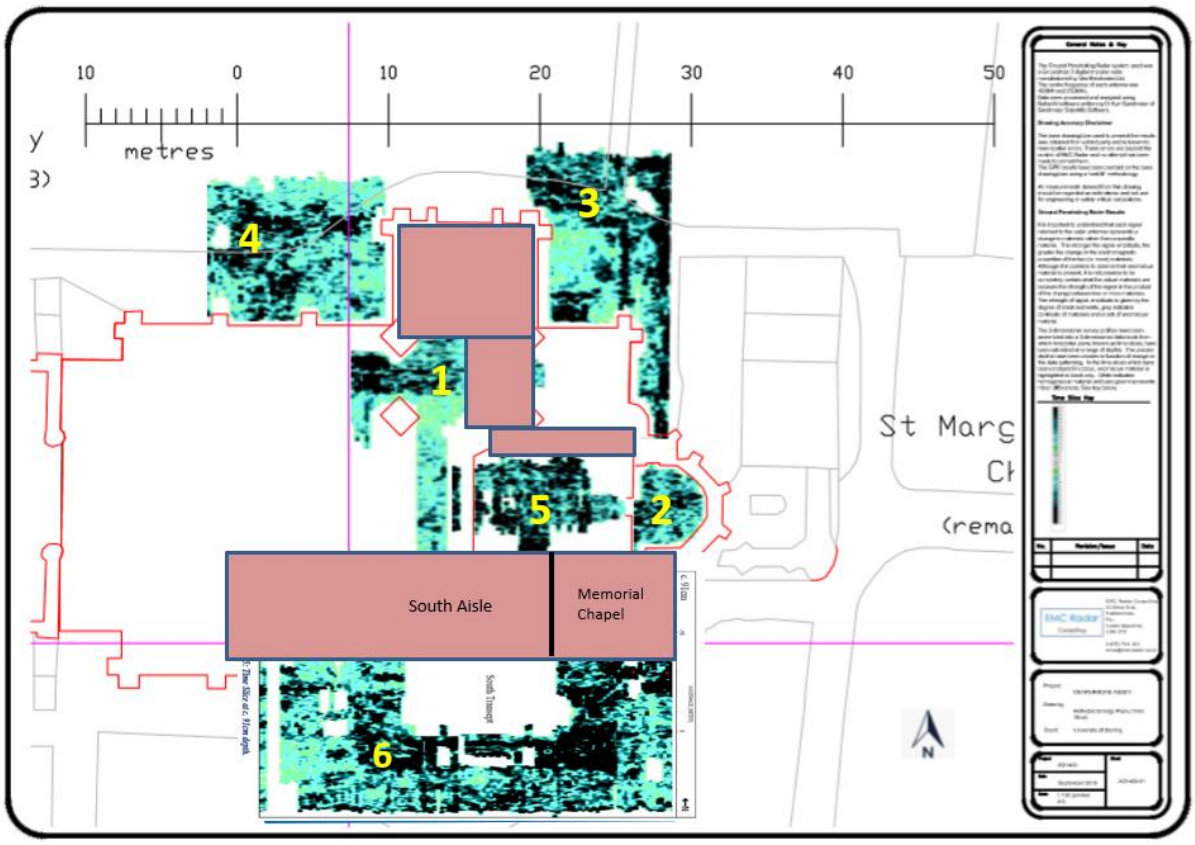
In Search of the Scottish Royal Mausoleum at the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, Fife:

Medieval Liturgy, Antiquarianism, and a Ground-Penetrating Radar Pilot Survey, 2016-22



by

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Stirling and Ely

1st edition 2020, 2nd revised edition 2024

Cover: Composite of GPR scans of sections of lost choir of Dunfermline Abbey, 2016-22 [© Atlas Geophysical]

Project Summary

Today, visitors to the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, Fife, find a church of two halves. To the west the surviving medieval abbey nave, the original Catholic monastic church which also later served as the parish church of Dunfermline both before and, once 'cleansed' and converted to serve austere Presbyterian doctrine, after the Scottish Reformation of 1560; to the east the modern Protestant 'Abbey Church' of Dunfermline, built in 1818-21 atop the ruins of the Catholic abbey's medieval choir of twelfth- and thirteenth-century origin. The lost east-end of this great church had been the focus of the cult shrine of Queen/St Margaret (d.1093, canonised 1249) and the site of multiple royal and aristocratic burials down to 1420 before it was sacked at the Reformation. Thereafter the choir fell into successive generations of neglect and reuse as a town stone-source and then burial ground, the 'Psalter churchyard'.

As a result, little evidence survives – either written or material – to enable us to recreate the overall evolving layout and spiritual life of the lost abbey choir, not least the position and form of the many royal burials within this mausoleum and cult church. What discussion there has been of these important features has been dominated by a focus on the tomb and remains of King Robert Bruce/I (1306-29) whose sub-surface grave was believed to have been found in 1818 when the choir ruins were cleared to make way for the new Abbey Church build. Medieval Scottish chroniclers had briefly reported Bruce as being buried at the abbey 'in the middle of the choir.' However, such evidence that this grave and skeleton did indeed belong to Bruce remains, in several important ways, quite ambivalent and open to differing interpretation. Nor does a focus on the 1818 grave tell us anything of the larger living medieval church.

It was in this context that the project outlined in the following report sought to apply Ground-Penetrating Radar [GPR] to the lost choir site. We planned, if possible, to scan down both through the modern interior floor of the Georgian 'Abbey Church' to the medieval depths, and in search of similar archaeology beneath accessible exterior ground atop the choir ruins. We hoped this would provide some fresh evidence which could in turn be used to reassess the surviving medieval written and material evidence, in combination with the many antiquarians' finds and observations about the abbey, its choir and tombs reported in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Once brought together, this evidence might allow us to paint a fuller picture of the architectural and liturgical nature of the choir with a focus on the period from c.1250-1, when St Margaret was moved to her new east-end shrine and the choir expanded, down to c.1560.

Our pilot stage GPR scans of 2016, 2017 and 2019, can be said, cautiously, to have been successful thanks to the application of a tailored method of scanning for buried and overbuilt medieval ecclesiastical remains. This report (and its three accompanying technical field reports by GPR expert Erica Utsi) will summarise those scans' key findings of:

- Multiple potential elite burials at the likely medieval depths in the northern Transept/Lady aisle area of the choir, perhaps in pairs down the east-west axis of that aisle adjacent to the fourteenth-century Lady Chapel extension.
- Potential evidence for a large north-south architectural feature running across the overbuilt choir presbytery space, perhaps the medieval sanctuary steps.
- Evidence for multiple potential burials beneath the floor of the Abbey Church's east-end vestry, thus beneath the sanctuary pavement of the mid-thirteenth-century feretory shrine extension for St Margaret. As these burials lie west of the surviving fossiliferous

marble base of Margaret's shrine they may, however, also belong to the period of 'Psalter' churchyard interments of Protestant townsfolk c.1560-c.1816.

- Evidence for potential burials or, more likely, the foundations of architectural or liturgical fittings to the east of the 1818 'Bruce grave' and thus around the likely site of the medieval high altar of the abbey and its chancel/altar screens.
- Evidence for the footings of the walls of the east and west ends of the northern Lady Chapel extension of the choir and, perhaps, of liturgical fittings or tombs within, scanned through the ground outside the Abbey Church's North Transept.
- Likely evidence for a southern choir chapel dedicated to St John the Baptist and of a shape and scale matching that of the northern Lady Chapel. This possible finding will require testing and verification in drier weather better suited to GPR work but, if confirmed, allows us to envisage a full symmetrical form for the late medieval choir at Dunfermline and its pilgrimage cult and evolving royal mausoleum.

The report then combines these initial GPR findings with previously unnoticed or overlooked medieval record and antiquarian evidence to make the case for:

- A focus for royal and aristocratic burials in the Lady aisle as well as in the northern Lady Chapel in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – but likely continuing a tradition established from c.1150 in the form of noble sub-pavement burials - with a likely concentration of couples, perhaps as double (box) tombs; earlier royal burials would have been focussed in the central monks' choir/presbytery area.
- A second possible location for the tomb of Robert Bruce. This was reported by an antiquarian investigator in 1807 as lying a 'few yards to the south west' of the site of six slabs within the Lady Chapel long believed by local tradition to cover royal burials, and thus within the northern edge of the medieval presbytery or along its boundary with the Lady aisle (perhaps between columns).
- A reassessment of our understanding of the cruciform axes of this great church as running both east-west and north-south, not simply east-west with a focus on the high altar. This should mean that a wider and larger central 'presbytery' space in 'the middle of the choir' or 'in front of the high altar' could be the site of royal burials, like those of Bruce and his queen, Elizabeth de Burgh, alongside the shrine of Margaret's son, David I (1124-53), who had elevated the house to a full abbey and, like both his parents, was believed by the monks to be a saint.
- A possible double tomb for Robert Bruce and his queen, Elizabeth de Burgh, like such royal couples' marble monuments to be found in the French royal mausoleum in the contemporary Benedictine abbey of St Dénis, outside medieval Paris.
- Recreating the position and basic physical form of the medieval high altar and eastern sanctuary/chancel of the choir, and thus to question both the dating of the 1818 'Bruce grave' as pre-Reformation and that it did, without doubt, belong to that king. Recreating the high altar and sanctuary space also provides possible evidence for the nature of the access points into the post-1250 shrine chapel of St Margaret.
- A growing interest after the Reformation among local families in securing 'Psalter churchyard' burial close to the shrine of St Margaret, particularly in the retro-choir/vestry area.
- The potential existence of a matching south-side transept aisled chapel, dedicated to St John the Baptist, thus confirming both the accuracy of the ground-plan of the surviving

medieval walls recorded by the Abbey Church's architect-builder in 1818, William Burn (but one which several modern heritage plans of the abbey have ignored since then), and the fully symmetrical cruciform shape of the late medieval choir thus with an extensive circuitous pilgrimage pathway.

- The possibility that for liturgical reasons Alexander III (1249-86) was buried in this St John aisle or chapel.
- The possibility that the previously overlooked evidence of both the anthropomorphic (body-shaped) lead coffin and the crude, shallow, stone-lined *sub-surface* crypt of the 1818 'Bruce grave' – combined with Historic Environment Scotland's recent recreation of Bruce's St Dénis-style marble box-tomb (which would have held his body above ground) - actually point to the 1818 discovery being of a late sixteenth/seventeenth century burial, and thus perhaps a post-Reformation rescue burial of a medieval body or a later 'Psalter' intrusion.
- The lost late-medieval choir with all its key chapels, altars, tombs and inter-related liturgical spaces can be cautiously reimagined in all its evolving complexity as very much a Scottish mirror-image of the English and French royal mausoleums at Westminster and St Dénis (both also Benedictine houses dedicated to St Peter and the Trinity respectively, as well hosting royal saints) and with its own unique liturgical setting, meanings and evolving annual calendar of worship.

The report closes with some proposals for further GPR and allied research which could make an important contribution to the fresh (re-)interpretation of Dunfermline Abbey planned for the immediate future. Not least, this closes with the possibility of locating evidence for further potential royal graves and liturgical settings within the central (and western) choir/presbytery and aisles/chapels of the Abbey's lost east end.

2nd revised edition

In 2022, the Abbey Church's early responses to a new emerging Church of Scotland *Presbytery Plan* for repurposing Abbey Church congregational space, and the Abbey Church of Dunfermline Kirk Session's own plans developed through the collaborative Dunfermline Heritage Partnership and its sequel *The Heart of Dunfermline* project, afforded a further opportunity to apply our GPR to some additional areas of Abbey Church floor now cleared of pews and other fittings. The Abbey Church, Historic Environment Scotland and Fife Council once more kindly gave permission for this work to go ahead on 17-18 August 2022; this was generously funded by a second Royal Society of Edinburgh small research grant.

The fieldwork was carried out by Erica Utsi, and Alex and Sarah Birtwisle, supported by Michael Penman. The GPR data report of this fieldwork authored by Erica Utsi has in turn informed an updated second edition of this interpretive report: its key findings are reported as a fourth pilot survey section at pp. 86-99 below, with further observations woven into the subsequent interpretive discussion as appropriate.

At the same time, we have taken the opportunity to:

- respond to constructive feedback, correction and comment offered by several experts and scholars since the first edition of the interpretive report was released in 2020 (see acknowledgements below).
- add further points and references relating to additional and some new scholarship relevant to interpretation of the Abbey choir site.

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Acknowledgements

We have many people, institutions and projects to thank for their support, advice, assistance and knowledge during what has emerged as a long-term multidisciplinary project.

Fulsome credit and thanks for their initiation and support of this project from 2015 must be given to the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, custodians of Robert Bruce's resting place but also so much more. There is a profound commitment there to see *all* of the Abbey's complex and at times difficult story told, and for everyone. We are very grateful for their welcome, aid and great enthusiasm to: Rev. MaryAnn Rennie and her husband, Keith; former Kirk Session Clerk, Ken Richards; current Joint Session Clerks David Williams (who also helped with images) and Frances McCafferty; former Keeper of Fabric, Arnott Wilson; former Beadle Mary Walsh; and current custodians Elaine Pirrie and Willie Donaldson. It was also a great honour to be asked in 2019 to present the findings now expanded upon in this report as part of the Abbey Church's Bruce Lecture series celebrating the 200th anniversary of the discovery and re-interment of Robert Bruce's bones. Several audience members for those public talks [5 and 26 November] asked challenging questions and offered invaluable local knowledge for which we are indebted.

On Fife Council, we have also had wise advice, support and encouragement from: Community Manager for the City of Dunfermline, Joe McGuiness, now retired, and his successor, Gillian Taylor (now of Carnegie Dunfermline Trust); Bereavement Services Manager, Liz Murphy; Local Authority Archaeologist, Douglas Spiers; Chair of the Dunfermline Abbey Burial Ground Project, Cllr Jean Muir; and the Convenor of the City of Dunfermline Area Committee, Cllr Helen Law.

From Historic Environment Scotland [HES], we have received invaluable support for our field-work and research from a number of people, not least Sally Gall, Interpretation Officer (Access and Audiences), HES's representative on the Dunfermline Heritage Partnership (along with her colleague, Joyce Kitching): Sally is responsible for the emerging *Interim Interpretation Plan* for Dunfermline's medieval quarter and facilitated presentation of our findings to her colleagues at Longmore House in February 2020. We are also grateful to: Doreen Waller, HES Senior Operations Manager; Lyn Wilson, Digital Documentation Manager; Stephen Duncan, Director of Commercial and Tourism; Dr Nicki Scott, Senior Cultural Resources Advisor (who hosted a Dunfermline Abbey Property-in-Care workshop on 8 May 2018 where we were able to explore some of our early findings with an expert audience); Dr Richard Strachan, Senior Archaeologist; Dr Kirsty Owen, Deputy Head of Archaeology; Ben Thomas, Research Manager; Philip Brooks, Public Services Officer; Veronica Fraser, Accessions Programme Manager; and the great team of on-site Dunfermline Abbey Nave and Palace custodians.

Local Studies Officer, Sara Ann Kelly, and her colleagues in the archive-library of Dunfermline Carnegie Library & Gallery went above and beyond in helping us locate and understand many important manuscript sources in their care, not least the works of local historians of the nineteenth century.

The Abbey Church, Fife Council, HES and DCL&G have been strong contributors to the collaborative energy of the Dunfermline Heritage Partnership since 2017 and that body, following the Abbey Church's ambitious lead, have embraced and further aided our research. Thus we would like to thank, too, its many other members and in particular: Chair Derek Bottom; Grant Williams and Haley Muir, respectively Project Manager and Officer for Dunfermline's *Great Place* Scheme; Mark Macleod, Project Manager of Dunfermline Digital

Tours for Fife Cultural Trust; Rev. Christopher Heenan of St Margaret's Memorial Church, Dunfermline (for discussions about St Margaret relics and images); Ann Camus, Tourism Partnership Manager for Fife Council, working with John Murray and Miranda Lorraine on the *Fife Pilgrim Way* project (completed in summer 2019) for Fife Coast & Countryside Trust; and Nora Rundell of the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust.

We have also been fortunate to undertake our project in parallel with several other research initiatives and we have benefitted tremendously from exchange and debate with their work. We would thus like to thank: Sue Mowat of Dunfermline Community Heritage Projects and Mark Seaborne of the Dunfermline Youth Archaeology Society, for their joint Abbey Graveyard project and insights into the archaeology and history of the burial grounds; Dr Susan Buckham of Kirkyard Consulting (and a research associate of the University of Stirling) for her 2020 scoping report for the Dunfermline Abbey Burial Ground project; Dr Iain Fraser, Archives Manager for HES and his collaborators at the Centre for Digital Documentation and Visualisation (Glasgow School of Art) for their *Lost Tomb of Robert Bruce* project (2014-), now housed within the Abbey Church; and Dr Martin MacGregor and his Glasgow and Liverpool colleagues and their inter-disciplinary work 'in search of the face' of Robert Bruce (2014-19).

We also owe a collegiate debt to a number of other researchers: Professor Emeritus Richard Fawcett, formerly of Historic Scotland and the University of St Andrews, for exchanges on ecclesiastical architecture and lead coffins; Peter Yeoman, former Fife County Archaeologist, for his kind notice of the carved lion footrest fragment found in Abbot's House excavations in the 1990s; Dr Paul Adderley, of Biological and Environmental Sciences at the University of Stirling, for the initial suggestion of applying Ground-Penetrating Radar to Dunfermline Abbey; Stirling colleagues Professor Richard Oram, Dr Tom Turpie and the late Dr Alasdair Ross for numerous suggestions and discussions about Dunfermline, pilgrimage, shrines and relics; Rod Eley and Sally Foster, both formerly of Historic Scotland (with Sally now at the University of Stirling) for exchanges on DNA, leprosy and burial archaeology; Professor Roberta Gilchrist of the University of Reading for a brief exchange relating to lead coffins in addition to her invaluable publications about Benedictine Glastonbury Abbey and her Rhind Lectures on Scottish monastic heritage; Professor Lindy Grant of the University of Reading and the *Reading Abbey Revealed* community project, for her support of our development of a project to digitally recreate Dunfermline Abbey choir; Dr Duncan Pirrie, Associate Professor of Geology at the University of South Wales (and his sister, Dunfermline Abbey Church custodian Elaine), for raising questions about the source of the abbey's fossiliferous marble; Peter Richmond of Hexham Abbey Heritage for advice about sources and ground-plans; Frank Connelly and Charles Bruce for a fascinating conversation about the choir relics potentially deposited in the south-side Abbey Church crypt of the Bruce Earls of Elgin; and Professor Fréderique Lachaud and Professor Emeritus Elizabeth A.R. Brown of the Sorbonne, Paris, for exchanges on royal choir burial and St Dénis Abbey.

We would also like to emphasise that during the breaking worldwide COVID-19 crisis and a general lock-down across the British Isles through to late 2020, such colleagues as those named above continued to provide generously of their time, expertise and resources, many despite furlough.

The authors also wish to express thanks to Dr Oliver O'Grady of OJT Heritage and Mr Alex Birtwistle of Atlas Geophysical for their enthusiasm and hard work in undertaking the field work of 2017-17 and 2019 respectively. Oliver very sadly passed away suddenly in May 2020,

but he had done much to urge a community archaeology approach at Dunfermline to follow up on our GPR work. The field assistance of Stirling postgraduate students Julie Gilfillan, Victoria Hodgson, Katy Jack, and Kevin Malloy through 2016-17 is also gratefully acknowledged.

Finally, and crucially, we are pleased to record our great debt to the following charitable funding bodies for their generosity in supporting us through the three stages of our pilot scans: the G.W.S. Barrow Award (2016), the Strathmartine Trust (2016), the Royal Society of Edinburgh Small Research Grants scheme (2017 and 2022), the Hunter Archaeological & Historical Trust (2019); and the Faculty of Arts & Humanities of the University of Stirling (2019).

2nd revised edition – Spring 2023

Many thanks to Sarah Birtwisle for participating in the August 2022 fieldwork, helping us cover a lot of ground in just two days.

We are also pleased to be able to further thank Peter Yeoman for his many constructive and thought-provoking questions and comments on our published 2020 findings and ideas, as he worked on a revised *Statement of Significance* for the whole Abbey site for HES [pending], work which included an inspiring site visit: not least, this feedback highlighted important further consideration to be given to the architectural connections and forms joining the choir transept chapels/aisles with the central tower and monastic cloisters of the Abbey.

Dr David Caldwell, formerly of NMS, also joined us on that site visit and has since passed on valuable references to past antiquarian work on early modern elite burials at Haddington, East Lothian, and to the matrix cocket seal of Dunfermline Abbey gifted by Robert I in 1326.

Nicki Scott of HES kindly shared that agency's early exploration of reconstructive drawings of the lost choir – with feedback from Richard Fawcett - for future heritage presentation, and based in part on our project findings. Crucially, the chance to see that work rendered in 2-D/3-D has drawn us to reconsider several points, not least Richard Fawcett's argument for likely east-end choir aisle doors or screens partitioning access through to St Margaret's feretory from c.1250, a point which highlighted how loosely the first (2020) edition of this report had applied the term pilgrimage 'ambulatory' to the pilgrim circuit around the choir's symmetrical interior.

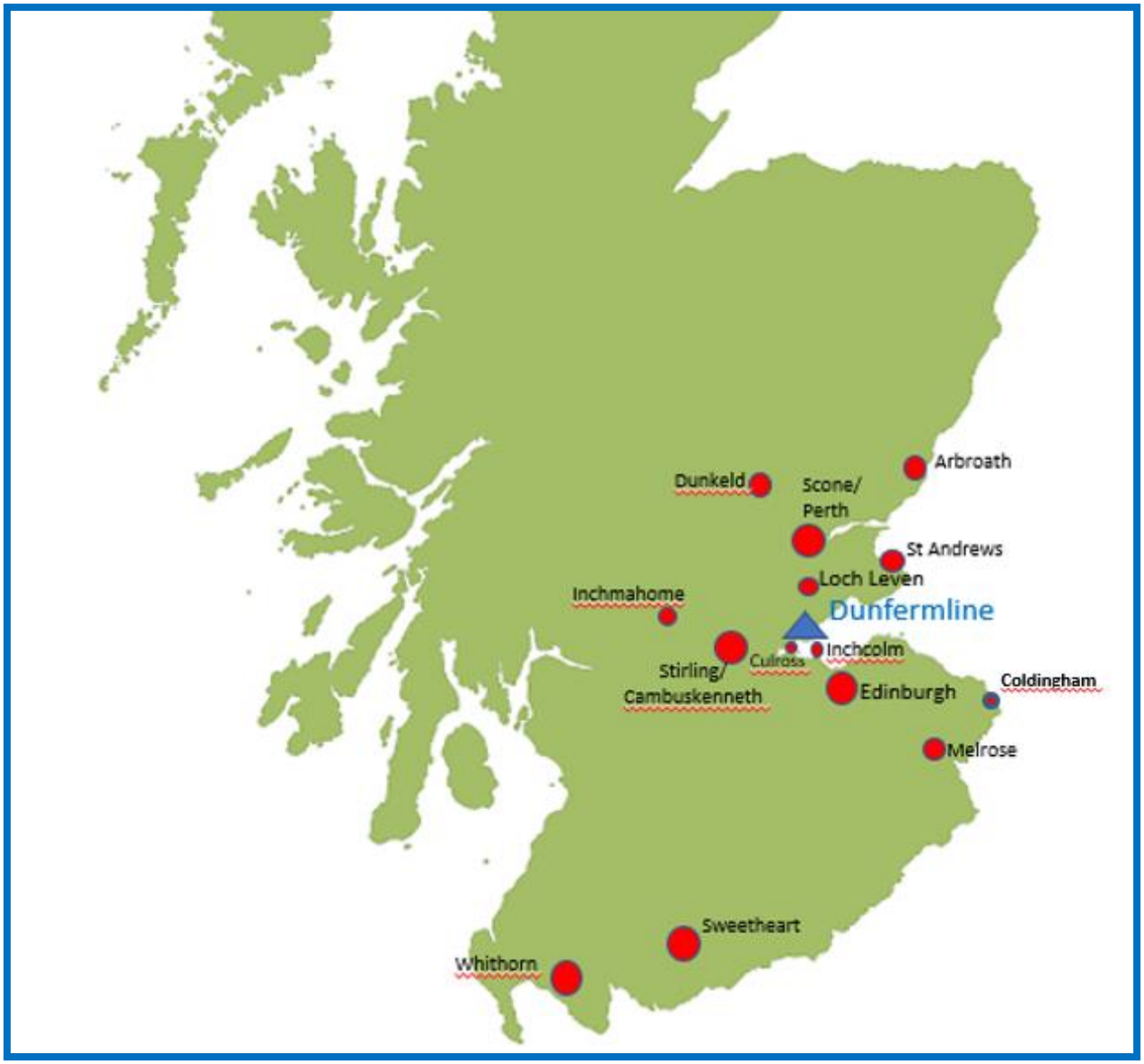
Many thanks, too, to Anne-Marie O'Reilly of HES for her invaluable support of the ongoing project through the Dunfermline Heritage Partnership; to Patricia Mair and her Dunfermline site custodial staff, now sharing guiding duties around the nave and Abbey Church with the Kirk Session beadles; and to Veronica Fraser for arranging the upload of the project archive, including this open-access report to HES's national database, CANMORE, at Archive from Dunfermline Abbey Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) Project, 2016-2019 | Canmore .

Dr Alice Blackwell, Senior Curator, Medieval Archaeology & History, and Helen Wyld, Senior Curator of Historic Textiles have also shared early insights into their current work on dating some of the cloth of gold threads recovered in the 1818 'Bruce grave' and since preserved in the NMS collections – watch that space...

Finally, we are again very grateful to Rvd MaryAnn Rennie and David Williams, joint Session Clerk, of the Abbey Church for allowing us to display a six-minute heritage slideshow

summarising our findings thus far as part of the Abbey Church's growing heritage offering in a post-COVID context. They and many of the other Dunfermline colleagues listed above were also very generous in offering testimony on our project as an 'Impact Case Study' as part of History at Stirling University's UK Research Excellence Framework 2021 submission: that is now available here - https://results2021.ref.ac.uk/impact/8549be06-55fa-410b-9658-fc67e4229b4c?page=1 .

Map: key ecclesiastical sites in Scotland mentioned in the main text



List of Abbreviations

BAA	British Archaeological Association
Bartlett ed., *Miracles*	Robert Bartlett ed. and trans., *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford, 2003)
BL	The British Library (London)
CC	Creative Commons
CDDV	Centre for Digital Documentation and Visualisation (Glasgow School of Art)
Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*	Peter Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (2 volumes, Edinburgh/London, 1844-59)
Chron. Bower	D.E.R. Watt et al eds., *Walter Bower – Scotichronicon* (9 volumes, Aberdeen, 1987-99)
Chron. Fordun	Fordun, Johannis de, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F. Skene (2 volumes, Edinburgh 1871-2)
Chron. Lanercost	*Chronicon de Lanercost* (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1839)
Chron. Wyntoun	Wyntoun, Andrew de, *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, ed. A. Amours (Scottish Text Society, 6 volumes, Edinburgh, 1903-14)
Dalyell, *Tract*	John Graham Dalyell, *A Tract, chiefly Relative to Monastic Antiquities; with some account of a recent search for the remains of the Scottish King interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 1809)
DCL&G	Dunfermline Carnegie Library & Gallery
Dunf. Reg.	*Regsitrum de Dunfermlyn: Liber Cartarum Abbatie Benedictine SS. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1842)
ER	J. Stuart et al, eds., *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (23 volumes, Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
ESSH	A.O. Anderson ed., *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286* (2 volumes, Stamford, 1990)
EUL	Edinburgh University Library (Special Collections)
Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline*	R. Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline* (Edinburgh 2005)
GPR	Ground-Penetrating Radar

Henderson, *Annals*	Ebenezer Henderson, *The Annals of Dunfermline and vicinity, from the earliest authentic period to the present day, A.D. 1069-1878* (Dunfermline, 1879)
HES	Historic Environment Scotland
IR	*Innes Review*
Jardine, *Report*	Henry Jardine, 'Extracts from the Report Made by Henry Jardine, Esq., His Majesty's Remembrancer in Exchequer, relative to the Tomb of King Robert Bruce and the Church of Dunfermline, communicated to the Society on 10 December 1821,' extracted from *Archaeologia Scotica: Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ii (1822), pp. 435-55, and published as an expanded pamphlet in Edinburgh in 1821
NLS	National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh)
NRS	National Records of Scotland (Edinburgh)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. C. Mathew et al (Oxford, 2004-)
Penman, *Robert the Bruce*	M. Penman, *Robert the Bruce, King of the Scots* (London and New Haven, 2014)
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RMS	*Registrum Magni Sigilii Regum Scotorum*, eds. J.M. Thomson and J.B. Paul (11 volumes, Edinburgh, 1882-1914)
RPS	*The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, eds. K.M. Brown et al (St Andrews, 2008) – www.rps.ac.uk
RRS, v	*Regesta Regum Scottorum, V: The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*, ed. A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1986)
RRS, vi	*Regesta Regum Scottorum, VI: The Acts of David II, 1329-71*, ed. B. Webster (Edinburgh, 1982)
RCAHMS	Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
Scalacronica	*The Scalacronica of Sir Thomas Gray (1272-1363)*, ed. A. King (Woodbridge, 2005)
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
TNA	The National Archives (Kew)

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Fig 1: Dunfermline Abbey and Abbey Church. To the left/west the medieval nave and former parish church; to the right/east the Abbey Church (1818-21) built atop the ruined medieval choir.

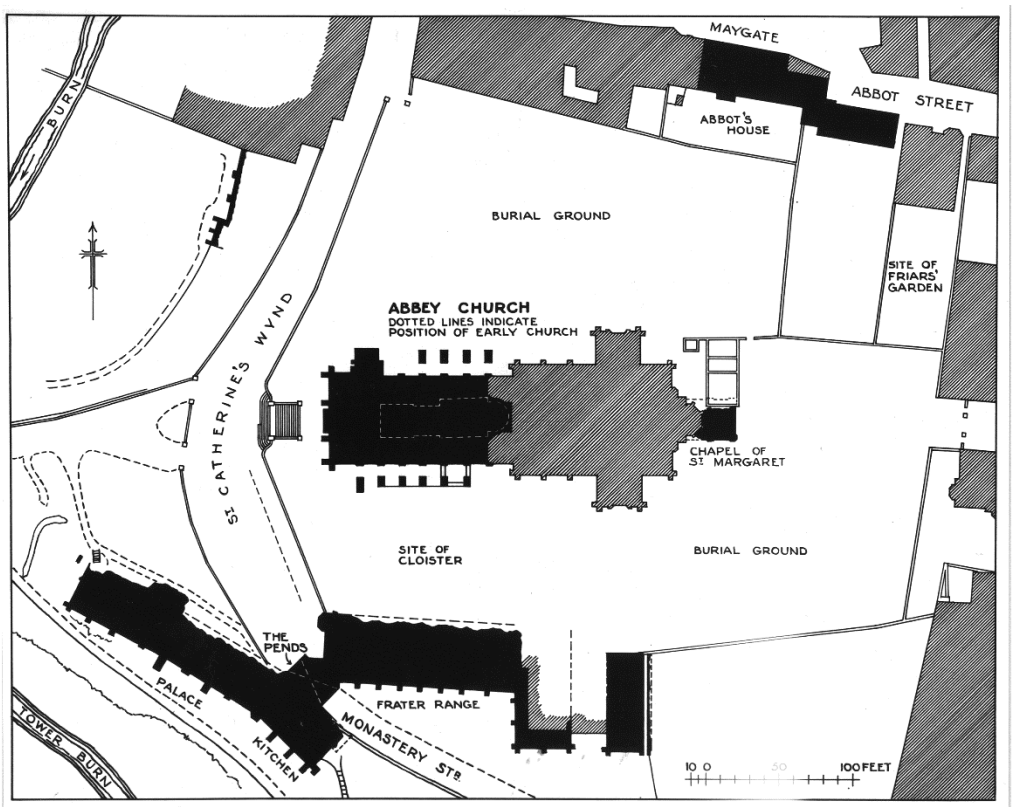

Fig 2a: Dunfermline Abbey and Palace, Property-in-Care of Historic Environment Scotland; n.b. remains of the shrine chapel of St Margaret to the east.

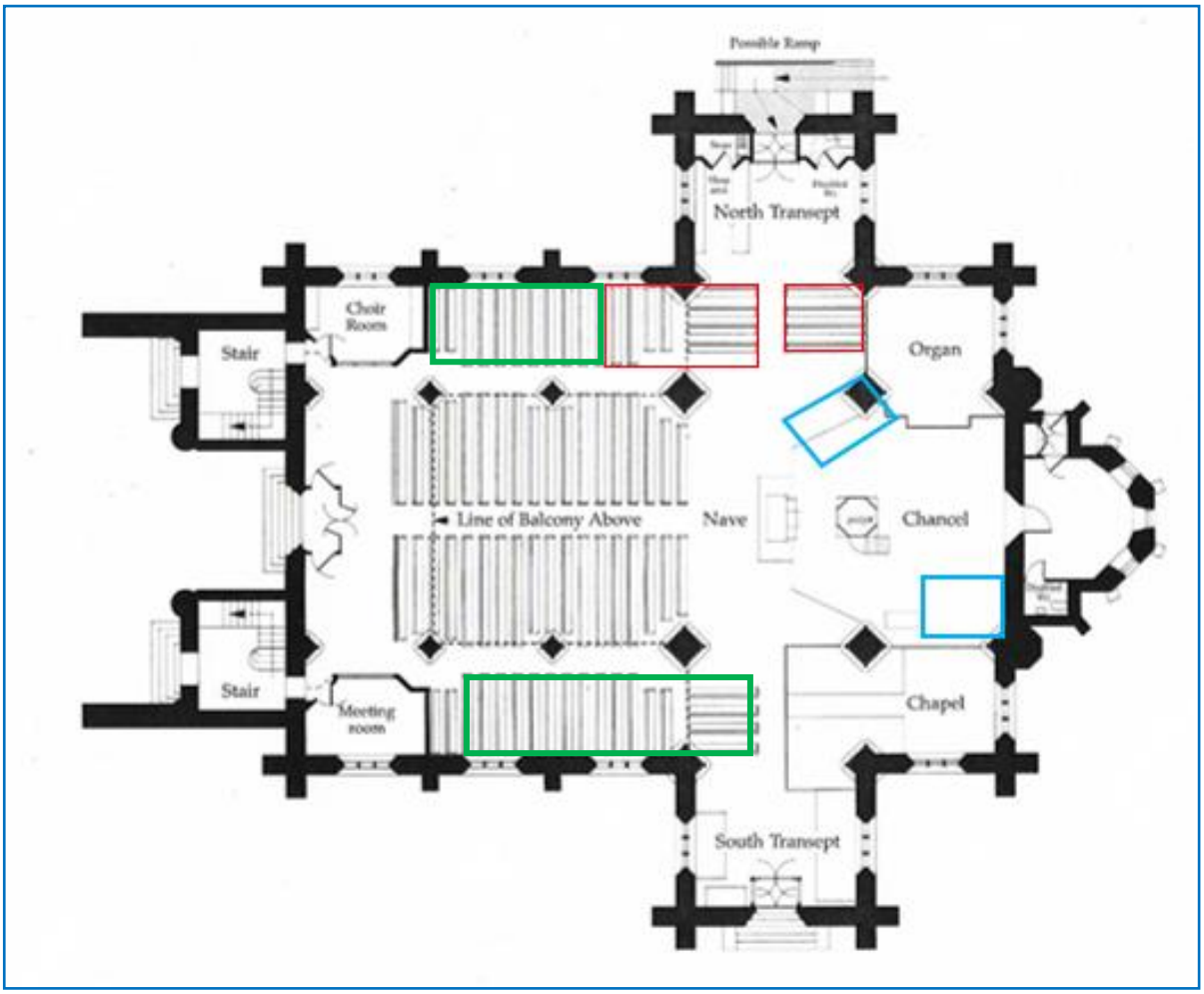

Fig 2b: Scale plan of the Abbey Church modern interior from 2005. The pews marked in red were no longer in place by the time of our first field work in 2016. However, through 2016-17, the areas marked in blue *were* covered by pews but these were again removed in 2019 (when the gift shop area in the North Transept, the remaining north aisle pews and some south aisle pews were also cleared – shown in green).

i. Introduction

> 'No body should ever be buried in a church, near the altar, where the Body and Blood of the Lord are confected, unless they are the bodies of Holy fathers whom we call patrons, that is, the defenders of the church, who by their merits, defend the entire religion'
>
> William Durande of Mende (c.1230-96), *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*[1]

Dunfermline Abbey, c.1093-c.2020[2]

For the past two hundred years, the many visitors to Dunfermline Abbey in Fife have encountered a historic church of two halves. To the west, the mostly intact structure of the medieval nave of this Benedictine house, some c.110' long by c.60' wide (at its widest point). Within its interior, it famously displays clear traces of both the Romanesque architectural influence of masons from the fellow-Benedictine Cathedral Priory community at Durham in northern England as well as of the earlier, smaller monastic church established at Dunfermline on this site before 1128.

Dunfermline's nave was cleansed ruthlessly of its Catholic fittings and imagery at the Scottish Reformation in 1560. Just three years later it was reported as badly neglected with at least some of its walls 'revin' and its stained glass smashed.[3] Nevertheless, the nave would be preserved to continue in its medieval role of c.1100-1560 as the parochial church of this prosperous royal burgh, if now under the newly established Calvinist Kirk. Over time, and after the departure of Scotland's monarchy for England in 1603, the west church was partitioned with assigned wooden pews and lofts to reflect the hierarchy and Presbyterian faith of its growing urban populace and hinterland. However, such intense and often haphazard use and, by the late eighteenth century, over-crowding, contributed to fabric decay, in turn hastened by the elements atop its western hillside position overlooking Pittencrieff Glen and the Lyne burn.

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[1] T.M. Thibodeau trans., *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (New York, 2007), Bk 1, 5, #12, p. 57.

[2] For the following architectural history see: W.D. Simpson, *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1933), 106-21); R. Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', in idem ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, 27-65. For a more succinct or timeline overview (but with variations in interpretation) see: F.C. Eeles, 'The development in internal arrangements of the abbey church of Dunfermline', in E. Beveridge ed., *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584* (Edinburgh, 1917), pp. xxxi-vlvii; J.M. Webster, *Dunfermline Abbey* (Dunfermline, 1948), 204-50; R. Fawcett, *The Abbey and Palace of Dunfermline* (Historic Scotland, 1990); K. Owen, *Dunfermline Abbey and Palace* (Historic Scotland, 2009); R. Fawcett, R.D. Oram, J. Luxford and T. Turpie eds., *A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches* (St Andrews, 2011-) 'Dunfermline Abbey' - https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158524, accessed 5/2/20; S. Lee, 'The development of Dunfermline Abbey as a royal cult centre c.1070-c.1420', unpublished PhD (University of Stirling, 2014); S. Pitcairn, *Timeline Extracts of Some Events for Dunfermline Abbey Nave and Abbey Church: The 'Royal Sepulture' for Scotland* (Dunfermline, 2019); and Historic Environment Scotland's ongoing CANMORE listing for 'Dunfermline, St Margaret's Street, Dunfermline Abbey, Palace And New Abbey Parish Church', https://canmore.org.uk/site/49315/dunfermline-st-margarets-street-dunfermline-abbey-palace-and-new-abbey-parish-church#details , accessed 5/2/20.

[3] J.H. Burton et al eds., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Volume I, 1545-1569 (Edinburgh, 1877), 246-8; D. McRoberts, 'Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', in idem ed., *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962), 415-62, at 439.

The nave's walls had to be awkwardly buttressed by successive generations and little could be done but remedial repair to respond to such dramatic collapses as that of the central lantern tower in 1716 or of the southern of its two west-end towers toppled by a storm in 1807.[4]

As a result, by May 1817 the Kirk Session of Dunfermline had reached the decision to take advantage of local heritor support and the British Government's Church Extension Scheme and thus to build a new Presbyterian church for the burgh.[5] Crucially, although there were at first differing views within the Kirk Session, it was agreed that this new 'Abbey Church' was to be joined to the extant nave by building directly atop the eastern site of the ruined monastic choir of the abbey. This echoed restorations elsewhere in Scotland designed to restore major medieval churches to their full proportions.[6] At Dunfermline, there was early talk, too, of 'retaining the pillars' (perhaps incorporating the medieval choir pillar bases into the new Abbey Church) and that the 'very excellent and handsome church' to be built should be finished in a style similar to the historic nave.[7]

The lost monastic choir had originally been a twelfth-century structure, reflecting King David I's elevation in 1128 of a reformed priory foundation (c.1080) by his parents with monks from the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Canterbury.[8] It had grown further through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to house the royal pilgrimage cult of David's mother, St Margaret (d.1093), with her remains translated in 1180 through from the earlier western church/nave. It had thus also emerged as an extended royal and aristocratic mausoleum.[9] By 1400, indeed, Dunfermline's nave and choir would be the resting place of at least seven kings, five queens and several lesser blood royals of Scotland, as well as of many regional aristocratic patrons.[10]

Within the eastern choir, these sacred spaces and monuments were distributed throughout a large and evolving liturgical and processional complex, c.160' long by c.110' across at its full cruciform extent. This embraced its high altar, like that of the earlier western church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, as well as numerous substantial side chapels, including a fourteenth-century Lady Chapel to the north-east. However, the eastern choir's monastic and saintly centre, with its many images and effigies, was, predictably, targeted far more violently than the nave by Reformists in 1560. Only some of the relics of St Margaret (and Malcolm III) are recorded as having been saved, smuggled out by monks to the Catholic continent before the altars, screens, tombs and stained-glass windows of the abbey were likely smashed or burned and the roof thrown down or allowed to quickly collapse.[11] From at least 1654 this ruinous space, with a debris-field reportedly 3' or 4' deep, emerged as a graveyard for wealthier Protestant heritors

[4] Henderson, *Annals*, 397, 561-2.
[5] NRS GB234/HR159/3 *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book, 1815-37*, /89 [5 May 1817]; M. Penman, 'Robert Bruce' Bones: reputation, politics and identities in nineteenth-century Scotland', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 34 (2009), 7-74, at 9-12.
[6] For example, St Michael's, Linlithgow, in 1812-13 [https://arts.standrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158732 , accessed 5/2/20].
[7] NRS GB234/HR159/3/39, /77, /79, /81 [Elgin memorandum], /95, /100, /102. DCL&G, Dec/ABB Pamphlet Box 5, *Correspondence re. building of Dunfermline Abbey Church*, 24 April to 26 May 1817.
[8] *Dunf. Reg.*, nos 1-34. For a gathering of David's grants and confirmation of his predecessors' gifts to Dunfermline see *The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093-1371* database, ed. D. Broun *et al* (Glasgow, 2013-) at https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/7/ , accessed 5/2/20.
[9] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, 93, Margaret no. 9.
[10] S. Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a royal mausoleum', in Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, 139-54, table at 150.
[11] *Register of the Privy Council*, I, 246-7; McRoberts, 'Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', 439.

and congregants, the romantic 'Psalter' or 'Satur' churchyard.[12] The choir's walls were undermined, reduced and recycled for the expanding burgh: 130 cart loads of stone were reportedly removed without official authorisation in one twenty-year period alone in the late seventeenth century.[13]

The choir's resulting ghostly outline was thus all that remained to be recorded by several late eighteenth-century sketches and ground-plans [Figs 3-10].

Fig 3: Sketch of Dunfermline Abbey ruins by General Henry Hutton c.1781-92.
Note the low wall intruding into the 'Psalter' churchyard atop the choir. Hutton's archived manuscripts also include a detailed plan of the nave remains c.1809. However, of the choir he only felt able to save a notional idea of the north wall courses and the six traditional kings' slabs c.1813-17 (sketched by an Alexander Morton of Dunfermline, draftsman), but he recorded no south walls or central (e.g. altar) features - see Fife - [Volume 2] - Hutton Drawings - National Library of Scotland (nls.uk). This surely underlines the importance and value of the 1818-19 Burn ground plan [Fig. 13] created as the (overgrown, partly dangerous?) site was cleared.

[12] R. Sibbald, *The History, Ancient and Modern, of the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross* (London, 1803), 293-7; S. Mowat, 'The Satur churchyard', at Dunfermline Heritage Community Projects, https://www.dunfermlineheritage.org/uploads/1/5/6/2/15623980/the_satur_churchyard.pdf , accessed 5/2/20. For the use of monastic ruins as (elite) burial grounds in Scotland after 1560 see A. Spicer, "Defyle not Christ's Kirke with your Carrion': Burial and the Development of Burial Aisles in Post-Reformation Scotland', in P. Marshall and B. Gordon eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), 149-69.

[13] S. Buckham, 'Dunfermline Abbey Burial Grounds Desk-top Survey' (2020), 1-29, at 7, a report for The Dunfermline Abbey Graveyard Project.

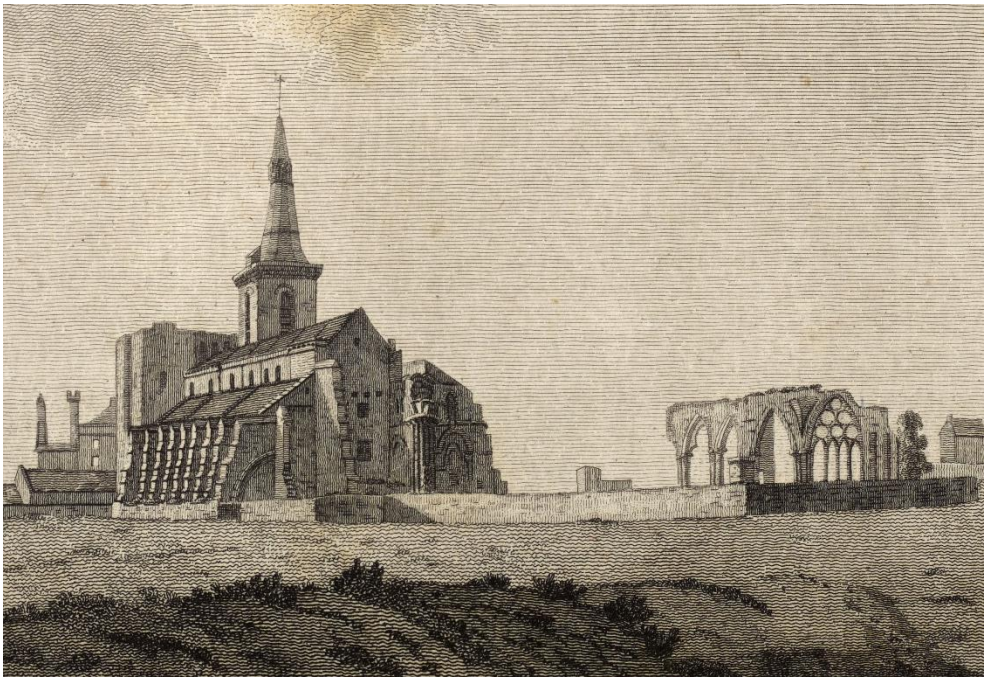

Fig 4: General view of Dunfermline Abbey ruins from the south-east, 1791: note the four standing Lady Chapel windows and, to the west, centre frame, a single truncated medieval pillar.

Fig 5: Late eighteenth-century sketch of the Abbey crossing including an east/choir-side arch of the pulpitum, by Henry Cave (1779-1836).

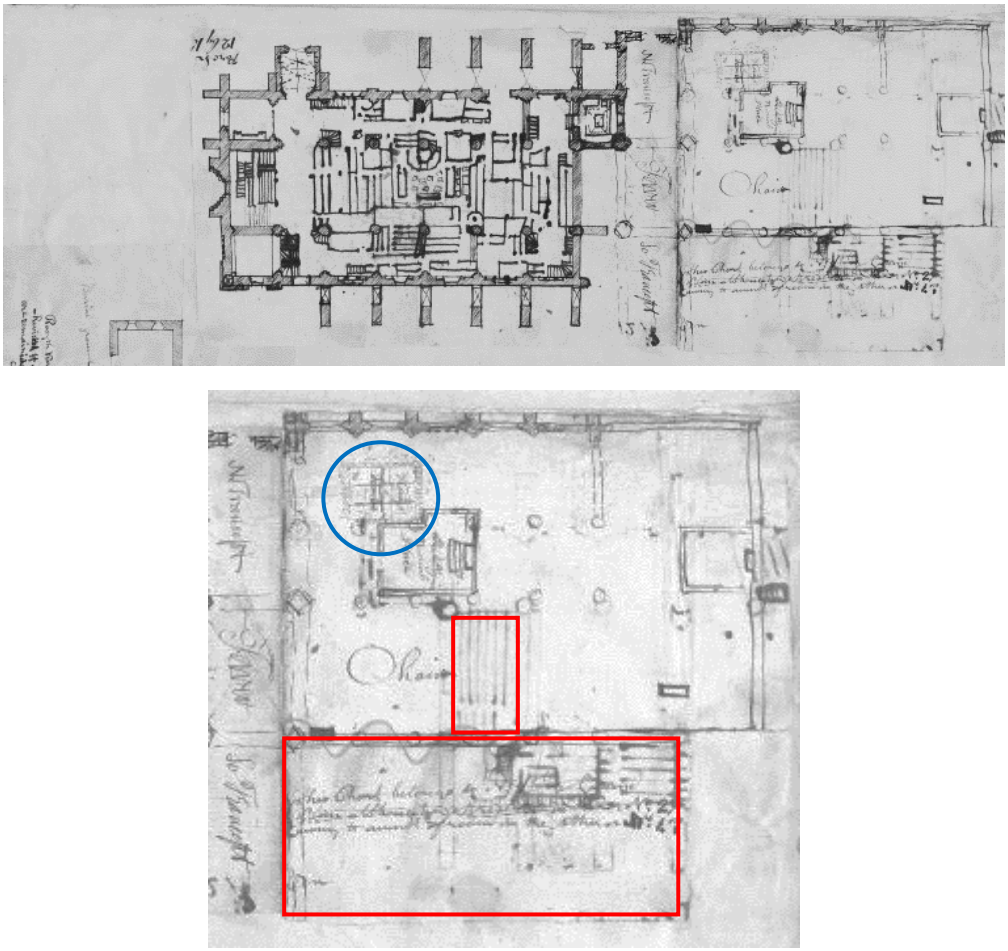

Fig 6: Ink sketch plan of Dunfermline Abbey (based on measurements in c.1805) from Rev. John Sime, *Memorabilia* (Edinburgh, 1840), with a close-up of ruins of the choir. The six slabs believed by locals to cover kings' burials are ringed in blue but are shown too far west and abut a later 'Psalter' burial. The sketch also indicates further eastern 'Psalter' graves, including perhaps the Bruces' of Elgin plot in the north-east. But the areas boxed in red should be ignored as bleed through from the next folio of this manuscript.

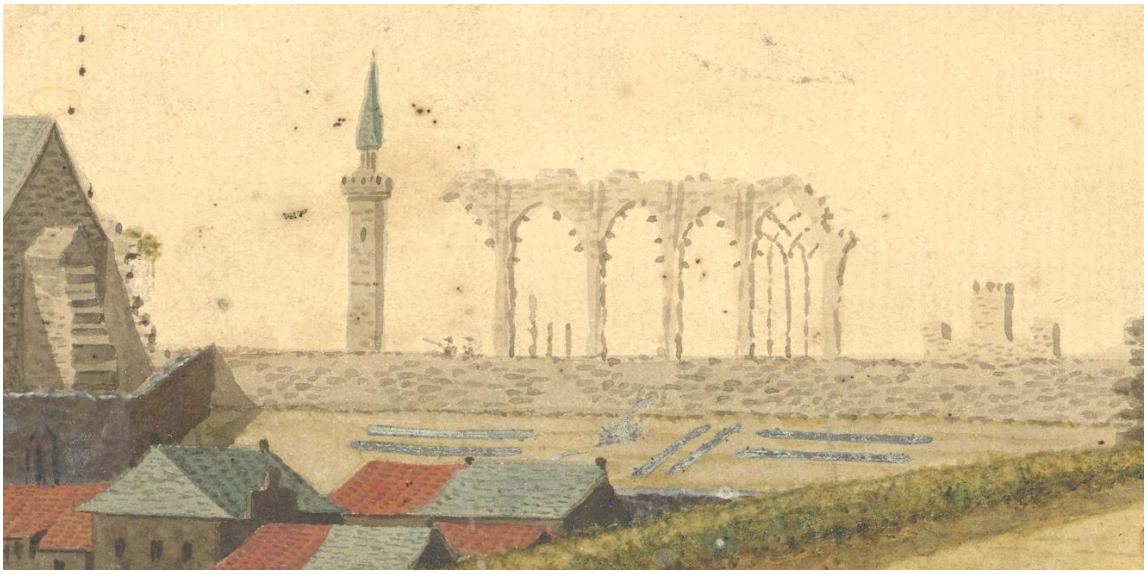

Fig 7i/ii: John Gabriel Stedman, *Dunfermline Abbey* (27 Dec. 1779); does the close-up show the ruined footings of a southern chapel of the choir or cloister structures, or interior choir presbytery/chancel screen, step and tomb bases, or just the interior of the Psalter churchyard? If the latter, the low churchyard wall has been depicted too far north? Is the three-pronged wall fragment to the far right, east of the Lady Chapel windows, a remnant of the high altar screen? [Image courtesy of National Galleries Scotland]

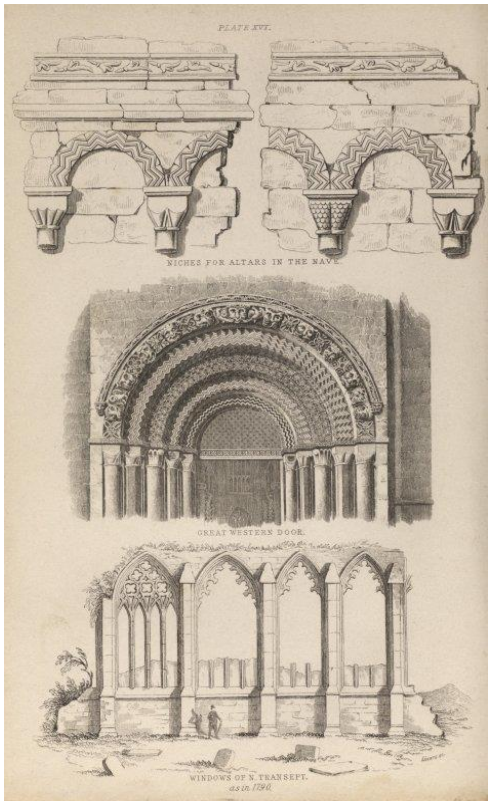

Fig 8: Rev. Peter Chalmers' *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (1844/59), sketches including the four Lady Chapel windows still standing c.1818 (viewed from the northern graveyard): note, possibly a further window/bay to east and west each, with the three to the east with four panes, the three to the west only three panes, suggesting greater light at the Lady altar end?

Fig 9: Ebenezer Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline* (1879), original manuscript, showing interior ruins of the choir looking west from near the high altar; note the substantial interior truncated (springer?) column parallel to the four extant Lady Chapel windows.

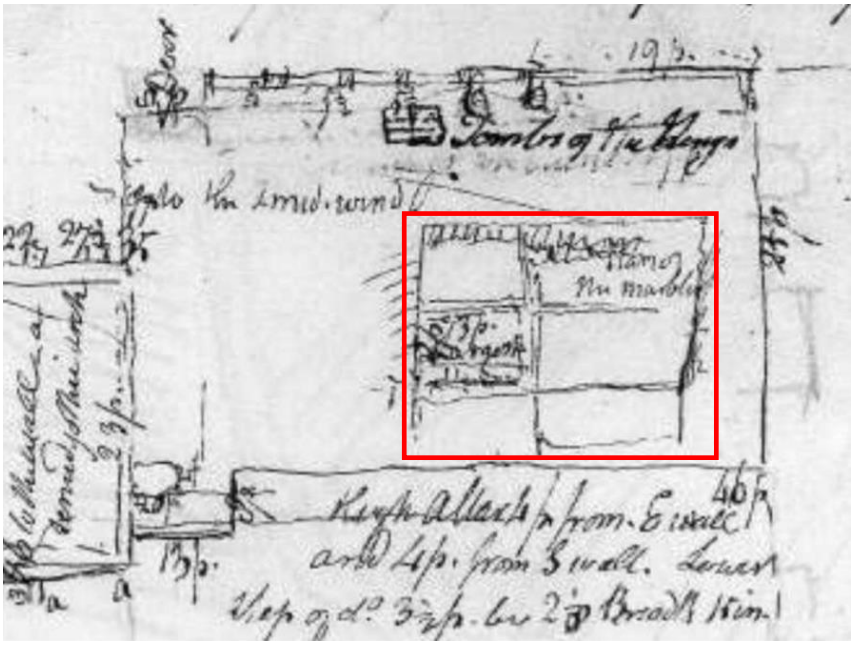

Fig 10: John Baine, *Sketches to illustrate the Ruins of Dunfermline, being a Supplement to the Fourteen large views of these ruins taken in May and June 1790*. The 'Tombs of the Kings' are enlarged and roughly paced out in the central inset sketch plan (in red): '3p. Largest' marks the slab (of six, 'the Marbles') once believed by locals to cover Bruce's grave.

These antiquarians made no detailed or precisely measured visual record of the remains of the interior of the ruined choir. Indeed, it is striking how often visiting Georgian artists made no

effort at all to include the choir ruins, focusing instead on the Abbey gatehouse and palace.[14] However, after 1560, as discussed more fully below, several local traditions emerged as to the position and nature of lost features of the medieval east-end such as the shrine of St Margaret and the tombs of Robert the Bruce/I (1306-29) and other royals. Moreover, brief descriptive accounts survive of at least two antiquarian searches of the site as such leisure and scholarly interests grew amongst the literate middle classes (1776, 1807-09).[15] Yet it was not until clearing-in-earnest of the choir ruins occurred in 1817-18, to prepare the ground for the new Presbyterian Abbey Church, that a definite antiquarian relic of Dunfermline's monastic choir was identified and linked to a specific historical figure.

For, on 17 February 1818, as the Session's church-extension committee met nearby to consider the plans of their chosen architect-builder, William Burn (1789-1870), workmen clearing unspecified debris uncovered two large slabs down the central axis of the ruined choir. These lay close to what was presumably the east-end site of the choir's late medieval high altar. Lifted by use of six iron rings still imbedded in the larger slab, beneath lay a two-tiered stone-lined rectangular crypt with a rounded east end [Fig 11 - c.7' long, 2.5' wide and 3' deep], and within this a lead-shrouded male skeleton [Fig 12] bearing clear signs of a cut-sternum to facilitate heart-removal and some trauma or disease-scarring to the skull. Scattered fragments of both cloth of gold and an oak coffin surrounded the lead sarcophagus.[16]

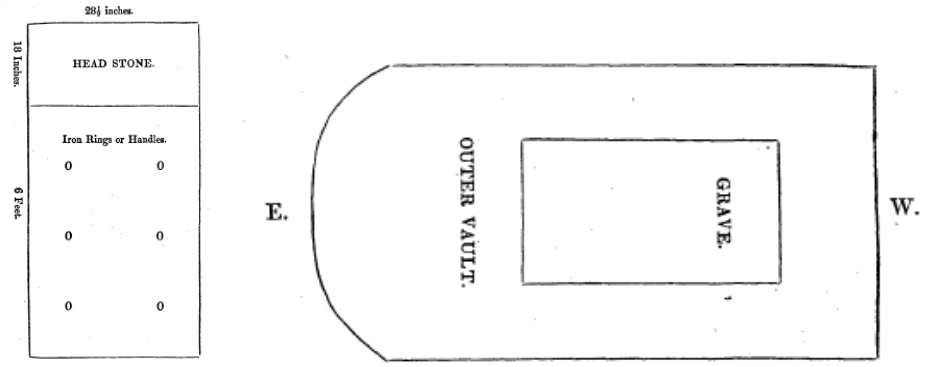

Fig 11: The (reportedly cracked) slabs covering the 'Bruce grave' found in 1818 and a (misleading) cross-section of the grave space itself, from Henry Jardine's Remembrancer's report of 1821/2; n.b. his crypt diagram distorts the structure – see instead below Fig 116.

[14] E.g. A. de Cardonnel, *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland* (London, 1788), 141-3; D. Patton, *The History of Dunfermline gather'd from Good Authority, personal knowledge and hearsay* (Dunfermline, 1813); W. Scott, *The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* (2 vols., London, 1813-14), ii, 174-8; G.I. Parkyn, *Monastic Remains and Ancient Castles: Dunfermline Abbey, Fifeshire* (London, 1816).

[15] Dalyell, *Tract*; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, i, 125-6; B.M. Marsden and B. Nurse, 'Opening the Tomb', in D. Starkey ed., *Making Histories: Antiquaries in Britain, 1707-2007* (London, 2007), 95-108; C. Scalia, 'The Grave Scholarship of Antiquaries', *Literature Compass*, 2 (2005), 1-13.

[16] Jardine, *Report*. For other eyewitness accounts see: NRS GD160/566, bundle 16-17 – 'A note sent by Miss Adam to Mr Loch, relative to finding the body of Robert the Bruce in the church of Dunfermline; further excavation to be delayed, to keep out the mob. With sketch of copper Fig found, 'Robertus Scotorum Rex." – my thanks to Dr Alan Borthwick of NRS for this reference; Dr John Gregory, 'Exhumation and re-interment of Robert Bruce,' *Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature and the Arts*, 9 (1820), 138-42; Anon. 'Reminiscences of the opening of the Grave of King Robert the Bruce (By One Who Was Present)', in DCL&G *Folio of Oddities* (4 volumes, 1836-77), i, np, a cutting from *Dunfermline Saturday Press*, 2/3/1867.

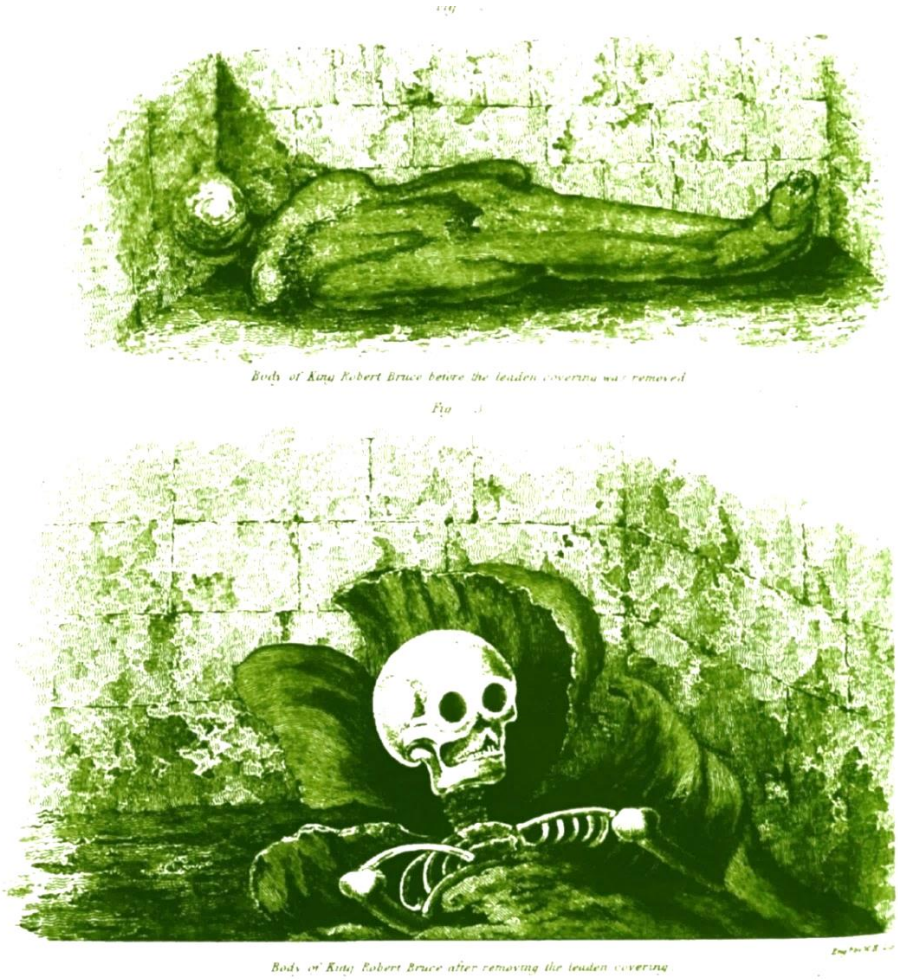

Fig 12: Sketches of the lead shroud and skeleton inspected in the 'Bruce grave' on 5 November 1819, from Jardine's Remembrancer's report (1821/2)

The undeniable consensus was that these were the grave and remains of King Robert I, who had been described by contemporary English and Flemish chroniclers as leprous and whose heart was taken on crusade then interred, as per his dying request, in the Cistercian abbey of Melrose, Roxburghshire.[17] This was a belief further confirmed by earlier (and subsequent) recovery of several fragments of gilded white (and some black) marble throughout the debris field within the general central vicinity of this grave. These could be linked convincingly to the Parisian marble tomb purchased for Robert I and recorded in the extant crown exchequer rolls of 1329-30. Crucially, the latter were composite accounts which provided quite a bit of detail about Robert's funeral in Dunfermline Abbey choir in 1329, as well as about the material adornment of his tomb, but nothing as to its precise form or location.[18]

[17] *Chron. Lanercost*, 229, 264 (leprosy); *Scalacronica*, 107 (leprosy); *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel, 1290-1360*, trans. N. Bryant (Woodbridge, 2011), 40, 52 (leprosy); *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E.A. Bond (3 vols., London, 1868), ii, 357-8 (leprosy); *The Bruce – John Barbour*, ed. A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), 752-3 (heart); *RRS*, v, no. 380 (heart/Melrose).

[18] Dalyell, *Tract*, 3; Jardine, *Report*, 46; Anon., 'Donations to Museum,' *PSAS*, 8 (1868-70), 356-63 at 360, and 413-16 at 413; *ER*, i, 192, 213, 214, 215, 245, 288, 331.

