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When the Miracles Ceased: Shrine and Cult Management at St Andrews and Scottish Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages

Tom Turpie

B Y the fifteenth century St Andrew had been firmly established as the patron saint of the Scots.[1] His image adorned coins and royal seals at home, while abroad altars and fraternities dedicated to the saint formed the focus for the communal identity of Scottish students and monks.[2] Paradoxically, at the same time belief in the efficacy of the relics of St Andrew, housed in their elaborate shrine in Fife, was on the wane. This development was part of a broader Western European trend in the later Middle Ages which saw a gradual decline in the importance and, perhaps as significantly, in the profits of long-established cathedral shrines.[3] This decline was not indicative of a waning of interest in pilgrimage as an activity; in fact it may well have reached its peak in popularity in the two centuries between the first appearance of the Black Death and the Reformation.[4] The decline resulted from what Richard Dobson has termed the 'widespread transfer of allegiance from the old to the new' that characterised late medieval popular piety.[5] In England 'the new' included shrines focused on Marian and Passion devotion, the most popular of which were located at Walsingham and Hailes, and those of a range of uncanonised 'would be saints'

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[1] Marinall Ash and Dauvit Broun, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as Patron Saint of Scotland', Higgitt, *St Andrew*, pp. 16–24.

[2] Donald E. R. Watt, 'Scottish Student Life Abroad in the Fourteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review* 59 (1980), p. 7; Mark Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia: A Century of Monasticism* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 19.

[3] Richard B. Dobson, 'Contrasting Cults: St Cuthbert of Durham and St Thomas of Canterbury in the Fifteenth Century', *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. S. Ditchfield (Michigan, 2001), pp. 25–6; Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 176–9; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London and New Haven, 1992), p. 195.

[4] Eamon Duffy, 'The Dynamics of Pilgrimage in Late Medieval England', *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. C. Morris and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 164–77.

[5] Dobson, 'Contrasting Cults', p. 25.

like Henry VI (1423–71) at Windsor and Richard Scrope (d. 1405) in York.[6] Dobson has explored the strategies that the monastic communities at two of England's more venerable shrines, those of St Cuthbert at Durham and Thomas Becket at Canterbury, used to protect the status of their patron saints in this rapidly changing spiritual environment.[7] This essay will investigate similar efforts by the cathedral chapter at St Andrews to modernise the shrine of their patron saint, comparing the effectiveness of the techniques employed to those used by the custodians of other Scottish cathedral shrines in the later Middle Ages.

The shrine of St Andrew in Fife was at its peak of popularity from the late eleventh to the late thirteenth century. It was in this period that the confident claims made by the religious community at St Andrews that they possessed a thriving shrine, frequented by an international clientele, receive some corroboration from Welsh and English sources.[8] English visitors could still be found at the shrine on the eve of the Wars of Independence with groups of pilgrims recorded there in 1273 and 1285.[9] The shrine in St Andrews was also one of a small group patronised by Edward I (1272–1307) during his attempted conquest of Scotland, with the English king making a donation to the relics in 1304.[10] Following the wars, the only indication of foreign visitors to St Andrews comes in the form of penitential pilgrimages from Flanders and Brabant, most notably from Ypres and Antwerp. However, this form of spiritual punishment had apparently gone out of fashion by the end of the fifteenth century.[11] Efforts to promote the relics in Fife to a wider European audience may have been

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[6] Robert N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 287–90.

[7] Dobson, 'Contrasting Cults', pp. 24–43.

[8] These claims were made in the two St Andrews Foundation Legends, A which dated from c.1115 and B dated to 1140×53. See Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 258–60; *PNF*, iii, pp. 564–600; *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. A. Wade-Evans (Cardiff, 1944), pp. 80, 82; *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale. Auctore Reginaldo Monacho Dunelmensi. Adjicitur Appendix Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Durham, 1847), pp. 28, 31, 219, 376, 426, 446; *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus quae Novellis Patratae sunt Temporibus*, ed. James Raine (Durham, 1835), pp. 56, 170, 218–19.

[9] Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 1999), p. 217.

[10] *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1881–88) [hereafter *CDS*], ii, no. 8. Other shrines visited by the king and his son included those of SS Margaret (Dunfermline), Kentigern (Glasgow) and Ninian (Whithorn). *CDS*, ii, no. 1225, iv, nos. 448–9, 486, 487.

[11] David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560*, i: *Religion, Culture and Commerce* (East Linton, 2000), p. 60, n. 123; David Ditchburn, '"Saints at the door don't make miracles"? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c. 1450–1550', *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. J. Goodare and A. A. Macdonald (Leiden, 2008), pp. 93–5; David McRoberts, 'A St Andrews Pilgrimage Certificate of 1333 at Saint-Omer', McRoberts, *St Andrews*, pp. 155–6; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 218.

Figure 5.1: Pilgrim badge from St Andrews, c.1450–1500, found in Sluis.

hindered by the establishment of a popular shrine to Andrew at Amalfi on the south-eastern coast of Italy after 1208.[12] It is difficult to quantify the impact of the Anglo-Scottish wars on pilgrim traffic, but there is little evidence of large-scale international pilgrimage to the shrine from the fourteenth century.

