fitted up for this purpose by her husband, King Malcolm (1057-93). At the entrance to the cave were one or two small recesses or niches on the sides of the rock. It is stated that an old man said he had seen the remains of a stone table with something like a crucifix upon it, in the cave.¹²⁸

St Margeretts Well

No medieval references. Canmore ID. 49354

OS 6" map, (1938)

An excellent spring on Headwell Farm, formerly known as St Margaret's Well. It is protected by a stone covering in the shape of a house, with a door on it. There is no tradition respecting the well, but it is supposed that it was called after Margaret, patron saint of Dunfermline.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Duncan. A. A. M, 1953, *Regality of Dunfermline Court Book, 1531-38*, Dunfermline, pp. 128 & 151.

¹²⁷ *PNF I*, p. 360.

¹²⁸ <https://canmore.org.uk/site/49334/dunfermline-bruce-street-queen-margarets-cave>

¹²⁹ <https://canmore.org.uk/site/49354/dunfermline-st-margarets-well>

Referred to in in 1671 as the ‘*head well*’ but generally known as St Margaret’s well and referred to as such on the Gordon (1642) and Blaeu (1654) maps.¹³⁰

Abbot House

1123x1127

Royal charter (David I, 1124-1153) granting to the abbey of Dunfermline the teinds of the lands of Dunfermline and the *right to one residence for the abbot in the town of Dunfermline and in Stirling, Perth and Edinburgh.*¹³¹

This is the earliest reference to the house of the Abbot in Dunfermline, and may refer to the building now known as ‘Abbot House’. Prior to the restoration of the building in 1991 it was believed that the structure was a sixteenth-century town house built by Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline. During the restoration a set of windows of a mid-fifteenth century style demonstrated that the building was considerably older than previously thought.¹³²

Chapel of St Mary of Piety/of Pity

Indulgence

10 Sept 1434

*Since the chapel of St Mary of Pety (of Piety or Pity) in the bounds of the parish church of Dunfermline (i.e. in the parish of Dunfermline), which is noble and devout and to which every year come a great many faithful, are very opportune for the repair of the defect in order that the faithful be more willing, may the Pope grant to all faithful who visit the said chapel devoutly each year and who give alms or stretch out helping hands for its reparation or conservation, as often as they do so and especially in the feasts of Our Lord Jesus Christ (25 Dec), St Mary, the Apostles Peter and Paul (29 June), the Nativity (8 Sept), St John the Baptist (24 June), All Saints (1 Nov), and others wont to be given by the Apostolic Chancery and for octaves of the same, seven years and as many guaranties of enjoined penance and true indulgences in perpetuity.*¹³³

This chapel was in existence by the fourteenth century when the *Lady Chappell near Dunfermline* was mentioned in two charters by Andrew Murray. These are undated, but which can be traced to the reign of David II (1329-71).¹³⁴

¹³⁰ *PNF 1*, p. 321

¹³¹ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 26.

¹³² Torrie. P, 1994, *Capital in the Kingdom : the archaeology of medieval Dunfermline*, Dunfermline, pp. 16-19.

¹³³ Dunlop. A. I & MacLauchlan. D, 1983, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1433-47*, Glasgow, no. 160.

¹³⁴ *RMS*, i, no. 944 & 948.

Canmore Report: 49350 notes that ‘The last vestige of the ruin of the Chapel of St Mary, which stood near the N end of Elgin Street, opposite the foot of Moodie Street, was removed in 1814’.¹³⁵

Beath

St Margaret’s Well

No medieval references. Canmore ID: 51099

OS 6" map, (1946).

St. Margaret's Well is a spring well on the farm of Braehead, named after the patron saint of Dunfermline. The farm lands and those of the adjoining farm belonged to the Abbey of Dunfermline (38 NE) which may account for the name. There is no tradition regarding the well.¹³⁶

iv. Aberdour and St Fillan’s well

St Martha’s hospital in Aberdour was founded in 1474. Its primary purpose seems to have been to serve pilgrims travelling to the nearby holy well dedicated to St Fillan. The water from the well on was believed to cure nervous ailments, blindness, and deafness. While there are no contemporary references to the popularity of the well, David Ditchburn has suggested that the construction of the hospital in the 1470s is a good indication that increasing numbers of pilgrims were coming from afar to visit the site.¹³⁷ The proximity of the site to Inchcolm means that it is possible that the hospital could also have been intended to serve any pilgrims heading to that island (see **vii. Inchcolm and St Columba**).

22 July 1474

Charter founding the hospital of St Martha in Aberdour for the maintenance of *the poor and entertainment of pilgrims and wayfarers* by James Douglas, earl of Morton. Includes the permission of the abbot of Inchcolm.¹³⁸

16 Oct 1486

¹³⁵ <https://canmore.org.uk/site/49350/dunfermline-st-marys-chapel>.

¹³⁶ <https://canmore.org.uk/site/51099/st-margarets-well>.

¹³⁷ Ditchburn. D, 2008, ‘Saints at the Door Don’t Make Miracles’? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c.1450-1550’, in Goodare. J & MacDonald. A. A., *Sixteenth-Century Scotland. Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, Leiden, 69-98.

¹³⁸ Thomson. T, 1853, *Registrum Honoris de Morton. A series of ancient charters of the Earldom of Morton with other original papers*, Bannatyne Club), Edinburgh, no. 232.

Further charter by James Douglas, earl of Morton, adding to the endowments of the hospital of St Martha in Aberdour refers to the location of *le pylgramys well* lying next to the said hospital.¹³⁹

This was an incomplete foundation-in 1474 the abbot and convent of Inchcolm gave permission to John Scot, vicar of Aberdour and canon of Inchcolm to administer the hospital. However, as the project had not been realised, in 1486 the earl of Morton granted the lands and building to four sisters of the Order of St Francis, but a bull of 1487 extinguished the name and rights of the hospital-hence the further grant below.¹⁴⁰

Pilgrim Accommodation

18 Mar 1501

Royal Charter (James IV) erecting Wester Aberdour into a burgh of barony in favour of Inchcolm and its abbot (Thomas). Included amongst the reasons for this act was *the need for the accommodation etc of the king's subjects arriving by land and sea from different parts of the kingdom, and especially those who congregate in the seaport called the Queen's Ferry.*¹⁴¹

PNF (1) notes that the specific mention of accommodation (*hospitium*) in this charter will certainly include provision for pilgrims, and is probably a part of a local response to the founding of St Martha's hospital (Aberdour) and the development of the Fillan cult in the neighbouring barony of Aberdour.¹⁴²

v. Crail and its 'Holy Rude'

The 'auld rude' of Crail is first recorded as an object of pilgrimage in a poem by David Lindsay from the 1550s. It was a significant enough site to attract the ire of the Protestant reformers, who targeted the church and shrine in 1559. Mackinlay noted that 'The Cross of Crail in Fife had the power of working wonderful cures, and many were the pilgrims who flocked to it'.¹⁴³ He however, does not seem to have had any evidence for this description beyond the two brief references below. Whether the church of Crail claimed to possess a piece of the True Cross or the cross was believed to work miracles is unclear. The parish church of Peebles was also the host to a miraculous cross, found buried near the church in the thirteenth century.

¹³⁹ Thomson. T, 1853, *Registrum Honoris de Morton. A series of ancient charters of the Earldom of Morton with other original papers*, Bannatyne Club), Edinburgh, no. 234.

¹⁴⁰ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, p. 195.

¹⁴¹ RMS, ii, no. 2574.

¹⁴² PNF 1, p. 55

¹⁴³ Mackinlay. J. M. 1910, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Scriptural Dedications*, Edinburgh, p. 295, PNF 3, pp. 181-182.

Parish/Collegiate church

1554

*And sum, in hope to get thare haill (whole),
Rynnys (runs) to the auld rude of Kerrail.*¹⁴⁴

This reference from a poem written in c.1554 by David Lindsay refers to pilgrims visiting the Holy Cross relic that was held in the parish, and after 1517, collegiate church of Crail in search of miraculous cures.

25 June 1559 Pitscottie's History and Chronicles of Scotland

*Be this way the congregation (Lords of the Congregation), gaderrit and come fordwart, first to Carrail (Crail), and caist down the imagis and alter thairof and burnt the rude quilk was ane great idol and abussit all men and wemen baitht with pillgramage.*¹⁴⁵

Holy Well

29 May 1594

Royal Charter (James VI, 1567-1625) disjoining the collegiate church of Crail from the Abbey of Haddington and gifting one third of the lands and teinds pertaining to it to New College, St Andrews. These included *the Ruidwallis in the parish of Crail.*¹⁴⁶

Connected to the church of Crail was the 'Ruidwallis' the Rood well just to the east of the church first recorded in 1594.

vi. Culross/Lochleven and the relics of St Serf

St Serf (feast day 1 July) was an important early saint in western Fife. His cult centre was found at Culross, with a secondary centre at Porkmoak (St Serf's Isle in Loch Leven). A life of the saint, the *Vita St Servani*, was composed sometime in the thirteenth century, probably at the Cistercian abbey dedicated to St Serf and Mary founded by Malcolm, earl of Fife in 1217 in Culross. Serf's relics were held at the abbey, which was built on an earlier ecclesiastical site, perhaps dating back to the early middle ages. There were several different traditions connected to the saint. One tradition included in Andre of Wyntoun's Chronicle (1407x24. Andrew who was prior of the church of Lochleven which was also dedicated to St Serf) and in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, identified Serf as a bishop of the Scots and missionary

¹⁴⁴ Laing. D, 1879, *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*. Edinburgh, iii, p. 30.

¹⁴⁵ Mackay. A. 1899, *History and Chronicles of Scotland by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, i, p. 151.

¹⁴⁶ *RMS*, vi, no. 100.

in the late fifth century.¹⁴⁷ By an alternative tradition, which suggested that Serf had a sixth-century provenance, Culross was noted as the birthplace of St Kentigern of Glasgow. According to the *Vita St Kentigerni*, the saint's pregnant mother (Thanay or Enoch) was washed up on the shore near Culross and tended by Serf. Kentigern was then raised at the monastery before he moved west to convert the kingdom of Strathclyde.¹⁴⁸ Evidence of pilgrims visiting the shrine of St Serf is limited, although James IV made an offering to the relics in 1511.

10 June 1334

*In 1335 (sic) Sir John de Strivelyn, a knight of the king of England, with a great multitude of both English and Anglicised (Scots).....all assembled together in the middle of Lent in the aforesaid year to besiege the castle of Loch Leven.....Meanwhile (after the English forces had tried various stratagems against the castle), the annual celebration of the blessed Margaret queen of Scots was drawing near, and the aforesaid John de Strivelyn, desiring to attend this celebration which is customarily held every year at Dunfermline, made some of this people go with him; but he ordered many to stay and keep watch in the fortress and around the loch because of the siege of the castle (following the departure of Sir John the garrison, with the help of St Serf, managed to divert the loch to flood the English camp and lift the siege).*¹⁴⁹

While this incident indicates the popularity of St Margaret with both the English and the Scots, the miracle itself was attributed by Bower to St Serf.

5 Oct 1511

*Item, offerit (by James IV) to Sanct Serfis fertur, 14 shillings.*¹⁵⁰

A fertur is the Scots word for a reliquary. In this case the relics of St Serf seem to have been contained in a reliquary at the abbey of Culross.

Further sites associated with Serf

Dysart

Cave

1510 Aberdeen Breviary

¹⁴⁷ Amours. F. 1903-1914, *The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, iv, pp. 77-91, Watt. D. E. R., 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, ii, pp. 23-25.

¹⁴⁸ Forbes. A. P., 1874, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, Edinburgh.

¹⁴⁹ Watt. D. E. R., 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, vii, pp. 99-101.

¹⁵⁰ *TA*, iv, p. 176.

*Once, however the devil tempted St Serf with many questions in the cave of Dysart, but by divine power he withdrew in confusion, and from that day the devil has never reappeared to anyone in that cave; and the place is held famous in honour of St Serf until now.*¹⁵¹

4 Aug 1517

A Fife Sheriff Court record noted that *an annual rent of 6s 8d per year was owed from the lands of Skeddoway to the chaplain of the cave of St Serf in Dysart.*¹⁵² The reference was included in a document outlining the terms of the tenancy of the lands of Skeddoway (Dysart) inherited from his father by David Alleredes.

The link between Dysart and St Serf is mentioned in the *Vita Servani* c.1200. The PNF (1) notes that this may perhaps rest on a genuine association from the time of Serf himself, who appears to have flourished around 700. Dysart's medieval church is dedicated to him and a few metres away lies the cave in which Serf is said to have had his famous conversation with the Deil. First recorded in the anonymous *Vita Sancti Servani* (late 12th or early 13th cent) and repeated in the Aberdeen Breviary (1 July) noted above.¹⁵³

vii. Inchcolm and St Columba

Inchcolm, the 'island of St Columba', was home to a house of Augustinian canons, founded sometime after 1123.¹⁵⁴ After Iona and Dunkeld Cathedral, it was the third most important site in Scotland associated with the saint, although it is not clear whether it ever possessed any of his relics. Its main attraction may have been an 'image of St Columba', perhaps a statue, mentioned in a miracle story from 1335.¹⁵⁵ Most of our information on the shrine comes from Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm (1418-1449), who wrote his chronicle of Scotland while resident on the island.

1123 Bower Scotichronicon

When the noble and most Christian lord king Alexander (I).....was making the crossing at Queensferry in pursuit of some business of the kingdom, a violent storm suddenly arose as wind blew from the south-west, and compelled the ship with its crew scarcely clinging to life to put in at the island of Inchcolm, where a certain island hermit lived at that time. He was dedicated to the service of St Columba, and earnestly devoted himself to it at a certain little chapel on the island, content with a meagre diet consisting of milk of one cow, shells and little fish that he gathered from the sea. The king with his very large number of fellow soldiers gratefully lived on this food of his for three days on end under compulsion from the

¹⁵¹ Macquarrie. A, 2012, *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*. Dublin, pp. 159-161.

¹⁵² Dickinson. W. C, 1928, *Sheriff Court Book of Fife, 1515-1522*, Edinburgh, p. 80.

¹⁵³ *PNF I*, p. 468.

¹⁵⁴ Easson. D & Macdonald. A, 1938, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, no. 1, *PNF I*, pp. 73-75.

¹⁵⁵ Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, vii, pp. 109-111.

wind. But on the previous day when he was giving up hope of surviving, as he was being buffeted by the very great danger of the sea and the madness of the storm, he made a vow to the saint that if he brought him safely to the island along with his men, he would leave on the island such a memorial to his glory as would serve for asylum and solace to sailors and victims of shipwreck. This is how it came to be that founded a monastery of canons in that same place, just as it can be seen at the present day (1440s).¹⁵⁶

Aug 1335 Bower Scotichronicon

At that time, while his piratical fleet in the Forth was raging through the harbours and coastal areas, one of the ships....landed on the canons' isle of Inchcolm and robbed it of all its moveable, both ecclesiastical and worldly, and even along with some other images the famous image of St Columba, which is still kept in his monastery church (they were later caught in a storm and returned the items to the church).¹⁵⁷

1412

In the following year the second Sir Archibald, earl of Douglas crossed over for the first time to France along with the honourable band of knights and men-at-arms. Three times he boarded his ship and raised the sails; but as many times was he held back as a contrary wind prevented him from sailing, until on the advice of Sir Henry de Sinclair, earl of Orkney, who was his companion on this journey he made a pious visit to Inchcolm. After making an offering there to St Columba he took ship again and crossed to Flanders with a favourable wind. With St Columba as his guide he returned home successfully.¹⁵⁸

18 Mar 1501

Royal Charter (James IV) erecting Wester Aberdour into a burgh of barony in favour of Inchcolm and its abbot (Thomas). Included amongst the reasons for this act was *the need for the accommodation etc of the king's subjects arriving by land and sea from different parts of the kingdom, and especially those who congregate in the seaport called the Queen's Ferry.*¹⁵⁹

PNF (1) notes that the specific mention of accommodation (*hospitium*) in this charter will certainly include provision for pilgrims, and is probably a part of a local response to the founding of St Martha's hospital and the development of the Fillan cult in the neighbouring barony of Aberdour.¹⁶⁰ The accommodation may also have been intended for pilgrims travelling to Inchcolm.

1 July 1508

Item, to tua botis that hed the King (James IV) fra Aberdour in to Sanct Colmis Inch, 28 shillings.

¹⁵⁶ Watt. D. E. R., 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, v, p. 111.

¹⁵⁷ Watt. D. E. R., 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, vii, pp. 109-111.

¹⁵⁸ Watt. D. E. R., 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, viii, p. 83.

¹⁵⁹ RMS, ii, no. 2574.

¹⁶⁰ PNF 1, p. 55

*Item, the second day of Juli, to ane bote to pas to Sanct Colmys Insch and brocht the King to Leith and his folkis, 28 shillings.*¹⁶¹

10 Oct 1511

*Item, the 10 day of October, in Sanct Colmis Inche, for foure trentale masses, £4.*¹⁶²

James IV stayed on the island in July 1507 and October 1511, visits Easson has identified as pilgrimages.¹⁶³ However, as he made no offerings (aside from paying for masses dedicated to Mary, Gabriel, Mungo and the Holy Spirit) it is not clear whether these visits constituted a pilgrimage.

viii. Isle of May and the relics of St Ethernan/Adrian

The earliest saint to be connected with the Isle of May was Ethernan (Feast days, 3 March and 2 December), possibly the holy man 'Itarnan' who was recorded as dying 'among the Picts' in 669AD in an Irish chronicle.¹⁶⁴ The church on the Isle of May was dedicated to Ethernan, as was the monastery of nearby Pittenweem, and the parish of Kilrenny was also named after him. By the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the relics on the island were said to belong to St Adrian (Feast day, 4 March). His name is a Latinised version of the Gaelic name Ethernan and veneration of Adrian was recorded in the same locations as Ethernan. Adrian is therefore almost certainly an offshoot of the cult of St Ethernan. As late as the nineteenth-century the parish church of Anstruther Wester claimed to possess half of his coffin (the other half was in the church on the Isle of May) and the new church of Anstruther Easter was dedicated to Adrian in 1634.

In was in the later middle ages, when there was something of a growth in popularity of pilgrimage to the shrine on the Isle of May, that a separate feast day (4 March) and back story seems to have been developed for the saint whose relics were found on the island. In legends first noted in Andrew of Wyntoun's chronicle (1407x24) and expanded upon in the Aberdeen Breviary (1510), Adrian was described as a ninth-century missionary from the region of Pannonia in modern day Hungary. Significantly Adrian shared his Hungarian origins with two other important saints, St (Queen) Margaret of Scotland, and St Martin of Tours (connected to St Ninian). Adrian was later martyred by marauding Danes on the Isle of

¹⁶¹ TA, iv, pp. 130-131.

¹⁶² TA, iv, p. 176.

¹⁶³ Easson. D & Macdonald. A, 1938, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, xxxii.

¹⁶⁴ Mac Airt. S & Mac Niocaill. G, 1983, *Annals of Ulster: Text and translation Pt. 1*, Dublin, pp. 138-139.

May, along with a large group of (unnamed) companions.¹⁶⁵ The only surviving member of the party was St Monan, the titular saint of the church and town located along the Fife coast. This fluidity in the cult of the saints is not unusual. The legends of individual saints were often adapted for political purposes or to suit contemporary fashions in devotion (as in this case, to link the saint to Margaret). Evidence of pilgrimage to the shrine prior to the late fifteenth century is patchy, and it may be that it was only in that period, and with royal patronage, that it graduated to a shrine of more than local importance.