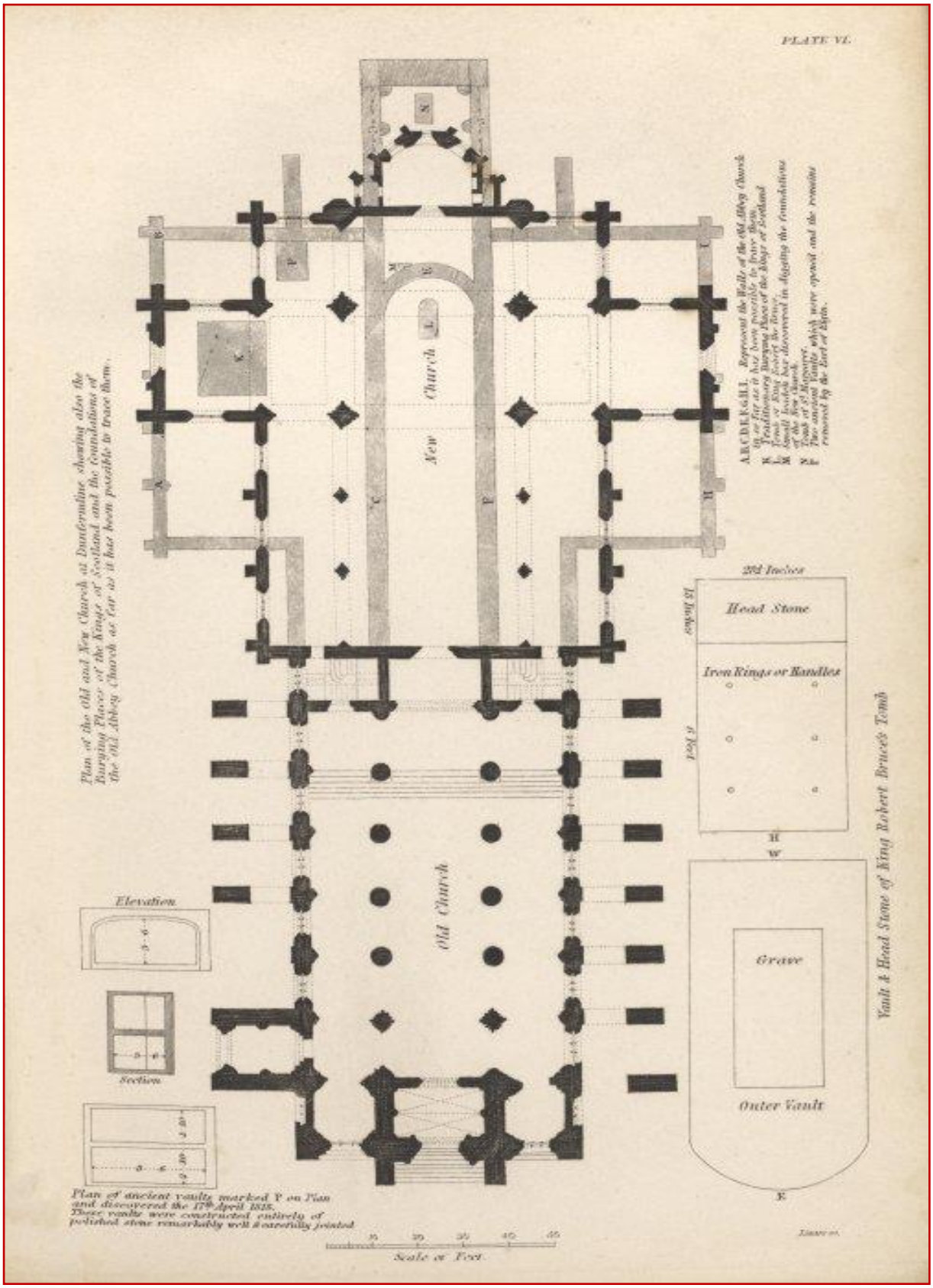

Fig 13: Architect William Burn's ground-plan of Dunfermline Abbey nave and new Abbey Church; the grey lines represent the footings of the ruined Abbey choir visible in 1818. This plan was reproduced by Remembrancer Jardine (1821/2) and local historians Rev. Peter Chalmers (1844/59) and Ebenezer Henderson (1855/79).

Throughout 1818, there was palpable concern amongst local, Edinburgh and London officials of the day that the discovery of Bruce's remains and thus Dunfermline itself might serve as a talisman, igniting threats of radical political and socio-economic agitation, or even violent revolution. There were accordingly careful attempts by the authorities to contain and choreograph public interest in the relics and Abbey site. These concerns shaped the inspection and re-interment of Bruce's remains on 5 November 1819 organised and recorded by (Sir) Henry Jardine, then deputy and later full Royal Remembrancer, observations he subsequently presented to and published though the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1822) as well as privately (1821).[19] However, it must be acknowledged that this 'official' report, together with a ground-plan sketch it reproduced of William Burn's initial record of the extant walls of the ruined medieval choir which were visible in 1818 [see Fig 13], would make a vital contribution to emerging scholarly interest in Dunfermline Abbey, its lost choir and royal tombs.

Not least, this report and ground-plan, together with earlier identifiable antiquarian evidence, would be synthesised and expanded upon by important local historians Andrew Mercer (1828), Rev Peter Chalmers (1844/59, Minister of the second charge at the abbey in 1818-19) and Ebenezer Henderson (1855, 1879).[20] At times, admittedly, these eye-witnesses and local experts would criticise Jardine's 'absurdities and mistakes' of interpretation (whilst Sir Walter Scott at first scorned him as a 'vain man and a jobber').[21] Nonetheless, the ground-plan remained vital and this rich antiquarian legacy in print arguably stands in contrast to the fragmentation which might be said to have often affected modern understanding of the nature and importance of Dunfermline Abbey and the lost medieval interior of its Catholic choir.

For although promises were made by various local and government authorities in 1818-19 that all royal relics found would be embraced within the walls of the new eastern Abbey Church, and all royal graves fittingly marked, once the completed building was opened in 1822 these vows were not fulfilled.[22] The base of St Margaret's Catholic feretory shrine was excluded, left outside the new Protestant eastern vestry walls. It fell instead to the Kirk Session and its supportive heritors, such as the Bruce Earls of Elgin, to commemorate the resting place of Bruce through monumental tower lettering (1822) and a brass plaque (1889, Fig 33). It fell initially to the Abbey Church, too, to provide what information they could to a steady stream of visitors - who at first lamented the lack of a Bruce monument - about the many other unmarked elite burials and the general architectural development of the church down to 1560 and through subsequent centuries.[23] Into the twentieth century, the State Secretary, followed by the Ministry of (Public Buildings and) Works (1940-), and then emerging public heritage agency Historic Scotland (1991-) alongside the Royal Commission of Ancient and Historic

[19] DCL&G, *Warning by the Presbytery of Dunfermline to the People under their Charge* (29 Jan. 1793); Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones'.

[20] A. Mercer, *The History of Dunfermline* (Dunfermline, 1828), 67-72, 302; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, i, 138-56; Henderson, *Annals*, 594-5, 600-03. There are good, if short, *ODNB* entries for all three of these local historians.

[21] DCL&G, LR D/GEN [handwritten MS of Ebenezer Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*], pp. 90-3; H.J.C. Grierson ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (12 volumes, Edinburgh 1932-7), vi, 165; W. Partington, ed., *Sir Walter's Postbag* (London, 1932), 220 (15 January 1826).

[22] TNA HO102/29, Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers, /119, 9 March 1818; NRS GB234/HR159/4, Dunfermline Parish Heritors Records, Minute Book 1838-82, 20 Nov. 1849, 7 May 1857; and NRS E.310/23, King's Remembrancer's Letter Book 2 Jan. 1818-30 June 1818, pp.115-7; Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones', 20, 38-9, 66n.

[23] NRS GB234/HR159/3, Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37, 1 July-26 Aug. 1819; Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones', 38-43.

Monuments of Scotland (1908-), the latter two now united as Historic Environment Scotland (2015-), took up responsibility for the conservation, interpretation and presentation of the restored medieval nave. That west church was stripped of its Presbyterian interior in 1822 and re-presented as a Romanesque/Gothic church alongside the Renaissance Palace and monastic precinct remains to the south-west of the Abbey/Abbey Church. Although HES thus now retains overall Property-In-Care responsibility for the whole medieval site, and the 1818-22 Abbey Church is now itself a protected monument, these are custodial divisions further complicated by the late-twentieth century emergence of municipal responsibility (now with Fife Council) for graveyard management around the conjoined churches.[24]

The current Dunfermline Heritage Partnership (2017-), a multi-agency collaboration which includes representation from all the custodial bodies concerned with the Abbey site and others (the Kirk Session, HES, Fife Council, Fife Cultural Trust, Visit Scotland etc.), has confirmed the mitigation of these past custodial tensions in the development of a number of major parallel initiatives. These are: the HLF-funded *Fife Pilgrim Way* project, the HLF-funded 'Lighting the Auld Grey Toun' project, the Scottish Executive-funded 'Great Places' project, a Burial Ground conservation project; and emerging Kirk Session-HES-Fife Council plans for the future development and heritage re-presentation of the 'medieval quarter (including St Margaret's shrine).'[25]

However, at the outset of these joint efforts, a DHP heritage asset survey, and subsequent HES visitor and stake-holder consultations, evidenced what was generally well-known to the agencies concerned: that visitors to the Abbey/Palace/Abbey Church 'were not getting information that would allow them to quickly get a coherent picture/sense of the whole site'.[26] Thus, visitors could not easily gain an overall understanding of or detail about the abbey's development through time and the complexity of its spiritual, cultural and political significance. Arguably this remained partly the case even if they purchased and read the far-more detailed HS guidebook (1990, revised 2009). It thus remains the case that visitors struggle to gain a contextualised picture of Dunfermline Abbey as Scotland's medieval equivalent of England's Westminster or France's St Dénis, great royal cult churches and mausoleums, as well as serving both a vibrant Benedictine community and a dynamic urban populace.[27] The Abbey Church of Dunfermline Kirk Session and the Abbey Church's spiritual and custodial staff had already taken a bold lead in seeking to overcome these problems. This included initiating and supporting our proposed GPR surveying project from 2015. These were efforts which could now in turn be intensified through the DHP's collaboration.

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[24] Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', 59-60; https://canmore.org.uk/site/49315/dunfermline-st-margarets-street-dunfermline-abbey-palace-and-new-abbey-parish-church#details .

[25] *Design Dunfermline, 2018: Final Detailed Report* - file:///C:/MAP's%20Work/REF%202021/REF%20IMPACT%202021%20-%20Penman/DD2018%20Detailed%20Report%2019.11.18.pdf ; *Dunfermline Press*, 13 Nov. 2019; Fife Pilgrim Way - https://fifecoastandcountrysidetrust.co.uk/walks/fife-pilgrim-way/ ; Buckham, 'Dunfermline Abbey Burial Grounds Desk-top Survey'.

[26] D. Hicks, 'Dunfermline Heritage Asset Summary' (June, 2018); *Design Dunfermline 2018: Final Detailed Report*, 15; *Visitor Experience Research – Dunfermline Abbey* (HES, Nov. 2018); *Dunfermline Abbey: Interim Interpretation Plan* (HES, March 2019), 12; *Dunfermline Abbey Interim Interpretation Plan: Consultation Report* (HES, July 2019).

[27] Fawcett, *Dunfermline Abbey and Palace*; Owen, *Dunfermline Abbey and Palace*. See also E. Mackay, *Investigating Dunfermline Abbey: Information for Teachers* (HS, 2009).

The ambivalence of the medieval chroniclers

The preceding context and local inspiration for the project discussed here must, however, be allied to the unique historical questions it seeks to explore. One paramount scholarly starting-point for our surveys was an awareness of the consistently ambivalent as well as fragmentary nature of the medieval chronicle, record and material evidence which could be gathered in relation to the liturgical settings/fittings and burials within Dunfermline's lost eastern choir. These were difficulties that also extended through time to much of the post-1560 antiquarian evidence for choir features and tombs.[28] Indeed, this is perhaps a more pressing factor than custodial demarcation in explaining the evident absence (beyond the interests of select heritage practitioners and academics) of wider understanding of Dunfermline Abbey's importance as both a medieval spiritual centre and focus of royal patronage, liturgy and display.

Inevitably, this must still start with a focus on the 1818 'Bruce grave' and remains. In completing a monograph on Robert I's reign in 2013-14, Michael Penman raised the possibility that the burial discovered in 1818 might instead be that of David I (1124-53), the key patron of this Benedictine house as a full abbey.[29] This was a suggestion made before the commencement of the interdisciplinary project discussed in these pages but it was motivated by a growing interest in royal piety, liturgy and ceremony as well as in studying modern commemoration of Scotland's medieval past. As the detailed discussion below seeks to demonstrate, in the light of the evidence provided by the GPR surveys undertaken from 2016 to 2019, and of some fresh archival discoveries, Penman has now modified his assessment of that grave and related aspects of the choir overall. However, his initial reasons for questioning the identity of the 1818 grave occupant remain relevant: these were broadly three-fold.

First, there was the evidence of two key Scottish chroniclers writing in Latin. John of Fordun, a north-eastern cleric, collating and expanding older annals down to c.1383, probably relied on material written by Thomas Bisset Prior of St Andrews for the period c.1329-63.[30] Walter Bower (1385-1449), abbot of Inchcolm's Augustinian island community in the Forth estuary, just a few miles from Dunfermline, wrote his *Scotichronicon* in the 1440s by way of continuing Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum.* But Bower also drew on additional Fife clerical chronicles and his own visits to Dunfermline Abbey's scriptorium (writing workshop) in completing his history for patron Sir David Stewart of nearby Rosyth.[31] Published in part in the eighteenth century, the Fordun/Bower canon was thus surely known to the officials and antiquarians concerned with the 1818 discovery and 1819 re-interment of 'Bruce's bones' and was the first piece of corroborating evidence they cited.[32]

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[28] I. Fraser, 'The tomb of the hero king: the death and burial of Robert I, and the discoveries of 1818-19', in Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, 155-76, at 172.

[29] Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 305-6. See also Penman, 'Head, Body and Heart: Legitimating Kingship and the Burial of Robert Bruce, Scotland's 'Leper king', ca. 1286-1329', *Micrologus*, xxii (2014), 229-52, at 246-50.

[30] D. Broun, 'A New look at *Gesta Annalia* attributed to John of Fordun', in B.E. Crawford ed., *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), 9-30; S. Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the 'Anonymous Chronicle', *SHR*, lxxvi (1997), 23-43 at 24.

[31] *Chron. Bower*, iii, 423-5; ix, 315-64.

[32] W. Goodall ed., *Joannis de Fordun, Scotichronicon cum Supplemetis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri* (Edinburgh, 1759).

Yet both these Scottish medieval chroniclers simply state that in 1329 Robert was buried 'in medio choiri' - in the middle of the choir.[33] This struck Penman as quite vague. It is a statement which most commentators have taken to refer to a position down the central east-west axis of the Abbey choir, thus readily identifiable with the grave found in 1818 by William Burn's workmen, directly in front of what was likely to be the site of the Abbey choir high altar (and marked as 'L' on his plan [Fig 13]). This includes most recently Martin MacGregor and Caroline Wilkinson as part of the University of Glasgow's reassessment of the discoveries of 1818-19, in the course of a fascinating Bruce facial reconstruction project.[34] However, cruciform churches have two axes, and that running north-south, extended through transepts or, as at Dunfermline according to Burn's ground-plan, by substantial aisle chapels to the north and south, provided a wider central 'choir' space for elite interment.

Indeed, if we turn to other Benedictine houses throughout the British Isles and north-western Europe and compare their east ends [Figs 14-17] we often find multiple elite burials in their central paved areas. These spaces embrace the east end of a core central 'monks' choir' and presbytery, often with crossing or viewing access west of a stepped and screened high altar sanctuary/chancel area. Yet these east-end chancels are left free of lay burials.

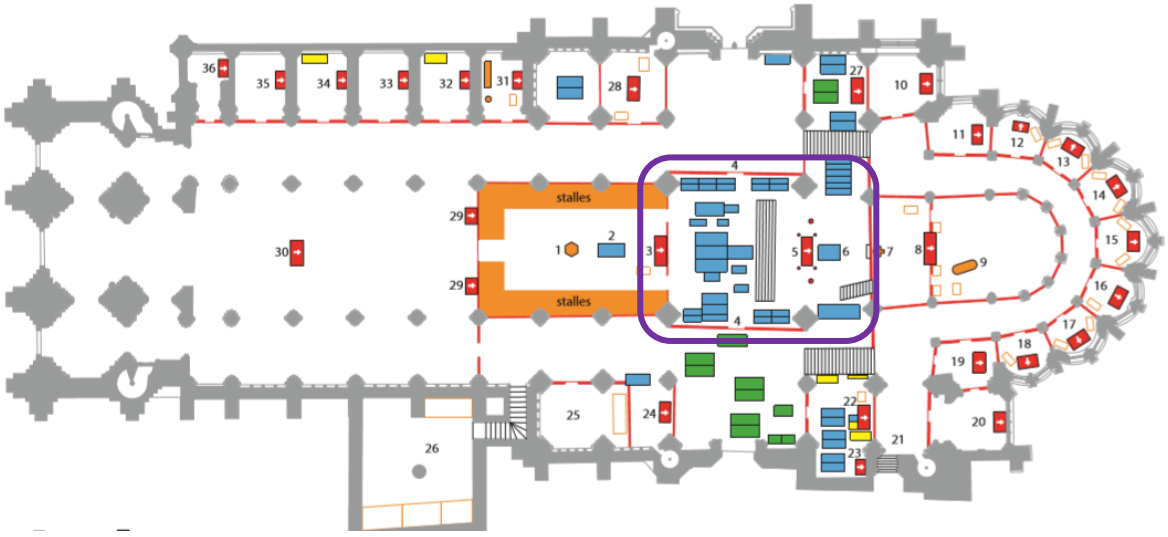

Fig 14: Recreation of the Benedictine Abbey of St Dénis, near Paris, with royal choir burials in blue, including several (pairs) defining spaces between columns. In the area boxed in purple, note the sanctuary steps and burial-free space before the high altar (5 in red) with St Clovis's 'retro-choir' shrine (6) to the east [Unité d'archéologie de Saint-Dénis, drawing by Damien Berné and Michael Wyss, computer-graphics by Jean-Philippe Marie].

[33] *Chron. Fordun*, i, 353; *Chron. Bower*, vii, 45. John Barbour's *The Bruce* of c.1371x5 merely states that Bruce was buried 'in a fyr tumb intill the quer' [ed. Duncan, 757].

[34] M. Macgregor and C. Wilkinson, 'In search of Robert Bruce', Part II: Reassessing the Dunfermline Town Investigation of 1818-19', *SHR*, xcviii (2019), 159-82; and 'In search of Robert Bruce, Part III: medieval royal burial at Dunfermline and the tomb investigations of 1818-19', *IR*, 70 (2019), 171-201. See also Wilkinson, M. Roughley, R.D. Moffat, D.G. Monckton and MacGregor, 'In search of Robert Bruce, Part I: Craniofacial analysis of the skull excavated at Dunfermline in 1819', *Journal of Archaeological science: reports*, 24 (2019), 556-64, and the exhibition of the facial reconstruction at https://www.gla.ac.uk/hunterian/visit/exhibitions/virtualexhibitions/robertthebruce/ .

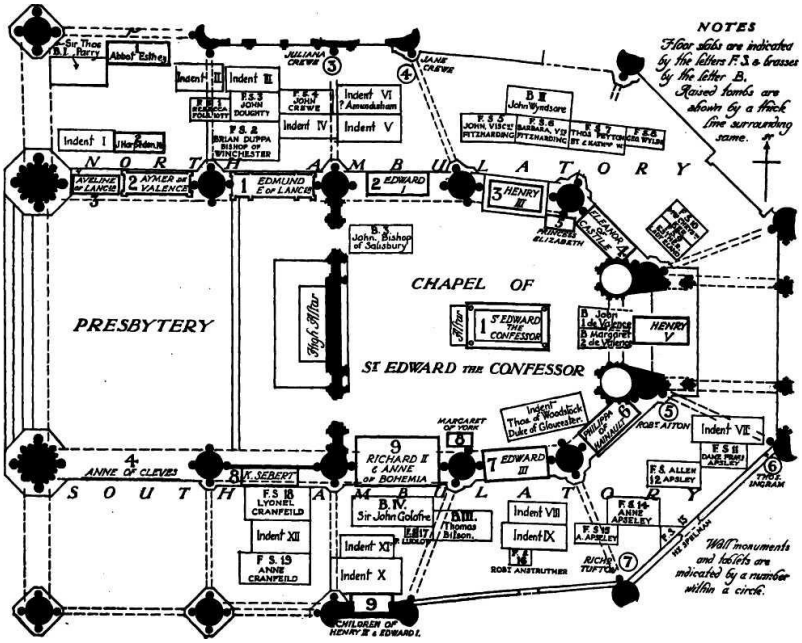

Fig 15: Ground-plan of high altar and shrine sanctuary, Benedictine Abbey of Westminster.

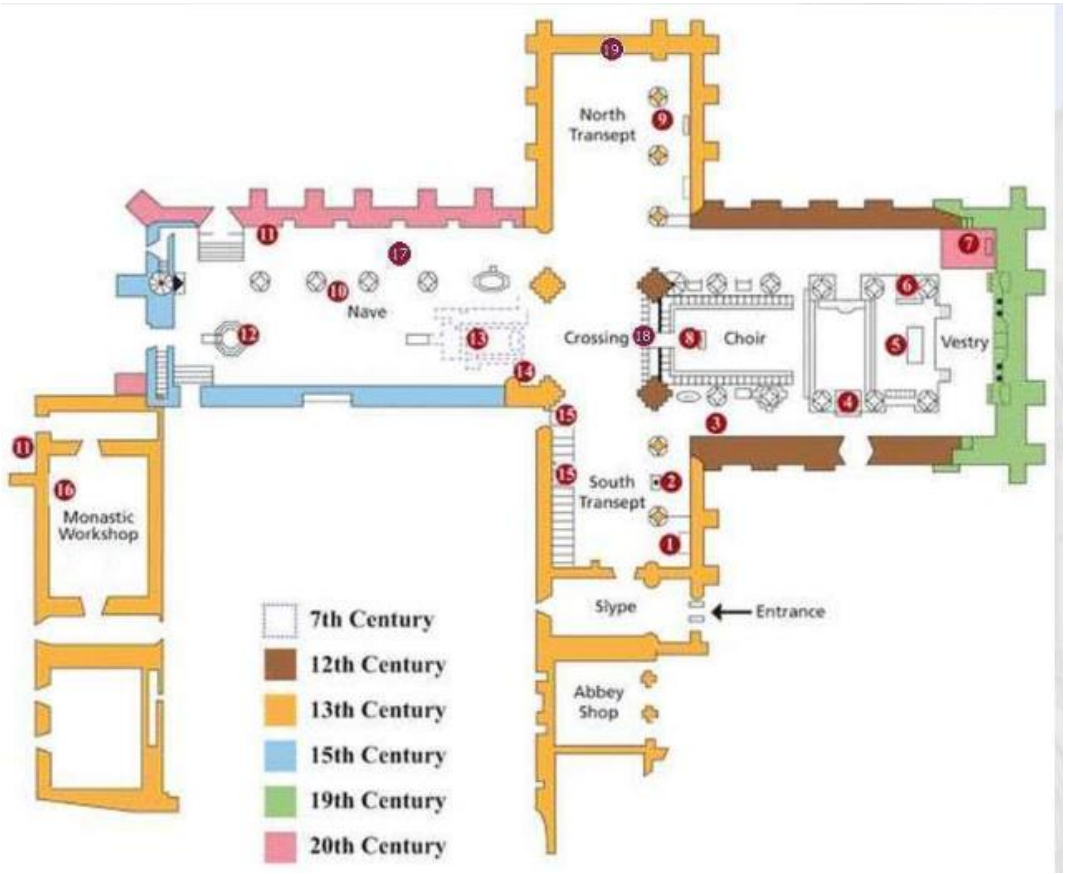

Fig 16: Ground-plan of Benedictine Abbey of Hexham, Northumberland [By kind permission of the Rector and Churchwardens of the Priory and Parish Church of St Andrew, Hexham].

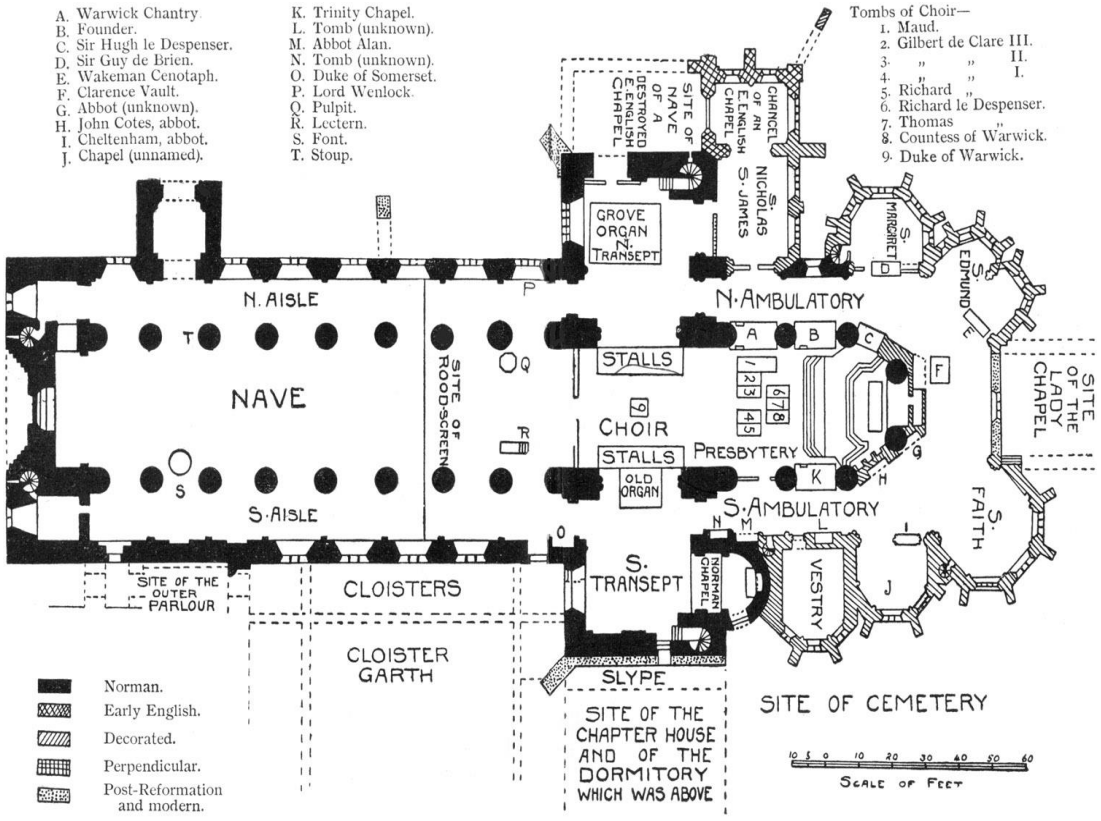

Fig 17: Ground-plan of Benedictine Abbey of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire.

Such a central choir space or presbytery-sanctuary might also be bounded by screening and columns defining aisle and pilgrim-route space (sometimes with tombs running east-west between columns). The royal mausoleums of England and France at the abbeys of Westminster and St Dénis respectively (also both Benedictine, the latter with a Trinity high altar dedication) have multiple such burials which might thus be described as resting 'in the middle of the choir' or 'before the high altar'.[35] This is particularly the case within the presbytery and crossing of St Dénis, as can best be recreated after the iconoclasm of the French Revolution.[36] As Iain Fraser's 2014 Bruce tomb recreation project has shown, it was most likely a monument

[35] E.M. Hallam, 'Royal burial and the cult of kingship in France and England, 1060-1330', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 339-80; E.A.R. Brown, 'Burying and Unburying the kings of France', in R. Trexler ed., *Persons in Groups Social Behaviour as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Binghamton, 1985), 241-66, at 248-9 figs 3-4; P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (London and New Haven, 1995), 107-20; D. Berne and M. Wyss, 'Le fonctionnement de l'ancienne abbatiale', in P. Delannoy ed., *La Grâce d'une Cathédrale: Saint-Dénis, dans l'éternité des rois et reins de France* (Saint-Dénis, 2015), 99-111, at 100. There were eventually five burials ranged in front of the eastern altar at St Dénis, but these are modern slab re-burials of 1815-24 for Louis VII, Louis XVI, Marie-Antionette and Louis XVII [A. Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Le Cimetiere des rois aux XIIIe et XIVe siecles', in Delannoy ed., *La Grâce d'une Cathédrale*, 227-62, at 230].

[36] For the violent disentombment of French royals and the looting of their box tombs for leads and jewels while their human remains were reburied in a mass limed pit see: M. Billard, *Les Tombeaux des Rois sous la terrour* (Paris, 1907), chs 1-2; P. Quennell, 'The Abbey of Saint-Dénis: a Royal Mausoleum', *History Today*, 13 (8) (1968), 539-47; S.G. Lindsay's article in *Material and Visual Cultures of Religion* (2015), online at The Revolutionary Exhumations at St-Dénis, 1793 | MAVCOR (yale.edu).

workshop servicing St Dénis from which Robert I purchased his own marble box tomb into which interior wood and lead coffins would be inserted.

Smaller Benedictine churches, closer in scale to Dunfermline's late-medieval choir, also fit these criteria of thirteenth-century development. For example, at Tewkesbury's Abbey of St Mary in Gloucestershire [with a choir c.160' long by c.135' wide] with multiple chantry, box tomb and pavement burials north-south and east-west across the central choir or presbytery space. [Fig 17].[37] Again, these might surely all be said to lie 'in the middle of the choir' while the sanctuary with its sacred steps more immediately before the high altar remains burial free.

Secondly, if the same Scottish chroniclers do describe any royal burial at Dunfermline with greater or more identifiable detail it is that of David I. Fordun's source describes David as being:

> 'buried [in 1153] before the high altar of the church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, which, first founded by his father and mother, had been added to in property and buildings by his brother Alexander, while he himself also had loaded and endowed it with more ample gifts and honours; and he was laid there, at a good old age, beside his parents and brothers.'[38]

Bower reworks this description to state that:

> '[David was] buried before the high altar under the paved part of the middle of the choir in that noble monastery which he had himself built and endowed with many possessions.'[39]

As discussed in more detail below, MacGregor and Wilkinson have recently outlined a compelling reinterpretation of some of these and other chronicle descriptions. They do so to make a case that on his death David I was in fact buried in the nave, the original western monastic church with its own smaller east-end 'choir' and the original high Holy Trinity altar.[40] However, for the immediate purposes of the present project – in search of evidence for the later medieval, immediately pre-1560 church and its lost eastern choir – for Abbot Bower to have mistakenly placed David I's tomb in the eastern choir seems highly unlikely, not least as that chronicler surely attended Regent Robert Stewart Duke of Albany's funeral in Dunfermline's choir in 1420.[41] Thus David I was surely definitely entombed in the eastern choir by Bower's period.

One way to reconcile these seeming chronicle discrepancies (or their modern interpretation) might be to factor in, as for St Margaret, a subsequent translation of David I's remains from nave to choir, west to east (perhaps around 1180 as discussed below).[42] As Bower states on

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[37] R.K. Morris and R. Shoesmith eds., *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture* (Woonton, 2012), xxiv-v, 161-82.
[38] *Chron. Fordun*, i, 234 and ii, 225.
[39] *Chron. Bower*, iv, 251.
[40] MacGregor and Wilkinson, 'In search of Robert Bruce, Part III', 184-8.
[41] *Chron. Bower*, viii, 135. The family of Bower's patron, Stewart of Rosyth, were also likely buried at Dunfermline down through the ages.
[42] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret no. 9, pp. 93-4. It seems most likely that the monks of Dunfermline initiated this first translation themselves, out of concern that in 1178 William I (1165-1214) had founded Arbroath Abbey in honour of St Thomas Becket, investing heavily in its future as his chosen burial place. For the relocation/reordering of English royal burials over time see A.M. Duch, 'Bodies in Constant Motion: the Burials

several occasions, King David was also regarded as a saint by the monks of Dunfermline; both Fordun's earlier source and Bower reproduce Ailred of Rievaulx's lengthy lament for that pious king.[43] Given this and David's vital elevation of this Benedictine community from priory to abbey status, it seemed to Penman highly likely that if anyone was to be allowed such a prestigious, singular burial position in the eastern choir within the sanctuary/chancel and close to the high altar it would be David as *de facto*-founder of the Abbey.

Indeed, as elaborated upon in the discussion below, treatment of David's body and relics in this way, close to the body shrine and (eventual) head shrine of St Margaret, as well as similar saintly translation and status for the remains of her husband, David's father, Malcolm III (d.1093), would have provided a unique liturgical focus within the later choir: a trinity of royal saints within a Trinity church. The importance of Trinitarian liturgy in determining architectural layout and worship at such a church as Dunfermline's evolving Benedictine abbey is underlined by the mid-to-late thirteenth-century collection of some 42 miracles of St Margaret, gathered to assist her official campaign for papal canonisation by 1249. These *miracula* are replete with references to pilgrims' *three* years of suffering, *three* days or weeks of journey, *three* nights vigil, *three* vision figures etc..[44] The trinity/three was also echoed in Dunfermline abbey's architecture with its three towers and three St Margaret chapel walls (1250-) which might be assumed to have illustrated her life and miracles in glass (just as the east end chapel at Dunfermline's mother-house at Canterbury illustrates the *miracula* of Thomas Becket).

Thirdly, these two initial points can be attached to a growing sense that Robert I's legend and its traditions are something of a red herring and an impediment to a full appreciation of the complexity of Dunfermline Abbey as a mausoleum and spiritual centre over time. That is, there was a profound pressure to embrace the idea in 1818 (and still today) that the grave discovered *must* belong to Robert I. In later eyes Bruce is the most important monarch interred within the abbey.[45] The assertion and acceptance of the notion that Robert had leprosy might be argued to have a similarly distracting affect, one too readily linked to the apparent scarring discernible on the surviving casts of the 'Bruce' skull taken in 1819, in the same way as the cut sternum of the skeleton - which belonged to a male of 45-to-65 years of age - is taken as another sure proof that this was Robert, as he had requested his heart be taken to the Holy Land.[46]

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and Reburials of the Plantagenet Dynasty, c.1272-1399', in G. Dodd ed., *Fourteenth Century England*, X (Woodbridge, 2018), 179-202.

[43] *Chron. Fordun*, i, 235-51 and ii, 226-48; *Chron. Bower*, iii, 71 and iv, 3, 251. See also J. Huntingdon, 'David of Scotland: 'Vir tam necessarius mundo," in S. Boardman, J. Davies, and E. Williamson ed., *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge, 2009), 130–45.

[44] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret nos 2, 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 35, 36, 42; S. Lee, 'The Miracles and Cult of St Margaret of Scotland', *SHR*, xcvii (2018), 1-11.

[45] A similar pressure seemed to mark the search for further archaeological evidence for the site of the battle of Bannockburn (1314) and the discovery in 2014 of a single English horse badge in what had after all been a royal hunting park occupied for a decade by an English garrison [T. Pollard, 'A Battle Lost, a Battle Found: the Search for the Bannockburn Battlefield', in M. Penman ed., *Bannockburn 1314-2014: Battle and Legacy* (Donington, 2016), 74-96, at 91].

[46] Jardine, *Report*, 19; K. Pearson, 'The Skull of Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, 1274-1329,' *Biometrika*, 16, 3/4 (Dec. 1924), 253-73, Plate VII; A. Keith, 'The Skull of Robert the Bruce,' *Nature*, 115 (1925), 572; T. H. Bryce, 'The skull of King Robert the Bruce', *SHR*, xxiii (1926), 81–91; V. Møller-Christensen and R.G. Inkster, 'Cases of leprosy and syphilis in the osteological collection of the Department of Anatomy, University of Edinburgh, with a note on the skull of King Robert the Bruce,' *Danish Medical Bulletin*, 12 (1965), 11-18; I. MacLeod and B. Hill, *Heads and Tales: Reconstructing Faces* (Edinburgh, 2001), 35-44. See also M. Vanezis,

It can be countered that leprosy is in fact a condition only attributed to Bruce by English and Flemish contemporary chroniclers, writers who although they often treat the Scots and Bruce as worthy opponents during the Wars of Independence could still be highly critical and disparaging, too, and thus not above repeating a slur.[47] Bruce was besides treated in his last years by Milanese physician, Maino de Maineri (d.1368), a Paris resident and acknowledged expert in respiratory diseases such as tuberculosis and its associated lymphadenitis, i.e. scrofula, the 'king's evil' in the middle ages.[48] Tuberculosis was a condition which scholars including pathologist Matthew Kaufman and historian Carole Rawcliffe have pointed out would also fit with the briefly-observed pathology of the skeleton discovered and recorded at Dunfermline in 1818-19 but which was also highly common across all classes in the middle ages and beyond. Many excavated medieval skeletal remains betray signs of this and similar diseases (including early forms of treponemal syphilis).[49]

Dr Manieri was surely also known to French royal physician, Henri de Mondeville, who in 1320 (the year he died of tuberculosis) completed a treatise on how to prepare French royals for burial at St Dénis Abbey. This included removal of the heart down under the ribs *after* extraction of the viscera, hence without cutting the sternum.[50] There is a strong tradition that Bruce's viscera were removed and interred at a chapel dedicated to St Serf close to Cardross in Dumbartonshire where he died (just as Bruce's body probably rested at St Serf's shrine church at Culross Abbey, just eight miles west of Dunfermline, *en route* to his funeral in 1329).[51] This should serve to caution us not to jump to easy connections, especially as heart

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'Forensic Facial Reconstruction using 3-D Computer Graphics: Evaluation and Improvement in its Reliability in Identification', unpublished PhD (University of Glasgow, 2008), for a critique of earlier reconstructions of Bruce's facial image.

[47] Thus, contra Macgregor and Wilkinson, 'In search of Robert Bruce, Part II', 168-70. For example, Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica* does respect Bruce (and other Scots), although he seems more often detached than effusively positive in his comments: but he also accuses Bruce of 'great scheming' and murder in 1306 (for which he says he sought Edward I's pardon), of killing an English knight at Bannockburn without any real honour using an axe, of taking Berwick by treason and of then executing the betrayer, Piers Libaud, and of generally ruling Scots who were 'ascendant and so arrogant' by the 1310s (not least the ambitious Edward Bruce). Gray, besides, only mentions the disease in question in a parenthesis reporting of Bruce's 'having died of leprosy a little before'; he offers no reflective obituary of Bruce's achievements or character at all [*Scalacronica*, 51-3, 73-9, 89, 107].

[48] *ER*, i, 169, 238; C. Proctor, 'Physician to the Bruce: Maino de Maineri in Scotland', *SHR*, lxxxvi (2007), 16-26; eadem, 'Perfecting Prevention: The Medical Writings of Maino de Maineri (d.c.1368)', unpublished PhD (University of St Andrews, 2005), 7, 9-10, 102, 252, 253, 255; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 264-5, 302-4.

[49] M.H. Kaufman and W.J. MacLennan, 'King Robert the Bruce and leprosy,' *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 30 (2002), pp. 75-80; M.H. Kaufman, 'Analysis of the skull of Robert the Bruce,' *History Scotland*, 8, 1, Jan/Feb 2008, pp. 22-30; G.M.M. Crane-Kramer, 'Was there a Medieval Diagnostic Confusion between Leprosy and Syphilis?', in C.A. Roberts, M.E. Lewis and K. Manchester eds., *The Past and Present of Leprosy* (Leeds, 2002), 111-18; R.D. Oram, 'Death, Disease and the Hereafter in Medieval Scotland' in E.J. Cowan and L. Henderson eds., *A History of Everyday Life in Medieval Scotland, 1000 to 1600* (Edinburgh, 2011), 196-225, at 203-7, 213-14. Edward I may have suffered from a similar ailment, requiring plasters for his neck in his last year [M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1985), 556-7]. As Rawcliffe notes, the chroniclers thus reacted to Bruce's illness along national lines with Scottish sources pointing to his 'cauld-lying' during his military campaigns as the cause [Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2006), 53 n37, 87-9, 345-6; Duncan ed., *The Bruce*, 320-1, 780].

[50] Anna M. Duch, 'The Royal Funerary and Burial Ceremonies of Medieval English Kings, 1216-1509', PhD (University of York, 2016), 29, 75-7.

[51] *ER*, i, 162, 216, 245, 267, 288, 298, 303, 340. Robert I died on 7 June 1329 and the initial transfer of his body to St Serf's would have been in accord with a thirteenth-century Scottish Church Council statute calling for all those who had arranged 'a special place of sepulture' in a remote church to first be taken to their parish church to pay funerary dues [*Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559*, ed. D. Patrick (Edinburgh, 1907), 47]. For a recent study of Bruce's funeral see L. Dean, 'Crowns, Wedding Rings, and Processions: Continuity and Change in

removal was a burial practice which, although outlawed by the Papacy by 1302, continued to be used in elite circles across the British Isles right down to the nineteenth century as a means of multiplying pro anima prayers.[52]

We should not then over-focus on Robert Bruce or the 1818 'Bruce grave' in seeking to understand the wider layout and significance of Dunfermline Abbey's medieval choir. King Robert himself came to Dunfermline immediately after the dramatic parliament at Cambuskenneth Abbey, Stirling, which saw him forfeit his Scottish opponents of their lands following his victory at Bannockburn.[53] He was thus at Dunfermline on 16 November 1314 – the main feast day of St Margaret – to grant nearby churches and income to the abbey and to declare his intention to be buried there next to his royal ancestors.[54] He clearly regarded Margaret, David I and probably Alexander III (d.1286) as the most important individuals buried there, with Alexander, the last MacMalcolm/Canmore king, frequently name-checked as Robert's immediate predecessor, ignoring the reign of dynastic rival King John (Balliol) of 1292-6. Yes, this was indeed a political statement by Bruce as a usurper and excommunicate.[55] However, as discussed in more detail below, it was also the first in a series of visits and grants by Robert to the cult of St Margaret and other chapels within the abbey choir often made at times of important personal crisis and reflection, not least the births of his children at Dunfermline in the 1320s. In sum, Bruce himself was profoundly aware of the spiritual (and political) importance of St Margaret, (St) David and the abbey's other relics, dedications and burials as a focus of worship in incredibly momentous times for himself and the realm.[56]

In that sense, to immediately assume that Bruce could be given or simply take for himself *the* most prominent burial position directly before the choir high altar within this long-established royal cult church seems to be open to challenge and to deserve testing. Such a view must lead to further questions. If Bruce was not buried in the 1818 grave, where else might his marble tomb have stood (and was he buried in its box or in the pavement beneath)? How can we explain Abbot Bower's further loose assertion that Bruce's queen, Elizabeth de Burgh (d.1327) was 'buried in the choir at Dunfermline next to her husband' when no immediately neighbouring grave was found in 1818?[57] What of the local tradition of an elite female burial found close to the Lady Chapel in 1776, thus some 25'-30' north-east of the Bruce grave? The latter was believed by locals to be that of Elizabeth (even though several other Bruce women, the first

Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony, c.1214 - c.1603', unpublished PhD (University of Stirling, 2013), soon to appear as *Death and the Royal Succession in Scotland, c.1214–c.1513: Ritual, Ceremony and Power* (Boydell, forthcoming); and eadem, 'Projecting Dynastic Majesty: State Ceremony in the Reign of Robert the Bruce', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 40 (2015), 34-60.

[52] E.A. R. Brown, 'Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse,' *Viator*, 12 (1981), 221–69; C.A. Bradford, *Heart Burial* (London, 1933), passim; M. Borgo, 'Heart burial and the history of an emblematic organ', *Medicina Historica*, 1 (2017), 35-40. In 1329, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, was able to secure special papal permission 'that his heart may be buried in one place and his body in another' [*Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope*, ed. W.H. Bliss (London, 1986), i, 311].

[53] *RPS*, 1314/1; *RRS*, v, no. 41.

[54] *RRS*, vi, nos 41-3 (Cambuskenneth) and 44 (Dunfermline).

[55] G.G. Simpson, 'The Heart of King Robert: Pious Crusade of Marketing Gambit?' in Crawford ed., *Church, Chronicle and Learning*, 173-86; MacGregor and Wilkinson, 'In Search of Robert the Bruce, Part III', 201.

[56] M. Penman, "Sacred Food for the Soul': In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306–1329', *Speculum*, 84, 4 (2013), 1-28.

[57] *Chron. Bower*, vii, 35.

two Stewart queens and surely numerous other aristocratic females were buried in proximity to the Lady and St Margaret chapels).[58]

Can we locate evidence for any other elite burials which might speak to alternative motives or patterns of royal or even independent monastic strategy by the abbot and monks, for example the several Bruce family and supporter burials in the new Lady Chapel reported by the Scottish chroniclers? How were the numerous royal and aristocratic burials within the choir over time accommodated within a busy pilgrimage church with a major body shrine? Can we find evidence of how other chapels, altars and liturgical stations may have related to these known choir features? In sum, can we reimagine Dunfermline's choir as a living church to the same degree as extant records and physical evidence allow us to understand a Westminster or a St Dénis? Or did the Reformation followed by the destructive and disruptive activity of successive generations c.1560-c.1818 simply obliterate too much of the material evidence for Dunfermline's medieval choir? Did architect-builder William Burn sweep away any further medieval remains in clearing what was a sloping and flood-prone site? At the very least, why were more medieval features and graves not uncovered and reported in 1818-19?

[58] Jardine, *Report*, 47; Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a royal mausoleum', 150. Jardine, followed by Rev Chalmers, quite misleadingly describe this grave found in 1776 as lying 'within a few feet' north-east of the 'Bruce grave'. A likely candidate might be Countess/Queen consort Euphemia Ross (d.1386), buried in the absence of the bodies of either of her first (John Randolph earl of Moray) and second (Robert II/Stewart), although still within a double tomb?

ii. A Ground-Penetrating Radar pilot survey (2016-22)

The obvious if challenging approach which might help provide cautious answers to some of these questions was geophysical survey using Ground-Penetrating Radar [GPR].[59] Such surveys might reveal for the first time more of the complexity over time of Dunfermline Abbey as an architectural and liturgical whole, particularly when used to test and enhance the identifiable medieval written and later antiquarian evidence. As archaeological excavation and thus 'ground-proofing' of Dunfermline's subterranean choir remains is not possible, at least within the newer Abbey Church's walls, radar provides a non-invasive means of scanning through the modern floor and foundations in search of the medieval depths and any surviving evidence of architectural or liturgical features and burials. This is a proven method of investigation, its application in archaeological contexts growing steadily.[60]

Leading geophysicist, Erica Carrick Utsi, brings to this project her expertise in applying GPR to archaeological and forensic settings. Recognition of features below ground within historical buildings using GPR, especially any which have been damaged, depends upon the density of survey measurements.[61] These, in turn, depend upon the measuring capability of the antenna used, defined by its operating frequency and wavelengths. Archaeological guidelines originally drawn up by English Heritage in 2008, and more widely applied subsequently, recommend a spacing between adjacent radar survey lines of 50cm for the frequencies which we would in the end deploy for our Dunfermline fieldwork.[62] However, Utsi's tried-and-tested method of applying a range of frequencies to a site and reducing the line spacing to 25cm for lower frequencies, coupled with a sampling interval appropriate to the frequency of the antenna in use, has produced important and often unexpected results in the interpretation of such important historic churches as Westminster Abbey and Holy Trinity Church, Stratford (the site of Shakespeare's burial).[63]

Our approach to surveying the site of Dunfermline Abbey's lost choir through two initial pilot stages (2016-17) was determined by several factors, including some unknowns:

- Some of the interior areas to be scanned during the pilot surveys were necessarily relatively small and often awkwardly constrained at modern interior floor level by walls, fixed pews, the east-end organ, dais and pulpit, radiators, shop fittings and other immovable features [Fig 2b].

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[59] Ground-Penetrating Radar is more usually the US term (v. 'Ground-Probing' in the UK) but, strictly speaking, more accurately describes our pilot survey.

[60] For example, see D.J. Daniels ed, *Ground-penetrating Radar* (2nd ed., London, 2004), 353-380; R. Gilchrist and C. Green eds., *Glastonbury Abbey archaeological investigations 1904–79* (Reading, 2015), ch. 2; S. Ovenden, 'Arbroath Abbey, Geophysical survey', in *Discovery & Excavation Scotland*, 19 (2018), 21; S. Hueglin, A. Turner and D. Astbury, *Geophysical Survey of Hexham Abbey: Scheduled Ancient Monument Area* (Newcastle, 2018) – https://www.ncl.ac.uk/media/wwwnclacuk/mccordcentre/files/Hueglin_Turner_Astbury_Hexham_Abbey_Geophysical_Survey_2016-2017_S42_compressed.pdf .

[61] T.J. Dennis, 'Imaging Geophysical Data – taking the viewer into account', *Archaeological Prospection*, 11 (2004). 35-48.

[62] *Geophysical Survey in Archaeological Field Evaluation* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2008).

[63] E.C. Utsi, 'The shrine of Edward the Confessor: a study in multi-frequency GPR investigation', *Near-Surface Geophysics*, 10, 1 (2010), 1-7; eadem, 'Bringing up the Bodies: High Resolution and Target Definition Using GPR', in *Progress In Electromagnetics Research Symposium Proceedings* (Stockholm, 2013), 1591-7; eadem, *Ground-Penetrating Radar: Theory and Practice* (Oxford, 2017); Utsi and K.S. Colls, 'The GPR investigation of the Shakespeare family graves', *Archaeological Prospection*, 24 (2017), 335–52.

- The radar scans of the subsurface would have to penetrate a modern twentieth-century wooden floor above a c.1'8"/55cm air gap down to a foundation raft which had been topped with poured pitch by c.1950. This was the first of at least three factors which would affect the velocity or radar transmissions and cause signal attenuation/loss variably across scan areas. Crucially, given the relatively consistent appearance of this *upper* air gap throughout the Abbey Church flooring, this may mean our interior scans do not (greatly) underestimate the actual depth of possible buried features, unless those deeper features themselves contain an air void, e.g. an undisturbed grave. Thus, often seemingly quite shallow depths for possible historic features within the Abbey Church area may be roughly accurate and explain why, in turn, some corresponding potential buried features, e.g. pre-1818/medieval wall courses, which continue or emerge *exterior* to the later Abbey Church walls, i.e. remain outdoors, seem, too, to be at noticeably shallow depths.
- On interior scans, the radar signal would then have to penetrate the foundation raft of unknown materials to only an approximately known depth (c. 7'-10'/2m-3m) as it emerged that architect William Burn's plans/papers of c.1816-22 revealed very little of his working methods and materials on site [see Figs 18 i-iii].
- The interior radar scans would have to take account of post-1822 intrusions by modern utilities above any detectable medieval level(s). Surprisingly, no comprehensive modern scale-plan of the Abbey Church interior and its fittings/utilities exists [but see Fig 2b for a basic if already out-of-date floor-plan].
- The medieval levels may have been subject to considerable disturbance by burials, unrecorded investigation, and reuse c.1560-c.1818 as well as by the Abbey Church's site clearance, levelling and construction c.1927.
- The sloping site on which the choir sat has certainly been prone to a high-water table and even flooding to the south during the construction and subsequent lifetime of the Abbey Church (and perhaps throughout its history).[64] This may in practice have caused Burn to reduce the depth to which he planned to clear the site for his foundations.
- Interpretation of some of the survey results from scans taken within the post-1822 Abbey Church walls might be enhanced/challenged by those exterior scans to be undertaken within the northern and southern graveyards.
- Exterior graveyard radar scans might also be disrupted by existing gravestones and burials as well as possibly by modern utilities, pathways, and the water table.

As a result, Utsi, aided by Dr Oliver O'Grady in 2016 and 2017, and by Mr Alex Birtwisle in 2019 and 2022, chose to undertake two successive 25cm-gap north-to-south surveys of the chosen areas using a Ground Vue 3_1 radar, with first a 250MHz and then a 400MHz antenna. The former would achieve greater depth penetration and better detection capability where moisture was present, while the latter would have better overall image definition capability. The expected probing depths required the use of low frequency antennas only although a higher frequency (1.5GHz) was trialled within the Abbey Church in 2016. This trial confirmed the

[64] NRS GB234/HR159/3, Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37, 28 Nov. 1818 to 7 Jan. 1819; S. Mowat, 'The Old Graveyard', 1-11, at 6, Dunfermline Heritage Community Projects https://www.dunfermlineheritage.org/uploads/1/5/6/2/15623980/the_old_graveyard.pdf , accessed 5/2/20. My thanks also to Mark Seaborne of the Dunfermline Youth Archaeological Society for discussions about their northern graveyard excavations and the water-table. As early as 1660 the kirkyard was reported as a 'swamp' to be drained [Henderson, *Annals*, 332].

choice of antenna frequencies and that the subsurface of the south side of the church contained more moisture than the north.

Since one of the aims of the survey was to identify the location of any extant medieval graves, all surveys were carried out along a north-south axis, thus maximising the detection of features orientated east-west, the norm for Christian graves. It is not normally possible to identify human remains by GPR, if only because, over time, they take on the electromagnetic characteristics of their surrounding environment. However, their existence can sometimes be inferred from the position of associated artefacts, the absorption of moisture where organic remains are still present and/or the pattern of air gaps within the grave.[65] Nonetheless, the use of such lower resolution radar antennas would not necessarily allow for the distinction of human remains in this manner since to distinguish two separate targets from one another requires a distance of one wavelength between them and lower radar frequencies emit longer wavelengths. It was also recognised that depth was the primary selection factor for our pilot since it was reasonable to suppose that the medieval graves would contain sizeable air gaps which would be easily detectable provided the requisite depth could be probed.

Radars measure in nanoseconds time. These readings are turned into depth measurements in metres/centimetres by calibrating the transmission velocity of the signals. The complicated nature of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline's substructure was confirmed by the discovery of multiple transmission velocities in the subsurface of the North Transept (discussed below). Although it is sometimes possible to construct a velocity map, this was not an option in this case due to the number and distribution of different velocities. The first of the radar reports (2016) therefore gave initial depth readings in nanoseconds time. Fortunately, the areas examined in the two following surveys (2017, 2019) did not suffer from the same problem and velocity calibration was possible. The later reports therefore give depths in metres/centimetres.

Penman and several University of Stirling post-graduate students also assisted with the GPR scans. As a result, Penman learned a tremendous amount about the GPR process and the challenging nature of Dunfermline's monastic site and history. He was then able to reflect upon these experiences and observations in reassessing the medieval record, antiquarian evidence, spatial relationships, and existing modern plans and interpretations.

William Burn and the building of the Abbey Church

At the time of his design and engagement as builder of the new Protestant Abbey Church at Dunfermline, William Burn (1789-1870) was a young and upcoming architect. He had a growing reputation for civic buildings and classically styled or Gothic-revival churches in Scotland's burghs, as well as a swelling portfolio of country house commissions.[66] His early work sprang in large part from his architect father's Adam-school links to the baronial class. Such Tory connections and sympathies surely drew him to the attention of Dunfermline chief heritor Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh of Kincardine (1766-1841), just as that oft-controversial noble-diplomat closed the uneasy sale of the Parthenon of Athens' 'Elgin Marbles' to the British Museum in 1816. It seems to have been Earl Thomas who first proposed

[65] W. Rodwell and D.S. Neal eds., *The Cosmatesque Mosaics of Westminster Abbey - the Pavements and Royal Tombs: History, Archaeology, Architecture and Conservation* (2 vols, Oxford, 2019), i, 147-56, at 151.
[66] R.M. Bailey, *Scottish Architects' Papers: A Source Book* (1996), 95-6, 208-09, 242-3; *ODNB*, entry by D.M. Walker (2004) at https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4044; *Dictionary of Scottish Architects* Biography Report (2016) for 'William Burn' at http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200136, accessed 5/2/20.

Burn's engagement.[67] However, the influence of Sir William Adam of Blair Adam (1751-1839), a few miles north of Dunfermline, a Whiggish Lord Chief Commissioner of the Jury Court and a Baron of Exchequer prepared to work in the cause of moderate reform with the then Tory government, a descendant of the Adam architect dynasty, and a minor Dunfermline heritor, was also surely a factor.[68] Dunfermline's Kirk session elders were it seems persuaded collectively by Burn's celebrated work on such Edinburgh churches as North Leith parish church and the Episcopal chapel of St John the Evangelist at the west end of Princes Street. The heritors were also keen to rival and surpass other new Fife churches, like that at nearby Kirkcaldy, as well as to recreate the medieval scale of their own historic church.[69]

Historic Environment Scotland holds nineteen sheets of presentational plans for the Abbey Church drawn up by Burn in 1816-17.[70] These tender plans do at least indicate an approximate depth down to the foundational ground he proposed to prepare, beneath which medieval layers may have survived: c.7'9" to 8' on the north side, sloping down to c.9'8" on the south. The Kirk Session minutes of the period also suggest a desire that Burn re-use the surviving bases of medieval choir aisle columns to site and fix his own new polished ashlar columns with iron/lead sockets.[71] Moreover, once the 'Bruce grave' was discovered and local interest in the medieval remains grew, the Session and Burn were sensitive enough to apparently reposition his planned foundational pylons to avoid cutting through the sites/depths of the 'Bruce' crypt and another spot, to the north-west, which local tradition maintained had been marked by six large slabs covering six kings' graves [Fig 22, discussed below].[72]

Fig 18 i-ii: Some of Architect-builder William Burn's tender plans for Dunfermline Abbey Church, 1816-17

[67] NRS HR159/3/73-81 (April-1817); W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (Oxford, 1983), ch. 22.
[68] *ODNB* entry by D. Wilkinson (2004) at https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-108 ; M. Johnson, *William Burn: a bicentenary celebration, in Fife, 1820-1844* (St Andrews, 1989); Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones', 15-24.
[69] NRS HR159/3/26-9, /44-9.
[70] HES CANMORE, FID 89/3 to 22: https://canmore.org.uk/site/49315/dunfermline-st-margarets-street-dunfermline-abbey-palace-and-new-abbey-parish-church?display=collection&GROUPCATEGORY=3 .
[71] NRS HR159/3/110-11 [June 1817]; HES CANMORE, FID 89/10 [28 July 1817].
[72] HES CANMORE, SC 1573934.

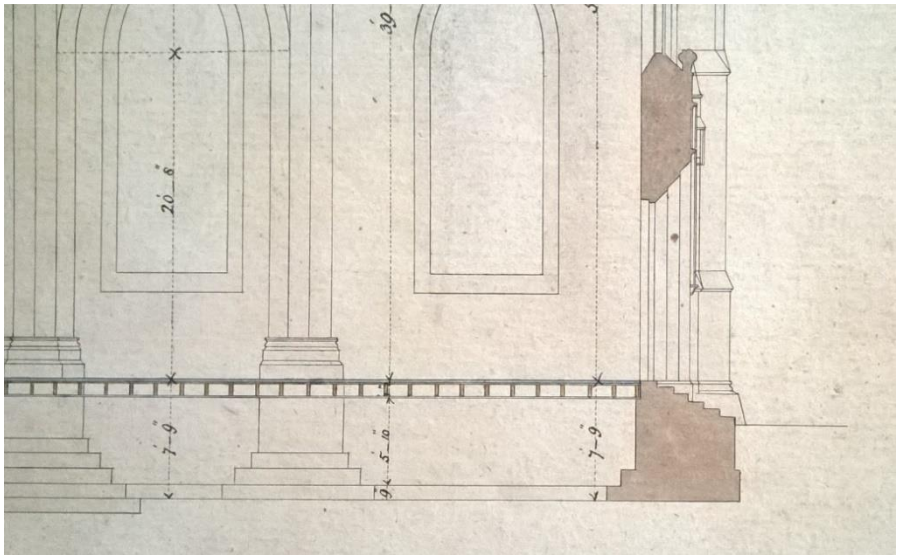

Fig 18 iii: Some of Architect-builder William Burn's tender plans for Dunfermline Abbey Church, 1816-17.

Crucially, however, these plans and Burn's surviving papers reveal little of his day-to-day working practices on this difficult site from 1817-21, tackling issues in-situ as an 'architect-builder'. We cannot be sure just how he cleared the medieval remains from the choir site. Were any substantial features physically removed and conserved as were, perhaps, the four remaining arched windows and walls of the northern Lady Chapel? Or were they crushed or simply buried intact and in-situ under the Abbey Church to help stabilise the foundation of a sloping, often water-logged site?[73] In 'clearing and levelling' the site, as local historians would later describe it, did Burn in the end bring the medieval layers closer to his prepared building surface and/or reduce his foundation depth(s), perhaps due to the water-table? As much is perhaps suggested by visual observation on site at present of the relative levels of the paths exterior to the Abbey Church and (reached via five/six shallow stone Transept steps with varied riser heights) its modern wooden floor inside. Both the mid-nineteenth century and current position/level of St Margaret's feretory tomb base [Figs 19-20] also suggest that once on site Burn and his team perhaps had to reduce the depth of their foundations.

[73] Jardine, *Report*, 438; Henderson, *Annals*, 602, who notes the windows were simply removed in November 1819, not what happened to them. Burn's rural estate of Hermiston at Riccarton has long since been demolished and absorbed by the western growth of the city of Edinburgh: there is no evidence (so far) that Burn removed medieval stone such as fossiliferous marble from Dunfermline as a keepsake. Burn's own funeral monument in Kensal Green's famous cemetery, London, would be a low grey marble box tomb on a black plinth, topped with a bas-relief Celtic cross [https://www.kensalgreen.co.uk/notables.php].

Fig 19: Alexander Archer's sketch of the remains of St Margaret's shrine outside the new Abbey Church vestry (1834).

Fig 20: St Margaret's shrine in the present day.

The initial new Abbey Church floor was apparently a flat slabbed surface [Fig 21]. A wooden floor raft of c.1.5' with a central east end raised dais of c.1.5', too, was installed in the mid-

twentieth century. This may perhaps explain the relatively shallower depths at which our 2016 and 2017 radar scans, discussed below, began to return potential structures and graves: from c.40cm down in exterior areas and from c.1.2m (c.4') down in interior areas.

Fig 21: Interior of new Abbey Church looking west from the vestry, showing early flag-stone floor without dais.

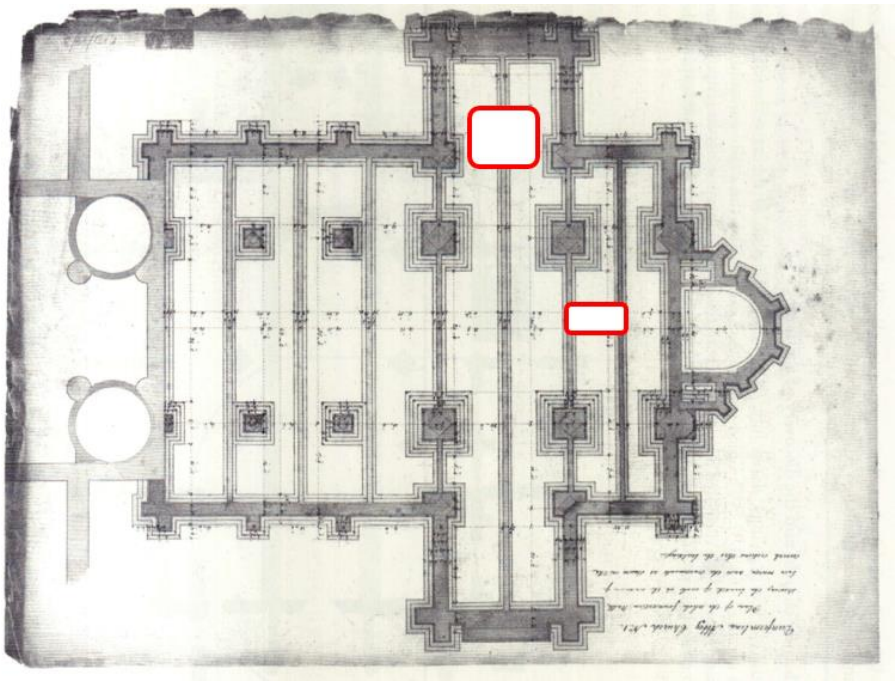

Fig 22: William Burn's 1817 plan of foundations for the Abbey Church: those pylons set to cut through the six kings' slabs and the 'Bruce grave' were reportedly relocated.

Through a long and distinguished career, with successful practices in both Edinburgh and later London, Burn would earn a reputation for honest, principled, high-quality work as well as a strong respect for his clients' privacy. This discretion often extended to keeping architectural plans and their execution confidential. As a result, we should not be surprised that Burn's surviving personal and practice papers contain no clues as to his working methods and/or problems at Dunfermline.[74]

Yet we might speculate cautiously about just what those issues could have been in 1817-21, on what was after all one of his first major commissions. Burn had to navigate the often competing and fractious local politics and sensibilities of the heritors and wider community.[75] In 1818, these tensions included calls from Earl Thomas of Elgin for the building work to halt or slow until all royal graves had been identified and preserved. But Burn seems to have been held to 'continue uninterrupted' on a tight schedule and budget on what was also an awkward site.[76] Some of the local antiquarian evidence discussed below makes it clear that there *were* other medieval remains still visible or just beneath the debris-strewn surface in 1818, none of which Burn would record on his much-reproduced ground-plan [Fig 13]. Some locals continued to have access to the site throughout the clearing and build, despite the Kirk Session's precautions.[77] Not the least of these was Elgin who oversaw the construction of a South-Transept crypt that was immediately prone to flooding: this led to a falling out between peer and architect.[78] Burn also made use of local labour. Indeed, both Burn's younger brother and one of his contracted foremen, a John Bonnar, would later be accused of involvement with a local publican, an artist and a historian (no less than Andrew Mercer) in the planting on 10 November 1819 of a forged metal coffin-plaque in the debris field around the 'Bruce grave.' This was inscribed with the legend 'Robertus Scottorum Rex' but exposed as a hoax some decades later, long after Remembrancer Jardine had purchased this copper plate for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's museum in Edinburgh.[79]

Nonetheless, over his career, Burn did seem to take a genuine interest in the architecture, relics and conservation of the historic churches and houses he worked in and around, sympathies

[74] RIBA [V&A Museum, London], ANJ/1/1, index to 154 bundles of deposited William Burn drawings (1957-9); RIBA COC/9-10 Notebooks and diaries of C.R. Cockerell, 1806, 1821-33, who dined in Edinburgh in 1822 with Burn, Elgin and a royal physician present at the 5 November 1819 tomb inspection, Dr Alexander Monro [COC/9/2 pp. 63, 6,5, 67].

[75] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones', 15-38.

[76] TNA HO102/29, Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers, /29 or /103 (1 March 1818), /124, /141 (10-11 March 1818); NAS GB234/HR159/3, Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37, 7 March, 10 March and 20 March 1818.