Although the comprehensive shrine accounts that form the basis of English studies of pilgrimage have not survived for Scotland, there are a number of indications that by the late fourteenth century domestic pilgrimage to St Andrews was also on the wane.[13] The St Andrews shrine is conspicuous in its absence from references to popular Scottish shrines by foreign and domestic observers in the later Middle Ages, yet the raison d'être of institutions like St Andrews was the shrine of their patron saint.[14] This meant that the maintenance of steady pilgrimage traffic was essential in justifying their existence and protecting hard-

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[12] Located on the south-west coast of Italy, in 1208 the shrine received relics of the apostle that had been looted from Constantinople following the sack of the city by Crusaders in 1204.

[13] Ditchburn, '"Saints at the door don't make miracles"', pp. 68, 92–5.

[14] For example William of Worcester who noted the popularity of Whithorn, Tain and the relics of the David Stewart, duke of Rothesay, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount who complained of the impious behaviour of pilgrims visiting Musselburgh in the 1530s. *William Worcestre Itineraries*, ed. John H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp. 6–7; *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh, 1879), iii, p. 40; Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000), p. 65.

fought privileges. The shrine custodians at St Andrews were well aware of their responsibilities and did not sit idly by as pilgrim numbers began to stagnate. As for their counterparts at Durham and Canterbury, a number of promotional tools were available to the bishops of St Andrews and the Augustinian canons that formed the cathedral chapter. In the twelfth century the options available to shrine custodians can be seen in a series of campaigns instigated by the bishops of Glasgow. In an effort to promote the cult of St Kentigern these bishops translated the relics of Kentigern to an impressive new shrine, commissioned two new lives of the saint (the second by the professional hagiographer Jocelin of Furness), and may have attempted to have their patron formally canonised.[15] The incorporation of the doctrine of purgatory into official and popular practice, and the associated pull factor of papal-sanctioned indulgences, meant that shrine custodians in the later Middle Ages also had a number of new tools with which they might encourage pilgrimage to the tombs of their patrons.

The opportunity to modernise the shrine at St Andrews was provided by a fire that swept through the cathedral in 1378.[16] The chronicler Andrew Wyntoun, who was a contemporary observer of the resulting building work, suggested that the renovation was a collaborative project between the bishop, cathedral chapter and local secular leaders. Wyntoun noted that it was the bishop, Walter Trail (1385–1400), who supplied the wood beams, while the nine pillars of the church were engraved with the coats of arms of 'sum lords' who had contributed towards the restoration.[17] The bishop was also able to enlist royal help for the project. Robert II (1371–90) was keen to contribute to the work, well aware of the close relationship that his grandfather Robert I (1306–29) had developed with St Andrews.[18] Robert II, who would also have been keen to identify with what was by now a national saint, paid for masons to help reconstruct the building.[19] To further stimulate support for the project, Trail supplicated for and received a papal indulgence for those contributing to the work.[20] The restoration may have received a setback in 1410 when a storm blew down the south gable, damaged the dormitory, parlour and chapter house and fatally wounded the sub prior, Thomas de Cupar.[21] It was certainly

[15] Archibald A. M. Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, ed. R. Fawcett (Leeds, 1998), pp. 9–22; Tom Turpie, 'A Casualty of War? Kentigern of Glasgow, Scottish Patron Saints and the Bruce/Comyn Conflict', *Bute: History and People*, ed. A. Ritchie (Lerwick, 2012), pp. 61–73.

[16] Ronald G. Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', McRoberts, *St Andrews*, pp. 28–9.

[17] *Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun*, ed. F. J Amours (Edinburgh, 1903–14), vi, pp. 309–11.

[18] Geoffrey W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 318; *Scotichronicon*, ii, pp. 271–2.

[19] Payments to the masons are mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls in 1381 and 1384: *ER*, iii, pp. 70, 674.

[20] *Copiale*, pp. 115, 452.

[21] *Scotichronicon*, viii, p. 75.

not complete in 1418 when a further supplication to the papacy again cited damage caused by the fire.[22]

It may have been the need to provide funds for the renovation, as well as an awareness that pilgrim numbers were on the wane, that prompted sustained promotion of the shrine and relics in the fifteenth century. The second papal indulgence was followed by a concerted building campaign led by the prior, James Haldenstone (1418–43). As part of this campaign the shrine was remodelled and modernised in the style of the reliquary churches at Durham and Canterbury.[23] David McRoberts has equated this remodelling with the apparent growth in support for the cults of Scottish national saints in the fifteenth century.[24] The building of larger and more elaborate provision for pilgrims could reflect the popularity of a sacred centre.[25] However, as one commentator has emphasised, this type of rebuilding could also be a 'calculated investment'.[26] It is as an investment that Haldenstone appears to have viewed the work at St Andrews, with little evidence in the early 1400s that he had been forced into the action by the demands of excessive numbers of pilgrims. After the foundation of the university in 1413 the shrine of the apostle may no longer have been the primary attraction for visitors to the burgh. In 1419 a supplication by William Wardlaw (1403–40) for an indulgence to help towards rebuilding a bridge to the west of the town failed to mention the needs of pilgrims, emphasising instead the necessity of safeguarding the passage of students to the burgh.[27] Something of the low point that the shrine had reached by this time is also evident in a promotional letter sent by James Haldenstone to the Scottish bishops in the 1420s. 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.[28] 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.

