‘CLOTHING FOR THE SOUL DIVINE’: BURIALS AT THE TOMB OF ST NINIAN

Excavations at Whithorn Priory, 1957–67

ARCHAEOLOGY REPORT NO 3

CHRISTOPHER LOWE

WITH SPECIALIST CONTRIBUTIONS BY

Carol Christiansen, Gordon Cook, Magnus Dalland, Kirsty Dingwall, Julie Franklin, Virginia Glenn, David Henderson, Janet Montgomery, Gundula Müldner and Richard Oram

ILLUSTRATIONS BY

Caroline Norman, Marion O’Neil, Thomas Small and Craig Williams

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HISTORIC SCOTLAND
8.1 THE PRE-REFORMATION BISHOPS OF WHITHORN OR GALLOWAY

8.1.1 Introduction: historiographical background

Although the diocese of Whithorn is amongst the more poorly documented of Scotland's medieval sees, its bishops have been the subject of considerably more historical research than their counterparts in wealthier, more influential and better documented dioceses such as Moray, Aberdeen, St Andrews or Glasgow. Much of this research has been stimulated by the successive programmes of modern excavation at the ruins of their cathedral at Whithorn, commencing in 1949 with C.A. Raleigh Radford's work in the nave and at the extreme east end of the choir (Radford 1950). In conjunction with that work, which formed part of a Ministry of Works project aimed at improving public access to, and interpretation of, the ruins of the cathedral, priority and the Early Christian remains at St Ninian's Cave and Kirkmadrine, the late Gordon Donaldson produced a re-analysis of the medieval bishops and priors which considerably expanded upon the pioneering study of all Scottish pre-Reformation bishops by Bishop John Dowden (1912). Donaldson's work was undertaken at the beginning of Raleigh Radford's excavations and subsequently formed the core of the historical sections of the Ministry of Works' 'Blue Guide' to Whithorn and Kirkmadrine; indeed, it still forms in its current revised form (Donaldson 1949; Radford & Donaldson 1953; Radford & Donaldson 1984).

Donaldson's study was followed through the 1950s by a cluster of articles relating to Whithorn and its medieval clergy. Most of this material came as offshoots of research in the York archiepiscopal registers and focused on particular episodes and details of procedures in elections and the administration of the see of Whithorn during episcopal vacancies in the pre-1300 period. The main contributor to this work was the American scholar Robert J. Bremstano, who explored the Whithorn-York relationship and, especially, the vacancy following the death of Bishop Henry in 1293 (Bremstano 1952, 1953a, 1953b). The equally contentious vacancy and election of 1235 was the subject of a detailed study by Anne Ashley (1959), which expanded significantly upon Donaldson's 1949 paper. After this fruitful decade, however, active research into the medieval episcopate at Whithorn appears to have ceased, with not even the exciting discovery of a series of high-status ecclesiastical burials in the east end of the cathedral ruins during Ritchie's 1957-67 excavations serving to stimulate fresh academic interest.

In the 1960s and 1970s, two major projects which focused on aspects of the medieval Scottish Church generally cast considerable fresh light on the bishops of Whithorn. The first was the second draft of the Epistola Episcoporum Scotiae, edited by the late Donald Watt and published in 1969 by the Scottish Record Society (Watt 1969). This was a major collaborative project by members of the Scottish Medievalists and involved the identification in published and unpublished primary sources of data which would allow the careers of the senior secular clergy of the kingdom to be established with greater clarity. The second contribution was also a product of Donald Watt's endeavours. The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410 (Watt 1977) was a monumental exercise which charted the careers of most medieval clerical graduates down to the establishment of the first Scottish university. Watt's Dictionary pulled together information on several of the more obscure incumbents of the see in the 14th and 15th centuries as well as the more prominent individuals, but it presents its data from the perspective of the wider clerical community in Scotland rather than from the episcopate alone.