[77] NRS GB234/HR159/3, Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37, 7 March 1818; NRS E.310/23, King's Remembrancer's Letter Book, 2 Jan. 1818-30 June 1818, pp. 82, 115-7, 151; TNA HO102/29, Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers, /34, 7 March 1818.

[78] NRS GB234/HR159/3, Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37, 28 Nov. 1818 to 7 Jan. 1819.

[79] TNA E.306, Register of Orders of Barons of Exchequer on Treasury and Revenue Business, 13 Dec. 1820 to 21 Feb. 1822, p. 130 [John Bonar, builder, paid]; NAS E.310/28, King's Remembrancer's Letter Book 21 June 1820-27 Jan. 1821, pp. 3, 212 [Jardine's payments of a five guinea reward to the plate finders and for costs of engravings]; Anon., 'Donations to the Museum,' 413-4; T.B. Johnston, 'The Story of the Fabrication of the "Coffin-Plate" said to have been found in the tomb of King Robert Bruce in Dunfermline Abbey,' *PSAS*, xii (1878), 466-71; Jardine, *Report*, 46 [with image of plate]; Henderson, *Annals*, 605; Pearson, 'The Skull of Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, 1274-1329', 253-73, photograph at Plate VII. In 1860, Bonnar would write to local historian Ebenezer Henderson and claim to have 'some iron nails…also a bit of the winding sheet and a bit or two of marble' from the 'Bruce grave' [DCL&G, LR D/GEN [handwritten MS of Ebenezer Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*], Appendix iii].

perhaps first cultivated by his Dunfermline experiences. Burn appears to have been a silent patron to the tune of £1,000 of Robert William Billings' celebrated four-volume survey of *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1845-52). This included an eight-page account of Dunfermline Abbey with a short description of the discoveries of 1818-19.[80] Billings' earlier journal serialisations and reviews which discussed aspects of Dunfermline's ecclesiastical antiquities acknowledged a more direct authorial or illustrative contribution by Burn and took account of some lost and extant choir remains other than the 'Bruce grave' and skeleton.[81]

Given, then, the limited available information about Burn's time and work at Dunfermline, our GPR pilot surveys were undertaken with due sensitivity to the nature of the subsurface layers beneath the modern abbey church floor.

[80] R.W. Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (4 volumes, Edinburgh, 1845-52), ii, 8pp. and Figs 14-18.
[81] R.W. Billings and W. Burn, 'The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland: Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals', *Quarterly Review*, lxxxv (clxix, 1849), 103-56, at 148-9.

Pilot Survey 1: 13-14th June 2016 [82]

a. The North Transept

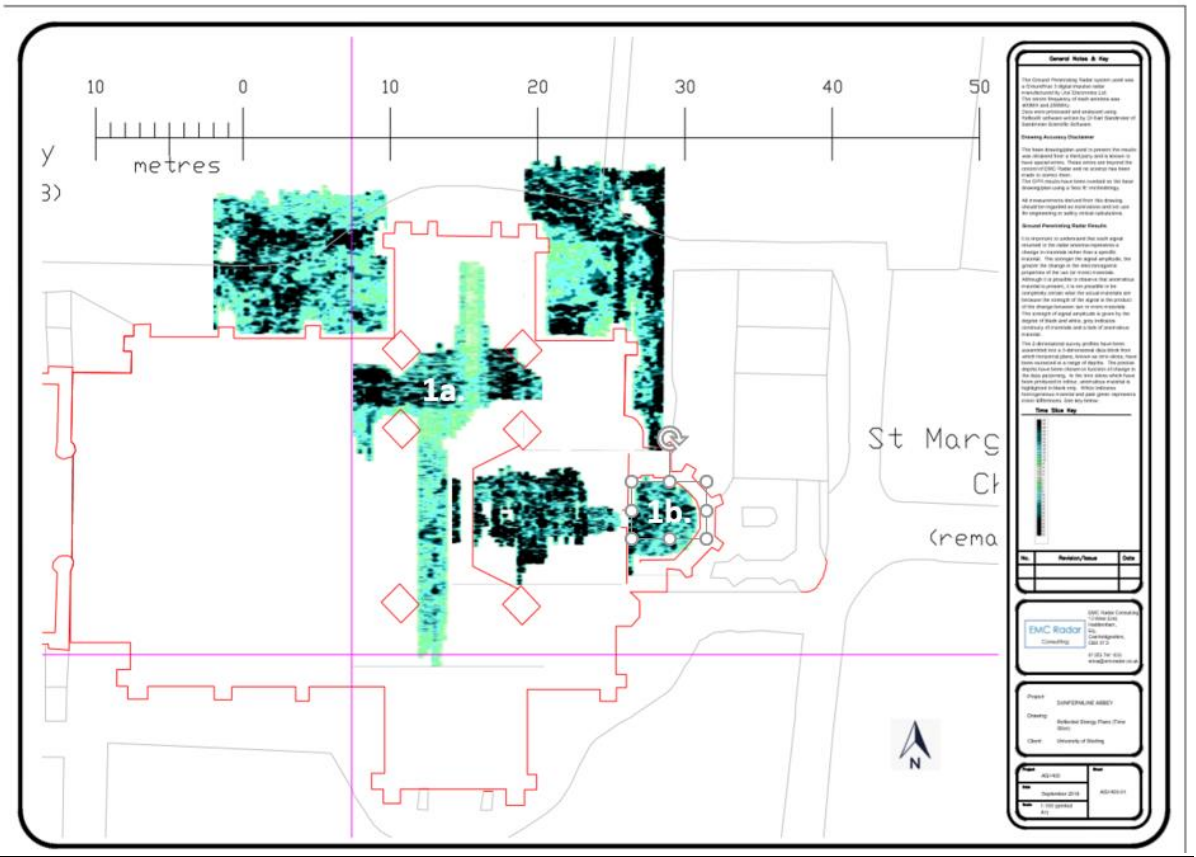

Fig 23: Composite of GPR scans of sections of lost choir of Dunfermline Abbey, 2016-17 – 1a, 1b from 2016. The building outlined in red is the modern Abbey Church.

This area (1a) was chosen for our first survey because as well as being relatively clear of pews and other immovable fittings it also sits atop the site of the medieval choir north aisle. The latter bordered east-west on the northern Lady Chapel extension of the late thirteenth-early fourteenth centuries, stated by the chronicle material of Fordun and Bower to be the site of numerous fourteenth-century elite burials.

Significantly, our scan area would also embrace the recorded site of six large slabs reported in the debris field in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and recorded by Burn/Jardine and others on their 1818 ground-plan [see Fig 13, marked as 'K']. These slabs were believed by locals and visitors to be the site of six kings' graves, with Bruce believed to be interred under, of course, the largest stone to the south-west.[83] This was a slab approximately 9' long by 3' wide and reportedly kissed by a kneeling Robert Burns during the bard's visit to the choir

[82] The following is taken from E.C. Utsi, *Ground-Penetrating Radar Survey of Part of the North Transept and the Vestry of Dunfermline Abbey* (EMC Radar, 2016).
[83] Dalyell, *Tract*, 1.

ruins in 1787.[84] This was also a feature that, as discussed below, was the site of antiquarian excavation in 1807.

Our scan area formed a rough T-junction (rotated here so as to run north-to-south from left-to-right), encompassing some 10mx3m east-west within the north aisle of the Abbey Church plus c.1.5mxc.8m north-south through the north transept of the Abbey Church (and the then gift shop). Utsi also added at least five test runs north-south across the central choir of the Abbey Church [c. 1.25m x 15m] immediately west of the modern east-end dais, in part to check for central features but also to check the possible effect of a rising south-side water-table.

Our pilot proved that it was indeed possible, despite the upper floor raft air-gap, poured pitch and unknown utilities, and using both the 250MHz and 400MHz antennas, to penetrate to the approximate medieval depths (down to at least 2m) and to identify potential subsurface burial and architectural features. Both frequencies returned broadly similar results, although the 250MHz results [Fig 24] suggested the potential burials extended to a greater depth than did the 400MHz scans and were perhaps more numerous. At the same time, the 400MHz scans provided sharper feature detail and more clearly evidenced a potential burial within the central area of the scan [Fig 25, boxed in red] which the 250MHz scans indicated to be likely disturbed and consisting of variable mixed materials and possible air pockets, consistent with the debris from post-medieval destruction.

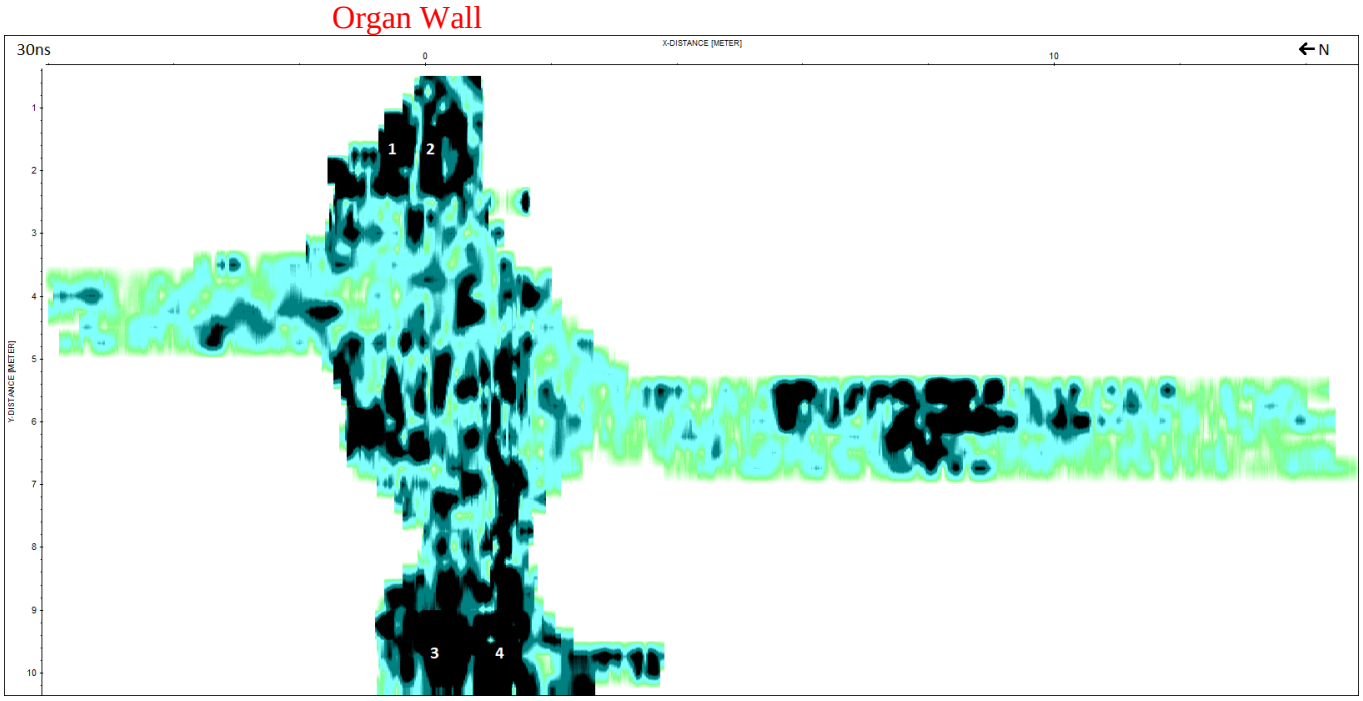

Fig 24: Time Slice extracted at 30ns from the 250MHz data showing possible pairs of burials east [1/2] and west [3/4] of the North Transept, area 1a.

[84] J. Currie ed., *The Life and Works of Robert Burns* (2 volumes, Edinburgh, 1815), i, 167-8; S. Hogg and A. Noble, eds., *The Canongate Burns* (Edinburgh, 2001), 464-73. That before 1818 there could be disagreement over such traditions, however, is illustrated by Robert Kerr's *History of Scotland during the Reign of King Robert* (2 volumes, Edinburgh, 1811), ii, 481, which sites Bruce's burial in the choir next to his queen, while the local Rev John Fernie's short *History of the Town and Parish of Dunfermline* (Dunfermline, 1815), 180, asserts that Bruce was in fact buried before the current pulpit in the nave: both thus ignore the six kings' slabs.

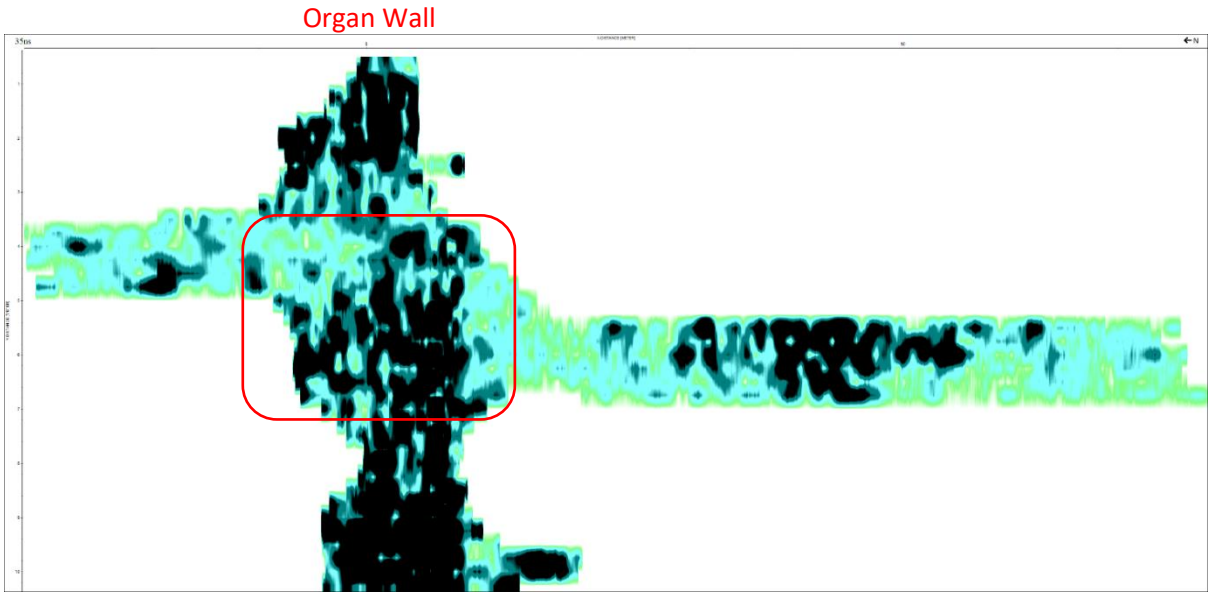

Fig 25: Time Slice extracted at 35ns from the 400MHz data showing disturbed area of (a) further potential burial(s), south of the reported site of six slabs traditionally believed to cover six kings' graves, at the time of scanning under the Abbey Church gift shop, area 1a.

At the east (organ wall) end of the north aisle the scans [Fig 24] combined to identify, from c.30ns down to c.63-70ns, at least two potential substantial burials, one perhaps within a shaped stone coffin in the medieval style (#1), the other perhaps in a small vault within a lead shroud or lining (#2). Ringing (echo effects) are visible below this second grave, as would be expected for either metallic remains or a void of sufficient size (cf survey line 6 in Fig 2 of the 2016 report).

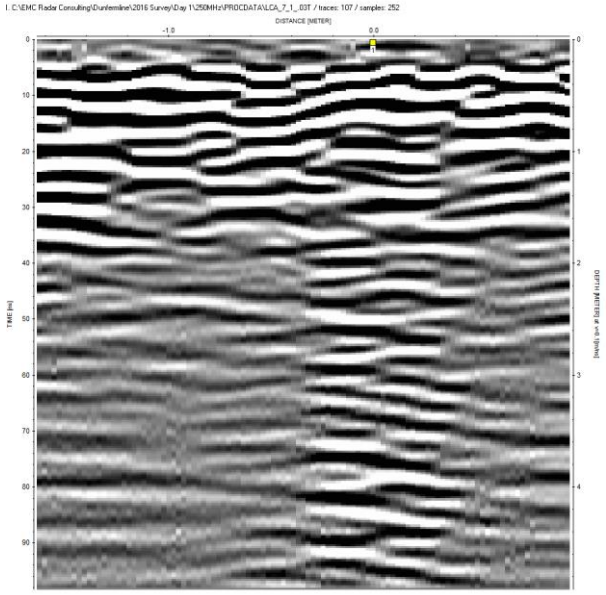

Fig 26 i.: Strong echo effects visible below one of the potential graves at the east end of area 1a [250MHz data].

Further west, in the centre of the scan area and in line with the north-south modern gift shop entrance there was evidence of a potential (deeper) architectural feature to the north then an

area of likely disturbed/dug-over material running south towards another potential burial, again at c.40-63ns in depth [Figs 25 and 26 i.-ii.].

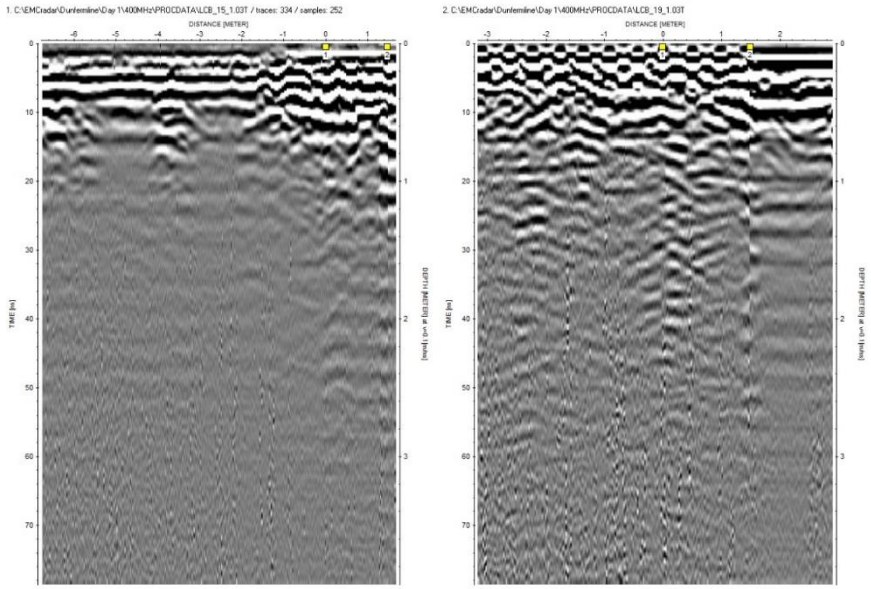

Fig 26 ii.: Survey lines 15 and 19 from the 400MHz survey showing potential archaeological remains below the complicated near surface of the Abbey Church's modern gift shop floor, area 1a.

Most striking of all, at the west end of the north aisle scan area and at a similar depth, at least two, possibly as many as four, substantial burials were identifiable, again with one large shaped stone coffin (Fig 27 #3) parallel to a more rectangular vault/burial (Fig 27 #4) forming the centre of this north-south grouping.

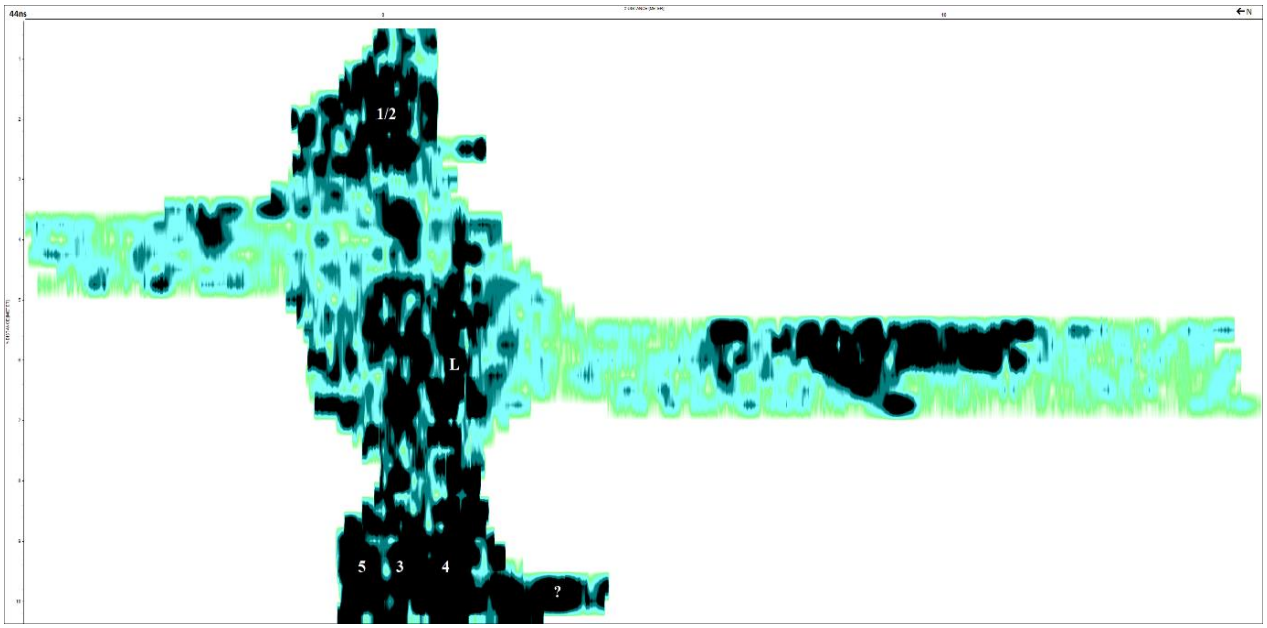

Fig 27: Time Slice extracted at 44ns from the 250 MHz data showing further potential burials at the west [5/?] of North Transept, area 1a.

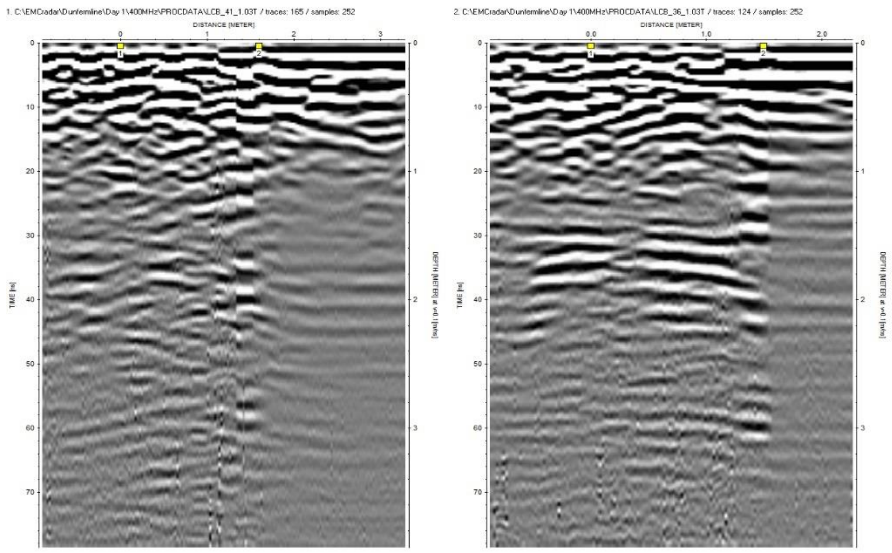

Fig 28: Survey lines 41 and 36 in the 400MHz data showing substantial archaeological remains in the western area of the North Transept, area 1a.

Bordering some of these potential burials to the centre and west of the aisle scan a linear east-west feature [L in Fig 27] seems to reflect a modern intrusion at a shallower depth. However, both frequencies confirmed further south, extending north-south across the middle of what would have been the medieval choir's presbytery, the potential remains of a large rectangular feature, surely architectural rather than burial, and at a significantly shallower depth than the potential aisle graves [Fig 29]. The possibility that this represents traces of the start of the medieval sanctuary steps is discussed below.

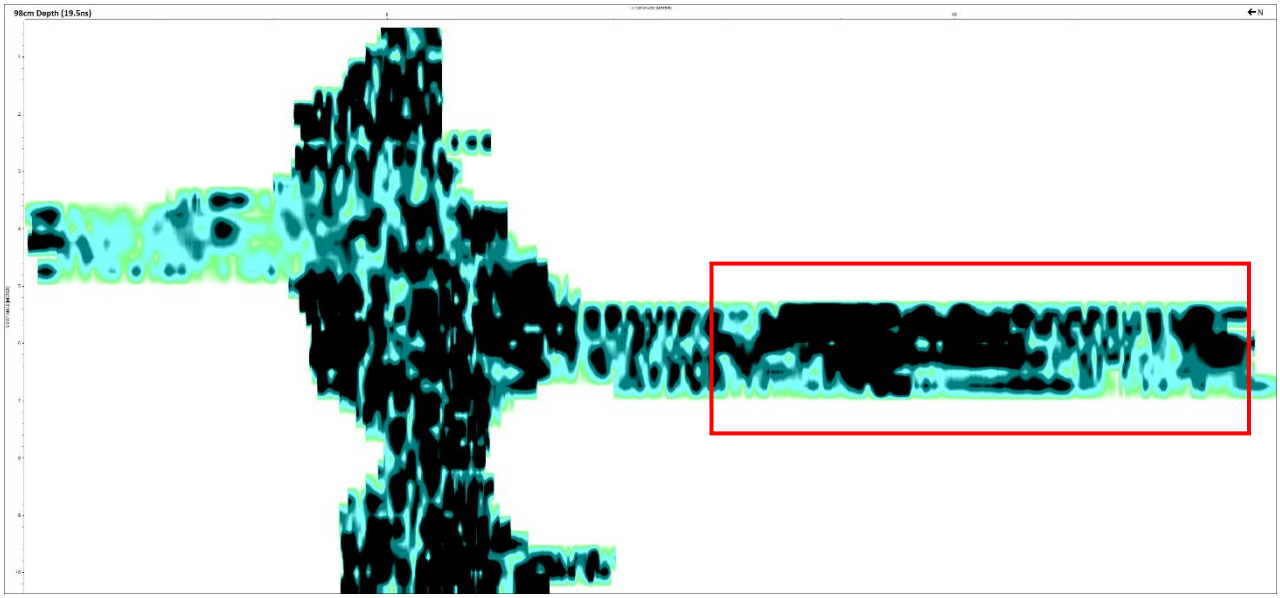

Fig 29: Time Slice extracted at 19.5ns (98cm depth) from the 250MHz data showing potentially large horizontal architectural feature [boxed in red] running north-south across church, area 1a.

b. The Vestry

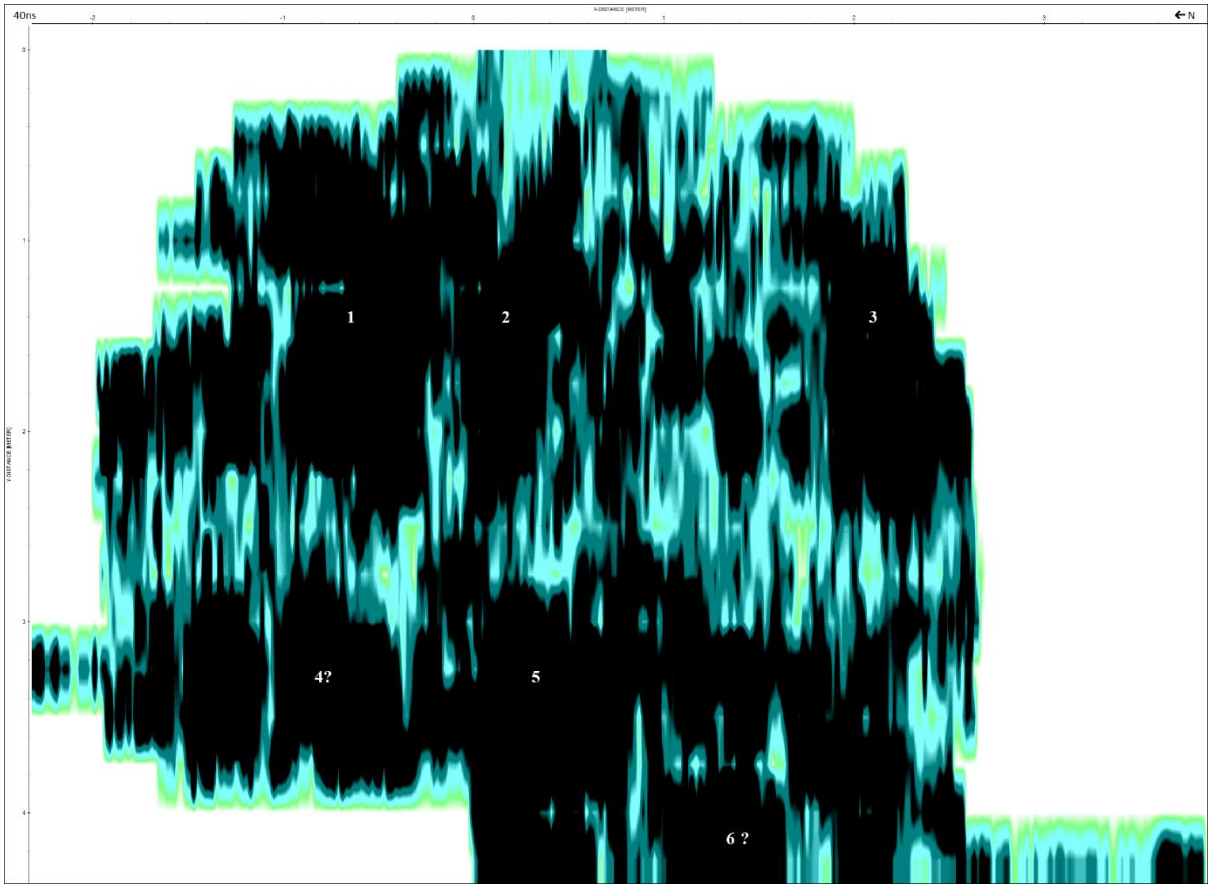

Fig 30: Time Slice extracted at 40ns from the 400MHz data showing several potential east-west orientated burials beneath the vestry floor, area 1b.

The next scan area chosen [Fig 23, area 1b] was the modern east-end Abbey Church vestry, given its immediate proximity west of the marble base of the medieval shrine of St Margaret, extant in the eastern exterior graveyard [Fig 18]. The vestry thus lies atop what would have been the retro-choir of the screened choir high altar of the post-1250 church further to the west, and thus the paved sanctuary area of this major feretory shrine and part of the pilgrim pathway around the church interior.

As Utsi's report and its accompanying time-slice images make clear [Figs 30-1], the scan results of both frequencies evidenced 'a crowded burial space…a high density of graves, the possibility of some graves intercutting…and there is also evidence in both surveys to suggest more than one level of burial', perhaps extending down through as much as 2m in depth.[85]

It is likely that at least the lowest detectable archaeological features beneath the vestry may be at the medieval depth (if not all medieval features). These features are indicated by the time slices between 38ns and 80ns depth. In the vestry, the modern Abbey Church floor – as with the dais around the modern pulpit and 'Bruce grave' commemorative brass plaque in the main

[85] Utsi, *Ground-penetrating Radar Survey of Part of the North Transept and the Vestry of Dunfermline Abbey*, 21.

church east-end - lies roughly a foot above the level of the modern floor of the north transept/aisle.

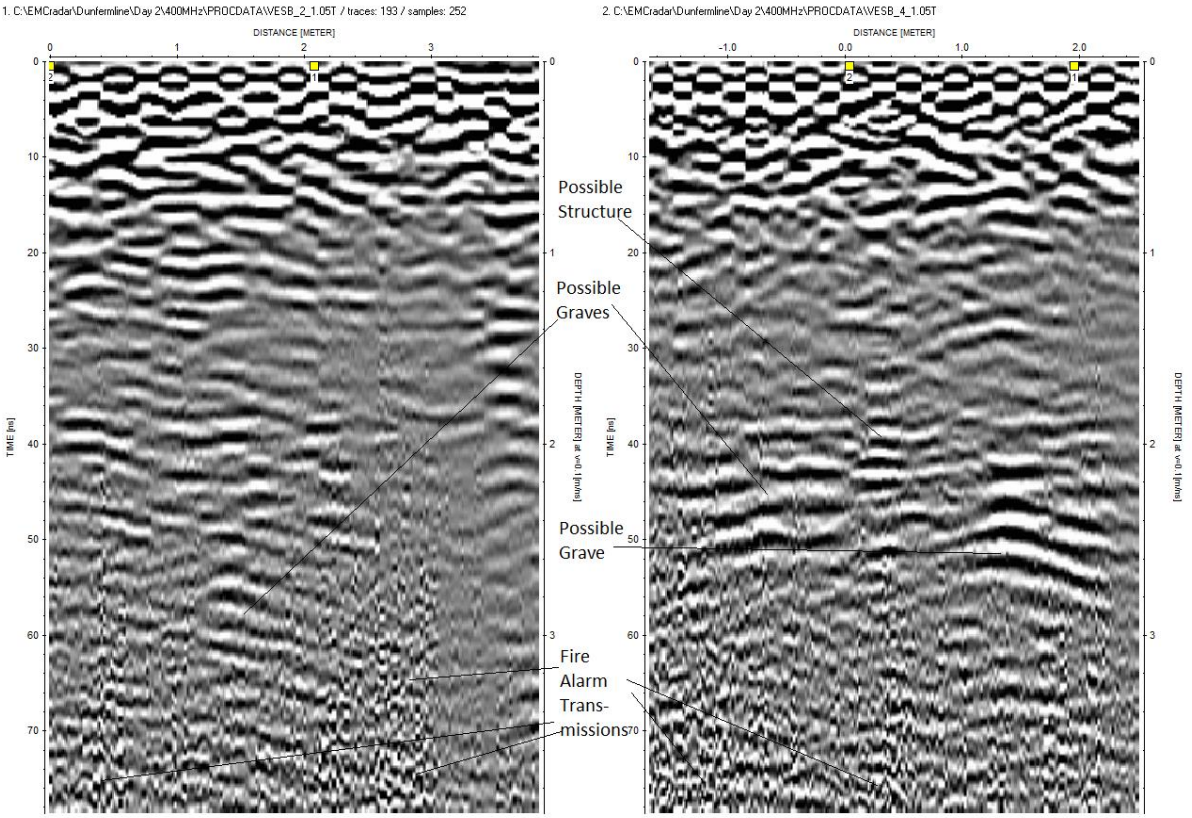

Fig 31: Survey lines 2 and 4 from the vestry [400MHz] showing traditional GPR evidence of multiple graves, area 1b.

Pilot Survey 2: 12-14 June 2017 [86]

a. The Central area between Vestry and Dais (including the 'Bruce grave')

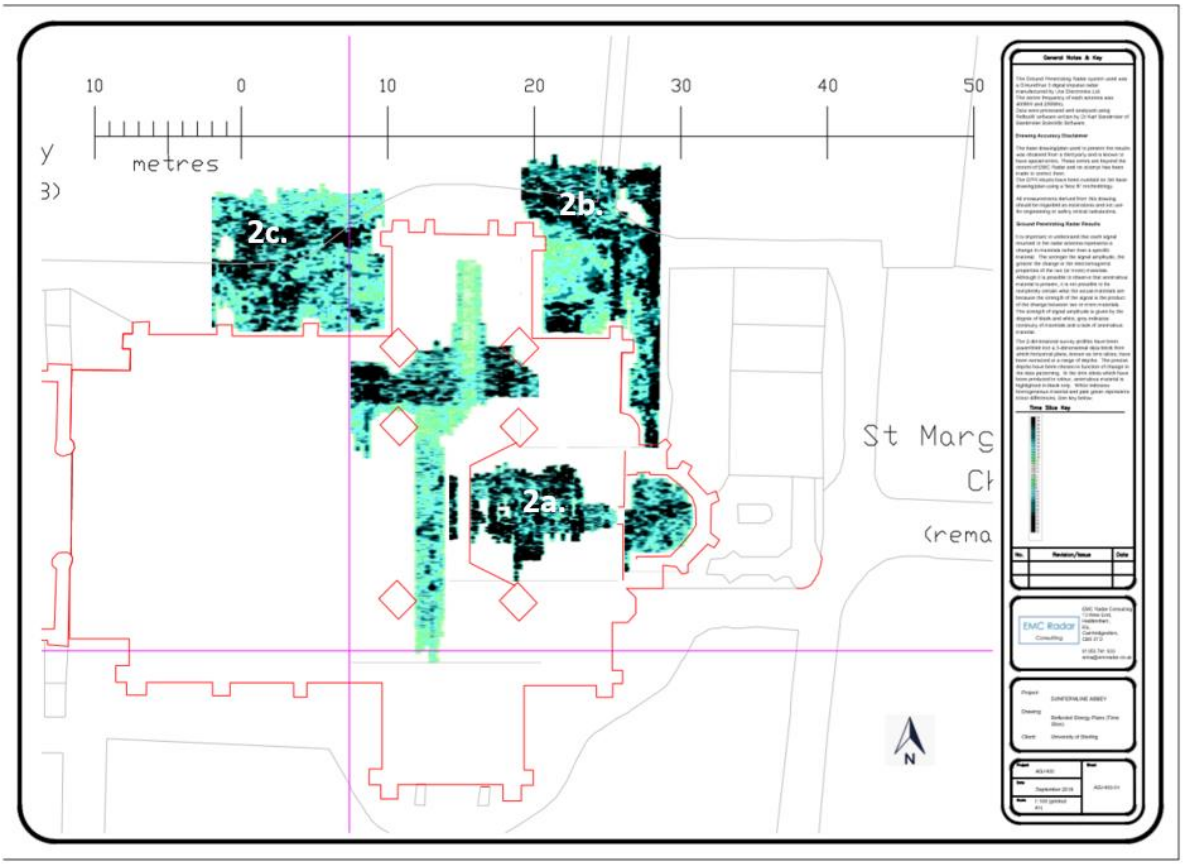

Fig 32: Composite of GPR scans of sections of lost choir of Dunfermline Abbey, 2016-17 – 2a, 2b, 2c from 2017.

This area [Fig 32 2a] represents perhaps that of greatest potential interest surveyed by this pilot project given the known presence of the 1818-19 'Bruce grave', west of the likely position of the lost medieval choir high altar. However, as Utsi's report makes clear, it also presented some of the greatest practical and interpretive difficulties. There were notable discrepancies between the two frequencies' returns, due to a variety of issues:

- the unsuitability of some areas of the subsurface soil.
- ringing from modern surface/near-surface intrusions, including modern organ fittings.
- and the constrained nature of the space to be scanned, bounded as it was to the north and south by fixed pews, and by the Bruce grave marked with a brass plaque (which radar cannot penetrate), beneath a grand Victorian wooden pulpit before the heavy wooden modern communion table to the west [Fig 33]. Parts of the 'Bruce grave', the feet of the pulpit and the table show as white blanks in the data on the report time slices.

[86] The following is taken from E.C. Utsi, *Ground-penetrating Radar Survey of the Central Area between the Vestry and the Altar and 2 External Areas overlying the former Lady chapel of Dunfermline Abbey* (EMC Radar, 2017).

Fig 33: View west from Abbey Church vestry door showing pulpit atop brass Robert Bruce grave plaque (1889), carpeted dais and communion table, area 2a.

Nevertheless, both antennas produced some broadly similar if 'enigmatic' and debatable results. There is the possibility of as many as seven, perhaps eight, potential historic features. These may be east-west orientated graves, quite large, from c.1.29m down, with three grouped in a north-south row to the east of the 'Bruce grave' plaque [Fig 34, #s 3-4-5]; two to the south-east of that group closer to the current Abbey Church back wall and the present door through to the Vestry [Fig 34, #s 1-2]; two more side-by-side to the south-east of the 'Bruce grave' [Fig 34, #s 6-7]; and the last, much less distinct and certain, to the immediate south of the 'Bruce grave' [Fig 38, #??].

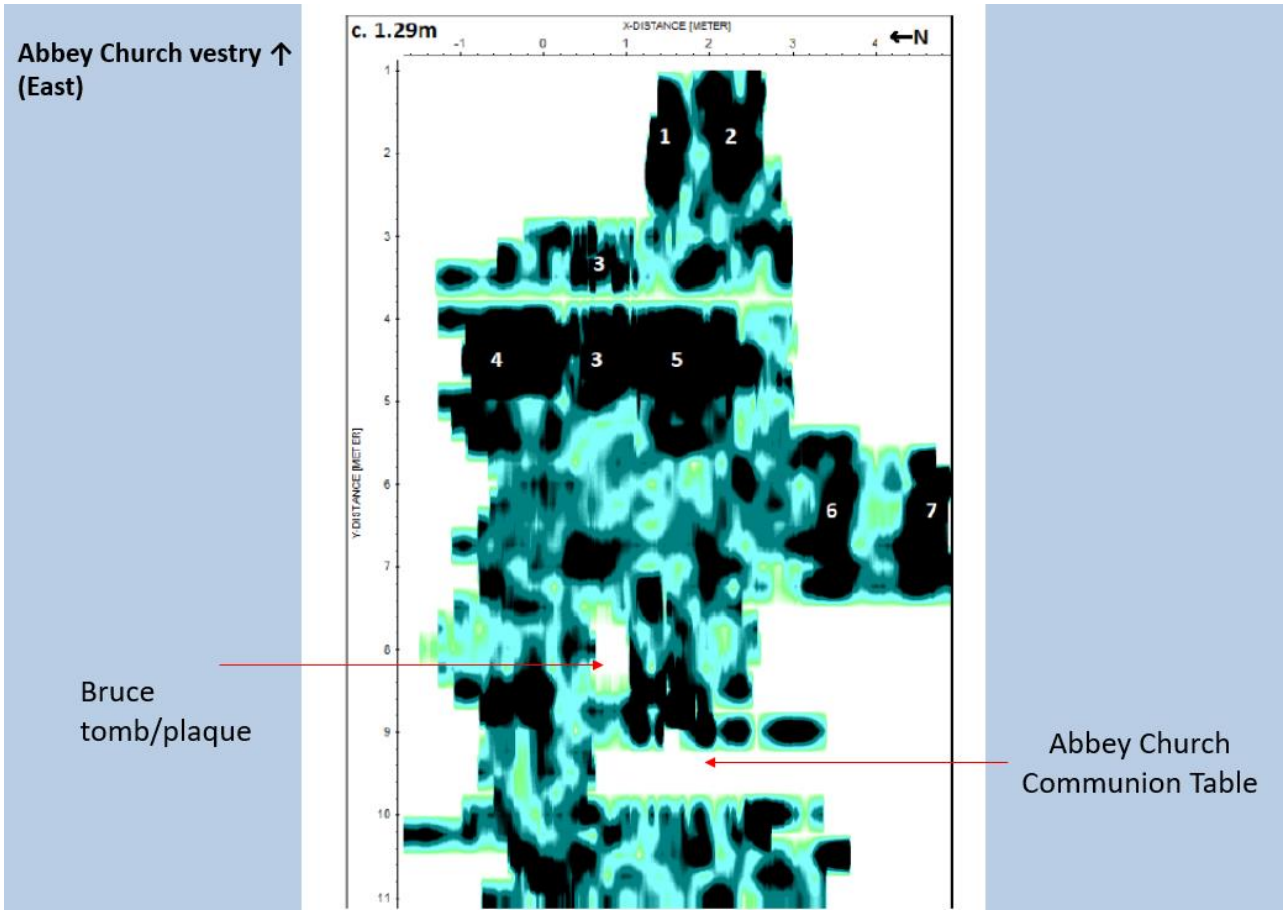

Fig 34: Time Slice extracted a c.1.29m [250MHz] area 2a.

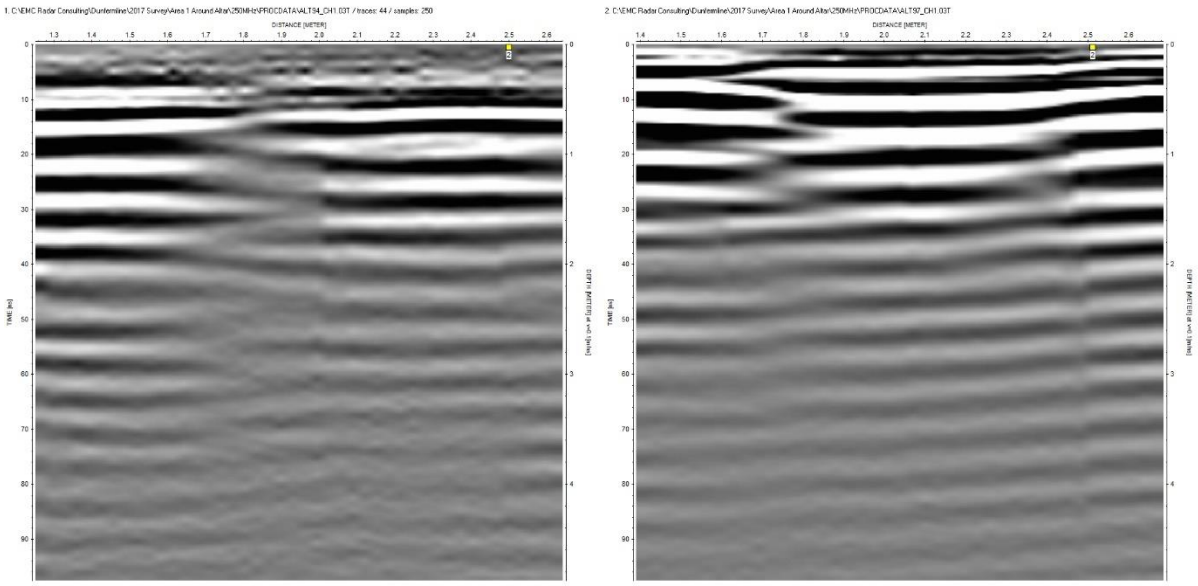

Fig 35: Survey lines 94 and 97 showing the vertical profile of features 1 and 2 of Fig 34 [250MHz], area 2a.

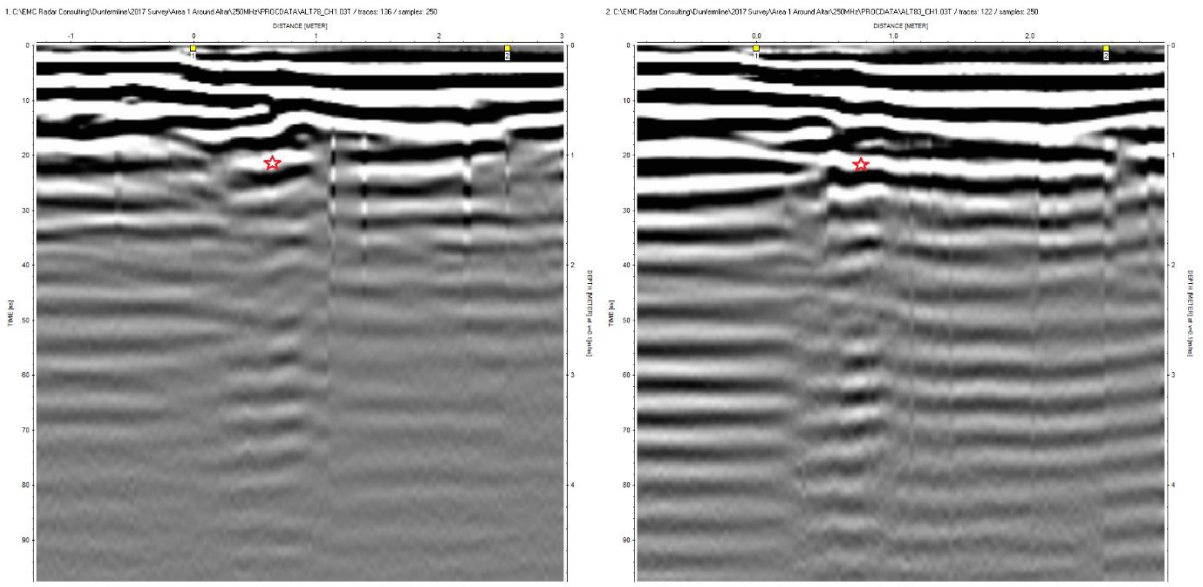

Fig 36: Survey lines 78 and 83 showing the vertical profile of features 4, 3 and 5 of Fig 34 [250MHz], area 2a.

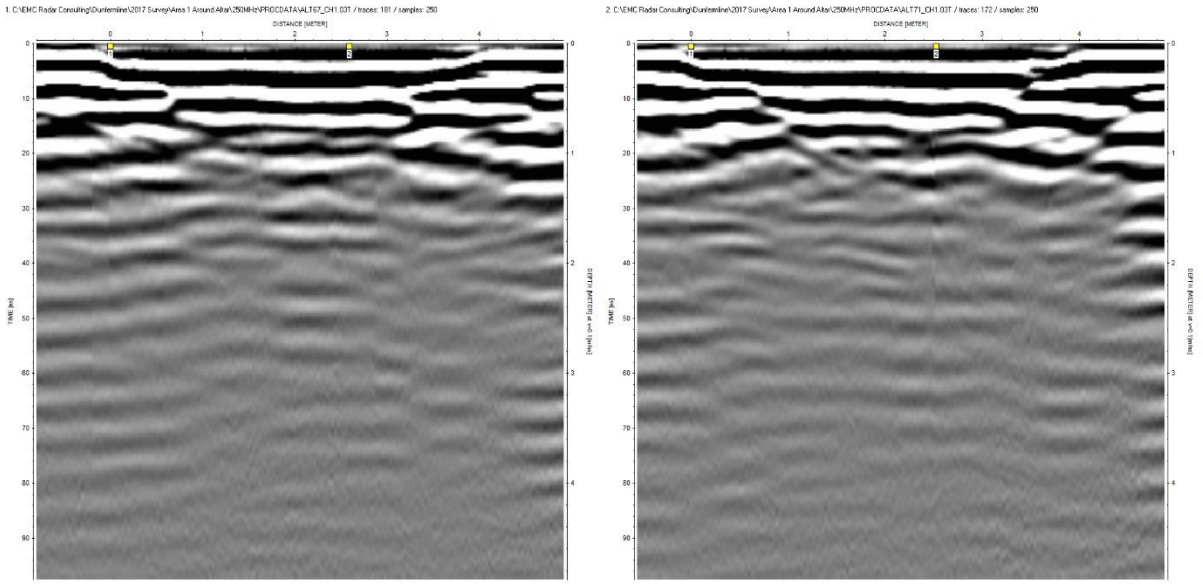

Fig 37: Survey Lines 67 and 71 showing the vertical profile of features 6 and 7 of Fig 34 [250MHz], area 2a.

However, given that the first appearance of most of these features is relatively shallow below what is a raised dais floor, these may in part be evidence for 'earlier structural remains' rather than extant graves (or their disturbed remnants).[87] There is a considerable amount of ringing (echo effects) directly below one of these features (#3). Feature #5, although clearly visible in the 250MHz data is only faintly visible in the 400MHz data [Figs 34, 38 and 39] suggesting that its material composition is different from the other features and closer in nature to their environment. There are also indications of a few more deeply buried but unrelated remains (cf

[87] *Ibid*., 22.

#s 6 and 7). Significantly, at least five of these potential features [#s 3-7] might be said to define a rectangular boundary for the high altar space [Fig 34].

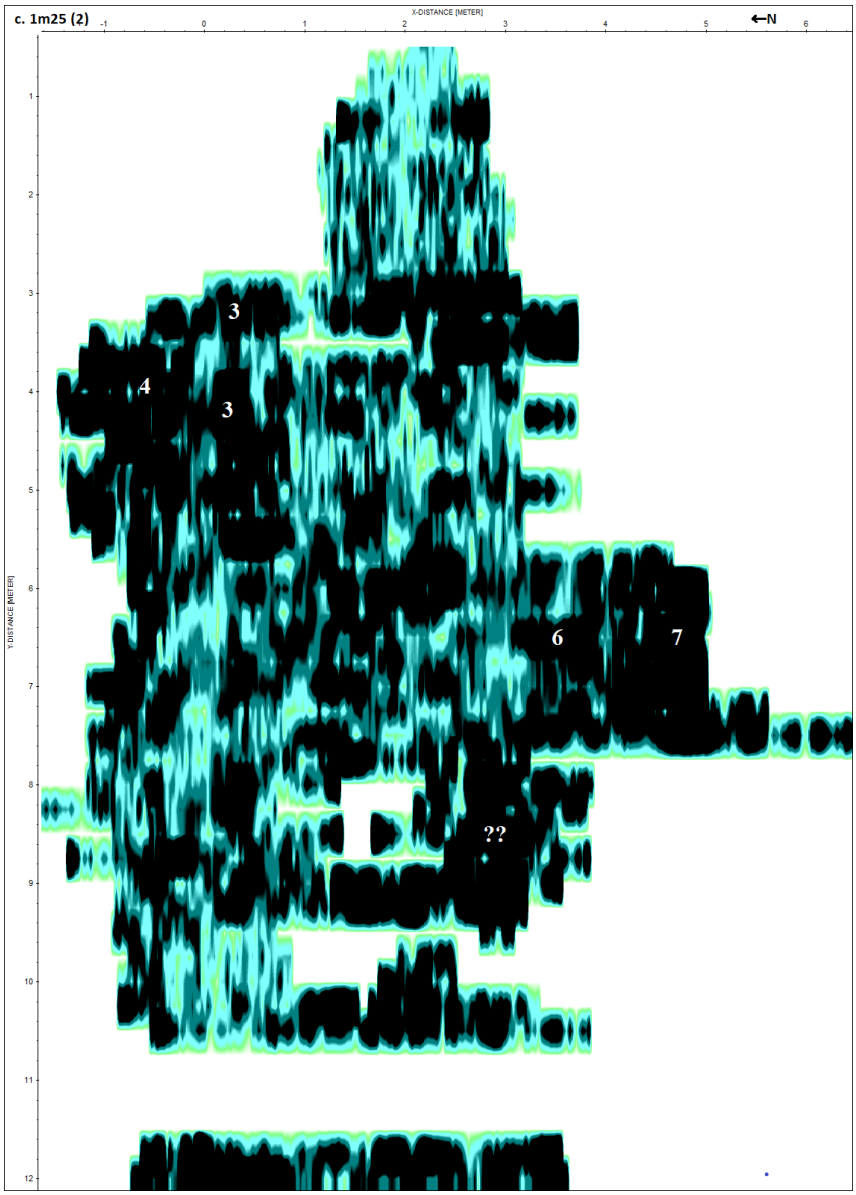

Fig 38: Time Slice extracted at 1.25m depth, with added gain [400MHz], area 2a.

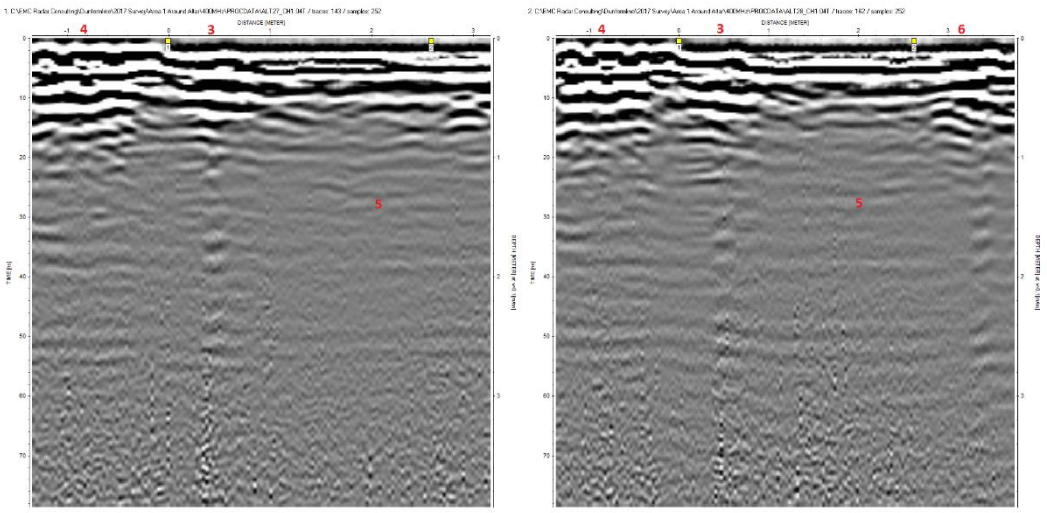

Fig 39: Survey lines 27 and 28 showing cross sections of features 3 to 5 of Fig 38 [400MHz], area 2a.

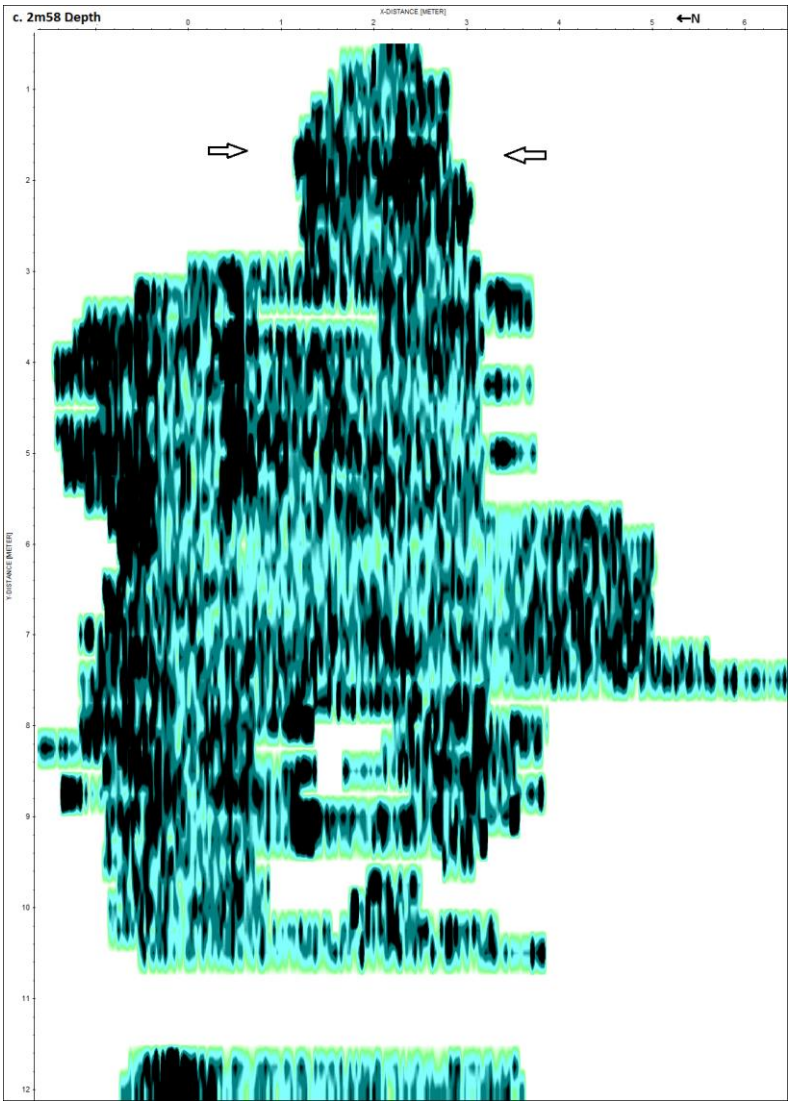

Fig 40: Time Slice extracted at 2.58m depth [400MHz], area 2a.

An eighth potential feature [Fig 38, # ??] to the immediate south of the 'Bruce grave' may also represent the wider structure or dug-over spoil related to the recorded process on 5 November 1819 of breaking down the originally-observed stone crypt which housed the 'Bruce' remains. The Remembrancer's inspection team did so to gain access to its contents and then to build up a new replacement (double-walled?) brick-lined grave space for their re-interment.[88] Post-1560 'Psalter' churchyard burials may account for some of these features, too, just as later, post-1822 construction processes might also be a factor here: for example the insertion of the modern organ in 1882 and its subsequent renewal/adaptation in 1911, 1966 and 1984-7.[89]

[88] Jardine, *Report*, 34, 43-4.

[89] Dunfermline Abbey Church – 'The Organ', https://dunfermlineabbey.com/wwp/?page_id=1231 accessed 5/2/20.

b. The East End of the Lady Chapel, exterior to the Abbey Church North Transept

At about 1m's depth both antennas [Figs 41-7] returned likely evidence for the cut-down substantial wall-foundations of the late thirteenth/fourteenth-century Lady Chapel [Fig 23, Area 2b], with these remains widening down to c.1.4m depth, then extending down beyond 2m depth, and lying east-west and north-south in line with the end buttresses of the modern Abbey Church transept and east-end wall.

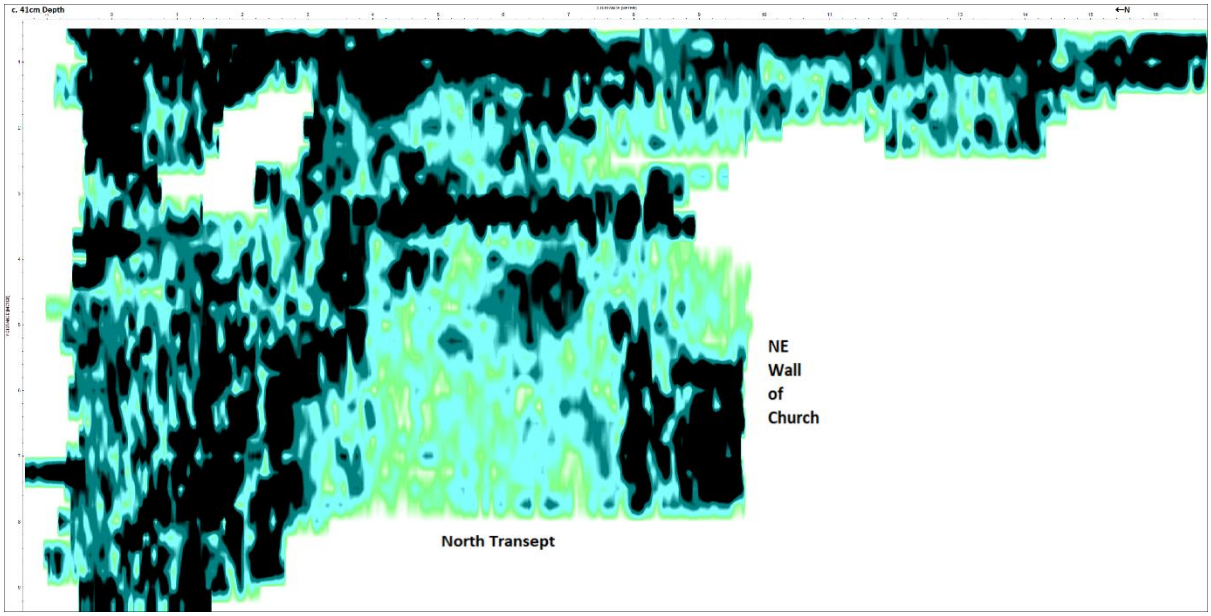

Fig 41: Time Slice extracted at c.41cm depth [400MHz], area 2b.

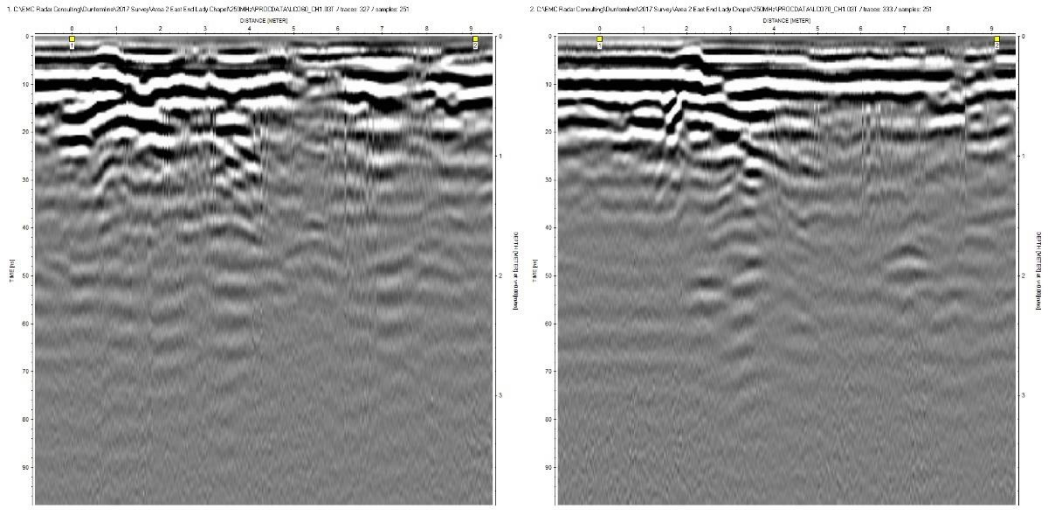

Fig 42: Survey lines 60 and 70 showing evidence of a damaged former wall [250MHz], area 2b.

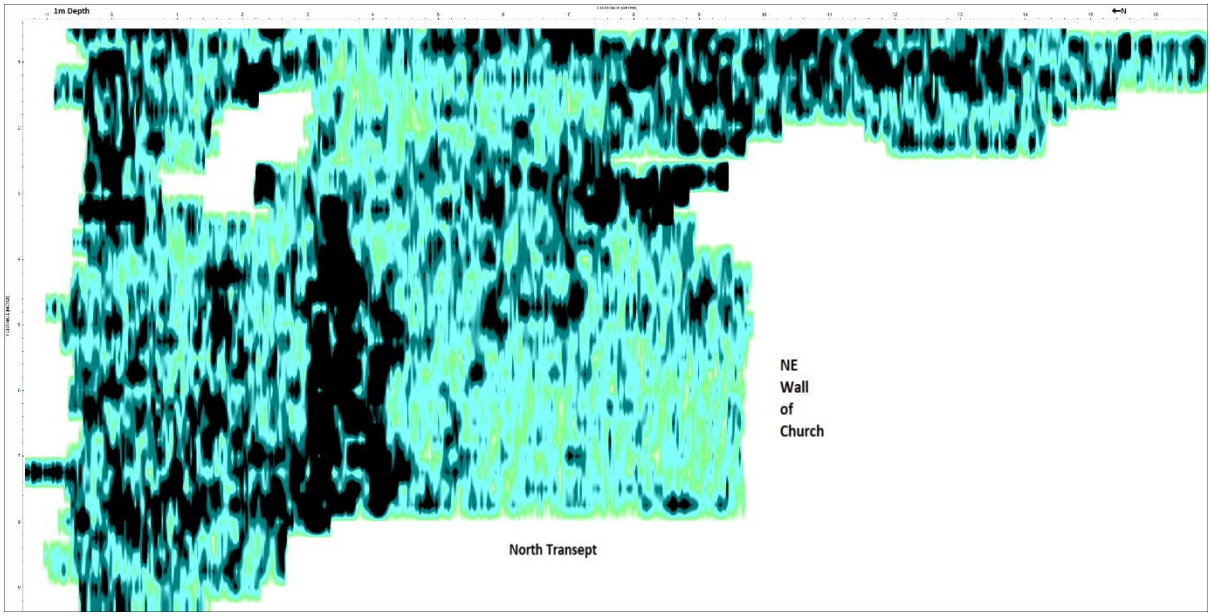

Fig 43: Time Slice extracted at 1m depth [400MHz], area 2b.