Haldenstone and his successors seem to have been aware that in the new spiritual climate of the fifteenth century, the bones of St Andrew alone were no longer the draw for pilgrims that they had once been. Attempts were made to

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[22] The letter mentions the cathedral was a victim of 'casualiter incendium'. *Copiale*, p. 116.
[23] For a description of the building work at St Andrews see David McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', McRoberts, *St Andrews*, pp. 69–70.
[24] David McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', *Innes Review* 9 (1968), p. 9.
[25] Stephen Wilson makes the connection between successful cults and building programmes. Stephen Wilson, *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 28.
[26] Barbara Abou El Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 17.
[27] This was the Guardbridge, an important crossing over the River Eden. *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418–22*, ed. Elizabeth Lindsay and Annie Cameron (Edinburgh, 1934), p. 109.
[28] *Copiale*, pp. 119–21, 454–6.

diversify the attractions for pilgrims in the cathedral and to bolster the cult of the apostle with saintly reinforcements.[29] Within the remodelling work of the 1420s greater prominence was given to the Lady Chapel, which now flanked the high altar.[30] Haldenstone would choose to be buried there in 1443, and in 1465 James Kennedy (1440–65) endowed a further chaplaincy at the Marian altar.[31] A statue of Mary was also placed alongside an image of Andrew that rested on the high altar.[32] In addition to this, efforts were made to connect the cathedral to the fashionable cult of St Michael.[33] Further papal indulgences, granted to help sustain the fabric of the cathedral in 1472 and 1487, were for pilgrims who visited on the feast of the archangel (29 September), to whom an altar was also dedicated in the nave of the cathedral.[34] The decision to make this connection with the popular cult of the archangel may have been prompted by an existing connection between St Andrews and the saint: in Foundation Legend B the relics of St Andrew were said to have arrived in Fife on the feast of St Michael.[35]

These efforts to diversify the attractions at the cathedral appear to have been a conscious policy with Kennedy and later Archbishop William Scheves (1476–97). Both, for example, depicted Mary and Michael alongside Andrew on their personal seals.[36] Scottish saints were also pressed into service to support Andrew. In a departure from previous chronicle accounts, Walter Bower included Triduana in the group of missionaries who had brought the bones of St Andrew to Scotland with St Regulus.[37] The shrine of Triduana at Restalrig reached its peak in popularity in the late fifteenth century following conspicuous patronage from James III (1460–88).[38] A place within the institutional history of St Andrews was also found for Duthac of Tain, a saint who too was the recipient of significant royal patronage in the late fifteenth century. Prior Haldenstone was involved in an attempt to have Duthac canonised in 1418, noting in the

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[29] As Webb has stated it was 'prudent' for all churches to maintain as many attractions for pilgrims as possible. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 78.

[30] McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', pp. 66–7.

[31] Ibid., pp. 66–7.

[32] The two statues of Andrew and Mary were known as the principal images in the cathedral. Ibid., pp. 68, 70.

[33] The perception that Michael was a particularly effective saint for souls in purgatory contributed to the broad popularity of the cult in Scotland. Audrey-Beth Fitch, *The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480–1560* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 237–49.

[34] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, 20 vols (London, 1893–) [hereafter *CPL*], xii, p. 203, xiv, p. 178.

[35] *PNF*, iii, pp. 564–600.

[36] *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, ed. James Stevenson and Marguerite Wood, 3 vols (Glasgow, 1940), i, pp. 87–8.

[37] Bower's inclusion of Triduana in this party follows St Andrews Legend B where she is one of three virgin martyrs who were part of Regulus's missionary group. *Scotichronicon*, i, p. 315. In Wyntoun the saint had been part of another missionary group associated with Adrian of the Isle of May. *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, p. 123.

[38] Helen Brown, 'Saint Triduana of Restalrig? Locating a Saint and her Cult in Late Medieval Lothian and Beyond', *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. D. Strickland (Leiden, 2007), pp. 45–69.

supplication that the saint had been a bishop of St Andrews.[39] The chronicler Walter Bower was aware that this was not the case, but provided a connection between the diocese and the northern saint by identifying Duthac as the mentor of a late eleventh-century bishop called Maelbrigde.[40] A similar connection between St Andrews and a local saint was made by William Scheves, who promoted the shrine of St Palladius at Fordoun. According to the sixteenth-century historian Hector Boece, Scheves initiated a search for the relics of the saint and translated them to a more elaborate shrine.[41] There may well have been altars dedicated to these saints in St Andrews cathedral around which a localised worship was based. An altar dedicated to Duthac (before 1481), a chaplaincy in honour of Palladius, and a relic of Triduana were certainly present in the nearby church of the Holy Trinity in St Andrews.[42]

Although the shrine of St Andrew was struggling to attract pilgrims, the wider cult continued to flourish in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland. Predictably, dedications to Andrew were most commonly found in Fife, with altars in the burgh church of St Andrews (before 1456) and in the parish churches of Largo (1503), Cupar (1510) and Creich (1538).[43] Within the remainder of the diocese of St Andrews there were dedications to the apostle in all the large burgh churches: Dundee (1471), Edinburgh (1447), Haddington (before 1531), Linlithgow (before 1453), Perth (1466) and Stirling (before 1471).[44] Further altars in the diocese could be found at the abbeys of Cambuskenneth (before 1445) and Holyrood (before 1488).[45] Dedications to Andrew were less

[39] *Copiale*, pp. 4–6, 385.

[40] *Scotichronicon*, iii, p. 343.

[41] Boece mentions a search made by Archbishop Scheves of St Andrews for the relics of Palladius, which McRoberts places in around 1490. McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism', p. 10; *Chronicles of Scotland, Compiled by Hector Boece, Translated by John Bellenden*, ed. Edith Batho and R. W. Chambers, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1938–41), i, p. 299.