Historical References

1253x1255

*Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, grants some wax or 40 pence to the light of St Ethernan on the Isle of May.*¹⁶⁶

The grant by the earl of Buchan provides evidence that the shrine on the Isle of May was initially dedicated to St Ethernan

1407x22 Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland

When Constantine was reigning

Over the Picts in Scotland,

St Adrian with his company

Came from the land of Hungary

And Arrived in Fife

There he chose to leid his life

Adrian was given permission by Constantine to dwell and preach in his kingdom

Then Adrian with his company,

Together came to Caplachi

And some men went to the Isle of May

Choosing to dwell there to the end of their days

Some others choose to go north

At Inverary St Monan

Who of that company was one,

Chose him to led his life there.

Hub, Haldane and Hungar

Came from Denmark at this time

¹⁶⁵ Amours. F. 1903-1914, *The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, iv, 177-179. The legend also features in the *Scotichronicon* of Walter Bower written in the 1440s, Watt. D. E. R., 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, i, 15.

¹⁶⁶ *SA Liber*, p. 383.

*In Scotland with a great multitude
In by the land they slew many,
And put to death many a martyr;
And upon Holy Thursday
St Adrian they slew on May
With many of his company
In to that holy isle they lay.*¹⁶⁷

1440s Bower Scotichronicon

*There are also other islands in an arm of the sea of Ocean which is called the Firth of Forth, namely Bass, Fidra, May, where the priory is a cell of the canons of St Andrew of Kilrymont, and where St Adrian is buried with his companions, the hundred holy martyrs.*¹⁶⁸

3 June 1503

*Item, the third day of June, the King (James IV), passit to Maii, to his offerand thare, 28 shillings.*¹⁶⁹

3 June 1504

Item, the third day of June, to the hermit of Maii, the Kingis command, 10 shillings

Item, to the boats brocht the Kingis folkis on land in Maii, 5 shillings 2 pence

*Item, to the boat that hed the clerkis of the Kingis chapel in Maii to sing the mess thare, 18 shillings.*¹⁷⁰

9 July 1506

*Item, the 9 day of July, agane the Kingis (James IV) saling to Maii, for ane cote (coat) to the Moor Taubonar (drummer), 30 shillings.*¹⁷¹

30 July 1506

Item to the Kingis (James IV) offerand in Maij, 28 shillings.

Item, to the Quenis (Margaret of England) offerand, offerit be the Kingis command, 14 shillings.

*Item, to the priest of May, 14 shillings.*¹⁷²

25 Aug 1507

Item, the xxv day of August, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand in Maii, 14 shillings.

Item, to the Kingis offerand to he reliques thare, 14 shillings.

*Item, to the priest of Maii, 20 shillings.*¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ Amours. F. 1903-1914, *The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, iv, 177-179.

¹⁶⁸ Watt. D. E. R., 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, i, p. 15.

¹⁶⁹ TA, ii, p. 261.

¹⁷⁰ TA, ii, p. 437.

¹⁷¹ TA, iii, p. 115.

¹⁷² TA, iii, p. 76.

¹⁷³ TA, iii, p. 293.

30 June 1508

Item, the last day of Juni, to the hermit of Maii, 14 shillings.

Item to ane boat of Anstruther that hed the King (James IV) to Maii and agane to Pettinweme, 28 shillings.

*Item, to ane row boat that hed the King about the Ile of Maii to schut at fowlis with the culverin, 26 pence.*¹⁷⁴

1510 Aberdeen Breviary

*In the Isle of May a monastery paved with great stones had been built in ancient times, in honour of almighty God and His holy martyrs, which has been destroyed by the race of the English by assault of war. But a church remains there to this day, which is still often visited by faithful people because of so many miracles of power from day to day; women coming there in the hope of having children are not disappointed. There remains also a very famous cemetery, where (like) a heavenly chorus, his (Adrian's) body and the body of the company rest, cleansed in red blood (i.e. martyred).*¹⁷⁵

The offices of St Adrian in the Aberdeen Breviary follow the account found in Wyntoun and Bower of the missionary activities and martyrdom of Adrian and his companions. It finishes with the section (above) not found in the fifteenth century chronicles.

21 Aug 1513

Royal charter (James IV) to Andrew Wood of Largo and Elizabeth Lundy his wife creating the Nethertoun and Seytoun of Largo into a free burgh of barony in thanks for his service in war against the English, and also granting Andrew some lands in return for which *the grantee and his successors should accompany the king and queen on pilgrimage to the Isle of May, whenever required.*¹⁷⁶

May 1538

Household accounts of James V record the expenses incurred when the king, his queen (Mary of Guise) and his retinue sailed in May of that year from Leith to the Isle of May on board the *Salamander and St Andrew.*¹⁷⁷

August 1539

Note in the margins of the Household accounts of James V for August stated that the royal officers were in Perth but that *the King and Queen (Mary of Guise) were on pilgrimage in the Isle of May at St Adrian's.*¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ TA, iv, p. 130.

¹⁷⁵ Macquarrie, A, 2012, *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary.* Dublin, pp. 68-69

¹⁷⁶ RMS, ii, no. 3880.

¹⁷⁷ NRS Exchequer Records: Household Books. 'Libri Domicilli' James V, E31/7, fol. 60r.

¹⁷⁸ NRS Exchequer Records: Household Books. 'Libri Domicilli' James V, E31/8, fol. 99v.

On the following page the officer noted that in travelling from Falkland (palace) to the Isle of May the king and queen had incurred costs of £4.¹⁷⁹

9 Oct 1540

Item, gevin to him (the almoner) to be ane relique to ane bane of Sanctandriane of May, 6 ounces quarter ounce gold, 40 Scots marks.

*Item, gevin to John Patersone for making of twa caiss to the said reliques.*¹⁸⁰

c.1542

Letter by Mary of Guise specifying that *in case she dies before carrying through the following matters, She prays her mother to see them carried out.* These include a series of pilgrimages from Scotland to shrines in Europe and other pilgrimages within Scotland to the shrines of *Saint Trygian (Ninian), and Saint Adrien an L'ile de May, and the True Cross of Peebles.*¹⁸¹

From the royal pilgrimages to the Isle of May in the sixteenth century we learn that the church on the island was staffed by one priest and that the island was also home to a hermit. A convent of Benedictine monks had been located on the island, but in the fourteenth century they had relocated to Pittenweem on the mainland. While James IV and James V displayed a personal dedication to the saint and his relics, visits to the Isle of May could also provide the monarchs with the opportunity to indulge in hunting. This was the case in 1508 when James IV took his 'culverins' to shoot seabirds. The king also travelled in style, with his Italian Minstrels and African drummer.

By the early sixteenth-century the church on the Isle of May seems to have been in a state of collapse.

1514x46

Letter for a collection on behalf of the Isle of May by Robert Foreman, Dean of Glasgow and Commendator of Pittenweem, *on our island called the Isle of May, where the bodies of St Adrian and his companion martyrs are buried....and where many and various Christians come on account of the merits of the holy martyrs, out of devotion and on pilgrimage. But the church which is dedicated to there and the buildings which were built there are thoroughly destroyed and collapsed; and since there are no resources at hand for the building and repair of the said church and buildings, nor for the support of the chaplain currently serving in them, whom we have placed there for the increase of divine worship, unless Christians by their loving alms should give their support, we exhort you all in the lord, and in the bowels of Jesus Christ beseech you.*¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ NRS Exchequer Records: Household Books 'Libri Domicilli' James V, E31/8, fol. 100r.

¹⁸⁰ TA, vii, p. 396.

¹⁸¹ Wood, M, 1923, *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, i, pp. 78–79.

¹⁸² Donaldson, G & Macrae, C, 1942-44, *St Andrews Formulare, 1514-46*, Stair Society, Edinburgh, i, pp. 64-65, PNF 5, pp. 666-667.

1703 Robert Sibbald's History of Fife

*It (monastery of the Isle of May) was much repaired to, for the great reputation St Adrian's chapel had, for that he was buried there, being murdered by the Danesand is said to have cured many barren women, who in these superstitious times went there in pilgrimage.*¹⁸³

Sibbald's history of Fife, written in 1703, recorded the connection, first noted in the Aberdeen Breviary, between St Adrian and infertile women.

Pilgrimage related place-names on the Isle of May

The Pilgrims (first recorded in 1855)

The name applies to two spiral rocks rising nearly perpendicularly out of the sea on the west side of the island and contiguous to Pilgrims' Haven.¹⁸⁴

Pilgrims-haven (first recorded in the 1803 second edition of Sibbald's *History of Fife*).¹⁸⁵

The OS name book gives no explanation as to how it obtained its name, writing only 'a small bay or creek on the west side of the Island, near its south end. Sometimes used as a landing place during easterly winds'. However, it is most likely connected with the well-documented medieval pilgrim traffic to the island. While not the site of the modern harbour, it is the nearest landing place to the medieval church.¹⁸⁶

Lady's Well (first recorded in 1855) or *Pilgrims Well* (in 1976)

The well, 1 m in diameter is situated on the south-west facing slope, overlooking Pilgrims' Haven. The earlier name, *Lady's Well*, might be thought to refer to our Our Lady, the Virgin Mary, but OS 6 inch (1855) also shows *Lady's Cave* near the well, and according to a story in OS Name Book it got its name from being the dwelling of a lady whose husband abandoned her on the Isle of May. There are further accounts which relate the well to St Thenew, mother of St Kentigern.¹⁸⁷

Relic of St Adrian

Anstruther Wester

St Nicholas' Parish Church

1838

¹⁸³ Sibbald. Robert. 1803, 2nd edition, original 1710, *The history, ancient and modern, of the sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross, with the description of both, and of the firths of Forth and Tay, and the islands in them ... with an account of the natural products of the land and waters*, Cupar, pp. 99-100.

¹⁸⁴ PNF 5, p. 678.

¹⁸⁵ Sibbald. Robert. 1803, 2nd edition, original 1710, *The history, ancient and modern, of the sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross, with the description of both, and of the firths of Forth and Tay, and the islands in them ... with an account of the natural products of the land and waters*, Cupar, p. 99.

¹⁸⁶ PNF 5, p. 678.

¹⁸⁷ PNF 5, p. 678-679.

George Milligan, minister of Elie and respondent to the 2nd Statistical Account noted that *In the church (of Anstruther Wester) there is the half of a stone coffin-the other half is on the Island of May. It is reported to be the coffin of St Adrian, who had a monastery on the isle just mentioned, and is said to have been killed during an incursion of the Danes. There is no certainty however, that the tradition is correct*.¹⁸⁸

In 1869 Mathew Conolly, MP for Anstruther, added that by that date the coffin was in the church yard (the church had been renovated/rebuilt in 1846). *There is a stone sarcophagus, pretty entire, in the churchyard, which tradition reports to be the coffin of Bishop Adrian, slain by Danish aggressors in the Isle of May*.¹⁸⁹

Fair

24 Feb 1540

The King, for his particular favour towards John, Prior of Pittenweem, and its monks, and for its improvement etc., has created the town and lands of Pittenweem, shire of Fife, as a free royal burgh; and he has granted to the said prior etc. [...] that the inhabitants [...] should have a market cross, and two market days weekly, that is to say, on Saturday and Monday, and two public fairs annually, that is to say, on St Adrian's day, 3 March, and on St Mary Magdalene's day, and for their octaves.¹⁹⁰

ix. The shrine of St Monan

The cult of St Monan was based in the East Neuk of Fife, centred on a church in the small town of Inverey, now named St Monans. His feast day was 1 March, the same as a sixth-century Irish saint, Moenu of Clonfert. The correspondence of that feast day, and the similarity of the two names, has led to the reasonable suggestion that the Monan cult in eastern Fife was a localised offshoot of the Irish saint.¹⁹¹ The earliest documentary references to the saint and his shrine occurred in 1362 when David II began constructing a royal chapel on the site. Between 1362 and 1371 David lavished £613 on the project.¹⁹² Walter Bower explained this conspicuous royal patronage as the fulfilment of a vow made by the king. The vow stemmed from a pilgrimage by David to the shrine seeking the saint's help to remove an arrow barb that had been lodged in his head since the battle of Neville's Cross (1346).¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1834-45, Edinburgh and London, ix, 620.

¹⁸⁹ Conolly. M. F, 1869, *Fifiana: or Memorials of the East of Fife*, Glasgow, p. 196.

¹⁹⁰ *RMS*, iii, no. 2294.

¹⁹¹ There are of number of other possible candidates as names with the Mo- prefix are common, Watson. W. J, 1926, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, Edinburgh, pp. 294-95, *PNF* 3, pp. 546-47.

¹⁹² Stuart. J. 1878-1908, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. Edinburgh, ii, 114, 137, 169, 175, 178, 221, 243, 289, 307, 333, 347 & 357.

¹⁹³ Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, vii, 260-261. In the Aberdeen Breviary the barb became a cross-bow bolt, Macquarrie. A, 2012, *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*. Dublin, p. 3.

While praying at the shrine the barb fell out through the king's nose. A later version of this miracle story has the incident taking place at Whithorn rather than in Fife.¹⁹⁴ An alternative local tradition suggests that this devotion to the saint arose from David having been saved from shipwreck on the Fife coast close to the shrine.¹⁹⁵

This patronage in the fourteenth century also seems to have prompted efforts by Wyntoun and Bower to explore the origins of the saint. They provided Monan with a Hungarian background, noting that he was the only survivor of the group of missionaries brought to Scotland by St Adrian in the ninth century.¹⁹⁶ Adrian was the patron saint of the priory of May, which held the land on which the church of St Monan was built, so it was both a natural and politically expedient move to connect the two saints in this way. It was this Hungarian connection that was accepted by the compilers of the Aberdeen Breviary in 1510, who included the arrow legend and one further miracle in which Monan cured a girl of insanity.¹⁹⁷ Royal patronage of St Monan continued into the sixteenth century, however, evidence of pilgrims to the shrine (other than Scottish royals) is limited, and it is not clear at which period the *crowds of pilgrims* described in the Aberdeen Breviary could be found at the shrine.

Historical References

17 Oct 1346 Bower Scotichronicon

The King (David II) for his part was seriously wounded by two arrows (during the Battle of Neville's Cross)

*The tip of one of these could not be extracted by any doctor's skill until the king developed a devotion to St Monan and went there as a pilgrim; while he was standing absorbed in prayer before the saint's statue, the arrow-tip sprang forth a long way as if forcibly pulled out, an event that was not so much a wonder as a miracle. When this happened, the king built the saint's church in noble fashion, as can be seen today (1440s), so as not to seem ungrateful for such a benefit; and he endowed it in a kingly manner with very many possessions.*¹⁹⁸

1364

¹⁹⁴ Constable. A, 1892, *A History of Greater Britain, as well England as Scotland. Compiled by John Major*, Edinburgh, p.293, Chambers. R. W, 1938-1941, *Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece, translated into Scots by John Bellenden*, Edinburgh, ii, 258-60 & 328.

¹⁹⁵ This tradition surrounds Davy's Rock, a tiny island situated off shore close to the site of the church, *PNF 3*, pp. 546-47, Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, vii, 464.

¹⁹⁶ Amours. F. 1903-1914, *The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, iv, 179, Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, i, 15.

¹⁹⁷ Macquarrie. A, 2012, *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*. Dublin, pp. 62-65.

¹⁹⁸ Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, vii, p. 261.

*To William Dischington, for the expenses on the building of the chapel of St Monan.*¹⁹⁹

This was the first payment of the £613 spent by David II on building a royal chapel on the site of Monan's shrine between 1362 and 1371.

3 Apr 1370

*Royal charter (David II) for his soul and those of his ancestors and successors confirms to God, St Mary and St Monan a grant to the newly founded chapel of St Monan a range of lands in Fife.*²⁰⁰

1407x22 Wyntoun Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland

When Constantine was reigning

Over the Picts in Scotland,

St Adrian with his company

Came from the land of Hungary

And Arrived in Fife

There he chose to leid his life

Then Adrian with his company,

Together came to Caplachi

And some men went to the Isle of May

Choosing to dwell there to the end of their days

Some others choose to go north

At Inverary St Monan

Who of that company was one,

*Chose him to led his life there.*²⁰¹

c. 1500 The Martyrology of Aberdeen

*1 March. In Scotland St Monan the confessor at Inverey in Fife, to which town the fame of Monan draws innumerable numbers of the common people both strong and sick to obtain the benefits (of Monan).*²⁰²

The Martyrology of Aberdeen, as the document that contains the above excerpt is known, dates from the early sixteenth century and probably belonged to the cathedral church of Moray. It is rare for the Martyrology to mention the current popularity of a shrine. Aside from St Monans, only Tain, Whithorn and Glasgow are mentioned as attracting pilgrims.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Stuart. J. 1878-1908, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. Edinburgh, ii, pp. 137, 138, 175, 178, 221, 241, 289, 307, 347, & 357.

²⁰⁰ RMS, i, no. 304.

²⁰¹ Amours. F. 1903-1914, *The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, iv, 177-179.

²⁰² Forbes. A. P. 1872. *Kalendars of Scottish Saints. With personal notices of those of Alba, Laudonia and Strathclyde*, Edinburgh, p. 128.

²⁰³ Forbes. A. P. 1872. *Kalendars of Scottish Saints. With personal notices of those of Alba, Laudonia and Strathclyde*, Edinburgh, p. xxxiv.

3 June 1503

*Item, that samyn day, thareftir, in Sanct Monanes, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand, 14 shillings.*²⁰⁴

3 June 1504

*Item, to the priest said mess to the King (James IV), in Sanct Monanes the said day, 2 shillings.*²⁰⁵

27 Aug 1507

*Item, in Sanct Monanes, to the Kingis (James IV) offerand on the bred, 40 shillings, 6 pence
Item, to the Kingis offerand to the reliques thare, 14 shillings.*²⁰⁶

1507

*Item, payit to Matho Auchlek for ane relique quhilk wes maid to Sanct Monanes, and syne was offerit be the King to St Niniane, £4 10 shillings.*²⁰⁷

1 July 1508

*Item, the first day of Julii, to the Kingis (James IV), offerand in Sanct Monanes, 14 shillings.*²⁰⁸

1510 Aberdeen Breviary

The glorious confessor of Christ Monan, born in the province of Pannonia of the land of Hungary, was of the company who, together with the most holly man St Adrian the bishop, were slain and crowned with martyrdom by Norsemen or Danes, still pagan at the time, in the Isle of May, which is surrounded by the waves of the sea.

But before that company of martyrs had been swallowed up in martyrdom in that island by the fury of the Danes, St Monan., supported by burning love of the Christian religion, came from that island to the nearest shore to preach the word of salvation to the people of the (main) land; and by divine inspiration he chose his dwelling-place in the place called Inverey in Fife, where now his holy relics rest;

For at his tomb, even now around the body of the deceased the power which shone out while he was living ceaselessly makes clear that he is honoured in heaven; since you see the blind having sight and the deaf hearing, the lame to walk on foot; bodies with withered limbs stretched out and moving aright, those possessed by demons and whose minds are ensnared being made whole, and all restored to health from types of illnesses by the support and merits of St Monan

²⁰⁴ TA, ii, p. 261.

²⁰⁵ TA, ii, p. 437.

