

Who is this King of Glory? Robert I of Scotland (1306-29), Holy Week and the consecration of St Andrews Cathedral

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As an aspiring monarch Robert Bruce had the best of teachers – King Edward I of England (r. 1272–1307). According to Sir Thomas Gray, the Northumbrian knight and chronicler whose father fought in the Anglo-Scottish wars from 1296, Robert served in his youth as a ‘bachelor’ in Edward I’s household.¹ If so, this may have brought the young Bruce into direct contact c.1286–96 with Edward’s masterful deployment of ceremony, institutional space, image, text and liturgy to proclaim his political authority and the sacrality of his dynasty. As such, Robert could have been a witness to such weighty rituals as: Edward I’s Round-Table tournament and knighting of household supporters at Winchester in September 1285 and April 1290;² the English royal household’s dedication of Henry III’s completed brass tomb at Westminster Abbey in 1290, a year which also saw Edward’s poignant mourning of his queen, Eleanor, through a unique programme of processional crosses and two effigial monuments;³ John Balliol’s inauguration as vassal king of Scots at Scone Abbey on St Andrews day 1292,

¹ Andy King (ed.), *Sir Thomas Gray: Scalacronica (1272–1363)* (Surtees Society, 209, Woodbridge, 2009), p. 35. Gray junior was himself a prisoner of the Scots, 1355–57.

² Mark Morris, ‘Edward I and the Knights of the Round Table’, in Paul Brand and Sean Cunningham (ed.), *Foundations of Medieval Scholarship: Records edited in Honour of David Crook* (York, 2008), pp. 57–76.

³ Michael Prestwich, ‘The Piety of Edward I’, in W. Mark Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Grantham, 1985), pp. 120–128; Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (ed.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400* (London, 1987), pp. 361–6.

in a carefully controlled ceremony overseen by English officials;⁴ and the English king's triumphal tour of eastern Scotland's significant castles, churches and burghs in spring-summer 1296 after King John had been ritually stripped of his office near Arbroath Abbey about 7 July, the Translation feast of St Thomas Becket (to whom Arbroath was dedicated and to whose chief English shrine at Canterbury Edward would gift confiscated Scottish royal muniments).⁵

Thereafter, as earl of Carrick, struggling to advance his own cause within the Scottish Guardianships c.1297–1306, Robert would have occasion for less frequent but no less impactful experiences of Edwardian projections of authority. For example, the large and confident court which the English king established at the Scottish royal mausoleum of Dunfermline Abbey in Fife from November 1303 to March 1304: as well as marking the feast of St Margaret (16 November) and gifting jewels to her feretory shrine, Edward and his son also took time there to conduct submission negotiations with John Comyn of Badenoch and other Scots, culminating in a parliament of vassals at the nearby chief ecclesiastical seat of St Andrews by 9 March 1304.⁶ Here Edward and his new queen also gifted gold to the apostle's relics while rebellious Bishop Robert Wishart of Glasgow was obliged to repledge his oath to England at the high altar on the Sacrament and the Gospels as well as upon the captured Welsh Cross of Neyth and its companion Scottish prize, St Margaret's 'Black Rood'.⁷ By the same token, as one of three Scottish representatives summoned by Edward, Robert cannot have failed to be

⁴ *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 77–9; *CDS*, vol. ii, nos 737–823.

⁶ BL, Add MS 8835, fols 121r, 122v; TNA, E101/370/3, 1.2; *RPS*, A1304/1.

⁷ *CDS*, vol. iv, nos 486–7.

impressed by the English king's oversight of the great Westminster parliament of Lent 1305, attended by over 600 individuals, during which a separate committee determining Scotland's governance sat in one of the painted chambers of the royal palace, its walls depicting such exemplars of rule as Judas Maccabeus.⁸ Significantly, both these Edwardian assemblies of 1304 and 1305 placed Robert in the English king's presence during the celebration of Holy Week, from Palm Sunday's procession and mass (discussed below) through to Good Friday and Passion Sunday.⁹

Given such an apprenticeship, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that after his seizure of the Scottish throne in 1306 Robert I displayed an impressive level of political and symbolic understanding in choreographing key moments of kingship and governance, despite the initially painful fragility of his actual support. Moreover, from the outset it is clear that the projection of Robert's royal authority and legitimacy, and with it Scotland's sovereignty, through an intertwining of institutions, ceremony, relics, text and accompanying liturgy, all bore the strong and necessary imprint of leading churchmen.

I

Thus Robert's inauguration as king in Lent 1306, as Lucinda Dean has recently shown, combined the traditional site and accoutrements of Scottish kingship which survived *in situ* at Scone, or had been hidden from Edward, imbuing them with powerful religious

⁸ *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson et al (London, 2005), Edward I, Roll 12 passim; Alexander and Binski (ed.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 342–4.

⁹ *CCR, 1302–07*, pp. 127–9, 250–262; *CPR, 1301–07*, pp. 276, 330–337. Palm Sunday and Easter in 1304 and 1305 were 22 and 29 March, and 11 and 18 April, respectively.

meaning.¹⁰ Robert was installed as king by a representative of the noble house of the ancient earls of Fife on Friday 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin, the start of the new calendar year as well as within the Octave of Easter (3 April) that year. Yet the religious and secular meaning of this ceremony might be taken further. The indulgences extended to Scots brave enough to attend would surely have been confirmed (and perhaps extended) by the late arrival of Bishop William Lamberton of St Andrews and his delivery of a mass and sermon on Palm Sunday (27 March).¹¹ The latter was a major Holy feast which marked Christ's arrival in Jerusalem to battle Satan and to end his reign of evil through sacrifice, events enshrined in the earliest Gospels.