[42] Unfortunately little information survives of the numerous altars in the cathedral during this period. The National Records of Scotland [hereafter NRS], Records of Thomson and Baxter, GD241/198; StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/88c; W. E. K. Rankin, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1955), pp. 76–7, 78–9; McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', pp. 79–83.

[43] There were two chaplains at the altar of St Andrew in Holy Trinity, the first founded by a cleric, John Scheves, in 1456, and the second by a David Dishington, a local burgess, in 1495. StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/38c, B65/23/135c. For Creich see *RMS*, ii, no. 1877; for Cupar, *RMS*, ii, no. 3 491; for Largo, *RMS*, ii, no. 2825.

[44] NRS, Scrymgeour of Wedderburn Writs, GD137/3768, Haddington Burgh: Court and Council Records 1530–55, B30/9/2, f. 16; *Perth Guildry Book, 1452–1601*, ed. Marion L. Stavert (Edinburgh, 1993), no. 111; *Abstract of the Protocol Book of the Burgh of Stirling, 1469–84* (Edinburgh, 1896), p. 41; *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh, 1859), no. 56; John Ferguson, *Ecclesia Antiqua or, the History of An Ancient Church (St Michael's, Linlithgow)* (Edinburgh, 1905), app. ii, no. 7.

[45] *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth*, ed. William Fraser (Edinburgh, 1872), lxii. An inventory at Holyrood in 1493 mentioned the altar of St Andrew, *Historia Miraculous Fundationa Monasteriii Sancte Crucis prope Edinburgh (1128)*, *Bannatyne*

common elsewhere in Scotland, apart from a small group in the city of Aberdeen. A relic of the apostle, encased in a silver cross, was part of the St Machar's reliquary collection from the late fourteenth century, having supposedly been gifted to Bishop Gilbert Greenlaw (1390–1421) by Robert II.[46] An altar in the cathedral church of Aberdeen was founded before 1436 and was patronised by a series of clergy from the cathedral chapter.[47] A further altar was founded in the burgh church of St Nicholas in 1450 by a burgess, Richard Rutherford, and received regular patronage from the townsmen of Aberdeen.[48] Outside of Aberdeen, and the diocese of St Andrews, altars dedicated to Andrew could be found in the cathedrals of Dunkeld (1500) and Glasgow (before 1426), and in the collegiate church of Peebles (before 1543).[49]

The cult of St Andrew had a broad clientele in Scotland, attracting patronage from local aristocrats like John Fouty and Andrew Wood, who founded the altars in Cupar and Largo, and from burgesses who were responsible for dedications in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Perth and St Andrews.[50] However, its main patrons were the clergy who were responsible for the bulk of dedications to Andrew in this period.[51] The one recorded Scottish pilgrim to the shrine of the apostle at Amalfi near Naples also involved a cleric, James Watson, who was granted a safe conduct to pass to 'sanct andrea grafe' in 1507.[52] The popularity of the apostle amongst the wider church elite can also be seen in the appearance of imagery associated with the saint on the episcopal seals of Aberdeen and Ross from 1357.[53] While the emergence of Andrew as a patron of the Scottish kingdom was a gradual process, he had been closely identified with the national church since the conflict with York in the twelfth century. With St Andrews home to a university after 1413, it is unsurprising that clerics, some of whom

Miscellany II (Edinburgh, 1866), p. 9; *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485–1515*, ed. Gordon Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1952), nos. 138, 352, 997, 1832.

[46] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ed. Cosmo Innes (Aberdeen, 1845), ii, pp. 127–53, 172–3.

[47] Ibid., i, pp. 314, 343.

[48] *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, ed. James Cooper (Aberdeen, 1888–92), ii, pp. 92–4.

[49] John Durkan, 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral', *Innes Review* 21 (1970), p. 58. According to Myln, Bishop George Brown (1484–1515) founded seven altars in Dunkeld dedicated to Andrew, Martin, Nicholas, Innocent, All Saints, Stephen and John the Baptist. *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum by Alexandro Myln*, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1831), p. 41. The Andrew altar was one of a number that formed prebends of the new college of Peebles in 1543. *RMS*, iii, no. 2921.

[50] These burgesses were Richard Rutherford (Aberdeen), Patrick Cockburn (Edinburgh), John Chalmers (Perth) and David Dishington (St Andrews).

[51] These were founded by burgesses in Edinburgh (Patrick Cockburn) and Aberdeen (Richard Rutherford) and by local nobles in Largo (Andrew Wood) and Cupar (John Fouty).

[52] The safe-conduct identifies Watson as 'parson of Elcem', *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ed. Matthew Livingstone et al. (Edinburgh, 1908–82), i, no. 1606.

[53] *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, ed. Stevenson and Wood, i, pp. 122, 161.

were also alumni, should have been committed to his cult.[54] It would be this clerical interest, alongside his position as official patron of the kingdom, which ensured that while pilgrim numbers waned, the Andrew cult would remain a national rather than a local concern in late medieval Scotland.