²⁰⁶ TA, iii, p. 294.

²⁰⁷ TA, iv, p. 34.

²⁰⁸ TA, iv, p. 42.

But the crowds of pilgrims flocking to his tomb until now bears witness how St monan was of such great merit before God; for although after the blessed man's ascent into heaven a modest chapel containing his precious relics remains in this world (the time) of the most warlike, strong and glorious prince David II, king of the Scots, who built a sumptuous church in veneration of the confessor and in honour of God, because of the recovery from various diseases of the king and others in his kingdom by the merits of St Monan.²⁰⁹

Following the David II arrow legend the offices of St Monan contained one further miracle story;

A housewife, worthy and distinguished for her illustrious parents, by sad chance was afflicted by madness, to the extent that she dared to lash out at the parents who had borne her and her own children to whom she had given birth, and to tear at them like a snapping hound....when she was at length bound and placed in very strong chains, she was brought by her parents to St Monan, and her parents poured forth very devout prayers to God and St Monan for her release. But when the woman rested for a little while and awoke again, the demons who were possessing the woman's body departed with great wailing, by the merits of St Monan, leaving her half dead. Upon their departure she was immediately restored to her former health.²¹⁰

It is not clear exactly at what period the *crowds of pilgrims* noted at the shrine of St Monan above refers to, possibly the later fourteenth century rather than 1510 when the Aberdeen Breviary was published.

x. Smaller shrines and healing wells

Inverkeithing

St Peter's Parish Church

20 Aug 1420

Indulgence.

The bailies of the whole community of the royal burgh of Inverkeithing, had an altar in honour of the Holy Cross, and another in honour of St Mary constructed in the parish church, partly funded and endowed a chaplaincy at each and intended to endow them more fully. But on account of a fire in the town the rent of the altars has been greatly diminished. Supplication for an indulgence for those who visit the altars on feasts of Holy Cross (16

²⁰⁹ Macquarrie. A, 2012, *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary.* Dublin, pp. 62-64.

²¹⁰ Macquarrie. A, 2012, *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary.* Dublin, pp. 63-65.

Sept), Assumption (15 Aug) and Nativity of St Mary (8 Sept) and contribute to the upkeep, the indulgence is to continue to be granted until the rents of altars are raised to 20 marks.²¹¹

Kinghorn Easter

All Saints Parish Church

15 Mar 1290

Relaxation of one year and forty days of enjoined penance to those penitents who visit the church of All Saints, Kinghorn, on the Feasts of All Saints (1 Nov), the Assumption (15 Aug), St Leonard (6 Nov) (perhaps explained by presence of a Chapel and Hospital dedicated to Leonard located in the burgh) and anniversary of the church's dedication.²¹²

Monimail

Holy Well

1703 Sibbald's History of Fife

The famous physician Cardan cured archbishop Hamilton there, of a pthisis, and there is a well there called Cardan's-well.²¹³

1791

About half a mile north of the church, there is a spring, known by the name of Carden's Well: it is of no repute at present, but was highly esteemed by the famous Carden, who used it much; and, in particular, he is said, with his mineral water to have cured Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, of a dropsy.²¹⁴

PNF (4) notes that 'the story surrounding this well claims that the extraordinary Jerome Carden (1501-1576), mathematician, physician, cryptographer, astrologer and gambler, cured Archbishop Hamilton of his illness by-among other things-making him walk daily to the well to drink the water. The precise location of the well is in doubt; in the 1960s a stone was erected inscribed 'Site of Cardan's Well, 1552 located at NO3124 1435. The OS Name Book, which has a lengthy description of the well and its tradition, states that 'The original well is long since covered over and the field ploughed. The place marked on the trace is where the first appearance of the water is seen issuing from the well. It is only known to the inhabitants by the name 'Carsos Well'.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Lindsay. E. R & Cameron. A.I, 1934, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-22*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, pp. 228-29.

²¹² Bliss. W. H, 1893-, *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal letters*, London, i, p. 512.

²¹³ Sibbald. Robert. 1803, 2nd edition, original 1710, *The history, ancient and modern, of the sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross, with the description of both, and of the firths of Forth and Tay, and the islands in them ... with an account of the natural products of the land and waters*, Cupar, p. 392.

²¹⁴ Sinclair. J, 1791-99, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, ii, 398.

²¹⁵ PNF 4, p. 581.

Pittenweem

Place-Name and Cave

PNF (3) notes that ‘the cult of the saints played an important part in the naming of this place. Pittenweem is a relatively transparent G(aelic) name meaning ‘farm of the cave’, the cave in question being the large one now known as St Fillan’s Cave a short distance inland from the harbour, up the appropriately named Cove Wynd. It is partly natural and partly artificial... There is a stair leading down from the priory (of Pittenweem, Aug Canons) into the cave via a vaulted cellar, but the cave can also be accessed directly from the seaward side, through a doorway built in the seventeenth century (see Gifford, 1988, p. 347),. The cave was reputedly used by St Fillan as a hermitage, but its association with the saint appears late in the records (seventeenth century), although it may go back to the fashion of his cult promoted by Robert I in the early fourteenth century.

Holy Wells

1) PNF (3) The so called ‘Holy Well of St Fillan’ at the back of the cave was recorded as ‘little more than a drip from the side wall’ in the nineteenth century. While the Fillan association is relatively late, it is almost certain that this cave was the focus for religious activity in the early medieval period, most likely within the context of the cult of St Ethernan, the chief saint of the Isle of May....The fact that the mainland base of the priory of the Isle of May sits on top of the cave, and has been incorporated architecturally into its fabric, is clearly a later attempt to control access to what must have been a very important focus for his cult.²¹⁶

2) 14 March 1541

Charter by John Rule, prior of Pittenweem to his cousin John Rule included *all of the lands called the Husbandlands...along with the Heughs beneath the rocks, having on the west the marches of St Monans, as far as the well of the same St Monan on the east.*²¹⁷

PNF (3) Notes that apart from the ‘Holy Well of St Fillan’ within the Cave, there was also a St Monan’s well on the lands of Pittenweem. OS Name book (80, 76) describes it thus ‘A mineral spring in the land of Coalfarm near the high water mark, the water of which is of a reddish colour. It was formerly much resorted to by those afflicted by stomach complaints, but of late years its waters have fallen into disrepute’.²¹⁸

3) 3 Aug 1592

²¹⁶ PNF 3, pp. 391-392.

²¹⁷ StAUL, ms37521m Register of the Priory of Pittenweem 1532-1554, fol. 25, Stuart. J, 1868, *Records of the Priory of the Isle of May*, Edinburgh, p. lviii-ix.

²¹⁸ PNF 3, p. 392.

Royal charter (James VI) to Thomas Dischington of Pittenweem includes *a tenement and garden, beside Mary Magdalene's Well*.²¹⁹

PNF (3) notes that the cult of Mary Magdalene is also reflected in the day of the annual summer fair granted to the burgh. In the charter of 1526...the king granted the right to erect a market cross and to hold a weekly market on Saturdays and Mondays, as well as two annual fairs-a summer one at the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July) and its octave, and a winter fair at the feast of St Clement (23 Nov) and its octave.²²⁰

St Bride's Well

Holy Well

23 June 1544

Royal (Mary of Guise) confirmation of a charter by David Kirkcaldy of Lunquhat-Milne mentions *Sanctbydis Well*.²²¹

PNF (4) notes that this was the 'well or spring of St Brigit'. It lay on the boundary of the parishes of Collessie and Auchtermuchty. This last aspects of the well's position is significant because the church of Abernethy was dedicated to St Bride or Brigit, and the position of St Bride's well on the south-eastern parish boundary of Abernethy suggests that it acquired this name because it marked the boundary of St Brigit's territory. For another instance of the use of St Brigit's name to mark Abernethy territory, see Bridie's Well (Balmerino), which is at the eastern extremity of the lands held by Abernethy in the late twelfth century.²²²

Scotlandwell

The original foundation was at Loch Leven. A hospital was founded in honour of St Mary by bishop William de Malveisin (1202-1238). David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews granted it to the Trinitarian Friars in 1251. The Trinitarians, also known as the Red Friars, was an order whose purpose was to support the poor, pilgrims and travellers. In addition to being an important stop on Route 3, the waters at Scotlandwell had a reputation for healing. It was these waters that seem to have attracted Robert I, who could be found visiting the friary on several occasions. Aside from this reference, no medieval sources survive that record pilgrims specifically visiting the location.

2 Jan 1251

Bishop David de Bernham issued a charter in which he noted that his predecessor William de Malveisin (1202-1238) had founded *a house at Scotlandwell for the receiving and succouring of the poor and destitute gathering there*. David went on to grant the *to God, Blessed Mary*

²¹⁹ RMS, v, no. 2144.

²²⁰ RMS, iii, no. 388, PNF 3, p. 392.

²²¹ RMS, iii, no. 3017.

²²² PNF 4, p. 55.

*and the brothers of the Order of the Holy Trinity and of Captives, i.e the Trinitarian or Red Friars including the churches of Moonzie and Carnock.*²²³

26 Feb-1 March 1313

Series of charters by Robert I issued at Scotlandwell.²²⁴

16 Feb 1314

Charter by Robert I issued at Scotlandwell.²²⁵

Robert I spent several days at Scotlandwell in 1313 and again in 1314. He may well have been seeking relief from the disease, possibly leprosy or some other form of skin complaint that he suffered intermittently during his adult life.²²⁶

²²³ NRS, Papers of the Earl of Morton, HGD150/1, cited in *PNF 4*, p. 611.

²²⁴ Duncan. A. A. M, 1986, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V: The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*. Edinburgh, nos. 28-34 & 390.

²²⁵ Duncan. A. A. M, 1986, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V: The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*. Edinburgh, no. 39.

²²⁶ Barrow. G. W. S, 2005, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland*. Edinburgh, p. 223.

III. Historical References to the Cult of the Saints in Fife

i. Saints in Fife Place-Names

Scotland's landscape is rich in place-names incorporating names of saints (hagio-toponyms), mostly of medieval origin. They are often the earliest evidence we have of saints' cults in Scotland and, consequently, the earliest information we have about religious activity in a region. In addition to the straightforward impact on saints in Fife place-names like St Andrews and St Monans, the saints could also be found in the names given to smaller settlements, farms, topographical features, prominent rocks or islands and other aspects of the landscape.

Aberdour

(land of) *Eglismartin*. Church of St Martin, first recorded in 1347x55.²²⁷

This was a settlement in the parish of Aberdour, and by the later middle ages was no longer the site of a church. By the sixteenth century the *Eglis* part of the place-name had been replaced with *Inchemarten*.²²⁸

Auchtermuchy

Clements Burn. Probably commemorates St Clement, first mentioned in 1856.

No indication as to how it received the name.²²⁹

Ballingry

Lumfilan. Church of St Finan or Fillan. First recorded in 1242.²³⁰

The existence of this church or chapel is inferred from the analysis of the place-name Lumphinnan as G lann 'church' + personal name Finan or Fillan. The earliest form (where applied to the settlement of Lumphinnans) suggests a dedication to Fillan, but Finan is also suggested by some of the early forms.²³¹

Balmerino

Bridie's Well. St Bridget's well, first mentioned in 1328.²³²

1328x1332

Charter by John Hay of Naughton to Balmerino Abbey regarding the land of Gauldry. It notes that the granted land *runs towards the east from the ancient royal highway by which you go*

²²⁷ Easson. D & Macdonald. A, 1938, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 33.

²²⁸ *PNF 1*, p. 76.

²²⁹ *PNF 4*, pp. 118-119.

²³⁰ Angus. W. 1932. *Inventory of Pitfirrane Writs*, Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, no. 1.

²³¹ *PNF 1*, pp. 150-151.

²³² Turnbull. W, 1841, *Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores*, 1841, Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, no. 51.

towards the ferry of Port-on-Craig, and from the said royal highway in a straight line toward the south as far as a certain well which is called Bridiis Well.²³³

PNF (4) notes that the 'early link (of the church of Coultra, later Balmerino) with the church of St Brigit, Abernethy, is recalled in Bridie's Well, now in The Gauldry, which lay on what was formerly the boundary between Forgan and Balmerino, and thus on the eastern boundary of Abernethy territory.²³⁴

The well has now disappeared, but the name survives in Bridieswell Gardens.²³⁵

Lady Well. Well of St Mary, first recorded in 1845.

The New Statistical Account noted that the name is evidence that 'the springs have obviously served, in other days, more dignified and important end than the practical and economical one to which they are now applied.²³⁶

A well dedicated to St Mary, the dedicated was no doubt influenced by the presence of Cistercians in Balmerino, whose chief patron saint was St Mary.²³⁷

St John's Well. Well of St John the Baptist, first recorded in 1845.²³⁸

Carnbee

Baldutho. Duthac's estate farm, first recorded in 1471 and 1511.²³⁹

This may relate to St Duthac of Tain, although it was a fairly common first name and may not relate to the saint.²⁴⁰

Ceres

St Ann's Bleachfield. St Ann. First recorded in 1855.

The bleachfield was run by the St Ann's Bleaching Company, named after the local well, St Ann's Well, and established in 1825.²⁴¹

Cleish/Saline

St Margaret's Craig and Burn. First recorded in 1856.

²³³ Turnbull. W, 1841, *Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores*, 1841, Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, no. 51.

²³⁴ PNF 4, p. 146.

²³⁵ PNF 4, p. 163.

²³⁶ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1834-45, Edinburgh and London, ix, p. 580.

²³⁷ PNF 4, pp. 178-179.

²³⁸ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1834-45, Edinburgh and London, ix, p. 580.

²³⁹ RMS, ii, no. 3590.

²⁴⁰ PNF 3, p. 140.

²⁴¹ PNF 2, p. 55.

The burn flows northwards from St Margaret's Craig DFL till it meets the Pow Burn (the confluence is at the NGR given). It once formed the boundary between Saline and the part of Dunfermline which lay in Kinross-shire.²⁴²

Collessie

Ladybank. First recorded in 1840

PNF (4), 'According to tradition the monks of Lindores named Mungrey ... 'Our Lady's Bog'. It later became known as Our Lady's Bog until 1847, when the Edinburgh, Perth and Dundee Railway Co. opened the new station and chose Ladybank as the new name. After this the old name gradually fell into disuse'.²⁴³

Sanct-Thomas Croftis. Land of St Thomas. First recorded in 1592.²⁴⁴

PNF (4) notes that the 'most likely explanation of this name is that it relates to land on or near the march with the parish of Abernethy, the church of which had been given to the Abbey of Arbroath by William I'. The abbey was dedicated to St Thomas Becket.²⁴⁵

Crail

Kilminning. First recorded as *Kylmonane* in 1452.²⁴⁶ Church of St Monan or Moinenn.

By the later middle ages there was no longer a church on this site, recent archaeological work has suggested that a cemetery could be found on the site.²⁴⁷

Cupar

Lady's Wynd, Lady Bridge and Lady Port. St Mary's Street, Bridge and gate, all recorded in the Cupar plan of 1642.²⁴⁸

Lady-Burne. St Mary's Burn. First recorded in 1595.²⁴⁹ *Lady Inch*. St Mary, first recorded in 1856. Close to Lady Burn, and in the vicinity of the earlier medieval parish church of Cupar, which was dedicated to Mary.²⁵⁰

St Catherine's Street. First recorded in 1855.

The dedication to Catherine arises from the fact that the Dominican friary in Cupar owned land here in the burgh, where St Catherine Street now runs (and also St Catherine's Haugh

²⁴² PNF 1, p. 360

²⁴³ PNF 4, pp. 223-224.

²⁴⁴ RMS, v, no. 2053.

²⁴⁵ PNF 4, p. 238.

²⁴⁶ RMS, ii, no. 1444.

²⁴⁷ PNF 3, p. 209-210.

²⁴⁸ PNF 4, p. 263.

²⁴⁹ RMS, vi, no 323.

²⁵⁰ PNF 4, p. 50

across the river in Tarvit TVX). Catherine was the patron saint of the Dominican community of Cupar.²⁵¹

St-Katherinis-hauch. Meadow of St Catherine. First recorded in 1519.²⁵²

The haugh lies on the River Eden, which used to be the boundary between the parishes of Cupar CUP and Tarvit TVX. The haugh was owned by the Dominican community of Cupar, which was under the patronage of St Catherine.²⁵³

St Michael's Hill. First recorded in 1796.

The location of the church of the medieval parish of Tarvit, dissolved in 1618. The Statistical Account noted that the 'church belonging to the parish stood on that beautiful spot, now known by the name of *St Michael's Hill*'.²⁵⁴

Dunbog

St Bridget's shode. Lands of St Bridget, first recorded in 1814.

PNF (4) These lands, along with the lands of Gadvan DBG, were associated with the kirk of Dunbog, of which in 1814 it was stated that 'there is particular proof of the lands of Gadven and St Bridget's Lands.' The dedication of this field beside the church may reflect the medieval dedication of Dunbog church (which belonged until circa. 1189 to St Brigit's church of Abernethy).²⁵⁵

Dunfermline

Holy Blade Acres. First recorded in 1856.

Shown on OS 6 inch 1st edn as a piece of land lying between the railway (to the north) and East Port (to the south). Beside it is a row of houses called Martyr's Place.²⁵⁶

Lady's Mill. St Mary's mill, first recorded in 1856.

The mill was named after St Mary's Chapel, which lay on the south side of the Nethertown.²⁵⁷

1536

Sanct Margret Stane.²⁵⁸

St Margaret's Stone is still visibly on the west side of the main road near the farm (Stone Farm). It was traditionally thought that St Margaret rested on this stone on her first journey to Dunfermline, as a nineteenth-century inscription on the stone records.²⁵⁹

²⁵¹ <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1326898641>.

²⁵² *RMS*, iii, no. 196.

²⁵³ *PNF 4*, p. 310.

²⁵⁴ Sinclair, J, 1791-99, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, i, p. 207.

²⁵⁵ *PNF 4*, p. 338.

²⁵⁶ <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1328788155>

²⁵⁷ *PNF 1*, p. 329

²⁵⁸ Duncan, A. A. M, 1953, *Regality of Dunfermline Court Book, 1531-38*, Dunfermline, pp. 128 & 151.

St Margaret's cave

No medieval references

Canmore ID: 49334

OS 6" map, (1938).

St Margaret's Cave is situated a short distance N of Tower Hill, on the E side of the ravine, nearly opposite Chalmers Street Church. It consists of an open apartment in the solid rock, 6'9" in height, 8'6" in width and 11'9" in depth. There is at present a small spring well at the bottom.

The tradition is that the cave had been used by Queen Margaret for her private devotions and that it was later suitably fitted up for this purpose by her husband, King Malcolm (1057-93). At the entrance to the cave were one or two small recesses or niches on the sides of the rock. It is stated that an old man said he had seen the remains of a stone table with something like a crucifix upon it, in the cave.²⁶⁰

St Margeretts Well

No medieval references. Canmore ID. 49354

OS 6" map, (1938)

An excellent spring on Headwell Farm, formerly known as St Margaret's Well. It is protected by a stone covering in the shape of a house, with a door on it. There is no tradition respecting the well, but it is supposed that it was called after Margaret, patron saint of Dunfermline.²⁶¹

Referred to in 1671 as the '*head well*' but generally known as St Margaret's well and referred to as such on the Gordon (1642) and Blaeu (1654) maps.²⁶²

Dysart

St Serf's Hill. First recorded in 1545.²⁶³

The name appears in a deed of 1545, and is mentioned as a local boundary.