Renewed research commenced in 1983-8 with the present writer's PhD thesis on the Lordship of Galloway c. 1000 - c. 1250. This development coincided with the resumption of excavations at Whithorn in 1984 and then on a major scale from 1986, which led to 'spin-off' publications on the medieval diocese and its administrative institutions (e.g. Brooke 1987). The first new study of the pre-1250 bishops came in 1991 with publication of material extracted from the present writer's thesis (Oram 1991) and the late Donald Watt's major revision of his Part I list published in the Series Episcoporum (Watt 1991). Commemoration of the nominal 1600th anniversary of the death of St Ninian in 1997 resulted in further examination of the medieval succession
of bishops of Whithorn, published as part of the Roman Catholic diocese of Galloway's celebrations in that year (Oswin 1997). While more recent analysis has concentrated on the development of the Premonstratensian priory at Whithorn and its estates, the medieval bishops have continued to be a target of largely unpublished research. The following narrative outlines the careers of the bishops to the synopses of the last six decades of research.

8.1.3. The bishops c 1128 to 1518 (Table 8.1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bishop</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place of burial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gille-âldan</td>
<td>c 1128-1154</td>
<td>Unknown (possibly Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>1154-65</td>
<td>Cleikum Abbey, Cardonald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>1169-1209</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter</td>
<td>1209-36</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilian</td>
<td>1235-55</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>1252-91</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>1254-1263</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>1255-86</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedrich</td>
<td>1266-92</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aden</td>
<td>1260-70</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>1278-52c1406</td>
<td>Unknown (possibly in France)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hector</td>
<td>1456-1245</td>
<td>Unknown (probably in Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>1457-70a22</td>
<td>Unknown (probably in Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>1473-50</td>
<td>Unknown (probably in Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>1490-49</td>
<td>Unknown (possibly in Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisian</td>
<td>1459-60</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>1482-1500</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>1506-50</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>1524-41</td>
<td>Unknown (probably Drumlanrig or Whithorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>1541-68</td>
<td>Unknown (parishes Edinburgh)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

man, the circumstances of his election or the nature of the community over which he presided, other than that his name points to a probably local background and an association with the Cathbadh cult of Galloway (Oswin 2000, 164-5, 170-4). It was probably during Gille-âldan's episcopate that work commenced on the new cathedral church at Whithorn, and it was perhaps there that he was buried sometime between June 1154, when he is last noted as alive in a York record, and December 1154, when his successor, Christian, was consecrated. He may have been interred before the high altar of his cathedral, but as is demonstrated by the example of Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow, who was responsible for the rebuilding and consecration of his cathedral but who died at Neilston Abbey and was buried at the main choir door, bishops could and did choose alternative places of burial.

Intern 1154-6

As little is known of the origins of Bishop Christian as of Gille-âldan (Watt 1991, 259). Christian was consecrated as bishop at Bermondsey Abbey in Surrey on 19 December 1154 by the Archbishop of York (Hudson 1938, 127). The circumstances of his election and consecration suggest that he had strong connections with the Cistercians and that he may have been a Cistercian monk himself, possibly from one of the Yorkshire communities of that order (Oswin 2000, 176). Christian's name may represent a Latinization of the Gaelic Cill-geill-tnan, but there is no hard evidence to confirm that view. The names of four of his kinmen (a brother and three nephews), who all appear to have served in his household in the second half of his episcopate, are recorded in one of his charters (Bannockburn, 1340, no. 23). These are untranslatable and quite common English names (Wales, Nicholas and James), but one nephew (called 'Maler'. derived apparently from Malher, the name given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 1031 for one of the North-west British rulers who submitted to King Knut (Gamon, 1952, version E, s.a. 1031), itself an Anglo-Saxon scribal's effort to transliterate the Gaelic Meal' Brdach. Names of this type were normally common in the 11th and 12th centuries on both sides of the Solway and the personal links which Christian later showed with English Cumbria could point to a north-western English (Cumbrian, Westmoorland, Furness) origin, or to connections with the Norse-Gaelic community in Galloway. Certainly most of the surviving evidence for his activities points to a very strong personal association with Cathbadh diocese, although this overstatement may be distorted by the poor survival of documentation relating to his own see. The English pipe rolls for 1159 and 1160 record the payment to Bishop Christian on King Henry II's instructions of 14th April in each year from the royal gold receipts (a tax levied on cattle) from the sheriffdoms of Carlisle (Bain 1881, no. 67, 72). The Christian was in receipt of such payments could indicate that he was active in the diocese of Carlisle providing episcopal services during the Carolingian-Anglo-Saxon vacancy there which followed the death of Bishop Aelredbald, but on what terms is unknown. It is possible also that he was resident in Cumberland at this time on account of the civil wars in Galloway between Fergus of Galloway and his son, Gabhrainn and Ulrich.