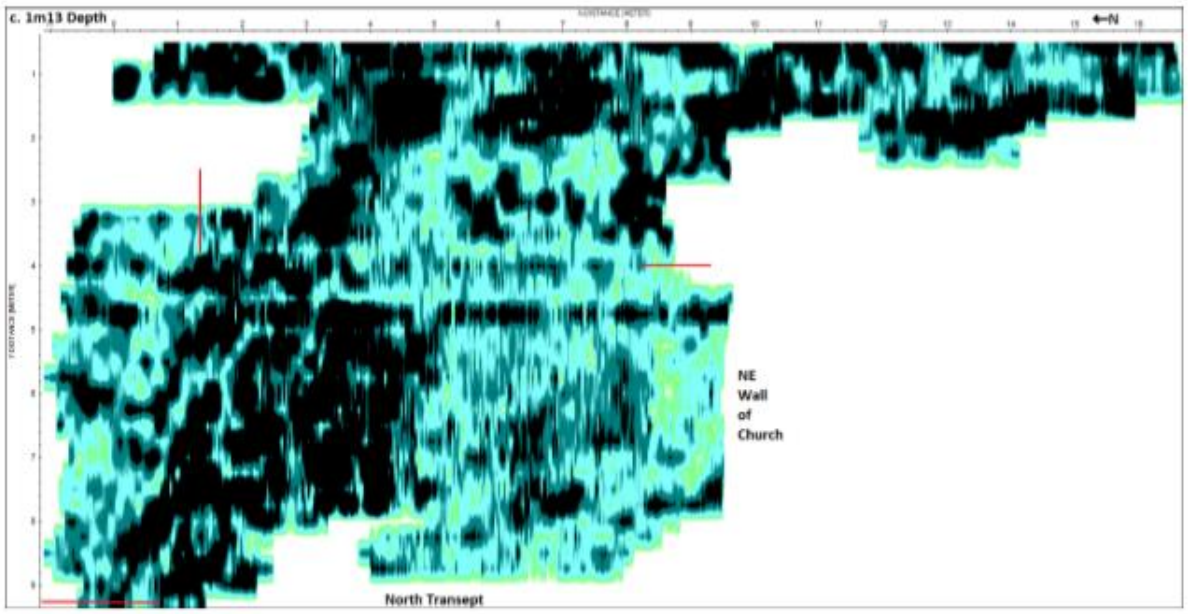

Fig 44: Time Slice extracted at c.1.13m depth [250MHz]. area 2b.

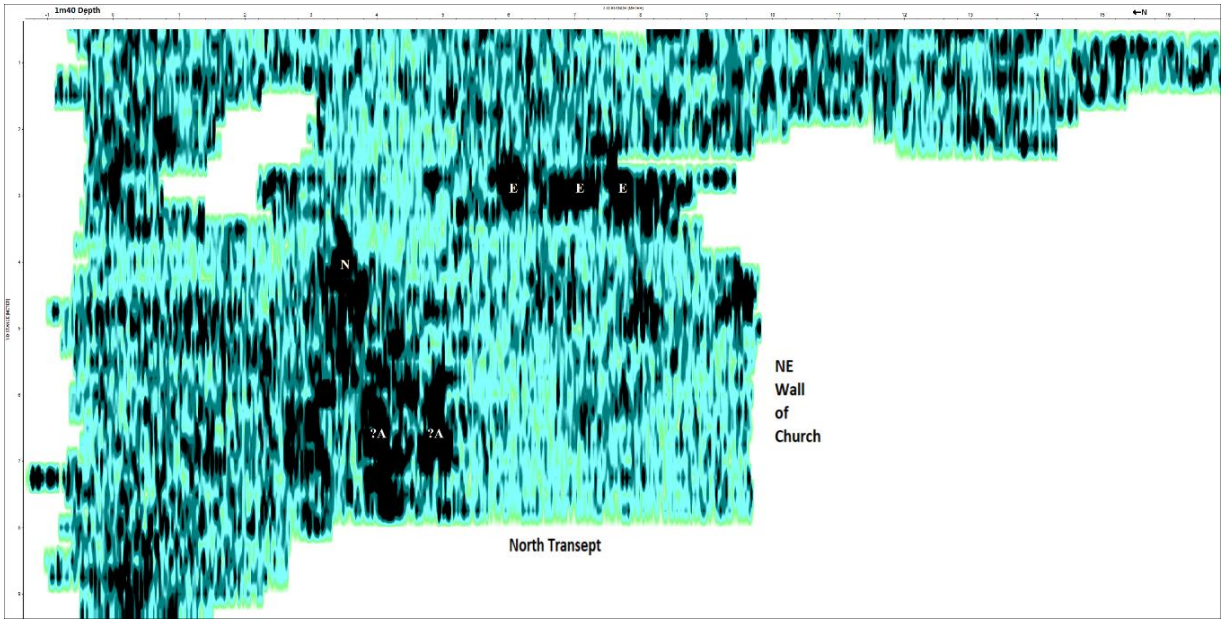

Fig 45: Time Slice extracted at 1.4m depth [400 MHz], area 2b.

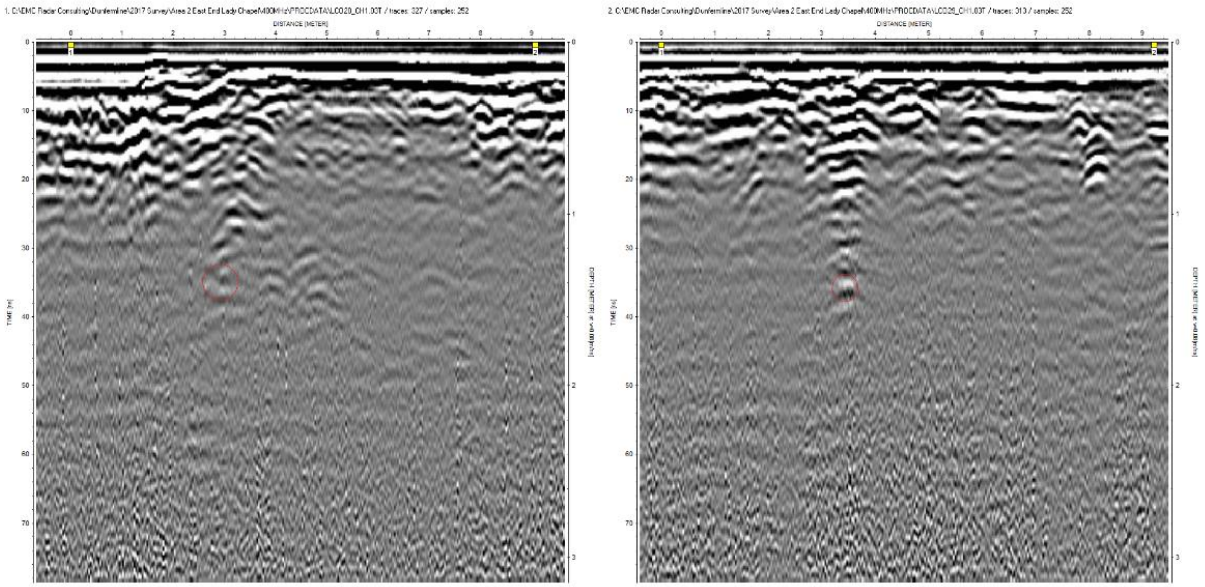

Fig 46: Survey lines 20 (lhs) and 29 (rhs) [400MHz], area 2b.

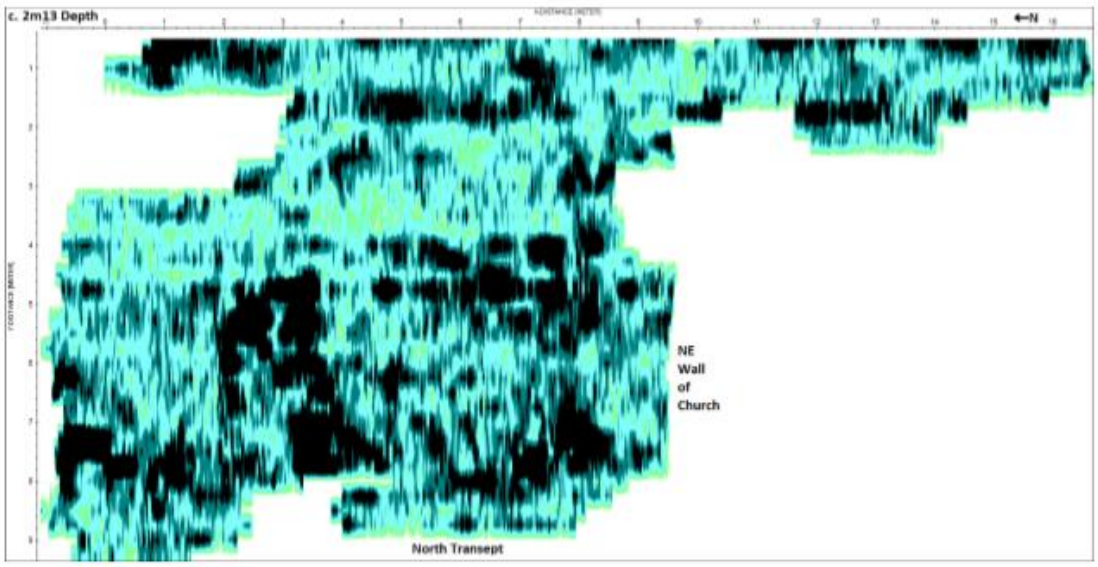

Fig 47: Time Slice extracted at 2.13m depth [250MHz], area 2b.

Significantly, the extent and alignment of these scanned walls matches those recorded on the 1818-19 Burn/Jardine ground-plan [Fig 13] in several ways. The buried walls confirm the wide northern transept nature of the Lady Chapel and its extension of the choir's north-south cruciform axis. They also seem to confirm the 1818-19 ground-plan's recording of a flat east-end choir wall, joining at a right angle with the eastern extension of the rectangular St Margaret feretory shrine. The latter point challenges most antiquarian and modern-day heritage re-creative plans for the choir all of which more commonly suggest stepped/dog-leg walls for the east-end choir walls, both to the north (Lady Chapel/aisle) and the south [Figs 48-52]. However, it must be noted that the scanned walls, as also apparent when imposed on a modern ground-plan [Fig 23], do align directly with the Abbey Church north-east walls as built, not a short distance to the west as the 1818-19 ground-plan suggests [Fig 48, ringed in red].

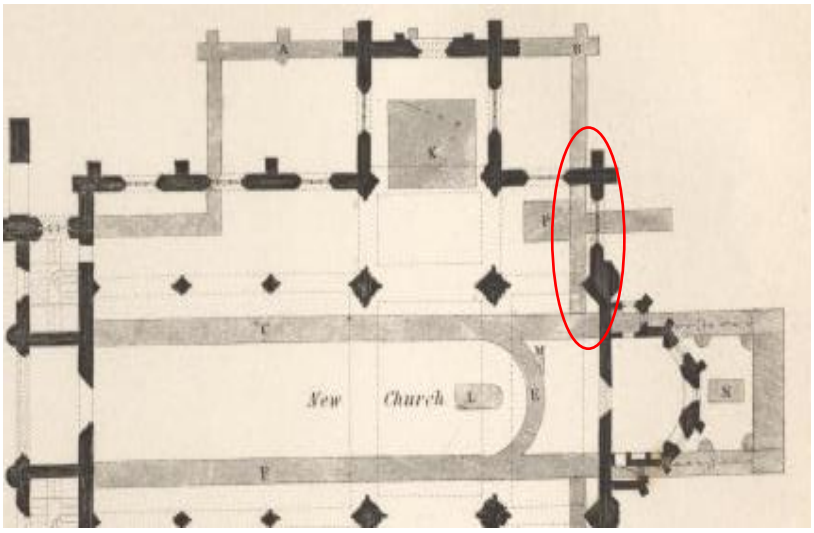

Fig 48: Burn/Jardine plan (1818) of Abbey choir Lady Chapel.

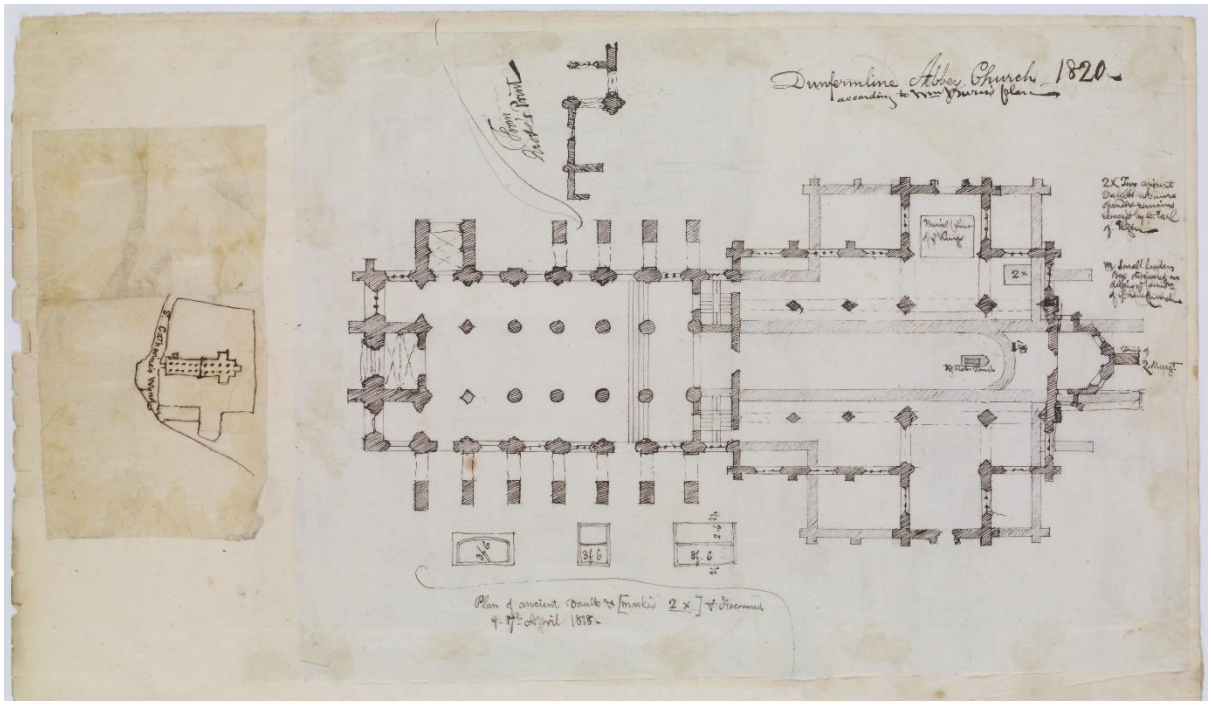

Fig 49: Rev John Sime's copy of the Burn/Jardine plan (with symmetrical choir), from his *Memorabilia* (Edinburgh, 1840).

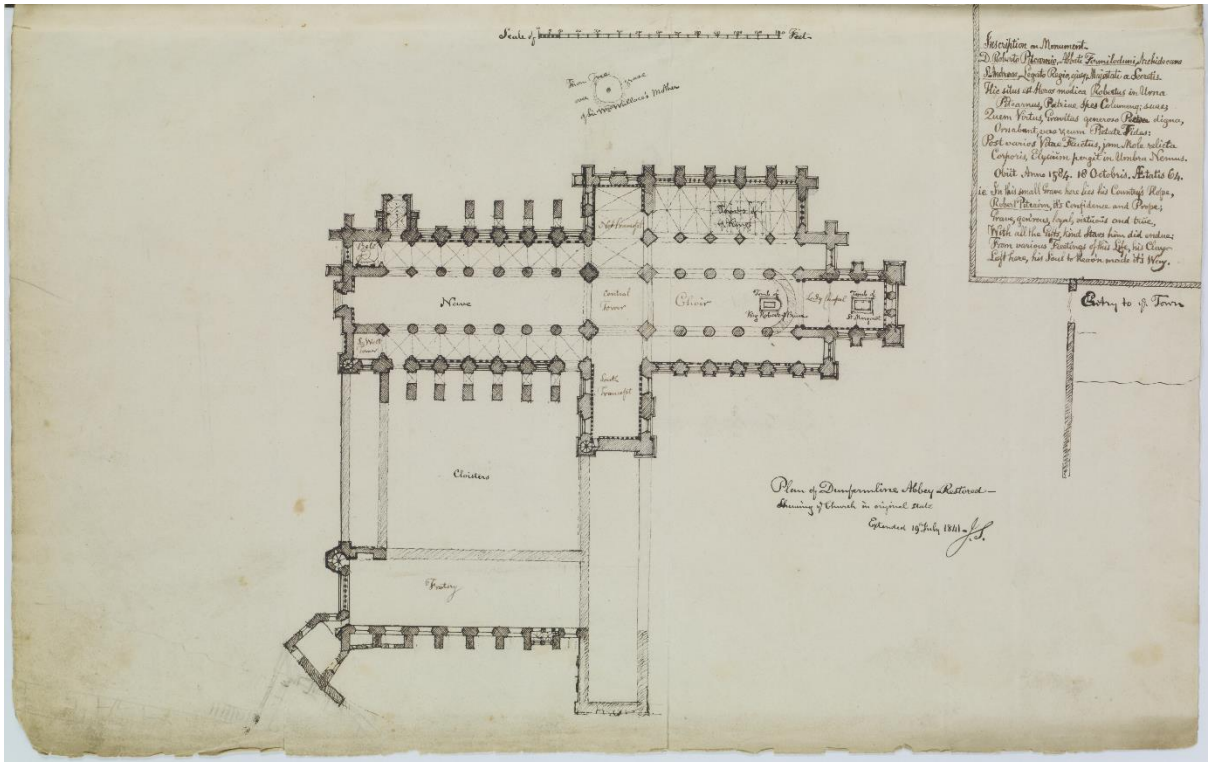

Fig 50: Rev. Sime's 1841 extended sketch of Dunfermline Abbey plan. Note his rejection of the Burn/Jardine symmetrical chapel on the choir's south side and insertion of a dog-leg east end wall to the Lady Chapel.

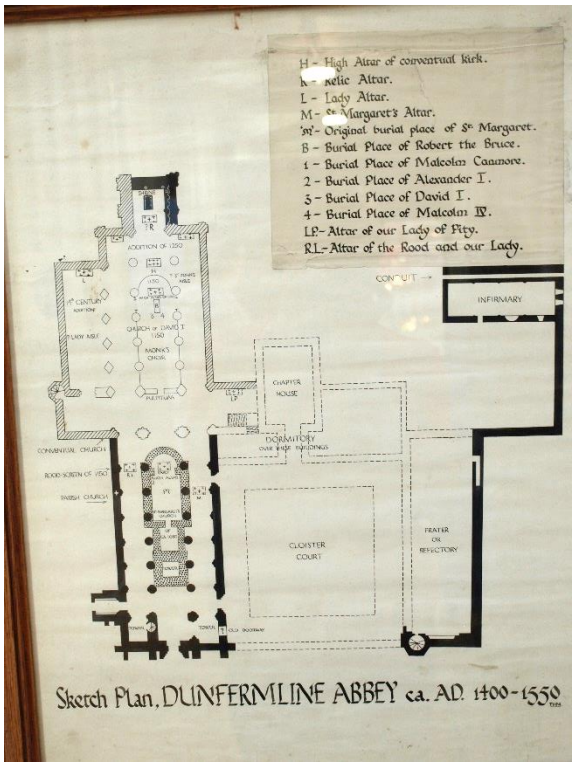

Fig 51: (Asymmetrical) Ground-plan of the Abbey displayed in the Abbey Church, dating from 1964.

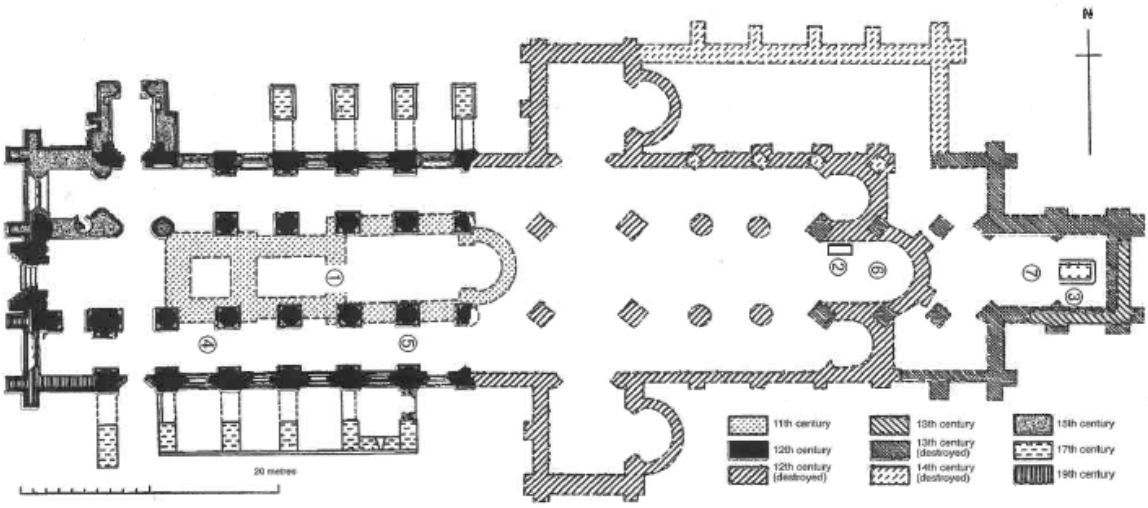

Fig 52: Richard Fawcett's ground-plan (after Sime?) of the Abbey's development, from idem ed., *Royal Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 2005).

It should be borne in mind that the northern and north-east corner walls of the medieval Lady Chapel were actually extant to c.8m in height, complete with four arched Gothic windows (and hints of two more), right up to the time of the site-clearing and Abbey Church construction of 1818-19 [see Figs 3-10]. It may be that the slight differences between the two frequencies' scan results for this area down to initially shallow depths at c.40cm reflects the deconstruction of these walls by Burn's workmen but leaving uneven/broken upper course levels (perhaps with

a ragged top). These were nonetheless sufficiently low as to be covered over by the new build levels and, over time, its surrounding pathways.

However, there may be another post-1822 explanation for the apparent ‘dog-leg’ visible and noted by Utsi along the c.1m thick northern wall remains at that depth in the 400MHz scan of this area, one which underlines our need to be aware of modern intrusions on this complex site [Fig 43]. The 1854 Ordnance Survey map of Dunfermline [Fig 53] not only shows the lines of the thick medieval walls of the former Lady Chapel, suggesting perhaps that at that time the pathways around the new Abbey Church were sufficiently low as to leave these foundations visible; but the same map also records the position of a thinner wall inserted at a c.100 degree angle at this north-east corner, perhaps demarcating this area for, or in anticipation of, modern burial lairs. Thus, it may be the overlap of the medieval and modern walls along their northern line which creates the impression of a dogleg in the scan data.

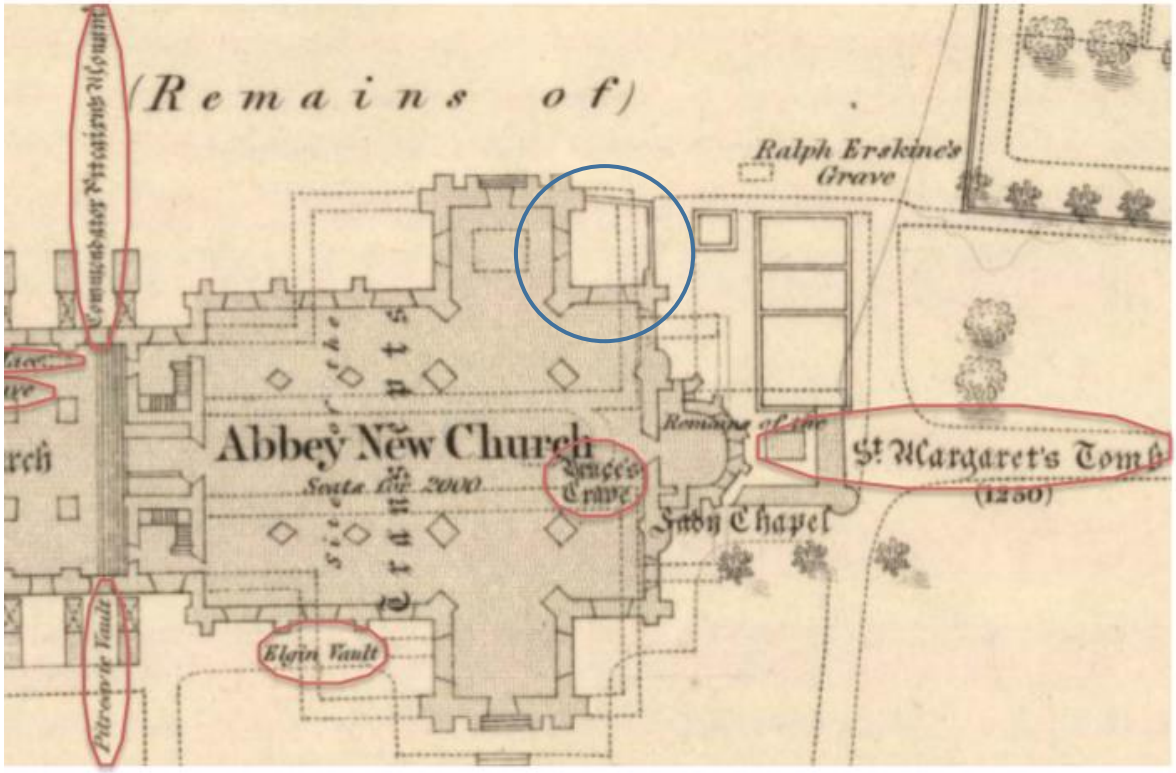

Fig 53: Ordnance Survey map of Dunfermline Abbey/Abbey Church (1854). North-east Lady Chapel corner ringed in blue to highlight low post-1821 graveyard wall [Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland].

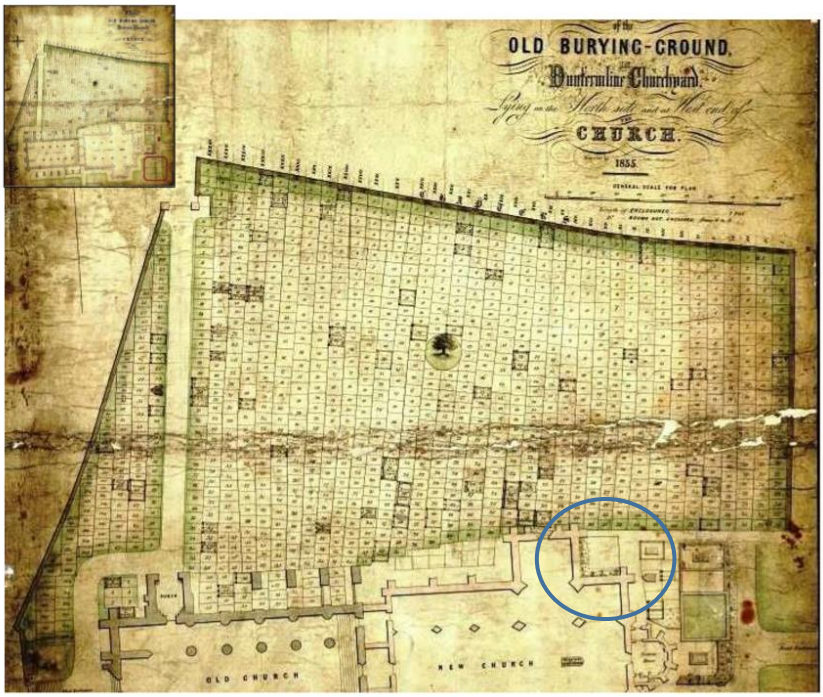

Fig 54: Abbey Church of Dunfermline Kirk Session burial ground-plan of 1855: north-east corner graveyard wall again ringed in blue.

Perhaps installed as part of levelling in the old northern graveyard in 1842, this thin wall is also indicated on the Kirk Session's remarkable 1855 lair (or 'room') diagram [Fig 54], a plan drawn up in anticipation of the need to soon provide new burial grounds for Dunfermline's growing population. A photograph of the Abbey Church from the north-east of c.1870 also perhaps shows this low wall still in situ, topped with an iron fence [Fig 55].

Fig 55: Photograph of Abbey Church from north-east c.1870, low graveyard wall with iron fence atop Lady Chapel ringed in red.

But this low wall was presumably demolished and covered over by the present-day asphalt pathway some years after the closure of the northern graveyard to further burial about 1863. This action was also perhaps part of measures designed to deal with issues of flooding and insanitary conditions resulting from waterlogged graves in the closing decades of that century. Or it may have been part of a more drastic levelling and landscaping of the Abbey churchyards undertaken in 1927 (in anticipation of public commemoration of the 600th anniversary of Bruce's death by the Kirk Session).[90]

Some of our radar scan returns from within this section of the ruined Lady Chapel walls may thus represent structures and/or burials, either from:

- the medieval period (perhaps the two potential deeper features in the north-east, Fig 44).

- or from the period c.1560-c.1818 (really the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) when the ruined choir was used as a town graveyard, the 'Satur' or 'Psalter' churchyard.

- or from the period immediately after the completion of the new Abbey Church when the lairs of the graveyards, both north and south, became more tightly regulated and recorded.

The grave in the south-west corner of this scan area defined by the buried walls may represent one such post-1560 or post-1822 burial [Fig 41], given its shallower first appearance at c.40cm and then disappearance at c.80cm

Great caution must therefore be exercised in interpreting this potential evidence. There are Kirk Session burial registers which detail the use of the north-east corner of the ruined choir and Lady Chapel (but no more precisely than that) by the Bruce Earls of Elgin for their extended family's 'Psalter' churchyard burials, as befitted one of the parish's chief heritors. In 1805 Earl Thomas was permitted to extend this ground to some 50' by 19'.[91] Some other heritors also sought to 'rail in' their allotted burial grounds within the 'Psalter' yard.[92] By this time it was already part of oft-repeated local lore that in 1776, when preparing ground for the burial of his brother and beloved son beneath substantial monuments in this location[93], the Earl's workmen removed some of the ruins of the Lady Chapel and uncovered the medieval stone coffin and remains of an elite female (believed at the time to be that of Elizabeth de Burgh, Bruce's queen). These relics were reported as one-half of a double stone-lined crypt against the (flat) east end wall.[94] This grave was recorded on the Burn/Jardine plan [Fig 13, as 'P', now under the Abbey Church organ] and is discussed in more detail below. Clearly, burials from both the medieval and (early-)modern periods could share the same ground here, if not perhaps the same depths.

[90] Henderson, *Annals*, 332, 560; Mowat, 'The Old Churchyard', 8-11.
[91] Buckham, 'Dunfermline Abbey Burial Grounds Desk-top Survey', 9. In February 1816, Elgin's proposal to raise this burial area, railed in since 1776, to build a new vault as part of the Abbey Church works, was declined by the Session [NRS HR159/3/8].
[92] E.g. NRS HR159/2/232 7 Dec. 1808, Dr Robertson Barclay.
[93] Some of this work may be indicated by the GPR return of 'two false eastern boundary lines visible on various time slices which appear to have been formed from features containing excess moisture…they could indicate the replacement of an earlier structure with backfilled earth' [Utsi, *Ground-Penetrating Radar Survey of the Central Area between the Vestry and the Altar and 2 External Areas overlying the former Lady chapel of Dunfermline Abbey*, 56].
[94] Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, i, 151-4; Henderson, *Annals*, 485-6.

c. The West End of the Lady Chapel, exterior to the Abbey Church North Transept

Turning now to Fig 23 area 2c, the western counterpart to area 2b, this scan area proved problematic to interpret, particularly using the longer wavelength 250MHz antenna. This was due to historic destruction, disturbance and reuse c.1560-c.1818, later nineteenth-century graveyard activity, and the intrusion of modern utilities like an exterior floodlight and ash pathways. The longer wavelength makes it more difficult to distinguish individual features as these need to be both slightly larger in size and separated from other anomalous material by one wavelength (c.32cm in this area).

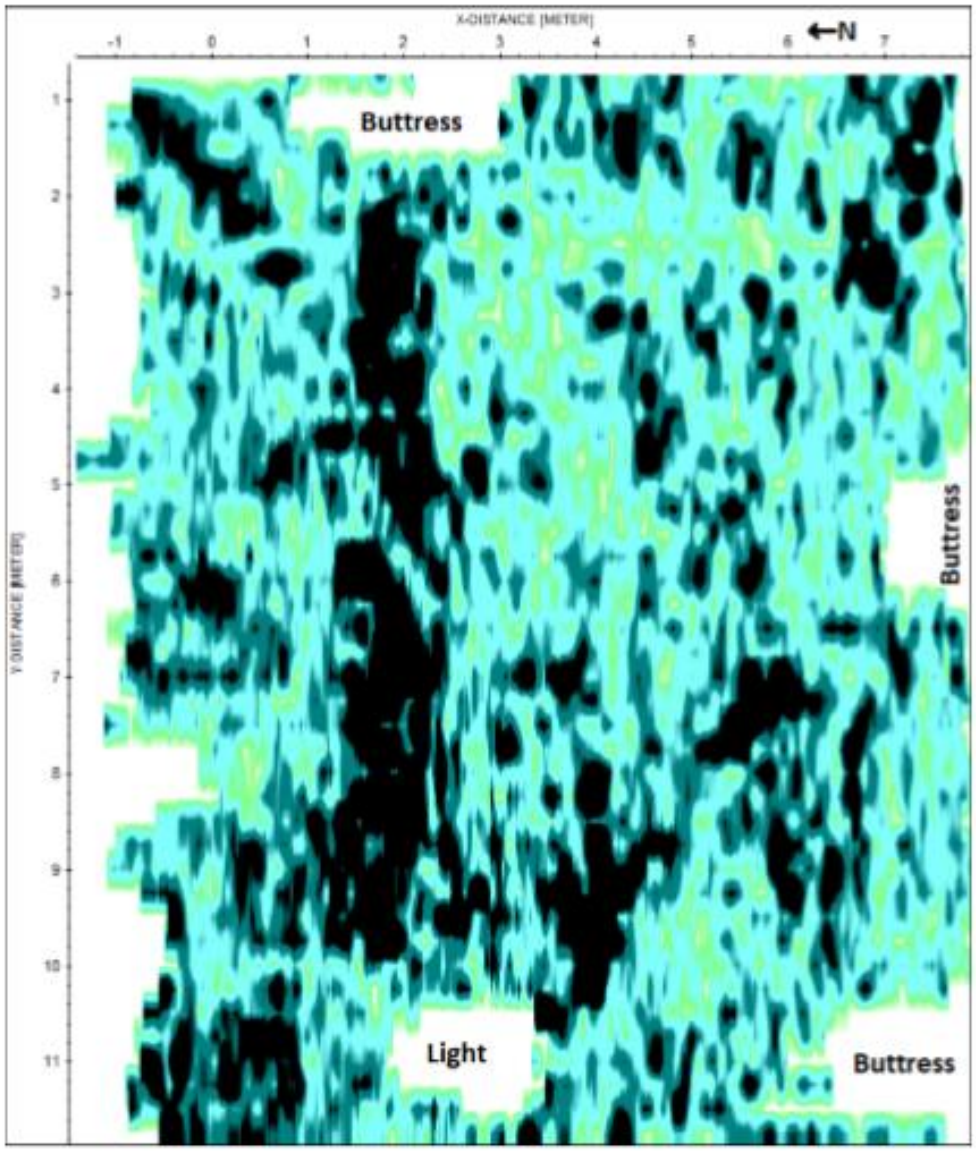

Fig 56: Time Slice extracted at c.78cm depth [400MHz], area 2c.

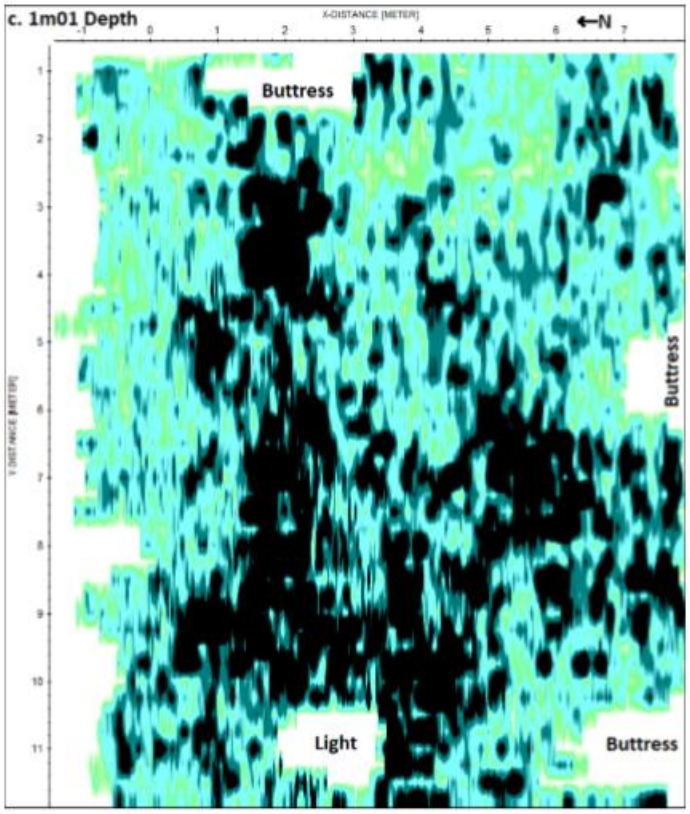

Fig 57: Time Slice extracted at 1.01m depth [400MHz], area 2c.

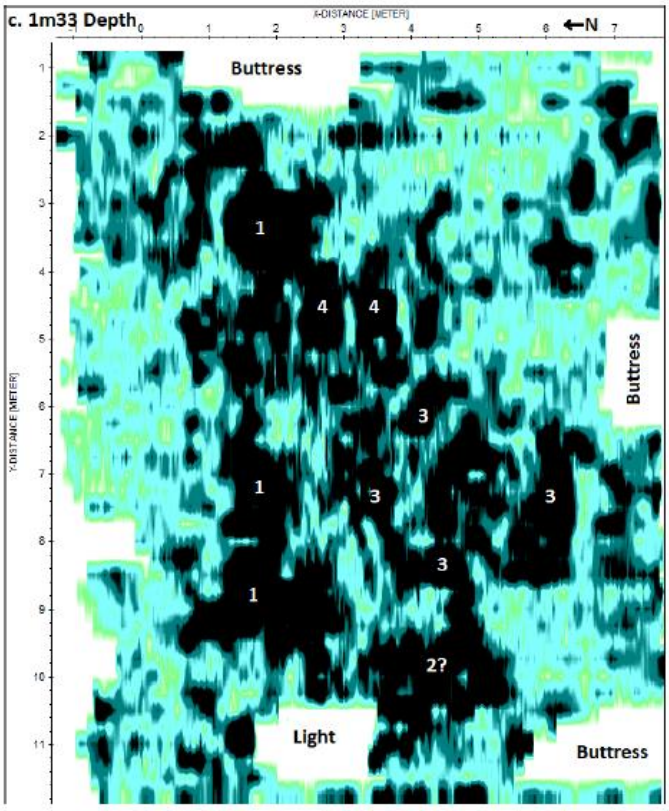

Fig 58: Time Slice extracted at c.1.33m depth [250MHz], area 2c.

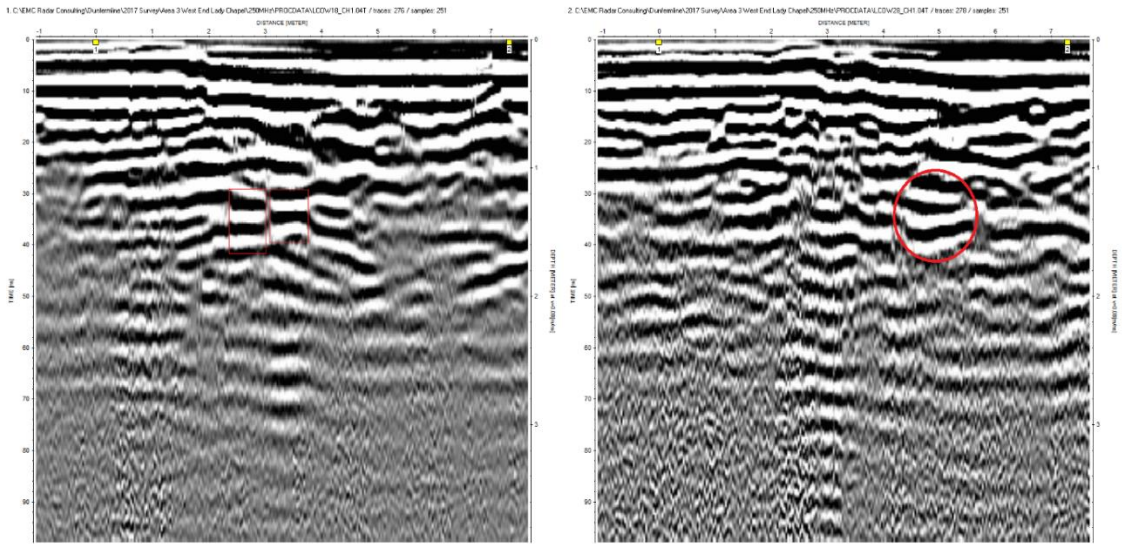

Fig 59: Survey lines 18 (lhs) and 28 (rhs) [250MHz], area 2c, showing the density and variety of remains. The marked signals correspond to potential archaeological remains of interest in the preceding time slice, Fig 58.

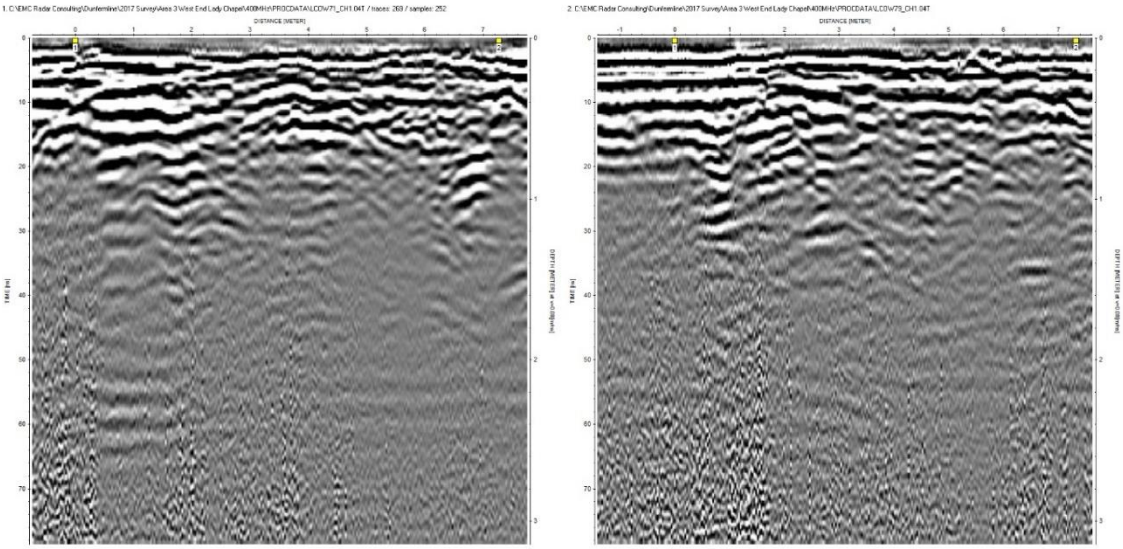

Fig 60: Survey lines 71 and 79 showing the density and variety of remains in the subsurface [400MHz], area 2c. Even though the shorter wavelength is better able to distinguish adjacent features, the pattern remains complicated.

Nonetheless, from c.78cm to c.1.01m down, the higher 400MHz antenna did confirm the discernible presence of the lower courses of matching northern and, perhaps, western foundation walls, surely from the medieval Lady Chapel, though potentially much disturbed along its western end [Figs 56-60].[95] The interior of this scan space also contained several potential features at similar depths but across multiple layers: possible graves or architectural

[95] These results are, however, not clear enough to resolve discrepancies between those antiquarian and later historical plans of the choir which posit the chapel west ends as simply linking into the existing crossing tower structure, e.g. Sime 1805 [Figs 6 and 50], Stewart 1889 [Fig 119] Fawcett 2005 [Fig 52]; or those which suggest separate west-end chapel walls (and thus windows), e.g. Burn/Jardine 1819 [Fig 13], Henderson MS 1879 [Fig 106]. See Acknowledgements p. 5 and Fig 105n.

features (such as a potential pillar base) and including what may be one large central rectangular feature. But, again, this material is clearly much disturbed and lacking coherence as scan evidence.

The 1854 Ordnance Survey map of the town [Fig 53] again seems to confirm the (then visible?) presence of these medieval wall bases defining the west end of the Lady Chapel (and lining up with the new Abbey Church buttresses). However, the 1855 Kirk Session burial lair diagram [Fig 54] suggests that on this western side of the new Abbey Church North Transept, modern burials may well have been intruded c.1822-c.1863. Therefore some of our radar returns may locate flattened stone kerbing, used to define such burial plots, or the kind of collapsed/buried seventeenth/eighteenth century grave-markers often unearthed down to c.45cm depth by the ongoing Youth Archaeological Society's exploration of the northern burial ground (2015-) [Fig 61].[96]

Fig 61 i./ii.: Kerbing and broken head stones uncovered by Dunfermline Youth Archaeological Society during northern graveyard excavations 2015-.

In sum, it seems increasingly the case that our 2016-17 scans down through the interior floor of the Abbey Church may take us to layers far less disturbed by modern activity than these areas exterior to that later church's walls.

[96] S. Mowat and M. Seaborne, 'Dunfermline Abbey Graveyard Dig, 2015: report to Historic Environment Scotland' - https://www.dunfermlineheritage.org/uploads/1/5/6/2/15623980/dig_report_15_final.pdf , accessed 5/2/20; https://www.yac-uk.org/news/dunfermline-yac-graveyard-dig-2016-erin-explains-all , accessed 5/2/20.

Pilot Survey 3: 21-22 August 2019 [97]

Exterior to the Abbey Church South Transept

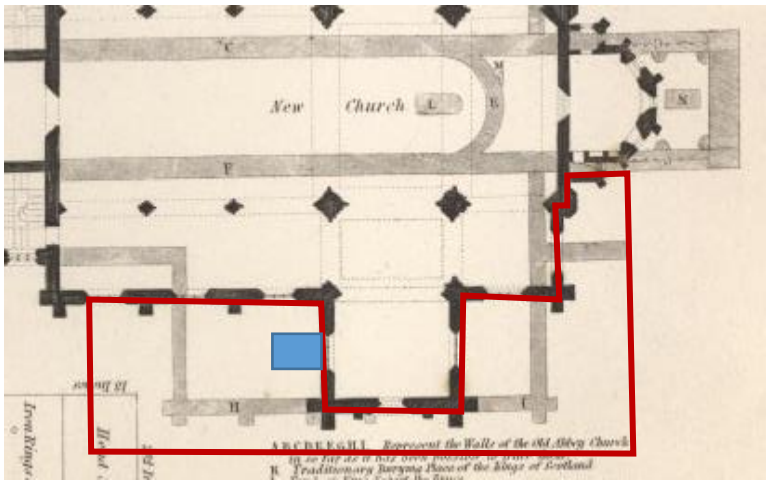

Fig 62: GPR scan area in red for 2019 projected on to the Burn/Jardine plan of the south side of the lost Abbey choir. The slabs covering the Elgin crypt entry stairs are highlighted in blue.

Given the results of our first two seasons it was deemed desirable to undertake a further round of pilot survey work (with some delay to secure funding). This would have the more specific aim of further testing the 1818-19 Burn/Jardine ground-plan to see if the remains of a matching medieval southern chapel could be identified exterior to the South Transept of the modern Abbey Church [Fig 62]. If found, this would confirm a symmetrical cruciform plan for the later medieval choir of Dunfermline Abbey, its full extent at the Reformation in 1560, and thus potentially a much larger central 'choir' space with aisles for burials and pilgrim traffic.

Crucially, this would also further challenge most ground-plans recreating the choir offered by both eighteenth and nineteenth century antiquarians and by modern heritage practitioners. These plans have usually presented a largely flat southern aisle wall [Figs 49-52]. Such potentially revisionist evidence could have important implications for assessment of the development of the choir's liturgical functions, restoring the presence of a larger southern chapel/altar, burial and pilgrimage space with key functions of its own but also potentially in relation to the rest of the interior's sacred spaces.

On the ground, this was a very challenging survey area. The Abbey Church South Transept lies on uneven elevated ground with known concerns about the level of groundwater. It is surrounded by grass slopes, a short south-facing flight of exterior stone Transept steps and post-1822 pathways (now a mix of asphalt and slabs). We were also likely to encounter modern drainage and utility intrusions in the near subsurface around the pathways and South Transept door [Fig 63 i.-iv]. Some of this area may have been further disturbed in the past by landscaping with plants, trees and temporary boundaries in the form of stone kerbing and low iron fencing.

[97] E.C. Utsi, *Ground-penetrating Radar Survey of an area to the South East of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline Abbey* (EMCRadar, 2019).

The Chrystal photographic collection now held by HES clearly shows that a more relaxed garden attitude prevailed in the pre-1927 southern churchyard [Fig 64].

Fig 63 i.-iv.: 2019 GPR scan area showing i. slabs above stairs down to Elgin crypt (south-west of South Transept), ii. steps to the South Transept door of Abbey Church, iii.-iv. southern grass slope and gravestones.

Fig 64: Francis Chrystal's photograph of the southern graveyard of the Abbey Church c.1900.

In the end, high levels of rainfall throughout the summer of 2019 rendered our scans with the 400MHz antenna unusable and reduced the effective depth penetration of the 250MHz scan below 1m. Moreover, in planning for this survey it was anticipated that it was possible that any pre-1818 building remains 'may have been used [in 1818-21] not only for levelling [and strengthening the foundations of] the site but also possibly for constructing the slope to the south'.[98] Finally, far more so than the ground around the Abbey Church North Transept, this southern area is encroached upon by multiple grave markers of varying heights at the inner edges of a post-1822 burial ground. The pathway separating the south-west corner of the Transept from the burial ground also includes four large paving slabs covering subterranean stairs. This is the access point for the Bruce of Elgin crypt built in 1818-21 beneath the modern Transept itself. This crypt and its entrance must return some airgap echo effects within the western scan data (and perhaps act as a moisture sump).

Despite these difficulties, a distinct rectangular subsurface feature did emerge in our scans. This appeared once the near-surface pathway and utility traces had been passed at about c.79-to-90cm down, c.10cm above the level at which historic features were first identified in scanning around the exterior of the Abbey Church North Transept in 2017.

[98] Utsi, *Ground-penetrating Radar Survey of an area to the South East of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline Abbey*, 2.

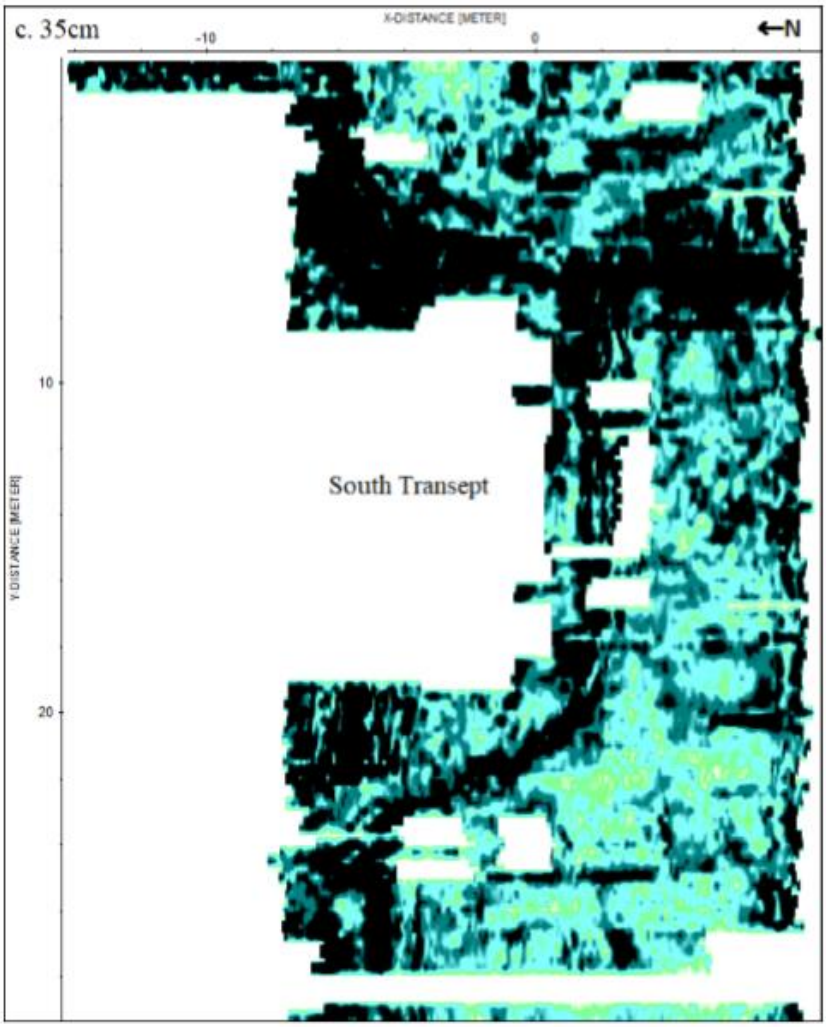

Fig 65: Time Slice extracted at c.35 cm depth showing path edge around top of grass slope/steps of South Transept [250 MHz].

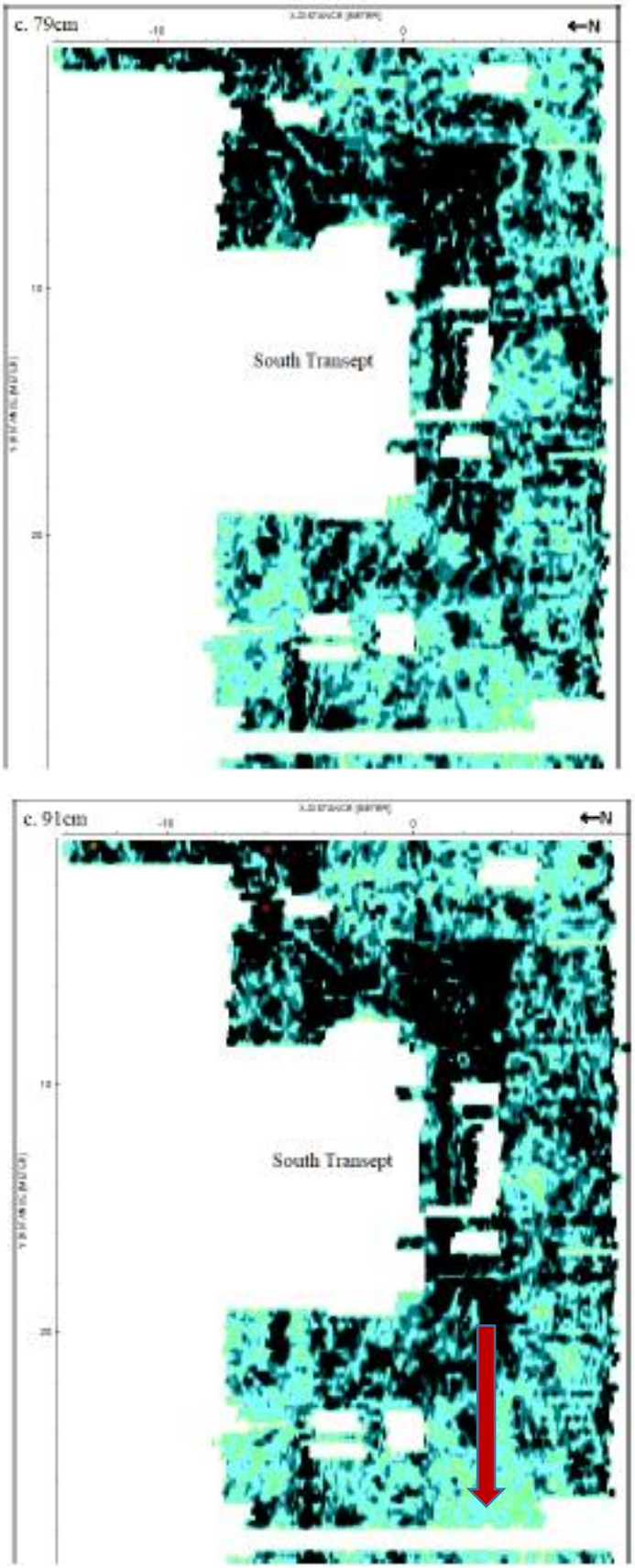

Fig 66 i-ii: Time Slice extracted at i. c.79 cm depth [250MHz] and Time Slice extracted at ii. c.91 cm depth [250MHz] around South Transept: the red arrow indicates possible westward extent of subsurface structure.

As Figs 66 i.-ii. shows, this rectangle does *not* extend as far east as the buttress line indicated on Burn's 1818-19 plan as the line of the east-end medieval wall observed in 1818 (or on the 1854 OS map). At the same time, it does extend *further* south than the line suggested by Burn for the medieval southern choir chapel/aisle wall. But, if it does also extend further west at this depth beneath the sloping, uneven grassed surface, running out to match the full east-west extent of a lost chapel [speculatively marked in red on Fig 66 ii.], then this may be obscured by the many intruding late nineteenth- and early twentieth century burials in the south-west quarter. A possible north-south defining edge to this structure may, however, be discernible beneath the curved running edge of the modern pathway as it turns north and then west.

Caution must clearly be exercised in interpreting these results. Nonetheless, although this does not exactly match the possible medieval chapel wall foundations recorded on this south side on the Burn/Jardine ground-plan (or on the 1854 OS map) this may still indicate such a mirror southern structure and is certainly not indicative of the presumably large open-air gap with internal structures/contents for the (really unknown) Bruce of Elgin crypt of c.1819-21 which must lie under the Abbey Church transept. Rather, it is indeed 'strongly suggestive of the outline of a former building which, having been destroyed, has then been either backfilled or its remains spread over an area in order to provide a level surface [or hard-core raft] for later construction.'[99] Post-1822 burials and pathways have also compromised this deconstructed chapel's lines. Some of this possible foundation feature may consist of mixed material. Other sections may consist of retained portions c.1m-to-1.5m wide of intact medieval masonry wall or, possibly, floor, such as discrete features detected at c.79-91cm depth defining the south-east corner of this buried rectangle, or along its western edge [see Fig 66]. Moreover, this area may also indicate a built connection to monastic cloister structures running to the south.

Re-scanning in drier ground conditions might clarify or even challenge these potential results, not least through successful application of the 400MHz antenna to viable sections of the target area. However, here, the Kirk Session records and later eighteenth-century sketches and ground-plans of the choir ruins [Figs 3-10] are vital in confirming that there is no mention or visible trace of any intervening structure which might otherwise account for these initial GPR results. No storage building(s) seems to have been built c.1560-1818 on this part of the monastic site which may thus otherwise account for this subsurface structure identified in our scans. Indeed, Kirk records only confirm the intrusion in the eighteenth century of a low, narrow stone wall (originally probably a fence or dyke), unquestionably too small to account for all the material identified in our scans. Besides, beginning off the south-east corner of the nave, this low wall ran much further north into the ruined interior of the nave/choir transition, then turned east through the central choir space, thus helping to define the Psalter churchyard bounded to the north by the extant ruined Lady Chapel walls and windows. This is also indicated on John Sime's sketch ground-plan of c.1805 [Fig 6].[100] This low wall also seems to have embraced the ruined base of St Margaret's shrine within its bounds, confirming its presence as a possible draw for those seeking east-end burial after 1560 in this open-air ruin.

[99] *Ibid*, 15-16.

[100] NRS CH2/592/6 [Dunfermline Abbey Church Burial Register, 1734-48], /18 (9 March 1735); HR 159/1/52 [Dunfermline Abbey Church Kirk Session Minutes], /50 (24 Feb. 1753). This wall may in some senses follow the line of the majority of standing medieval choir walls visible in the eighteenth century, as well as echoing the southern precinct walls – as suggested by Alexander Campbell's pen and wash of c.1780 now at https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5781/dunfermline-abbey-and-ruins-dunfermline-palace.

Pilot Survey 4: 17th-18th August 2022[101]

In 2022, an emerging Church of Scotland *Presbytery Plan* for the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, and development of the Dunfermline Heritage Partnership *Heart of Dunfermline* collaborative initiative embracing the Abbey Church, HES and Fife Council, afforded the (somewhat time-sensitive) opportunity for further non-invasive GPR fieldwork to explore further interior areas of the Abbey Church newly cleared (under post-COVID 19 conditions) of pews and other fittings.[102] With generous financial support from a second Royal Society of Edinburgh small research grant this phase identified three interior surface areas for scanning and interpretation. These were additions which in effect would mean the project would have investigated over half of the lost choir site, breaking ground on some previously unscanned areas as well as adding/sharpening coverage to/of other areas only partly accessed in seasons 2016-19.

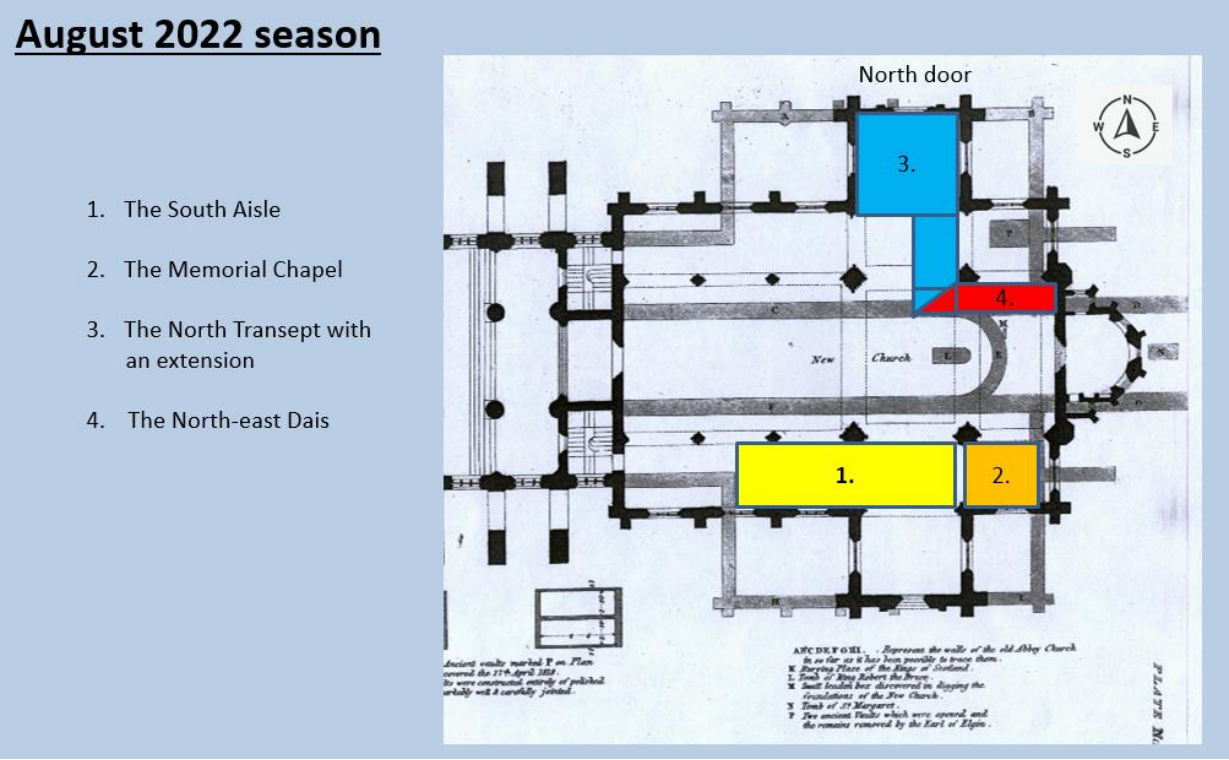

Fig 67 i. August 2022 GPR scan areas marked on Burn/Jardine 1818-19 ground-plan.

[101] E.C. Utsi, *Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of Four areas of Dunfermline Abbey: The South Aisle, Memorial Chapel, North Transept and North East Dais* (EMC Radar, 2022).
[102] Fife Presbytery Mission Plan; *Dunfermline Press*, 20 August 2020.