Falkland

Kilgouerin. The early name for the parish was first recorded in 1224.²⁶⁴

The first element 'kil', suggests church of, but the second element is unclear. It may be related to St Gabran, or to the nearby Arraty burn.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁹ *PNF 1*, p. 360.

²⁶⁰ <https://canmore.org.uk/site/49334/dunfermline-bruce-street-queen-margarets-cave>

²⁶¹ <https://canmore.org.uk/site/49354/dunfermline-st-margarets-well>

²⁶² *PNF 1*, p. 321

²⁶³ Muir, W, 1853, *Notices of the Local Records of Dysart*, Maitland Club, Glasgow, p. 16, *PNF 1*, p. 469.

²⁶⁴ *SA Liber*, p. 327.

²⁶⁵ *PNF 2*, pp. 168-169.

Lady Well. St Mary's well, first recorded in 1856.

The water from this well was piped into Falkland in 1766, and is recorded in 1968 as still supplementing the town's water supply.²⁶⁶

Inchkeith

Incheketh. First recorded in 1200. May commemorate St Coeti of Iona, but more likely explanation is that it means wooded island.²⁶⁷

Inverkeithing

St Margaret's and St Margaret's Hope. First recorded in Fordun in the fourteenth century.

The settlement of St Margaret's derives from the bay of St Margaret's Hope on whose eastern shore it stands. The name stems from legends surrounding the arrival of St Margaret of Scotland in Fife in the eleventh century.²⁶⁸

Kemback

Well of St Andrew. First recorded in 1263x64.

*Charter mentions 'the well of St Andrew', located on the border of the parishes of Kemback and St Andrews.*²⁶⁹

PNF (2) 'Until 1621 it was on the Kemback/St Andrews border, and it may have been its position right at the edge of St Andrews parish which gave rise to its name. It lay on the main medieval route into St Andrews, and would have marked the spot where pilgrims and other travellers enter the immediate lands of St Andrew, and only a hundred or so metres west of the place where they would get their first view of the church of St Andrew. The first sight the pilgrims get of their destination is a ritually significant moment on pilgrimage. A small shrine may have stood at St Andrews Wells'.²⁷⁰

Kilconquhar

Kilconcat. First recorded in 1165.²⁷¹

Church of St Dunchad, Duncan and Conchad. Probably commemorates Dunchad, abbot of Iona.²⁷²

Kilmany

Kilmannin. Place of the church of St Maine, Manna or Mannan. First recorded in 1202.

Not clear which saint the church commemorates, could be one of any of a number of Irish saints.²⁷³

²⁶⁶ PNF 2, p. 150.

²⁶⁷ PNF 1, pp. 411-412.

²⁶⁸ PNF 1, p. 338.

²⁶⁹ PNF 2, p. 203.

²⁷⁰ PNF 2, pp. 203-204

²⁷¹ SA Liber, p. 175.

²⁷² PNF 3, pp. 303-305.

²⁷³ PNF 4, pp. 456-457.

Kilrenny

Kilrethni. First recorded under that name in 1150, and *Kilreny* in 1165.²⁷⁴ Commemorates St Ethernan. *St Irnie's Well* in the same parish also commemorates the saint.²⁷⁵

Kinghorn

Bennet's Hill. Possibly St Benedict, first recorded in 1856.²⁷⁶

Kinglassie

Kilglassin. First recorded under that name in 1127.²⁷⁷

The 'kil' element, meaning church, was gradually replaced by 'kin', meaning head, by the thirteenth century.²⁷⁸ It is hard to say who the saint whose name made up the second part of the place name is. Watson suggested that it was unknown, while PNF (1) dismissed the Aberdeen Breviary suggestion of St Glascianus (30 Jan), and suggests St Glaisne, and Irish saint as a possibility. They note however, that the second element of the name could be a topographical feature, such as a burn.²⁷⁹

Finglassin's Well. First recorded as *St Glass' Well* in 1792.

The well is 300 metres northeast of the church and PNF (1) notes that it may have been the focus of a cult of some kind as it was known as St Glass' well.²⁸⁰

Kingsbarns

Kilduncan. First recorded in 1296 and again in 1376.²⁸¹ Church of St Dunchad or Duncan. Probably commemorates Dunchad of Iona. The settlement was no longer home to a church by the later middle ages. Archaeological evidence however, suggests that this was an early ecclesiastical site.²⁸²

Ladylanddis. Lands of St Mary, first recorded in 1429.²⁸³

PNF (3) note that it means 'lands which support the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary'. The name presumably relates to the wider cult of St Mary in Crail.²⁸⁴

Kirkcaldy

St Catherinestoun. First recorded in 1529.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁴ Spottiswoode. J, 1847, *Liber S. Mari de Dryburgh*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 16.

²⁷⁵ PNF 3, p. 324.

²⁷⁶ PNF 1, p. 410.

²⁷⁷ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 94.

²⁷⁸ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 257.

²⁷⁹ PNF 1, p. 448-449.

²⁸⁰ PNF 1, p. 449.

²⁸¹ RMS, i, no. 573.

²⁸² PNF 3, pp. 373-374.

²⁸³ RMS, ii, no. 130.

²⁸⁴ PNF 3, p. 378.

²⁸⁵ RMS, iii, no. 760.

The land is otherwise known as Bridgetown, earlier Brigland. PNF (1) notes that 'This ... name seems to appear in Latin only, i.e. Villa Sancte Katherine, and it must therefore be questioned whether it was ever in common usage'.²⁸⁶

Largo

Ladysknowe. Small hill of St Mary, first recorded in 1855.

It is not certain that Ladysknowe refers to the BVM, but if it does it is likely to have been because income from the land was used to support her cult in the parish kirk. And a charter of 1497 does indeed refer to an altar of St Mary in Largo kirk, making a grant of 5 merks annually for service 'ad altare Beate Virginis Marie' in the kirk.²⁸⁷

Leslie

Maryfield. St Mary, first mentioned in 1828.

PNF (2) notes that 'There was a chapel of the BVM in the cemetery of the parish kirk of Leslie in the later middle ages. It is first mentioned in 1321. ... Maryfield is about 1 km west of the parish kirk, and probably represented a detached piece of land dedicated to the upkeep of the chapel'.²⁸⁸

Monimail

St Mary's Farm. First recorded in 1828

The dedication to St Mary presumably reflects its proximity to the early parish church of Cupar, whose cult has given rise to Lady Burn (on which this settlement stands) and Lady Wynd, Ladyinch (both Cupar).²⁸⁹

Pittenweem

Marygate. St Mary. The main street of the burgh of Pittenweem was first recorded in 1665.²⁹⁰

St Andrews

Inchemurthach. Inch of Murdoch, first recorded in 1195x1199.²⁹¹

Could be a commemoration of St Murdoch or of a personal name. This was one of the manors of the bishops of St Andrews, now Inchmurdo, near Boarhills.²⁹²

Lady's Craig. St Mary. First recorded in 1855.

²⁸⁶ PNF 1, pp. 478-479.

²⁸⁷ PNF 2, pp. 332-33.

²⁸⁸ PNF 2, p. 379.

²⁸⁹ PNF 4, p. 604.

²⁹⁰ PNF 3, p. 393.

²⁹¹ SA Liber, p. 473, Dowden, J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, pp. 69 & 255.

²⁹² PNF 3, pp. 473-474.

A coastal rock by St Andrews. It lies near the end of the pier which begins beside St Mary's on the Rock, alias Lady's Chapel.²⁹³

St Nicholas' Burn. First recorded in 1855. Near the leper hospital dedicated to St Nicholas.²⁹⁴

Scoonie

St Andrew's Well. First recorded in 1892.

It lies on a northern corner of Scoonie parish, and may have acquired its name because it lay near one of the main pilgrimage routes from the south-west to St Andrews.²⁹⁵

Strathmiglo

#Ecclesmartin/Eglismarten. Land of Church of St Martin first recorded in 1248.²⁹⁶

This was an alternative, and now obsolete, name for Strathmiglo.²⁹⁷

ii. Dedications of Parish Churches

The parish church was the basic unit of the Medieval Church. It was designed to be staffed by one priest, possibly with an assistant. It provided the space for the sacraments required by the lay community, these included the essential rites of passage moments baptism, marriage and funerary commemoration, as well as other sacraments such as Holy Communion and the Eucharist. By the end of the thirteenth century Fife was divided up into some 46 parishes, with a final total of 55 by the end of the middle ages. A range of different local (Serf, Ethernan, Fillan, Andrew), well known international (Mary, Nicholas, Christopher, Peter, Brigit) and somewhat more obscure (Kenneth, Magrinin, Brice and Bonocus) were the patrons of Fife parish churches.

Abdie

Probably dedicated to St Andrew, earliest reference to church is in 1198x1199.²⁹⁸

1248

Charter David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews, regarding the controversy between the abbey and convent of Lindores and Henry, lord of Denmuir. With the mediation of the

²⁹³ <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1326794604>.

²⁹⁴ *PNF 3*, pp. 528-529.

²⁹⁵ *PNF 2*, p. 526.

²⁹⁶ *SA Liber*, p. 310.

²⁹⁷ *PNF 1*, p. 76, *PNF 4*, pp. 685-686.

²⁹⁸ Barrow. G. W. S, 1971, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Acts of William I (1165-1214)*, Edinburgh, no. 363, Dowden. J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 63, *PNF 4*, pp. 61-62.

bishop, the abbot of Lindores granted Henry the right to establish a chapel on his land, but it was stated *that all parishioners of Denmuir, except for Sir Henry's own household, were to come to the mother church of Abdie thrice yearly, that is on Christmas Day (25 Dec), Easter Sunday and St Andrew's Day (30 Nov), and that they were to receive all their sacraments in the said mother church.*²⁹⁹

PNF (4) notes that 'the emphasis on St Andrew's day as one of the three most important days of the liturgical year of Abdie parish strongly suggests that Andrew was its patron saint,. Furthermore, from the outset Andrew is the co-dedicatee, with Mary, of the abbey of Lindores.....These strong links with St Andrew are hardly surprising, given Lindore's position on the major route from Perth and the north via Abernethy to the saint's shrine at St Andrews. A parallel can be found in the neighbouring parish church of Collessie also dedicated to St Andrew, and also on one of the main routes to St Andrews'.³⁰⁰

Abercrombie/Torryburn

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

Aberdour

Dedicated to St Fillan, the earliest reference this is from 1390.³⁰¹

Anstruther Wester

Probably dedicated to St Nicholas, possibly jointly with St Ethernan.³⁰²

Auchterderran

Dedication of parish church unknown

Auchtermuchty

Dedicated to St Serf, earliest evidence is from 1517, but the dedication was probably considerably earlier.³⁰³

Fair

25 May 1517

Charter by James V erecting the burgh of Auchtermuchty into a royal burgh states *that the annual market of the new burgh was to be held on the feast day of St Serf (1 July).*³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ Dowden. J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 63.

³⁰⁰ PNF 4, pp. 61-62.

³⁰¹ Thomson. T, 1853, *Registrum Honoris de Morton. A series of ancient charters of the Earldom of Morton with other original papers*, Bannatyne Club), Edinburgh, ii, no. 174.

³⁰² PNF 3, pp. 56-57.

³⁰³ RMS, iii, no. 168, PNF 4, p. 105.

³⁰⁴ RMS, iii, no. 168

PNF (4) notes that this is firm evidence that the parish church of Auchtermuchty was dedicated to Serf. Further evidence comes from local place-names including the ‘peat mire of St Serf’ which marked the northwest boundary of the parish and ‘St Serf Seat’, which was also located in the parish.³⁰⁵

Auchtertool

Dedication of parish church is unknown

Ballingry

Dedication of parish church unknown

Balmerino

First mentioned in 1189x1194 (when parish was called Coultra), then moved to Balmerino in the 1220s.³⁰⁶ It was dedicated to St Ayle (possibly St Agilus, feast day 30 Aug).³⁰⁷

Beath

Dedication of parish church unknown

Burnisland/Kinghorn Wester

Dedicated to St Serf.³⁰⁸

Fair

25 June 1540

The King (James V) has granted to the provost and bailies nominated by him, and to their successors, and to the council of the said burgh of Burntisland, the lands nearest to the said port, which were had from the monastery of Dunfermline, with the said port [...]; to have a market cross with a fair of the commune at the same time of the year on the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul, with two market days, Wednesday and Saturday, weekly.³⁰⁹

Carnbee

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

Carnock

Dedication of parish church unknown

Ceres

Possibly dedicated to St Mary, but no clear evidence.³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ PNF 4, p. 105, RMS, v. no. 1946.

³⁰⁶ Barrow. G. W. S, 1971, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Acts of William I (1165-1214)*, Edinburgh, no. 339.

³⁰⁷ RMS, iii, no. 168, PNF 4, pp. 149-150

³⁰⁸ PNF 1, pp. 186-187.

³⁰⁹ RMS, iii, no. 2383.

³¹⁰ PNF 2, pp. 54-55.

Collessie

Dedicated to St Andrew, first mentioned in 1240x1256.³¹¹

Crail

Dedicated to the Holy Cross or possibly St Mary.³¹²

Creich

Dedicated to St Serf, church first mentioned in mid-thirteenth century, earliest reference to dedication is in 1538.³¹³

Culross

Probably dedicated to St Serf, as is the abbey in the same parish, but no definite medieval evidence.³¹⁴

Cults

Probably dedicated to St Maelrubha, a fair on his feast day (27 Aug) was granted to Pitlessie in 1541.³¹⁵

Fair

2 Jan 1541

Royal Charter (James V) creating Pitlessie into a burgh of barony gave the town permission to hold fairs three times a year *on the feasts of St Philip and James (1 May), St Maelrubha (27 Aug) and St Katherine (25 Nov)*.³¹⁶

Cupar

Earliest parish church dedicated to St Christopher, with dedication referred to in 1533.³¹⁷
New burgh church built in 1415 dedicated to St Mary.³¹⁸

Dairsie

Probably dedicated to St Mary, but no firm medieval evidence supports this. That was the dedication of the new parish church built by Archbishop Spottiswoode in 1621.³¹⁹

Dalgety

Probably dedicated to St Brigit, but no definite medieval evidence.³²⁰

³¹¹ Dowden. J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 91.

³¹² *PNF 3*, pp. 181-182.

³¹³ Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, no. 2803.

³¹⁴ *PNF 1*, pp. 226-227.

³¹⁵ *RMS*, iii, no. 2256,

³¹⁶ *RMS*, iii, no. 2256,

³¹⁷ Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, ii, no. 1510.

³¹⁸ NLS ADV. MS 15.1.18. no. 95, cited in *PNF 4*, p. 26, Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, viii, 85.

³¹⁹ *PNF 4*, p. 322.

Dunbog

Probably dedicated to St Bridget.³²¹

Dunfermline

Located in the nave of the Abbey, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St Margaret.

Dunino

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

Dysart

Dedicated to St Serf, noted in the 1550s.³²²

Falkland/Kilgour

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

Flisk

Dedicated to St Magridin, known in the vernacular as St Muggin and referred to as St Muckolinus in a testament from 1550.³²³ This is a unique dedication in Fife and Scotland and the saint in question has not been identified.³²⁴

Forgan

While there are no medieval references to the dedication, in the late sixteenth-century it was mentioned as being dedicated to St Fillan.³²⁵

Inverkeithing

Dedicated to St Peter, although this is first recorded in 1581.³²⁶

Kemback

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

Kennoway

Dedicated to St Kenneth, first mentioned in the late twelfth century.³²⁷

Kilconquhar

Dedication of the Parish Church is unknown

³²⁰ *PNF 1*, p. 257.

³²¹ *PNF 4*, p. 338.

³²² NRS St Andrews, Register of Testaments, 1 Aug 1549-12 Dec 1551, CC20/4/1, fols. 14, 14 & 79.

³²³ NRS St Andrews, Register of Testaments, 1 Aug 1549-12 Dec 1551, CC20/4/1, fols. 223-224.

³²⁴ *PNF 4*, pp. 380-381.

³²⁵ *PNF 4*, p. 403.

³²⁶ *PNF 1*, p. 370.

³²⁷ *SA Liber*, pp. 258-259, *PNF 2*, p. 210.

Kilmany

Dedication of the parish church is unknown. It is possible that the place-name, which contains ‘church of’ may suggest the name of the dedicatee but no satisfactory saint has been suggested.³²⁸

Kilrenny

Dedicated to St Ethernan, first mentioned in the twelfth century.³²⁹

Kinghorn Easter

Dedicated to All Saints, first mentioned in 1290.³³⁰

Kinglassie

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

Kirkcaldy

Dedicated to St Brice of Tours (13 Nov).³³¹

Kirkforthar

Dedication of parish church is unknown

Largo

Dedication of the parish church is unknown. Fairs on the feast day of SS Ternan, Barnabus, Paul and Leonard were all granted to the town in the sixteenth-century, any of these many have been the dedicatee of the church.³³²

Fair

22 May 1540

*The King (James V) [...] has created the town of Drummochy, within the said demesne lands, on the west side of the Largo Burn, a free burgh in barony; and he has given the inhabitants the authority to buy and sell etc., and that they might be burgesses [etc.] and that they should have a market cross and a market weekly on a Friday, and free fairs yearly on the days of SS. Ternan, Barnabus, and Paul, and for their octaves.*³³³

16 June 1542

The King (James V), for his good service, has confirmed and granted anew to his daily household servant, Andrew Wood of Largo, the lands of Largo [. . .] he has also created Nethertoun and Seytoun of Largo as a free burgh in barony; granting to the inhabitants the

³²⁸ *PNF 4*, pp. 456-457.

³²⁹ *PNF 3*, pp. 323-326.

³³⁰ Bliss, W. H, 1893-, *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal letters*, London, i, p. 512.

³³¹ *PNF 1*, p. 465.

³³² *RMS*, iii, nos. 2147 & 2691.

³³³ *RMS*, iii, no. 2147.

*authority [. . .] that they should have a market cross, and a weekly market on Saturday, and public fairs yearly on St Leonard's day, 6 Nov.*³³⁴

Lathrisk/Kettle

Dedicated to St Atherniscus and John the Evangelist first mentioned in 1243. The former is probably a form of Ethernan.³³⁵

Leslie

Dedication of the parish church is unknown. A fair was granted to the town on St Michael's Day (29 Sept), which may indicate the dedication of the church.

Fair

10 Jul 1539

*James V granted George, Earl of Rothes the right to hold a fair in his town Leslie on the day of St Michael (29 Sept).*³³⁶

Leuchars

It is not certain who the medieval parish church was dedicated to, but it was probably St Bonocus. The right to hold a fair on his feast day was granted to the town in 1540.³³⁷ A chapel dedicated to that saint was also found in parish, it may be that he was not the dedicatee of the parish church, which is otherwise unknown.³³⁸

Logie

The earlier name of the parish, Logie-Murdoch, may indicate a dedication to St Murdoch, although there are no firm medieval references to this dedication.³³⁹

Markinch

Dedicated to St Drostan, recorded at the consecration of the church in 1240s.³⁴⁰

Methil

Dedication of parish church unknown

Monimail

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

Moonzie

Dedicated to the Holy Trinity, first mentioned in the 1230s.³⁴¹

³³⁴ *RMS*, iii, no. 2691.

³³⁵ *SA Liber*, p. 348, *PNF* 2, pp. 251-252.