By the thirteenth century Scottish liturgical use on Palm Sunday, as throughout Holy Week and the wider spiritual year, followed and adapted that of Sarum/Salisbury.¹² As such, Bishop Lamberton, as the 'Good Shepherd' of Scotland's flock and dressed in red vestments symbolic of Christ's blood, surely led a procession of Bruce's supporters and some of the townsfolk of nearby Perth, perhaps even walking the two miles from the burgh's church of St John the Baptist to Scone abbey, its precinct walls symbolising the 'city' of Jerusalem, for high mass. The processants

¹⁰ Lucinda Dean, 'Crowns, Processions and Wedding Rings: Continuity and Change in the Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony c.1214–c.1603' (PhD, University of Stirling, 2013), pp. 113–20.

¹¹ *Chron. Fordun*, vol. i, pp. 340–341, vol. ii, pp. 333–4; *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, p. 317. Churches sometimes observed 27 March as a fixed feast to commemorate the Resurrection: Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p. 120.

¹² Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1898-1901), vol. i, pp. 60–61. For what follows on Palm Sunday see James Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred: Roman Catholic Worship in the Middle Ages* (San Francisco, 2012), pp. 315–56.

would have sung Psalms and antiphons as well as given prayer at designated stations, carrying blessed palms and green or flowering branches together with the Gospels and/or a tall cross bearing an image of Christ. Crucially, before reaching the abbey they would have joined up with a smaller procession of clerics carrying the Eucharist itself, traditionally born in an ark-shaped feretory or pyx (which might also contain some of the church's other relics). The attendant crowds would have greeted the Eucharist as the manifestation of Christ himself entering the Holy City. Significantly, if – as A.A.M. Duncan has argued – the original importance of the 'stone of Scone' was to serve as a grooved ceremonial base for such a reliquary then its absence from Robert's installation as king may not have been as damaging as usually supposed.¹³ This may also explain in turn why a furious Edward I went to such lengths in 1306–1307 to search for further relics and muniments at Scone while trying to have the abbey moved south with papal approval (as 'it is situated in the midst of a perverse nation'), yet why Robert I did not press further for the stone's return to Scone in 1328 when the Westminster monks, to whom Edward I had had it gifted in 1296, refused to allow its repatriation.¹⁴

Upon arrival at Scone Abbey the Palm procession would have halted before the great west door while the pyx was raised to the lintel and then the bishop struck three times on the main east door with his crozier or a cross. By the high Middle Ages this was a part of Palm Sunday ritual which had grown to overlap with that for the

¹³ Archibald A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp. 150–158.

¹⁴ TNA, SC7/10/32; CDS, vol. v, nos 432, 470; Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, 'The removal of the Stone and attempts at recovery, to 1328', in Richard Welander, David J. Breeze and Thomas Owen Clancy (ed.), *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon* (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 199–206.

consecration of any new church, with both ceremonies drawing on Psalm 24 and thus the three knocks originally prompting three questions and responsories:

– Lift up your gates, O ye Princes, and be lifted up, O eternal gates, for the King of Glory shall come in.

– *Who is this King of Glory?*

– The Lord who is strong and mighty.

– Lift up your gates, O ye Princes, and be lifted up, O eternal gates, for the King of Glory shall come in.

– *Who is this King of Glory?*

– The Lord mighty in battle.

– Lift up your gates, O ye Princes, and be lifted up, O eternal gates, for the King of Glory shall come in

– *Who is this King of Glory?*

– The Lord of hosts [armies]; he is the King of Glory.¹⁵

By the early fourteenth century, these vital exchanges may have been condensed to a more direct (but nonetheless, for Scotland and Bruce, meaningful) dialogue in Sarum use:

– Who is this?

– This is he who was going to come for the salvation of the people.

– Of what manner is this one?

– This is our salvation and Israel's redemption.

¹⁵ See Psalm 24: 7–10.

Then entering into the church to the ringing of bells the procession would halt at the unveiled Holy cross, or its dedicative altar, displayed before the entry to the choir, and then kneel, thrice singing the antiphon *Ave Rex Noster*:

Our king, Son of David, Redeemer of the world, whom the prophets
foretold to be the Saviour coming to the house of Israel...

The veneration of the cross served as a memorial and link to Christ's sacrifice and Passion and a prompt to the solemn Palm Sunday high mass which followed and included a Gospel reading of the Passion story.

For the churchmen present in 1306 – including Bishop Wishart, former Abbot Bernard of Kilwinning (Abbot of Arbroath and Chancellor by late 1308–9) and Abbot Maurice of Inchaffray – the vital connotations of resurrection, rebirth and purification, equivalent to a baptismal cleansing, would have been clear in this ceremony. After Easter 1306, it would thus have been the task of these Scottish clerics through pulpit, prayer and text to further convince the laity of Robert I's legitimacy and, with him, the revival of the independent Scottish realm (and its separate *ecclesia*) and the pressing need to support him in an armed struggle against English tyranny ('coming out' to meet him as their king). It is tempting, moreover, to speculate that the prelates actively encouraged Robert, who also lacked the traditional Scottish royal sceptre and coronet, to usurp a ceremony approaching coronation and anointment, long a historic aspiration of the independent Scottish monarchy and church, and one to be approved retrospectively through a subsequent appeal to the papacy (as was the case by 1329).¹⁶

For the nervous new king, robed in royal purple, and for his lay subjects, their minds drawn to the dangerous secular world of retribution which surely awaited them

¹⁶ *CPL*, vol. ii, p. 291.

after their treasonous actions in March 1306, the Palm Sunday ritual may thus have been both reassuring and burdensome. To Robert, guided by Wishart, the immediate attraction here may have been the plenary absolution of sins bestowed by anointment (and thus pardon of his broken oaths to Edward I and sacrilegious murder of rival John Comyn of Badenoch in a church in Dumfries on 10 February 1306).¹⁷ For the nobles present, however, although they were undoubtedly liturgically literate, the ceremony was perhaps more substantially underlined by Robert's distribution of knighthoods, robes and charters and the general early propagation of a sense of brotherhood through feasting and preparation of arms down to Easter.