Despite the poverty of the surviving record sources for Christian's activities within his diocese, it appears from the fragments which have been preserved that his episcopate saw the institution of a new formalised structure of ecclesiastical government within the see. His favour to the Cistercian order, which is well-recorded later in his career, suggests that he identified himself closely with the reformed clergy of the mid-12th century who were actively undertaking a systematic restructuring of the secular (and monastic) Church in northern England, Scotland and Ireland at this date. Christian's reformist credentials can perhaps be seen in the appearance soon after 1154 of an archbishop of Whithorn or Galloway, Robert, and c. 1656 of one Dean of Christianity, Simon and Jedidath (Bannockburn Chronicle 1490, No. 52; Bain 1969, 136, 138). Together, they would have formed the core of an administration responsible for the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline over the other diocesan clergy, the implementation of canon law within the diocese, and the establishment of ecclesiastical courts to deal with spiritual and mortal issues. A still clearer sign of his commitment to ecclesiastical reform at Whithorn can be seen in his establishment of a conveni of canons regular there by c. 1177 (Cowman & Eason 1976, 103). It has generally been assumed that the 12th century cathedral had been served by a community of secular clerics and priests, the successor clergy of the 'monasteries' which may have functioned on the site following the demise of the late Saxon/early Norse era. Given the scarce evidence for continuity on the monastic site from the mid-9th to the early 12th centuries, this is a reasonable supposition, but there is no positive evidence for the existence of such a religious community. Anology from elsewhere in Scotland and northern England, however, suggests the model of a transition from college of secular clerics to regular monastic communities in processes often directed or encouraged by the local diocesan (see, for example, North 1999). At Whithorn, it has been argued that the community which served Gille-âldan's cathedral was converted first into Augustinian canons prior to subsequently adopting the more austere Premonstratensian rule (Buckland 1935). Unlike in England, where many of the older diocesan centres were served by convents of regular clergy, only Whithorn and St
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Andrews in Scotland were associated with monasteries. In the case of St Andrews, an unconfirmed community of St Hildebrand was replaced by a priory of Augustinian canons in 1202, and this new priory was dissolved by deposition at Whithorn. In 1202, or possibly, given Christianity’s apparent personal association with north-western England and the archbishopric of York, that the example of Carlisle, where an Augustinian priory was added to the cathedral, provided a more direct inspiration for developments at Whithorn.

The possible north-western English links of Christianity may have helped to produce a very marked attachment to the see of York from the outset of his career as bishop. The strength of that bond was underscored by his maintenance of his obedience to the archbishop throughout the century, in contrast to the situation in the diocese of Carlisle.

The see of York was established in 1202, and from then on the sees of York and Carlisle were in close contact. It is significant that the see of York was established as a result of the union of the diocese of York and the see of Carlisle. The see of York, however, had a more direct link at the time of St Ninian’s death.

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discouraged, including the abbeys, had apparently selected Gilbert. There was a strong probability that the king had expressed concern to ensure that his candidate was chosen. The fact that Gilbert was a Melrose monk gave further support to the idea that he was the king’s nominee for that abbey; a closely related position with Alexander II and provided him with reliable bishops for a community already sensitive in his kingdom (1998). Gilbert, however, was not just an equally close relationship being introduced into Galloway by the crown. His name, which may represent a Latinizing of the Gaelic Gil-keep, and his former position as abbot of one of the Galloway Cistercian houses (which were not part of the Melrose selection), suggest that he may have been of Galloway background and selected by the king on account of his knowledge of the Scottish south-west.