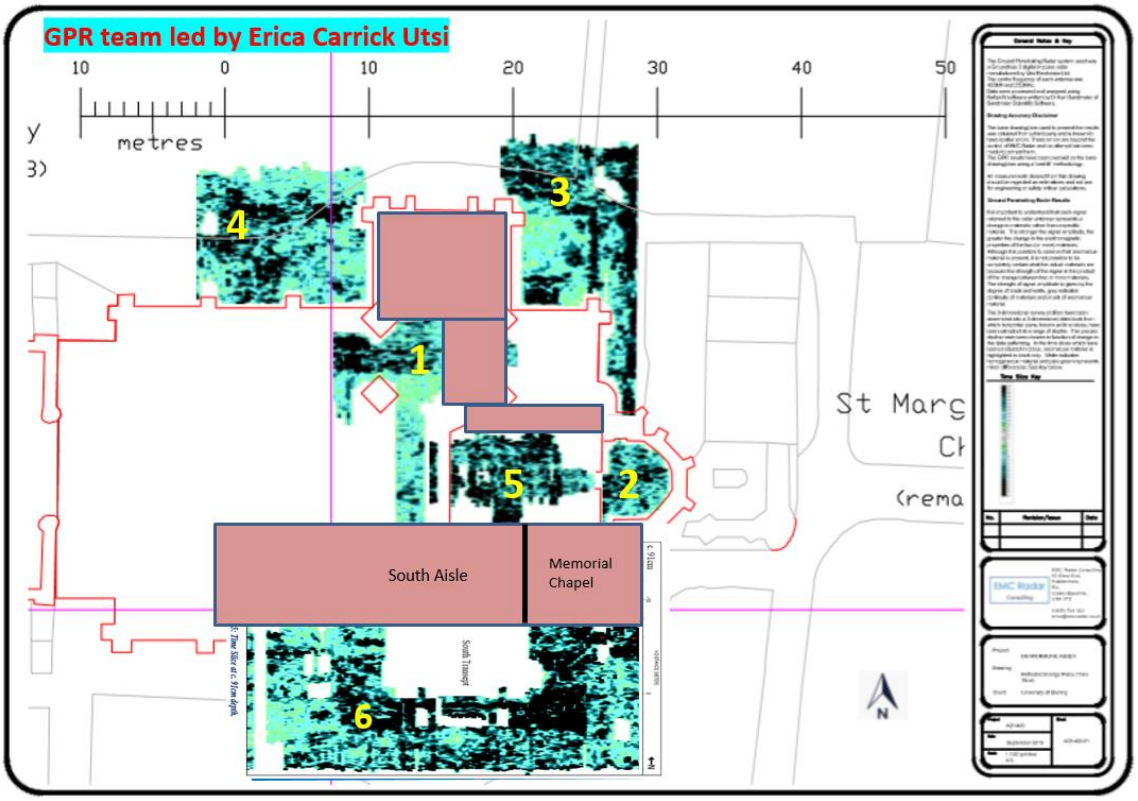

Fig 67. ii. August 2022 GPR scan areas marked on composite of 2016-20 GPR scans.

a. <u>The South Aisle and Memorial Chapel</u>

The southern aisle proved to be, as expected, a very challenging area to scan, one much disturbed by modern works relating to the Abbey Church's Georgian construction and to subsequent twentieth-century utility intrusions/adaptations. The latter relate, not least, to a basement boiler room beneath the modern south crossing space and its associated pipe passages and crawl ways running east under the Abbey Church floor. Clay soils, greater moisture and thus a higher water table on the site's southern side, as observed in 2016 and 2019, also again affected GPR scans. However, although most medieval remains thus seem likely to have been destroyed and/or removed between c.1560 and c.1818, once we scanned down beyond c.1.6m and the much-disturbed surface layers, it was possible to identify some potential medieval/pre-modern features.

Fig 68 i. the south aisle viewed from just inside the Memorial Chapel, looking west; our white Survey Line 1 is visible down the centre; the grey unit is the 2019 Carnegie Tiffany Window display.

Fig 68 ii. west end of the south aisle space, with Survey line 2 added in alongside line 1.

Beneath the floor of the modern Abbey Church main south aisle [Figs 68 i., ii.] from about 1.6m depth we can discern a possible architectural feature, mostly running east-west but with possible rectangular or north-south features. This may represent [Figs 69 i., ii. and 70] the remains of a medieval wall or interior fittings, likely in a collapsed state, perhaps deconstructed as part of the 1818 levelling and clearing of the foundation area of what would form the new Abbey Church south transept.

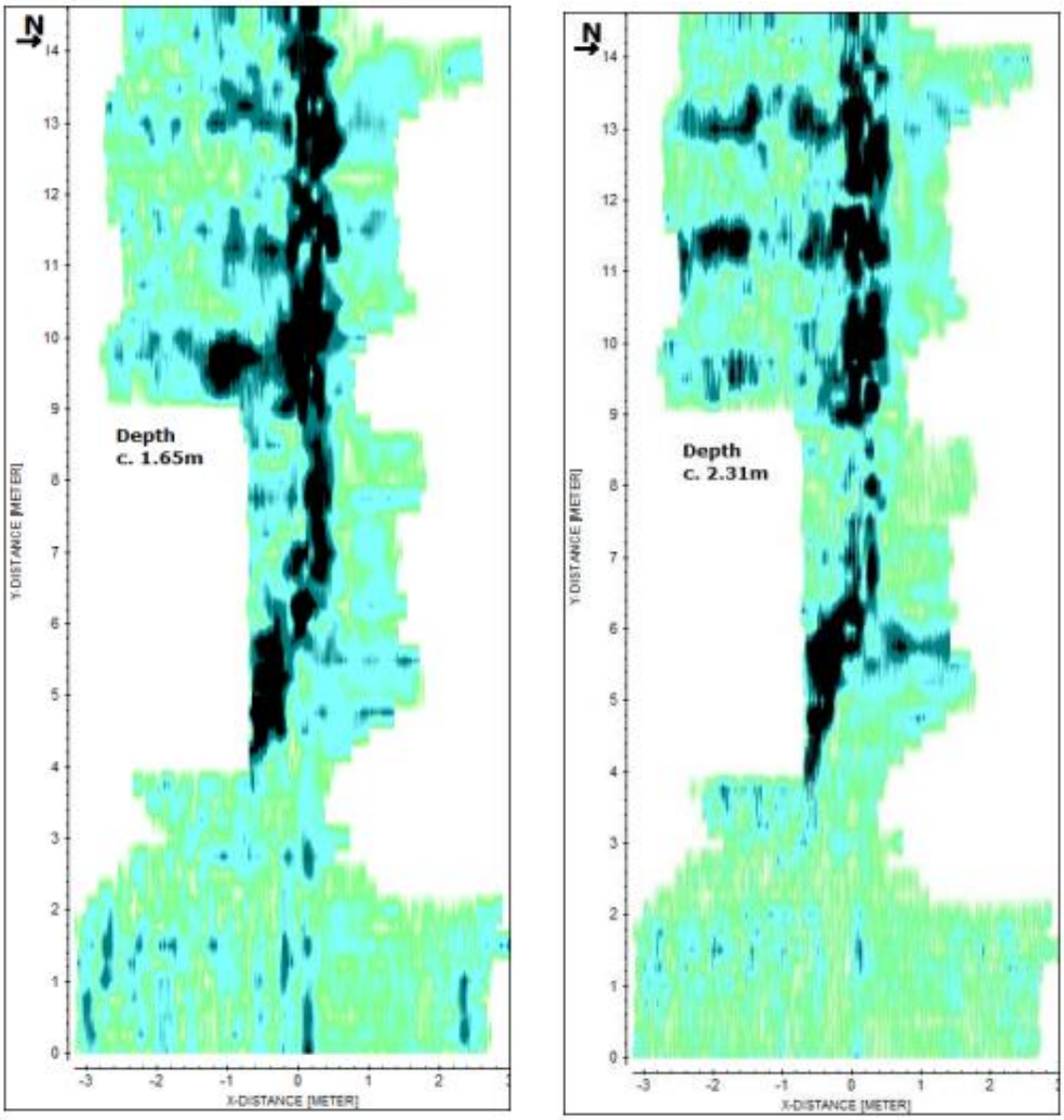

Fig 69 i. 400MHz time slice at c.165m depth; and ii. at c.2.31m depth.

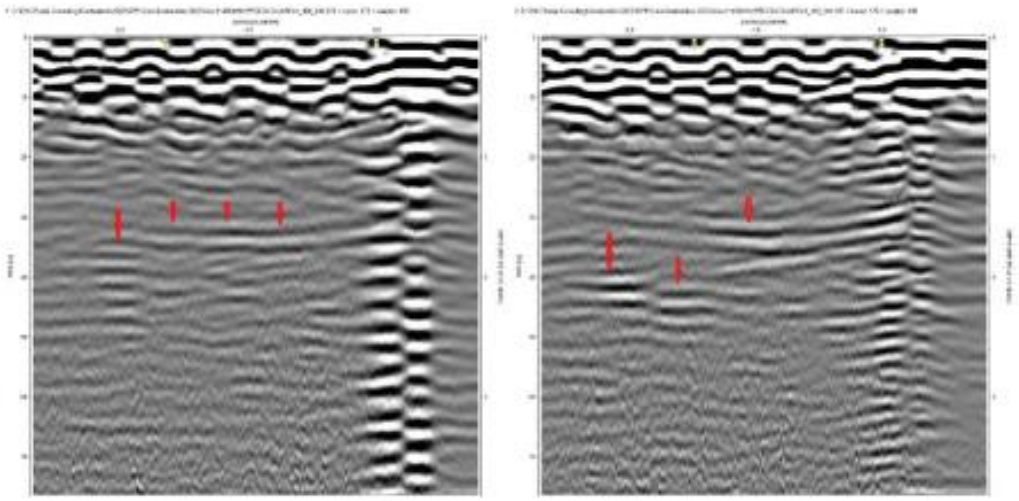

Fig 70. Survey lines 40 (x = 9.25m) and 41(x=9.5m). The red arrows mark archaeological material at the c.1.65m depth and some of those lying below.

However, as ever caution must be applied. This may alternatively represent the remains of a (substantial) post-1560 Psalter churchyard structure built by the Kirk Session to delineate Protestant burial space within the choir ruins [see Figs 3, 4 and 7], perhaps reusing choir stone and thus further disturbing this area and its medieval features.

Nevertheless, negative evidence is also important in assessing this area of the site. These findings do at least fit with - or do not contradict - our initial conjecture based on the 1818-19 Burn/Jardine ground plan [Fig 13] and our (partial) 2019 southern exterior scan results, that the medieval choir's south side was formed of a matching transept chapel, a cruciform twin to the northern Lady Chapel, but which was likely destroyed to help level and raft the sloping Abbey Church site in c.1818-19.

Moreover, the apparent absence of graves in this southern aisle space, akin to the several potential instances identified by both antiquarian and radar evidence for the northern Lady Aisle, also fits with the absence of such evidence for elite medieval burials to the south (other than perhaps for Alexander III d.1286 – see discussion below at pp. 136-8). There may be emerging signs in our scans at c.1.65-2.31m depth of a disturbed rectangular structure at between c.4 and 5m westwards along our scan area; this may sit just at the likely opening of a crossing/viewing space into the central medieval presbytery. But this buried feature may not be archaeological material from the medieval period as the outline is in part obscured by echo effects from the modern installation of the adjacent large (grey) display cabinet for the Carnegie Tiffany Window, installed in August 2019 [Fig 68 i.]. The north side of the high altar thus remained the most liturgically significant and desirable burial space.

These tentative results are in turn broadly echoed in our scan findings for the south-east Memorial Chapel [Figs 71 i., ii.], directly south of the medieval high altar /sanctuary space and atop what may have been the centre and eastern end of the medieval St John the Baptist Chapel (an area which we speculate below may have included a small font, major altar and a gathering space for pilgrims before they passed on to the shrine of St Margaret).

Fig 71 i. The Memorial Chapel, east end of the south aisle, with white Survey lines marked.

Fig 71. ii. East end of Memorial Chapel, showing dais, carpeting and (ringed in yellow) under carpet ‘T’ left hand corner, an access hatch down to choir raft material 1.5’ below.

Fig 71 iii. Top of sub-floor wall running north-south under hatch in Memorial Chapel floor.

As well as echo effects from surface fittings such as carpets with metal edging and a small east-end raised dais, from c.1.4-1.6m depth our scans here [Figs 72-4] again suggest a site much disturbed/destroyed. There are hints of some east-west running linear features and, at c.2.6m depth, some other potential anomalous/architectural features [marked M on Fig 74] to be discerned from what is otherwise an area dominated by considerable surface ringing and made up of undiscernible small-component materials.

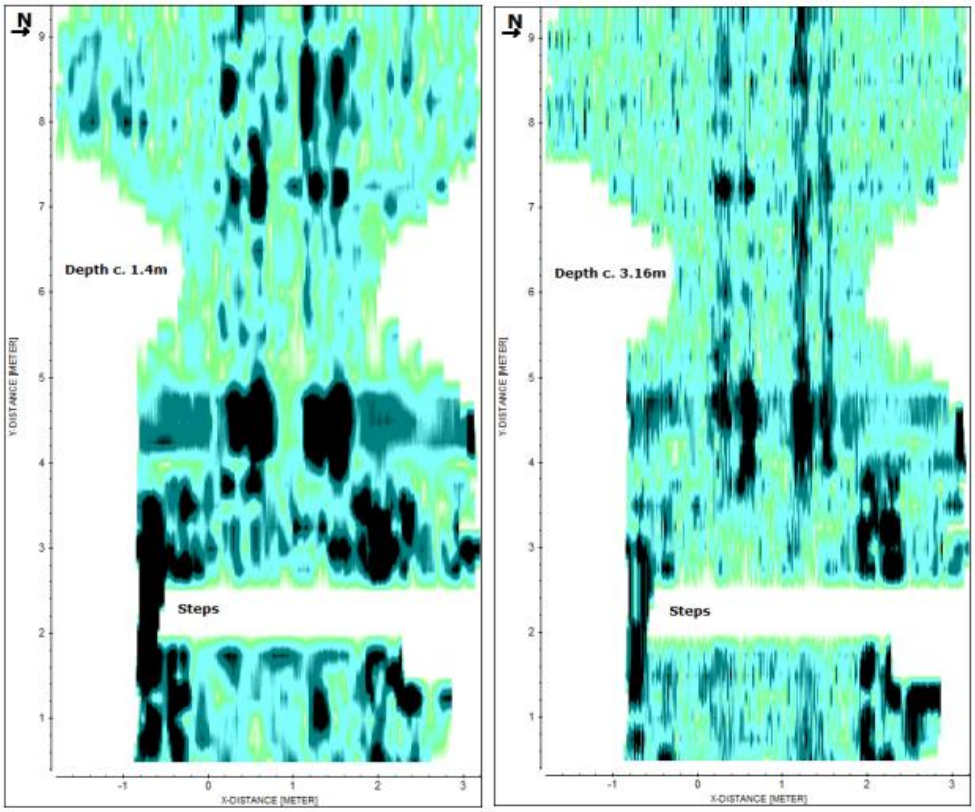

Fig 72 i. 250MHz time slice at c.1.4m depth; and ii. at c.3.16m.

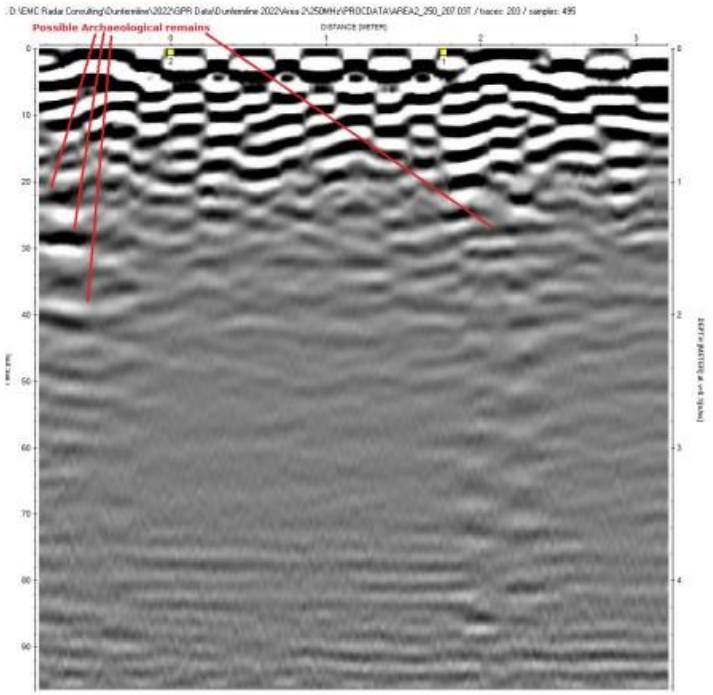

Fig 73. Survey line 207 (y=3m) showing potential archaeological material corresponding to the "linear feature", also part of the irregular feature, both visible in Fig 72 i. and ii..

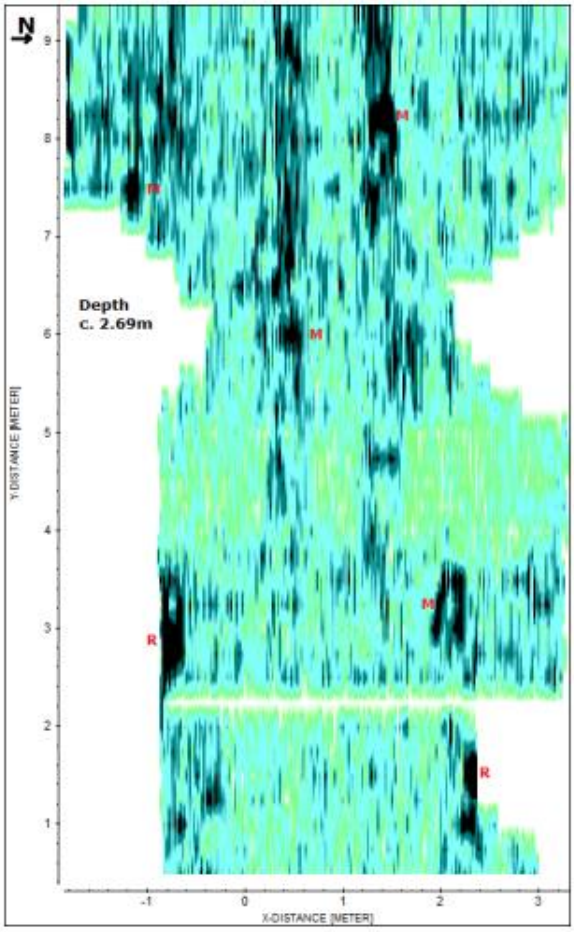

Fig 74. 400MHz time slice at c.2.69m depth; with potential archaeological material marked as M at 6m east-west.

On site a twentieth-century floor hatch [Fig 71 ii.], like those observed throughout the Abbey Church, gave access to the underfloor at c.4m west along our survey area: the sheared top of a stone wall [Fig 71 iii.] was visible through this hatch running north-south just above the Abbey Church's pitch-topped raft material about 1.5' below the modern floor. Again, however, it is not possible to distinguish if these scan returns – and this remnant of wall – correspond to medieval features; or to c.1560-c.1818 Psalter churchyard structures (as perhaps suggested by eighteenth-century depictions such as at Fig 7 ii.); or to 1818-21 preparatory clearing/levelling/foundation work. As far as the latter is concerned, we should take care once again to note that in addition to William Burn's unknown working methods, the south side saw the reportedly unauthorised intervention of work c.1819-21 for the Bruce Earl of Elgin to create a new family crypt beneath the western portion of the Abbey Church's southern transept [Fig 63 i.].[103] As yet no access to this private crypt has been possible in search of architectural or archaeological evidence, or for any relocated medieval material remains.

[103] NRS GB234/HR159/3, Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37, 28 Nov. 1818 to 7 Jan. 1819.

b. The North Transept and Aisle revisited

2019-21 saw both the clearance and repurposing of the Abbey Church gift shop, sited around the edges of the north transept, and the removal of choir pews directly to the east of the twentieth-century organ. This meant that a considerably extended space could be added to our initial 2016 pilot scans of the north aisle and a central strip of the north transept.

Fig 75 i. North Transept cleared of shop fittings; ii. east end of north aisle cleared of pews; iii. Transept floor looking south from north door, cleared and running into cleared east end of north aisle.

The scans provided us with welcome confirmation, from c.1.86m to c.2.9m depth at 250MHz [Fig 76 i.], of the likely presence of two potential double graves down the north aisle: the western-most perhaps the grave under the six traditionary slabs ['K' on the Burn/Jardine ground plan of 1818-19, see Fig 13], or its spoil, which was investigated and thus much disturbed afresh by antiquarian John Graham Dalyell in 1807 (discussed below): the second down the eastern edge perhaps a substantial if also disturbed vault space.

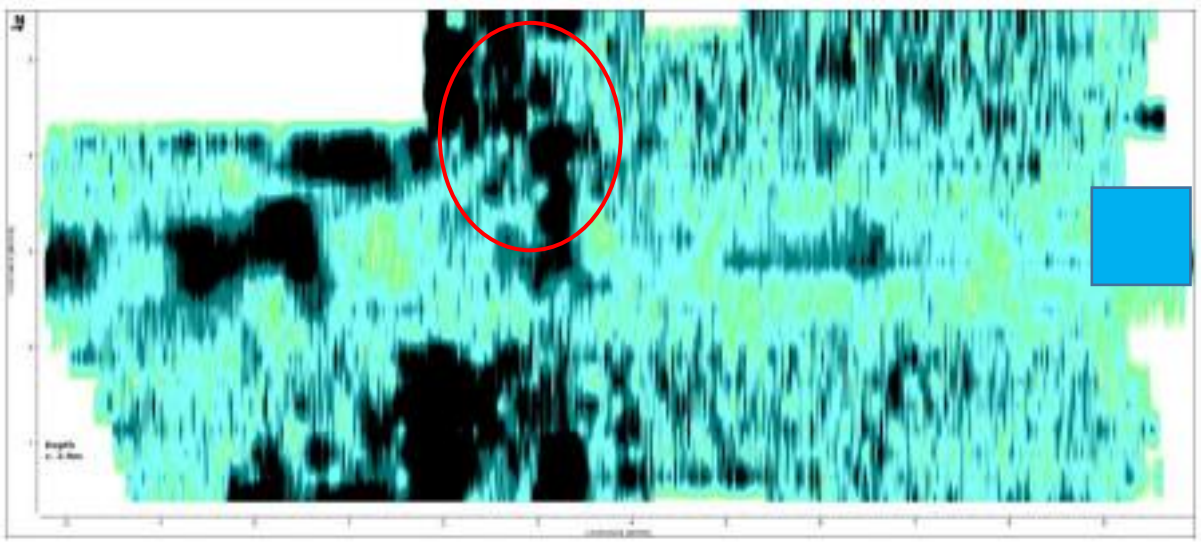

Fig 76. i. 250MHz time slice at c.2.9m showing two concentrated areas which may be double burials (with the western are circled in red especially disturbed), plus a mixture of echo affects and other possible archaeological anomalies; the blue square is the modern north door thus this image runs south-to-north left-to-right.

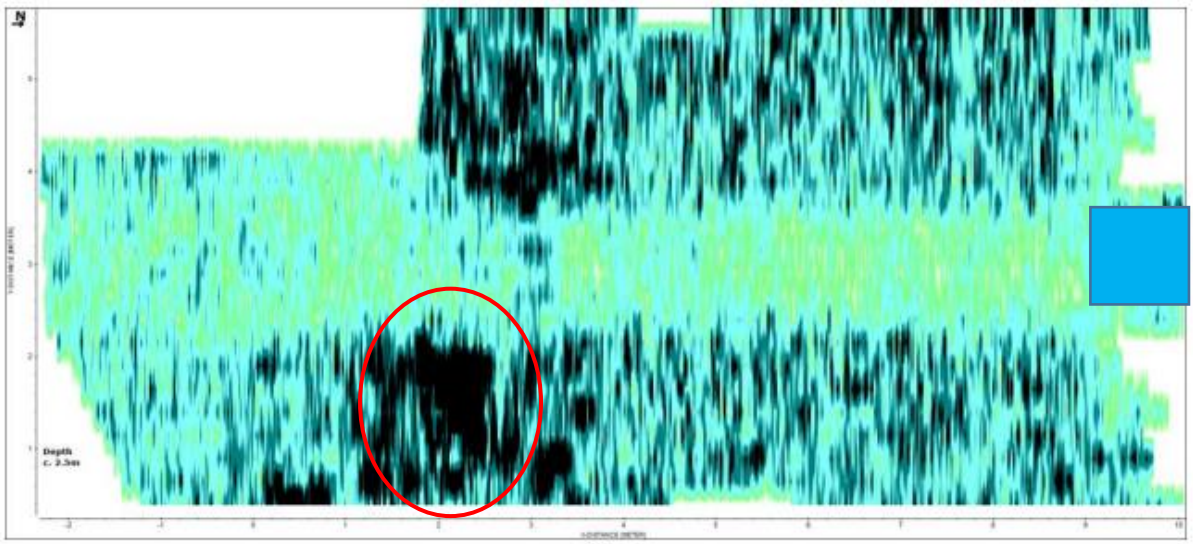

Fig 76 ii. 400MHz time slice at c.2.5m depth highlighting a possible east-end vault with void or metal object.

Our 400MHz scan [Fig 77 i., ii.] also highlights these potential disturbed burials from as little as c.88cm depth. Yet this also affirms that caution must be applied to interpreting these results, allowing for echo effects from modern shallow intrusions. Indeed, what looks like a potential third grave in the emerging centre of what was the Lady Chapel (ringed in yellow) may rather

be such a modern, shallow feature, thus leaving the lower layers of this space noticeably clear of the archaeological traces of medieval fittings or burials (disturbed or otherwise).

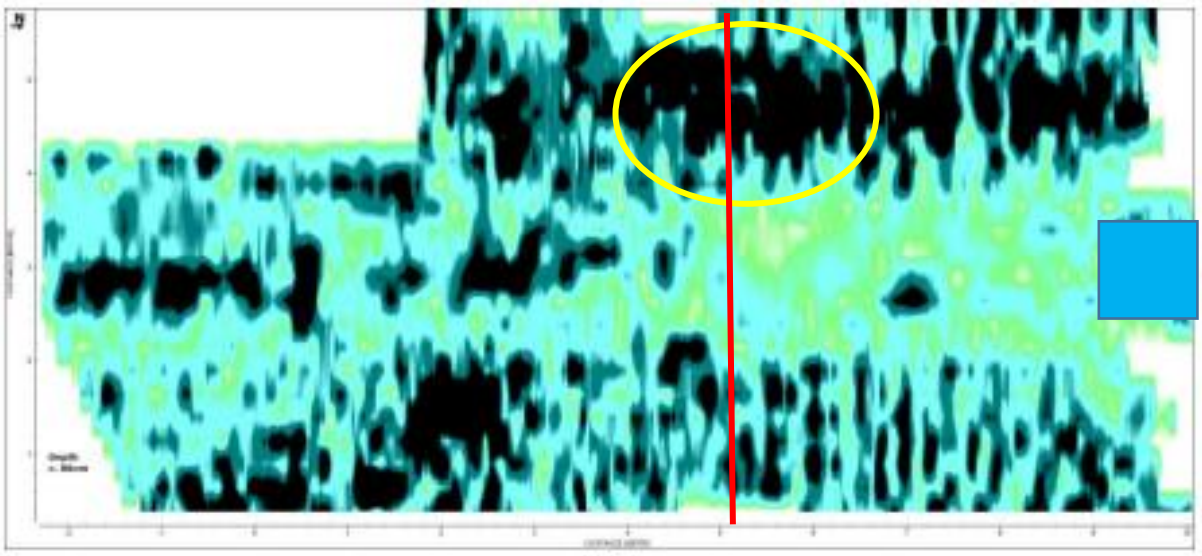

Fig 77 i. 400MHz time slice at c.0.88m depth.

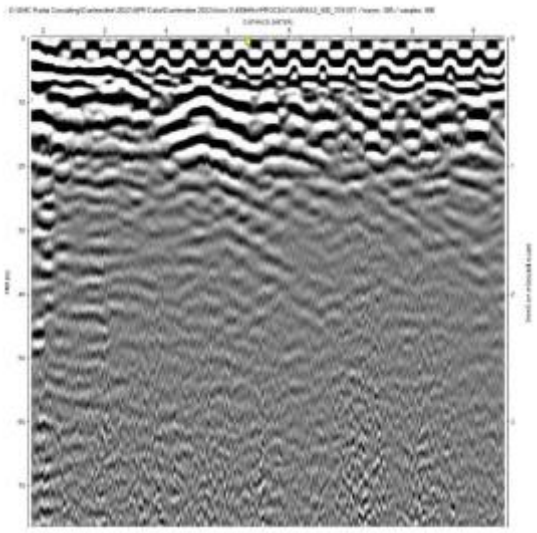

Fig 77 ii. Survey line 319 along y = 5.15m (marked in red on time slice above).

c. The Central Area: the north-east dais

The removal of several short rows of modern pews from the section of northern dais running east-west at right angles to the Bruce grave and the Abbey Church floor above what had been the site of the medieval choir high altar, uncovered only a modest area – a tapering strip 1m-to-1.5m wide x c.10m long [Fig 78].

Fig 78: the north-east dais, running east-west along the northern edge of the central chancel.

Nonetheless, this zone was well worth exploring. Our 2017 scan of the central dais area identified the potential sub-surface remains of the medieval high altar settings, screening this key chancel space from the retrochoir and defining an access point between St Margaret's feretory and the Lady Aisle. In addition, archival research – discussed in detail below – has identified antiquarian evidence for the form and proportions of some of that high altar itself. Moreover, the Bruce grave reinterment party of November 1819, led by Deputy Royal Remembrancer, Henry Jardine, reported the discovery of a box containing a (medieval?) heart burial in this general area [marked as 'M' on the Burn/Jardine ground plan, Fig 13].

However, as with our 2017 scans, the radar had to contend with considerable site disturbance and surface/sub-surface echo interference from carpeting, modern utilities and organ fittings, as well as a c.20cm drop off the edge of the dais to the north-west. As such, perhaps the only possible medieval or at least pre-1818 remains identifiable in this area lie at the far east-end in its northern and southern corners: the former, a potential disturbed burial visible from c.0.95m down using both 250 and 400MHz [Fig 79 i.]; the latter another burial, possibly including a lead coffin, but apparently only discernible using the 400MHz frequency from c.1.27 to 1.95m depth [Fig 79 ii.]. This feature is visible in the equivalent 250MHz time slice where it appears in combination with the material directly to the south, forming a stepped triangular feature. For adjacent features to be defined as separate components, it is necessary for them to be distant from each other by a wavelength. In the subsurface conditions of the north-east dais, the principal wavelength of the 250MHz antenna is 40cm whereas that of the 400MHz antenna is 25cm. This is a good illustration of why our survey strategy aims to deploy both frequencies. Approximately only a metre of the grave space holding this potential lead shroud has been

captured by the scan: this suggests that this object's remaining eastern length runs under the Abbey Church vestry wall.

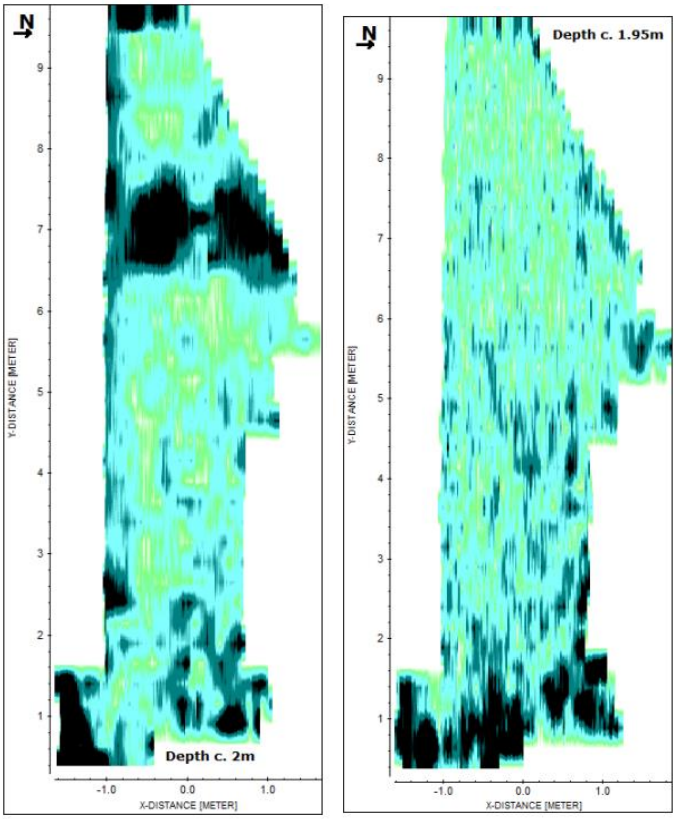

Fig 79 i. 250MHz time slice at c.2m depth; and ii. 400MHz time slice at c.1.95m depth.

As such these graves might be associated with the several other substantial east-west burial spaces (some overlapping) identified by our 2017 scans beneath the modern vestry floor [Fig 30], either medieval pavement burials placed within St Margaret's feretory, or post-1560 'Psalter churchyard' burials.

Alternatively, there is an outside chance these may be associated with early monumental medieval burials first built over or displaced by the mid-thirteenth-century extension of the choir which saw adaptation of David I's original east-end apse to form part of the high medieval altar screening and a controllable access point for pilgrim movement between the Lady Aisle and retrochoir. A fragmentary fifteenth-century vernacular chronicle, now known as the *Auchinleck Chronicle* (discussed further below), records that in June 1450:

> 'thar was funding in dunfermling a merwalous deid cors [corpse] in the ryping of ane wall, for first their was found about him a kist of stane and syne ane of tre [wood] and syne a cape of leid and syne clathis of goldn and silk…'[104]

Several such burials may have been disturbed or even lost over time given the choir's evolution as a mausoleum and shrine centre.

[104] The 'Auchinleck Chronicle', ff. 122v-123r, appendix 2 from C. McGladdery, *James II* (East Linton, 1992), 172. This is a description which matches much of the remains found, too, in the 1818 'Bruce grave'.

iii. Discussion

The following discussion seeks to interpret the results of our four GPR surveys (2016, 2017, 2019, and now 2022) in conjunction with a reassessment of the available medieval written record, post-1560 antiquarian observations and any further relevant material evidence. This will enable us to explore the liturgical development, components and significance of the lost Benedictine choir, royal cult centre and mausoleum of Dunfermline Abbey, particularly in the late medieval period (c.1250-c.1560). In doing so, the following sections must be said to go further in speculating about or problematising where that evidence might lead than might be expected from an initial post-pilot survey, for two key reasons.

First, despite several attempts, it has not yet been possible to secure further funding to expand the GPR survey to cover all of the choir site, ideally in conjunction with some digital recreation of the choir and its interior. This report may thus represent a hiatus in this line of inquiry, one to be taken up in the future through the continuing Dunfermline Heritage Partnership and emerging collaborative plans between Dunfermline Abbey Church, Fife Council and Historic Environment Scotland, to re-interpret the east-end and the church which emerged around the cult shrine(s) of St Margaret and the royal mausoleum. Indeed, the opportunity for further GPR work in this regard has already arisen with the Kirk Session's redevelopment initiatives of 2018-19 resulting in the removal of several further areas of fixed pews within the Abbey Church. This has occurred down the north aisle to make way for the stunning HES/CDDV *Lost Tomb of Robert the Bruce* exhibit [Fig 85]; down the south aisle around the newly installed Carnegie Tiffany window; and at the east-end around the Bruce plaque and organ [see Fig 2b].

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, this inter-disciplinary project and report seeks to contribute to and provide further impetus to the several other such projects and valuable resulting debate which have developed around Dunfermline Abbey in recent years. Not least, although this report does see Penman in part modify his views on the possible identity of the incumbent of the fascinating 1818 'Bruce grave' (although for perhaps unexpected reasons not yet considered by scholars), a larger concern remains. That is, to broaden out interpretation of the evidence to consider the evolution, liturgy and meaning of the Benedictine Abbey choir as a complex living *whole* and without focus only upon Bruce's remains or St Margaret's shrine. In doing so, this report will now seek to combine the new perspective of the potential GPR evidence with several fresh archival (re-)discoveries and reinterpretations of known evidence. It will seek, too, to respond to the important contributions of Iain Fraser's *Lost Tomb* recreation project but also to question some of the arguments of the Bruce facial reconstruction project of the University of Glasgow-led team and its recent reinterpretation of some of the architectural and burial evidence.

iii. 1. The central area around the High Altar (including the 'Bruce grave')

The GPR surveys have been successful in locating potential historic features in the subsurface below the modern flooring and foundations of the Abbey Church, both potential graves and architectural structures. Undeniably, a key difficulty remains in distinguishing any potential burials at an approximate medieval depth from the 'Psalter' churchyard internments of c.1560-c.1818. This is perhaps illustrated most graphically by the several potential burials identified in the vestry area [Fig 30], clustered close to the prestigious site of St Margaret's post-1250 shrine, but also by potential graves around the central high altar and 'Bruce grave' area further to the west [Figs 34, 38, 79].

However, the relatively shallow depth and size of some of these potential central features [Fig 34 #s 3-5, 79] may point to these in fact being traces of the high altar's architectural setting, not least the stone foundations of the screening which we should expect to find in that position in a medieval monastic or cathedral choir.[105] Crucially, at Dunfermline, this screening may have made (re-)use of the foundations, materials and position of the east-end of the original David I-era choir, built eastwards after 1128 with a likely apsidal east-end, and perhaps further extended in the early thirteenth-century, pre-dating the eastern extension work which included the new St Margaret feretory.[106] The 1819 Burn-Jardine ground-plan [Fig 13] certainly indicates the lingering presence of this east-end apse, as curved wall bases which were perhaps left below the c.1250-era screening and raised/stepped chancel pavement.

The University of Glasgow facial reconstruction project – following suggestions first raised by Eeles and Bryce – has argued that the early-thirteenth-century extension work in anticipation of St Margaret's planned canonisation, would have allowed the original choir high altar to have been moved, at the very least recessed off the chord of its apse and thus perhaps relocated as much as a bay or half a bay further eastward. This, they argue, would have allowed sufficient new paved space before the high altar for Robert I's tomb to have been cited in the central location unearthed in 1818, with Queen Elizabeth de Burgh buried to the north and Alexander III to the south, thus a row of three tombs, and with David I's and other choir burials lying further to the west within the paved part of the presbytery or even the westward monk's choir.[107]

However, the GPR returns no convincing evidence for the Glasgow project's proposed row of three box-tomb era burials (or any subsurface graves associated with them) within what must have been the screened area of the high altar sanctuary or chancel: only one uncertain (disturbed?) feature to the south of the 'Bruce grave' [Fig 38, marked as ??]. Nor does there really seem to be enough space between the north-south line of the 'Bruce grave' and the likely position of the high altar for this to have occurred. This surely remains the case even if, as Iain Fraser has suggested, the high altar was only moved a few feet or yards east by 1250-1 and

[105] S.J. Schloeder, *Architecture in Communion* (San Francisco, 1990), ch. 3 'An Architecture for the Mass' and ch. 4 'Furnishing the Sanctuary'; A. Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture: from the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2008), ch. 7 'Gothic Architecture and the Latin Rite'; R. Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings* (Stroud, 2002), 29-46, 247-57, 288-98; idem, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church* (New Haven and London, 2011), chs 2-3; D. McRoberts and S.M. Holmes, *Lost Interiors: The Furnishings of Scottish Churches in the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 2012), ch. 2 'The furnishings of the sanctuary'.

[106] Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey church', 32-9, 49-50.

[107] Eeles, 'The development and internal arrangement of the abbey church of Dunfermline', p. xxxviii; Bryce, 'The skull of King Robert', 81–91; MacGregor and Wilkinson, 'In Search of Robert Bruce, Part II', 175-6.

Bruce's grave and its neighbours thus formed 'a tighter cluster, in the vicinity of the twelfth-century [1150-1250] altar'.[108]

As we shall see, none of these possible explanations really take account of sanctuary screening, altar steps and communion space or, crucially, their evolving liturgical importance and physical nature. Some room to the north/north-west of the high altar would also need to have been left for the Easter Sepulchre, which was the likely location for St Margaret's (and Malcolm III's) first choir-side resting place after a translation from the nave in 1180.[109] It should also be noted that the abbot and monks of Dunfermline seem to have resisted attempts down to August 1249, perhaps by the bishop of St Andrews, to have their extended church re-consecrated, arguing successfully to the papacy that its main walls 'for the greater part remained in their original state'.[110] This is an assertion which might indeed be used - following Fraser and Fawcett - to cautiously conclude that the extension to house St Margaret's new portable feretory shrine and its dedicated altar by 1250 did not in fact see the Trinity high altar move substantially east at all as this would have reduced the space and access now afforded to the new symmetrical pilgrimage pathway through from the north and south aisles to the retro-choir/feretory.[111]

Part of Penman's reasoning in 2014 for suggesting that Bruce's marble box tomb was unlikely to have occupied such a central position so close to the high altar was that the monument would simply not have been easily visible to anyone other than monks officiating the mass and sacraments. Laymen were not ordinarily permitted into the inner-most sacred space of the screened chancel, thus the detailed effigy, inscribed epitaph and armorial kinship 'weepers' displayed on all four sides of the Bruce tomb - now recreated by Fraser [Fig 99] - would not have been visible to visitors looking east (somewhat awkwardly) from any central choir or presbytery crossing/opening (usually through wooden screen doors).[112] Any flanking tombs for Elizabeth de Burgh and Alexander III would also surely have further obscured it as well as the high altar itself in what was a relatively narrow north-south space. Moreover, so, too, would the ironwork railings which were recorded as added to Bruce's tomb in 1330 at a substantial cost of £22 and which have also now been recreated by Iain Fraser from comparable French and English royal models [Figs 80-1].[113] Nor does any suggestion that Bruce's tomb was erected in this central space take account of the fact that his St Dénis tomb type saw the incumbent's body interred within its box rather than beneath it under the pavement.

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[108] Fraser, 'The tomb of the hero king', 160.
[109] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret no. 9, pp. 93-4; Lee, 'The Development of Dunfermline Abbey as a royal cult centre c.1070-c.1420', 272-6; P. Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, 1987), ch. iii.
[110] *Dunf. Reg*., nos 40, 288.
[111] Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', 49-50; Fraser, 'The tomb of the hero king', 160-1.
[112] *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Bk. 1, 1, #31 [p. 20] and 2, #13 [p. 31]; A.M. Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, The Low Countries and England* (Pennsylvania, 2000), ch 2, 4; McRoberts and Holmes, *Lost Interiors*, 85-8. As recorded by Abbot Bower, Bruce's epitaph is surely meant to invoke prayer from lay visitors: 'Here lies the invincible blessed King Robert. Whoever reads about his feats will repeat the many battles he fought. By his integrity he guided to liberty the kingdom of the Scots. May he now live in Heaven' [*Chron. Bower*, vii, 45-51].
[113] *ER*, i, 288.

Fig 80: Dr Iain Fraser's HES/CDDV recreation of the costly iron rail installed to protect Bruce's tomb.

Fig 81: The iron rail around the tomb of Edward the Black Prince (d.1376) at Canterbury, with his heraldic helm, shirt and shield displayed above. Such items which may well have formed part of Bruce's funerary/tomb display at Dunfermline: if so, a presbytery-edge or aisle location for his tomb in the 'choir' would have made more sense?

Hence Penman's initial suggestion of an alternative location for Bruce's burial in a prestigious northern central choir or even Lady-aisle position, accessible by pilgrims and thus visible to visitors (as would Bruce's shield and helm if on display), even if placed between aisle arcade

columns.[114] These points might now be taken further, with caution, by combining the GPR and previously unnoticed antiquarian evidence.

The Glasgow facial reconstruction project has reviewed the written and some of the material evidence for a pre-1128 tradition of royal dynastic burial directly in front of the Trinity high altar of the original western priory church/nave at Dunfermline. They also highlight the potentially strong evidence of the wording of the mid-thirteenth century 'Dunfermline Chronicle' (copied into the same later-medieval manuscript as the collected thirteenth-century *miracula* of St Margaret) which might suggest that David I was also buried originally beside his parents and siblings in front of the pre-1128 (nave) high altar, perhaps as an act of f(am)ilial piety.[115]

However, the expanded presbytery and sanctuary of the post-1128/1220 eastern choir at Benedictine Dunfermline was a response to the liturgical developments and vibrancy of the times. These were sign-posted by papal reforms urged by Lateran Councils III (1179) and IV (1215), as well as by local diocesan canons, all of which were further intensified by, and in turn shaped, the theology of Europe's University schools and lay engagement with the church at all levels.[116] The expensive and 'nobler building' which the papacy noted in progress at Dunfermline by c.1226-31 surely reflected these heightened expectations.[117] In this context, the growing sanctity of the mass, communion and confession, focussed on the suffering of Christ, the increasingly elaborate nature of relic processions (both internal and external to the church), and great feast or red-letter day rites in search of intercession, meant that the east-end chancel of Dunfermline Abbey would have to accommodate a larger and crucially visible liturgical space, just as the evolving cult body shrine would be showcased through a larger dedicated and regulated adjacent space.[118] This would be demarcated by one, perhaps even two, flights of sacred sanctuary steps raising the high altar level. These steps were themselves symbolic of such holy tenets as the Apostles, the Martyrs and (aiding penance) the Virtues, but had to reserve enough room for clerical communion and the final three fixed, stone base-stones of the raised high altar. For example, as French theologian William Durande of Mende (1230-c.1296) described them in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, the single most copied treatise on the meaning of ecclesiastical architecture, fittings and ritual of the Middle Ages, these steps:

> correspond with the steps of virtue by which the altar – that is, Christ – is approached, according to what the Psalm says: *And they shall go from virtue to virtue*.'[119]

The sanctuary pavement itself, above these steps, could also of course be highly decorated and symbolic. The Cosmatesque sanctuary pavement mosaics of both the high altar and St Edward

[114] Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 305-8.
[115] MacGregor and Wilkinson, 'In Search of Robert the Bruce, Part III', 184-8. See also A. Taylor, 'Historical writing in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland: the Dunfermline compilation', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), 238-52.
[116] *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, 8-67; R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 2008), ch. 2; R.W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), ch. 6; W. Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in 13th-Century England* (Cambridge, 2017), ch. 1; C. Oakes, 'Benedictine Architecture, 1150-1350', in P.S. Barnwell, *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland, 1150-1350* (Donington, 2018), 69-92; J. Harper, 'The Space Enriched: Liturgy, Ritual and Music, 1150-1350', in *ibid*., 10-23; C. Monagle and M. Senocak eds., *Lateran IV: Theology and Cure of Souls* (Turnhout, 2023), chs 1, 4 and 6.
[117] *Dunf. Reg*., nos 130 and 137.
[118] J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300-c.1200* (Oxford, 2000), chs v-vii.
[119] *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, xvii-xxv and Bk. 1, 2, #13, p. 31.

the Confessor's east-end shrine at Westminster Abbey, the focal point of the grand plans of King Henry III ('a most Christian king') for the expansion of that great Benedictine church from 1245, may have provided Dunfermline with a striking model in this regard. Or Dunfermline's sanctuary may have simply depicted a Trinity motif in coloured floor tiles.[120]

Indeed, comparison of Dunfermline's Burn/Jardine ground-plan of 1818-19 [Fig 13] with those of other similar late-medieval Benedictine choirs elsewhere (which often also housed a mausoleum or cult shrine) certainly seems to confirm these expectations of layout. For example, as at Durham's Cathedral Priory and the abbey choirs of St Dénis, Hexham (Northumberland, though much rebuilt in the nineteenth century) and, again, Tewkesbury (Gloucs.)[121]; or at Dunfermline's mother house of Christ Church Canterbury Cathedral Priory, following St Thomas Becket's great Translation of 7 July 1220 to a new feretory and allied head ('Corona') shrines.[122] In all these great churches, at least two sections of low, proportionate, graceful altar steps fill a space often as long east-to-west as their screened altar sanctuaries are wide north-to-south [see Figs 14-17]. The choir sanctuary of Tewskesbury Abbey, for example, a church similar in scale to Dunfermline, is at least some 23' deep and tapers down from 28' wide, with at least 18' from first altar step to the centre of the high altar (and the nearest presbytery burial, a later flat pavement slab rather than a box or table tomb, is more than 30' west of that altar).[123]

No elite grave markers – either earlier pavement burials or later box tombs containing bodies – are thus to be found within these sacred spaces; and saintly tombs are more typically sited in retro-choir locations.[124] As Durande further insisted:

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[120] S. Badham, 'Edward the Confessor's chapel, Westminster Abbey: the origins of the royal Mausoleum and its Cosmatesque Pavement', *Antiquaries Journal*, 87 (2007), 197-219, at 198, 201-6 [GPR evidence for burials]; Utsi, 'The shrine of Edward the Confessor: a study in multi-frequency GPR investigation', 1-7; Rodwell and. Neal eds., *The Cosmatesque Mosaics of Westminster Abbey - the Pavements and Royal Tombs*, ii, chs 3-5, and i, 147-55 for GPR evidence by E.C. Utsi at 147-56; D. Carpenter, *Henry III, 1207-58: the Rise to Power and Personal Rule* (London and New Haven, 2020), ch. 6, at 273, 320-48. Similarly, the sanctuary/chancel of the later chapel of St George, Windsor, remained clear of burials whilst the presbytery pavement saw floor interments by successive generations of knights [N. Saul, 'The Growth of a Mausoleum: the pre-1660 Tombs and Brasses of St George's Chapel, Windsor', *Antiquaries Journal*, 87 (2007), 220-58, at 226-7 figs 1-2].

[121] C. Hodges, *Ecclesia Hagustaldensis: the Abbey of St Andrew, Hexham* (Hexham, 1888), 22-3. My thanks to Peter Richmond and colleagues of Hexham Abbey Heritage for this reference.

[122] It is surely the case that as head of a daughter house of Canterbury and a fellow Benedictine, the abbot of Dunfermline was among the Scottish churchmen invited to Canterbury for the Translation of 1220 and thus perhaps in receipt of a small secondary Becket relic [M. Penman, 'The Bruce dynasty, Becket and Scottish pilgrimage to Canterbury, c.1178-c.1404', *Journal of Medieval History*, xx (2006), 1-25, at 6, 11n54].

[123] Morris and Shoesmith eds., *Tewkesbury Abbey*, xxiv-xxv, 162.

[124] That retro-choir space could also provide burial room which might, at a push, be described as 'in the middle of the choir' is suggested not only by burials at Westminster and St Dénis [Figs 14-15] but the elite interment history now emerging at the Benedictine Abbey of Reading (f.1121) as part of the Heritage Lottery funded *Reading Abbey Revealed* project (2010-) and an allied GPR survey project: J. Mullaney, 'The Ground Penetrating Radar survey in the Nave of Reading Abbey Church' (2016). This Abbey was recycled and absorbed physically by the town of Reading after the Dissolution. In 1784 workmen clearing ruins found a vault containing a lead coffin 'almost devoured by time' and, within, a reportedly perfect skeleton. This was believed to be the body of Henry I, the Abbey's founder described as buried before the high altar by contemporary chronicler, Gervase of Canterbury. However, it soon emerged this was in fact a modern burial and in the wrong location for the altar. In 1815 a sepulchre base 7' x 2'6" x 7.5' was reportedly found in the area by then believed to have held the high altar. However, GPR work as part of the current HLF project has found neither the altar nor western burials, but rather burials to the far east-end, in the retro-choir [R. Baxter, *The Royal Abbey of Reading* (Woodbridge, 2016), 34-9; Reading Council - Report to Housing, Neighbourhoods and Leisure committee, 4 July 2018 - https://www.reading.gov.uk/media/9017/Item-8/pdf/Item_8.pdf , accessed 5/2/20].

> ‘No body should ever be buried in a church, near the altar, where the Body and Blood of the Lord are confected, unless they are the bodies of Holy fathers whom we call patrons, that is, the defenders of the church, who by their merits, defend the entire religion’[125]

If Dunfermline’s late-medieval choir followed these liturgical precepts, then it is highly unlikely that Bruce’s monumental tomb structure – or anyone else’s for that matter – should have been sited so close to the c.1250 high altar *east* of/above/within any sanctuary steps. Moreover, Iain Fraser’s recreation of Bruce’s tomb from marble fragments and by analogy with extant contemporary examples from St Dénis, make it clear that this was a monumental structure in which the body would be interred *inside* the box not below it and the surrounding pavement.[126] So, from this fundamental starting point, for the remains discovered in 1818 to be those of Bruce then something catastrophic must have happened to the original marble tomb for his body to later be found below floor level so close to the high altar (a point returned to below).

To develop these related points further, we do in fact have some previously unnoticed evidence for the site and nature of the late-medieval high altar at Dunfermline, as well as, possibly, some traces of the choir’s sanctuary steps. Local historian Ebenezer Henderson (1809-79), also a keen amateur astronomer, spent a lifetime gathering written and material evidence relevant to the history of Dunfermline and its environs, most famously gathered in his *Annals of Dunfermline* (1879) but also with a focus on ecclesiastical history and remains for this and an earlier publication on the *Royal Tombs of Dunfermline* (1855).[127] As part of these studies he claimed to have drawn on past surveying (1790/1823) and himself paid for explorations of the choir and cloister site (c.1853) in search of the lines of the monastic chapter house and related structures.[128]

Amongst the papers which Henderson’s estate deposited with Dunfermline’s Carnegie Library (now the Dunfermline Carnegie Library & Gallery) was the full working manuscript assembled for his *Annals*. This rich and fascinating resource contains numerous additional unpublished notations, diagrams and sketches concerning Dunfermline’s lost church history. Thus alongside lists of old, interesting ‘blue’ (medieval marble?) stones to be seen in later town buildings, and sketches of secular medieval structures demolished within his lifetime[129], Henderson includes a one-page diagram and descriptive measurements for the location and base-stones of the lost choir’s high altar [Fig 83, transcribed in Appendix].[130] This was a relic that he could have seen for himself as a young boy before the site was cleared in 1817-18.[131]

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[125] *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Bk 1, 5, #12, p. 57.

[126] Billard, *Les Tombeaux des Rois*, 34; I. Fraser, ‘The Lost Tomb of Robert the Bruce’, a public lecture given in Dunfermline Abbey Church 12 Nov. 2019, online at https://www.facebook.com/dunfermlineabbey/videos/bruce-lecture-2-the-lost-tomb-of-robert-the-bruce/635917903665886/ .

[127] *ODNB* entry by C. Neale (2004) - https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12906; Henderson, *Annals*; idem, *Royal Tombs*.

[128] DCL&G LR D/GEN hand-written MS of *Annals of Dunfermline*, 170-1. Henderson also emphasises the likelihood of the high altar being screened off, either in stone or wood [NLS Acc. 9133/17 letters to J. Neil Paton, Folder i. 1 January 1861].

[129] *Ibid*, 13-14

[130] The extant bound register of medieval material for Dunfermline Abbey contains at least five images of similar stepped structures topped with crosses [NLS Adv.MS.31.1.3A].

[131] *Ibid*, an insert on blue paper between pp. 60-1 As Henderson remarked in his earlier *Royal Tombs of Dunfermline* (1855), 6-7, ‘previous to 1818 there was a raised place at this spot, a kind of dais with a few steps in

Moreover, some of Henderson's spatial measurements were in turn based upon a sketch-plan and measurements paced out by a visiting Edinburgh surveyor, one John Baine, in 1790 (230 years after a Reformation now 560 years distant from us). Bain's remarkable treasure-trove of a sketchbook also survives in the DCL&G archives [see Figs 82 i.-iii.].[132] Although Henderson warned against the details of some of Baine's sketches as having been drawn from memory perhaps a decade after his visit, he nonetheless agreed with his broad measurements between features and copied many of his original sketches.[133]

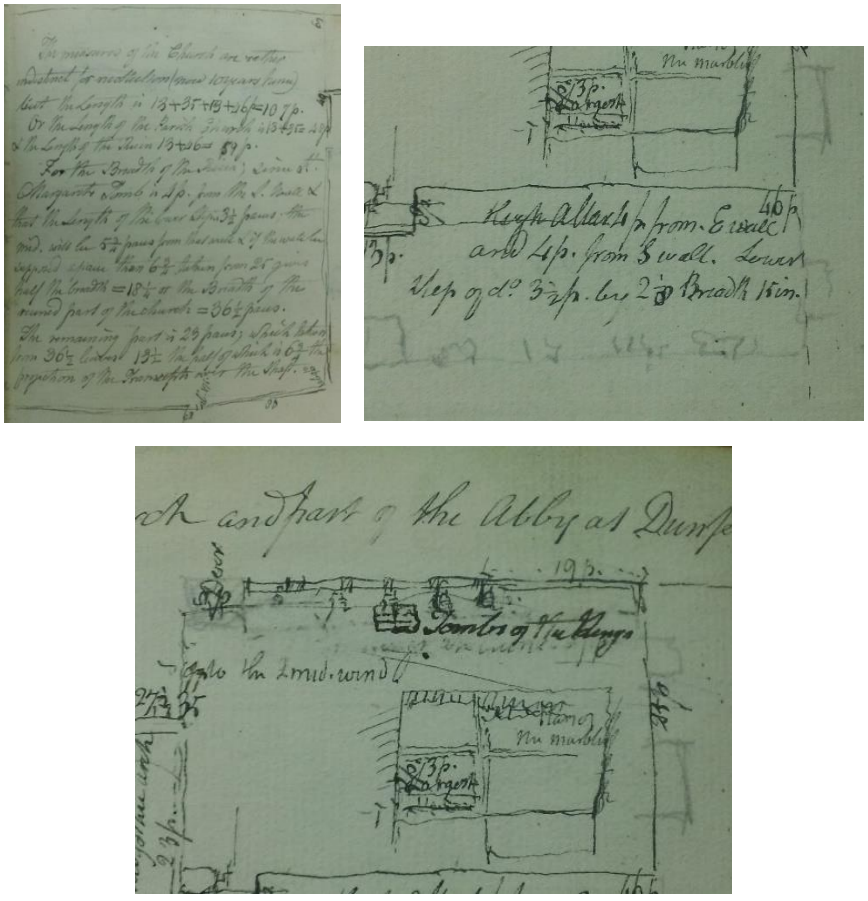

Fig 82 i.-iii.: John Baine's notes and sketches for the dimensions of medieval features still visible in the ruined Abbey choir, including 'Tombs of the kings', from *Sketches to illustrate the Ruins of Dunfermline, being a Supplement to the Fourteen large views of these ruins taken in May and June 1790*. At iii. he indicates the 'largest' traditionary king's slab in the ruined Lady Chapel was '3p'; this can be equated with the 9' length of this slab reported by John Graham Dalyell in 1809. Thus, one Baine pace = 3'.

front.' In a letter to antiquarian David Laing, Henderson also asserted he had paid out-of-work weavers in 1855 'to dig for the direction of the old foundations now several feet under the surface…for a very correct plan of the old walls' [EUL La.IV.17 f.4522-3 - 17 May 1856].

[132] DCL&G D/VIEWS, John Baine, engineer, *Sketches to illustrate the Ruins of Dunfermline, being a Supplement to the Fourteen large views of these ruins taken in May and June 1790*. Frustratingly, the contents listing for this sketch book includes '#32 View near the High Altar in the Transept of the Church or Psalter churchyard' but no corresponding drawing survives. Henderson's MS also contains notes on just 24 of Baine's sketches [DCL&G LR D/GEN, insert between pp. 372-3], even though he repeatedly lists this sketchbook as containing 38 images [NLS Acc. 9133/17 letters to J. Neil Paton, Folder i. 30 October 1852, 15 April 1853; and Folder ii. nd]; his correspondence with David Laing, the Advocates' Librarian and antiquarian in Edinburgh – who had bought Baine's sketchbook in 1815 – suggests that the last 14 sketches were larger (at 2' long), loose-leaf and perhaps already detached/lost [EUL La. IV. 17, f. 4514 - 27 October 1852]

[133] DCL&G LR D/GEN, p. 60.

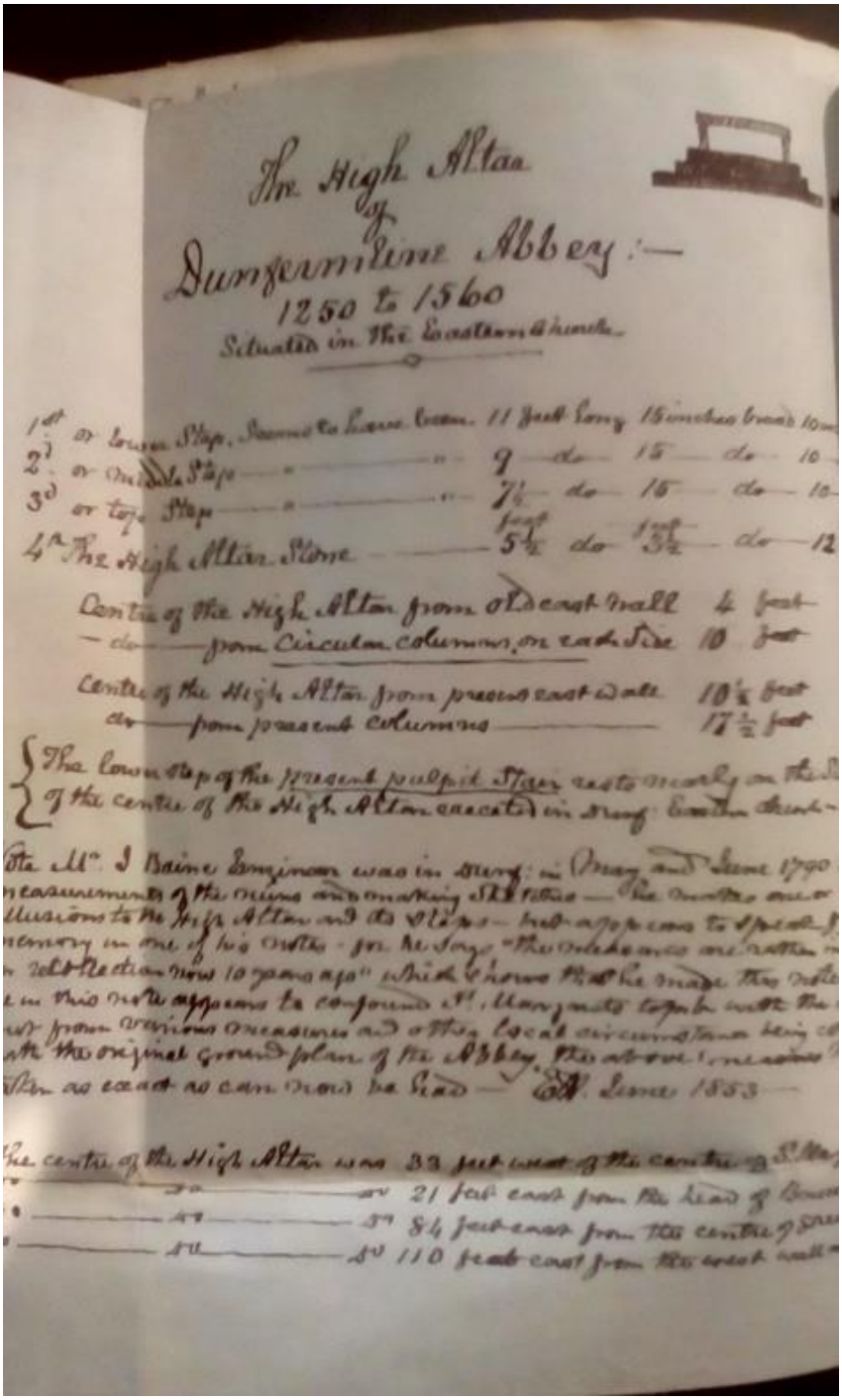

Fig 83: Ebenezer Henderson's unpublished *Annals of Dunfermline* manuscript insert elaborating on Baine's measurements of the extant stones of the medieval high altar in Dunfermline Abbey choir (c.1853).

As well as providing dimensions for the three base steps and the liturgical top of the high altar [sketched out here as Fig 84], Henderson's notes also cite the middle of this structure as standing 10' north and 10' south from 'circular columns' (for which no dimensions are recorded) to be seen before 1818 on either side (broken at their bases?); the mid-altar point is

also then noted as 4' from the 'old east wall'.[134] The latter was surely the altar screen of the 1250- choir, perhaps reusing some of the position and materials of the earlier David I choir's east-end apse (in a manner similar to the c.1310 replacement with squared screens of the earlier apsidal high altar rear screens of Winchester Cathedral): some of our radar returns for this area certainly might seem to suggest the possibility of a squared altar area [Figs 34, 85].[135] Alternatively, as the Burn 1819 ground-plan suggests the twelfth-century apse footings were still clearly discernible, we should be open to the possibility that some of this older curved feature was in fact retained for the c.1250 extension and thus adapted for the screen between the high altar and the new retrochoir/feretory (and thus that the original choir high altar may not have been moved east at all – hence the monks' insistence to the pope, noted above, that the walls 'for the greater part remained in their original state'). Either way, these are figures and features which, if true, hint at the scale of the high altar sanctuary area at c.20' across, at least at its (perhaps tapering) far east-end – truly 'a church within a church'.

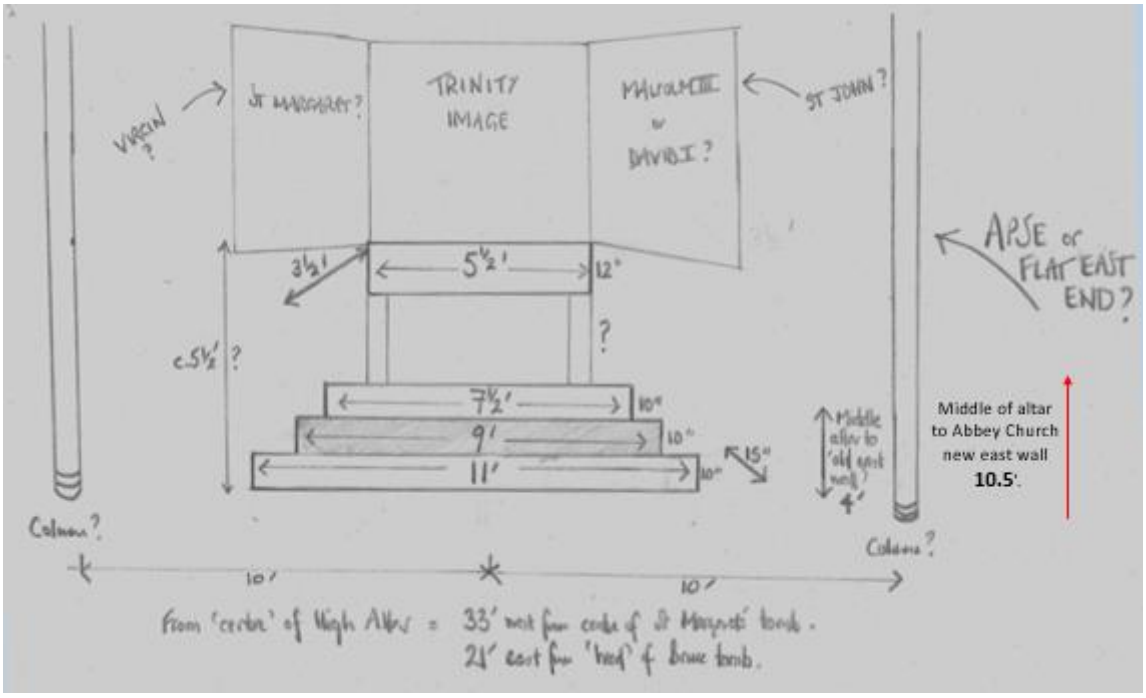

Fig 84: Recreation of the form, dimensions and relative position of the high altar of Dunfermline abbey choir, based on Baine's and Henderson's manuscripts.