Aside from St Andrews, three further Scottish cathedrals – Dunkeld, Glasgow and Whithorn – possessed the relics of major saints. The bishops of these dioceses, alongside the cathedral chapters, employed a similar range of techniques to that used by St Andrews to attract pilgrims in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For example, the cult of St Columba in eastern Scotland was split between two sites, Dunkeld, which held relics translated from Iona in 849 AD, and the abbey of Inchcolm in the Forth. While it has been suggested that the abbots of Inchcolm were behind attempts to renew interest in Columba in the later Middle Ages, the main instigators were the bishops of Dunkeld and their cathedral chapter.[55] The earliest signs of promotion can be traced to 1378 when John de Peebles (1378–90) successfully petitioned Clement VII (1378–94) for an indulgence of one year and forty days for pilgrims to Dunkeld, citing the ruinous condition of the church due to 'wars and pestilence'.[56] In 1419 Robert de Cardeny (1398–1437) elaborated on the problems of his diocese, which he described as 'largely mountainous and desert and often perilous for travellers', to gain a personal remission from Martin V (1417–31).[57] A further indulgence of ten years for pilgrims who visited the cathedral on the feast of Columba, or otherwise gave alms towards the restoration of the buildings, was obtained posthumously by James Bruce (1441–47) in 1448.[58]

In addition to these papal indulgences there were conspicuous efforts by successive bishops, and members of the chapter, to promote Columba by making personal grants and funding commemorations of the saint at Dunkeld and elsewhere. James Bruce, who died shortly before the indulgence was granted in 1448, bequeathed money to finance four new chaplainries in the cathedral.[59] His successor, Thomas Lauder (1452–75), decorated the church with a sequence of twenty murals depicting the miracles of St Columba and provided the high altar with two statues of the saint. Lauder was also involved in efforts to improve access to the church by the building of a bridge across the

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[54] For example George Brown, who founded the altar in Dunkeld, was an alumnus of the university, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, ed. Innes, p. 27.

[55] *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, ed. David Easson and Alastair Macdonald (Edinburgh, 1938), xxxii. The main promoter of the cult at Inchcolm was Walter Bower. Promotion of St Columba is one of the key themes in the *Scotichronicon* with Bower's patron saint emerging as the star of the Wars of Independence, regularly sending English troops and pirates to their deaths. *Scotichronicon*, ix, pp. 315–20, 339–47.

[56] *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon (1394–1419)*, ed. Frank McGurk (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 27.

[57] *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*, ed. E. R. Lindsay, A. I. Cameron et al., 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1934–) [hereafter *CSSR*], i, p. 99.

[58] This petition was granted after Bruce's death in 1448, *CSSR*, v, no.199.

[59] Ibid., no.193.

Tay in 1461.[60] James Livingstone (1475–83), who succeeded Lauder, founded a chaplaincy in 1477 in the burgh church of St Giles, Edinburgh devoted to Columba, whom he described as 'patrono nostro'.[61] A canon who witnessed Livingstone's grant in 1477 made his own contributions to the promotion of his patronal cult. David Meldrum, a graduate and later an official of the University of St Andrews, founded an altar in the Trinity church of that town in 1494, and gifted a paten with an image of Columba to Dunkeld cathedral.[62] This process was continued by George Brown (1483–1515) who founded altars dedicated to Columba in Dundee and Perth, and named a new church bell at Dunkeld after the saint.[63]

Easson has suggested that this campaign led to 'a new lease of life' for the Columban cult in the fifteenth century, pointing to the apparent renewal of the relationship between the saint and the Scottish monarchy.[64] This renewal of the bond between saint and crown dates from the reign of James IV (1488–1513), who, unlike his forebears, displayed a concern for both Dunkeld and Inchcolm, stating in 1497 his 'singular devotion […] for St Columba'.[65] However, there are reasons to believe that the relationship between James and the saint was more political than personal. Aside from the gifts to Dunkeld and Inchcolm, the king did not include Columba in his general cycle of saintly devotions, while Columban shrines were not part of his regular pilgrimage itinerary.[66] On the whole there is little evidence that the promotional campaigns had an impact on pilgrim numbers at Dunkeld and Inchcolm. Both shrines were ignored by foreign and domestic observers in the later Middle Ages. Unlike Andrew, there is little evidence to suggest that the wider Columban cult in eastern and lowland Scotland was able to flourish while pilgrim numbers declined. Although there were a number of new altar dedications in honour of the saint in the fifteenth century, each one was founded by clergy with connections to Dunkeld or other centres of Columban worship.[67] In the *Aberdeen Breviary*, Columba, along with all the other diocesan patrons, was afforded a double feast.[68] It was this symbolic role as a diocesan patron and member of the pantheon of Scottish saints that

[60] *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, ed. Innes, pp. 23–4.
[61] Ibid., p. 26; *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, ed. Innes, pp. 122–3.
[62] Ibid., pp. 61–2; Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews*, pp. 74–5.
[63] *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, ed. Innes, pp. 45–6, 228, 243; Alexander Maxwell, *Old Dundee: Ecclesiastical, Burghal* and Social, Prior to the Reformation (Edinburgh, 1891), pp. 226, 243.
[64] *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, ed. Easson and Macdonald, xxxii–xxxiv.
[65] *RMS*, ii, no. 2347.
[66] These involved regular donations to the relics of his favourite saints, such as Duthac, Ninian and even Andrew, Margaret and Kentigern, and a small offering on the feast day at the nearest convenient light or location. Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 196–219.
[67] The altars at Perth, Dundee, Edinburgh and St Andrews were founded by bishops and members of the cathedral chapter of Dunkeld.
[68] Leslie Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431–1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1995), pp. 237–8.

prompted the patronage by James IV and survived into the sixteenth century, and while the popular eastern and lowland cult was in decline.