The speed with which Gilbert was selected so soon after the death of Bishop Walcher suggests the importance which King Alexander placed on securing control of the see by a reliable agent. It may have caught the Whithorn chapter off-guard, but three weeks later the prior and canons elected a certain Osdo Ylver, formerly the abbot of Holywood in Nicholad and a fellow canon at Whithorn (Baronye Club 1837b, no. 1323). His election required discussion among themselves as constituting the cathedral chapter and, since the pope had been advising the principle of rights of election to bishoprics lay in the hands of such chapters, their action constituted the election of the clergy of the province of York. It has been suggested that their advancing the rival candidate was an indication of their anti-Scottish outlook and support for the rebellion in Galloway against Alexander II. Unrelated parties of the lordship between the barons of Ayre (Ashey 1959), certain they chose to do it in that fashion, but their motives were probably altogether less honorable. It was not uncommon for there to be tensions between bishops, who were continually head of ecclesiastical houses attached to their cathedrals but often members of even the same order, and the members of those communities, as in the relationship between successive bishops of St Andrews and the Augustinian priory there until 1675, and it is possible that they sought to end such problems by electing one of their own number as bishop (Donaldaill 1959, note 174).

The principal obstacle to overcome by either candidate in securing their consecration at the see was the need to obtain the approval of the archbishop of York. On 23 April 1230, King Alexander wrote to the archbishop and clergy of Whithorn diocese, a copy of the latter also apparently being sent to Archbishop Walcher de Gray, from what appears to have been an assembly of the Scottish royal council at Newcastle Abbey in Midlothian (Raine 1870, 173). The letter stated that Gilbert, monk of Melrose, had
been elected unanimously and canonically by them, that the king approved their choice and agreed that the archbishop should be consecrated. Archbishop de Gray must already have known by this date that the claim of unanimous election was untrue, for Duncan, prior of Whithorn, and the canons had also written to him to inform him of the election of Osdo (Raine 1870, 170, 171-2). Their letters claimed that they had sought - but, significantly, not obtained - the approval of King Alexander 'who possibly holds Galloway', a turn of phrase which has been taken to suggest the canons' hostility to the recent Scottish interference in the affairs of the lordship (Ashey 1959, 69). The choice of Osdo they stressed, was unreasonable and followed the current papal approved custom of episcopal elections. Therefore, they requested that the archbishop consecrate Osdo.

On 15 May King Alexander wrote to York concerning the claims of the prior (Raine 1870, 172). The council, he stated, had neither sought his permission for the election nor gained his assent to it. Consequently, he demanded that the archbishop should not consecrate Osdo and sent preceptors to make a formal appeal against his candidature. This action appears to have prompted a counterclaim from the canons which reveals that Archbishop de Gray had called a council at York to hear the case, to which he had summoned the canons. They, however, replied that they could not come 'on account of the war of the king of Scots against Galloway', but were over their own number as their preceptor with the power to make an appeal if it should prove necessary (Raine 1870, 170-1). Although Osdo appears to have commanded significant support at York in 1230, he had been unable to secure a final settlement in his favour and Archbishop de Gray had consecrated Gilbert; the political influence of the king of Scots was too great. This remained true and the master and Osdo embarked on a protracted round of litigation and appeals, leading ultimately to an appeal to Rome in 1241 and the appointment of a judge-delegate by Pope Gregory IX. The final decision was not made until 1256 (Ashey 1959, 62-4). No judgment from that tribunal has survived, but the fact that Gilbert continued to serve as bishop of Whithorn suggests that he had retained against Osdo.