That the Baine/Henderson diagrams and sketches also record the altar stones' position as being 10.5' from the 'present church wall', i.e. that of the new Abbey Church (with its central eastern vestry door), and thus 17.5' north and the same to the south from new flanking columns, allows

[134] The HES Dunfermline Abbey and Palace visitor display does hold several slender circular column fragments, e.g. DNF/cc/1; /cs/7; /cb/1, 2, 4, 12; /cs/6 and 8a-b (with ironwork), 9; /cb/3, 5; /cc/2; /cs/2, 4.
[135] J. Crook, 'Medieval Royal and Episcopal Burials in Winchester Cathedral', *Antiquaries Journal*, 102 (2022), 134-62, at 140, fig 4. Does the far right-hand trident-shaped wall fragment in Stedman's painting (1779) of the Abbey ruins depict some of the high altar screen remains or a modern Bruce of Elgin monument [see Fig 7 ii.]?

us to roughly locate the medieval altar remains within the Abbey Church ground-plan. This means we can also map them approximately on to our GPR survey results [Fig 85].

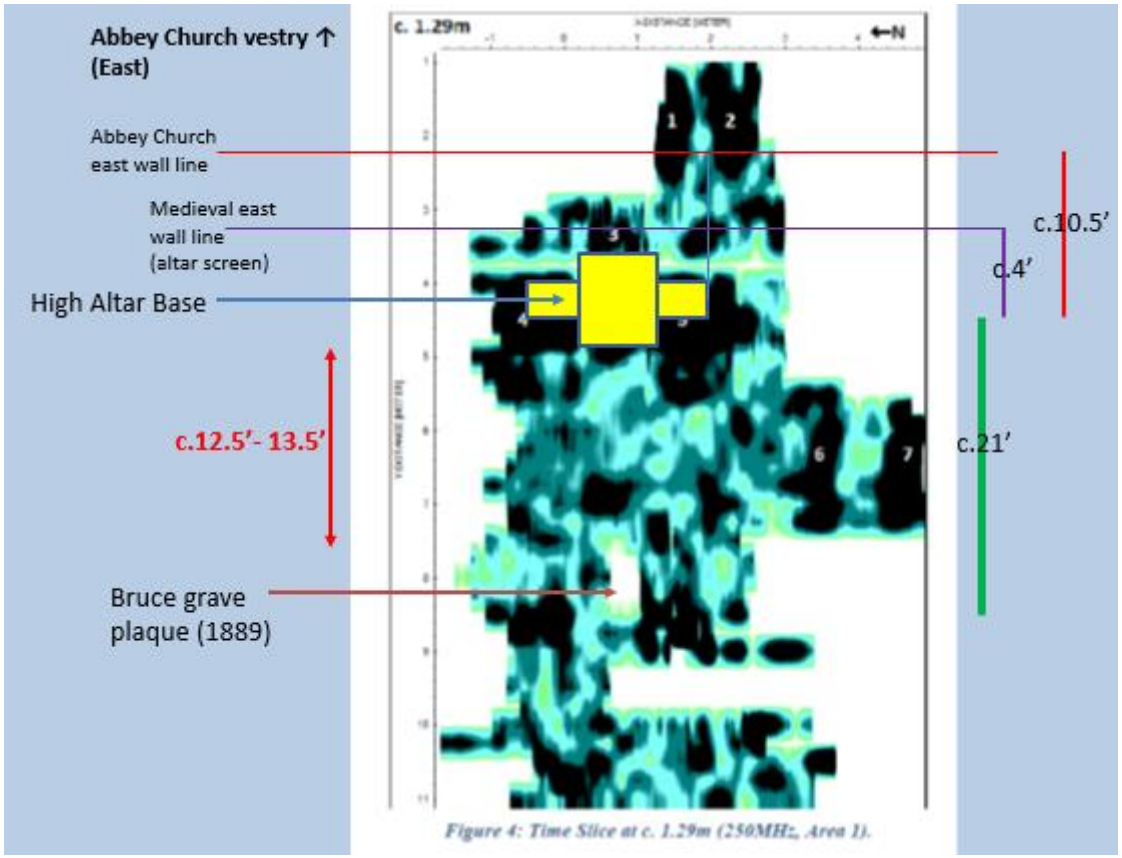

Fig 85: The Baine/Henderson distance measurements of 1790/1854 for the high altar stones imposed approximately on our 2017 scan of area 2a [Fig 34]; the 'Bruce grave' plaque is the smaller white rectangle.

Indeed, the potential subsurface structures indicated on Figs 34 and 38 as features 3-7 may thus correspond to the broken-down foundations of the late-medieval altar base, its rear altar screen, and its side-screens, rather than to burials. Henderson also records the distance from the middle of the late medieval altar stones to the 'head of the 'Bruce grave" as being 21', and from the altar to the middle of St Margaret's shrine to the east as being 33'. In the summer of 2019 Penman laid out a paper facsimile of this altar structure using these rough measurements [Fig 73 i-ii]. This confirmed that Henderson must have been referring to the 'head' of the Bruce grave as lying to the west end of its grave where the uncovered skeleton's head also lay. Crucially, this leaves only about 14'-15' from the feet end of the potential site of Bruce's tomb to the bottom high altar base stone, and thus only c.12.25'-13.25' to the western-most edge of the high altar stone as noted by Henderson.

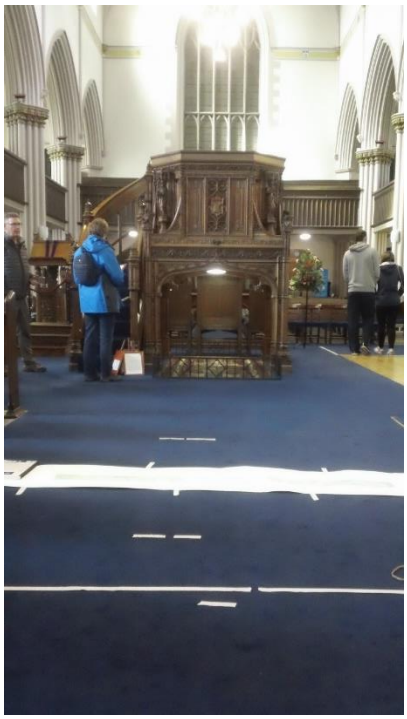

Fig 86: i./ii. Recreation in 2-D of Dunfermline Abbey choir's high altar position and scale from Baine/Henderson measurements of 1790/1853 (2019).

Between 12' and 14' does seem too small a sacred space in this major monastic church and mausoleum to accommodate the east end of a royal box-tomb plinth, an often-busy clerical communion space (and rail?), one or two sets of long, low rising altar steps and then the final raised high altar dais with its three base-stones (again, as perhaps recreated for Arbroath by HES at Fig 76). These features would still have to leave room for the visible practice of the mass and sacraments with the officiants at times required to process and cense around the high altar and with the altar often curtained for key feasts. One (or three) box tomb(s) with tall, ornate iron rails in this spot would surely further obstruct the mass in performance as well as

in visibility from the western monks' choir stalls, or from any intervening crossing space as viewpoints for visiting laity.[136]

Moreover, that the sanctuary's rising steps (or at least their first riser) were in fact located much further west, west indeed of the current Abbey Church communion table and its dais edge, is suggested by a strong north-south linear feature identified by the GPR scan of 2016 as extending across the church from the north transept [Fig 74].

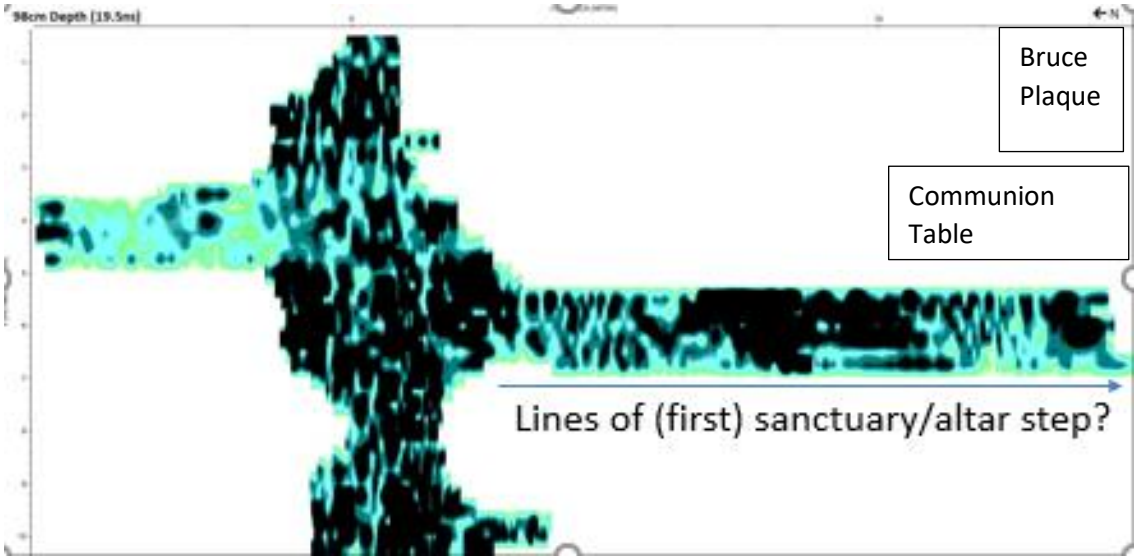

Fig 87: Time Slice extracted at c.19.5ns from the 250MHz data in the North Transept in 2016, area 2a, showing a possible architectural feature in the centre of the Abbey Church.

All told, this speaks to similar architectural and liturgical arrangements at Dunfermline as those to be observed in the thirteenth-century choirs of many contemporary Benedictine houses (particularly at Tewkesbury with its similar dimensions). This is neatly conveyed by HES's current heritage images for the Tironensian (thus in liturgical practice, Benedictine) abbey of Arbroath, Forfarshire, and its central choir/presbytery tomb space for its founder King William I of 1214 [Figs 75-6], a grave uncovered in February 1816. The chronicles of Fordun and Bower had recorded William's interment 'in front of the high altar, in the church of the monastery of Abirbrothoc, which he had himself caused to be built up from the very foundations.'[137] In fact William's axial grave space lies over 40' west of the high altar.

[136] In presenting public talks on Dunfermline and addressing this point, more than one audience member has cited to Penman the potential counterpoint of the box-tomb burial of King John of England before the high altar at Worcester Cathedral in 1216; however, John's tomb lies some 40' from its high altar, west of five steadily rising chancel steps and a tiered altar, between two saints' shrines [V. Green, *An Account of the Discovery of the Body of King John in the Cathedral Church of Worcester, July 17th, 1797*, (London, 1797)].

[137] *Chron. Fordun*, i, 280 and ii, 276; *Chron. Bower*, v, 3-5. The compilation of Raphael Holinshed (1528-80?) also hints at a central position by recording William's interment 'before the high alter within the quier' [*The Scottish Chronicle: Or, a Complete History and Description of Scotland* (2 volumes, Arbroath, 1805), i, 388-9]. Press coverage asserted that 'by attending to the distance noted by that author [Holinshed] from the side walls and the foresteps of the altar, the tomb was discovered…the covering was a beautiful blue marble stone, on which was carved the effigy of the king, with the lion under his feet'; the stone coffin, however, contained only a few bones, indicating previous disturbance [*Caledonian Mercury*, 4 April 1816].

Fig 88 i.-iii.: Rev. John Sime's ground-plan from his *Memorabilia* (1840) and present-day images illustrating burial of William I (1165-1214) in his foundation (1178) of Arbroath Abbey, Forfarshire (in red).

Fig 89: HES recreation of Arbroath Abbey choir illustrating presbytery pavement burial of William I (but shown here with later box tomb and effigy furnished by Robert I?) and long, rising sanctuary steps to the high altar, clear of burials and screened.

Admittedly, Henderson chose not to publish this (very Catholic) altar data for Dunfermline in his *Annals* (1879). Yet his reasons for doing so do not seem to relate to doubts about its accuracy. Indeed, he did go so far as to record in his published timeline the removal of one of the high altar base-stones 'when the ground in this locality was being levelled' in 1817, adding that:

> 'the step still exists, and may be seen doing service as a seat for the weary at the outside of the south wall of the New Abbey

Church…it rests on two pillars which were taken from a grave in the north churchyard.'[138]

Fig 90: Fossiliferous marble stone located along south-side wall of Dunfermline Abbey Church. Note the different form of the supporting pedestal in the middle added to the two reported by Henderson (1879).

This same length of fossiliferous marble can indeed still be seen in the spot Henderson described, serving the same function. Its measurements at c.7' 6" long x 15" broad x 10" deep, allowing for some erosion, do match the upper altar base-stone as recorded by Henderson [Fig 77]. Historic Scotland had this labelled mistakenly as a section of the base of the shrine of St Margaret (but all its component stones are shorter rectangles).[139] It should now perhaps be considered for conservation and reinterpretation given its potential importance.

Yet that this piece of marble thus comes from the high altar of c.1250, or earlier, surely points to the possibility that further settings and fittings of the choir of this great church were made of or trimmed in this valuable and striking stone which polishes up as jet black with silver fossils, not least the sanctuary steps and pavement and the royal tombs.[140] That a fossiliferous

[138] Henderson, *Annals*, 592.

[139] However, all the marble base stones of Margaret's feretory are visibly much shorter.

[140] Interestingly, we might also consider the possibility that this is not Frosterley marble from County Durham but a Scottish stone – perhaps sourced from Roscobie quarry just three miles north of Dunfermline on land owned by the Abbey in the middle ages [See the British Geological Survey listing at http://www.bgs.ac.uk/discoveringgeology/geoscenicAPI/geoscenic.cfc?method=viewImages&searchParameters=Dunfermline; HES record for Roscobie Limeworks at https://canmore.org.uk/site/49675/roscobie-limeworks; *Dunf. Reg.*, 254, 427, 437, 439, 480, 482]; or from one of the cluster of additional quarry sites in and around Pittencrieff and the Abbey site [The Building Stone Database for Scotland - http://webservices.bgs.ac.uk/buildingstone/quarries?q=fife]; or Dunbar Ness, Berwickshire. Our thanks to

marble effigy of William I [Figs 75 iii. and 76] was installed at Arbroath Abbey probably c.1315-22, paid for and illuminated by Robert I, hints that the Bruce king himself may also have added further marble-trimmed elements to other royal churches, including Dunfermline's choir (such as effigy bases/tomb plinths). If so, he thus continued the 'branding' of the royal mausoleum, as it were, perhaps even updating older royal pavement burials and the shrines of Margaret, Malcolm III and David I.[141] Similar programmes of re-presentation had occurred at Westminster and St Dénis in the mid-to-late thirteenth centuries, directed by royal patronage.[142] However, such outlay at Dunfermline may be hidden from us by the loss of Robert's royal financial records before 1326, hiding disbursement of large sums raised through raiding, ransoming and tribute extraction in northern England c.1311-23.[143] The year 1321 certainly saw Robert I grant Dunfermline its own cocket seal and control of enhanced customs revenue, as well as payment for perpetual lights before Margaret's shrine, discussed below.[144]

If this overall re-interpretation is accepted as possible in theory, for the sake of this discussion, and for further reasons discussed in more detail below [section iii. 5], it is thus proposed to *exclude* the 'Bruce grave' discovered in 1818 from reassessment of the medieval remains as it may be a post-Reformation intrusion (even if a medieval body). However, we are now able to locate the relative line of the 1250- choir altar screen and thus note that the access points for clergy, pilgrims and other visitors through from the extended aisles, to the north and south, into the retro-choir or paved feretory shrine area and so to the final tomb of St Margaret (and Malcolm III) were also quite narrow, as little as c.8'-c.10' wide. This presumably afforded the monks tight control over the flow of pilgrims in and out on major feast days, as at comparable body shrines at Durham, Westminster, Glasgow and Whithorn. This likely meant the installation of (decorated?) matching doors or screens at the east end of the main north and south choir aisles, in/out of the north-west and south-west corners of the feretory space respectively.[145] Thus while not a full open 'ambulatory' around the perimeter of the east end

Associate Professor of Geology Duncan Pirrie at the University of South Wales, and to Dunfermline Abbey custodian Elaine Pirrie for the Dunbar point and discussion of the stones.

[141] G. Henderson, 'A royal effigy of Arbroath', in W.M. Ormrod ed., *England in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1986), 88-98; G.S. Gimson, 'Lion Hunt: a royal tomb-effigy at Arbroath Abbey', *PSAS*, 125 (1995), 901-16; M. Penman, 'A Programme for Royal Tombs in Scotland? A Review of the Evidence, c.1093-c.1542', in idem ed., *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Donington, 2013), 239-53, at 241-2. Robert I's dedication of this statue to William may date to c.October 1321 when he gifted Arbroath Abbey the church of St Kentigern of Kirkmahoe, Dumfriesshire (in the same year as Robert also paid for lights before St Margaret's altar at Dunfermline and gifted that house a cocket seal and other revenues); or c.1 December 1322, the day before the *regressio de exilio* (return from exile) feast of Becket, when Robert inspected William's original charter to Arbroath [*RRS*, v, nos 188, 203, 213-14; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 239].

[142] Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, ch. 3; Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Le Cimetiere des rois aux XIIIe et XIVe siecles', 227-62; W.C. Jordan, *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Dénis in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton and Oxford, 2009), ch. 5.

[143] *ER*, i, 52; C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306-28* (East Linton, 1997).

[144] *RRS*, v, nos 188, 190, 199; *Dunf. Reg*., nos 346, 361.

[145] D. Hunt, 'The Shrine of St Cuthbert', in D. Brown ed., *Durham Cathedral: History, Fabric and Culture* (New Haven and London, 2015), 303-13; A.A.M. Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth-Century', in R. Fawcett ed., *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow* (BAA, Leeds, 1998), 9-24; P. Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 1999), 16-28, 39-41; R.D. Oram, 'The Medieval Bishops of Whithorn, their cathedral and their tombs', in C. Lowe et al eds., *Clothing for the Soul Divine: Burials at the Tomb of St Ninian – Excavations at Whithorn Priory, 1957-67* (Edinburgh 2009), 131-166, at 147-158. Many thanks to Richard Fawcett for discussions re these features. In our first draft of this report, we applied the term 'ambulatory' far too loosely to the circuit route around the interior, not allowing for such partitioning and controlled access points.

church, there was a defined, symmetrical pilgrimage pathway giving controlled access to the several stations of veneration for Margaret as well as other altars and relics.

If in this context we should not envisage any elite burials as taking place within the sacred space of the sanctuary/chancel, directly before the high altar, then the most likely space for such royal tombs still within the 'middle of the choir' lies in fact further west. This would locate such burials within the paved presbytery and the east end of the screened monks' choir with its stalls (which from the later thirteenth through to the fifteenth centuries had to accommodate as many as 50 monks and as many more novices and associated 'brethren'), all lying in part below the central lantern tower at Dunfermline.[146] These medieval burials must now lie buried under the pews, floor and foundations west of the east-end dais of the modern Abbey Church, perhaps across a space c.30-35' wide running north-to-south. As we shall see, there is further previously overlooked antiquarian evidence which may confirm this in part.

But, if correct, this possible layout also marks out Dunfermline's arrangements as being different from those few late-medieval monastic churches in Scotland where we *can*, if tentatively, identify burial more directly in front of the high altar. This is the case, for example, at Sweetheart's Cistercian Abbey in Galloway (f.1275) with its central box tomb for founder Lady Devorguilla (d.1290, Fig 78), or at the Augustinian island priory of Inchmahome, Stirlingshire (f.1238) with its central double-tomb for Walter Stewart earl of Menteith and his Countess (d.c.1293-4, Figs 79 and 103).[147] It is possible that both these sites saw intervention by post-1560 conservators in re-siting these tomb remains close to their high altars. However, importantly at both these houses, there was no interior pilgrimage circuit around and east of the high altar. Indeed, the altar's rear screen in both cases was simply the church's east-end terminus wall, thus a tighter, shorter space with such a (single!) patronal tomb more readily visible by lay visitors *but* still with sufficient defined space remaining between tomb and altar for communion and (a) rising altar step(s). These examples again seem to suggest that the 12'-14' left between the Dunfermline choir high altar and the 1818 'Bruce grave' was too small a space for the latter to be an original pre-1560 box interment with iron railings.

[146] For estimated monk numbers see: Henderson, *Annals*, 41, 65, 73, 107, 149, 183; Lee, 'Development of Dunfermline Abbey as a royal cult centre c.1070-c.1420', 264.

[147] The burials of James III (1460-88) and his queen before the high (Virgin) altar at Cambuskenneth Abbey, Stirling, might be added to this list although these appear to have been slabs with brass inlays; a Victorian box tomb now marks this spot and illustrates how a box tomb could block the altar [J.E. Alexander, 'An Account of the Excavations at Cambuskenneth Abbey, May 1864', *PSAS*, vi (1866), 14-33].

Fig 91 i.-ii.: Original position(?) and fragments of Devorguilla of Galloway's founder's tomb before the high altar of Sweetheart Abbey. Note the sanctuary step/dividing line on the left, and the distance to the altar and east wall.

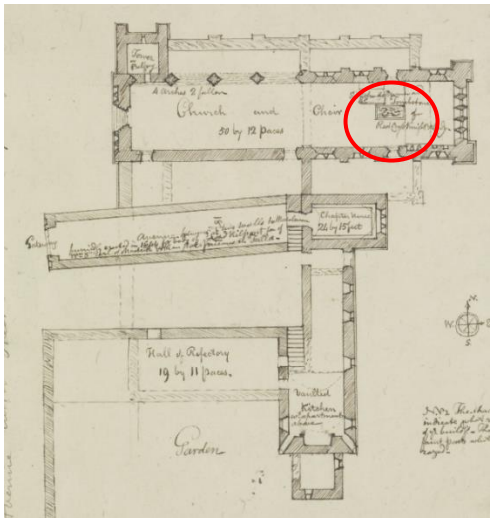

Fig 92: Rev. John Sime's groundplan of Inchmahome Priory, Stirlingshire, from his *Memorabilia* (1840). The double tomb of the Menteiths is ringed in red.

Moreover, that even in such smaller churches (without a retro-choir) elite box-tomb burial too close to the high altar could be a problem is suggested by the fate of the cathedral tomb of William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld (d.1337), in his Perthshire cathedral. His tomb does not seem to have lain as close to its high altar as the 1818 'Bruce grave' does at Dunfermline, but according to a fifteenth-century local clerical source it lay 'at the presbytery *step* [our italics] *in the midst of the choir*, where his body is buried, covered with a marble stone'. Yet it was quickly removed to a windowed wall to the north of the altar 'in case by any chance it should be destroyed or should be an obstacle in front of the altar.'[148] HES have recently identified another double-sided late-medieval monumental prelate's tomb at Dunkeld, which was also

[148] A. Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* (Edinburgh, 1831), 113, 15, 21; R.D. Oram, 'Bishops' Tombs in Medieval Scotland', in Penman ed., *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 171-98, at 185. See also S. Badham, 'Whose Body? Monuments Displaced from St Edward the Confessor's Chapel, Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 160 (2007), 135-52.

moved to a wall, probably from an open position between columns defining aisle processional space.[149]

In sum, this section of the discussion combines our GPR surveys with parallel liturgical architecture and Dunfermline antiquarian evidence to argue that the central choir sanctuary/chancel of Dunfermline's choir was surely without elite burials. Even the lone heart or viscera burial, also unearthed in a box in the ruins in 1818-19 [marked as 'M' on Burn's ground-plan, Fig 13] and briefly noted by eye-witness Rev Peter Chalmers as lying a few yards to the north-east of the 'Bruce grave', thus lay at the screened edge of this sacral space (perhaps just within the area scanned by our GPR in 2022).[150] Dunfermline's chancel therefore served as a church within the church, perhaps edged in fossiliferous marble and with an unimpeded view from the west of the matching marble Holy Trinity high altar. Sixteenth-century records suggest that one of the painted images in this area may have been of St Margaret, perhaps one arm of a high altar triptych, adjacent to the Easter sepulchre and the former site of her remains as asserted in the *miracula* record of her first, 1180 translation, initiated by the monks.[151]

[149] https://blog.historicenvironment.scot/2018/12/lost-faces-dunkeld-tomb/ , accessed 5/2/20.

[150] Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, i, 143. This box was also reinterred on 5 Nov 1819 in Bruce's new lead and pitch-filled, coffin.

[151] J.M. Webster and A.A.M. Duncan ed., *Regality of Dunfermline Court Book, 1531-1538* (Dunfermline, 1953), 185; Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret no. 9, pp. 93-4 – Margaret's remains moved to a newly carved and gilded reliquary atop a stone table 'at the north end of the altar, covered with an elegant cloth…'

iii. 2. The North Transept (interior and exteriors) and northern aisle (the medieval Lady Chapel and Lady Aisle)

Our GPR surveys within this north-eastern quarter have confirmed the Burn/Jardine 1818-19 ground-plan's recording of the exterior walls of the late thirteenth/early fourteenth-century Lady Chapel, including a flat east-end wall which joined the extension for the c.1250 St Margaret feretory at a right angle. As with the central altar/retro-choir (now vestry) space, however, some of the possible burials and structures identified here in the subsurface may relate to 'Psalter' churchyard interments of c.1560-c.1818, particularly those of the wealthier heritor families such as the lairds of Rosyth, Bruces of Elgin or Halketts of Pitfarrine. Indeed, the Dunfermline Kirk Session records confirm burials throughout the choir ruins without specific locations by at least a dozen families or prominent individuals such as past Ministers.[152] From 1816, these graves were ordered to be removed to new locations exterior to the planned east end of the new Abbey Church. But only a handful of such burials and the Elgin crypt can be accounted for in this way, and it is possible that some Psalter burials remained in situ beneath the Abbey Church.[153]

However, that a key grouping of some of the potential burials in the choir's north-east quarter identified by the GPR scans are indeed medieval is confirmed by important antiquarian evidence. On 28 July 1807 Edinburgh historian, antiquarian and naturalist, (later Sir) John Graham Dalyell (1775-1851), undertook a brief investigation of the reported traditionary site of six kings' burials under a matching number of stone slabs in the ruined northern aisle/chapel.[154] This excavation, described in a tract which he published in 1809 without detailed measurements or any illustrations, was to be widely reproduced in subsequent historical and antiquarian accounts of the Abbey's history and remains (though not always in full), notably by Deputy-Remembrancer Jardine (1821/2), Andrew Mercer (1828), Rev Chalmers (1844/59) and Henderson (1855/79).[155]

Dalyell's party seems to have included unnamed local guides (perhaps Mercer or Hutton's 'draftsman' Alexander Morton?). The soil beneath the slabs had clearly already been disturbed. The upper layers also contained surviving small, red medieval floor-tiles and broken stained glass. About 5' (c.1.52m) under the join between the two largest slabs - including the middle of the western row, some 9'x3' in size and believed by locals (and by visiting poet Robert Burns in 1787) to cover the grave of Robert Bruce – digging by Dalyell's party unearthed a stone coffin with a typically shaped interior head and shoulders and tapering body. This had been backfilled with earth covering fragmentary and badly water-logged, spongy bones.

[152] NRS CH2/592/10 [Dunfermline Abbey Church Kirk Session Minutes, 1799-1820], /364-5 [Colville, Craig, Durie, Beaumont, 369-70; CH2/592/57 [Dunfermline Abbey Church Burial Register, 1761-98], /39 [Stark], 47 [Inglis], 57 [Davidson, Bartholomew]; HR 159/2/166 [Dunfermline Abbey Church Kirk Session Minutes], /232 [Robertson].

[153] HR 159/3/ 136-8; J.F. and S. Mitchell, *Monumental Inscriptions (pre-1855) in West Fife* (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 114-29, nos 285-95.

[154] By contrast, another local historian asserted in verse that: 'Six kings there ashes ly hard by/ beneath four marble stones…' [Patton, *The History of Dunfermline*, 11].

[155] For what follows of 1802-9 see Dalyell, *Tract*; Jardine, *Report*, 23-5; Mercer, *History of Dunfermline*, 69-73; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, i, 137-8; Henderson, *Annals*, 559-61. Dalyell was the author of *Fragments of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1798), an edition of Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Historie* (1814), and several works on Scottish monastic cartularies. A presentation copy of his 1809 Tract recording his Dunfermline excavation was reportedly printed on vellum [*ODNB* entry by K. Dalyell at https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7075].

Dalyell speculated in error that these crumbling relics probably pre-dated the building of the choir. But it is of importance to this discussion that the location of their discovery, 2' deeper than the central 'Bruce grave', lies roughly parallel to the east-west line which begins with the double-coffin burial uncovered by the Earl of Elgin's party in 1776 while clearing ground for a family monument against the east-end wall of the Lady Chapel/Aisle (Fig 13 'P', the aforementioned spot now beneath the Abbey Church organ – see Fig 2b). One half of this burial crypt of reported polished stone – depicted in close-up on the Burn/Jardine plan [Fig 80] - held the remains of an elite female believed at the time to be that of Bruce's queen, Elizabeth de Burgh (and which would be removed to the new Elgin crypt in the Abbey Church's south transept in 1819).[156]

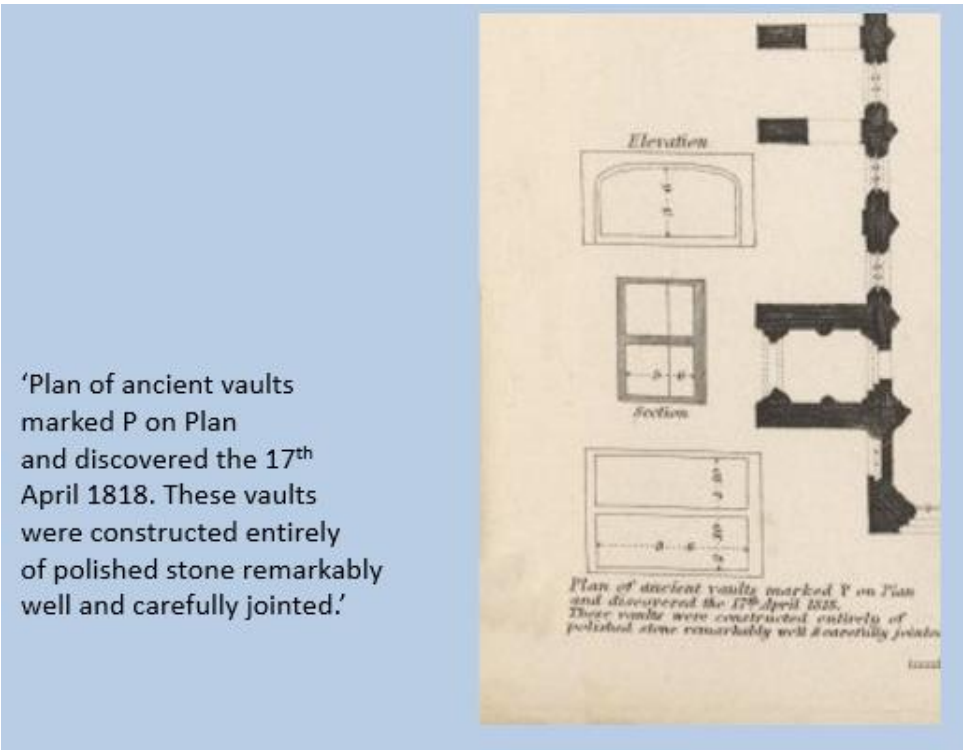

Fig 93: Enlarged insert from Burn/Jardine ground-plan of Dunfermline abbey (1818) illustrating double-grave unearthed in 1776 and re-excavated in 1817-19 (now beneath Abbey Church organ).

Now, not only does our 2016 GPR scan at the medieval depth return the likely disturbed site of Dalyell's dig [Fig 25, highlighted in red, confirmed in 2022, Figs 76-7], but, roughly equidistant in line to the east and to the west it also locates two further potential double burials side by side. All told, this makes for something of an orderly row of four possible double interments, if we include the 1776 double-tomb to the east [Figs 24, 27]. All these burials lie along the length of what would have been the Lady Aisle or its northern boundary alongside its matching Chapel. These might be linked cautiously in turn to the single 6'-long stone coffin, again with rounded head, typical of the twelfth-to-fourteenth centuries, which Chalmers and Henderson both reported as having already been found in this general vicinity in 1802, 'in

[156] Jardine, *Report*, 47, which describes this inaccurately as a 'few feet' from the 'Bruce grave'; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, i, 151-5.

which were human bones, much decayed [and] round about the coffin were found pieces of finely-carved marble, some of the pieces being gilt.'[157] Then there were the five subsequent stone coffins reported to Dalyell as uncovered in this general area c.1807-9. His 'howk' had clearly encouraged further local investigation, perhaps on an extensive scale. Some of these coffins may now lie among the collection of four shaped stone coffins deposited in the western end of Dunfermline's nave by Historic (Environment) Scotland [Fig 81].[158]

Fig 94: Medieval shaped stone coffin, one of four stored in Dunfermline Abbey nave' west end. This is perhaps one of the seven such coffins reportedly found c.1802-9 in the northern ruins of the choir, down the 'Lady Aisle'. This is typical of twelfth-thirteenth-fourteenth century burials but, if a pre-1250 example, raises the possibility that other nave royal burials were translated through to the choir in addition to those of St Margaret and Malcolm III? See now also https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/dunfermline-abbey-medieval-sarcophagus-b876b82233b944c79ec4718753e1eb6f for a 3-D scan of a similar example.

That elite medieval burial did occur in this north-east quarter of the choir is also confirmed by Abbot Bower, for once providing more precise detail for what was probably an era-defining interment which he himself attended. 3 September 1420 saw the death of octogenarian Robert Stewart, Earl of Fife and Menteith, Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland since 1406, and, perhaps significantly, a great admirer of Robert Bruce.[159] Bower, who owed his appointment in 1417 as Abbot of the nearby island Augustinian house of Inchcolm to Albany's tenure and

[157] Henderson, *Annals*, 549.

[158] Although two of these four may be the two stone coffins excavated in the east end of the nave in 1849, one 6'7"x2'2"x2'3" at the head then tapering to 1'7.5"x2'1" at the foot, with the second 'smaller in size', and both reported as deposited in the west end [Chalmers, 'Notice of a Stone coffin, found in the Pavement of the Abbey church, Dunfermline, in 1849, and of its Contents', 76]. A Victorian lead coffin dated to 1847 has also been found in the nave [T.M. Robertson et al, 'Recent excavations at Dunfermline Abbey, Fife', *PSAS*, 111 (1981), 388-400, at 395-9]. See also HES Dunfermline Abbey and Palace visitor display DNF/cn/3a-b. Contemporary local historian and eye witness Andrew Mercer, *History of Dunfermline*, 72-3, records that 'since that period [1807], in removing the rubbish and levelling what was called the Psalter Churchyard, a great number of very decayed bones were every day dug up…several stone coffins were also discovered, of the usual size [and shape]…in these coffins, generally, nothing was found but a very small amount of dust…fewer curious relics were found, in any part of this ground, than might have been expected; and their scarcity might be attributed to former depredations, and to the casualties of time…'

[159] *Chron. Bower*, viii, 135; S. Taylor, 'The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland,' in T.R. Liszka and L.E.M. Walker eds., *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages: Studies in the Cultural History of North-Western Europe* (Dublin, 2001), 175–210, at 188–90.

whose main patron, David Stewart of Rosyth, was also an Albany man and another likely Dunfermline patron, recorded that the Duke was buried 'with royal honours in the monastic church of Dunfermline *between the choir and the Lady Chapel*.' Whilst Albany's first wife, Margaret Graham Countess of Menteith, had died in 1380 and been buried in Inchmahome Priory, he had married for a second time, to a Muriella Keith, beside whom he could have been interred in Dunfermline (also alongside an effigy of first wife, Margaret). It is possible that the fragment of a carved sandstone lion footrest, found in 1993-4 during excavations of Abbot's House in Dunfermline, a hundred yards to the north of the Abbey choir, and tentatively dated to the fifteenth century, comes from Albany's tomb, or that of another Fife noblemen depicted in armoured effigy.[160] This was an aisle and thus important processional space, but at c.23-25' wide, if Burns' 1819 plan can again be cautiously trusted, there might have been room for some monumental tombs slightly offset from the aisle axis or even within arched structures along the north wall/Lady Chapel arcading. The Burn plan also suggests the penultimate bay of arcades to the east end of the aisle was approximately a third wider than the other arcade spaces (marked in red, Fig 95), a rhythm matched on the south side Baptist chapel: thus, the slightly more open space at the entrance to the Lady Chapel - level with the central presbytery crossing - may have permitted a mixture of monumental structures and slab sub-pavement burials, even for elite couples. By the fifteenth-century marble ledger slabs with images and epitaphs incised in brass may have been preferred: a local tradition holds that James I (d.1437) was interred with his queen below a magnificent Tournai marble floor slab in his Carthusian foundation in Perth, although royal exchequer payments for some painting and Spanish iron enclosure of his tomb again suggests a monumental structure for that king and consort.[161] However, over time, we might allow for the important liturgical and symbolic space of Dunfermline's northern Lady aisle becoming really quite busy and eclectic with burial styles down to c.1500.

[160] R. Coleman et al, 'Excavations at the Abbot's House, Maygate, Dunfermline', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*, 2 (1996), 70-112, at 98-99 (by R. Fawcett) and fig. 17; HES Dunfermline Abbey and Palace visitor display, DNF/x/2. Many thanks to Peter Yeoman for this reference. Given Albany's strong alliances with France of 1385 and 1415-20, is it possible he also sought a St Dénis style tomb?

[161] Penman, 'A Programme for Royal Tombs in Scotland?', 250-1; *ER*, v, 34, 73, 156, 179; R.S. Fittis, *Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, to the period of the Reformation* (Perth, 1885), 130, 224-5; F.A. Greenhill, 'Scottish Notes, II', *Transactions of the Memorial Brass Society*, viii, part vi no. lxviii (1949), 234-41. My thanks to Mark Hall (Perth Museum & Art Gallery), Richards Fawcett and Oram, and Julian Luxford for discussion and references re James I's burial. Interestingly, this Tournai slab, which was probably from the Gowrie noble crypt and presents figures without crowns, was moved to a more prominent position in 1820.

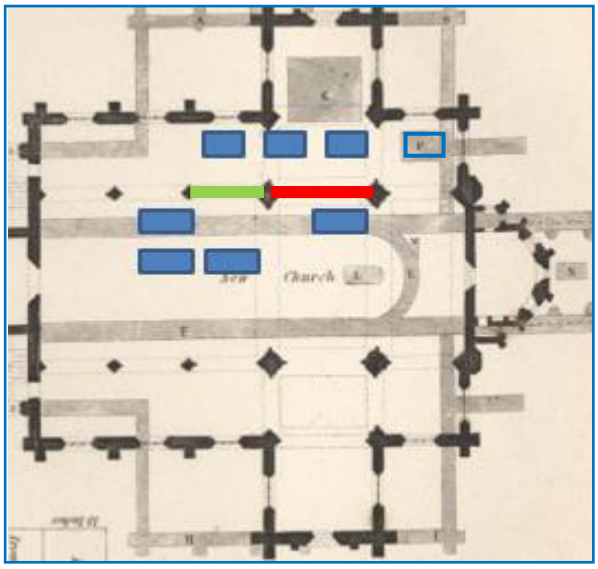

Fig 95: Speculative recreation of possible Lady aisle and northern choir boundary elite burials (box tombs or slabs?) in Dunfermline Abbey choir by c.1420. The red and green lines illustrate the larger arcade opening level with the Lady Chapel and likely presbytery crossing.

Alternatively, such a row of possible medieval burials, including Albany's, need not have lain directly beneath their alabaster sculpted effigies and canopied box tombs but rather below the Lady Aisle pavement while their monuments were offset and defined the aisle, perhaps lying between columns as was quite typical for the late thirteenth-to-fifteenth centuries (or within arches along the Lady Chapel's south-side arcading). Yet Dalyell also offers a parting comment we should not dismiss too readily: that perhaps the post-1250 royals buried in this and other parts of the choir at Dunfermline were laid to rest *inside* the actual boxes of their tombs and never beneath the pavement (thus all like the Bruce tomb from St Dénis). This he felt might explain the high incidence of bone fragments found in that north-easterly quarter, presumably due to these box tombs being 'destroyed in the general wreck of the Abbey', smashed and scattered at the Reformation and by subsequent decay *above the medieval floor level*.[162]

The latter point certainly remains contentious. However, Dalyell provides one further observation, one which, strikingly, some later local historians (writing post-1818) neglected to include in their reproduction of his account.[163] After digging under two of the six traditionary slabs, Dalyell claims he was directed by his guides a 'few yards *south-west* of the spot examined' to where the tomb of Robert I 'is said to have stood':

> Several years ago, on digging a grave immediately in the vicinity, small fragments of white marble, still bearing the remnants of gilding, were found; and also portions of a softer stone, which had been ornamental mouldings. Two of the former were shown to me in Dunfermline, and there is a third in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society [Edinburgh], where it has hitherto been erroneously understood as having belonged to the tomb of Malcolm [III] Canmore. I was informed that one fragment had a lion sculptured on it… I have since been informed, that some time afterwards, when the rain had washed among the rubbish where the earth was thrown

[162] Dalyell, *Tract*, 2-3.
[163] Most notably it is missing from Jardine, *Report*, 23-5.

> out, a leaden plate was found, with a lion engraved on it, surrounded by *Robertus Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum*. It is now in the possession of the Earl of Elgin.[164]

This lead nameplate has not been seen since. However, setting aside the unknown fate of that relic (along with the discovery of a second fake Bruce nameplate in 1819 in the debris around the 1818 'Bruce grave'), we must take note that we now have a *second* local tradition identifying a possible site for the tomb of Robert the Bruce. This perhaps reflected a substantial stone plinth base or other sculpted fragments found over time since 1560 but subsequently lost.[165] At the very least this gives us a far wider debris field throughout the 'middle of the choir' in which gilded marble fragments from Bruce's Parisian tomb were found in the decades before 1818. Iain Fraser's tomb recreation project has managed to identify, laser scan and 3-D print over 20 such fragments from the Scottish Antiquaries/National Museum of Scotland, Glasgow Hunterian and Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford collections, many of them presumably from the vicinity of the 1818 'Bruce grave' but surely some, too, which came from this alternate spot pointed out to Dalyell, or even elsewhere [Fig 96].[166] The majority of these surviving fragments, indeed, seem also to have come via local collections. For example, that of Dunfermline-born history painter and sculptor, Sir Joseph Noel Paton (1821-1901), whose father had amassed a museum of historical objects, many of them medieval, kept in Wooers' Alley cottage and garden in Dunfermline, a few hundred yards north of the Abbey precinct. Paton's collections were auctioned in Edinburgh in 1874, including 12 fragments of white marble and 'calm' stone ('found during the operations for building the new church, one of them a portion of the crown and hair of the small head of the king, the larger part of which is in the Museum of Scottish Antiquities'), as well as pieces of Bruce skeleton (a metatarsal lifted while the grave was exposed in February 1818), lead coffin shards, cloth-of-gold fragments, iron nails and rings, and possibly a third(?) Bruce name plaque (in pewter).[167]

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[164] Dalyell, *Tract*, 3. Edinburgh University Library Special Collections holds Dalyell's papers. However, his forty listed 'Antiquarian' notebooks [EUL Coll-244 GEN 350-389] start from the late 1820s and record his predominant interest by then in musicology, costume and military history; they do occasionally note material from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Kirk Session records [e.g. GEN 358D (1829) p. 2 and GEN 360D (183), pp. 62-4 re interment within churches] but he does not seem to have returned to study Dunfermline Abbey and its records. Dalyell's emphasis of lion iconography does at least chime with Robert I, remarkably, keeping a caged lion at Stirling and Perth c.1327-30 [*ER*, i, 277, 307, 373].

[165] Does Stedman's water-colour of the late eighteenth century [Fig 7 ii.] depict such stone plinth bases?

[166] Many thanks to Dr Iain Fraser, *per comms*. For images of these fragments see HES's CANMORE catalogue DP 171426-171580. For other gifts from the Kirk Session to Scott, including post-1560 loft/pulpit panels from the nave and a cast of Bruce's skull, see J. Barclay, 'Sir Walter Scott and his 'Hawl' from Dunfermline Abbey', for Dunfermline Historical Society (nd) at https://dunfermlinehistsoc.org.uk/sir-walter-scott-and-his-hawl-from-dunfermline-abbey/ , accessed 8.3.23.

[167] DCL&G 4/PAT, Sir Noel Paton, *Private catalogue of armour, weapons and other objects of antiquity in the collection of same* (private print run of 200 for family and friends, Edinburgh, 1879), nos 490-6, at 495 [12 fragments]. Might the Wooers' Alley Garden also have added some of the Abbey Lady Chapel wall stones and windows, cleared c.1818, to their collection of historic stones? See https://www.facebook.com/theameliatrail/ .

Fig 96: Fragments of marble found in the general location of the 'Bruce grave' before and after 1818, now in the RCAHMS/HES collection.

That these scattered fragments once also included larger pieces of broken tomb and sculpted effigy is suggested by Fraser's identification of the possible reuse of a block of Bruce's marble effigy in the tomb of William Schaw (1550-1602, Fig 97 i./ii.), stonemason and Royal Master of Works following the Reformation, and a man repeatedly accused of being a Catholic. This monument also now stands at the west end of Dunfermline's nave.[168]

Fig 97: i. Left - Master of Works Sir William Schaw's tomb at Dunfermline of c.1602, now positioned at the west end of the nave. ii. Right, inset - perhaps a reworked fragment of Bruce's Italian marble tomb?

[168] See the Church Monument Society's discussion at https://churchmonumentssociety.org/monument-of-the-month/the-schaw-monument-dunfermline-abbey-church. In 1855, two sculpted hands with rings and a mailed effigy arm were also reported to have been found in explorations of the monastic buildings south of the abbey [*Ordnance Survey Object Name Book* (1853-55), OS1/13/121/54F – at https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/fife-and-kinross-shire-os-name-books-1853-1855/fife-and-kinross-shire-volume-121?display=transcription].

Tracing such a line as Dalyell reports [Fig 98, marked in green], running roughly *south-west* from the traditionary six-slab spot, the latter tentatively confirmed by the GPR, would allow such a Bruce monument to have stood either along the boundary of the monks' choir/presbytery and aisle, or perhaps further into the central paved choir-presbytery space. Perhaps some of the cluster of GPR returns from the west-end of our first scan of 2016 [marked on Fig 27 as #s 5, 3, 4 and ??] may represent elements or even disturbed spoil from such a monument (although this would have been a structure with the corpse and its wood/lead/cloth-of-gold shrouds housed *inside* its supra-surface stone box)?

Either way, this relic shown to Dalyell lay in a cruciform building in a spot which clerical chroniclers (and visitors) might easily have described as still being in the 'middle of the choir'. Such a tomb might even have lain between two columns defining this sacred space and pilgrim pathway. Hence the need for an iron railing by 1330 as the passage of scores of pilgrims, some perhaps scraping off gold leaf as a relic from the hero king's effigy, threatened to damage the tomb.[169] It might also be suggested that such a location would have placed Robert's monument in a prestigious northern-central location within the choir, highly visible to lay visitors as well as to clergy. Here his tomb's epitaph, applied at the handsome cost of £13 16s 8d by a Richard Barber in 1329, would have had far greater effect in soliciting prayers from lay visitors.[170] But this monument could still have lain within a respectful second tier of tombs, with that of David I retaining a front rank central position, a slab or later shrine box for a king believed by the monks to be saintly. As Fordun/Bower had it: 'before the high altar under the paved part of the middle of the choir in that noble monastery which he had himself built and endowed with many possessions.'[171]

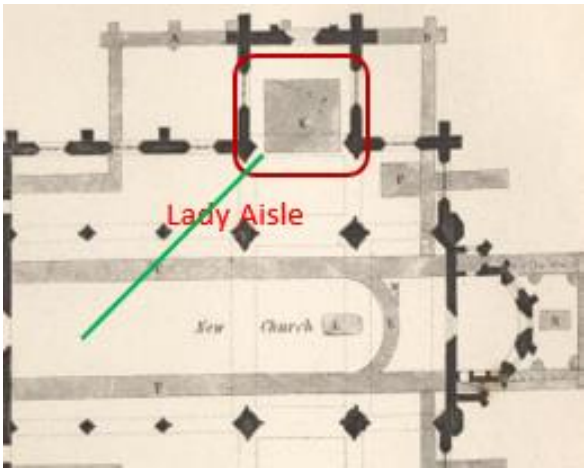

Fig 98: Possible location(s) (along the green line) of the tomb of Robert Bruce as reported to John Graham Dalyell (1809) as lying approximately a 'few yards south-west' of the traditionary six kings' slabs.

[169] *ER*, i, 150, 221, 288. There is no firm evidence either way to indicate if Robert I's marble tomb included a canopy/arch, perhaps to stand between aisle columns. His funeral costs did include a temporary painted and gilded wooden chapel of 'Estland Boards', however, at the lavish cost of over £17, including 1,500 sheets of gold leaf from York and Newcastle; this may hint at this being a display, perhaps with a painted image above the effigy, which could be retained in the abbey [*ibid*, i, 193, 215]?
[170] See n112 above; *ER*, i, 214.
[171] *Chron. Fordun*, i, 234 and ii, 225; *Chron. Bower*, iv, 251.

Furthermore, it might be speculated that such a location for Bruce's tomb could also have accommodated a double kinship monument for the king and his wife, Elizabeth de Burgh (and, again, the remains located by GPR at Fig 27 #s3-6 may tentatively support this view). This could explain why Bower felt able to state, if still with typical ambivalence, that her burial took place 'in the choir at Dunfermline next to her husband King Robert.'[172] Interestingly, although Elizabeth had died on 27 October 1327 and Bruce's financial rolls are extant from that period, no record of expenditure on her funeral or for a separate queen's tomb at Dunfermline can be found (only payment for the interment of her viscera in the church of the Virgin at Cullen in Banffshire which Elizabeth had favoured).[173] Did the royal household and abbey thus perhaps await the death and interment of the king at Dunfermline in 1329 before holding a ceremony over a double tomb? Elizabeth could have been interred in a temporary sub-pavement stone coffin in the interim: this would by no means have been unusual practice.[174]

Iain Fraser and his team have provided a compelling digital recreation of the form of Bruce's tomb [Fig 99] by analogy from the Abbey of St Dénis outside medieval Paris with its many contemporary black Tournais marble boxes and white marble and gilded/polychromed effigies with sculpted box-fronts (and some with canopies). These dynastic memorials were ranged (and periodically rearranged) within St Dénis' choir and aisles. This carefully curated French royal mausoleum did include several double tombs for royal couples, as did churches elsewhere in fourteenth-century France, often defining the space between aisle columns [Figs 100-02].[175]

Fig 99: Dr Iain Fraser and the HES/CDDV's digital recreation of the Italian marble tomb of Robert Bruce, purchased in Paris in 1329. Note the details based upon the many French royal tombs at St Dénis Abbey.

[172] *Ibid*, v, 35.
[173] *ER*, i, 61, 91, 170, 271, 310, 355, 458, 469, 477, 549.
[174] Duch, 'The Royal Funerary and Burial Ceremonies of Medieval English Kings, 1216-1509', 93, 242-4, 259 n26, 282-3. And see above n119.
[175] Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Le Cimetiere des rois aux XIIIe et XIVe siecles', 227-62; Brown, 'Burying and Unburying the Kings of France', 241-66; eadem, 'The Oxford Collection of the Drawings of Roger de Gaignières and the Royal Tombs of Saint Dénis', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 78, no. 5 (1988), pp. i-viii and 1-74; eadem, *Saint-Dénis: La Basilique* (Paris, 2001); A. Ritz-Guilbert, *La Collection Gaignères. Un inventaire du royaume au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 2016); Fraser, 'The tomb of the hero king', 169-70 and *per comms*. See also the permanent *Lost Tomb* exhibition in Dunfermline Abbey church (2019-) - https://www.historicenvironment.scot/about-us/news/lost-tomb-of-robert-the-bruce-finds-its-final-resting-place/.

Fig 100: French royal tombs restored in the choir aisles of St Dénis Abbey after the Revolution.

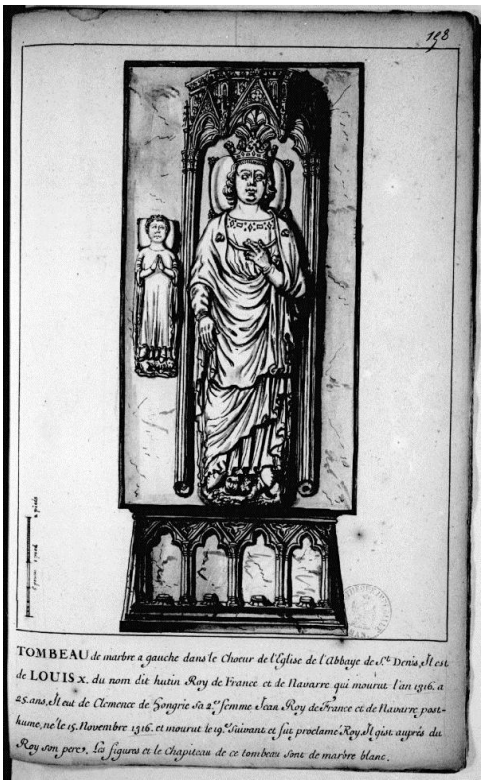

Fig 101: The tomb of Louis X (d.1316) in St Dénis, upon which HES modelled the Robert Bruce tomb recreation, taken here from the 1711 Gaignières Inventory of antiquarian sketches.

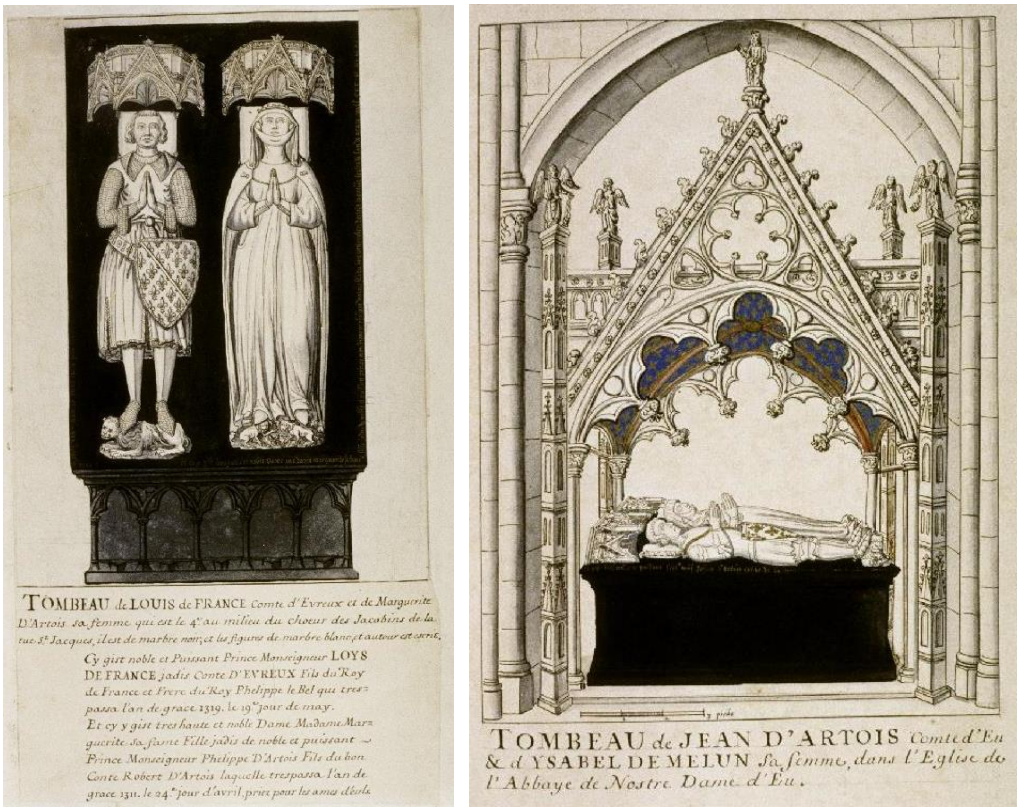

Fig 102: Double tombs of fourteenth-century France, recorded in the Gaignières *Inventories* (1711/17). Left - Louis Count of Evreux (d.1319) and wife; Right – Jean d'Artois Count of Eu (d.1387) and wife.

That in 1329 Bruce's marble tomb cost at least £66 when first purchased in Paris – in an era when modest aristocratic/episcopal alabaster box tombs with effigies and canopies might cost as relatively little as £15-to-£40 – at least allows the possibility of this being a more expensive double tomb for himself and his wife (especially if a generic type, perhaps an unclaimed commission, was purchased 'off the shelf' from a Parisian workshop).[176] A further £38 was spent in 1329-30 on mason work on Bruce's tomb in situ at Dunfermline. The £22 paid to John de Lessydyun to make and fit iron railings around it also speaks to a substantial structure or particularly fine work.[177] Moreover, the Bruce regime's outlay roughly matches the combined total of £138 spent by Edward I in the 1290s at Westminster on the separate brass effigies and

[176] *ER*, i, 213; N. Saul, *English Church Monument in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 108-14 ('The cost and delivery of Monuments'), at 108. Only payments for transportation are recorded for the tomb materials of David II of Scotland (English alabaster to Holyrood Abbey) and his second queen, Margaret Logie c.1371 (ditto, to Dunfermline Abbey) [*ER*, ii, 348, 360]. At least £135 would be paid for an English alabaster tomb for Robert II at Scone Abbey in 1390 [*ibid*, 503, 622 and iii, pp. 32, 348]. But by that time the Scottish £ had become devalued against the English £ sterling to a ratio of about 3.5:1 [J.M. Gilbert, 'The Usual Money of Scotland and Exchange Rates against Foreign Coins', in D.M. Metcalf ed., *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100-1560)* (BAA, Report 45, Oxford, 1977), 131-54, at 132]. Considerable devaluation had occurred in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, confirmed by a parliamentary valuation of 1366 [*RPS*, 1366/7/18; Penman would like to thank his late colleague Alasdair Ross for discussion of his work on papal valuations in this period]. As the abbot of Dunfermline reflected in 1409 – 'all things are dearer than they were in times past' [*Dunf. Reg*., no. 399].
[177] *ER*, i, 214, 288.

stone monuments of his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, and father, Henry III (the latter a great mosaic-encrusted box-tomb).[178]

However, it is the potential GPR evidence for possible multiple burials in the Lady Aisle which underlines that we should not rule out the idea of a royal double tomb for Robert I and Elizabeth. Further elite couples would be interred at Dunfermline within or near the Lady Chapel, likely both in floor-slab graves and box monuments. These interments thus lay adjacent to the beatified founding couple of Malcolm III and St/Queen Margaret. This included Bruce's sister Christian Bruce (d.1353) and her husband King's Lieutenant Andrew Murray (d.1338, subsequently translated south from his original burial site at Rosemarkie on the Cromarty coast); Guardian Thomas Randolph (d.1332) and his wife, Isabella Stewart of Bonkyll, (d.c.1351); Bruce's two younger daughters and their husbands; perhaps Robert II's queen Euphemia Ross (d.1387) and her first husband, King's Lieutenant John Randolph, who fell at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 (interestingly, there is again no royal payment recorded for Euphemia's funeral); as well as Robert III's queen, Annabella Drummond (d.1400). The latter's aunt, Queen Margaret Logie (d.1373), had even started to prepare what was perhaps also a double alabaster tomb for herself and David II at Dunfermline before their separation (as she bought 'two stones' in this material for £10 from London).[179]

That double, marital and 'kinship' (heraldic) tombs were a desirable choice of spiritual, aesthetic and political expression in Scotland by as early as c.1300 is made plain by the stunning joint alabaster monument of Walter Stewart earl of Menteith and his Countess (d.c.1293-4, Fig 103) in Inchmahome Priory, Stirlingshire.[180] At Dunfermline, the importance of a spiritual focus upon the Lady Chapel and its aisle for Robert and Elizabeth as married consorts is also made clear by the consistent burial of their children and associated kin in this quarter after 1329. The extant charters of the first Bruce king and his queen to Dunfermline Abbey confirm that the chapels and female cults of the Virgin and St Margaret were those elements the royal couple favoured above all, rather than the Trinity high altar, and thus that a northerly choir or Lady Aisle site for their tomb(s) may have been preferred.

[178] R.A. Brown, H.M. Colvin and A.J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works: Volume I: The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), ch. xi 'Royal Tombs and Monuments, 1066-1485', at 482.

[179] *ER*, i, 433 and ii, 300, 348, 360; *Chron. Fordun*, i, 354, 363, 369, 377 and ii, 354-5, 360, 366-7; *Chron. Bower*, vi, 73, 305; Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a royal mausoleum', 150. Andrew Murray, 'brother to the king', is known from an early-modern inventory of lost charters of David II to have granted an annuity from lands at Pitreavie, a mile south of the abbey, to the Lady Chapel 'near' Dunfermline [*RMS*, i, App. ii, nos 944, 948]. Does this perhaps suggest that either Euphemia or Annabella was the elite female whose grave was discovered in 1776, alongside an empty space for their absent royal husband?

[180] J. Barker, 'Legal Crisis and Artistic Innovation in Thirteenth-Century Scotland', *British Art Studies*, 6 (2017), 1-32; eadem, *Stone Fidelity: Marriage and Emotion in Medieval Tomb Sculpture* (Woodbridge, 2020), 28-48, 224-35.

Fig 103: Double-tomb of Walter Stewart earl of Menteith (d.1293-4) and his Countess, Inchmahome Priory, Stirlingshire. Note the orientation of the figures to each other, their arms connected.

For example, on 8 July 1321 (while at Scone Abbey, another Trinity dedication), Robert granted to Dunfermline Abbey the church of nearby Inverkeithing, Fife (dedicated to St Peter), and the Abbey's own great customs to pay for a light in honour of the Virgin and of St Margaret to burn perpetually 'in the choir in the presence of her feretory'.[181] Such wording once again warns us of the potential ambivalence to be attached to the word 'choir' when seeking precise locations for monastic settings and fittings in medieval sources. Margaret's tomb was not strictly 'in the choir' unless this term was applicable to the whole east-end church and not just central space due west of the altar. Alternatively, this light may have been intended to remain at the eastern end of the Lady Aisle with its entrance/exit door or screen through to the feretory. Or this may rather refer to a central *suspended* light, a candelabra casting its glow over the sanctuary and high altar screens through and onto Margaret's shrine in the east end.[182] Regardless of location, Robert's grant – as well as Elizabeth's gift in 1326 of altar cloths for the Virgin altar at Dunfermline – surely spoke to their heartfelt thanks for these great female saints' help during Elizabeth's pregnancies.[183]

The couple seem to have stayed at Dunfermline for each royal birth, including a long stay from late October to mid-November 1323 (thus including St Margaret's feast) in advance of the birth of their male heirs on 5 March 1324.[184] Hence Robert's willingness to outlay considerable cost in expanding the refectory and living quarters to the south of the monastic church at

[181] *RRS*, v, no. 188; *Dunf. Reg*., no. 346 ('in choro coram feretro suo unum cereum continue et inperpetuum…'). Two days later Robert issued letters patent re Dunfermline Abbey's right to a cocket seal in overseas trade, a highly valuable grant [*RRS*, v, no. 190; *Dunf. Reg*., no. 361].
[182] McRoberts and Holmes, *Lost Interiors*, 21-4.
[183] *ER*, i, 239.
[184] *RRS*, v, nos 249-50, 303; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 167-8, 247-9, 270.

Dunfermline.[185] On these occasions, Elizabeth surely continued the tradition of wearing a key royal relic – the 'birthing serk' or shirt of St Margaret – as part of her lying-in and post-birth churching and infant baptisms. This was a trusted relic still in use by the time of the queens of James II (1437-60) and James IV (1488-1513).[186] Even the names of the eldest Bruce children speak to the most important chapel/cult dedications at Dunfermline: an eldest child Margaret followed by twin boys, John and David (and then a second daughter, Matilda, after St Margaret's own pious daughter?).

Moreover, this may have been veneration which embraced the royal family and court more widely during Robert's reign. For example, by 1325 Thomas Randolph earl of Moray had granted Dunfermline Abbey some Fife lands at nearby Aberdour to pay for lights, this time to be placed before the Holy Trinity and St Margaret altars during the key feasts of Christmas and the Purification and Assumption of the Virgin.[187] Randolph would also be buried in the Lady Chapel in 1332, most likely in a Paris-bought marble tomb he had first viewed when an ambassador to the French king in 1324: eventually he lay in the abbey alongside his wife, Isabel, the daughter of John Stewart of Bonkyll, made earl of Atholl by Robert I, brother of James the Steward whose son, Walter, wed Robert's eldest daughter, Marjorie Bruce, thus starting the royal Stewart line with their son, the future Robert II (1371-90).

[185] *ER*, i, 215; *RRS*, v, nos 188A, 190, 303; N. Bridgland, 'Dunfermline Abbey: Cloister and Precinct', in Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, 89-100, at 95.
[186] *ER*, v, 447, 512; *TA*, iv, 334; J.L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship, 1445-1503* (Oxford, 2004), 115-19; and M. Morse, *English Birth Girdles: Devotions for Women in 'Travell of childe'* (forthcoming, 2024).
[187] *RRS*, v, no. 263; *Dunf. Reg*., no. 357. On 16 May 1328, Randolph also gave £24 annually to Elgin Cathedral, in Moray, for five chantries with masses on the feasts of the Virgin, All Souls and John the Baptist, 'with music' dedicated to 'St Thomas Becket, martyr,' and in memory of King Robert [*Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Edinburgh, 1837), no. 224]

iii. 3. The South Transept exteriors (St John Chapel and aisle)

The GPR surveys of 2017 confirmed the Burn/Jardine 1818-19 ground-plan's record of the walls of the medieval Lady Chapel. In this context, it was desirable to extend our pilot project to seek confirmation of the existence of a mirror southern chapel [Fig 62]. Although these 2019 survey results, limited by weather/water-table to one frequency, must be treated with due caution, they do seem to suggest the presence of a substantial pre-1818 structure, roughly matching the northern Lady Chapel's footprint (but one perhaps subsequently collapsed/dug out to help form foundations for the new Abbey Church South Transept). Our southern aisle interior scans of 2022 also provide some potential confirmation of the existence of such a structure, likely damaged at the Reformation and neglected/plundered over subsequent generations until levelled in 1818-21.