Leaving aside the projection of authority and community consensus intended by the parallel 'declarations' of the nobility and clergy issued at Robert's first full parliament, held at St Andrews in Lent 1309 (where the King apparently did not linger for Palm Sunday and Easter that year, 23 and 30 April), a further similar convergence of political and religious purpose can be found in the months after the defeat of Edward II at the battle of Bannockburn. Gathering about the major festival of All Souls' Day (2 November) 1314 at Cambuskenneth Abbey, just a few miles from the battlefield (and with some of England's captured banners surely on display in the church), Robert oversaw a full parliament.¹⁸ This assembly may, though, have been preceded by the attendant community's participation in an All Souls procession from the abbey to a nearby cemetery (perhaps one containing men slain in the recent battle) with Psalms and

¹⁷ Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (London, 1973), p. 115.

¹⁸ Michael Penman, *Robert the Bruce, King of the Scots* (London and New Haven, 2014), pp. 1–3, 149–56. All Saints (1 November) or All Souls were likely deadlines for Robert's one year ultimatum to his enemies issued c.October 1313.

prayers drawn from the Office of the Dead, seeking intercession for those souls in Purgatory.¹⁹ Arguably this may have sought to set a sober and reconciliatory tone for the parliament, rather than one which, post-battle, was partisan, triumphal and vindictive. For this assembly was to be headlined by a formal act of forfeiture of Robert's remaining enemies' Scottish lands (although some high profile opponents, including Duncan earl of Fife, were allowed to submit later) and the king surely accompanied this with several high profile grants of land and office to his supporters. This largesse included Sir Gilbert Hay's appointment as hereditary royal Constable and, perhaps, the redistribution of such important titles as the earldoms of Atholl and Angus (forfeiting Strathbogie and Umfraville incumbents and rewarding Campbell of Lochawe and Stewart of Bonkle supporters respectively).²⁰

However, Robert also took care to link these political acts directly to further confirmation of the sacral legitimacy of his dynasty and the salvation of his own soul. By 16 November 1314 he and his court had travelled some twenty miles east to the royal mausoleum at Dunfermline Abbey, in time to receive the indulgences extended to worshippers and pilgrims on the main feast day of royal saint, Queen Margaret (d.1093), enshrined in the abbey. Here Robert must have participated in the great relic procession, aspersions and mass of the abbey and then confirmed a grant he had issued during the parliament, gifting the nearby parish church of Kinross (dedicated to St Serf) to Dunfermline's monks.²¹ This served as an endowment for Robert's now declared

¹⁹ Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred*, pp. 529–39.

²⁰ *RRS*, nos 41–3; *RPS*, 1314/1.

²¹ *RRS*, nos 43–4. Culross Abbey, on the road from Stirling to Dunfermline, hosted the shrine of St Serf; the chapel of Cardross, Dumbartonshire, where Robert's entrails would be buried in 1329, was also dedicated to Serf.

intention to erect his own tomb in Dunfermline alongside those of his royal and saintly predecessors, thus *ad sanctos* (next to the saints): this presumably also saw him select a specific site for his monument amidst those of Margaret, (St) Malcolm III, Edgar, Alexander I, (St) David I, Malcolm IV and Alexander III (and his queen and children).²² This was perhaps also a public expression of gratitude for the role played by relics of St Margaret present on the battlefield at Bannockburn, just as Robert would reward other churches and cults for their aid in 1314. In addition, the witnesses to this very public grant to Dunfermline reveal the importance which Robert attached to association of his chief kin and supporters with such royal patronage: they included Edward Bruce earl of Carrick and lord of Galloway, ‘our brother’ and heir presumptive; Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, ‘our nephew’, who would also prepare his own tomb in the abbey; Walter Steward, Robert’s son-in-law by mid-1315; and leading war-captains the ‘Good’ Sir James Douglas, Sir John Menteith and Sir Robert Keith, hereditary Marishcal. At the same time, Bishop Lamberton was ordered to oversee the church of Kinross’s appropriation to the abbey by way of confirming the foundation, and perhaps the formal consecration of the first stones, of Robert’s planned tomb.²³

These were staged rituals which may then have had a profound effect upon the Scottish political community and wider society. In that light it is odd to find that, to date, historians have focussed far more upon the impact of such events of 1306, 1310 and 1314 (as well as of 1320 and the ‘Declaration’ of Arbroath) rather than a later gathering which arguably ranks as the best-attended high ceremonial event of Robert’s

²² Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 305–08.

²³ Kinross was worth *c.*35 merks a year in church tax with Robert’s gift re-confirmed by Lamberton in 1317: *Liber Carta Prioratus Sanctii Andree in Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1841), pp. 33, 191, 195, 199, 202.

reign and lifetime, namely the consecration of St Andrews Cathedral in 1318. Moreover, the latter was a grand occasion designed for external as well as internal secular and spiritual consumption.

II

Although Bannockburn had enabled Robert I to recover his queen and daughter and make provisions for his succession, the years 1315–1318 had been a hard military slog for the Scots.²⁴ Edward Bruce's invasion force became bogged down in Irish politics and terrain while Robert, Randolph, Douglas and other captains struggled to make a dent in northern England's defences sufficient to provoke Edward II to make concessions. Nevertheless, April 1318 at last saw a breakthrough. After many months of a deteriorating defence the burgh walls of Berwick-upon-Tweed were betrayed and fell. Crucially, Robert was able to enter the burgh by at least 12 April thus allowing him opportunity to use Berwick and its several churches, benefices to which he began restoring both secular and regular clergy, to stage a great Palm Sunday (16 April) procession and mass followed by the rest of Holy Week down to Passion Sunday itself (23 April).²⁵

A strong parallel could thus be drawn between Christ's entry into Jerusalem and Robert's own achievement as king in recovering Berwick, although a further eleven weeks of brutal siege would be required before the castle garrison there surrendered.²⁶ Berwick's recapture, like that of Stirling castle in 1314, was hugely symbolic. The

²⁴ Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, chs 6–7.