Almost immediately after his consecration at York on 2 September 1235, Gilbert was to demonstrate his will to King Alexander. In the autumn of 1235, the men of Galloway rose in rebellion in support of Thomas, the bastard son of King of Scots. The rebellion was suppressed by the archbishop’s forces, and Gilbert, as a result, was appointed to the bishopric of Whithorn (Baronye Club 1840, no. 85; Baronye Club 1847, nos. 67, 70). Down to the mid-1290s, he was regularly employed to depose for the archbishop of York, dealing with such issues as the succession of the bishopric of Whithorn in the western part of York diocese (Brown 1907, nos. 385, 456, 569). In 1286 he was at Hexham, where on 9 September he gave his profession of obedience to the recently consecrated Archbishop John le Royn (Brown 1916, 134). The following day, the archbishop excused Henry from his duty of an annual attendance on him at York, releasing this obligation on account of the bishop’s great age and the attendant rigours of the journey (Brown 1916, 82). It was at this time that the archbishop also issued an indult to all who contributed towards the repair of the cathedral at Whithorn which had been damaged during raids on Galloway by the Bruce family in the disturbances which had followed the death of king Alexander III of Scotland (Brown 1916, ii-iii; Baronye Club 1843, Chapter 3; later Aedhruin (Bolingbroke) 1152).

The attack on Whithorn in 1226 had been part of a wider campaign in Galloway which appears to have been highly destructive of property. The exchequer accounts for 1226-7 of John Comyn, earl of Buchan, sheriff of Wigtown, refer to land being unoccupied on account of the war moved by the Earl of Carrick after the king’s death (Stuart and Barrow 1878, 30). Damage inflicted on the bishop’s estates and causing a general reduction in his income from spiritualities across the diocese as a consequence of this raid may have been the source of the adversities which led to Henry’s arrest and consignment to Archbishop le Royn early in 1287 (Brown 1916, no. 134). In reply, the archbishop asked Henry to depose for him during his absence from the archdiocese, particularly within the archdiocese of Kirkwall, promising him payment for his troubles (Brown 1916, no. 134). Henry appears to have seized the opportunity to boost his income and in early 1287 received a summons with Bishop of Caith to reconcile the church of Whithorn (Brown 1916, no. 134). In August, he consecrated seven more parochial churches in York diocese (Brown 1913, 166-7). Given that Henry’s age had been cited as a reason for pardoning him from coming to York in 1286, it is remarkable that as late as October 1291 he was still accepting commissions to depose for Archbishop le Royn within his diocese (Brown 1916, no. 134). He died on 1 November 1293 (Baronye Club 1837a, 154-5).

Thomas de Bailon (de de Klokkenbrij of de Galloway) 1294-1324
Within a month of Bishop Henry’s death, Archbishop le Royn, and his archdeacon, Thomas de Bailon, issued an adfuturament to Alexander, the son of Ralph of Panhaugh, to administer the see until the election and consecration of a successor (Brown 1916, no. 1386). Early in January 1294, John Balliol, king of Scots, vowed to the archbishop his fealty to the see of Whithorn and the election of Thomas de Bailon, informing him of the election of Thomas of Kirkcudbright as the prior and canons of Whithorn and an unnamed clergy of the diocese, but insisting that the process was tainted with stronger purity. The king therefore

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The remains of Edward were moved from the cathedral, and his body was placed in a sarcophagus, surrounded by relics of the saint. The sarcophagus was decorated with a gold cross and inscribed with the words of a prayer, written in his own handwriting. The cross was a symbol of the cross of Christ, and it was placed on the tomb to signify the crucifixion of Christ. The sarcophagus was then sealed with a stone, and the tomb was closed with a lead cover.

Edward's body was then placed in the crypt of the cathedral, where it remained until the time of the Reformation. During this time, the tomb was visited by many people who came to pray and seek blessings from the saint. The tomb was a source of comfort and hope for the people of the town, and it became a place of pilgrimage.

The tomb of Edward was then relocated to a new site, where it was placed in a larger and more elaborate tomb. The new tomb was decorated with intricate carvings and inscriptions, and it was sealed with a heavy lead cover. The tomb was then moved to a new location, where it remained until the time of the Reformation.