At Glasgow it was the bishops, supported by the secular canons that made up the cathedral chapter, who were the driving force behind the promotion of the shrine of St Kentigern. The catalyst for efforts to modernise the shrine may have been a major fire which swept through the cathedral sometime between 1387×1406, during the episcopate of Matthew Glendinning (1387–1408).[69] The earliest evidence of this promotion occurred in 1420 with a papal supplication by Bishop William Lauder (1408–25) to have the bones and relics of Kentigern translated into a 'chest of gold or silver so that they may be the more devoutly honoured by Christ's faithful'.[70] The translation does not seem to have been carried out, perhaps because, as the papal reply suggests, Kentigern's uncanonised status proved a stumbling block.[71] The campaign was continued by William Turnbull (1447–54), who used his close relationship with James II (1437–60) to promote the cult of his patron. In 1449 Turnbull was able to secure, with royal support, an indulgence by which visitors to Glasgow were able to enjoy some of the same spiritual benefits as those who visited Rome during the Papal Jubilee of 1450.[72] Although Turnbull may have been exaggerating the 'need of repair due to wars, upheavals and other calamities' – the avowed motivation behind the supplication – it is clear that activities of the 1420s had been unsuccessful in providing the resources to repair the cathedral.[73]

A second stage of promotion took place during the archiepiscopate of Robert Blacadder (1484–1508). Blacadder enjoyed a close relationship with James IV having supported the rebellion against his father in 1488. The archbishop (from 1492) endowed a new altar dedicated to his patron in Glasgow Cathedral and founded a chapel devoted to Kentigern at Culross in Fife in 1503.[74] Culross was the reputed birthplace of Kentigern and this personal dedication by Blacadder may have been part of a wider campaign by the archbishop to reactivate the cult in areas like western Fife, Moray and Alloa where there were churches, crosses and wells dedicated to the saint from the earlier period.[75] Blacadder also instigated a building campaign to further rejuvenate the shrine, with plans for an ambitious new aisle in his cathedral.[76] The promotional campaign at Glasgow

[69] John Durkan, 'The Great Fire at Glasgow Cathedral', *Innes Review* (1975), pp. 89–92.

[70] The supplication was dated 10 March 1420, *CSSR*, i, pp. 182–3.

[71] The papal reply to the supplication states that the indulgence would be agreed only if it was proved that the saint had been canonised.

[72] As the Auchinlek chronicle records, the indulgence was connected with the Papal Jubilee of 1450 so that 'thair myycht haf (as) in rome', printed in Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), p.163. The request was made on 11 January 1449,

[73] *CSSR*, v, no. 239.

[74] *RMS*, ii, no. 2723.

[75] In Glasgow Blacadder himself added a chaplaincy at the altar of St Kentigern founded by his brother Sir Patrick Blacadder of Tulliallan. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes, 2 vols (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843) [hereafter *Glas. Reg.*], ii, p. 486.

[76] The Blacadder Aisle was the last major building work completed at the cathedral; what remains today is a remnant of the plans that the archbishop had for a new east wing.

seems to have been more effective than those at St Andrews and Dunkeld with several indications that the shrine of St Kentigern retained an at least regional significance until the Reformation. In 1379 Thomas Walsingham described Scottish raiders praying to 'God and St Kentigern, St Romanus and St Andrew' in an attempt to ward off the plague, while the reputation of the shrine was known to English writers in the fifteenth century.[77] The 1449 indulgence was sufficiently lucrative to allow William Turnbull to lend James II £800 from the profits.[78] Glasgow was also noted as one of only three active Scottish shrines in the early sixteenth *Martyrology of Aberdeen*, and as late as 1550 the practice of bringing 'mad men, on fuit and horsse and byndis thame to saint Mongose cross' was condemned by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.[79]

The shrine of St Ninian at Whithorn was presided over jointly by the bishops of Galloway and the Premonstratensian canons who served as the cathedral clergy, an arrangement not dissimilar to that at the shrine of the apostle in St Andrews. The situation was complicated in the fourteenth century by the allegiance of Galloway to the province of York, which meant that the bishops were often absent from Whithorn.[80] During that period it had been the canons that had controlled, and benefited from, the popularity of the cult and shrine. In the fifteenth century the canons, in often uneasy cooperation with the restored bishops, made a number of improvements to the shrine at Whithorn. This process began in 1406 when an indulgence was granted to help fund a new bridge over the river Bladnoch, an important crossing point on the route to Whithorn.[81] This extension to the infrastructure of the pilgrimage network in Galloway was matched by the repair and augmentation of the church at Whithorn, a process instigated by Bishop Eliseaus (1406–1412×15) in 1408.[82] In 1431 Prior Thomas (1413–31) personally built and founded the Lady Chapel, which

Norman Shead, 'Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow', *Innes Review* 21 (1970), p. 15.

[77] *St Albans Chronicle*, i: *1376–94*, ed. John Taylor et al. (Oxford, 2003), pp. 310–11. The English spy John Hardyng suggested making an offering at Kentigern's shrine as part of any future English invasion of Scotland. *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. Peter Hume-Brown (Edinburgh, 1891), pp. 21–3.

[78] *CSSR*, v, no. 239. A grant to the cathedral by James II of fermes, revenues and profits from Bute, Arran and Cowal and burgh customs from Ayr, Irvine and Dumbarton was part of the repayment of this debt. *RMS*, ii, no. 542.

[79] The other two were Whithorn and Tain. *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, ed. Alexander P. Forbes (Edinburgh, 1872), p. 127. The cross mentioned by Lindsay was probably the one located at Borthwick in East Lothian. *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, ed. Laing, iii, p. 269.