²⁵ *CDS*, vol. iii, nos 593–7; *RRS*, nos 135, 137.

²⁶ *Scala Cronica*, p. 79; John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. Archibald A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 617–27 (which claimed the castle fell after just six days).

recovery of the burgh not only restored to the realm the ostensible full mainland extent of Scotland's pre-1296 territory (with only the Isle of Man unrecovered) and the former leading port, but also the full spiritual jurisdiction of the principal (though not official metropolitan) diocese of St Andrews. It also avenged the bloody fall of the burgh to Edward I in 1296 and opened up northern England to further lucrative Scottish raiding. Such was Berwick's importance to Robert's kingship and domain that he determined not, as with captures since 1306, to raze its walls and castle to the ground and thus deny it to the enemy; but rather to reoccupy, revive and defend it as a sovereign Scottish market, sheriffship-with-castle, mint and church centre.²⁷

However, there was an immediate and heavy price to pay for this triumph. The betrayal and capture of the starving town had been an opportunistic act which in fact breached a Papally-imposed truce on the Anglo-Scottish border.²⁸ As a result Robert was quickly excommunicated afresh by Pope John XXII and this time the threat of full interdict upon religious services in Scotland for Bruce and his supporters loomed.²⁹ The king thus also faced further impediment to his hopes of turning Papal sympathy to favour his supplications as king of Scots in nominating appointments to vacant Scottish benefices, not least to the bishopric of Glasgow following Wishart's death in late 1316.³⁰ In this context, Robert's decision to journey from Berwick in early June to St Andrews by Wednesday 5 July 1318 (which was the Octave of the major universal feast of SS Peter and Paul, both buried in Rome) to oversee a consecration service for the

²⁷ Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 184–6.

²⁸ *CPL*, vol. ii, pp. 128–32.

²⁹ *Foedera*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 151–2.

³⁰ *CPL*, vol. ii, pp. 132, 173; *CDS*, vol. iii, no. 653; D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410* (Oxford 1977), pp. 151, 352–3, 590.

realm's premier and largest cathedral takes on extra layers of meaning. Even the route which Robert took north may have been part of the plan, perhaps taking in Stirling and Cambuskenneth on the anniversary of Bannockburn (St John the Baptist's day, 24 June), or Culross (the shrine of Serf, feast 1 July) and Dunfermline (with St Margaret's Translation feast falling on 19 June).³¹ Thereafter, the ceremony which Robert and his chief clerical councillors enacted at St Andrews amounted to a powerful statement of sovereignty as well as a just celebration of military success and an affirmation of faith in defiance of papal censures (which had been quickly relayed and amplified by English clergy).

We are dependent upon two fifteenth-century Scottish narrative accounts for any evidence at all of the cathedral ceremony of 1318. The similarities between the accounts suggest a common fourteenth-century written source or eye-witness of the same physical commemorative monument. Certainly, Andrew Wyntoun, prior of nearby Lochleven from 1393 and a former Augustinian of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, drew on the records of the chief diocese throughout his rhyming *Original Chronicle* until his death c.1421–2.³² Similarly, Walter Bower became an Augustinian canon at St Andrews about 1400 and later a graduate of the University established there c.1414 before his own consecration as Abbot of the island monastery of Inchcolm in the Forth on 17 April 1418.³³ This confirms that both Wyntoun and Bower may have been witness to the centenary celebrations of the consecration of St Andrews, taking part in contemporary

³¹ This is speculation as we have no royal acts or exchequer rolls for this period.

³² *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. i, pp. xix–xl; Carol Edington, 'Wyntoun, Andrew (c.1350–c.1422)', *ODNB* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/30164>, accessed 14 Sept. 2014.

³³ *Chron. Bower*, vol. ix, pp. 204–09.

celebrations which recalled – and indeed recited and reflected upon – Bruce’s and Lamberton’s original ceremony in 1318.³⁴

Thus it was not simply the fact that Bower had access to St Andrews’ archive of bulls and chronicles and its now fragmentary (if not completely lost) cartulary which allowed him to relate in his long Latin prose *Scotichronicon* of the 1440s that:

On 5 July the great church of the apostle Andrew in Scotland was dedicated by Sir William de Lamberton, bishop of the same. At this dedication, in order to augment the resources for divine worship, Sir Robert the king, acting in person in the presence of seven bishops, fifteen abbots and nearly all the nobles of the kingdom, both earls and barons, offered one hundred marks sterling to be paid annually from his treasury in commemoration of the signal victory given to the Scots at Bannockburn by the blessed Andrew, protector of the kingdom. Instead of these hundred marks he afterwards granted in perpetuity to the same church the patronage of the church of Fordoun in the Mearns with all its revenues. The said William bishop of St Andrews ratified this gift and confirmed the canons in full ownership in perpetuity. On the same day and for the same reason the same Bishop William conferred and granted the churches of Dairsie and Abercrombie to the same canons in full ownership. Similarly, on the same day and for the same reason Duncan earl of Fife with the consent of the king and the confirmation of the

³⁴ In 1418 Palm Sunday and Easter fell on 20 and 27 March respectively.

bishop conferred the church of Kilgour [Falkland in Fife] on them in full ownership.³⁵

Bower's broad details may reflect not only a written record of the 1318 ceremony but a consultable text or engraved ['founder's] plaque displayed inside the cathedral itself, commemorating the actions of Robert and his great subjects and recording their names for posterity and prayer.³⁶

St Andrews cathedral itself had been founded *c.*1140 and dedicated *c.*1162; but it progressed slowly in its construction, only beginning life as a functioning church *c.*1238 and even then with considerable work on both the upper choir and nave and much of the west front remaining. Bishop Robert Wishart of Glasgow's uncle, William (a former archdeacon of St Andrews, bishop-elect of Glasgow and royal Chancellor), held the St Andrews see 1270–1279 and oversaw much of the remaining works, including a rebuilt west front following storm damage.³⁷ By 1290, anticipation of the

³⁵ *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, pp. 413–15. Wyntoun's brief account is similar: 'A Thousande thre hundir yhere and auchteyne/ Fra Crist borne of the Maydyn cleyne,/ Off the monethe of July/ The fift day, ful solempnely/ The bischope Willame of Lambertone/ Mad the dedicacion/ Off the new cathedrale/ Off Sancte Androwis conwentualle./ The Kyng Robert honerably/Was thar in persone bodely; And sewyn bischopis thar was seyne,/ Annd abbatis als war thar fifteyne,/ And mony othir gentil men/ War gadryt to assemble then': *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. v, pp. 370–373.