No potential medieval burials were identified during this southern area's surveys. However, the existence of such a major chapel – ignored by many modern heritage interpretations [see Figs 49-52] – must add another substantial space for side-chapels, altars and elite burials to integrate into the developing layout and liturgy of the choir and its symmetrical pilgrimage pathway. As this chapel was likely dedicated to St John the Baptist – as recorded in early sixteenth-century burgh record references to its aisle and altar – it was perhaps the site of a baptismal font (perhaps of a smaller, portable form) as well as a major St John altar and a strong sculpted/painted image (although an older parish baptismal font was also located at the west end of the nave).[188] As such, this major chapel lay to the south of the chancel, in the same axial position as the Baptist chapel in St Dénis Abbey. A smaller chapel dedicated to the Baptist and appropriated to Dunfermline's Benedictines by the late-medieval period also lay at Garvock, a convenient processional mile east of the Fife Abbey.[189] Significantly, this apostle's red-letter day, 24 June and midsummer, would fall every year within the Octave of the translation feast of St Margaret (19 June) and thus coincide with her great annual fair in the burgh.[190] If, like the Lady Chapel, this southern chapel was largely completed just before or during Robert I's lifetime, that king may also have sought to mark his debt to that saint for his great battle victory on midsummer's day 24 June 1314, at Bannockburn.

A local oral tradition – unsubstantiated, as with those relating to the northern aisle – asserts that Alexander III (d.1286) and his English queen, Margaret (d.1275), sister of Edward I, and their two sons, Alexander (d.1283) and David (d.1281), were buried on this southern side of Dunfermline's choir. Yet the contemporary chronicle of the northern English Augustinian

[188] Beveridge ed., *The Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, pp. xxv, xxxix, and nos 24, 26, 31, 120, 121, 125, 131, 140, 142, 151, 154, 208, 357, 365. For sculpted images at Dunfermline Abbey see: N. Cameron, 'The Romanesque Sculpture of Dunfermline Abbey: Durham versus the Vicinal', in J. Higgitt ed., *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews* (BAA, Leeds, 1994), 118-23; and the current HES Nave/Palace museum display at Dunfermline, also discussed by The *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland* database.
[189] *Dunf. Reg*., p. 486. At major feasts such as Easter, relic procession around the abbey precinct or burgh might start at an outlying chapel or church and move towards the abbey's stone walls, recreating entry into Jerusalem.
[190] A. Macquarrie et al eds., *Legends of the Scottish Saints: readings, hymns and prayers for the commemoration of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary* (Dublin, 2012), 146-9; J.M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland* (2 volumes, Edinburgh, 1910) – *I: Scriptural Dedications*, ch. xix. Dedications to St John the Baptist, in both monastic and secular churches, were highly popular in the Middle Ages, usually second only to dedications to the Virgin, and often a choice for hospitals [A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales, 1066-1215* (Woodbridge, 1989), 32-3]. Dunfermline's two known hospitals, however, were dedicated to St Catherine (the almshouse adjacent to the abbey itself) and St Leonard [I. B. Cowan and D.E. Eason, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (2nd edition, London, 1976), 174-5].

priory of Lanercost, in Cumbria, does seem to be the source of some of this belief in stating that Alexander III 'lies *alone* ('solus'), buried on the south side, near the presbytery', even though Fordun/Bower would record that Alexander's queen, Margaret, had already been interred in the choir 'next' to David I.[191]

The University of Glasgow facial reconstruction project has recently offered a persuasive case that not only was David I buried in the original western monastic church/nave close to his parents in 1153 but that the eastern choir was not complete until c.30 years after his passing and further extended from the 1220s, as a 'nobler building' (according to papal sources). Thus, in their view, Alexander III may have been the first monarch to be buried in the new choir – hence the Lanercost chronicler's label of 'solus'/alone for his tomb.[192] However, there are several points that stand against this interpretation over and above the notion of the eastern choir lying devoid of non-saintly royal burials for 136 years [1153→1286].

First, as architectural historian and former Historic Scotland inspector Richard Fawcett points out, there is a detailed late-eighteenth-century sketch providing architectural evidence for the pulpitum and nave-choir crossing which indicates that work *had* begun on the east-end choir before 1150-3 [Fig 5]. This was besides, a building campaign in which the priority would have been to complete the monks' choir, presbytery and altar areas as quickly as possible.[193] Nor should we play down the building work possibly overseen by David's predecessors and older brothers, Edgar I and, especially, Alexander I (1107-24). Of the latter king the chroniclers state that he 'added to [the abbey]' in property and buildings'. This could have included initiating the aggrandisement of the original Malcolm-Margaret western priory church/nave before 1124 using Durham masons, a patronage link reflected in Alexander's presence as the sole layman at the translation of St Cuthbert's remains at Durham on 29 August 1104.[194]

Besides, 1128-to-1150, gave David and the Dunfermline monks over two decades to invest considerable time and resource into the extension of a royal monastic cult church (and mausoleum) on a scale similar to that at Benedictine Reading Abbey in Berkshire, built by his

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[191] *ESSH*, ii, 692; *Chron. Fordun*, i, 307 and ii, 300; *Chron. Bower*, v, 403. Sir Herbert Maxwell's English edition of Lanercost translates this rather more bluntly as 'alone in the south aisle, buried near the presbytery' [(Glasgow, 1913), 42].

[192] MacGregor and Wilkinson, 'In Search of Robert the Bruce, Part III'; *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, nos 130 and 137. For an alternative view see S. Lee, 'Recreating the Devotional Space of Dunfermline Abbey between ca.1124-1180', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 46 (2015), 1-20.

[193] Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', 33-6; *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches* - https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158524#fn0_19; entry for 'Dunfermline Abbey' in The *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland* database - https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?key=WXsiUCI6eyJEaW9jZXNlIjp7Im1lZGlldmFsIjoiU3QuIEFuZHJld3MifX0sIkYiOiJleUowSWpwYk5sMTkifQ&WINID=1586330922012#FTNktpFcd9oAAAFxWLDIkQ/2274, accessed 5/2/20. There could, however, be long gaps between major church dedications and their full spiritual operation, and vice versa: for example, St Andrews Cathedral was originally dedicated in 1162 but expanded thereafter, operating from 1238 but still awaited consecration by Robert I in 1318 [M. Penman, '*Who is this King of Glory?* Robert I, Holy Week and the consecration of St Andrews Cathedral, 5 July 1318', in K. Buchanan, L.H.S. Dean with M. Penman eds., *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles* (London, 2016), 85-104, at 94].

[194] *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 225; *Chron. Bower*, iv, 251; *ESSH*, ii, 137; K. Veitch, "Replanting Paradise': Alexander I and the reform of religious life in Scotland', *IR*, 52 (2001), 136-66, at 137. Alexander I also established c.1115x21 the first Augustinian priory in Scotland at Scone, Perthshire, site of Scottish royal inauguration.

brother-in-law, Henry I (f.1121).[195] This would surely have been necessary to attract and house the enlarged community of a dozen monks (plus supporting brethren) led from 1128-54 as first abbot by Geoffrey, former prior of Canterbury.[196] Indeed, Dunfermline's eastern choir was sufficiently complete by 1150 as to warrant dedication on 11 June that year, Trinity Sunday, a fact recorded by contemporary Scottish monastic annals. This was a date which must have become a vital jubilee fixture of Dunfermline's liturgy.[197]

Moreover, if David I was buried in the western nave – and his contribution to Dunfermline's development was thus to only rebuild that church alone on a grander scale, as the Glasgow project has suggested – then why did excavations by Peter MacGregor Chalmers in 1911 reveal only five elite burial spaces in that older Holy Trinity church's 'choir'? That is, three in front of the high altar and two close behind, all presumably pavement slab burials [Fig 104]. At least eight, perhaps more, would be required to account for all royal burials up to and including David I's and those named by chroniclers as buried 'next' to him down to 1275 (or 1283).[198] However, Andrew Wyntoun, Prior of the Augustinian house of Loch Leven, dedicated to St Serf, some 12 miles north of Dunfermline, would later assert in his vernacular *Original Chronicle*, c.1410-20, that (St) Margaret and Malcolm III had been buried there in the nave 'before the Rwde Awtare' with their sons, 'Edwarde the first, and Ethelred'; to their number we might then add their brothers, Edgar I and Alexander I. This makes six, a number which already exceeds the graves excavated in this nave space.[199]

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[195] Baxter, *Royal Abbey of Reading*, chs 1-4; R.D. Oram, *David I, King of Scots, 1124-1153* (Edinburgh, 2020), 375-81, 457-60. The foundation stone for Durham Cathedral was laid in 1093 and building far enough advanced just 11 years later for Cuthbert's remains to be translated to a new retro-choir shrine.

[196] *Dunf. Reg.*, p. xi; *ESSH*, 224; *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles, AD 500-1286*, ed. A.O. Anderson (London, 1908), 166; *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*, 'Dunfermline abbey', https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158524 , Architecture n4, accessed 5/2/20.

[197] *ESSH*, ii, 211; G.W.S. Barrow ed., *The Charters of David I: The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-53, and of his son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52* (Woodbridge, 2006), nos 171-2. Fordun's source tells us that St Margaret's remains, canonised in 1249, were translated to her new shrine 'in the second year of the reign of Alexander III'. This thus places that great ceremonial event, and the accompanying miracle of her bones' refusal to move east without those of her husband, in 1251 – not in 1250 as tradition has long assumed [*Chron. Bower*, v, 297-9, where Bower re-dates the events to 1250]. In 1251, Trinity Sunday lined up in date exactly with that of 1150, i.e. on 11 June, surely meaning that extra indulgences and spiritual value were attached to this ritual and its attendance at the close of a true centenary or jubilee year. At the end of the Octave of Trinity Sunday in that year, 1251, on Monday 19 June (also four days after Corpus Christi that year), Margaret was translated from her shrine close to the Easter Sepulchre situated to the north of the high altar – where she had first been moved to in 1180 – eastwards into her new feretory, an event surely attended by large crowds as well as the king and other elite dignitaries. Trinity Sunday and 11 June would also coincide in 1161, 1172, 1245, 1256, 1335, 1340, 1346, 1419, 1430, 1441, 1503 and 1514.

[198] *RCAHMS, Inventory of Fife*, 107; Fawcett, 'Dunfermline abbey church', 27, 61 n3; Eeles, 'The development and internal arrangement of the abbey church of Dunfermline', p. xxxii; MacGregor and Wilkinson, 'In Search of Robert Bruce, part III', 173-4.

[199] *Chron. Wyntoun*, vii, 3, ll. 103-07; P. Chalmers, 'Notice of a Stone Coffin, found in the Pavement of the Abbey Church, Dunfermline, in 1849, and of its Contents', *PSAS*, 2 (1856), 75-7. The five nave burials located in 1911 can be more readily accounted for by Malcolm III and Margaret and their sons Edmund, Edgar and Alexander (although this does not account for Alexander's queen, Sybilla of Normandy): at least David I, Malcolm IV and Margaret Plantagenet (d.1275) would have to be added to fit the Glasgow theory (with David's queen, Maud of Huntingdon, buried at Scone).

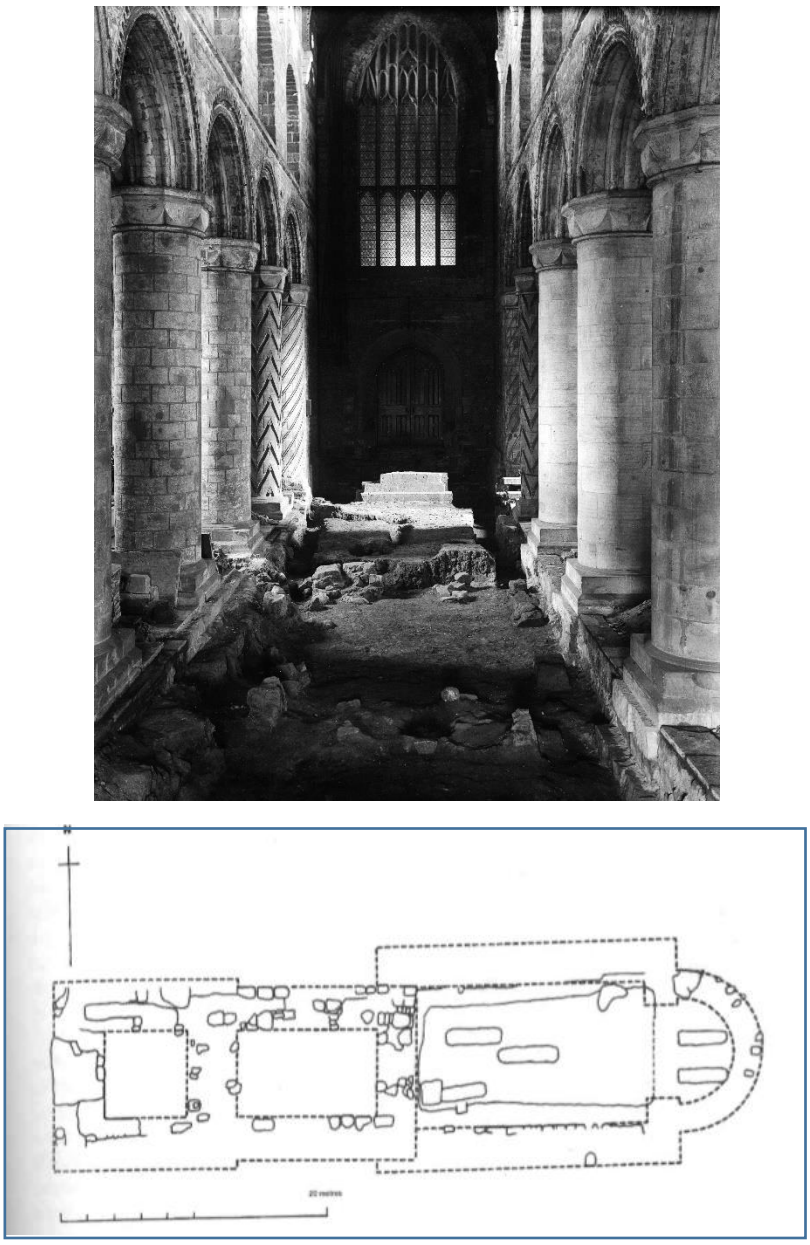

Fig 104: i. Peter MacGregor Chalmers' excavations in the nave of Dunfermline Abbey, 1911. Note the three graves ii. west of the nave altar area and two graves east.

As we have seen, the chronicle accounts of Fordun and Bower record that Malcolm IV (1153-65) was 'buried in the middle of the paved area, to the right of his grandfather David, before the high altar, the customary place for the burial of kings', just as Alexander III's queen, Margaret of England, was interred 'next to King David'.[200] Yet these were also surely in truth burials of the eastern choir period (with Margaret's of 1275 likely a monumental box) and indicate that, at the very least, David I – just like St Margaret in 1180 – had been translated through from the nave to the new choir or, far more likely, buried there in the first place in 1153, three years after the choir's dedication. As we have seen, in the 'middle of the choir' is

[200] A perpetual light to be placed in front of the tombs of Kings David and Malcolm from 1188 would also have been more easily accommodated in the choir [*Dunf. Reg*., no. 158], although this grant does not specify if these tombs were then in the nave or choir of this 'monastery'.

where Abbot Bower of Inchcolm asserts David I's remains lay by his lifetime (1385-1449). But it need not necessarily surprise us that these chroniclers, even if resident in Fife, are silent or ignorant about building phases or earlier translations. The first removal of Margaret's remains through from the nave in 1180, indeed, is only known with any certainty thanks to the later-medieval Dunfermline manuscript copy of Margaret's thirteenth-century *miracula*, preserved in Madrid and first translated/published in 2003: neither Fordun's earlier St Andrews sources or Bower make any mention of this 1180 event.[201]

All this being so, then, it is possible that the Lanercost chronicler's assertion that Alexander III was buried 'alone' on the south side of the choir 'near the presbytery', i.e. not within but adjacent to this central paved space, has instead a liturgical and biographical explanation. Dying suddenly as he did (alone) in a (drunken?) riding accident at nearby Kinghorn in Fife on 19 March 1286, on St Cuthbert-eve and almost a month short of Easter, rather than of honourable old age or after a lingering illness, is it possible that Alexander, denied the time to plan his own monument never mind a final confession and the absolving sacraments of penance and extreme unction, was deemed to be unfit to lie in the central paved choir beside fully 'shriven' monarchs like the aged, saintly David I, the youthful 'Maiden' Malcolm IV, and even Alexander's own wife, Margaret?[202] Was Alexander instead buried at a distance from these other central royal monuments, in the St John aisle - and perhaps also close to St Cuthbert's altar - so as to better seek there the intercession of John the Baptist, the Apostle who had been rendered uniquely 'without sin' even before his own birth and in anticipation of the advent of Christ?[203] That in 1286 Dunfermline's monks had been and remained oddly wary of this king of Scots' uncertain soul and reputation is suggested by a late-medieval poetic criticism of their neglect of his tomb which:

> 'should have been polished with better care on the part of the craftsmen, but he should have had a sympathetic funeral. After death's savage bit, affection turns its back: love ends with the end of life.'[204]

We might also add to this the chroniclers' passing notice that Alexander's heart, removed from his body, was interred in the church of the Blackfriars in Perth or 'St John's town' (where the parish church of St John had also been gifted to Dunfermline Abbey by Malcolm IV

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[201] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret no. 9, pp. 93-4. However, Prior Andrew Wyntoun of nearby Loch Leven priory did record c.1410-20 that: 'Saynt Margretis body a hundyr yhere/Lay be-for the Rwde Awtare,/In-to the Kyrk of Dunfermelyne;/But scho was translatyd syne/In-to the Qwere, quhare scho now lyis,/Hyr spryt in-til Paradys…' [*Chron. Wyntoun*, vii, 3, ll. 115-20].

[202] N.H. Reid, *Alexander III, 1249-86: First Among Equals* (Edinburgh, 2019), 168-75. For a discussion of unconfessed royal deaths and their souls' spiritual status in Purgatory or even Hell see: M. Evans, *The Death of Kings: Royal Deaths in Medieval England* (London, 2006), ch 2.

[203] D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978), 215-16. The importance at Dunfermline of St Cuthbert, and the possible prominence of his altar, is suggested by Reginald of Durham's late twelfth-century text, *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus* [ed. J. Raine ed (Surtees Society, 1835), pp. 217-9, ch. 98] admittedly promoting that saint's superiority: a Durham monk, visiting Scottish shrines with a Cuthbert relic, part of his burial shroud, is given precedence over Margaret's relics on her main feast day at Dunfermline: the Cuthbert relics affects a cure. Abbots of Dunfermline were surely invited and present for relic translations at Benedictine Durham just as they were at Canterbury when Anglo-Scottish relations permitted. Scottish parish churches annexed to Dunfermline were dedicated to St Cuthbert, for example nearby Mid-Calder and Colinton, both West Lothian [Linlithgow deanery]; the abbey also acquired Ednam and Fishwick parish churches, Cuthbert dedications in Berwickshire, from Durham's control in the fifteenth century.

[204] D. Broun and A.B. Scott eds., 'Liber Extravagens' in *Chron. Bower*, ix, 54-102, at 76-7 and 114-5,

c.1153x60).[205] Was Alexander III thus buried 'alone' not because his was literally the first royal interment in the eastern choir (136 years after its dedication) but because his grave in Dunfermline's south aisle was at a pointed, meaningful distance from the others, even his wife and sons, within that liturgical space?

[205] *Chron. Bower*, vi, 421; G.W.S. Barrow ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum, I: The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153–1165; together with Scottish Royal Acts Prior to 1153 not included in Sir Archibald Lawrie's 'Early Scottish Charters'* (Edinburgh, 1960), no. 157.

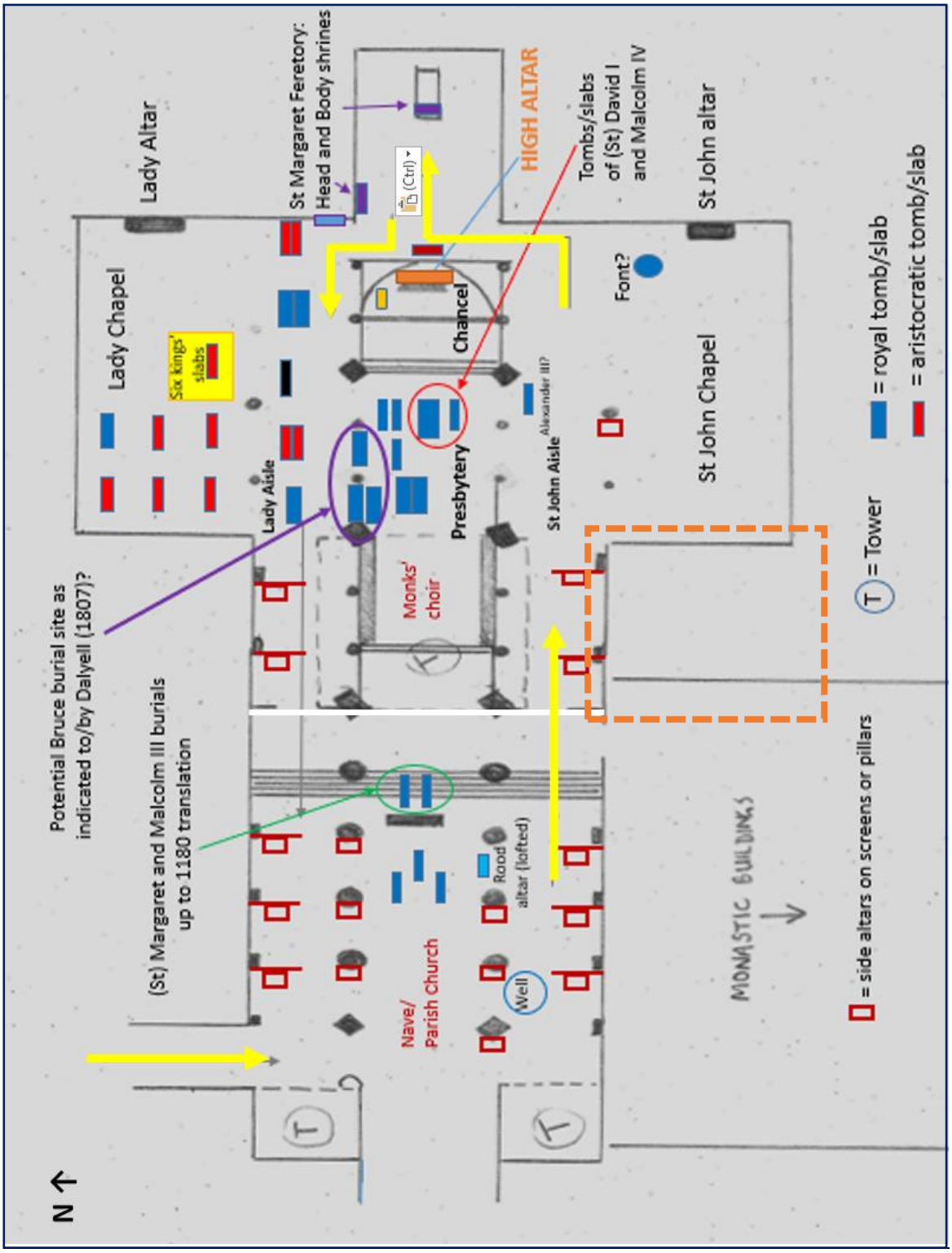

Fig 105: Speculative recreation of Dunfermline Abbey choir interior c.1250-c.1560, combining GPR, antiquarian, medieval record, and material evidence. Note, dash-boxed in orange, the architectural connection between the St John the Baptist Chapel and the central crossing/Monastic quarters is open to debate (as is the Lady Chapel link to the north crossing). The current HES Abbey guidebook [by K. Owen, 2009, pp. 26-7, a 2-D drawing, no plan] shows these chapel walls running west to join the monastic quarters; Peter Yeoman also agrees with this configuration [per comms]. However, although our GPR evidence thus far in this area is ambivalent, the GPR evidence to the north may suggest separate west-end choir chapel walls [Figs 57-8]; and the 1818-19 Burn/Jardine ground-plan [Fig 13] also suggests this form visible *when the site was cleared* (thus contra Sime c.1805 and Hutton c.1813) – hence we have retained it here for now, as a point for debate, and pending further investigation.

iii. 4. The Pilgrimage Church and the wider Liturgy of Dunfermline Abbey

It is not possible to fully recreate Dunfermline Abbey's spiritual year from medieval liturgical manuscripts or, from c.1450, printed texts, as so few of such sources associated with the monastery have survived.[206] However, by combining medieval, antiquarian and emerging GPR evidence, and by drawing on analogous (Benedictine) churches elsewhere in the British Isles and Europe, we can now cautiously re-envisage the physical form of Dunfermline's later medieval symmetrical choir and something of the liturgy it supported.[207] This provides a snapshot of this cult church's unique and evolving calendar of worship from c.1250-c.1350 and down to the Reformation. Fig 105 offers a synthesis of available physical and material information to that effect. Interestingly, local historian Ebenezer Henderson had also considered such a true cruciform church and its layout in the manuscript preparation of his *Annals of Dunfermline* (1879) but did not include such a plan in his final publication [Fig 106].[208]

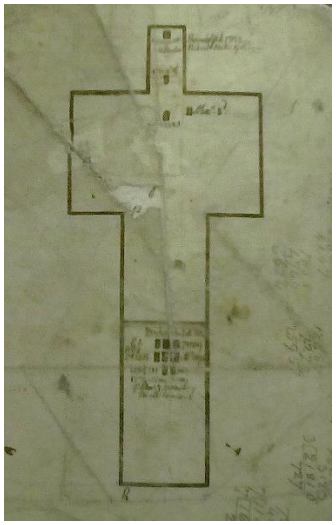

Fig 106: Ebenezer Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline* manuscript - alternate ground-plan for Dunfermline Abbey (1879). But this also suggests that most twelfth- and thirteenth-century royal burials occurred in the nave.

Dunfermline's parishioners, pilgrims and other lay visitors entered the Abbey through the nave's north-west door, with the great west front door only opened for full clerical relic processions on major feasts.[209] Abbot Bothwell (d.1468) would eventually provide a grand

[206] Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. xiii-xvi, 1; J. Higgitt, 'Dunfermline Abbey and its Books', in Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, 177-86. However, for discussion of a sixteenth-century printed liturgical commentary on the mass, owned by a Dunfermline and Inchcolm monk and with marginalia including consideration of the issue of naming dead patrons in regular votive masses, see S.M. Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments in Scotland before 1560', *IR*, 62 (2011), 127–212, at nos 8, 87 and p. 189; idem, *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland: Interpreting Worship, 1488-1590* (Oxford, 2015), 75, 105-6, 151.

[207] For valuable recent studies in recreating medieval liturgy see: H. Gittos and S. Hamilton eds., *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, 2015); S. Harper, P.S. Barnwell and M. Williamson eds., *Late Medieval Liturgy Enacted: the Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church* (Farnham, 2015); H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2015).

[208] DCL&G, LR D/GEN [handwritten MS of Ebenezer Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*], Appendix ii. See also Henderson's three sketched choir ground-plans in letters to J. Neil Paton [NLS Acc. 9133/17, Folder ii. nd].

[209] For a fascinating discussion of the rich liturgical development of a monastic processional route and body-cult shrine over time, in both a Scottish and Benedictine context, see E. Campbell and A. Maldonado, 'A New

porch for this north-west parochial entrance.[210] Both these access points lay below the nave's western bell towers and their summons to worship.

Given its parochial function, by the early sixteenth century, and probably long before, the nave had developed to accommodate numerous side chapels and smaller altars fixed to columns and arcade walls, patronised by local baronial families and burgh trade or craft guilds. Some of these altars/chapels have been identified and dated by the work of, successively, Ebenezer Henderson (1879) scouring abbey and burgh records, Frederic Eeles (1917), and the more recent *Corpus of Medieval Scottish Parish Churches* project (2011-).[211] They include a mixture of dedications to Scottish and universal saints, including Ninian, Michael, Nicholas, Salvator and the virgin martyr Catherine of Alexandria (the last surely linked to the nearby alms-house dedicated to that female saint a stone's-throw to the north-west of the nave).[212]

These nave altars would have occupied the northern and southern aisles, over time filling in the spaces west of earlier central Christocentric and Apostolic altars and fittings. As well as probably a much-venerated parish altar to Our Lady of Pity by at least the fifteenth century (which included a perpetually-lit image of the Virgin and crucified Christ), the latter grouping is known to have included an older altar to the Holy Cross or Rood standing south of the main Trinity altar and its pre-1150 royal 'choir' burials: by the late medieval period this had probably acquired an elaborate wooden screen and loft.[213] It is likely that one or more of the True Cross relics long associated with St Margaret was on display here or elsewhere in the church.[214] By 1490 a Holy Blood altar had also been established, in the care of the Merchant Guild, providing a further vibrant community focus for worship alongside the Cross during Holy Week.[215] Parochial confession and cure of souls 'of both sexes' was also facilitated by the abbey's Sacristan and staff in the nave.[216]

After 1180 the empty original graves of Margaret and Malcolm – whose bodies, miraculously, had always to be translated together – remained as early stations for pilgrim veneration, visible

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Jerusalem 'at the ends of the earth': Interpreting Charles Thomas's Excavations at Iona Abbey, 1956-63', *Antiquaries Journal*, 100 (2020), 374-407.

[210] Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', 52.

[211] For what follows see: Henderson, *Annals*, 180 [list of 20 altars: High Trinity, Lady, Holy Blood, Rood, John, Peter, James, Thomas, Michael, Salvator, Lawrence, Margaret, Ninian, Mary, Nicholas, Cuthbert, Stephen, Trunzeon, Catherine, parish Trinity]; Eeles, 'The development and internal arrangement of the abbey church of Dunfermline', pp. xxxix-xlvi; Henderson, *Annals*, 180, 761; *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*, 'Dunfermline abbey', https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158524–. See also H. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, *Volumes V: Synods of Fife, and Angus and Mearns* (Edinburgh, 1925), 25-7, and *VIII: Addenda and Corrigenda* (Edinburgh, 1950), 409.

[212] H. Gray, 'St Catherine's Chapel - Standing building recording', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, new series, 19 (2018), 94-5.

[213] McRoberts and Holmes, *Lost Interiors*, 101-12.

[214] *CDS*, v, no. 494; G. Watson, 'The Black Rood of Scotland', *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, ii (1909), 27-46; L. Rollason, 'Spoils of War? Durham Cathedral and the Black Rood of Scotland', in D. Rollason and M. Prestwich eds., *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346* (Stamford, 1998), 57-65; J. Grigg, 'The Black Rood of Scotland: a social and political life', *Viator*, 3, 48 (2017), 53-78; P. Turner, 'The Rood in the Late Medieval English Cathedral: the Black Rood of Scotland Reassessed', in eadem and J. Hawkes ed., *The Rood in the Late Medieval English Cathedral in Britain and Ireland, c.800-c.1500* (Woodbridge, 2020), 103-23. And see now D. Willem, *The Black Rood: the lost crown jewel of Scotland* (Caithness, 2023).

[215] *Burgh Records of Dunfermline*, no. 125; R.D. Oram, 'Holy Blood Devotion in Later Medieval Scotland', *Journal of Medieval History*, 43 (2017), 562-78, at 572.

[216] A.I. Dunlop and D. MacLauchlan eds., *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome: Volume IV 1433-1447* (Glasgow, 1983), nos 152 [23 August 1434], 1169 [24 February 1445].

and accessible just behind the nave Trinity high altar. The queen's first 'shrine' features as a repeated site of vigil, typically for *three* days and/or nights, in her thirteenth-century miracle stories.[217] The western nave/parish church also housed a St Margaret altar, 'St Margaret's bell' and 'St Margaret's well', the latter sited between columns on the south-west side and perhaps in line with a natural subsurface water-source running east-west down the length of the abbey site and thus linking to the piscina which would be built into Margaret's post-1250 feretory chapel walls. This may in part explain the tendency of the south side of this sloping site to flood. As another holy station for pilgrim veneration, the well in the nave may also have been the source of ampullae of Margaret's holy 'oil' – well-water mixed with dust from her first tomb and/or from her east-end feretory – which pilgrims could take away after making a donation, often in hope of a cure for various ailments or aid during pregnancy.[218]

On major feast and pilgrimage days, lay access past the decorated stone high altar screen or pulpitum of the nave, and its rood loft, into the eastern monastic choir was probably made via steps and a 'choir door'[219], up out of the south-side nave aisle, thus mirroring the processional route at Durham's Benedictine Cathedral Priory.[220] Outwith these days, the laity were excluded, kept to the nave/parish church. As Margaret's thirteenth-century *miracula* had it, according to the 'guardian of the outer church' visitors were:

> 'not allowed to enter the holy precincts alone, but only on the ordained night preceding each Saturday when a great crowd of sick people is accustomed to keep vigil.'[221]

But when access was granted, visitors first entered the choir's southern St John aisle, running east between columns and the inner screened monk's choir and stalls. By at least the early fifteenth century an organ perhaps stood adjacent to the stalls for the accompaniment of increasingly elaborate choral masses: a secure vestry space storing sets of vestments for different ceremonies/feasts was perhaps housed to the south of this crossing boundary.[222]

Running east, further side chapels and column altars were surely added down to 1560 to mark out this St John aisle space, perhaps to such identifiable dedications as SS Andrew, Benedict, Lawrence, Leonard, Michael and Stephen, and the great annual community processional feast of Corpus Christi. This aisle also probably contained some post-1128 aristocratic burials. Benedictine churches typically grew to house a wide variety of pavement (brass or incised stone), wall-mounted and free-standing monumental tomb forms as a reflection of their many

[217] E.g. Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret no 2.
[218] However, to date, no such ampullae have been found for Margaret's cult, although two pilgrim badges were identified in 2020, discussed below.
[219] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret no. 5; I.C. Hannah, 'Screens and Lofts in Scottish Churches', *PSAS*, 70 (1935-6), 181-201.
[220] J. Fowler ed., *The Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 1902), passim; M. Harvey and L. Rollason eds., *The Rites of Durham, William Claxton* (Surtees Society, 2020), 577-86 and passim; D. Kennedy, 'The Changing Face of Liturgy', in Brown ed., *Durham Cathedral*, 315-25. Our thanks to Dr Tom Turpie for this processional suggestion. It might be speculated that, again like Durham, the pulpitum at Dunfermline displayed small sculpted (or painted) images of key patrons including royals [Harvey and Rollason eds., *Rites of Durham*, 426-31, including Malcolm II and III, Edgar I, David I and II, Alexander I, II and III, William I, Matilda and Margaret, many of whose obit dates are also recorded in the Durham *Martyrology*].
[221] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret no. 1.
[222] McRoberts and Holms, *Lost Interiors*, 82-5.

patrons.[223] It was perhaps in this location that visitors would encounter a tablet recording the locations of chapels/altars and elite burials as a guide to pro anima and votive prayer. These were foci of faith and memory about which dedicated chantry monks would also speak to visitors.[224]

Mid-way down this south choir aisle a crossing gap in the screening of the choir/presbytery may have been provided, looking into what was perhaps a remarkably well-lit central paved space during the day thanks to any glass in the abbey's central massive lantern tower and the great stained-glass windows of the east-end feretory. In winter, dull weather and during hours of darkness the proliferation of candle lights would have been apparent, both free-standing and suspended in candelabras. In this central space this would have included the 'perpetual' lights funded by patrons to stand 'before' major tombs or on altars during dedicative feasts.

The central choir/presbytery was where the majority of the post-1128 royal burials were also surely to be found, perhaps again a variety of pre-1250 pavement graves and later box monuments, or perhaps all visibly similar, say, after their re-presentation during the reign of Robert I, possibly completing work begun under Alexander III, whose financial accounts survive only for part of the year 1264. Robert's exchequer rolls for 1309-26 are also missing but he may have made use of more accessible local building materials such as fossiliferous limestone from Roscobie quarry, just three miles from Dunfermline and owned by the abbey [Fig 107] rather than County Durham Frosterley.[225]

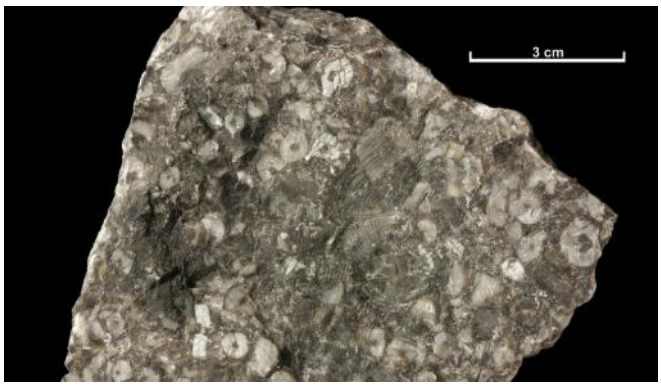

Fig 107: Sample of Roscobie fossiliferous limestone, from a quarry three miles north of Dunfermline Abbey.

The absence of royal burials within the dignified east-end space of the rising central sanctuary with its communion space (and rail?) and well-spaced flights of long, low steps meant that the choir's Trinity high altar was visible from this crossing gap, along with its painted (triptych?) images of the Trinity, Margaret and, surely, St John, as well as, atop the altar, mass candles

[223] A. Martindale, 'Patrons and Minders: the Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages', *Studies in Church History*, 28: *The Church and the Arts* (1992), 143-78; J. Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300-1450: A Patronage History* (Woodbridge, 2005), 78-81; N. Saul, *Lordship and Faith: the English Gentry and the Parish Church in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2017), 2-6.
[224] M. Hicks, 'English Monasteries as Repositories of Dynastic Memory', in Penman ed., *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 224-38, at 226-9. Abbot Bower records such an information plaque in St Andrews Cathedral [*Chron. Bower*, vi, 413-5].
[225] See n128 above.

and a central monumental high cross. This screened east-end, a church within the church, would also have housed the Easter Sepulchre to the north; an oak tabernacle to store the consecrated host, fragments of which Ebenezer Henderson also reported as recovered from the debris field in 1818; a pulpit and perhaps a lectern for the abbey's more decorative liturgical texts (such as St Margaret's own Gospel book relic) or an illuminated presentation cartulary highlighting the most important patrons, not least the abbey foundation charter from King/St David I.[226] Again, the symbolic sanctuary steps and paving may have been trimmed in fossiliferous marble with (red?) coloured floor tiles to echo the high altar and tombs.

The middle and east-end of the St John aisle, opening to the south into the full Baptist's chapel with its altar and image (and perhaps a small, exclusively royal font), may have housed the (lone?) tomb of Alexander III, discussed above. But this space may also have been a main shepherding point for pilgrims on key feast days. The narrow entrance to St Margaret's feretory, c.8'-10' across, likely provided with doors or a screen, would have been closely monitored by the Sacristan and his staff. The feretory chapel itself, with Margaret's bejewelled shrine under a suspended decorated canopy, as reimagined strikingly by Peter Yeoman for Historic Scotland [Fig 108 i.], may have been surrounded by further supporting stations and relics. Margaret's 'birthing shirt', gospel book or other associated secondary relics could be displayed here on feast days, providing further points for veneration and donation, acting as a draw for wax votives placed by pilgrims.[227] A suitable secure space with metal grills or lockable doors may also have been provided for such relics and votives in this space.[228] Furthermore, Margaret's separate bejewelled head-shrine, recreated in the twentieth century [Fig 108 ii.], may have guarded the narrow matching pilgrim exit north-west via matching doors or screen out into the Lady aisle.[229]

[226] McRoberts and Holmes, *Lost Interiors*, ch. 2; Henderson, *Annals*, 766; R. Rushforth, *St Margaret's Gospel Book* (Oxford, 2007); E. Jamroziak, 'Making Friends Beyond the Grave: Melrose Abbey and its lay burials in the 13th century', *Citeaux Commantarii Cisterciensis*, 56 (2005), 323-36. Henderson managed to purchase the oak tabernacle fragment for himself from the 'Manse' auction of Rvd Peter Chalmers' collections in May 1870 but missed out on fragments of marble and cloth of gold from the Bruce grave [NLS Acc. 9133/17 letters to J. Neil Paton, Folders i. 1 January 1861 and ii. 10-26 May 1870].

[227] See now C. de Hamel, *The Book in the Cathedral: The Last Relic of Thomas Becket* (Milton Keynes, 2020), for a book treated as a relic as it was owned by a saint.

[228] J. Luxford, 'Recording and curating relics at Westminster Abbey in the late Middle Ages', *JMH*, 45/2 (2019), 204-30.

[229] P.A. Yeoman, 'Saint Margaret's Shrine at Dunfermline Abbey', in Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, 79-88; R. Fawcett, 'The Architectural Framework for the Cult of Saints: Some Scottish Examples', in D.H. Strickland and G. Dickson eds., *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in honour of Gary Dickson* (Leiden, 2007), 71-96, at 82-3.

Fig 108: i. Peter Yeoman's recreation of St Margaret's shrine for Historic Scotland and ii. The Abbot's House Museum's recreation of her head shrine.

A dedicated altar (and image) to Margaret surely stood at the west end of her great shrine and these fittings likely integrated a separate grave marker, effigy or image of her husband, Malcolm III, also regarded by miraculous association as a saint to the monks. Indeed, given the potency of full body cults, and the model of Becket's shrine at Dunfermline's mother-house at Canterbury, at least one full-length image of Margaret herself – in paint, sculpture or glass - surely marked this area and was a vital icon for her church.[230]

Remarkably, the iconographic importance of the figure of St Margaret holding her Gospel book, and with it further evidence for a high level of pilgrimage activity at Dunfermline, has only very recently been confirmed and discussed by Prosser and Webley (2021).[231] In 2003 (but long unidentified) and then in January 2020, two metal-alloy pilgrim badges bearing the likely image and legend of St Margaret of Scotland, and her sacred book, were found in fields near Fordham, Cambridgeshire [Fig 109]. As the first such badges ever identified for Margaret's shrine, this is a strong archaeological echo of the power of her cult for medieval pilgrims on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border as reported in her collected miracles.[232] The image of St Margaret and her Gospel book also adorned seals of Dunfermline Abbey and

[230] S. Blick, 'Reconstructing the Shrine of Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral', *Journal of Art History*, 72 (4) (2003), 256-86; J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2011), ch. 8.

[231] W. Forbes-Leith trans., *Life of St Margaret Queen of Scotland by Turgot, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1884), 66-8, no. 33; Rushforth, *St Margaret's Gospel Book*, 11-14; C. Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots – A Life in Perspective* (New York, 2013), 31-2, 79, 82.

[232] L. Prossor and R. Webley, 'Two medieval pilgrim badges attributed to St Margaret, Queen of Scotland', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*, 27 (2021), 45-56. As Fordham lies a few miles south-east of Ely Cathedral, it is tempting to suggest a link here between Margaret and the cult of St Æthelthryth (d.679), a Northumbrian queen who also became a Coldingham nun under Æbbe before founding a monastery at Ely where her body cult flourished in the twelfth century [C. Whitehead, 'A Scottish or English Saint? The Shifting Sanctity of St Æbbe of Coldingham', *New Medieval Literatures*, 19 (2019), 1-42, at 11-12]. For Æbbe see below n239.

its abbots [Fig 110]; and the bejewelled text's survival unharmed after being dropped in a river is the only reported miracle from the queen's own lifetime.[233]

Fig 109: Metal-alloy pilgrim badges attributed to St Margaret of Scotland in 2020, found near Fordham, Cambridgeshire.

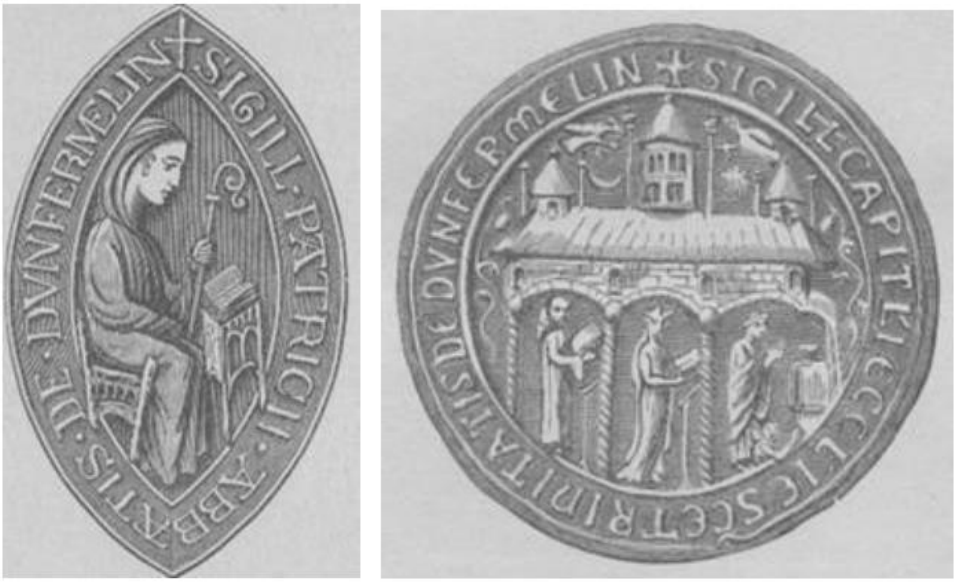

Fig 110: seal of Patrick, abbot of Dunfermline, c.1207; seal of Dunfermline Abbey c.1226 [both reproduced in Henderson, *Annals*, 66, 70].

It is just possible, too, that - echoing the positioning of St Edward the Confessor's new thirteenth-century shrine in Benedictine Westminster, or that of St Clovis in Benedictine St Dénis [Figs 14-15] - a monumental shrine for Margaret's son, David I, also a local saint, stood in this retro-choir space at Dunfermline from c.1250. However, Scottish chroniclers'

[233] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret nos 1, 4, 12, 17, 23, 29 and 39 for English pilgrims to St Margaret. Pitliver, 'the estate of the book', lying c. 2.5 miles south-west of Dunfermline was amongst lands granted to Dunfermline as a priory by Malcolm III and Margaret and may refer to such a Gospel book relic [S. Taylor with G. Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife: Volume 1 – West Fife between Leven and Forth* (Donington, 2006), 352-4; *Dunf. Reg*., 125, 321, 435-6, 439, 483, 493-4, 499].

descriptions of David's burial, although open to divergent interpretations, do still suggest that his grave more likely retained a central choir/presbytery position well to the west of the Trinity altar.[234]

Passing out north-west from the feretory into the Lady Aisle and with sight of the magnificent Lady Chapel, a limited number of visitors at a time would now enter another rich, lofty, light-filled liturgical space (with a wider, open chapel arcade space within the second bay from the east end of the north aisle).[235] As the focus of the most popular saintly cult of the late middle ages, all the more so throughout the wars, famines and pandemics of the fourteenth-century, the Blessed Virgin Mary's altars and image would have encouraged great throngs of worshipers at Dunfermline. This would have been the case on numerous occasions throughout the liturgical year, not only on her several main feasts marked by extra masses, lights and paupers' pittances [1 January/2 February, 25 March, 31 May, 15 August, 8 September, 8 December] or simply for daily Lady mass (echoing liturgy at the Lady of Pity altar in the nave).[236] As such this aisle and its associated chapel – or perhaps immediately adjacent along the space bordering the north of the central monks' stalls-presbytery-sanctuary – was a highly desirable place for non-saintly royal burial so as to attract the repeated pro anima prayers of lay patrons and visitors as well as of the Dunfermline monks who performed requested masses. Robert I certainly set aside at least 1,000 merks (£666) to pay for such services for his own (and his queen's?) soul.[237]

A liturgical focus in this north aisle for association with the two maternal and dynastic female cults of the Virgin Mary and Queen Margaret certainly seems to have made this a coveted site, too, of burial for royal and aristocratic women, not least the extended Bruce-Stewart kin interments of the fourteenth century. These emotive associations may also have made the choir a site of frequent infant and child burial. Although it does not specify if this was a choir burial, a fifteenth-century Scottish vernacular chronicle nonetheless reports that in 1450:

> The 19th day of Maii qwene mary [Marie of Gueldres, James II's queen] partit with barne in strivling [Stirling] xii oulkis [weeks] before hir tyme and the barne liffit bot the space of sex houris. Item the said zeire in the moneth of Junii thar was funding in dunfermling a merwalous deid cors

[234] Although saintly, David's tomb/shrine would thus have been further west at Dunfermline than the altar-adjacent position recently re-envisaged for the shrine of King Arthur – who was thus treated in effect as the abbey founder when translated in 1191 - at Benedictine Glastonbury Abbey [R. Gilchrist, 'Reconstructing King Arthur's Tomb: the stuff of Legends': https://research.reading.ac.uk/glastonburyabbeyarchaeology/2018/01/12/reconstructing-king-arthurs-tomb-the-stuff-of-legends/].

[235] The nature of this area is suggested by the substantial (springer?) north aisle pillar base still in situ recorded in several eighteenth-century sketches of the choir ruins [e.g. above Fig 9].

[236] M.H. Hammond, 'Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints and the Virgin Mary in Twelfth and Thirteenth century Scotland', in S. Boardman and E. Williamson eds., *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), 61-74; T. Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2015), 60-92; S.E. Roper, 'Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c.950-1540', unpublished PhD (University of Oxford, 1988), chs 4-5, now published as S.E. Harper, same title (London, 2019); Carpenter, *Henry III*, 313-19. In 1454 a Ninian Spot described himself as a chaplain 'in the church of St Mary the Virgin within the monastery of Dunfermline' [J. Kirk, R.J. Tanner and A.I. Dunlop eds., *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome: Volume V 1447-1471* (Edinburgh, 1997), no. 501]. Dunfermline burgh had the right to hold fairs on the third Wednesday in January, the second in March, fourth in April, first in July, the first Tuesday in August, fourth Friday in September and the fourth Wednesday in November [Anon., *A Short Account of the Town of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 1828), 7].

[237] *ER*, i, 451. However, this money was instead used to redeem Sir Andrew Murray from English captivity c.1334.

> [corpse] in the ryping of ane wall, for first their was found about him a kist of stane and syne ane of tre [wood] and syne a cape of leid and syne clathis of goldn and silk as fresche as evir thai ware and the cors hale in hyde and hewe [skin and complexion] as it semyte bot of xviii zeris of age and it was xixx [11 score = 220] zeris sen that wall was maide and men demyt that it was a barne or cosyng of sanct margaretis…[238]

Yet the joint burial of elite couples and those seeking political association with the male leaders of the wartime generation also seems to have marked out the northern choir Lady aisle and its chapel as the focus of burial after the Wars of Independence. Again, a wide variety of floor slab, wall-arcade and free-standing monumental tomb forms may have filled these spaces, as suggested by our GPR.

As we have seen, an alternative local tradition (reported in 1807) may also allow us to identify Robert Bruce's ornate French marble tomb as sited along the southern edge of this north aisle, or perhaps free-standing just within the central paved presbytery, visible to lay visitors. His tomb's effigy, heraldry and epitaph would also have made him 'audible' to those who might offer prayer. Here, perhaps partnered with his queen, Robert watched over this assemblage of family/supporter burials around and within the Lady Chapel (completed within or shortly after his lifetime). Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany, who clearly sought association within his own lifetime with the famous hero king of Archdeacon John Barbour's vernacular poem *The Bruce* (c.1371-5), therefore chose burial 'between the choir and Lady aisle' as late as 1420 as a resounding echo of Bruce's physical *memento mori*.

It is possible that several other important side chapels and column altars also occupied this northern Lady Aisle by the sixteenth century. These may have been dedicated to further female saints (such as Mary Magdalene and virgin martyrs Catherine of Alexandria, Margaret of Antioch[239] and Ursula); or to cults also venerated by the Bruce and Stewart dynasties and their subjects, for example St Cuthbert of Durham, St Ninian of Whithorn, St Serf whose body shrine lay at nearby Culross, and perhaps (although no firm dedicative evidence survives) St Thomas Becket of Canterbury, Dunfermline's mother house.[240]

We might also add an altar and veneration at Dunfermline for St Æbbe (d. 25 August 683) of the Benedictine priory of Coldingham, on the Berwickshire border with England. Æbbe was the reputed daughter and sister of Northumbrian kings who like Margaret and her family endured childhood exile. Coldingham was an early spiritual interest of the Scottish crown, like Dunfermline as an abbey established by David I, but already placed under the control of nearby Benedictine Durham Cathedral Priory c.1098; and, as with Dunfermline, it embraced an older church and cult.[241] The c.1190 *miracula* text of the Abbess Æbbe, an associate of St Cuthbert

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[238] 'Auchinleck Chronicle', ff. 122v-123r, Appendix 2 from McGladdery, *James II*, 172. '11 score' years would date this burial to approximately the 1230s rather than the 1070-1150 era.

[239] St Margaret reportedly performed miracles 'on the night of the feast of St Margaret the Virgin' [20 July], Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, 89-93, no. 8.

[240] *Burgh Records of Dunfermline*, nos 114, 154; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 297-9, 301-2.

[241] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Kings of Scotland and Durham', and P. Dalton, 'Scottish Influence on Durham, 1066–1214', both in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich eds., *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), 311–24, 339–52; S. Stronach et al, 'The Anglian Monastery and Medieval Priory of Coldingham: *Urbs Coludi* revisited', *PSAS*, 135 (2005), 395-422; J. Donnelly, 'Cult and culture in a medieval community: Ayton and Coldingham, 1188-1376', *IR*, 62, 2 (2012), 109-60; Whitehead, 'A Scottish or English Saint?', 1-9. Reginald of Durham styles Æbbe as 'Mother of the [Northumbrian] kingdom' [ibid, 9-10].

of Durham (d.687), proves the strong connection of these two royal female cults and their hybrid Anglo-Scottish appeal. One of Æbbe's miracles has Margaret appear alongside the Northumbrian saint in a vision which restored a woman's sight; another relates the healing of a Scottish shepherd inflicted with bloating, partly cured by Margaret at her shrine, but fully restored by Æbbe at Coldingham; a third records a girl from Seton, East Lothian, granted restoration of her limbs by St Margaret at Dunfermline but ordered by that saint to 'seek out the oratory of the blessed Æbbe at St Abb's head' to recover her power of speech.[242] In addition, two women in southern Scotland of English stock or who married a Scot, and two more explicitly stated to be from Northumbria, were aided miraculously by Margaret.[243]

However, these miracle tales also reflect the increasing rivalry and contestation of spiritual (and political) superiority between (and within) Scotland/Dunfermline and England/Durham from c.1140 onwards.[244] The celebrated Coldingham Breviary of c.1270-80, adorned with a glowing image of the Virgin, does indeed list both St Margaret's Translation and obit feasts, 19 June and 16 November, amongst its red-letter days.[245] Nevertheless, about May 1318 at the height of the wars of independence and as he laid plans to retake nearby Berwick-upon-Tweed, Robert I would contemplate transferring control of Coldingham Priory to Dunfermline Abbey, snubbing Durham (and perhaps to provide financial support for his substantial works at the royal mausoleum in Fife). Yet it is surely significant that Bruce did not carry out his threat, just as he reconciled with Durham by 1328-9, and no such transfer would become a reality until 1378-9, and then only temporarily.[246]

Passing out west through Dunfermline Abbey's northern Lady aisle, returning from choir to nave, visitors emerged into the chapel of St Peter/Paul – whose painted images are still visible on the north-east nave bay vault – and thus on and out of the church.[247] However, they surely left with an overwhelming impression of the sanctity and achievements of their monarchs and a collective pantheon of saints both local and universal. They must also have been impressed by the power of the echoing trinity between their lay rulers, God/Christ and the church. As it developed over five centuries, indeed, Dunfermline Abbey rang with the spiritual power of the Holy Trinity. By the late medieval period, its choir and liturgy were structured around its Trinity altar celebrating Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The east-end chancel lay at the heart of a trinity of major chapels/altars dedicated to the intimately connected Holy Family cults of Christ, the Virgin and St John the Baptist. All these holy figures were venerated in their turn by a trinity of Scotland's royal saints, the officially canonised Margaret as well as Malcolm III and David I, all perhaps depicted in the glass narratives of its three east-end feretory shrine walls. The few glass shards saved over time from Dunfermline's ruins certainly speak to their

[242] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Æbbe nos 19, 34, 39
[243] *Ibid*, Margaret nos 1, 4, 12, 17.
[244] Whitehead, 'A Scottish or English Saint?', 4-19.
[245] BL Harley MS 4664, f.128 v and 131v, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_4664_f126r and https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_4664_f126r, both accessed 8.3.23. The personal Psalter of Richard Bothwell, Abbot of Dunfermline 1444-68 also includes Æbbe amongst its full litanies of saints, but its calendar entry for August is missing [Boulogne-sur-mer, Libraire Municipale MS.92; V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers: manuscrits latins des bibliotheques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Mâcon, 1940–1), i, 101-2, no. 77].
[246] Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 347; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, 55-6.
[247] Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', 42.

variety of colour and have been dated to the early fourteenth century [Fig 111].[248] The whole abbey structure was guarded by its three towers.[249]

Fig 111: Early fourteenth-century(?) stained glass fragments from the ruins of Dunfermline Abbey choir, donated by Rev Peter Chalmers to the Society of Antiquaries, now in the National Museum of Scotland.[250]

If we now bring together all of Dunfermline Abbey's identifiable altar dedications, the obituary dates and secular anniversaries of its known elite patrons and burials, and the universal feasts of the Catholic year, we can illustrate the potency of its liturgy within such a physical setting, reimagining the rhythm of its liturgical year.

[248] P.C. Graves, 'Scottish Medieval Window Glass', MA (University of Edinburgh, 1985), 149; C.J. Kennedy and M.A. Penman 'Interpreting Medieval Scottish Church Stained Glass Windows: Decoration and Colour in Relation to Liturgy and Worship', *Heritage*, 5 (2022), 1-14, at 10-11.

[249] For Trinitarian theology and liturgy see: R.L. Friedman, *Medieval Trinitarian Thought from Aquinas to Ockham* (Cambridge, 2013), esp. chs 3-4. Even Robert I's funeral and obits in 1329 may have echoed with Trinitarian influence over the development of royal funeral iconography across Europe. The royal accounts record three church servers in charge of wax, three chaplains to pray for Bruce's soul at Ayr, and three newly-surcoated knights prominent in his funeral cortege, headed by Robert the Steward (the future Robert II) in black: these men could have carried Bruce's arms, armour, upturned shield and banner, and perhaps even rode his horse(s) which might then have been gifted to the abbey [*ER*, i, 215 Bruce's horse 'Nesbit', 162, 217, 255, 267; M.A. Boystov, Ghostly Knights: kings' funerals in fourteenth-century Europe and the emergence of an international style', in J. Rollos-Kostes ed., *Death in Medieval Europe: Death Scripted and Death Choreographed* (Abingdon, 2017), 149-63].

[250] A search for 'Dunfermline Abbey' in the online catalogue of the National Museum of Scotland, including the original Society of Antiquaries of Scotland collections amassed from c.1780-, produces 47 items: those of medieval date include two stained glass gatherings [NMS H.KJ 3 and 3.1], three floor tiles, a leathern shroud (found in the 1911 nave dig), a seal matrix and four seals, and a votive cast-lead crucifix; plus, all associated with Bruce's tomb, 10 tomb fragments [H.KJ 65-74, a small sculpted crowned head in 'blue' stone [H.KJ 75], four pieces of cloth-of-gold [H.KJ 2, 138 and 148-9], and one nail [https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/, accessed 5/2/20]. For further glass finds see also Coleman, 'Excavations of the Abbot's House, Maygate, Dunfermline', 94, 100-01. In 1818, a fourteenth-century silver broach engraved with 'Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews' was also found while excavating around the 'Bruce grave' [V. Glenn, *Romanesque and Gothic: Decorative Metalwork and Ivory Carvings in the Museum of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2003), 66 [E19]].

FEASTS		OBITS etc [excludes Abbots]
St Andrew	30 Nov	
[Imm. Conception BVM	8 Dec]	Malcolm IV 9 Dec 1165
Christmas/Nicholas	25 Dec	
St Stephen	26 Dec	
St Thomas	29 Dec	
[Solemnity BVM	1 Jan]	Edgar I 8 Jan 1104
Candlemas [Christ/BVM]	2 Feb	
St Cuthbert	20 March	Alexander III 19 March 1286
Annunciation BVM	25 March	[Robert I inauguration 1306]
Easter ↕		Alexander I 23 April 1124
Trinity Sunday ↕		
Corpus Christi/Holy Blood ↕		
St Katherine of Siena	29 April	(St) David I 24 May 1153
Visitation BVM	31 May	Robert I 7 June 1329 [burial 12 July?]
Translation St Margaret	19 June	Dunfermline Fair?
St John the Baptist	24 June	
St Peter/Paul	29 June	
St Benedict	11 July	
St Margaret of Antioch	20 July	Thomas Randolph earl of Moray 20 July 1332
St Mary Magdalene	22 July	
St Lawrence	10 Aug	
Assumption BVM	15 Aug	
[Aebba of Coldingham?	25 Aug?]	
Nativity BVM	8 Sept	Robert Stewart Duke of Albany 3 Sept 1420
True Cross	14 September	
St Ninian	16 September	
(St) Michael(mas)	28 Sept	
St Ursula	21 Oct	Elizabeth de Burgh 27 Oct 1327
St Margaret	16 Nov	(St) Malcolm III 13 Nov 1093
St Katherine of Alexandria	25 Nov	

Fig 112: Speculative calendar of feasts, obits and anniversaries observed by Dunfermline Abbey c.1250-c.1560. The partial calendar and listed litanies of Abbot Richard Bothwell's Psalter of c.1450 also include entries for SS Kentigern [13 Jan], Monan [St Monans, Fife, 1 March], Duthac [8 March], Columba [9 June], Thomas (Becket), Serf [Culross/Loch Leven Fife, 1 July] and Æbbe . See Boulogne-sur-mer, Libraire Municipale MS.92; V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers: manuscrits latins des bibliotheques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Mâcon, 1940–1), i, 101-2, no. 77.

A core of the identified feasts listed in Fig 112 are like those universal, typically Christocentric foci of worship which other Benedictine houses would mark each year.[251] A similar (if incomplete) calendar and associated litanies can be found in Dunfermline Abbot Richard de Bothwell's mid-fifteenth-century psalter (without personal notations) alongside several Scottish and at least three Fife-based cults. Similarly, in 1468 Richard, a former Sacristan of Dunfermline, willed his abbey new lands, 30 merks of income and wax to support perpetual masses 'for himself, his parents and benefactors (with music each year on the day of his death)', and another light 'at the great altar before the image of St Margaret'.[252] Thus we can also

[251] F. Wormald ed., *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1939); *Rites of Durham*; Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, ch. 6; A. Gransden ed., *The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk: from Harleian MS. 1005 in the British Museum* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 2010); Harper, *Medieval Benedictine Liturgy*, chs 4-5. And see now J. Jenkins ed. and trans., *The Customary of the Shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral* (Leeds, 2022).

[252] Higgitt, 'Dunfermline Abbey and its Books', 179-80; *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome: Volume V 1447-1471*, no. 1322.

integrate the local, regional and even national importance of the observance of Scottish saints at Dunfermline, not least that of St Margaret and her extended family. And we also find close association with other cults often linked to Dunfermline through neighbouring or appropriated/gifted churches and chapels, such as St Monan (fl. 6th century) enshrined c.30 miles east along the Fife coast, or St Serf (d.c. 583) whose body lay at Culross c.seven miles west.[253] There is, then, a strong blend of the international and local here, a mix increasingly shaped by the obit and life-achievement anniversaries of the abbey's key royal and aristocratic patrons.[254]

All told, this allows us to cautiously reimagine the growth and development of divine service at Dunfermline over time c.1150-c.1560. With each building phase (1128-53, 1180-, 1226-51, c.1270-, 1314-?, 1440-) and its extended liturgical spaces, with the foundation of new chapels and altars, as well as perhaps the periodic redecoration, rearrangement or formal translation of other established fittings like altars and tombs, the liturgy of this great house would have been enriched and enlarged. By the fifteenth century, indeed, perhaps as many as a third of the days of the year would have been marked by processions, antiphonal chants and/or formal Mass to relevant dedicative altars. Such ceremony would have been all the more elaborate and embraced pathways through the wider monastic precinct and perhaps even the burgh and its hinterland chapels when a key universal feast (e.g. Easter, Corpus Christi, Trinity Sunday) or a resident relic cult (Margaret, Malcolm, David) was to be commemorated.

Furthermore, as at Westminster and St Dénis, such liturgy was closely wedded and given a powerful political dimension by Dunfermline's commemoration of royal anniversaries, the obit dates and other life-events and significant jubilees of the abbey's key royal and noble patrons entombed or buried therein. Indeed, some of these dynastic dates may have been marked by ceremonial equal in scale and importance to the those of the Abbey's Christocentric and resident relic feasts: twelve-lesson or red-letter duplex days with relic display, processions, singing and Mass.[255]

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[253] David II would embellish the St Monan cult with a new church c.1362 and may have considered burial at Dunfermline Abbey alongside his second queen, Margaret Logie, but would end up interred in Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh [*ER*, ii, 300, 348; M. Penman, *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton, 2004), 261-4; R. Lamb, 'David II's Chapel Royal at St Monans in the context of medieval pilgrimage', *IR*, 68 (2) (2017), 117-31]. Culross Abbey could have served as a convenient vigil nigh-halt for Robert I's coffin procession enroute to Dunfermline in 1329 [*ER*, i, 150, 297].

[254] G. Dove, 'Saints, dedications and cults in mediaeval Fife', M.Phil (University of St Andrews, 1988); Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, ch.4; T. Turpie, 'Fife Pilgrim Way: Report Detailing Historical References to Pilgrimage and the Cult of the Saints in Fife' (2016), 62-104; I. Bradley, *The Fife Pilgrim Way: in the footsteps of monks, miners and martyrs* (Edinburgh, 2019); B.F. Manson, 'In Search of pilgrim routes across southern Fife, c.1100-1550', *IR*, 72 (2) (2021), 128-57. That evolving calendar observances could combine religious feasts with obits and anniversaries is illustrated by the early fifteenth-century hand-written additions to an early fourteenth-century breviary maintained in Aberdeen (by a cadet of the Keith family, Bruce's hereditary Marischals of Scotland). These included observance of royal, noble and clerical death dates [David II, Alexander III, Robert I, John Comyn of Badenoch 1306, David earl of Atholl 1335, Keiths 1374 and 1403]; royal births and coronations [David II, Robert I]; and battles, significantly both Scottish victories and defeats [Rosslyn 1302, capture of Berwick 1296, Methven 1306, Bannockburn, Halidon Hill 1332, siege of Berwick 1319, Neville's Cross 1346, Annan 1332]. Interestingly, this calendar lists 12 July for the obit of Robert: in fact, he died on 7 June 1329, so does the calendar identify his funeral at Dunfermline that year? [C.R. Borland, ed., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh, 1916), no. 27, 38-41, at 40].