³³⁶ *RMS*, iii, no. 1992

³³⁷ *RMS*, iii, no. 2114.

³³⁸ *PNF* 4, pp. 479-481.

³³⁹ *PNF* 4, pp. 554.

³⁴⁰ *SA Liber*, p. 348.

Newburgh

New church built in 1508 was dedicated to St Katherine, St Duthac and Mary Magdalene.³⁴²

Fair

24 May 1457

Charter by John, abbot of Lindores to the burgesses of Newburgh confirming their rights and privileges. It noted that *the annual burgh fair of Newburgh is to be held on St Katherine's day (25 Nov)*.³⁴³

Newburn

Some evidence that it was dedicated to St Serf, although no firm medieval evidence.³⁴⁴

Rosyth

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

St Andrews

Dedicated to the Holy Trinity, first recorded in 1140. New parish church with the same dedication built in 1412.³⁴⁵

Saline

Dedication of the parish church is unknown

Scoonie

Dedicated to St Memma the Virgin, first mentioned when the church was consecrated in 1243.³⁴⁶

Strathmiglo

Probably dedicated to St Martin, but the town was granted a fair on the feasts of St Crispin and Crispinian (25 Oct) and St Cyrilius (9 June), so either of these may have been the dedicatee of the late medieval church.³⁴⁷

Fair

27 Feb 1510

³⁴¹ *PNF 4*, pp. 610-612.

³⁴² Laing. A. 1876, *Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh. Their History and Annals*, Edinburgh, pp.156 & 512.

³⁴³ Dowden. J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 152.

³⁴⁴ *PNF 2*, p. 466.

³⁴⁵ *SA Liber*, p. 123.

³⁴⁶ *SA Liber*, p. 348.

³⁴⁷ *RMS*, ii, no. 3427

Royal (James IV) charter granting to William Scot of Balwearie, extensive lands in and around Strathmiglo and Ceres, incorporating them into the free barony of Strathmiglo. The charter included the power to erect the town of Strathmiglo into a free burgh of barony, *with the right to hold a weekly market and a fair twice a year on the feasts of St Cyrilius (9 June) and St Crispinian (25 Oct).*³⁴⁸

Wemyss

Dedicated to St Mary, first mentioned in 1239.³⁴⁹

iii. Fairs held on Saints Days

Aberdour

15 Mar 1500

*The King, on account of his favour towards Thomas, abbot of the monastery of the Isle of St Columba, and the monks of the same, and also for their hosting, etc., of the visiting liegemen, both by land and by sea, from various parts of the kingdom, and of those especially who come together to the sea port called Queensferry, he has enfeoffed and created the western town of Aberdour, the said abbot and monks approving, a free burgh in barony for ever; he has also granted to the inhabitants the authority to buy and sell, etc.; and that they should be burgesses, and that the said abbot and his successors should have the authority to elect bailies, etc.; and also to the inhabitants that they should have a cross and market on the Saturday of every week, and public fairs every year on St Columba's Day (9 June) and for the octave of the same.*³⁵⁰

Auchermuchty

25 May 1517

Charter by James V erecting the burgh of Auchtermuchty into a royal burgh states *that the annual market of the new burgh was to be held on the feast day of St Serf (1 July).*³⁵¹

Burntisland

25 June 1540

*The King (James V) has granted to the provost and bailies nominated by him, and to their successors, and to the council of the said burgh of Burntisland, the lands nearest to the said port, which were had from the monastery of Dunfermline, with the said port [...]; to have a market cross with a fair of the commune at the same time of the year on the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul, with two market days, Wednesday and Saturday, weekly.*³⁵²

Cults

³⁴⁸ RMS, ii, no. 3427.

³⁴⁹ Laing, D, 1861, *Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and other collegiate churches in Mid-Lothian*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 14.

³⁵⁰ RMS, ii, no. 2594.

³⁵¹ RMS, iii, no. 168

³⁵² RMS, iii, no. 2383.

2 Jan 1541

Royal Charter (James V) creating Pitlessie into a burgh of barony gave the town permission to hold fairs three times a year *on the feasts of St Philip and James (1 May), St Maelrubha (27 Aug) and St Katherine (25 Nov)*.³⁵³

Kinghorn

22 Sept 1510

*A Letter made to the bailies, burgesses and inhabitants of the burgh of Kinghorn, giving them power to proclaim a fair on the morning after the feast of St James the Apostle, and yearly to endure for six days and a market day weekly on Saturdays.*³⁵⁴

Largo

22 May 1540

*The King (James V) [...] has created the town of Drummochy, within the said demesne lands, on the west side of the Largo Burn, a free burgh in barony; and he has given the inhabitants the authority to buy and sell etc., and that they might be burgesses [etc.] and that they should have a market cross and a market weekly on a Friday, and free fairs yearly on the days of SS. Ternan, Barnabus, and Paul, and for their octaves.*³⁵⁵

16 June 1542

*The King (James V), for his good service, has confirmed and granted anew to his daily household servant, Andrew Wood of Largo, the lands of Largo [. . .] he has also created Nethertoun and Seytoun of Largo as a free burgh in barony; granting to the inhabitants the authority [. . .] that they should have a market cross, and a weekly market on Saturday, and public fairs yearly on St Leonard's day, 6 Nov.*³⁵⁶

Leslie

10 Jul 1539

*James V granted George, Earl of Rothes the right to hold a fair in his town Leslie on the day of St Michael (29 Sept).*³⁵⁷

Leuchars

5 Mar 1540

Royal Charter (James V) granting Henry Ramsay, son and heir of David Ramsay of Colluthie, tenant of the land and barony of Leuchars, permission for a fair to be held at *Leuchars on the day of St Bonocus and for the week following*.³⁵⁸

Newburgh

³⁵³ RMS, iii, no. 2256,

³⁵⁴ Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, I, no. 2130.

³⁵⁵ RMS, iii, no. 2147.

³⁵⁶ RMS, iii, no. 2691.

³⁵⁷ RMS, iii, no. 1992

³⁵⁸ RMS, iii, no. 2114.

24 May 1457

Charter by John, abbot of Lindores to the burgesses of Newburgh confirming their rights and privileges. It noted that *the annual burgh fair of Newburgh is to be held on St Katherine's day (25 Nov)*.³⁵⁹

Pittenweem and Anstruther Wester

24 Feb 1540

*The King has confirmed to the prior of the monastery of Pittenweem, and to its monks, and to their successors, the lands of Pittenweem, Anstruther on the west side of the burn of the same [...]; and he has created the town of Pittenweem (created by King James III as a burgh of barony) and the town of Anstruther, with their lands and boundaries, as free burghs of barony [...] with the liberty of the prior etc. to enfeoff tenants, and to burgesses to have market crosses and a market weekly on Saturday and Monday, and public fairs three times a year, that is to say, on the feast of blessed Mary Magdalene (22 July) in summer and on the feast of St Clement in the summer, and for their octaves, in Pittenweem, and on the feast of St Nicholas (6 Dec) in winter and for its octave in Anstruther.*³⁶⁰

Strathmiglo

27 Feb 1510

Royal (James IV) charter granting to William Scot of Balwearie, extensive lands in and around Strathmiglo and Ceres, incorporating them into the free barony of Strathmiglo. The charter included the power to erect the town of Strathmiglo into a free burgh of barony, *with the right to hold a weekly market and a fair twice a year on the feasts of St Cyrilius (9 June) and St Crispian (25 Oct)*.³⁶¹

iv. Monasteries, Friaries and Academic Colleges

Fife was home to a number of monastic and mendicant houses, including the earliest site of Benedictine monasticism in Scotland (Dunfermline). From the twelfth century it was also home to a number of orders of reformed monks (Cistercians, Tironensian), canons (Augustinians), friars (Dominicans, Franciscans, Trinitarians) and one nunnery (Franciscan Poor Clares) founded by royal family, the bishops of St Andrews and the local nobility. Many of these houses were dedicated to the founders of the particular order (i.e St Francis and the Grey Friars), but others were dedicated to Mary and local saints. Fife was also home to Scotland's first university, St Andrews, founded in 1412. The curriculum of the early university was almost entirely religious in nature, and its purpose was to train clerics. The

³⁵⁹ Dowden. J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 152.

³⁶⁰ RMS, iii, no. 2292.

³⁶¹ RMS, ii, no. 3427.

dedication of the various colleges of the new university to a range of saints reflected this purpose.

Monasteries

Balmerino Abbey (Cistercian)

Dedicated initially to Edward the Confessor, and later jointly to St Mary and Edward, founded by Alexander II and Queen Ermengard (his mother) in 1227x1229.³⁶²

Culross Abbey (Cistercian)

Dedicated to St Mary and St Serf and founded in 1217.³⁶³

Dunfermline Abbey (Benedictine)

Founded by Queen Margaret c.1070 and refounded by her son David I in 1150, dedicated to the Holy Trinity.³⁶⁴

Lindores Abbey (Tironensian)

Founded by David, earl of Huntingdon in 1190x1191 and dedicated to St Andrew and St Mary.³⁶⁵

May, Isle of (Benedictine)

Founded c.1153, possibly by David I, dedicated to St Ethernan/Adrian.³⁶⁶

Houses of Canons (pories)

Inchcolm Priory (Augustinian)

Founded in c.1153 and dedicated to St Columba.³⁶⁷

Loch Leven Priory (Augustinian)

Founded 1152x1153 by the house of canons in St Andrews and dedicated to St Serf.³⁶⁸

St Andrews (Augustinian)

Founded in 1144 by the bishop of St Andrews and dedicated to the Holy Trinity.³⁶⁹

Nunneries

³⁶² Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, pp. 72-73.

³⁶³ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, p. 74.

³⁶⁴ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, pp. 58-59.

³⁶⁵ Dowden. J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, nos. 1-2.

³⁶⁶ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, pp. 59-60.

³⁶⁷ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, p. 90.

³⁶⁸ *SA Liber*, p. 43.

³⁶⁹ *SA Liber*, p. 122.

Aberdour (Franciscan Nuns)
Dedicated to St Martha in 1486.³⁷⁰

Friaries

Cupar (Dominican)
Founded in 1348 by Duncan, earl of Fife and dedicated to St Katherine.³⁷¹

Inverkeithing (Franciscan)
Founded c.1268 and dedicated to St Francis.³⁷²

St Monan's (Dominican)
Royal chapel founded by David II in 1370 refounded by James III in 1471 as a house for Dominican friars.³⁷³

St Andrews (Dominican)
Founded by the bishop of St Andrews, possibly in late thirteenth century, but probably sometime later. Dedicated to St Mary.³⁷⁴

St Andrews (Franciscan)
Founded by the bishop of St Andrews in 1463x66 and dedicated to St Francis³⁷⁵

Scotlandwell (Trinitarian)
Originally founded in 1250 and dedicated to St Mary.³⁷⁶

Academic Secular Colleges

St Andrews, St John's College
Founded in 1419 and dedicated to St John the Evangelist.³⁷⁷

St Andrews, St Leonard's College
Founded in 1512 and dedicated to St Leonard.³⁷⁸

St Andrews, St Mary's College

³⁷⁰ Thomson. T, 1853, *Registrum Honoris de Morton. A series of ancient charters of the Earldom of Morton with other original papers*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, ii, pp. 240-242.

³⁷¹ Bliss. W. H, 1893-, *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal letters*, London, iii, 304.

³⁷² Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, p. 126.

³⁷³ *RMS*, ii, no. 1047.

³⁷⁴ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, pp. 119-120.

³⁷⁵ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, pp. 132-133.

³⁷⁶ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, p. 110.

³⁷⁷ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, pp. 232-233.

³⁷⁸ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, p. 233.

Founded by the archbishop of St Andrews in 1538 and dedicated to St Mary.³⁷⁹

St Andrews, St Salvator's College

Founded by the bishop of St Andrews in 1450 and dedicated to the Christ cult of St Salvator or Saviour.³⁸⁰

v. Chapels

Chapels had a number of functions in the middle ages, serving individual noble households (Rires and Crail), connected to hospitals (Kinghorn Easter) or to serve the spiritual needs of pilgrims and other travellers (North Queensferry and Kinghorn). On occasion they could be so called chapels-at-ease, designed to serve the needs of parishes with dispersed populations. The chapel of St Ayle in Anstruther Easter was one such site, its chaplain was granted the right to perform baptisms in 1435. While chapels were generally smaller than parish churches, and did not have the right to perform all the same functions (i.e. the sacraments of baptism, marriage, communion, funerary commemoration), they were sometimes granted the right to perform some of these sacraments, as was the case in Anstruther Easter. Numerous chapels were founded in Fife in the middle ages. The physical structure of very few has survived to the modern day as most were abandoned after the reformation and plundered for building materials. Documentary records are similarly sparse, with the dedicatory saint of only a small selection of these chapels surviving in medieval, or other near contemporary records. Evidence for a chapel often survives only in place-names.

Anstruther Easter

Dedicated to St Ayle, first mentioned in 1435. Located on the site of what is now the Anstruther Fisheries Museum.³⁸¹

1435

An indenture between John of Hailes, abbot of Balmerino and Henry, bishop of St Andrews as to the administration of the sacraments in the chapel of St Ali. The charter mentions that the chapel *has a baptismal font and granted the abbey the right to administer the sacraments to the inhabitants (for a fee of 26d per year paid to the cathedral chapter of St Andrews)*. The charter does not specify the location of the chapel merely mentioning it is situated on lands belonging to the Abbey of Balmerino.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, p. 233.

³⁸⁰ Cowan. I & Easson. D, 1976, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland*, London, pp. 233-234.

³⁸¹ Turnbull. W, 1841, *Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores*, 1841, Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, App. no. 4.

³⁸² Turnbull. W, 1841, *Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores*, 1841, Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, App no. 4.

Ballingry

Dedicated to St Andrew located on the north shore of Loch Ore, first mentioned in 1536.³⁸³

Crail

Dedicated to St Maelrubha and located in the castle, first noted in 1359.³⁸⁴

21 May 1359

*James II confirms a charter of 1359 of the properties of the abbey of Haddington which includes the chapel of St Ruffinus in the castle (of Crail), with the lands and pertinents annexed to that chapel.*³⁸⁵

21 June 1512

*James IV conceded to David Monypenny and his heirs the land of Drumrack in Fife-annual rents include 6 pence for sustaining the divine service in the chapel of St Maolrubha in the castle of Crail.*³⁸⁶

PNF (3) notes that 'Ruffinus is a Latinisation of the famous saint of Applecross, Wester Ross, Maolrubha, is clear from a charter of 1512 in which a rent of six pence a year was required by William Moneypenney for the lands of Drumrack, which went to 'support the divine service in the chapel of Maolrubha in the castle of Crail, as was paid to the same chapel before'.³⁸⁷

Culross

A chapel dedicated to St Kentigern was located near the monastery was built in 1503.³⁸⁸

31 May 1503

Royal charter (James IV) confirming a charter by Robert Blackadder, archbishop of St Andrews, *founding a chapel in honour of St Kentigern built near the monastery of Culross.*³⁸⁹

5 Oct 1511

*Item, the 5 day of October, offerit (by James IV) in the chapel of Sanct Mungo besid Culrose, 14 shillings.*³⁹⁰

PNF (1) Noted that the chapel was located to the south-east of the abbey of St Serf, close to the shore. It was built c.1500 by Robert Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, celebrating link between the saint and the area, and also because of his local connections (as a member of the Blackadder family of Tulliallen).³⁹¹

³⁸³ RMS, iv, no. 3.

³⁸⁴ RMS, ii, no. 3749.

³⁸⁵ RMS, ii, no. 610.

³⁸⁶ RMS, ii, no. 3749.

³⁸⁷ PNF 3, p. 183.

³⁸⁸ RMS, ii, no.2723.

³⁸⁹ RMS, ii, no.2723.

³⁹⁰ TA, iv, p. 176.

³⁹¹ PNF 1, pp. 226-227.

Dairsie

Dedicated to St Leonard, first recorded in 1569, but in existence long before then.³⁹²

18 May 1569

James Commendator of St Andrews feued to David Melville, the grain mill with the lands adjacent to it extending to 8 acres, *with the gardens of the chapel of St Leonard lying beside Dairsie.*³⁹³

PNF (4) notes that the modern parish church of Dairsie ‘was built in 1843 and dedicated to St Leonard. This dedication was no doubt taken from the chapel of St Leonard, which is first mentioned (in above charter) in 1569...This chapel may have lain at or near Chapelwell’ in the parish. Chapelwell lay very near one of the main pilgrim routes from the northwest to St Andrews (by-passing Cupar).³⁹⁴

Dalgety

Dedicated to the obscure St Theorot or Theriot first mentioned in 1511.³⁹⁵

Chapel and Well

1 May 1511

Royal Charter (James IV) confirming the lands and rights of the barony of Fordell which included *the patronage of the chapel of St Theroti.*³⁹⁶

PNF (1) noted that ‘there was a chapel attached to the barony of Fordell, first mentioned in 1511, and dedicated to an obscure St Thereot or Theriot. OS names the nearby well St Theriot’s Well. OS Name book 74 describes *St Harriet’s well.*³⁹⁷

Dunfermline

Dedicated to St Mary of Piety/Pity

This chapel was in existence by the fourteenth century when the *Lady Chappell near Dunfermline* was mentioned in two charters by Andrew Murray. These are undated, but which can be traced to the reign of David II (1329-71).³⁹⁸

³⁹² RMS, v, no. 108.

³⁹³ RMS, v, no. 108.

³⁹⁴ PNF 4, pp. 322 & 324.

³⁹⁵ RMS, ii, no. 3570.

³⁹⁶ RMS, ii, no. 3570.

³⁹⁷ PNF 1, pp. 257-258.

³⁹⁸ RMS, i, no. 944 & 948, Dunlop. A. I & MacLauchlan. D, 1983, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1433-47*, Glasgow, no. 160.

Canmore Report: 49350 notes that ‘The last vestige of the ruin of the Chapel of St Mary, which stood near the N end of Elgin Street, opposite the foot of Moodie Street, was removed in 1814’.³⁹⁹

Kilconquhar

Dedicated to St Mary by John Weymss of Rires, c.1400.⁴⁰⁰

Kinghorn Easter

Chapels

1) Dedicated to St James and attached to the hospice, first mentioned in 1478.⁴⁰¹

2 Dec 1478

Royal Charter (James III) confirming a gift by Robert Peirson, burghess of Kinghorn *who makes, in supplement of the maintenance of miserable persons and the poor in the new hospital, and a chaplain in the chapel of St James, a gift of the land on which the chapel and hospital are built located by the sea.*⁴⁰²

Fair

22 Sept 1510

*A Letter made to the bailies, burgesses and inhabitants of the burgh of Kinghorn, giving them power to proclaim a fair on the morning after the feast of St James the Apostle, and yearly to endure for six days and a market day weekly on Saturdays.*⁴⁰³

2) Dedicated to St Leonard located in the burgh of Kinghorn first mentioned in 1529.⁴⁰⁴

22 July 1211x32

Charter by William, Bishop of St Andrews to the abbot of Holyrood. It confirmed the right of the canons *to half of the corn teinds due to the church of Kinghorn to sustain the canons, the poor and pilgrims.*⁴⁰⁵

PNF (1) ‘In the burgh of Kinghorn there was a chapel, and probably also a hospice, dedicated to St Leonard. We may be witnessing the foundation of this hospice in the early 13th century, when Bishop William of St Andrews granted half of the teinds of corn due to the church of Kinghorn for the support not only of the canons of Holyrood but also of the poor and of pilgrims.’⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁹ <https://canmore.org.uk/site/49350/dunfermline-st-marys-chapel>.