[80] This led to a major conflict of loyalties during the Wars of Independence, which was exacerbated by the traditional support in the region for the Balliol family. See Richard Oram, '"In Obedience and Reverence": Whithorn and York c.1128–c.1250', *Innes Review* 42 (1991), pp. 83–101.

[81] *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII*, ed. McGurk, p. 156; *CSSR*, iv, no. 746.

[82] The mandate was enforced by a neutral party, the archdeacon of Glasgow: *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII*, ed. McGurk, pp. 173–4.

would become a further part of the pilgrim itinerary at Whithorn.[83] By the end of the fifteenth century these improvements saw a complex and sophisticated pilgrimage network at Whithorn. During the reign of James IV pilgrims could visit Ninian's cave at Glasserton, 5 miles from Whithorn, and the chapel on the hill near the town, possibly an early Christian site yet to be identified.[84] Once inside the church itself the pilgrim was greeted by an altar in the 'uter kirk', where a Ninian relic was displayed before moving on to the 'rude altar'. These were the preamble to the main event, the high altar, where the chief relics of St Ninian were displayed. After this the pilgrim would pass the Lady Chapel before descending into the crypt to view the empty tomb.

Although it lacked the space of large reliquary churches like Glasgow or St Andrews, the shrine of St Ninian was at the forefront of fashions in the display of relics in Western Europe. To provide a further attraction for pilgrims, William Douglas, prior from 1447–67, successfully petitioned Pius II (1458–64) and Paul II (1464–71) for indulgences in 1462 and 1466.[85] William had been able to enlist the support of Mary of Guelders and the young James III for these supplications. Royal cultivation of Whithorn and the Ninian cult was, initially at least, part of a wider process by which the crown tried to first interfere with, and after 1455 replace, Black Douglas lordship in the south-west. For the next century patronage of the saint and his shrine would become something of a royal custom, reaching its peak in the reign of James IV, who made annual pilgrimages to Whithorn.[86] A further notable element of the 1466 letter was its reference to 'the diverse miracles' that were occurring at the shrine.[87] From 1301 to the eve of the Reformation a range of sources from outside of Whithorn noted the miraculous reputation of the shrine and its saint.[88] It was this consistent reputation for the miraculous and royal support combined with active shrine custodians who took advantage of the available promotional tools to continually modernise their saint and shrine that explain the popularity of Whithorn in the later Middle Ages.

Despite their best efforts, the shrine custodians at St Andrews were unable to arrest the late medieval decline in pilgrim numbers. In 1512 a hospital, probably founded in 1144 to cater for pilgrims, was transformed into student accommodation for St Leonard's College. As Archbishop Alexander Stewart (1504–13)

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[83] *CSSR*, iv, p. 175.

[84] This description of the arrangements at Whithorn come from James IV's pilgrimages in 1506–08. *TA*, i, p. 356, ii, pp. 80–1, 252, iii, pp. 280, 287, 292; Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 1999), p. 39.

[85] *CSSR*, v, no. 915, 1149.

[86] Tom Turpie, 'Scottish and British? The Scottish Church, Richard III and the Cult of St Ninian in Late Medieval Scotland and Northern England', *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and Northern Europe*, ed. M. Penman, K. Buchanan and L. Dean (Aldershot, forthcoming).

[87] *CSSR*, v, no. 1149.

[88] *CDS*, ii, no. 1225; *Letters of James V*, ed. Robert K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1954), pp. 362–3.

explained, the pilgrim hospice was no longer needed as 'miracles and pilgrimages, as we may without impiety believe, had in a measure ceased'.[89] Scotland was not immune to the devotional fashions that swept through Western Europe in the later Middle Ages, as can be seen in the emergence of Our Lady, Holy Cross and Loreto shrines at Whitekirk, Peebles and Musselburgh. The 'would be saints' that characterised late medieval England were not a feature of the Scottish devotional landscape. The demand for novelty was instead filled by reinvented older cults like those of Duthac of Tain and Triduana of Restalrig, and shrines of adopted international saints like Katherine, Nicholas and Anthony. The response of the custodians of the shrines of Andrew, Columba, Kentigern and Ninian to this ever-changing spiritual climate had similar structural features, suggesting that even if they did not work together, they were able to learn and adapt from the example set by their rivals.[90] These structural features included the utilisation of indulgences, building campaigns and relic translations, alongside personal promotion by the bishops and cathedral chapter, in an effort to promote their cults and shrines.

Although individuals and communities were able to manipulate the cult of the saints, like any popular phenomenon it was subject to fashions often outside their control. This meant that the success of any promotional campaign was not inevitable, and despite the structural similarities between the responses of the four cathedral shrines, the results were considerably varied. The ability of Whithorn to attract healthy numbers of domestic and international visitors in the later Middle Ages is particularly striking when compared to the other cathedral shrines. Unlike their contemporaries, the custodians of the shrine of St Ninian seem to have been operating from a position of strength. Ninian was the most popular local saint in late medieval Scotland with a consistent reputation for performing miracles at the shrine and elsewhere from the fourteenth century to the Reformation. The custodians at Glasgow also appear to have had some success in attracting pilgrims to their shrine in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. What is again notable with regard to Kentigern is continuing references to his efficacy as an intercessor into the sixteenth century. This was a trait notably lacking from late medieval references to St Andrews and Dunkeld.[91] Once the relics of St Andrew and Columba were deemed to have lost their potency, habitual and potential new supplicants of the cult were able to turn instead to a host of fresh Marian and Passion shrines and flourishing regional saints like Ninian and Duthac. The communities at St Andrews and Dunkeld were no less committed to the cults of their patrons than their colleagues at Whithorn and

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[89] *College of St. Leonard: Being Documents with Translations, Notes, and Historical Introductions*, ed. John Herkless and Robert K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 137.