[255] Walters, 'The Reconstruction of the Abbey Church at St-Dénis', 203-26; eadem, 'Music and Liturgy at the Abbey of Saint-Dénis, 567-1567: a Survey of the Primary Sources', PhD (Yale University, 1984), ch. 3; J. Wacket,

We can moreover envisage that intensified pilgrimage, donations, prayer and indulgences would have marked those years in which key religious feast days *coincided* with these dynastic obituaries and/or anniversaries, a coalescence of secular ceremony and religious observance which monarchies increasingly sought out and cultivated from the thirteenth century onwards. At Dunfermline, such religious activity would be created when dates like the Annunciation of the Virgin (25 March), Easter Week and, six weeks later, Trinity Sunday (plus Corpus Christi the following Thursday), coincided with: Robert I's coronation (25 March); the deaths of (St) David I (24 May) and Robert I (7 June); the Translation of St Margaret (19 June); and the anniversary of Bannockburn/St John the Baptist day (24 June).[256] In 1249, the year of her canonisation, the Papacy had certainly granted a standing indulgence of 40 days to be earned by those visiting Dunfermline in association with the translation and main feast of St Margaret.[257] Similar peaks in veneration would surely have marked the Abbey's several identifiable dedicative jubilees every 50 or 100 years [1228, 1250, 1328, 1350 etc].[258] These great pilgrimage events would surely have exceeded the annual peaks of attendance around key feasts and St Margaret's June fair.[259] It is possible an annual collective Feast of the Relics was also celebrated at Dunfermline in this busy late Spring-early Summer period.[260]

In conclusion, although the Scottish crown and *ecclesia* undeniably drew from proportionally fewer resources and thus worked on a smaller physical and material scale, the form and liturgical meaning of Dunfermline Abbey, its cult foci and royal mausoleum can be shown to have evolved through similar levels of ambition, complexity, rich materiality, iconography and change as their English, French and other European realm counterparts through the 13th-16th centuries.[261] By combining extant medieval and historical evidence with past archaeology,

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'The Litlyngton Missal: Its Patron, Iconography, and Messages', PhD (University of Kent, 2014), ch. 4 and App. C; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, ch. 4.

[256] 24 May coincided with Trinity Sunday in 1187, 1198, 1209, 1220, 1282, 1293, 1304, 1377, 1388, 1467 and 1472; 7 June coincided with Trinity Sunday in 1338, 1349, 1411, 1422, 1433, 1444 and 1506. David II spent his birthday, 5 March, in his birthplace, Dunfermline, in 1342 and 1345, and in June 1368 was perhaps there to mark the obit. anniversary of his father [*ER*, i, 483; *RRS*, vi, no 86; *RMS*, i, no. 282]. James VI issued the first royal post-Reformation confirmation charter of Dunfermline burgh on 24 May 1588 [Henderson, *Annals*, 236].

[257] *Dunf. Reg*., nos 290-1.

[258] For example, Robert III (1390-1406), who, like his father, Robert II (1371-90), issued a surprising number of acts from Dunfermline (14 and 18 respectively), spent Easter 1391 [26 March] and October/November 1392 at Dunfermline, attended by a substantial court [*RMS*, i, nos 805, 816, 819, 825-6, 846, 855-6, 862, 864, 870-1]; on 7 June 1450, a jubilee year for the Margaret cult, James II granted the abbey lands to found to found a chaplainry [*RMS*, ii, no. 359]; and in 1509, perhaps during one of his wife's pregnancies, James IV stayed at the abbey about the Annunciation feast of the Virgin, a Sunday that year [R.L. Mackie ed., *The Letters of James IV, 1503-1513* (Edinburgh, 1953), no. 238].

[259] Bartlett ed., Miracles, Margaret no. 23 – 'a merchant came to the feast of the translation of St Margaret, as is the custom of merchants, in order to sell.' DCL&G, LR D/GEN [handwritten MS of Ebenezer Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*], 165, notes Dunfermline fairs on 1 March and 14 September as well: perhaps significantly these were thus St David [of Wales]'s day and the feast of the True Cross.

[260] Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, 215-16. One of Margaret's *miracula* asserts that 'the [Translation] feast of the blessed queen' [19 June] was also celebrated 'in veneration of all the saints whose relics are in the church' [Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, Margaret no. 5, p. 83]. About 1250x52 Dunfermline Abbey appointed new hereditary *dewars* or keepers of the relics, who were to pay the abbey a token every year on the Translation feast of St Margaret [*Dunf. Reg*., no. 234]. For dewars see G. Markus' fascinating article, 'Dewars and Relics in Scotland: some questions and clarifications', *IR*, 60 (2009), 95-114].

[261] For example, in addition to works already cited re England and France, and from a growing literature see: G. Klaniczay (trans. E. Palmai), *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, 2002), ch. 6; M.S. Andås, O. Ekroll, A. Haug and N.H. Petersen eds., *The Medieval Cathedral of Trondheim: Architectural and Ritual Reconstructions in their European Context* (Leiden, 2007); R. Costa-Gomes, 'The Royal Chapel in Iberia: Models, Contacts and Influence', *Medieval History*, 12, 1 (2009), 77-111; M.C.

antiquarian observations and the potential results of non-invasive survey techniques such as GPR, we can recreate cautiously significant elements of Dunfermline's lost Benedictine later-medieval choir. We can thus reimagine not only much of its developing architecture and religious settings and fittings, but crucially also some of the interplay of its institutional, dynastic, political and wider spiritual message, for varied monastic and lay audiences – from royalty, abbots and monks, down to the level of 'ordinary' burgh citizens or visiting pilgrims, the worried, thankful, sick and infirm.

This synthesis of evidence might seem to confirm, at first, the efforts of this leading Scottish monastery and the crown, most often working in concert, though at times (as c.1180) on their own, to emulate Plantagenet and Valois or other (rival?) major Scottish monastic churches as well as to embrace the Christocentric intensity of European faith.[262] Indeed, the continued importance of 'local' advocacy of Margaret's cult, both spiritual, institutional and political, is crucial.[263] The expansion of the Holy Trinity choir from the 1220s, culminating in Queen Margaret's canonisation in 1249, her new shrine and its neighbouring chapels to the Blessed Virgin and St John the Baptist, saw Dunfermline respond to wider, universal contemporary trends in monastic and lay worship. As such, the choir became the focus of a distinctly programmatic presentation and veneration of sacral Scottish monarchy alongside the Holy family and other carefully curated altars, relics and images. This process forged spaces and allied liturgy to echo and assert Scottish sovereignty as separate from and equal to the dynasty championed by the emerging cult centre and tombs surrounding Edward the Confessor at Benedictine Westminster Abbey.[264] In doing so, just as in their foreign policy, kings of Scots and their abbots of Dunfermline of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries not only drew on that English model but perhaps more heavily on that of similarly Benedictine/Trinitarian St

Gaposchkin (trans. with P.B. Katz), *Blessed Louis, the Most Glorious of Kings: Texts Relating to the Cult of Saint Louis of France* (Notre Dame, 2012); K. Kryger, 'The Danish Royal Tombs Project', in Penman ed., *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 45-54; B. Franzé, 'A Re-*Praesentatio* of Royal and Holy Bodies': the Monumental Tombs of Vienne Cathedral in their Liturgical Settings', in J. McNeill and R. Plant eds., *Romanesque Saints, Shrines and Pilgrimage* (BAA, Leeds, 2020), 15-25; P. Figurski, 'Sacramental Kingship, Modern Historiography versus Medieval Sources' and M.C. Gaposchkin, 'Liturgy and Kingship at the Sainte Chapelle', both in Figurski, J. Dale and P. Byttebier eds., *Political Liturgies in the High Middle Ages: Beyond the Legacy of Ernst H. Kantorowicz* (Turnhout, 2021), 25-60, 277-96; Y. Maurey, *Liturgy and Sequences of the Sainte-Chapelle: Music, Relics, and Sacral Kingship in Thirteenth-Century France* (Turnhout, 2022).

[262] E.g. Hallam, 'Royal burial and the cult of kingship in France and England, 1060-1330'; B. Brenk, 'The Sainte-Chapelle as a Capetian Political Program', in V.C. Raquin, K. Brush and P. Draper eds., *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings* (Toronto, 1995), 195-215; N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001); idem, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154-1272', in C. Morris and P. Roberts eds., *Pilgrimage: the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge, 2002), 12-45; idem, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary', in R.N. Swanson ed., *The Church and Mary* (Woodbridge, 2004), 126–46; M. Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy: Religious Architecture in Thirteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 2014).

[263] Keene, Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots, chs 8-9. And see now D. Ditchburn, 'Queen Margaret and Dunfermline: Cult, Court and Community', in S. Boardman and idem eds., *Kingship, Lordship and Sanctity in Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Alexander Grant* (Woodbridge, 2022), 259-84.

[264] Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*; D.A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult', *English Historical Review*, 122 (2007), 865–91; P. Tudor-Craig, 'The Iconography of Henry III's Abbey: A Note Towards Elucidation of Themes', and P. Binski and E. Guerry, 'Seats, Relics and the Rationale of Images in Westminster Abbey, Henry III to Edward II', in W. Rodwell and T. Tatton-Brown eds., *Westminster, Part I: The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey* (BAA, Leeds, 2016), 129-57 and 158-204.

Dénis and its successively re-presented French royal tombs, not least those fashioned for his own generation and ancestors by Louis IX, himself canonised in 1297.[265]

This legacy and tradition made Dunfermline Abbey's choir and tombs an obvious and potent political tool for Scottish elites during the Wars of independence from 1296, not least the violent and ambitious kingship of Robert Bruce. The latter may have been made further aware of the abbey's importance by his apparent exclusion from Edward I's invasion court when the English king wintered at Dunfermline from c.5 November 1303 to c.4 March 1304, observing Margaret's main feast (16 November) and gifting jewels to her shrine.[266]

However, we should not under-estimate the power of unplanned, organic and even intensely personal community and individual spiritual developments at Dunfermline, and of the response to these from Scottish elites in turn. Not least, from c.1070-c.1180 this involved what seems in large part to be, first, the continued emergence of Margaret as a true 'kind neighbour' and miraculous intercessory force in the everyday lives and labours of all Scots – pregnant women, monks, the sick, workmen, farmers, burgesses and nobles, thus not just kings engaged in internal dynastic struggle or war; and, second, the co-existence of Margaret's cult both within a trinity of royal saints alongside her husband and son, David I, and within a wider network or *familiae* of local and regional Scottish cults often with associated altars and relics within the abbey, and often dedicated to holy women.[267] Much of this was presented to the laity and to be engaged with in Dunfermline's older western nave which was also the burgh's parochial church; and many of these elements evolved into and engaged with key features of the extended eastern choir. Hence, we really cannot fully understand one half without the other.

As such, in what we can recreate of the choir c.1250-1560, and particularly for the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we surely find a unique blending of the spiritual and the political in Dunfermline's royal, monastic and parochial development. For Robert I and his generation and immediate successors, above all, Dunfermline's exceptional and intense collection of cults, altars, relics, tombs and connective liturgy represented surely the single most important religious site throughout the Wars of Independence and his dramatic reign, even more so than St Andrews Cathedral or the abbeys of Scone or Arbroath. In his identifiable worship at and patronage of Dunfermline, his frequent residences there after 1314 (and his rebuilding and enhancement of the refectory facilities), and in the carefully chosen final form and location of his own burial there alongside his predecessors (proclaimed symbolically during his visit there on 16 November 1314), Robert undeniably made a political statement and enhanced the legitimation of his seizure of power, his own familial succession and Scottish sovereignty. He was personally aware of Westminster models but, again, drew on St Dénis forms and craftsmen. Yet in doing so it seems that he, his queen and several of his close kin

[265] W.C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton, 1978); A. Walters, 'The Reconstruction of the Abbey Church at St-Dénis (1231-81): The Interplay of Music and Ceremony with Architecture and Politics', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 187-238; J. le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), Part I chs ii–iv, Part II chs ii–v, Part III chs ix–x; C.A. Bruzelius, *The 13th-Century Church at St-Dénis* (London and New Haven, 1986).

[266] E.W. Salford ed., *The Itinerary of Edward I, part II, 1291-1307* (London, 1976), 217-23; BL Add MS 8835, fols 121r, 122v; TNA E101/370/3, L.2, Inventory made at Burgh on Sands of plate, relics and other things in the wardrobe, 1306-7; *CDS*, iv, nos 486-7; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 76 and 352 n76.

[267] Bartlett ed., *Miracles*, pp. xxxix-xlvi; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (Cambridge, 1992), 161 ('kind neighbours'); A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), chs 9-11; Turpie, *Kind Neighbours*, 2-3; D. Ditchburn, 'The McRoberts' Thesis and Patterns of Sanctity in Late Medieval Scotland', in Boardman and Williamson eds., *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 177-94, at 180-5.

and counsel also acted on their genuine faith in God, Christ and particular saints as their intercessors in personal matters – pregnancy, birth, mourning loss, guilt, gratitude, illness and the fate of their own soul after death – as much as in matters of state. In this regard, Dunfermline Abbey and its lost choir might be argued to have represented a distinctively potent (Scottish?) fusion of cult, power and *memoria*, by no means a smaller-scale, cheap copy of Westminster.

Indeed, it was only with sustained and often violent disruption to the authority of the early Stewart kings from the 1380s – with Robert II's and Robert III's spheres of influence pushed further and further west by their own family – that Dunfermline Abbey began to wane as a focus of royal worship and burial.[268] The resurgent Stewart kings of the fifteenth century, the era which saw noble kindreds favour smaller family-only collegiate churches and mausolea, in turn looked elsewhere for singular, personalised burial grounds.[269] Ironically, this also heralded fresh attempts to intensify Scottish royal emulation of the contemporary English and French ruling dynasties by much more closely linking palaces and churches/mausolea at royal centres: thus Perth burgh/Perth Charterhouse for James I (1406-37), Edinburgh/Holyrood Abbey for James II (1437-60), and Stirling/Cambuskenneth Abbey for James III and IV (1460-88-1513), as echoes of London/Westminster and Paris/St Dénis.[270] Although Dunfermline's refectory accommodation would be further enhanced to serve as a palatial block by the late-fifteenth century, the abbey and burgh no longer featured on the royal itinerary in the same way.[271]

It may be possible to recreate similar rich and challenging architectural, patronal and spiritual histories for other major Scottish medieval churches by applying the interdisciplinary method outlined above. Indeed, recent reinterpretative work for Historic Environment Scotland on Elgin and Glasgow Cathedrals, St Andrews Cathedral Priory and Arbroath Abbey, has sought to integrate historical, antiquarian, archaeological, surveying and environmental evidence with an eye to recreating some aspects of the lost liturgical and spiritual history of these religious sites and their fittings, alongside their architectural form or institutional, personnel, estate and environmental narratives.[272] Recent work on Paisley Abbey, Whithorn Cathedral Priory and Coupar Angus Abbey, as well as emerging digital recreation projects exploring St Andrews Cathedral, Scone Abbey and Perth's Carthusian house, have also advanced integrative approaches in search of piety and liturgy: recent recreative work on Thomas Becket's

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[268] S. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996).

[269] H. Brown, 'Secular Colleges in Late Medieval Scotland', in C. Burgess ed., *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008), 44-66; R.D. Oram, 'Lay Religiosity, Piety, and Devotion in Scotland c.1300 to c.1450', *Florilegium*, 25 (2008), 95-126, at 107-8; E.J. Swarbrick, 'The medieval art and architecture of Scottish collegiate churches', PhD (University of St Andrews, 2017).

[270] Penman, 'A Programme for Royal Tombs in Scotland?', 250-3.

[271] J.G. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces: the Architecture of the Royal Residences during the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods* (East Linton, 1999), 87-94; A. Mackechnie, 'The royal palace of Dunfermline', in Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, 101-38.

[272] R. Fawcett and R.D. Oram, *Elgin Cathedral and the Diocese of Moray* (HES, 2015); T. Turpie, 'North-eastern Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary and the *Historia Gentis Scotorum* of Hector Boece: Liturgy, History and Religious Practice in Late Medieval Scotland', in J. Geddes ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in the Dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray* (British Archaeological Association, Leeds, 2016), 239-47. And see these and other scholars' contributions to the updated HES Statements of Significance for each of: 'Glasgow Cathedral' (2019) at file:///C:/Users/mp1/Downloads/glasgow-cathedral-sos.pdf; 'St Andrews Cathedral and St Mary's Church, Kirkheugh' (2019) at file:///C:/Users/mp1/Downloads/st-andrews-cathedral-sos.pdf; 'Arbroath Abbey and Abbot's house' (2018) at file:///C:/Users/mp1/Downloads/arbroath-abbey-and-abbots-house-sos.pdf; and 'Dunfermline Abbey Nave and Palace' (2017) at file:///C:/Users/mp1/Downloads/dunfermline-abbey-sos.pdf. My thanks also to Richard Oram for early access to his HES-commissioned study of Restenneth Priory, Angus.

Canterbury shrine also provides an ambitious model for such research and heritage.[273] Nevertheless, the evidence even for these great places of worship and interment arguably falls short of the intricacy, depth and poignancy of Dunfermline's religious life as a royal cult and burial chapel, monastic house and parish church.

[273] J. Malden ed, *The Monastery and Abbey of Paisley* (Renfrew, 2000); Lowe et al eds., *Clothing for the Soul Divine: Burials at the Tomb of St Ninian*; V.A. Hodgson, 'The Cistercian Abbey of Coupar Angus, c.1164-c.1560', PhD (University of Stirling, 2016), ch. 3; O. O'Grady, R. Fawcett, R.D. Oram and Computing Science colleagues from the University of St Andrews, Open Virtual World recreations of St Andrews Cathedral [https://blogs.cs.st-andrews.ac.uk/openvirtualworlds/reconstructions/st-andrews-cathedral/] and Scone Abbey [https://www.openvirtualworlds.org/scone-abbey/]; The Perth Charterhouse project [http://www.kingjames1ofscotland.co.uk/]; Visiting the cathedral | The Becket Story; J. Jenkins 'Modelling the Cult of Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 173 (2020), 100-23.

iii. 5. The 1818-19 'Bruce grave' – an alternative narrative?

Our radar survey of 2017 was not able to probe directly or fully beneath the brass plaque placed in 1889 atop the site of the 'Bruce grave', since radio-waves do not penetrate metal. Our scan of the immediate vicinity of this grave space returned one possible burial to the immediate south but this was more likely a collapsed structure or spoil relating to the disturbance of this central grave in 1819 [Fig 38]. The inspection party of 5 November 1819 was recorded as having broken down the stone-lined crypt walls to access the lead-shrouded skeleton and then to have built in their place a brick-lined vault with an arched top and secondary brick surround: the skeleton was sealed and 'protected' within a new coffin with 50 gallons of poured pitch.[274]

The recent University of Glasgow facial reconstruction project has carefully sifted through the several evidential 'tokens' cited by the officials and commentators of 1818-19 as to the firm identification of the grave's incumbent as Robert Bruce. These markers included its location, its cut sternum and the pathology of the skull as cast and copied, as well as the 'false proofs' of a reported lead crown which vanished between discovery and inspection, and a hoax second coffin name-plate.[275]

However, reliance upon medieval chronicle language and the liturgical logic of a box tomb (which was not to serve as a shrine for veneration) with subsurface burial so close to the choir's high altar for a non-saintly lay figure have been brought into question in the discussion above. Moreover, Iain Fraser's recreation of Bruce's St Dénis-style tomb makes it clear his body would have originally been interred in 1329 *inside* his marble tomb, not beneath the floor. Similarly, the positive identification of the skeleton as belonging to Bruce because of its heart removal (in a crude non-royal manner) and possible bone-traces of leprosy is also debatable.[276]

The Glasgow project's receipt in 2019 of fragments of bone preserved in a presentation box with a glass dome and labelled as having been removed from the Bruce grave in Dunfermline Abbey in 1819 may allow DNA linkage and carbon-dating to resolve these issues of pathology and identification.[277] But, for the moment, there remain two further markers hitherto neglected by both the Georgian eyewitnesses and subsequent scholars who considered these remains and the potential liturgical meaning of their location:

- the lead coffin shrouding the skeleton and
- the stone-lined crypt itself.

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[274] Jardine, *Report*, 32-44. It is perhaps this secondary brick wall which is visible at the end of the cellar crawl space shaft off the central Abbey Church boiler room. Spilt pitch was reportedly taken away as a keepsake, too, by local boys participating in 1819 torchlight dawn processions in honour of Bruce [*A Memoir of the Late Ebenezer Henderson, Astronomer and Antiquarian, by his Niece* (Edinburgh, 1909), 20-1].

[275] MacGregor and Wilkinson, 'In Search of Robert the Bruce, Part II', 164-6.

[276] Contra the University of Glasgow project, in 2017 a Western University, Michigan, collaboration between a forensic sculptor and a bio-archaeologist argued that the cast skull and finger-bones removed from the 'Bruce grave' in 1819 pointed to this skeleton *not* having leprosy (non-spatulate finger bones, lack of rounded nasal cavities etc): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bEGaOUtzxvI; https://mediarelations.uwo.ca/2017/02/16/western-researcher-forensic-sculptor-reject-scottish-king-roberts-leprosy-label/ , accessed 5/2/20.

[277] *Scotsman*, 22 July 2019. To lay down a clear marker here, although this DNA and carbon-dating may indeed confirm the skeleton and allied material as that of (or of the period of) Robert Bruce, this cannot necessarily be taken – given the high level of disruption to the site c.1560-c.1818 - as definitive proof of the 1818 crypt as the original site of Robert's tomb or, most importantly to our purpose here, of its relationship with the other tombs and liturgical spaces of the choir as a whole.

It is argued here that these two pieces of evidence might allow an alternative later sixteenth-century narrative to be cautiously reconstructed for the 1818 'Bruce grave', effectively removing it from any discussion of the late-medieval, pre-1560 layout and liturgy of Dunfermline abbey choir.

The lead shroud, as described and illustrated in Henry Jardine's Remembrancer's report, published in 1821/2, is clearly *anthropomorphic* in nature with a visible moulded head, shoulders, arms, legs and even feet [Fig 113].

Fig 113: Lead-shrouded skeleton in the Bruce grave depicted in Henry Jardine's Remembrancer's report (1821/2).

The latter feature especially argues for a sixteenth or even seventeenth century date for this material evidence.[278] It is reminiscent of the lead coffin recorded for the burial of James VI in Westminster Abbey in 1625, alongside the lead-shrouded bodies of Henry VII (d.1509) and Elizabeth of York (d.1503) [Fig114 ii.].

[278] Our thanks to Richard Fawcett for first suggesting this line of inquiry; to Roberta Gilchrist for e-mail communication on lead shroud dating/shapes; and to David Caldwell for highlighting his study of early modern noble burials in Haddington with similar features ['A Group of Post-Mediaeval Noble Burials at Haddington', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists Society*, xv (1976), 25-38].

Fig 114 i.-ii.: Stone-lined crypts and (increasingly) anthropomorphic lead coffins of i. left - Edward IV (d.1483) in St George's Chapel, Windsor, after Henry Emlyn; ii. right – James VI (d. 1625), Henry VII (d.1509) and Elizabeth of York (d. 1503), Westminster Abbey.

By contrast, fourteenth-century lead coffins were more usually simple pellets with only a faint human form [Fig 115 i.-iii.]. These were formed by a single sheet of lead being placed under the body and then shaped up roughly around its underside to meet a flat second piece of lead placed on top.[279] Such lead coffins could be interred within stone-lined graves below a pavement or within the supra-surface boxes of free-standing monuments or wall tombs. It may have been one such earlier medieval lead shroud which the Elgin party encountered in uncovering the elite 'double' burial with its female remains in the north-east choir corner in 1776.[280] Our GPR scans may also have pinpointed two or three further possible lead shrouds in the north aisle and retro-choir areas.

[279] R. Gilchrist and B. Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London, 2005), 117-18.
[280] Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, i, 151-4.

Fig 115 i.-iii.: Examples of fourteenth-century elite lead coffins, two-sheet pellet style. i. 'St Bees Man', Cumbria, excavated in 1981, identified as Sir Antony de Lucy (d.1368); ii. A box-tomb example from Much Marcle (Herefordshire), for Blanche Mortimer (d.1347), which thus lies above the pavement; iii. a fourteenth-century coffin excavated alongside the remains of Richard III from Greyfriars, Leicester, in 2012. Further fourteenth-century examples have also been unearthed recently during repair work at Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris: see *The Guardian*, 9 December 2022.

Of course, the 'Bruce grave' could have been disturbed before 1818, perhaps on more than one occasion. Therefore this later anthropomorphic lead shroud may simply be a late-medieval or, really, an early-modern repackaging of a medieval burial following the kind of inspection which often took place in the later middle ages (especially if the occupant of the grave might be regarded as saintly with valuable relics to harvest during a translation).[281] It is striking, after all, that in 1819 eye-witnesses Deputy Remembrancer Jardine and Rev. Chalmers both describe the lead-encased body as having been 'covered with a robe or shroud of cloth of gold.'[282] That is, this seemingly early-modern feature was in fact wrapped in turn *inside* what seems a medieval cloth element, although we should also acknowledge that there were other reports that this cloth may have been twined around the skull as if to create a make-shift crown.[283]

[281] J.N. Crangle, 'A Study of Post-Depositional Funerary Practices in Medieval England', PhD (University of Sheffield, 2015), 21-3, 129, 261.
[282] Jardine, *Report*, 38-9; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, i, 143.
[283] Anon., 'Reminiscences of the opening of the Grave of King Robert the Bruce (By One Who Was Present)', in DCL&G *Folio of Oddities* (4 volumes, 1836-77), i, np, cutting from *Saturday Press*, 2/3/1867. It should be noted, however, that an inspection of Henry III's (oft disturbed?) tomb in 1871 revealed an ornate cloth of gold covering his interior oak coffin [A.P. Stanley, 'On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II and Henry III in Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia*, 45 (1880), 309-27, at 319].

However, when combined with possible reinterpretation of the stone crypt evidence the later dating of the lead takes on a cumulative effect, all the more so when added to the liturgical improbability of a late-medieval royal burial being placed so close to the thirteenth-century high altar in this long-established cult church.

What is striking about the stone-lined two-tier crypt and its damaged two-slab lid - as also described, measured and illustrated by Jardine - is how awkward and rough it seems. This is not least the case in contrast to the rather more accomplished and curved 1776 double-burial crypt in the choir's north-east corner also discussed by Jardine and illustrated on his version of Burn's ground-plan. The latter is more reminiscent of the deeper, neat ashlar-lined and arched crypts recorded for England's Edward IV [Fig 114 i.] who died in 1483 and was interred in lead atop the oak coffin of his queen in St George's Chapel, Windsor (discovered by antiquarians in 1789), and, again, at Westminster for Henry VII and James VI and I [Fig 114 ii.].[284]

Not only does the 1818 'Bruce grave' slot include a rather crude rectangular smaller box-below-a-larger box, dropping down through two levels both only approximately 18" in depth; but it is thus markedly shallow at just 3' in depth overall, and its component wall-stones seem much rougher, although they are described by Jardine as 'polished'. In some ways it is reminiscent of the grave of St Cuthbert at Benedictine Durham as investigated in 1827 and 1899 and which had three lower tiers of chamfered 'local stone': however, that grave cut was also 5' in depth in total and embellished with richer material including a Purbeck marble upper interior rim and a single blue marble slab lid.[285] Besides, the Dunfermline crypt walls are made up of individual foot square blocks each with, as reported in 1819, a visible mason's mark [Fig 116] although Jardine did not specify if there was more than one different mark, nor did he record it/them. The crypt's floor slabs were also seen in 1819 to be badly cracked with a fissure at least 2" wide *beneath* the lead skeleton and with the burial space's east end indistinctly rounded, perhaps damaged.[286]

[284] R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain* (2 volumes, London, 1786-96), ii, 278-81; M. Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, 2003), 255-9 288-9; https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/james-i-and-anne-of-denmark; https://www.rct.uk/collection/700710/tomb-of-edward-iv .

[285] J.T. Fowler, 'On an examination of the Grave of St Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral Church in March 1899', *Archaeolgia*, 57.1 (1900), 11-28, at 13-14.

[286] Jardine, *Report*, 32-4. Shakespeare's pavement grave of 1616 in Stratford is also less than a metre deep.

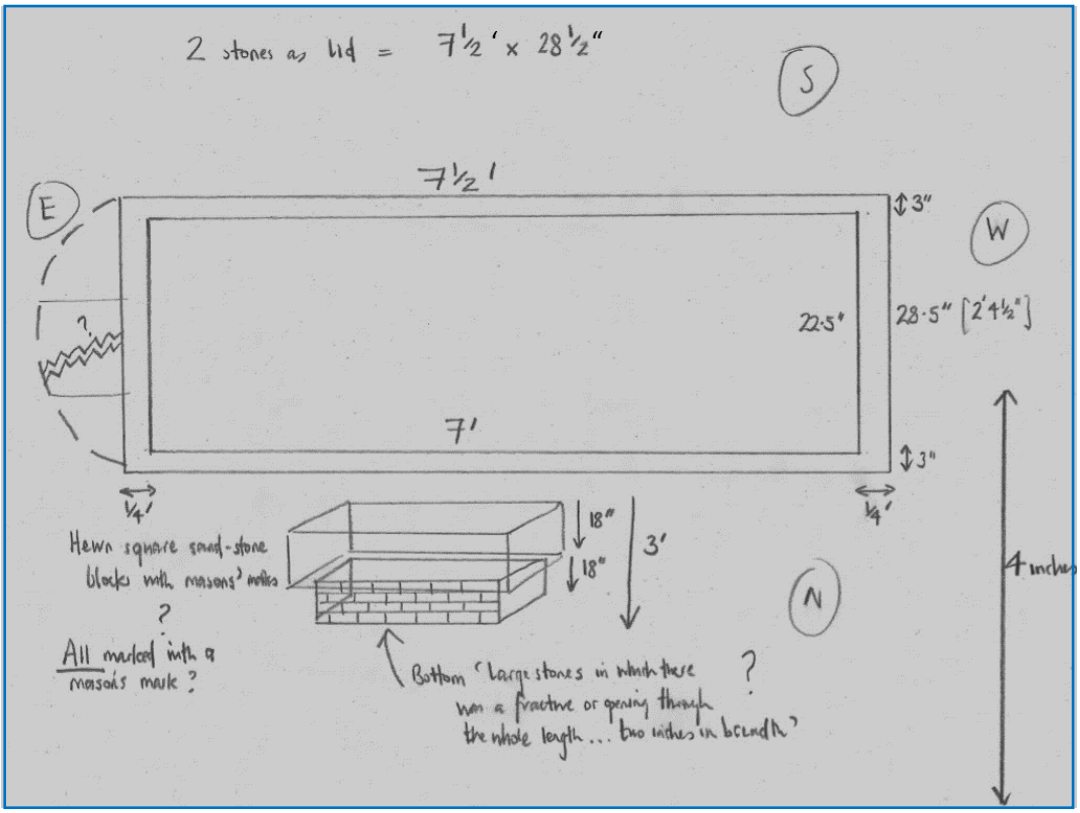

Fig 116: Recreation of form/dimensions of 'Bruce grave' crypt, from Jardine's Remembrancer's report (1821/2).

High quality later-medieval tombs from c.1300 onwards, including their subsurface crypt spaces and arched roofs, were more usually the work of a single skilled mason or workshop working to commission, thus they need only bear one discreet mason's mark on one stone or none at all, leaving visible surfaces otherwise unmarked for smoothing.[287] Yet what is recorded and illustrated for the 'Bruce grave' – with a (different?) mason's mark on every stone - bears rather more the characteristics of an improvised grave perhaps dug and constructed in haste (or a much more modest structure for someone of a lower social caste). This may have reused basic building materials originally quarried and shaped up by (a) workaday mason(s) for piecemeal rates and for a much more prosaic purpose such as cellar walls, but now collapsed and found readily to hand [Fig 117].

[287] See the Church Monument Society's discussion of the tomb of Sir William Schaw (d.1602), James VI's Master of Works, buried at Dunfermline Abbey (where his tomb now stands in the nave), who had drawn up statutes regulating masons' work [https://churchmonumentssociety.org/monument-of-the-month/the-schaw-monument-dunfermline-abbey-church]: 'Medieval tombs, with the notable exception of those made by a Cathedral works department for monuments erected within the building, are very rarely marked by the masons who made them. Tombs were either costed as single objects, or the different elements of more complex ones were provided by a series of contractors and these removed the need to identify work for a paymaster.' See also J.S. Richardson, *The Medieval Stone Carver in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1964), 23-47; *ODNB* entry for Schaw by D. Stevenson (2004); and J. Alexander, 'The Introduction and Use of Masons' Marks in Romanesque Buildings in England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51 (2007), 63-81, and at https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/arthistory/staff/ja/research/masonsmarks/ .

Fig 117: Excavation of the refectory of Dunfermline abbey in 1900. Was such a domestic, non-sacred structure a possible source of stones for an improvised crypt for the 'Bruce grave' c.1560-82?

The 1818 'Bruce grave' crypt construction was thus perhaps work undertaken by a small number of men not skilled at such a trade, perhaps working under pressure of time or only having such expert assistance intermittently. Even the presence of the six iron rings in one of the upper slabs covering this burial vault [Fig 11] may suggest improvised interment in sacred space which had only recently fallen out of use for community liturgy.

Is the 1818 grave, then, a post-1560 rescue burial? The systematic destruction of the Reformation, with the saintly and tomb images smashed and the choir roof reportedly collapsed by 1563, perhaps meant that the bodily remains of several Scottish royals, originally interred not under the pavement but *inside* the decorated stone boxes of their tombs (as Dalyell suggested in 1809 and was typical of Bruce's St Dénis-style tomb recreated for HES by Iain Fraser), were suddenly exposed and had to be made secure. This scenario might still seem to fit most readily with the tomb and remains of Robert Bruce. He may thus have been buried at first *within* his box tomb rather than beneath it, mirroring the style of contemporary Capetian and Plantagenet kings, not least one whose monument the young Robert himself would surely have seen at Westminster, Henry III, as well as that of his son, Edward I (whose tomb Bruce would only have heard about), both of whose oak coffins rested on a bed of rubble within their monumental boxes not beneath the pavement.[288] Bruce's marble box-tomb - perhaps positioned as suggested above, to the centre-north of the choir's paved presbytery or bounding the Lady aisle - could easily have been smashed by the iconoclasts or the collapsing choir roof in 1560-

[288] Jessica Barker, 'Stone and Bone: the Corpse, the Effigy and the Viewer in Late-Medieval Tomb Sculpture', in Ann Adams and Barker eds., *Revisiting the Monument: Fifty Years Since Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture* (London, 2016), 113-36, at 118-19; Redwell and Neal eds., *The Cosmatesque Pavements and Tombs of Westminster Abbey*, ii, ch. 12; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 20.

3 and the internal coffin(s) and his remains exposed.[289] In 1580, indeed, the Synod of Fife of the Protestant Kirk of Scotland heard complaints that:

> *'*a few Benedictines of Dunfermline, with doors bolted and barred, kept watch in their choir by the shrines of St Margaret and St David, and the sepulchres of Bruce and Randolph…'[290]

In the following year the Scottish Parliament would move to confirm the changes of the Reformation and to enforce prohibition and punishment of the 'dregs of idolatry [which] 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.'[291]

After 1560, as local men, intimately involved with the burgh, displaced monks of Dunfermline might quite naturally have sought to preserve some of the meaning and materials of past centuries of veneration and investment, from guild altars to royal relics. In acting thus, they may have attracted sympathy from some in the burgh community. Several monks remained in Abbey accommodation after 1560, gifted garden plots and pensions during the dissolution of Abbey property under the post-reformation Commendatorship and a new secular lordship of Dunfermline. By c.1586, however, these monks were reported to have vacated the ruined choir with the last of their number recorded as dying of old age in an adjacent 'cell', still a Catholic, in 1600.[292]

Patron families and monastic communities often acted to save and translate important medieval burials and/or tombs in the wake of the English Reformation.[293] The key question for Dunfermline Abbey, however, is if the central 1818 grave may be something of a 'rescue' burial in the aftermath of Scotland's Reformation, whose remains did the few lingering monks deem the most important to preserve? There is contemporary written testimony that in 1560 monks removed relics of Margaret (including her skull) and Malcolm to the Catholic continent

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[289] The choir of St Dénis lay above a massive, older under-crypt, hence many royal bodies were interred within their marble boxes.

[290] Billings and Burn, 'The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland: Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals', 148-9; C. Eyre, *The History of St Cuthbert: or an Account of his Life, Disease and Miracles* (London, 1849), 332; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account*, ii, 271; Henderson, *Annals*, 222. This was at a time when the General Assembly heard fears that 'sundrie apostates are returned within the country and are spred in diverse provinces…' [*Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland from the Year MDLX, Volume II 1578-92* (Edinburgh, 1840), 25 October 1580 at Edinburgh, Session 13, p. 469]. The 1580 complaint also suggests Bruce's and Randolph's 'sepulchres' were perhaps equated with each other, surely as they were both Paris-bought marble box tombs?

[291] *RPS*, 1581/10/25.

[292] Billings and Burn, 'The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland: Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals', 148-9; DCL&G LR D/GEN hand-written MS of Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*, 164, 189 (but, again, neither of these points is noted in Henderson's published *Annals*, 252-5).

[293] P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), 86-90. See also V. Harding, 'Choices and Change: Death, Burial and the English Reformation' and R. Gilchrist, "Dust to Dust': Revealing the Reformation Dead', in D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist eds., *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003), 386-98, 399-414; S. Matich and J.S. Alexander, 'Creating and recreating the Yorkist tombs in Fotheringhay church (Northamptonshire)', *Church Monuments*, xxvi (2011), 82-150; A. Jameson, 'History, Memory and the English Reformation', *Historical Journal*, 55, 4 (2012), 899-938.

(via Edinburgh Castle): some, including Margaret's head, would make their way to the Scots College at Douai, France, and to Philip II of Spain's great relic collection at the Escorial, Madrid.[294] But no similar mention is made of the remains of St/King David I at that time. Might his bodily relics have thus been placed under heavy slabs, those too hidden under debris, in front of the smashed Trinity high altar of the abbey he had founded? Hence some attempt, too, at a royal dignity – a cloth of gold shroud and basic (lead?) coronet – and an oak outer coffin, transferred from his smashed shrine and which perhaps echoed St Cuthbert's feretory (re-)interment beneath the floor at Durham or St Edward the Confessor's great chambered box shrine at Westminster.[295] The young adult burial disturbed in 1450 at Dunfermline (discussed above) and believed by contemporaries to belong to the St Margaret-David I era was reportedly encased in similar simple stone, wood and cloth shrouds, without further muniments, and was seemingly a pavement burial without monument later overbuilt by an interior wall.[296]

Or is it more likely that David I's remains had always lain below ground and were thus not exposed in 1560? Was it the case by 1560-80, that from a secular as well as a religious viewpoint, it was felt that Bruce was the most important figure to be saved for posterity given the continuity of Scottish monarchy and sovereignty despite the recent religious upheavals? Bruce, too, may then have been reburied, now below ground, but without the usual grave goods we might expect of a fourteenth-century royal burial as these had been looted in 1560 (or had been found by subsequent treasure-seekers). In that regard, if the 1818 discovery was Bruce's grave it was but a pale shadow of its former self, out of position and lacking sceptre, crown, sword, rings, robes etc, as found with Edward I's remains when inspected *inside his monumental box* in Westminster Abbey in 1774 [Fig 118].[297]

Fig 118: The tomb and remains of Edward I (1272-1307) as investigated by antiquarians at Westminster in 1774 and drawn by William Blake.

[294] NLS Adv. MS 34.1.8 [Richard Augustine Hay's *Scotia Sacra* (Paris, 1700)], f. 327-9; Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, 133-4, which also notes the loss of dispersed Margaret relics held at Westminster, Windsor, Coldingham/Durham and Worcester. For the return of a piece of Margaret's shoulder bone from the Escorial to Edinburgh in 1862 to the Catholic church in Dunfermline in 2016 see https://stmargaretsdunfermline.co.uk/relic/.
[295] Hunt, 'The Shrine of St Cuthbert'; Fowler, 'On an examination of the Grave of St Cuthbert in Durham', 13-14, 17-19; Rodwell and Neal eds., *The Cosmatesque Mosaics of Westminster Abbey*, ii, 410-15.
[296] 'Auchinleck Chronicle', ff. 122v-123r, appendix 2 from McGladdery, *James II*, 172.
[297] J. Ayloffe, 'An Account of the Body of King Edward the First, as it appeared on opening his Tomb in the Year 1774,' *Archaeologia*, 3 (1775), pp. 376-413. Edward I's body within his marble sarcophagus was found to be interred within a secondary oak coffin lined in lead and his body shrouded in waxed linen. Edward I had also ordered his heart to be taken to the Holy land by 140 knights, another act Robert Bruce emulated.

We should therefore be open to the possibility that although the 1818 skeleton and grave may indeed be that of a medieval king of Scots, its chosen location, stone crypt and lead shroud may be a post-Reformation intrusion. It may thus distort our understanding of the liturgical layout of the Abbey choir c.1250-c.1560 reconstructed using the extant written and material evidence in combination with our GPR survey results. Alternatively, it may transpire that even this reassessment is in part incorrect. The 1818 grave and skeleton – shrouded in early modern lead and devoid as it is of significant grave goods, but also with signs of the body package having been contained within a (modest?) oak coffin – may in fact be a later 'Psalter' churchyard burial, perhaps of a Presbyterian burgess or laird keen to associate with Scotland's historic royalty making use of medieval relics abandoned within the shell of the choir (with an upper 'room' left in the burial chamber for his wife?). This might also explain the cut sternum for heart (but not viscera) removal, while the skull pathology may point to ailments common right down to the modern era such as tuberculosis, syphilis or even a cancer, rather than leprosy.[298]

This famous grave may then have been disturbed in turn, perhaps more than once. This could all too easily have occurred at the hands of 'drunken' Cromwellian troops 1654-5 who were challenged by the burgh Provost for digging in the ruined choir and buying stones from locals, as well as further breaking the 'glaising' of the abbey buildings. This was at the close of an era when the crown's Master of Works had paid for some repairs to Dunfermline's palace block but the church (really the parish church in the nave) was lamented as requiring urgent attention.[299] Or it may have been the work of unnoticed generations of antiquarians and treasure hunters, or of the public auction by 'roup' to bargain-hunting local masons of the collapsed tower stones piled up within the choir's east-end, most notably in 1752-3 (the same year as the medieval burgh ports, tolbooth, and mercat cross were dismantled along with the monks' dormitories) and again in 1807.[300]

If so, this grave was lost to local memory over time, only to be unearthed at a moment ripe for misinterpretation.[301] Just as medieval monastic communities could carefully design and impose new memories of cult and miracle upon local communities through text, liturgy and materiality, so later audiences could have a ready if unwitting hand in recasting the afterlife memory and interpretation of a site, saint and relics.[302] All of this underscores the dangers of expecting to always be able to find a logical liturgical or patronal order in the development of such a

[298] Kaufman and MacLennan, 'King Robert the Bruce and leprosy,' 75-80; Kaufman, 'Analysis of the skull of Robert the Bruce,' 22-30.

[299] NLS MS. 3477 Notebook by the Very Reverend John Lee from ecclesiastical records, Dunfermline, 1640-88, f. 44-5; NLS MS. 14728 Hays of Yester – Master of Works extracts, f.87 'A compt of the money debursit in reparacione of the abbey of Dunfermline' for 1654 totalling £228 3s 4d; Henderson, *Annals*, 326-7, 329, 330; S. Mowat, *Fire, Foe and Finance: Dunfermline, 1600-1700* (Dunfermline, 2014), ch. 6 'The Kirk – Fabric and Graveyard'. Some of these incidents also appear in A. Shearer ed., *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Dunfermline in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Dunfermline, 1951).

[300] NRS CH2/592/5/425 [Nov. 1733]; NRS HR159/1/28-30, 40, 48 and 52 ['Articles of Roup' and 48 bids, 1752-3], 56, 88; NRS H159/2/186 [1807]; Henderson, *Annals*, 461-2, 465, 561-2. In 1660 the kirkyard was reportedly drained of its 'swamp'; perhaps this had exposed further medieval stone and features for (unrecorded) investigation; in 1672 winds reportedly blew down more of the choir and Lady Chapel ruins.

[301] In 1855 Henderson would similarly reflect of the six slab, north aisle site that 'never did tradition commit a more serious error' [*Royal Tombs of Dunfermline*, 1-5].

[302] Whitehead, 'A Scottish or English Saint?', 8-9. And see now the fascinating R. Glichrist, *Sacred Heritage: Monastic Archaeology, Identities, Beliefs* (Cambridge, 2020).

complex church.[303] More importantly, it also underlines the necessity at Dunfermline of trying to take some account of the huge impact of the period 1560-1818 on the medieval ruins of the choir.

This may itself be something of an ambivalent conclusion or narrative, even anti-climactic. Nevertheless, it is one that very much echoes the long and complex history of this site and the paucity of the surviving evidence. In that regard, Dunfermline and its remarkable medieval abbey continue to represent a palimpsest of Scottish royal, religious and urban history.

[303] A warning wisely cast by P. Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (London and New Haven, 2004), pp. xi-xiii, which, of course, might be rebounded upon our attempt here to make liturgical sense of Dunfermline Abbey.

iv. Future Research

Our 2016-22 GPR surveys have raised many possibilities for reinterpretation of Dunfermline Abbey and its lost choir. Yet they have also raised many additional questions and some of the evidence identified is, admittedly, just as open to divergent interpretation as the medieval and antiquarian data. Nonetheless, in this context it is to be hoped that GPR scans of further sections of the abbey might be undertaken as part of future inter-disciplinary research and interpretation of this historic property in care. The emerging collaboration of Dunfermline Abbey Church Kirk Session, Historic Environment Scotland, and Fife Council/Cultural Trust, in the context of the Dunfermline Heritage Partnership, the Fife Pilgrim Way (2019-), and the allied *Heart of Dunfermline* and *Dunfermline Graveyards* projects, could ideally include further GPR scans of the interior and exterior of the Abbey Church.

The emerging 2022-23 Church of Scotland *Presbytery Plan*, which at Dunfermline does include scope for the replacement with flexible seating of the remaining Abbey church pews fixed to the modern rafted floor above the level/remains of the medieval central monks' choir and presbytery, may facilitate this research.[304] This would allow testing of some of the theories discussed above. For example, exploring the western end of the northern Lady aisle; or, perhaps most important of all, further exploration of the northern-central section of the overbuilt choir, the paved 'presbytery' - not least the general area south-west of the traditionary six slabs reported by locals to John Graham Dalyell in 1807 as a possible location for the tomb of Robert Bruce. Could sub-surface traces of the burials of earlier monarchs such as David I and Malcolm IV remain to be found in the central choir presbytery (currently still under fixed pews)? Does Robert Bruce himself – or the base of his marble box-sepulchre - remain to be found in an adjacent northern choir location? Or might further evidence of burial translations and destruction in the choir be found for all these figures (and more)? Similarly, can further GPR resolve the issue of how the west-ends of the Lady and St John Chapels joined or stood apart from the central nave-choir crossing?

However, GPR surveying and parallel reassessment of the historical evidence could also be extended to include investigation of the western nave as a site of royal burial up to the twelfth century. This could facilitate testing of the University of Glasgow's compelling tradition of original 'choir' burials before the high Trinity altar. A detailed survey might also be made beneath the ground around the far eastern ruins of the St Margaret feretory and its host chapel. Further exterior GPR might also facilitate cautious archaeological excavation in these areas in the future, revealing evidence for both medieval and post-Reformation burial practices.

The great value of our GPR findings and their interpretation lies in the potential light they throw on the evolving choir and liturgy of Dunfermline Abbey as a whole and, crucially, *over time*. This has shifted analysis away from the focus of the (often ambivalent) medieval chronicles and antiquarian sources upon just one or two figures (especially Bruce), dates and/or elements. In embracing this multi-disciplinary approach, important new evidence for reframing, questioning and understanding the development of Dunfermline as a monastic cult site and mausoleum of major historical importance may be brought to light. Dunfermline Abbey may thus be far better understood and presented as Scotland's Westminster or St Dénis; at the same time, important liturgical, material, ceremonial and iconographic differences between these dynastic churches may also be more sharply delineated – Dunfermline may thus

[304] Presbytery Planning | The Church of Scotland (Nov/Dec 2022).

reveal unique spiritual features. It might also be possible to continue to combine the record, material and survey evidence to recreate the physical and liturgical spaces of Dunfermline Abbey using emerging digital technologies.

One crucial advantage of 3-D digital media over 2-D visual recreation would be the ability to show, compare and debate the various possible permutations which the evidence might support (a process highlighted by early HES recreation drawings based in part on the GPR results), updating them as and when new data came to light, and thus furthering interpretation and understanding of this fascinating and challenging site. Layered digital representations, combined with artistic skill, would also allow us to avoid reimagining the evolving choir as too neat and regulated: this was surely a sequence of complex inter-related liturgical spaces and features, at times cluttered, asymmetrical, reworked and even forgotten.

These are also, of course, methodologies which could be deployed at many other historic churches across Scotland, enabling full cultural biographies of these sites and their spiritual associations.

Appendix: transcript of Ebenezer Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, original MS, DCL&G, LR D/GEN, inserted between pp. 60-1.

The High Altar of Dunfermline Abbey, 1250-1650, situated in the eastern church.

1st or lower step seems to have been 11 feet long, 15 inches broad, 10 inches deep.
2nd or middle step seems to have been 9 feet long, 15 inches broad, 10 inches deep.
3rd or top step seems to have been 7½ feet long, 15 inches broad, 10 inches deep.
4th or High Altar Stone seems to have been 5½ feet long, 3½ feet wide, 12 inches deep.

Centre of High Altar Stone from old east wall 4 feet.
Centre of High Altar from circular columns on each side 10 feet.
Centre of High Altar from present east wall 10½ feet.
Centre of High Altar from present columns 17½ feet.

The lower step of present pulpit stair rests nearly on the site of the centre of the High Altar erected in Dunfermline eastern church in 1250.

Note – Mr John Baine Engineer was in Dunfermline in May and June 1790 taking measurements of the ruins and making sketches – he makes one or two allusions to the High Altar and its steps – but appears to speak from memory in one of his notes – for he says 'the measures are rather indistinct for recollection now 10 years ago' which shows that he made this note in 1800 but from various measures and other circumstances being compared with the original ground plan of the Abbey, the above measures may be taken as exact as can now be had. EH June 1853.

Centre of High Altar was 33 feet west of centre of St Margaret's tomb.
Centre of High Altar was 21 feet east of head of the Bruce tomb.
Centre of High Altar was 84 feet east of centre of the Great Lantern.
Centre of High Altar was 110 feet east from west wall of the organ.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

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MS.92 Psalter of Richard Bothwell, Abbot of Dunfermline

British Library, London

Add MS 8835 Sloane collection

Harley MS 4664 *The Coldingham Breviary* [digitised online at https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_4664]

Dunfermline Carnegie Library & Gallery

4/PAT, Sir Noel Paton, *Private catalogue of armour, weapons and other objects of antiquity in the collection of same* (private print run of 200, Edinburgh, 1879)

Dec/ABB Pamphlet Box 5, *Correspondence re. building of Dunfermline Abbey Church.*

D/VIEWS, John Baine, engineer, *Sketches to illustrate the Ruins of Dunfermline, being a supplement to the Fourteen large views of these ruins taken in May and June 1790*

LR D/GEN, handwritten MS of Ebenezer Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline* (1879)

Warning by the Presbytery of Dunfermline to the People under their Charge (29 Jan. 1793)

Edinburgh University Library Special Collections

Coll-244 Papers of Sir John Graham Dalyell (1775-1851),
GEN 350-389, 'Antiquarian' notebooks

La.IV.17 f.4510-f.4592, 46 letters from Ebenezer Henderson to David Laing 1852-78

Historic Environment Scotland - Dunfermline Abbey and Palace

DNF/cn/3a-b - Coffin fragments

DNF/cc/1; /cs/7; /cb/1, 2, 4, 12; /cs/6 and 8a-b (with ironwork), 9; /cb/3, 5; /cc/2; /cs/2, 4 – Column fragments

DNF/x/2 - Fragment of a heraldic lion

Historic Environment Scotland, Edinburgh

CANMORE, DP 171426-171580, fragments of marble from Bruce tomb, Dunfermline

Abbey

CANMORE, FID 89/3 to 22, William Burn's architectural plans for Dunfermline Abbey Church (1816-17)

CANMORE, SC 1573934 William Burn's architectural plan for Dunfermline Abbey Church foundations (horizontal) (1816-17)

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh – see also online listings below

Acc. 9133/17 (c.58) letters of E. Henderson to J. Neil Paton 1852-74 [Folder i. 1852-67, ii. 1867-74], plus records and sketches

Adv. MS 34.1.8, Richard Augustine Hay's *Scotia Sacra* (Paris, 1700)

Adv. MS.34.1.3A Dunfermline Abbey Register

MS. 3477 Notebook by the Very Reverend John Lee from ecclesiastical records, Dunfermline, 1640-88

MS. 14728 Hays of Yester – Master of Works extracts

National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

H.KG 65 to 75 Tomb Fragments, Dunfermline Abbey

H.KJ 2, 138, 148-9 – Cloth of Gold fragments, Dunfermline Abbey

H.KJ 3 and 3.1 medieval stained glass fragments (14th century), Dunfermline Abbey

H.KJ 55 iron nails from tombs, Dunfermline Abbey

H.L.R 4-6 medieval floor tiles, Dunfermline Abbey

National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh

CH2/592/ Dunfermline Abbey Church Burial Register

CH2/592/10 Dunfermline Abbey Church Kirk Session Minutes, 1799-1820

GB234/HR159/1-2 Dunfermline Abbey Church Kirk Session Minutes

GB234/HR159/3-4 Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book

GD160/566, bundle 16-17, 18 February 1818 – 'A note sent by Miss Adam to Mr Loch, relative to finding the body of Robert the Bruce in the church of Dunfermline; further excavation to be delayed, to keep out the mob. With sketch of copper Fig found, 'Robertus Scotorum Rex."

Royal Institute of British Architects, Victoria & Albert Museum, London

ANJ/1/1, index to 154 bundles of architectural drawings by William Burn (dep. 1957-9)

COC/9-10, notebooks and diaries of C.R. Cockerell (1806)

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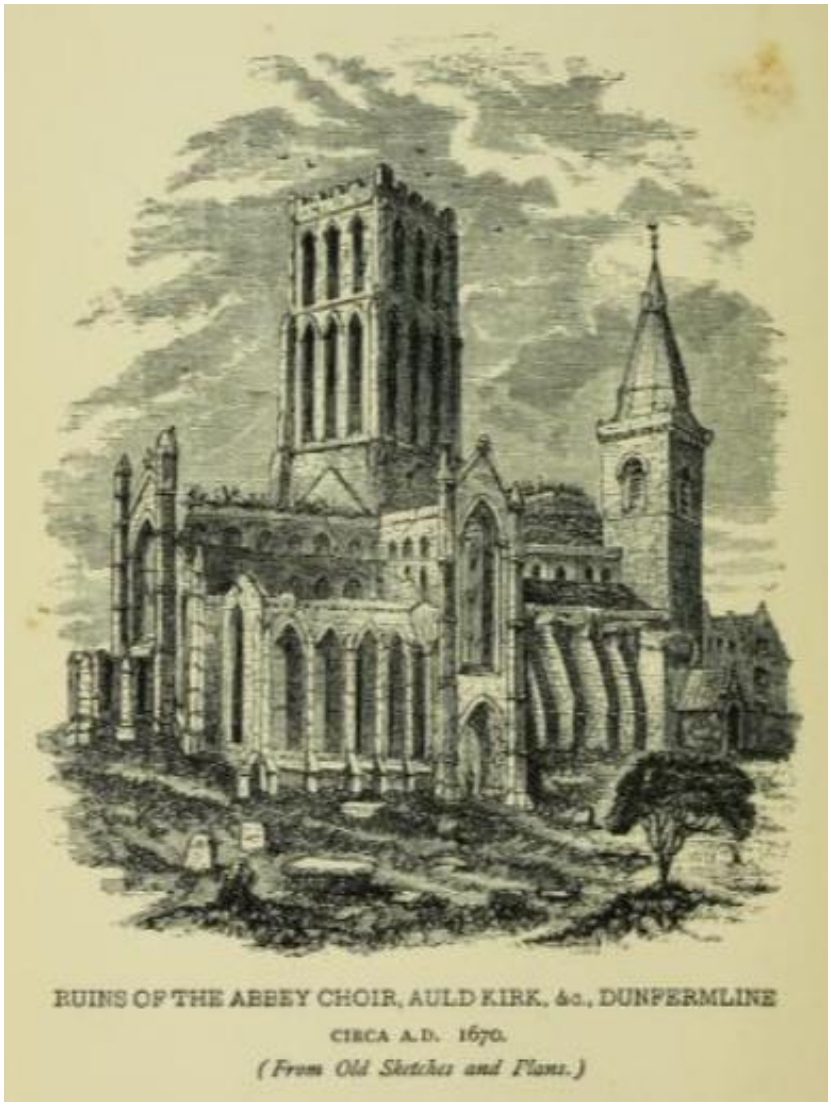

Fig 119. Speculative recreation of the Abbey choir c.1670 (hence a missing roof/weeds) from 'old sketches and plans', reproduced from Alexander Stewart, *Reminiscences of Dunfermline and neighbourhood: illustrative of Dunfermline life, sixty years ago* (Edinburgh, 1889), 4.

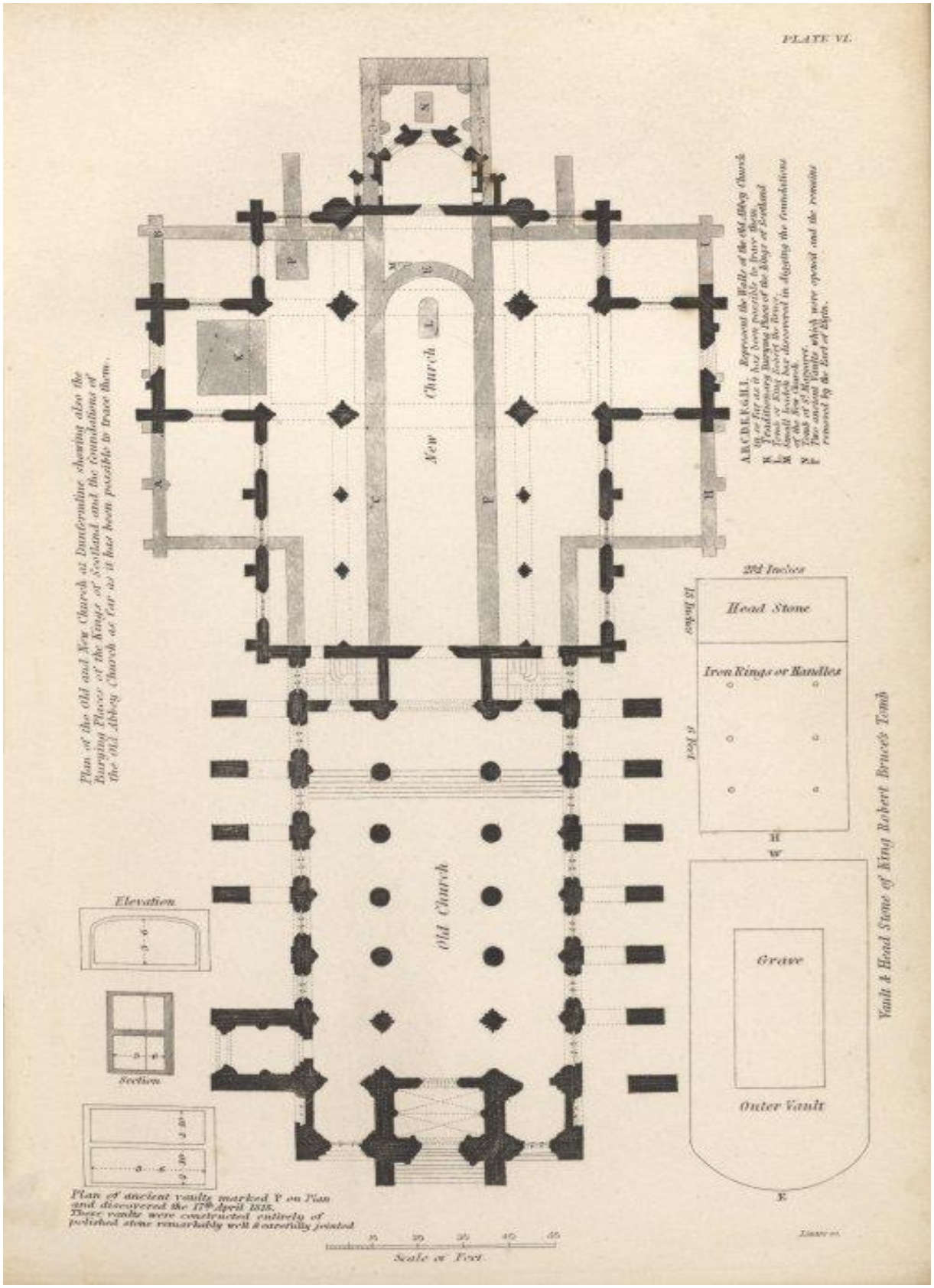

Fig 13: Architect William Burn's ground-plan of Dunfermline Abbey nave and new Abbey Church; the grey lines represent the footings of the ruined Abbey choir visible in 1818. This plan was reproduced by Remembrancer Jardine (1821/2) and local historians Rev. Peter Chalmers (1844/59) and Ebenezer Henderson (1855/79).

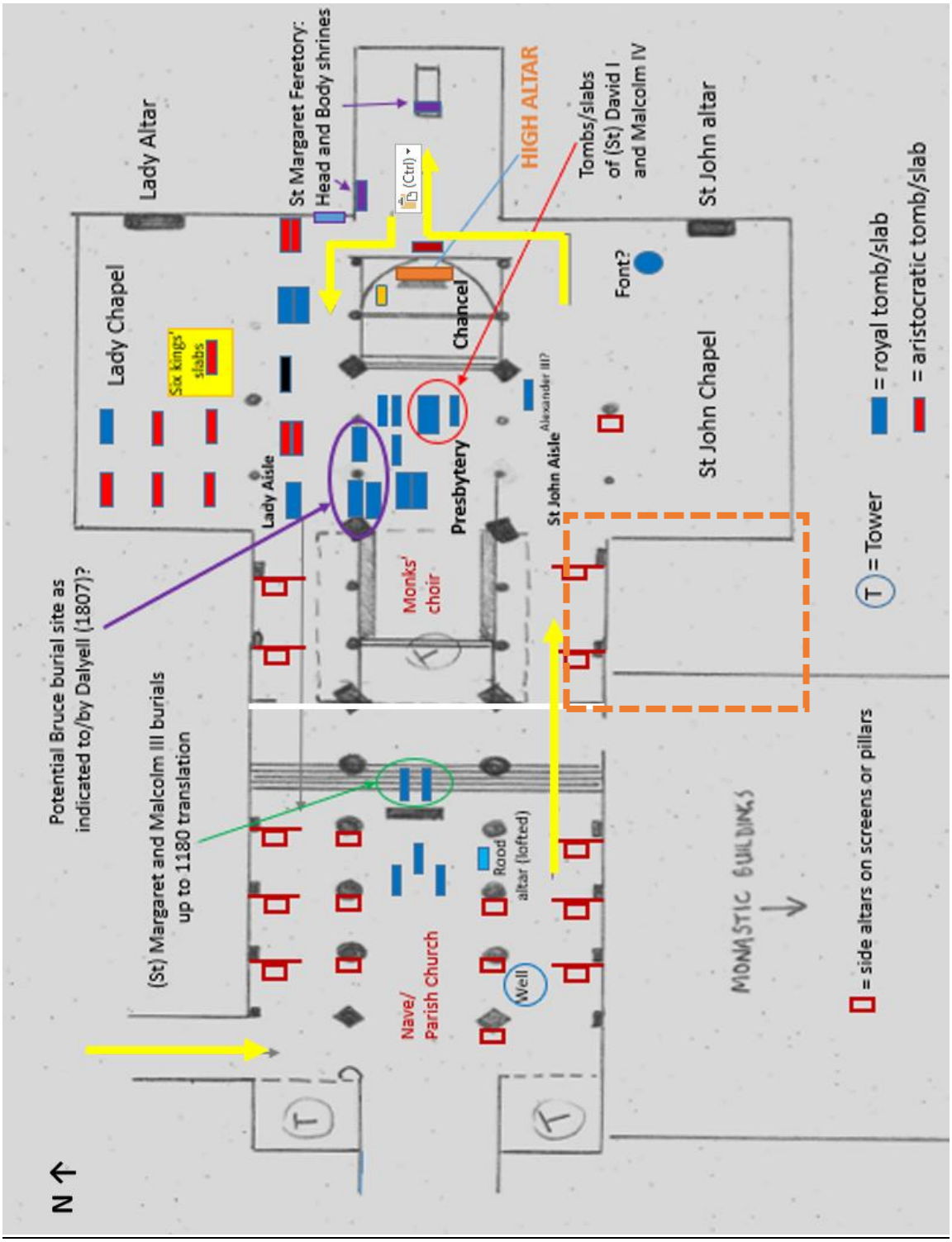

Fig 105: Speculative recreation of Dunfermline Abbey choir interior c.1250-c.1560, combining GPR, antiquarian, medieval record, and material evidence. Note, dash-boxed in orange, the architectural connection between the St John the Baptist Chapel and the central crossing/Monastic quarters is open to debate (as is the Lady Chapel link to the north crossing). The current HES Abbey guidebook [by K. Owen, 2009, pp. 26-7, a 2-D drawing, no plan] shows these chapel walls running west to join the monastic quarters; Peter Yeoman also agrees with this configuration [per comms]. However, although our GPR evidence thus far in this area is ambivalent, the GPR evidence to the north may suggest separate west-end choir chapel walls [Figs 57-8]; and the 1818-19 Burn/Jardine ground-plan [Fig 13] also suggests this form visible *when the site was cleared* (thus contra Sime c.1805 and Hutton c.1813) – hence we have retained it here for now, as a point for debate, and pending further investigation.