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The tomb of Edward was then relocated to a new site, where it was placed in a larger and more elaborate tomb. The new tomb was decorated with intricate carvings and inscriptions, and it was sealed with a heavy lead cover. The tomb was then moved to a new location, where it remained until the time of the Reformation.
THE MEDIEVAL BISHOPS OF WHITHORN, THEIR CATHEDRAL AND THEIR TOMBS

to resume an active role as a suffragan of York without the complication of divided loyalties in the midst of conflict between Popes and Emperors. Unfortunately for the bishop, however, the peace lasted only four years before Edward Balliol, the son of the deposed King John Balliol, returned to Scotland with Edward III's backing and began a war that would prove to be a 24-year struggle for the throne. To ensure that he would not be deposed in his absence, Simon de Morville was given the additional title of governor of the kingdom in the bishop's absence. The resulting division of the territory was a source of conflict between Simon and Edward III, and it is likely that Simon, if he had been able to return to his diocese, would have been able to function within his diocese (for discussion of the post-1322 position in Gallowsay, see Oram 1999, especially 3-7).

Given the turbulence of Gallowsay for most of this period, it is unsurprising that little record survives of Bishop Simon's activities within his diocese. The gradual disintegration of the see of York, which the break down in Anglo-Scottish relations produced, contributed in part to the lack of sources for Simon and his successors, who figure rarely in the archbishops' registers which are a major source of data for their predecessors. Like many leading clerics in Scotland in the early 1300s, when it appeared that the Bruce cause was effectively lost, he may have temporarily come into the service of the English crown. On 1 November 1335, described as being in the peace and faith of King Edward, he was given royal letters of protection for one year (Macpherson et al. 1814, i, 383). No further record of such protection survives, which might suggest that Simon returned to his pro-Brune duties as the cause of David II began to recover in the later 1330s.

Michael Malcolمحاugh or MacColough 1355-89

After a century of attempting to place one of their own number in the bishopric, on the death of Bishop Simon the canons of Whitburn had the satisfaction of seeing the election of their own priest, Michael, in 1369 (Stead 1390, 139). His election had occurred before 4 June 1355 and was confirmed by Archbishop John de Thoresby on 26 June, with his consecration following at the hands of the canons on 12 July. This, however, is no record of a profession of obedience having been offered, and although Whitburn remained technically suffragan of York for a further 131 years, Malcolمحاugh's episcopacy appears to mark a definite watershed in Gallowsay's centuries-old ecclesiastical relationship with northern England. For the bishops of Whitburn, the future lay firmly within a Scottish context.

By 1355, support for Edward Balliol in western Gallowsay had been almost wholly extinguished and it is probable that Malcolمحاugh's election should be seen in the context of efforts by the Bruce regime to underpin their power. His newly gained hold on the region through installation of an influential local figure into the bishopric. It is unfortunate that there is little evidence to indicate that Malcolمحاugh's role in the reintegration of Gallowsay into the political community of the kingdom or of his relationship with the ruling regime. He is last recorded alive in January 1388 (Fothihm, iii, 797) and may have died in the course of that year. It is not unlikely that he was buried, but given his personal connections with Whithorn as former prior and bishop it is likely that his tomb is in the later burial at the east end.

Thomas 1339-62

Malcolمحاugh's episcopate had marked a watershed in many ways. Although his election seemed to mark a final triumph for the capella forma which had been favoured by the popes since the early 13th century, it also marked the last instance of a successful application of the principle. Instead, successors were generally installed on the death of each predecessor, where individuals petitioned for and, usually for payment of so-called 'common services', received appointment to benefices. Understandably, it was seen as a step forward to dissolve the abbey and, despite the generally high standard of the papal administration, record-keeping, also led to discord and dispute where more than one individual could produce documented evidence for their prior claims.