³⁶ Michael Hicks, 'English Monasteries as Repositories of Dynastic Memory', in Michael Penman (ed.), *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Donington, 2013), pp. 224–38, at pp. 226–9.

³⁷ Ronald G. Cant, 'The building of St Andrews Cathedral', in David McRoberts (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews* (Glasgow, 1976), pp. 11–32, at pp. 18–23; Watt, *Dictionary of Scottish Graduates*,

building's completion and consecration was reflected in Pope Nicholas IV's grant of a generous indulgence applied to the feasts of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), St Andrews day (30 November) and the anniversary of the cathedral's foundation.³⁸ But the outbreak of the succession wars, the political role and death-in-exile of Bishop William Fraser of St Andrews (d.1297), and Bishop Lamberton's own badly disrupted early office, dominated by Edwardian occupation c.1297–1309, all served to delay the great event. However, Lamberton's appointment in 1297 through the influence of Robert Wishart, under whom he had served as chancellor at Glasgow (hence the appearance on Lamberton's seal at St Andrews of the fish and bell associated with the miracles of St Kentigern of Glasgow), likely served to stoke further expectation that the consecration of St Andrews cathedral could be used at just the right moment to declare the sovereignty of Scotland's realm and church under its own king.³⁹ Indeed, the close relationship of Wishart and Lamberton, alongside Abbot Bernard of Arbroath's advice to King Robert as his Chancellor, would also determine the wide liturgical scope of the eventual consecration ceremony at St Andrews, adding further to its meaning and reach.

Significantly, although St Andrews cathedral and its altars had been in full use for over eighty years, both the king and Lamberton – who also oversaw the completion of a number of the adjacent Priory buildings, erected a fine monument to the heart burial of Bishop Fraser and prepared his own tomb between the central pillars of the north

pp. 590–594; Archibald A.M. Duncan, 'The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140', *SHR*, 84/1 (2005): pp. 1–37.

³⁸ *CPL*, vol. i, p. 250.

³⁹ Watt, *Dictionary of Scottish Graduates*, pp. 203–6, 318–25, 585–90; *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, p. 413.

choir aisle⁴⁰ – may have been adamant given their circumstances in 1318 that a full consecration rite should be observed, as if the church was brand new. The shorter, simpler rite which might have consecrated a church with such a history of use, and which can be found in a number of extant contemporary pontificals, was not adopted.⁴¹ In doing so, Robert could have drawn on family knowledge of his great-grandfather's participation as a newborn in the magnificent Translation and dedication of St Thomas Becket's relics and new shrine, held on 7 July 1220 at Canterbury Cathedral Priory; this was an event attended by state dignitaries and visiting prelates, with perpetual indulgences, distribution of contact relics and subsequent jubilees.⁴² Thus the St Andrews ceremony, held on Wednesday 5 July 1318, surely opened with a full solemn

⁴⁰ *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. v, pp. 311–13, 382; Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', p. 27; David McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', in McRoberts (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, pp. 63–120, at p. 88.

⁴¹ For what follows of this rite see: Lee Bowen, 'The Topology of Medieval Dedication Rites', *Speculum*, 16/4 (1941): pp. 469–79; *Pontificale Ecclesiae S. Andree: The Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham Bishop of St Andrews*, ed. Charles Wordsworth (Edinburgh, 1885), Introduction, pp. 1–26, 96–7; Charles Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 96–7; *The Order of Dedication or Consecration of a Church: Translated from the Roman Pontifical* (Roehampton, 1927), pp. 1–82; Thomas D. Kozachek, 'The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages' (PhD, Harvard University, 1995), esp. ch. 6; *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, ed. Timothy M. Thibodeau (Columbia, 2010), pp. 60–76.

⁴² Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Register E, fol. 127a, nos 2–3, fol. 143; Raymond Foreville, *Le Jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket du XIIIe au XVe siècle (1220–1470): Étude et documents* (Paris, 1958), ch. 1. A Bruce church in Annandale, at Applegarth, was dedicated to St Thomas: *CDS*, vol. v, no. 243; and the Bruces had granted their Northumbrian church at Haltwhistle to Arbroath Abbey: *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1848–56), vol. i, no. 37.

relic procession by clergy, king and lay guests around stations in the streets and other churches of a burgh which had been laid out to emulate the papal heart of Rome itself.⁴³

As with the Palm Sunday ceremony of 1306 (and that of 1318) this consecration was meant to be an essentially baptismal rite; the birth of a newly cleansed Jerusalem, and thus a renewed Scottish kingdom, in the form of the now completed church. Once at their destination, processants were expected to make three circuits of the church (empty save for its archdeacon), singing the seven Penitential Psalms, then further antiphons and prayers: the first two circuits were made counter-clockwise, the last clockwise, symbolising Christ's birth, descent and resurrection. Then, outside the main west front (where notices of excommunication were usually posted), the officiating bishop, Lamberton, would asperse the processional door with Holy Water containing salt (symbolic of wisdom), ashes and wine, sprinkled using a brush of common, cleansing hyssop (representing the humility of Christ). Invoking Psalm 24, the bishop would then strike the door or its lintel three times, prompting the exchange of responsory affirmation (as on Palm Sunday, discussed above) which declared the entry of Christ as the 'King of Glory.'