⁴⁰⁰ RMS, i, App. ii, no. 1960.

⁴⁰¹ RMS, ii, no. 1407.

⁴⁰² RMS, ii, no. 1407.

⁴⁰³ Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, I, no. 2130.

⁴⁰⁴ RMS, iii, no. 760.

⁴⁰⁵ Innes. C, 1840, *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 47.

⁴⁰⁶ PNF 1, p. 391.

5 Mar 1529

Royal Charter (James V) confirming the landed possessions of William Scott of Balwerie. They included the lands of the chapel of St Leonard in the burgh of Kinghorn.⁴⁰⁷

3) Dedicated to St Ninian located in the north of the parish, mentioned in 1562.⁴⁰⁸

Leslie

Dedicated to St Mary and found in the cemetery of the parish church. First recorded in 1321.

7 Mar 1321

Richard of Kirkcaldy, rector of Melville, relates that after the litigation against the abbot and convent of Inchcolm regarding St Mary's chapel in the cemetery of the church of Fithkil (Leslie), he has decided that the chapel ought to pertain to the church of Fithkil and renounces all right to it to Inchcolm monastery.⁴⁰⁹

PNF (2) notes that toponymic traces of the chapel survive within the parish at nearby Maryfield and Lady Well Park.⁴¹⁰

Leuchars

Dedicated to St Bonocus and found in the town of Leuchars, first recorded in 1556.⁴¹¹

22 Jan 1556

Letter by Sir Thomas Wemyss requesting the chaplaincy of the chapel of St Bonocus situated in the town of Leuchars now vacant following the death of William Ramsay, last possessor of the chaplaincy.⁴¹²

5 Mar 1540

Royal Charter (James V) granting Henry Ramsay, son and heir of David Ramsay of Colluthie, tenant of the land and barony of Leuchars, permission for a fair to be held at Leuchars on the day of St Bonocus and for the week following'.⁴¹³

1791

Reverend Mr Kettle, minister of Leuchars and author of the Statistical Account noted that; *A little west of the present church, once stood a chapel called St Bernard's (sic); no remains of this monument of antiquity are now visible. There is a most excellent well flowing with an*

⁴⁰⁷ RMS, iii, no. 760.

⁴⁰⁸ MacBean. L, 1908, *Kirkcaldy Burgh Records*, Kirkcaldy, p. 65.

⁴⁰⁹ Easson. D & Macdonald. A, 1938, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, no. 32.

⁴¹⁰ PNF 2, p. 379.

⁴¹¹ Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, iv, no. 3122.

⁴¹² Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, iv, no. 3122.

⁴¹³ RMS, iii, no. 2114.

*abundant stream of soft water, near the west end of the village, called by the name of the saint to whom the chapel was once consecrated.*⁴¹⁴

A jawbone of St Bonocus, bishop, was gifted to the altar of St Fergus in Holy Trinity Church St Andrews by David Rhynd, curate of the parish church of Leuchars in 1525.⁴¹⁵

PNF (4) notes that ‘St Bonoc’s cult is found nowhere else in Scotland, and nothing certain is known about him. However, as we have seen, his cult was sufficiently prominent for corporeal relics to be in circulation in east Fife in the early sixteenth century. By this time he may have taken on a separate, local identity, but he may have been in origin an international figure, his name a hypocorism, or pet-name form of Boniface (25 Oct)’.⁴¹⁶

Lindores

Dedicated to St Appollinaris in the town, first noted in 1253.

12 July 1253

*Charter dated at the chapel of St Apollinaris, on Saturday next after the Translation of St Thomas the Martyr, in the year of grace 1253.*⁴¹⁷

North Queensferry

Dedicated to St James, and first mentioned in 1320x22.⁴¹⁸

1320x1322

*Charter to Dunfermline abbey by Robert I of half the Queensferry held by the late Roger de Mowbray with the chapel on the north side of the ferry. The abbey must find two chaplains for the chapel, and repair, preserve and plenish it.*⁴¹⁹

1 Apr 1322

*Letter patent to the provost and bailies of Inverkeithing to pay to Dunfermline abbey an annual of five merks which the king granted along with half the Queensferry passage to support two chaplains saying masses in the chapel of North Queensferry.*⁴²⁰

30 Nov 1323

Confirmation by William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, of the grant to Dunfermline by Robert I. He identifies it as *the chapel of St James*.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁴ Sinclair, J, 1791-99, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, xix, 599.

⁴¹⁵ Eeles, F.C, 1902, ‘The Altar of St Fergus in Holy Trinity Church, St Andrews’, *Scottish Historical Review*, ii, 260-67.

⁴¹⁶ PNF 4, pp. 478-479.

⁴¹⁷ Dowden, J, 1903, *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 84.

⁴¹⁸ Duncan, A. A. M, 1986, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V : The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*. Edinburgh, no. 413.

⁴¹⁹ Duncan, A. A. M, 1986, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V : The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*. Edinburgh, no. 413.

⁴²⁰ Duncan, A. A. M, 1986, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V : The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*. Edinburgh, no. 206.

⁴²¹ Innes, C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 367.

24 Nov 1504

*To the Kingis (James IV), offerand in Sanct James chapel of the North Ferye.*⁴²²

PNF (1) Notes that ‘There was a chapel of St James in NQ, the remains of which are still extant. It will have been linked with the heavy pilgrim traffic using the ferry, originally for St Andrews, but latterly also for St Margaret herself in Dunfermline. Its close links with the ferry itself are clear from when it was first mentioned between 1320 and 1322. This is in a charter whereby Robert I grants to Dunfermline Abbey half of the queen’s ferry held by the late Roger de Moubray along with the chapel on the north side of the ferry and an annual rent from Inverkeithing, with the proviso that the abbey must find two chaplains for the chapel and repair and preserve it. That it was already and old foundation is suggested by the fact that Robert I grants the chapel with the teinds of offerings and all other pertinents which belonged to the chapel by right and of old. It is referred to as the chapel of St James in the confirmation of Robert I’s grant by William Lamberton, bishop of S Andrews.’⁴²³

vi. Chantry/Chaplainry Dedications

While the primary purpose of parish churches in the middle ages was for the performance of the sacraments, they also provided a space for commemoration of the dead. This commemoration, which took on an increasingly important role in religious practice in the later middle ages, involved the building of funerary monuments in churches, and the performance of masses and other prayers for the dead. The wealthiest Scots, including the royal family, founded collegiate churches such as those at Rosslyn, Seton and Crichton, to provide family commemoration. These churches provided a location at which groups of chaplains would say mass in perpetuity for the souls of the patron and acted as family mausoleums. Further down the social scale, the same desire for personal salvation and remembrance prompted the foundation of hundreds of chapels, altars and chaplainries in Scotland’s cathedral, burgh and parish churches from the early fourteenth century to the reformation.

The foundation of chaplainries was a reciprocal arrangement by which the donor gifted property to support a priest, or priests, who in return would say masses and prayers in perpetuity for the souls of the designated individuals or groups. In addition to its spiritual benefit, more overtly secular motivations could also play a role in these foundations, as they could be a sign of social status or upward mobility. The decision to honour a particular saint could be dictated by a number of factors. Date of birth, familial tradition, geography and occupation all provided links to different saints. Whatever the motivation behind the choice,

⁴²² *TA*, ii, p. 267.

⁴²³ *PNF 1*, p. 371.

the aim was the same. By adopting and honouring a specific saint, the client hoped to be adopted and protected in turn by their supernatural patron. Chaplainries dedicated to a broad range of local (Ethernan, Serf), national (Ninian, Duthac), international saints (Katherine, Nicholas) and biblical (Mary, John the Baptist) were found in Fife parish churches and abbeys. Some of the larger churches (such as those in Dunfermline, St Andrews and Cupar) were home to large numbers of chaplainries, dedicated to a range of saints.

Ceres

Altars in parish church

22 July 1537

John Small instituted as the priest at the altar of the invention of St Mary in the parish church Ceres.⁴²⁴

11 Jan 1619

Charter by James VI in favour of Thomas Hope of Craighall who is noted as the patron of the altar of St Ninian in the parish church of Ceres.⁴²⁵

Collessie

Altar in parish church

1451

Ten marks per year paid to the chaplain of the altar of St Lawrence in the parish church of Collessie.⁴²⁶

13 July 1473

Ten marks per year paid to the chaplain of the altar of St Lawrence in the parish church of Collessie.⁴²⁷

Crail

Altars in parish/collegiate church

7 June 1482

Foundation of a chaplaincy dedicated to St Mary in the parish church of Crail made by George Cunningham of Beltoun in the church of Crail.⁴²⁸

1 June 1500

⁴²⁴ NRS Prot Bk of James Androsen, 1535-48, NP1/5A, fol. 8r.

⁴²⁵ RMS, vii, no. 2111.

⁴²⁶ Stuart. J. 1878-1908, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. Edinburgh, v, p. 473.

⁴²⁷ Stuart. J. 1878-1908, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. Edinburgh, viii, p. 177.

⁴²⁸ Harvey. C & McLeod . J, 1930, *Calendar of writs preserved at Yester House, 1166-1625*, Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, nos. 204a & 206.

*James IV has confirmed in mortmain a charter of Sir William Myrtoun, priest of St Andrews diocese, by which he has granted in pure alms, to one chaplain perpetually celebrating mass at the altar of Blessed Michael the Archangel in the south side of the parish church of Crail, about 5 acres of the lands in the Pottergate of the burgh of Crail.*⁴²⁹

3 Sept 1518

*Charter recording an obligation by John Claphane, Lord of Claslogie refers St Kathrinis (Katherine's) altar, situated in the college kirk of Crail.*⁴³⁰

22 Oct 1520

*Charter by Sir William Myrtone to Sir Edward Annell, prebendary of the altar of St Nicholas, in the college kirk of Crail (founded by William).*⁴³¹

22 Oct 1520

*Charter by Sir William Myrtone to Sir David Bowman, prebendary of the altar of St James (founded by William).*⁴³²

22 Oct 1520

*Charter by Sir William Myrtone to John Bowman, prebendary of the altar St John the Baptist in the college kirk of Crail (founded by William).*⁴³³

22 Oct 1520

*Charter by Sir William Myrtone to John Leiche, prebendary of the altar St John the Evangelist in the college kirk of Crail (founded by William).*⁴³⁴

22 Oct 1520

*Charter by Sir William Myrtone to the chaplain of the Holy Cross in the college kirk of Crail (founded by William).*⁴³⁵

12 Feb 1539

*Charter by sir John Henderson, chaplain of the high altar of Stephen in the collegiate church of the B.V.M., Crail, to Mr. John Arnot and Elizabeth, his spouse, of a tenement on the north side of Northgate or Marketgate, Crail.*⁴³⁶

The *New Statistical Account* names eight 'altarages' in the collegiate church-the seven named in the *Assumption* list, and St Stephen.⁴³⁷

⁴²⁹ RMS, ii, 2572.

⁴³⁰ Rogers. C, 1877, *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*, 1877, Grampian Club, London, no. 19.

⁴³¹ Rogers. C, 1877, *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*, 1877, Grampian Club, London, no. 52.

⁴³² Rogers. C, 1877, *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*, 1877, Grampian Club, London, no. 51.

⁴³³ Rogers. C, 1877, *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*, 1877, Grampian Club, London, no. 53.

⁴³⁴ Rogers. C, 1877, *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*, 1877, Grampian Club, London, no. 54.

⁴³⁵ Rogers. C, 1877, *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*, 1877, Grampian Club, London, no. 55.

⁴³⁶ NRS Transcripts and photocopies of Miscellaneous Charters and Papers, RH1/2/353.

Creich

Altar in parish church

10 Dec 1538

Royal charter (James V) confirming in mortmain a charter made by Master James Strathauchin, canon of Aberdeen and Moray, executor of the will of his uncle, the late Master Gilbert Strathauchin, apostolic pronotary and canon of the aforesaid churches, by which, from the instruction of the said Gilbert [...] he granted in pure alms to Master William Seaton and Sir Thomas Morton, chaplains, and their successors at the altar of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Blessed Andrew the Apostle in the chapel founded by the said Gilbert on the south side of Creich parish church, St Andrews diocese, in to serve perpetually, a yearly income of 10 marks from the lands of Mekil-Brres, vic. Kincardin.⁴³⁸

Culross

Altar in the abbey

16 Jan 1327

Royal charter (Robert I), granting *the barony of Philpstoun, in the shire of Edinburgh and constabulary of Lithlithgow, to the church of St Mary the Virgin and St Servanus (Culross), providing for the monks to celebrate a mass for the health of his soul at the altar of the Holy Trinity in that church.*⁴³⁹

Cupar

Altars in parish church (of St Mary, built 1415).

8 May 1431

*At the altar of the St Mary, Sir William Balbuthie, subprior, and the canons of the cathedral church of St Andrews, solemnly protested that the dedication of the church recently built, and its cemetery within the burgh of Cupar should not prejudice the canons as the church had been built without the consent of the prior and convent of St Andrews, by the burgesses of Cupar's own presumptuous temerity.*⁴⁴⁰

6 Oct 1505

Reference to the *tenement of the altar of St John the Baptist, lying and bounded as set fourth in the Rental, and the annual burden of 6s. 8d. extant in the Burgh Court Books of Cupar.*⁴⁴¹

The Rental of the annual rents of the Blackfriars (Friars Preachers) of St Andrews (undated).

⁴³⁷ *New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1834-45*, Edinburgh and London, ix, 965, Kirk. J., 1995, *The books of assumption of the thirds of benefices*, Oxford, pp. 65-66.

⁴³⁸ RMS, iii, no. 1877.

⁴³⁹ RMS, i, App. 1. no. 25.

⁴⁴⁰ NLS ADV. MS 15.1.18. no. 95, cited in *PNF 4*, p. 265.

⁴⁴¹ StAUL St Andrews Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/356c.

From the tenement of the altar of St John the Baptist, founded in the parish church of Cupar by Thomas Williamson and Clement Morris, on the east side of the Crossgate - between the tenement of Alan Jamieson on the south, the Crossgate on the west and the river Eden on the east - 6s. 8d.⁴⁴²

20 Jan 1538

Notarial document by *Thomas Jamieson, chaplain of the altar of St James in the parish church of Cupar, pursues annual rents owing to the chaplaincy.*⁴⁴³

27 July 1540

*John Birth, baillie of Cupar and possessor of the altar of St Michael situated in the choir of the parish church of Cupar, institutes John Kirklaw as chaplain.*⁴⁴⁴

9 Aug 1540

Notarial document by which *Thomas James pursues rents owed him as chaplain of the altar of St Mary and of St James in parish church of Cupar.*⁴⁴⁵

17 May 1550

Meeting of the *Town Council of Cupar for the maintaining of good service within the parish church, John Bell noted as chaplain of the service of the Holy Blood. His stipend to be augmented to money from the Trinity Bred and the common purse for providing the service at the altar and various masses.*⁴⁴⁶

17 July 1551

*John Lang pursues Andrew Gilshaw for certain annuals pertaining to the altar of St Andrew of which he (Lang) is chaplain.*⁴⁴⁷

10 May 1552

*David Linkie to pay to Walter Baxter, chaplain of St Thomas' altar 12s owed from lands recently inherited by him.*⁴⁴⁸

In the Old Kirkyard of Cupar

24 Apr 1524

Charter of Confirmation by Hugh Spens, professor of divinity and provost of the collegiate church of St Salvator, St Andrews, and John Weddell, licentiate in canon and civil law, parson of Flisk and official-principal of St Andrews, judges-delegate appointed by Silvester

⁴⁴² StAUL Transcript Register of charters of former Blackfriars lands, Cupar and St Andrews, transferred to the burgh, B65/23/356c.

⁴⁴³ NRS Prot Bk of James Androson, 1535-48, NP1/5A, fol. 9r.

⁴⁴⁴ NRS Prot Bk of James Androson, 1535-48, NP1/5A, fol. 16v.

⁴⁴⁵ NRS Prot Bk of James Androson, 1535-48, NP1/5A, fol.29r.

⁴⁴⁶ StAUL Cupar, Court & Council Records, 1549-1554, B13/10/1, fol. 15.

⁴⁴⁷ StAUL Cupar, Court & Council Records, 1549-1554, B13/10/1, fol. 53.

⁴⁴⁸ StAUL Cupar, Court & Council Records, 1549-1554, B13/10/1, fol. 81.

*Darrio of Lucca, papal chaplain and auditor of causes in the sacred apostolic Palace, papal nuncio to James V, confirming charter, dated 17 Feb 1533, by Walter Acarsoun, chaplain of the chaplaincy of St Christopher's altar in the old kirkyard of the burgh of Cupar, with consent of the King, to John Spens of Mairstoun, of 4 acres of land called Marifauld pertaining to said chaplaincy, in sheriffdom of Fife.*⁴⁴⁹

In 1415 with the building of a new parish church in Cupar (dedicated to St Mary), the old parish church of St Christopher seems to have become a chapel. The altar mentioned above was located in the former parish church.

Dunfermline

Altars in the parish church (located in the nave of the Abbey)

3 Jan 1493

*Will Hart to pay 40s to St Salvator's altar on the forgiven day.*⁴⁵⁰

16 Jan 1504

*St Salvator's altar situated in the parish church of Dunfermline.*⁴⁵¹

c.1500

*David Stanle demits the chaplaincy founded at the altar of Our Lady of Piety and St Nicholas, situated in the parochial church of Dunfermline into the hands of its patron Henry Bothwell.*⁴⁵²

22 Oct 1502

*That day compered in judgement Sir James Gudesvane, vicar of Carnbee and Dean of Fife and tutor of the Holy Blood altar situated within the parish church of Dunfermline.*⁴⁵³

20 Jan 1506

*That day compared in judgement William Coupar, chaplain of St Rynganys bell at St Ninian's altar situated within the parish church of Dunfermline.*⁴⁵⁴

6 Oct 1519

*Sir Andrew Pacok chaplain of altar of Our Lady of Piety in the parish church of Dunfermline.*⁴⁵⁵

Altars in the Abbey (in the monastic rather than parish section)

1 May 1455

⁴⁴⁹ NRS Papers of Phineas Bell Brander, solicitor, Edinburgh, GD63/20.

⁴⁵⁰ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 32

⁴⁵¹ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 138.

⁴⁵² McLeod. W, 1930, *Protocol Book of John Foular, 9 March 1500 to 18 September 1503*, Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, no. 144.

⁴⁵³ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 125.

⁴⁵⁴ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 154.

⁴⁵⁵ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 179.