[90] As Webb has shown, shrine custodians were well aware of each other and the promotional efforts of their rivals. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 82.

[91] An exception to this is a miracle story involving Columba and an outbreak of pestilence in 1500. However, this was recorded in Myln's lives of the bishops of Dunkeld and was intended as much to praise the activities of George Brown, who oversaw the miracle, as Columba himself. *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, ed. Innes, p. 43.

Glasgow, as can be seen by their sustained efforts at promotion. However, like their English counterparts at Durham and Canterbury, with their patron saints no longer working miracles, the efforts of the bishops and canons were ultimately nothing more than an 'exercise in decline management'.[92]

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[92] Dobson, 'Contrasting Cults', p. 41.

Information about and images of St Andrews Cathedral in Fife on Undiscovered Scotland. Â Amongst notable Ecclesiastics associated with the cathedral in the middle ages was Bishop James Kennedy, who also founded St Salvator's College at the University of St Andrews. The wind of change wrought by the Reformation brought about the end of the cathedral. Â The cathedral and its friary effectively ceased to function on 14 June 1559 when further attacks took place, and within a week all the friars has been "violently expelled" from St Andrews. 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 & Stevenson K (eds.) Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult and City . St Andrews Studies in Scottish History. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, pp. 84-98. https://boydellandbrewer.com/medieval-st-andrews.html. Full Text. Book Chapter. Scottish and British? The Scottish Authorities, Richard III and the Cult of St Ninian in Late Medieval Scotland and Northern England. Turpie T (2016) Scottish and British? The Scottish Authorities, Richard III and the Cult of S... St Andrews was of tremendous significance in medieval Scotland. Its importance remains readily apparent in the buildings which cluster the rocky promontory jutting out into the North Sea: the towers and walls of cathedral, castle and university provide reminders of the status and wealth of the city in the Middle Ages. As a centre of earthly and spiritual government, as the place of veneration for Scotland's patron saint and as an ancient seat of learning, St Andrews was the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland. This volume provides the first full study of this special and multi-faceted centre th...Â 5. When the Miracles Ceased: Shrine and Cult Management at St Andrews and Scottish Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages Tom Turpie. 84. Becket was canonized (St. Thomas); his shrine became a place of pilgrimage for the whole of Europe, for the cures effected there, until it was destroyed by Henry VIII in 1538. So the King of the House of Plantagenet was the first to have a conflict with the Church and he physically destroyed the opposition. His wife Eleanor took a lively interest in politics. Somewhat too lively at times, for she abetted (helped and supported) her song when they rebelled against their father, she was, as a result, imprisoned. Henry II's reign was one of constitutional progress and territorial expansion. Â 8. When did the British Parliament appear and how did it develop in the Middle Ages? 9. What were economic and social relations in the early Middle Ages in England? Later Middle Ages.

Cathedral of St. Andrews, Scotland | Â© Steffen Zahn / Flickr. Known for his generous and cooperative spirit, St. Andrew remains the patron saint of fishermen, fishmongers, singers and pregnant woman, and is said to offer protection against sore throats and gout.Â The tradition actually started overseas in the United States, when a group of wealthy Scottish immigrants in Charleston, South Carolina, wishing to reconnect with their Scottish roots and promote Saint Andrewâ€™s philanthropic ideals, set up the St. Andrewâ€™s Society of Charleston in 1729. Not only did they begin the tradition of celebrating on 30 November, they became famous in the area for their protection of widows and orphans, and similar Scottish societies were soon established across United States. The Cathedral of St Andrew (often referred to as St Andrews Cathedral) is a ruined cathedral in St Andrews, Fife, Scotland. It was built in 1158 and became the centre of the Medieval Catholic Church in Scotland as the seat of the Archdiocese of St Andrews and the Bishops and Archbishops of St Andrews. It fell into disuse and ruin after Catholic mass was outlawed during the 16th-century Scottish Reformation. It is currently a monument in the custody of Historic Environment Scotland. The ruins indicate... St Andrews was of tremendous significance in medieval Scotland. Its importance remains readily apparent in the buildings which cluster the rocky promontory jutting out into the North Sea: the towers and walls of cathedral, castle and university provide reminders of the status and wealth of the city in the Middle Ages. As a centre of earthly and spiritual government, as the place of veneration for Scotland's patron saint and as an ancient seat of learning, St Andrews was the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland. This volume provides the first full study of this special and multi-faceted centre throughout its golden age.Â 5. When the Miracles Ceased: Shrine and Cult Management at St Andrews and Scottish Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages Tom Turpie. 84. Saints in high places: St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund the Martyr. Once Christianity had become an established religion, it produced some saints who were exemplary role models. Saintly kings, queens, bishops, abbots and abbesses showed how privileged people should use their powers responsibly; their legends typically added miraculous elements to the historical life.Â Despite being thrashed in battle by the Vikings and being beheaded in the 9th century, St Edmund was a revered saint. This manuscript contains a poem about his life by the Benedictine monk and poet, John Lydgate (c. 1370â€"1450). View images from this item (7).