Following Malcolمحاugh's death, there appears to have been an attempt locally to elect Thomas MacDowall as his successor. His name indicates that he was a local man, connected with one of the most influential Gallowsay families. Although he claimed to have been elected unanimously, presumably by the canons of Whithorn, and pursued his claim actively until early 1360 (COP, s. 51), he was unable to secure confirmation or consecration in the face of the papal interdict. There is no further record of his actions until another Thomas, of unknown origin, who received provision and consecration at Argyll on 31 December 1359 (Watt 1609, 130). Almost nothing is known of his career, which ended with his death. A further candidate was another Thomas, of unknown origin, who received provision and consecration at Argyll on 31 December 1359 (Watt 1609, 130). Almost nothing is known of his career, which ended with his death.

The vacancy during which Bishop Adam probably died was ended in 1378 with the election of Pope Urban VI. At some stage during this vacancy, Oswald, the claimant prior of the Cistercian abbey of Glinescum, had been elected to the bishopric and an approach was made to Pope Urban for his formal provision. Oswald appeared to have been able to secure the confirmation for consecration, which had occurred before 36 March 1379 when he was in England and about to return to his see (Watt 1609, 131; Macpherson et al. 1814, 1). However, the see was still available by events beyond his control, for on 20 September 1378 the College of Cardinals, alarmed by Urban's unpopularity, deposed him and elected in his place Robert of Genova, who took the name of Pope Clement VII. International politics saw the escalation of the Schism in the Church as western Christendom moved towards a new alignment. In England, it had declared for Urban by 5 November 1378 whilst France, largely on account of Urban's anti-French stance and the kinship between King Charles V and Clement, declared for the latter, who continued to base himself at Avignon. Scotland, primarily because of its alignment with Urban, followed their French allies in backing Clement. Oswald was in an awkward position. He had been returning from his consecration carrying various bulls and letters from Pope Urban to Scottish recipients whilst the Schism had evaded. Protected by an English safe-conduct issued on 26 March 1378, he returned to his see only to find that he had a rival.
CLOTHING FOR THE SOUL DIVINE: BURIALS AT THE TOMB OF ST NINIAN

provision of his successor on 28 May 1406 (West 1969, 131; Watt 1977, 473; CPPL, iv, 577). It is not known if he returned to Scotland or where he died, but the balance of evidence seems to point towards his death abroad. Whether or not his remains were returned for burial at Whithorn is unknown. The implications, however, given the date of his death and the results of the radiocarbon dating programme (Table 1; Lumsden, Chapter 9) — even if he was returned — is that he is not among the excavated graves at the east end of the church.

Ellenis Abdugan 1406–12/1415

Like Oswald in 1378, Ellenis Abdugan was "excised" in his own diocese before securing his provision from the second Avignonese pope, Benedict XIII, on 28 May 1406 (CPPL Benedict XIII, 153). Abdugan appears to have been a Galloway man and had already gained prominence through attachment to the household of Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas, from whom he had received the provostry of the rich collegiate church of Lecuch. There is perhaps no greater testimony to the degree of control over the internal affairs of Galloway exercised by the Black Douglases family than the election of Abdugan to the bishopric. The new bishop was a committed pluralist who used the need of both Avignon and Roman papacy to court favour to secure papal authorization to hold several incompatible benefices simultaneously. Shortly after his formal provision, he secured letters from Benedict XIII which permitted him to hold both the provostship of Kirkmaheugh and the provostry of Lecuch jointly with his new bishopric (CPPL Benedict XIII, 153). There was no spiritual reason for this arrangement, but it was basically in maintaining possession of two lucrative benefices which would greatly augment the income he could receive from what was then one of the poorest of the Scottish bishoprics.

Given his pluralism and his use of indulgences and dispensations as money-making devices, it is difficult not to view with some cynicism his efforts in 1406 to force the canons of Whithorn to contribute towards the costs of repairs to the cathedral church. The bishop's letter to Benedict XIII has not survived, but on 11 April 1408 the pope issued a commission in response to his appeal to the archdeacon of Glasgow to compel the prior and canons to contribute from their income towards rebuilding costs. The wording of the commission probably repeats the language of Abdugan's letter (CPPL Benedict XIII, 73). For the full text, see Reid 1960, 1; see also Ormston, Chapter 8 (Later Medieval Building Work). There is no record of the result of the archdeacon's investigation. Abdugan's relationship with the canons was further damaged by a second appeal which sought to force them to yield property to Whithorn to him to allow the building of a narthex in the key (CPPL Benedict XIII, 174). It is possible that his predecessor, in fact, had no separate residence and that the pre-13th-century bishops of St Andrews, occupied part of the cathedral to permit him to properly fulfill his spiritual functions. Again, we do not know the outcome of the appeal, but the later medieval bishops of Whithorn possessed Bishopric or Bishop's House, just north of the cathedral priory.