*An annual payment of 8 s usual money of Scotland to the altar of St Laurence located in the monastery of Dunfermline.*⁴⁵⁶

9 Mar 1489

*That day Dean Thomas Coupar compared as the tutor to St Peter's altar.*⁴⁵⁷

1 Oct 1493

*Persons shall convene and gather together in St Margaret's outer church before the altar of St Margaret situated with the said kirk.*⁴⁵⁸

20 Jan 1506

*Compared in judgement Dean John of Kinner, monk of the abbey of Dunfermline and tutor of St Michael's altar situated within the conventual kirk of the abbey.*⁴⁵⁹

20 Jan 1506

*That day compared in judgement Dean Stephen Smith, monk of the abbey of Dunfermline and tutor of St John's altar situated within the conventual church of the said abbey.*⁴⁶⁰

20 Jan 1506

*That day compared in judgement Dean William Johnson, monk of the abbey of Dunfermline and tutor of St Benedict's altar situated within the conventual church of the said abbey.*⁴⁶¹

10 Oct 1508

*That day compared in judgement Dean Stephen Smith, monk of the abbey of Dunfermline and tutor of Our Lady's Aisle in the conventual church of the said abbey.*⁴⁶²

10 Oct 1508

*That day compared in judgement Dean James Lawsons, monk of the abbey of Dunfermline and tutor of St Cuthbert's altar situated in the conventual church of the said abbey.*⁴⁶³

20 Jan 1511

*That day compared in judgement Dean Duncan Ferry, monk of the abbey of Dunfermline and tutor of St Andrew's altar situated within the conventual church of the said church.*⁴⁶⁴

22 June 1522

⁴⁵⁶ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 443.

⁴⁵⁷ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 20.

⁴⁵⁸ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 45.

⁴⁵⁹ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 154.

⁴⁶⁰ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 154.

⁴⁶¹ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 154.

⁴⁶² Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 170.

⁴⁶³ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 170.

⁴⁶⁴ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 179.

*That day compared Dean Alexander Mow, monk of the abbey of Dunfermline and tutor of St Ursula's altar situated in the conventual church of the abbey of Dunfermline within the aisle of St John.*⁴⁶⁵

19 Jan 1524

*That day compared in judgement Dean William Spendlaw monk of the abbey of Dunfermline and tutor to St Mary Magdalene's altar situated within the conventual church of the abbey of Dunfermline.*⁴⁶⁶

20 June 1527

*Yearly payment made to St Stephen and St Katherine's altar situated in the abbey church of Dunfermline.*⁴⁶⁷

Dysart

Altars in the parish church

Dec 1545

*George Strachauchin was inducted chaplain of the altar of St James the Apostle in the parish church of Dysart at the hour of 8pm at the said altar for his whole life.*⁴⁶⁸

2 Oct 1544

*Agnes Melville, widow of John Lathrisk, gave £100 for the soul of her late spouse and those of her parents to the altar of St Ann the mother, situated in the church of St Serf in the town of Leuchars.*⁴⁶⁹

9 Aug 1549

*Testament of Margaret Touris specifies burial before the altar of St Anne in the parish church of Dysart, she paid 41s toward the burial.*⁴⁷⁰

Inverkeithing

Altars in parish church

28 Sept 1406

*Robert, Duke of Albany, granted, and by this our present charter has confirmed to God and Blessed Mary the Virgin and Blessed Michael the Archangel, all the lands of a third part of the barony of Rosyth, within the sheriffdom of Fife, to support one suitable chaplain at the altar of Saint Michael the Archangel in the parish church of Inverkeithing to officiate in perpetuity.*⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁵ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 131.

⁴⁶⁶ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 214.

⁴⁶⁷ Beveridge. E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 276.

⁴⁶⁸ Muir. W, 1853, *Notices of the Local Records of Dysart*, Maitland Club, Glasgow, p.15.

⁴⁶⁹ Muir. W, 1853, *Notices of the Local Records of Dysart*, Maitland Club, Glasgow, p. 13.

⁴⁷⁰ NRS St Andrews, Register of Testaments, 1 Aug 1549-12 Dec 1551, CC20/4/1, fols, 15-16.

⁴⁷¹ RMS, i, no. 888.

9 Apr 1453

Mortification to John de Bening, burgess of Inverkeithing, for masses for James II, royal family and his family he founds an altar in honour of John the Baptist in the parish church situated on the north side of the church.⁴⁷²

28 Jan 1478

Instrument of resignation and sasine in favour of sir David Story, chaplain of the altar of St. Katharine the Virgin in the parish church of Innerkething, in name and on behalf of said altar of a tenement in said burgh, on resignation by David Kyrkcaldy.⁴⁷³

20 Aug 1484

Royal (James III) confirmation of a charter by John Davidson, Richard Spittal, and David Scot, bailies, William Brown, John Story, Thomas Brown, John Scot, and William Bardy, councillors of the burgh of Inverkeithing, by which, with the consent of the executors of John Blackburn, fellow-burgess of the said burgh, and of Janet his wife, and of the guardians and governors of William Blackburn, nephew of the late John, and of the son and heir of the late William Blackburn, son and heir of the said late John, for the salvation of King James II, Queen Mary, his consort, etc., they granted, in pure alms, to one chaplain celebrating mass annually at the altar of the Holy Blood in the parish church of the burgh of Inverkeithing on the north side, the annual rent of 10 marks.⁴⁷⁴

12 Apr 1512

Payment of 15s annual rents to the altar of St Ninian in the parish church of Inverkeithing by Alexander Setho.⁴⁷⁵

Kinghorn Easter

Altar in the parish church

23 Aug 1485

Notarial document noting that David Peresone, is chaplain of the altar of St James in Kinghorn, which is in the patronage of the baillies of the burgh.⁴⁷⁶

Kirkcaldy

Altars in the parish church

18 Apr 1532

Abbot George presented sir Walter, chaplain, to James, archbishop of St Andrews, to the altarage or altar of the Holy Cross in the parish church of the burgh of Kirkcaldy.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷² NRS Inverkeithing parish church, letters of mortification 1453-1509, GD1/224/1.

⁴⁷³ NRS Records of Inverkeithing Burgh, B34/20/8.

⁴⁷⁴ RMS, ii, no. 1596.

⁴⁷⁵ Beveridge, E, 1917, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, Edinburgh, no. 360.

⁴⁷⁶ Donaldson, G. 1952, *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515*, Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, no. 12.

2 July 1545

John Mason instituted as chaplain of the chaplaincy of St Michael in Kirkcaldy parish church.⁴⁷⁸

20 Jan 1573

James VI confirmed a charter by John Balcanquell, chaplain at the altar of the Holy Blood in the parish church of the burgh of Kirkcaldy.⁴⁷⁹

Largo

Altars in parish church

28 Jan 1496

Royal (James IV) charter confirming in mortmain a charter of Janet Ramsey of Pitcruvie and Lady Lindsay of Biris, wife of David, Lord Lindsay of Biris, *by which she granted to Sir Thomas Ferguson, chaplain, and his successors, chaplains, to celebrate mass at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the north aisle of the parish church of Largo, the annual revenue of 5 marks from the lands of Scheithum.*⁴⁸⁰

1 July 1503

Royal (James IV) charter confirming in mortmain a charter by his household knight, John Lundy, of that ilk, *by which he granted in pure and perpetual alms, to one chaplain, to celebrate mass perpetually at the altar of SS. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist in the new aisle contiguous with the parish church of Largo, built by him, the annual revenue of 12 marks from half of the lands of Dempsterton, shire of Fife.*⁴⁸¹

8 Aug 1503

Royal (James IV) charter confirming in mortmain a charter of his household knight, Andrew Wood of Largo, *by which he granted in pure alms to one chaplain to celebrate mass perpetually at the altar of SS. Michael the Archangel and Andrew the Apostle in the new aisle contiguous with the parish church of Largo built by him, the annual revenues written below.*⁴⁸²

Leuchars

Altar in the parish church

29 Sept 1476

⁴⁷⁷ Innes. C, 1842, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, no. 517.

⁴⁷⁸ Muir. W, 1853, *Notices of the Local Records of Dysart*, 1853, Maitland Club, Glasgow, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁷⁹ RMS, iv, no. 2499, MacBean. L, 1908, *Kirkcaldy Burgh Records*, Kirkcaldy, pp. 35-36.

⁴⁸⁰ RMS, ii, no. 2342.

⁴⁸¹ RMS, ii, no. 2733.

⁴⁸² RMS, ii, no. 2825.

*Lease by Sir Richard Brady, vicar of Leuchars, of the altar of the Holy Cross to Mr Andrew Craggorth.*⁴⁸³

Lindores

Altar in the abbey

5 June 1237

*The monks (of Lindores) have charitably granted my (William de Campania) petition that a mass should be sung every day for ever at the altar of St Nicholas in the same church, in which mass special commemoration shall be made for the soul of my father and for the soul of all the faithful departed.*⁴⁸⁴

St Andrews

Altars and Relics in the Cathedral

Unfortunately information on only a handful of the (perhaps upwards of 30) chapels and altars in the cathedral of St Andrews has survived

1425

Charter by Archibald Douglas, duke of Touraine, renewing a grant of two marks from the lands of Wester Collessie to maintain *a light before the statue of St Andrew at the High Altar, and another statue known in Scots as the Douglas Lady, founded by his predecessors.*⁴⁸⁵

As the principal images, the statues of the ‘Douglas Lady’ and of St Andrew would be located to the north and to the south of the High Altar of the Cathedral Church of St Andrews.⁴⁸⁶

6 April 1440

*He (Henry Wardlaw) was buried in the church of St Andrew in the wall between the choir and the Lady Chapel.*⁴⁸⁷

29 Apr 1495

William, by God's mercy, Archbishop of St Andrews, made in honour of God Almighty and the Most Glorious Virgin Mary, Lady of the Annunciation, and of all the saints, to the altar of Blessed John the Baptist within the nave of the metropolitan church of Saint Andrews, which is commonly called the aisle of the Archdeacon of St Andrews, and to one chaplain for ever to

⁴⁸³ *Abstract of the Protocol Book of the Burgh of Stirling, 1469-84*, 1896, Edinburgh, 31.

⁴⁸⁴ Dowden. J, 1903, *Charulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1495*, 1903, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, no. 82.

⁴⁸⁵ *SA Liber*, pp. 406-407.

⁴⁸⁶ McRoberts. D, 1976, ‘The Glorious House of St Andrew’, in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, Glasgow, pp. 63-120, at 71.

⁴⁸⁷ Watt. D. E. R, 1987-1999, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, Aberdeen, iii, p. 411.

*celebrate at the aforesaid altar of Mary the Virgin, namely Our Lady of the Annunciation, for the good of the souls written below.*⁴⁸⁸

1517

Letter from Archbishop Forman regarding the appointment of an administrator of Coldingham refers to the *aisle of John the Evangelist in the Metropolitan Church of St Andrew.*⁴⁸⁹

Altars in the parish church of the Holy Trinity

Fortunately there has been a far greater survival of information on the altars founded in the parish church of the Holy Trinity which was founded in 1412. There were as many as 35 separate chaplaincies in the church located at c.32 different altars

2 Oct 1394

*Walter, Bishop of St Andrews, ratifies a gift made by Sir Duncan Marichal of two lands in perpetuity on the north side of North Street in St Andrews between the land of William Ram on the east and John Wright on the west to the altar of the Holy Rood in the parish church.*⁴⁹⁰

12-13 Sept 1428

*Confirmation by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, of a charter by David Brown, Chancellor of Glasgow and Comptroller of King James I, founding two chaplainries in honour of the Trinity and the Virgin Mary and all saints (with presentation by him during his lifetime and then the community of St Andrews, with admission by the bishop of St Andrews) in the new parish church. The foundation is for the souls of King James and his queen Lady Joan, Henry Wardlaw bishop of St Andrews, the granter, his parents and all unrequited benefactors.*⁴⁹¹

28 Jan 1431

*Charter by William of Cairns, vicar of the parish church of Glamis, creating two chaplainries with their chaplains in the new parish church of St Andrews in honour of the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and St. Fergus, bishop and confessor, his patron; one at the altar of All Saints erected by him on the west side at the door of the said church behind the wall (post parietem) and the other at the altar of St Fergus bishop and confessor, at the pillar nearest the west gable of the said church on the south side.*⁴⁹²

1 Dec 1434

Charter by Laurence of Lindores, rector of the parish church of Creich and inquisitor of heretical pravity within Scotland, having founded a new chaplainry in the new parish church

⁴⁸⁸ Dunlop. A. I. 1964, *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree, 1413-1588*, Edinburgh, p. 247.

⁴⁸⁹ Donaldson. G & Macrae. C, 1942-44, *St Andrews Formulare, 1514-46*, Stair Society, Edinburgh, i, no. 8.

⁴⁹⁰ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/13c.

⁴⁹¹ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/18c.

⁴⁹² StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/21c.

of St Andrews at the altar of St Michael on the north side of the church near the column founded by John of Carmichael in honour of the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, Michael the Archangel and St Serf, grants the following lands for the souls of Henry [Wardlaw] bishop of St Andrews, his family and himself.⁴⁹³

20 Jan 1436

Charter by John of Cameron, citizen of St Andrews, whereby having founded a chaplainry in the new parish church at the altar of St John the Baptist on the north side of the church near the pillar beside the north door of the choir and on the west side of the door, he gives, grants and mortifies to God, the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist and the chaplain serving at the altar, for the souls of the Bishop of St Andrews, himself, and his family his tenement lying in South Street.⁴⁹⁴

23 Nov 1439

Charter of alienation, enfeofment and donation by Mariota de Burne in favour of her son John. She Resigned into hands of Duncan Lamby one of bailies of St Andrews, for sasine to be granted to John de Burn, paying 8 shillings annually to altar of St Nicholas the confessor and two shillings annually to altar of St Ninian the confessor in the parish church of St Andrews.⁴⁹⁵

2 May 1456

Charter by John Schivas, doctor of decreets, canon of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and official principal of St Andrews, who having founded a new chaplainry at the altar of St Andrew the Apostle in the north gable near the high altar gives and grants a range of annual rents to the altar and chaplain for the safety of his soul and those of his family and friends. Presentation to granter during life then to Henry Scheves of Kilhouse and heirs, whom failing to William Scheves, brother of the said Henry. Robert Menteith, his cousin, is current chaplain. The chaplain and six other chaplains are to celebrate his death each year with placebo and dirge the night before and a requiem mass the following morning.⁴⁹⁶

6 Mar 1472

Gift by Thomas Brown, burgess of St Andrews of 4 shillings to the chaplain serving the altar of 'St Sanguinis' (Holy Blood) in the parish church of St Andrews.⁴⁹⁷

12 May 1475

Charter by William Durham, citizen of St Andrews, whereby for founding a chaplainry at the altar of St James in the parish church of St Andrews for the souls of himself and his family

⁴⁹³ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/24c.

⁴⁹⁴ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/26c.

⁴⁹⁵ StAUL, Records of St Mary's College, St Andrews, UYSM110/B12/2.

⁴⁹⁶ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/38c.

⁴⁹⁷ StAUL, Miscellaenous writs relating to properties with connections to St Mary's College, St Andrews, UYSM110/B16/3.

and friends he gifts an annual rent of 10 merks upliftable from his tenement on the south side of South Street.⁴⁹⁸

29 Oct 1478

Charter by John Dryburgh, bachelor in decreets, perpetual vicar of the parish church of Carnbee, founding in honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father Son and Holy Spirit, the most glorious Virgin Mary, and St Bartholomew the apostle, two chaplainries at the altar of St Bartholomew the apostle on the south side of the church, situated towards the west, between the altar of St Fergus on the north and the south wall (parietem) of the said church. Grant made for the safety of the souls of Andrew Dryburgh, his deceased father, Janet, his mother, Margaret, widow of said father, Mr John Brown sometime vicar of Arbirlot? and Andrew Howieson, and the souls of himself, his brothers, sisters and unrequited benefactors.⁴⁹⁹

18 Apr 1481

Mortification by Andrew Martin, canon of Aberdeen and rector of Kincardine Oneill, to the altar of the blessed Duthac the Confessor, founded anew by the granter, in St. Ninian's aisle in parish church of St. Andrews, of annual rent of 19s. Scots from tenement in city of St. Andrews on east side of the Burn Wynd between lands of Walter Wilkinstoun on the south and Lawrence Myllair and John Mylne on the north.⁵⁰⁰

9 May 1493

David Moneypenny of Earlsall, canon of Moray grants to Robert Preston, chaplain of the altar of St Anthony, founded by the said David, the contents of his house including several beds, chandeliers, sofas etc and gives to Robert a piece of wood to symbolise this arrangement.⁵⁰¹

5 Jan 1496

Charter by David Meldrum, canon of Dunkeld and official principal of St Andrews, whereby for support of the chaplainry founded by him in the aisle or chapel of the Blessed Columba Abbot and Blessed Bride Virgin built by him in the parish church of St Andrews he grants to God, the glorious Virgin Mary, the Saints foresaid and the chaplain serving there admitted by him his tenement on the north side of South Street founded by David Meldrum, canon of Dunkeld, patronage with town council.⁵⁰²

3 Sept 1501

Andrew Stewart, bishop of Moray granted to the chaplain of the altar of St Martin, for the souls of his family and the royal family, a tenement in St Andrews. Following his death

⁴⁹⁸ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/60c.

⁴⁹⁹ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/81c.

⁵⁰⁰ NRS, Records of Thomson and Baxter, GD241/198.

⁵⁰¹ StAUL Muniments of the University of St Andrews, UYUY150/1, fol. 48r-50v.

⁵⁰² StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/143c.

patronage was to pass to John Spens, sub-centor of the cathedral of Moray and after him David Spens his brother and after his the rector and dean of St Andrews University.⁵⁰³

12 June 1505

Notarial instrument narrating that Margaret Boone resigned in the hands of John Crawford bailie of St Andrews an annual rent of 40s, whereupon the said bailie gave sasine thereof to Sir Archibald Blithe priest in name of the Blessed Barbara Virgin and Martyr and the altar thereof and chaplain serving thereat in the said parish church.⁵⁰⁴

26 May 1511

Charter by Sir John Henderson priest of the diocese of St Andrews of a mark of annual rent which he gave in piety for support of the chaplainry of the altar of St Eloi bishop in the parish church.⁵⁰⁵

13 Apr 1514

Charter by Mr William Dot, chaplain at the altar of St Katherine founded in the parish church of St Andrews by the late Mr David Kay, with consent of Sir Thomas Preston perpetual vicar of the church, David Learmonth provost, patrons of the altar he gives grants and sets in feu to David King citizen of St Andrews and Elizabeth Mortimer his spouse a tenement lying in South Street.⁵⁰⁶

9 Jan 1515

Charter by David Lermonth of Clatto, provost of St Andrews making gift of 26s to the chaplain of the altar of St Nicholas and 40s to the chaplain the altar of St Anne.⁵⁰⁷

26 Aug 1536

Foundation charter of chaplainries of St Peter Simon and Jude the Apostle in the parish church of the city of St Andrews [Fife] by sir Henry Carstairs and his successor William Carstairs, son and successor of Andrew Carstairs, citizen in St Andrews, to be sustained by a large number of annual rents on lands in St Andrews, listed below, the presentation to which chaplainries would pass to the Archdeacon of St Andrews in the failure of the granters' heirs.⁵⁰⁸

7 Apr 1567

Notarial Instrument narrating that Mr Martin Geddie, one of the bailie of St Andrews, gave sasine to David Miles, deacon of the baxter craft of St Andrews, in name of the chaplain of

⁵⁰³ Lyon. C. J, 1837, *A History of St Andrews, Episcopal, Monastic, Academic and Civil*, Edinburgh, ii, App 35, no.2.

⁵⁰⁴ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/182c.

⁵⁰⁵ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/194c.

⁵⁰⁶ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/200c.

⁵⁰⁷ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/202c.

⁵⁰⁸ StAUL Records of St Salvator's College, St Andrews, UYSS110/AE/8.