It is reasonable to speculate that upon entering the cathedral in 1318, the 'baptismal' sacrament of the ceremony and, according to Bower, the emphasis placed upon the role of that church and its apostolic saint in aiding Scotland at Bannockburn, may have been poignantly realised by the procession by including the altar chapel of St

⁴³ *Rites of Durham: being a description or brief declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs belonging, or being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression, written 1593* (Durham, 1903), pp. 104–08; Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred*, pp. 568–79; Ian Campbell, 'Planning for pilgrims: St Andrews as the second Rome', *IR*, 64/1 (2013): pp. 1–22; Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), chs 3, 4 and 6.

John the Baptist (feast 24 June), located in the north-west corner of the nave, as a station for chant and prayer.⁴⁴ Advancing to the centre of the church, bishop, king and guests must then have paused to venerate the Holy Cross. In doing so they were probably able to make use of the great rood gifted to the church of St Andrews by St Margaret: but an early-modern antiquarian survey of the church also lists a cross of ‘crystal rock’, granted to the church from the spoils of Bannockburn by Robert I, which might also have featured.⁴⁵

Passing through the rood screen and entering the choir, the procession should then have approached the high altar which the bishop would have consecrated and blessed as a symbol of the new Jerusalem. In doing so his prayers and further exchanges with the attendant clergy invoked such biblical events as Jacob’s foundation stone for the Holy City: but it also contained lines ringing with meaning for Scotland’s and Robert’s cause (echoed, too, in the ‘Declaration’ of Arbroath):

Far from us drive our hellish foe,

True peace unto us bring...

[God] has raised up a mighty deliverer for us in the house of David his
servant,

That we should be delivered of our enemies...⁴⁶

⁴⁴ McRoberts, ‘The Glorious House of St Andrew’, p. 76.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68, which also notes vestments gifted to Aberdeen Cathedral from the battle spoils.

⁴⁶ *Order for the Dedication or Consecration of a Church*, pp. 13, 16–17.

It is possible that, even at this relatively late stage in the cathedral's history, Lamberton then officiated at the burial of fragments (even just dust) of the church's relics of Andrew and other saints (such as Constantine, a tenth century king of Scots) in a sepulchre under the floor around the high and relic altars at the east end of the choir: this was a Papally-sanctioned tradition which would enhance their apotropaic powers.⁴⁷ But the few fore-arm, hand and skull bones of Andrew which the cathedral possessed were otherwise retained within a single bejewelled reliquary, the *Morbrac*, which would have been carried on a bier throughout the procession.⁴⁸ The bishop would certainly, though, have aspersed the high altar seven times, followed by a three-fold circuit of the interior of the church aspersing and lighting candles at twelve stations marked on the walls by painted or metal crosses. This would be echoed later on the church's exterior at twelve further metal crosses, two of which at St Andrews – on the wall of the choir and its south transept – are just still visible today and measure over 2' in diameter within incised circles.

It was at this stage in the proceedings that the presentation of patronage from king, bishop and earl was undertaken. As with a church foundation(-stone) ceremony it was expected that significant patrons would pledge sufficient endowment for the building and sustenance of the church fabric, personnel and liturgy, symbolically placing a token of materials or produce on the altar itself.⁴⁹ In this instance it is likely that the written charters of King Robert, Bishop Lamberton and Duncan of Fife were so

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 1–2, 42.

⁴⁸ McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', pp. 67–8.

⁴⁹ Nick Holder, 'Medieval Foundation Stones and Foundation Ceremonies', in Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (ed.), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2010), pp. 6–23.

placed for later insertion into both the official cartulary of the cathedral and a decorated display copy for the choir (rather than, say, interred alongside the relics under the altar floor). The fragmentary cartulary of St Andrews does seem to indicate that some, perhaps all, of the parish churches named by Bower as granted in ‘full ownership’ to St Andrews in 1318 were in fact already part of the cathedral’s endowment through earlier gifts of the power of provision/patronage to those parish benefices. This would seem to indicate that the consecration was very much a timely public confirmation of the fulfilment of historic royal, clerical and noble obligations to support the ‘national’ cathedral.⁵⁰

It was liturgical historian Monsignor David McRoberts who first pointed out that these gifts of the king, lead prelate and chief of the most ancient line of earls of the realm constituted an impressive act of community, representing the ‘three estates’ of people, church and nobility.⁵¹ In many ways, Lambertson’s and Robert’s consecration of St Andrews was thus similar to the great unifying and restorative Translation of St Thomas held at Canterbury Cathedral Priory, choreographed by Archbishop Stephen

⁵⁰ NLS, Add MS 15.1.18, no. 19. Abercrombie, patronage granted by Lambertson in 1319: *A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*, http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/~cmas/phase2/site.php?id=158369#bfn0_3, accessed on 15 August 2014; *Liber Carta Prioratus Sanctii Andree*, pp. 54, 120. Dairsie, granted by Lambertson in 1301: *RRS*, no. 500. Robert’s grant of Fordoun which the Papacy confirmed as held by the Cathedral in ‘full ownership’ on 24 November 1329: *CPL*, vol. ii, p. 304. Papal taxation of the later thirteenth century valued these parishes at: Abercrombie, 6 merks; Dairsie, 30 merks; Fordoun, 60 merks; Kilgour, 20 merks: *Liber Carta Prioratus Sanctii Andree*, pp. 33, 34, 37, 38. The gift of Abercrombie may have redirected an earlier earl of Fife’s gift of its patronage to Dunfermline Abbey c.1200: *Registrum de Dunfermelyn liber cartarum Abbatie Benedictine S.S. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermelyn* (Edinburgh, 1842), nos 144–5.

⁵¹ McRoberts, ‘The Glorious House of St Andrew’, pp. 111–12.

Langton on 7 July 1220 and attended by King Henry III (as well as by Robert I's great-grandfather and his newborn son).⁵² However, if it was important that the king and estates be seen to act in consensus in this 'national' rite in defiance of papal censures – with Robert's charter explicitly referencing St Andrew, St Peter's brother, as the protector of the realm during the victory 'at Bannockburn' – then it is surely the case that a similar endowment would have been presented by a leading member of the barons, the actual 'third estate' alongside the clergy and earls. The 'Declaration' of Arbroath of 6 April 1320 would first name Robert's son-in-law, Walter Steward, then Sir William Soules and Sir James Douglas as leading barons in its witness list.⁵³ Of this group it was surely the case that the by-then widower Steward – perhaps with his infant son, Robert (b.1316), the king's grandson and heir presumptive after Edward Bruce – was prominent among the processants. But it may have been Douglas who performed the key service in 1318: tradition records that the statue of the Virgin which flanked the high altar of St Andrews cathedral on its north side was known as 'The Douglas Lady' and the family maintained lights at this image into the fifteenth century.⁵⁴ That any Douglas patronage would have been linked explicitly to Bannockburn seems likely given the dedication of Earl Duncan of Fife's gift-church at Kilgour to a bishop-

⁵² Richard Eales, 'The Political Setting of the Becket Translation of 1220', in Diana Wood (ed.), *Studies in Church History, 30: Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 127-39; Sherry L. Reames, 'Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket', *Speculum*, 80 (2005), pp.118-70, at 140-7. For Bruce of Annandale (d.1245) in 1220 see Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Register E, f. 127a, no. 1 and f. 143r.

⁵³ *Chron. Bower*, vol. vii, p. 5.

⁵⁴ McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', pp. 70–71. The south-side statue was the main image of St Andrew.

contemporary of St Columba, a St Gabréin, feast date 24 June (that is, Bannockburn day).⁵⁵

The ceremony was likely closed with further lights, music and prayers at the high altar, together with publication of the indulgences returned for patrons' material support (one year for a visit/gift on the day of consecration and 40 days on subsequent anniversaries), followed by the holding of high mass.⁵⁶ The loss of the exchequer rolls of royal expenditure for all of Robert's reign before 1327 denies us any evidence of further gifts or commemoration in 1318. It is possible that some of the vestments and books which Lamberton later bequeathed to the cathedral had been used at the consecration, but additionally Robert may also have paid for new vestments, altar plate and cloth, saint's images, ceremonial robes for nobles or the actual memorialisation of the rite and its participants in text, image or even stained glass.⁵⁷ Elsewhere, Abbot Bower's recitation of an *ex voto* prayer-inscription displayed within the cathedral, extant in his own day (the 1440s), listing the many nations of foreign pilgrims to St Andrews, provides a strong indication of the intended impact and dissemination of such commemoration (and thus Robert's allied hopes of declaring his legitimacy as king).⁵⁸ Similarly, we have no evidence of any feasting or courtly celebration which might

⁵⁵ Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Lives of the Saints from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), p. 139.

⁵⁶ *Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham Bishop of St Andrews*, pp. 53, 96–7.

⁵⁷ *ER*, vol. i; McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', p. 69. At Durham Cathedral Priory, important patrons' portraits were displayed before the door to the choir, including images of monarchs of England and Scotland: *Rites of Durham*, pp. 20–22. Robert I's final chamberlain's account included payment to the bishop of St Andrews for a mitre and crozier purchased for use in the king's chapel, items perhaps used on 5 July 1318: *ER*, vol. i, p. 211.

⁵⁸ McRoberts. 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', pp. 101–02.

naturally have followed the consecration. However, rather than remaining in St Andrews for such hospitality (with the king and other dignitaries resident in the priory Guest Hall) it is tempting to speculate that with his full excommunication and interdict imminent – and papal legates present in England – the king and his great subjects instead took steps to intensify and extend their public demonstrations of faith and regnal solidarity.⁵⁹

For the next day, Thursday 6 July, was the date of foundation of the second secular church of the realm, Glasgow cathedral with its body-shrine cult of St Kentigern, and the very see which Edward II was then working so hard to prevent Robert I filling with an effective provision.⁶⁰ A day later, Friday 7 July, was of course the Translation feast of St Thomas, the Canterbury martyr and dedicatee of Arbroath Abbey (Robert's chancery), a cult figure the king revered generally for his sacrificial defiance of English monarchy.⁶¹ It may reflect the guidance of St Andrews clerics that

⁵⁹ Robert's next extant act is dated at Leithie in Perthshire on 27 July: *RRS*, p. 145 ('Itinerary'), and no. 138.

⁶⁰ Archibald A.M. Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', in Richard Fawcett (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow* (London, 1998), pp. 9–24. Robert I's concern to (re)build and maintain links with this cult and see are further reflected in his patronage: for example, on 25 February 1315 he had re-assigned fermes from Rutherglen and Cadzow for officials and lights at St Kentigern's tomb in Glasgow cathedral (first granted 'in the time of King Alexander [III] of good memory, our predecessor'); then on 20 October 1321 Robert would gift the church of St Kentigern in Kirkmahoe parish, Nithsdale, just north of Dumfries (and a few miles west of the Bruces' Lochmaben), to Arbroath abbey, 'in honour of God, the Virgin and St Thomas martyr': *RRS*, nos 50, 203.

⁶¹ Michael Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c.1178–c.1404', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32/4 (2006): pp. 346–70. 7 July was also the death date of Edward I in

Robert's gift, Fordoun church, twenty-five miles north of Arbroath in the Mearns, was dedicated to St Palladius, celebrated as the first Christian bishop of Ireland (where Edward Bruce was then still engaged as claimant High King) but believed by Scottish medieval clerics and chroniclers (dubiously) to have in fact pioneered missions to Scotland *c.*430 as a contemporary of St Serf: Palladius' feast day was also 7 July.⁶² These additional cult feasts on 6–7 July might then easily have been marked by further services before altars and relics within St Andrews cathedral.⁶³ Moreover, within the Octave of attendance at the consecration, the Scottish community might also

1307. Under Sarum use, the Sunday after 7 July (so 9 July in 1318) became the collective Feast of the Relics, venerating all the saints represented in a church: Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, p. 118.