*the chaplainry of St Hubert founded by the deacon and brethren of the said craft in the parish church of St Andrews, in a waste tenement on the east side of Baker Street.*⁵⁰⁹

Altars in the College of St Salvator

17 Mar 1473

*The King (James III) has confirmed in mortmain a gift of the late Master Thomas Logy (clerk of the king and canon of the Chapel Royal and of St Salvator's in the city of St Andrews), for the maintenance of one chaplain to celebrate mass at the altar of the Holy Spirit in the said Collegiate Church of St Salvator, for the salvation of James I and II.*⁵¹⁰

8 Aug 1546

*Presentment of Master John Todrig, chaplain, to the chaplainry of the altar founded in honour of St Olaf, Martyr, in the collegiate church of St Salvator, city of St Andrews.*⁵¹¹

30 Aug 1547

*Presentment of Master John Brown, chaplain, to the chaplainry and altarage of St Olaf and St John the Baptist in the collegiate church of St Salvator, St Andrews.*⁵¹²

Weymss

Altars in parish church

Dec 1545

*Thomas Birrell in town of Freuchie binds himself to deliver in East Wemyss on the feast of St Andrew (30 Nov) two bolls of barley for the altar of St Mary situated in the parish church of East Weymss.*⁵¹³

6 Jan 1597

*Instrument of Sasine in favour of Sir John Boswell of Balmuto, knight, of a fourth part of the lands of Spittal, in lordship of Lochoreshire and sheriffdom of Fife, together with the coal of half of the lands of Dundonald, lying as above; on precept of sasine in charter dated 3 December 1596, by Robert Colvill, son and apparent heir of James Colville of East Wemyss, chaplain of St Katherine's Chapel, in parish church of Wemys, and said James, patron of said chapel, in favour of said Sir John Boswell.*⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁹ StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/351a.

⁵¹⁰ RMS, ii, no. 1157.

⁵¹¹ Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, iii, no. 1844.

⁵¹² Livingstone. M, 1908-1982, *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh, iii, no. 2405.

⁵¹³ Muir. W, 1853, *Notices of the Local Records of Dysart*, Maitland Club, Glasgow, p.15.

⁵¹⁴ NRS Boswell of Balmuto Papers, GD66/1/110.

IV. The Reformation

The age of pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in Scotland came to an abrupt end in 1559-1560 with the Protestant Reformation. For the 30 years or so prior to the Reformation, a number of incidents of iconoclasm were recorded in Scotland, significant enough to warrant government legislation against the destruction of images of the saints in 1541. More wholesale destruction took place following John Knox's fiery sermon in the church of St John, Perth, on 11 May 1559. After 1560, the eradication of the physical symbols of the saints in Scotland, statues in niches, stained glass windows, rood screens and murals, was carried out ruthlessly by the reformed church. Martin Luther and the earliest of the sixteenth-century reformers had not completely objected to the veneration of the Virgin Mary and other saints. Their criticisms, like those of late medieval theologians like Jean Gerson (1363-1429) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), and Scottish poet David Lindsay, lay primarily with the theology of indulgences, and the other paraphernalia that had become attached to the movement.⁵¹⁵ John Calvin however, whose philosophy informed the Scottish reformation, angrily rejected all the elements that had made up the medieval cult of the saints. Calvin and his Scottish supporters like Knox, viewed veneration of the saints, along with the Mass and purgatory, as not only ineffective but unscriptural, idolatrous and heretical.⁵¹⁶ It was this philosophy, which can be seen in the brief excerpts from John Knox's speech and the First Book of Discipline below, which meant that the victory for the reformers in 1560 resulted in the comprehensive physical destruction of all the manifestations of the cult of the saints in Scotland.

While the public burning of the Holy Rood of Crail was noted by Knox and Pitscottie, the fate of most of the relics that had attracted the veneration of late medieval Scots remain unknown. Some were smuggled abroad, as was the case with a relic of St Margaret that, after many travels, ended up in the Scots College in Rome in 1675 and another that was found in the possession of the Jesuits in Douai until the French Revolution.⁵¹⁷ The value of the gold and silver containers in which many relics were housed probably ensured the destruction of others. While it was relatively easy to destroy the physical symbols of the saints, it would prove considerably harder to stamp out popular practices like pilgrimage. With the traditional destinations for pilgrimage now either out of bounds or destroyed, holy wells seem to have

⁵¹⁵ Wilson. S, 1982, 'Introduction', in *Saints and their cults: studies in religious sociology, folklore and history*, Cambridge, p. 8.

⁵¹⁶ Cameron. E. 2012, *European Reformation*, Oxford, p.161.

⁵¹⁷ McIntyre. J. 1993, 'St Margaret and the Scots College Rome', *Innes Review*, 44, 186-92, Dilworth. M. 1996, 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', *Innes Review*, xlvii, 169-181

taken on a greater significance for those still keen to seek the intercession of the saints. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed measures in 1573, 1580, 1583, 1596, 1608 and 1616, urging the regional synods and presbyteries to clamp down on pilgrimage to these sites, while the Scottish parliament passed measures against such practices in 1581 and as late as 1700.⁵¹⁸ The Presbytery of Stirling had a particular problem with “Chrystis well”, which was located within their jurisdiction. They prosecuted a number of individuals caught going there on pilgrimage in 1583, while the Synod of Fife passed a motion as late as 1649 demanding punishment for those that passed to holy wells.⁵¹⁹ In the following section can be the small number of contemporary references to the destruction of the cult of the saints in Fife in 1559-60, Crown and ecclesiastical government legislation against pilgrimage, and evidence of the continuation of proscribed practices in the century after the Reformation.

Historical References

14 Mar 1541 Act of the Parliament of Scotland

That none dishonour the image of saints

*And regarding images of holy saints canonised and approved by the Holy Kirk, it is statute and ordained that none break, cast down or in any way treat irreverently or do any dishonour or irreverence to the said images.*⁵²⁰

The Act of Parliament above was a response to number of incidents of iconoclasm aimed at statues of saints in the 1530s and 1540s.

4 Apr 1550 Speech by John Knox

*Then who hath burdened us with all these ceremonies, prescribed fasting, compelled chastity, unlawful vows, invocation of saints, and with the idolatry of the Mass? The devil! the devil!*⁵²¹

Scottish reformers like John Knox, here in a speech from 1550, was implacable in their opposition to the cult of the saints, which they viewed as heretical.

4 June Pitscottie's History and Chronicles of Scotland

*In this same yeir upon Witsonday the kirk of Coupar (St Mary's, Cupar) was reformed and their cassin (cast) downe for quhilk cause the curet (Curate) thair of callit Schir Allane Haccarstoune brak his neck in his awin bed for hairt sair (broken heart).*⁵²²

⁵¹⁸ Thomson. T, 1839-45, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, i, 280, ii, 462, 535, 638, 721, iii, 874, 1055 & 1120.

⁵¹⁹ Kirk. J. 1981, *Stirling Presbytery Records, 1581-1587*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, pp. 4, 114-115, 120, 128, 130, 132-136, 147 & 161; Baxter. C. 1837, *Ecclesiastical Records. Selections from the minutes of the Synod of Fife, 1611-87*, Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, p. 165.

⁵²⁰ *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2016), 1540/12/63. Date accessed: 21 July 2016.

⁵²¹ Laing. D, 1846-64, *Works of John Knox*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, iii, 42.

4 June Archbishop Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland

*By this exhortation (sermon by John Knox) the hearers were so moved, as they fell immediately to the pulling down of altars and images, and destroyed all the monuments which were abused to idolatry in that town (Crail). The like they did the next day in Anstruther.*⁵²³

11 June 1559 John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland

*That as well the magistrates, Provost and Baillies, as the commonalty for the most part, within the town (St Andrews), did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition.*⁵²⁴

11-12 June 1559

*The sermon (by John Knox), was scarcely down, when they fell to work to purge the kirk (Holy Trinity, St Andrews), and break downe the altars and images and all kind of idolatrie.....bot the ideals that were in the Abbey (Augustinian Priory of St Andrews), were brought to the north part of the said Abbey, in the same place where Walter Milne was burned (28 Aug 1558), and there they burned the whole idols.*⁵²⁵

25 June 1559 Pitscottie's History and Chronicles of Scotland

*Be this way the congregation (Lords of the Congregation), gaderrit and come fordward, first to Carrail (Crail), and caist down the imagis and alter thairof and burnt the rude quilk was ane great idol and abussit all men and wemen baitht with pillgramage. This they did the 35 day of Junii and on the morne heireafter come to Sanctandros and reformitt the kirkis thairof and caist done the allteris and imageis and all uther idolaterie.*⁵²⁶

19-23 June 1559 Letter by John Knox to Anna Locke

*In the whilk, the Abbay of Lundores (Lindores), a place of Black Monks (Tironensian)...was reformed, their altars overthrown, their idols, vestments of idolatire, and masse books were burnt in their owne presence, and they commanded to caste away their monkish habits.*⁵²⁷

The summer and autumn of 1559 saw the destruction of altars, relics and other paraphernalia, most notably the holy cross of Crail, in eastern Fife. Most of the destruction, or cleansing as the reformers would have called it, is unrecorded.

1560 The First Book of Discipline

⁵²² Mackay. A. 1899, *History and Chronicles of Scotland by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, i, p. 147.

⁵²³ Russell. M. 1851, *History of the Church of Scotland ... / by ... John Spottiswoode*, Spottiswoode Society, London, i, 276.

⁵²⁴ Dickinson. W. C. 1949, *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Edinburgh, i, p. 183.

⁵²⁵ Laing. D. 1844, 'Historie of the Estate of Scotland, From July 1558 to April 1560, *The miscellany of the Wodrow Society. Containing tracts and original letters, chiefly relating to the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, pp. 58-59.

⁵²⁶ Mackay. A. 1899, *History and Chronicles of Scotland by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie*, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, i, p. 151.

⁵²⁷ Laing. D. 1846-64, *Works of John Knox*, Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, vi, p. 26.

*By idolatry we understand, the Masse, invocation of the Saints, adoration of images and keeping and retaining of the same.*⁵²⁸

Shortly after the victory of the Protestants, the First Book of Discipline proscribed the cult of the saints.

13 Sept 1563

*At this present, the said kirk is at sik ane point that throw decaying thairof, and nocht uphalding of the samyn the wallis, ruif (roof),.....the wallis in sindire partis ar revin, and the volt (vault) thairthrow partit.....and the glassin windois of the samyn decayit.*⁵²⁹

Act of the Privy Council regarding the maintenance of the parish church of Dunfermline (in the Abbey church) describes the damage to the abbey church at the reformation

6 Aug 1573

*Act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for punishment of persons that pass in pilgrimage to wells, let the discipline of the Kirk be used against the users of such superstition, and the civil Magistrate shall also hold hand to the punishment.*⁵³⁰

12 July 1580

*Act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that ane punishment may be made for such as passes in pilgrimages to kirks or wells; and that order may be taken with that that past (in pilgrimage) lately to the Holy Rude of Peebles, and such other places.*⁵³¹

24 Oct 1581 Act of Parliament of Scotland

Against passing in pilgrimage to chapels, wells and crosses, and the superstitious observing of diverse other popish rights

Forasmuch as part for want of doctrine and rarity of ministers, and partly through the perverse inclination of man's engine to superstition, the dregs of idolatry yet remain in diverse parts of the realm by using of pilgrimage to some chapels, wells, crosses and such other monuments of idolatry, as also by observing of the festival days of the saints, sometimes named their patrons, in setting of bonfires, singing of carols within and about kirks at certain seasons of the year, and observing of such other superstitious and popish rights to the dishonour of God, contempt of the true religion and fostering of great error amongst the people; for remedy whereof, it is statute and ordained by our sovereign lord, with advice of his three estates in this present parliament, that none of his highness's lieges presume or take upon hand in time coming to resort to, frequent or use the said pilgrimages or other forenamed superstitious and popish rights under the pains following, namely, each gentleman

⁵²⁸ Cameron. J. K, 1972, *The First Book of Discipline*, Edinburgh, p.95.

⁵²⁹ Burton. J. H et al. 1877-1970, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Edinburgh, i, 246-247.

⁵³⁰ Thomson. T, 1839-45, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, i, 280.

⁵³¹ Thomson. T, 1839-45, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, ii, p. 462.

*or woman landed, or wife of the gentleman landed, £100 pounds, the unlanded 100 merks and the yeoman £40, for the first fault; and for the second fault, the offenders to suffer the pain of death as idolaters. And for the better execution hereof, commands, ordains and gives power to all sheriffs, stewards, bailies, provosts, aldermen and bailies of burghs, lords of regalities, their stewards and bailies and others whom it shall please our sovereign lord to grant special commission to search and seek the persons passing in pilgrimage to any kirks, chapels, wells, crosses or such other monuments of idolatry, as also the superstitious observers of the festival days of the saints, sometimes named their patrons, where there are no public fairs and markets, setters out of bonfires, singers of carols within and about kirks, and of such other superstitious and popish rights, and apprehending them in the actual deed of the transgression of this present act, after speedy judgement of their transgression, to put and hold them in prison and firmness until they redeem their liberty by payment of the pains above-written and find caution to abstain in time coming, under the pain of doubling of the same pain; and if the persons apprehended be not able to redeem their liberty by payment of the said pecuniary pains, that then they keep the persons, transgressors, in prison, irons or stocks, upon bread and water, for the space of one month after their apprehension, causing them when they are set at liberty to either find caution or make faith to abstain thereafter; and in case they happen to pass out of the shire where they offend without apprehension, that the sheriffs and other ordinary judges of the next shire, burgh or jurisdictions apprehend them and proceed in like manner against them, declaring the one half of the pecuniary pains to pertain to the said ordinary judges for their pains and for sustaining of the persons to be kept in ward, irons or stocks, and the other half to be brought in to the use of the poor of the parish.*⁵³²

7 May 1583

Stirling Presbytery noted that *rascall sort of pepill that passis in pilgrimage to Chrystis woll and uses gret idolatorie and superstition.*⁵³³

13 Oct 1583

Discussion at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland of the suitable punishment for ministers *that beares with the people repairing in pilgrimage to wells hard besyd their awin houses, unreproving them, but rather entertaining them with meate and drinke in their houses.* It was decided that any ministers failing to clamp down, and even encouraging, such pilgrimages should be deprived of their position.⁵³⁴

26 Mar 1596

⁵³² Brown. K.M, 2007-2016, *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, St Andrews, 1581/10/25. Date accessed: 21 July 2016.

⁵³³ Kirk. J, 1981, *Stirling Presbytery Records, 1581-1587*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, pp. 114-115, 120, 128, 130, 132-136.

⁵³⁴ Thomson. T, 1839-45, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, ii, p. 638.

Noted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that *superstition and idolatry maintainit, quhilk utters itselife in keeping of festuall days, and bonfires, pilgrimages, singing of carols at Yule.*⁵³⁵

15 Aug 1616

Noted in the session of the General Assembly that *there is a great abuse in people passing to pilgrimages to wells, to trees and auld chappells.*⁵³⁶

4 Apr 1649

The Synod of Fife advised their members that *being informed that some went superstitiously to wells denominat from Saintis, ordains Presbitries to take notice thairof, and to censure those that are guiltie of that fault.*⁵³⁷

As a cultural as well as religious activity, pilgrimage remained difficult to stamp out. This was especially the case for Holy Wells. It was traditional to visit such wells in early May, in particular on the first day or first Sunday of the month. This notification, in April, seems to have been a warning to the various ministers in the Synod in advance of the annual festivities.

23 Nov 1700 Act of the Parliament of Scotland

Act for preventing the growth of popery

*Our sovereign lord, considering the hazard that threatens the true Protestant religion as at present settled and established within this realm, and may ensue by the increase and growth of popery and the resorting and resetting of Jesuits, priests and trafficking papists within the same if not timeously and duly prevented and restrained, does therefore, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, revive, ratify and perpetually confirm the seventy first act of the sixth parliament of King James VI, entitled, act anent the youth and others beyond sea suspected to have declined from the true religion, and the one hundredth and fourth act of the seventh parliament of King James VI, entitled, act against passing in pilgrimage to chapels, wells, crosses etc., and the twenty sixth act of the fifth session of this present parliament, entitled, act discharging popish persons to prejudge their Protestant heirs in succession, and all other laws, statutes and acts of parliament made against popery and papists and especially against Jesuits, seminaries, mass priests and trafficking papists, and their abode, reset and their resetters within this kingdom, as also against all sayers and hearers of mass and such as shall be present at mass and all concealers of the same, in the whole heads, tenors and contents thereof and as if the same were herein fully set down and expressed, dispensing with the generality and willing and ordaining the whole foresaid acts and statutes to be put to due and vigorous execution in all points.*⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ Thomson. T, 1839-45, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, ii, p. 874.

⁵³⁶ Thomson. T, 1839-45, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, iii, 1120.

⁵³⁷ Baxter. C. 1837, *Ecclesiastical Records. Selections from the minutes of the Synod of Fife, 1611-87*, Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, p. 165.

⁵³⁸ Brown. K.M, 2007-2016, *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, St Andrews, 1700/10/73. Date accessed: 21 July 2016.

V. Recommendations for further research

As this report has shown, documentary sources for pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in medieval Fife are many and varied. Any future research in this field would require combining this documentary material with the results of archaeological work (for example by Peter Yeoman on the Isle May (1999)). Below are listed a selection of potential subjects or areas of focus for further research on pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in Fife.

- 1. Pilgrimage and the Fife landscape

Central to any future research on pilgrimage in medieval Fife will be switching the focus from the relatively well researched destinations (the shrines themselves) to the journey and pilgrim network (II. ii). This will allow for a greater understanding of the long and short term impact of large and small scale pilgrimage on the landscape of Fife. Projects in this area would require an interdisciplinary approach, utilising the (relatively) small range of medieval documentary sources in combination with archaeological records and later sources of information, to build upon the work already undertaken by Peter Yeoman (1999).

- 2. Chaplainry dedications and lay piety in late medieval Fife

Perhaps the most significant, and largely untapped, primary resource explored in this report is the large numbers of chantry or chaplainry dedications (III. vi). Further research on the types of saints venerated by Fifers in the later middle ages, the nature of such dedications, would reveal information about lay piety, cultural influences on the region, and the response to external stresses such as war, famine and epidemic disease. Useful comparisons could be made with other parts of Scotland and regions in the British Isles and Europe (most notably, Cornwall, Wales and Yorkshire, and the kingdoms of Scandinavia, which have already been subject to research in this area)

- 3. Pilgrimage and the cult of the saints after the Reformation

This report also briefly touched upon the continuation of pilgrimage and (unofficial) veneration of the saints following the Protestant Reformation (IV). A further in depth examination of this area would focus on the (predominantly) unpublished records of the Church of Scotland c.1560-1700 (Presbytery and individual Kirk Session records) and of other post-1560 information on local fairs, folklore and cultural practices found in civic and literary materials

VI. Sources Consulted

i. Primary Sources: Manuscripts

National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh)

NLS ADV. MS 15.1.18. no. 95

National Records of Scotland (Edinburgh)

NRS Prot Bk of James Androsen, 1535-48, NP1/5A,
NRS Transcripts and photocopies of Miscellaneous Charters and Papers, RH1/2/353.
NRS Papers of Phineas Bell Brander, solicitor, Edinburgh, GD63/20
NRS St Andrews, Register of Testaments, 1 Aug 1549-12 Dec 1551, CC20/4/1
NRS Inverkeithing parish church, letters of mortification 1453-1509, GD1/224/1
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