⁶² For Palladius see: Alexander Boyle, 'Notes on Scottish Saints', *IR*, 32/2 (1981): pp. 59–82, at p. 71; *Early Sources for Scottish History, AD 500 to 1286*, ed. Alan O. Anderson (2 vols, Stamford, 1990), vol. i, p. 127; *Chron. Fordun*, vol. i, pp. 93–4, 153, and vol. ii, pp. 56, 142, 395; *Chron. Bower*, vol. ii, pp. 21, 23, 299, and vol. iv, p. 11, and vol. ix, p. 73. Later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish calendars moved Palladius' feast to 6 July, distinguishing it from 7 July which had morphed into the day 'King Edward ye I of England was slane be ye king of Scotland at Carli[sl]e': Alexander P. Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, 1872), pp. 102, 132–3, 156–7. Dairsie church (Fife) was dedicated to the Virgin; Abercrombie (now part of St Monans, Fife) to the Virgin and St Margaret: James M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh, 1914), pp. 7, 105.

⁶³ St Andrews may have held sealed letters of Archbishop Becket which could be treated as relics. Glasgow Cathedral is known to have housed relics of St Thomas, with St Kentigern described in his *vita* as his ally: John Dowden, 'The Inventory of Ornaments, Jewels, Relicks, Vestments, Service Books &c. belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow in 1432...', *PSAS* 33 (1898–99): pp. 280–329.

commemorate the death of King Alexander II (8 July 1249), Robert's own (forty-fourth) birthday (11 July) and the inauguration of Alexander III (13 July 1249).⁶⁴

This then was an impressive royal, church and state occasion, far more assured and expansive than the improvised inauguration of 1306. Within a run of red-letter days the excommunicated king of Scots and his community would have been able to venerate an apostle (Scotland's patron saint), a leading 'insular' cult and a universal Christian and Papal favourite. That Robert and his chief councillors continued to see great value in such combined secular and liturgical events and their meaning is confirmed not merely by the associative language deployed in the 'Declaration' of Arbroath sent to John XXII in 1320 (which again referenced the children of Israel and Christ's Passion) but also by a further possible Palm Sunday and Easter celebration in 1328.⁶⁵ In that year Robert's peace treaty with Edward III of England, acknowledging Scottish sovereignty, was ratified at Holyrood Abbey near Edinburgh on 17 March. This was a secular accord which could have been followed by ceremonial to mark the anniversary of Robert's inauguration as king on the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin (25 March), followed by a Palm Sunday procession and mass (27 March) in an abbey which housed further Holy Cross relics associated with St Margaret (with her 'Black Rood' to be returned under the terms of the treaty) and which might also be venerated at Easter (3 April): all this, it should be noted, in a year in which the calendar and thus liturgy were aligned to the week-day with that of 1306, thus affording a symbolic 'full-circle'

⁶⁴ Michael Penman, "Sacred food for the soul': in search of the devotions to saints of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, 1306–1329', *Speculum*, 88/4 (2013), pp. 1–28, with a speculative calendar of Robert I's devotions.

⁶⁵ *Chron. Bower*, vol. vii, pp. 5–9; *RRS*, nos 335–48; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 282–95.

completion of Bruce's struggle for Scotland.⁶⁶ It is also possible that an ailing Robert participated in a final Palm and Easter Sunday week of worship during his pilgrimage from Cardross (Dumbartonshire) to Whithorn Cathedral Priory (Wigtownshire), in March–April 1329 (a year which aligned with the calendar of 1318).⁶⁷

Conclusion

Taken together with the symbolism of Robert I's state funeral and tomb in Dunfermline Abbey after his death on 7 June 1329, the identification of these rituals highlights a vital strand of the efforts of Robert and his ministers to define, project and defend the institutions and sovereignty of the Scottish kingdom and the Bruce dynasty.⁶⁸ Such choreographed occasions, moreover, are all the more meaningful for a king and community facing not just civil war and English aggression but the added external threats of Papal excommunication and interdict (which were also finally lifted by late 1328).⁶⁹ The liturgical elements of these ceremonies, as well as Robert's dedication to a core group of native and dynastic churches, saints and relics, certainly overturn the propaganda efforts of Edward II and his churchmen to impress upon the Papacy at Avignon the sacrilegious and treasonous nature of the vassal Scottish realm. This was an English campaign which even saw such an anti-Edward II source as the contemporary *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (which ended c.1325–1326) assert that when the

⁶⁶ *RRS*, no. 342.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, nos 362–76; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 296–302.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 302–8. A contemporary Bruce epitaph also described the king 'as gentle as Andrew': *Chron. Bower*, vol. vii, pp. 47–9. The date of Robert's funeral is unknown but might have been 24 June or 7 July?

⁶⁹ *CPL*, vol. ii, p. 289.

excommunicate Bruce forced a chaplain to perform mass, ‘a dove coming down from above clearly appeared to all, and in the sight of everyone carried off the Host, plucked from the priest’s hand.’⁷⁰ It is tempting, indeed, to read this report as a deliberate English distortion of news of the St Andrews consecration and attendant crowds on 5 July 1318, lest it induce the sympathy of the papal legates then present in England and who had been roughly handled by northern English nobles, just as Edward II was trying to browbeat John XII.⁷¹

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⁷⁰ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. and trans. Wendy R. Childs (Oxford, 2005), p. 155.

⁷¹ Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (London and New Haven, 2011), pp. 284–7, 324–7, 339–42.

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