There is little evidence for his active career as bishop other than some records of his installation of priests to vacant benefices (CPPL Benedict XIII, 291). One dispensation by him survives, arising from powers granted to him by papal bull to dispense ten persons of his choice of clerics within his diocese, in contrast marriage within the prohibited degrees. This was given on 8 September 1412 to Alexander Stewart of Forfar and Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of Sir John Stewart, Lord of Call. They were permitted to marry despite their relationship in the fourth degree of consanguinity (NAS GD1/1348). These powers had been granted to Ellenis as far back as February 1307, when he had received two separate indulgences from Pope Benedict XIII, the first allowing him to dispense 12 people from the defect of blood to be permitted to holy orders and the second permitting the marriage of 12 individuals related in the fourth degree to Benedict XIII (1601).

As with his predecessor, we have no firm evidence for his exact date of death, but papal letters concerning appointment of a successor were issued from 16 June 1415 (CPPL Benedict XIII, 317–9). He was described as dying "outside the city", probably in his diocese. While there is no record of his burial, it is possible that he was interred at Whithorn. It is clear, however, given the date of his death and the results of the radiocarbon dating programme (Table 1; Lumsden, Chapter 9) that he cannot be among the group at the east end of the church.

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The death of Bishop Abdugan was followed by yet another disputed succession to the bishopric, this time occasionally by the reservation of provision to the see by the pope conflicting with the wishes of the chapter. The canons of Whithorn had probably expected swiftly on the bishop's death to elect a man suitable to both themselves and their lay patrons, Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas. Their choice was Gilbert Cavan, a well-made and well-educated cleric with a career extending back to the early 1380s (West 1977, 93–5). He is connected very closely with the earl's household and second in number of appointments to benefices through service to his family. In the year following his election to the bishopric, Cavan was employed in negotiations for Douglas's new arrangement in England, and in the early 1420s he was involved in the earl's household and latterly in the earl's household and latterly in the earl's household. These connections would be inadequate for the secularization of certain benefices or to secure confirmation of his election from Benedict XIII, on 14 June 1415 provided instead Thomas of Beatrice, the Celestine archbishop of St Andrews, and papal chaplain and deacon of appeals (CPPL Benedict XIII, 317–8).

Lieutenant Cavan, Thomas was a highly educated cleric who had already held a prominent career and was linked closely to the household of the Black Douglases (West 1977, 70–2). He was already in possession of a substantial portion of benefices in Scotland when appointed to the bishopric, but had recently gained papal favour through his service in the curia and consistent loyalty to Benedict XIII at a time when the Avignonese curia was losing support throughout Europe. He appears to have been consecrated bishop on 3 September 1415, when he was no longer described as a cleric or papal clerk (CPPL Benedict XIII, 326). Shortly after securing the bishopric, however, he appears to have transferred his allegiance from Benedict to the Council of Constance, which was seeking a way of bringing a formal end to the Schism. This shift may reflect the gradual disenchantment of Earl Archibald from the "Avignonese" allegiance and his growing support for the Council movement which would culminate in 1418–9 with the earl's active role in formally bringing the 46-year period of Schism to an end (Brown 1990, 196–9).

Throughout his career and despite the extensive collection of church offices which he held in Scotland, Thomas appears to have been mainly an absentee administrator. There is little evidence to show his regular presence in Scotland, but alone in his own diocese, after 1415 and his involvement in the dispossession of the Schism probably ensured that he was rarely at home for long. He was present in Scotland in March 1416, probably in conjunction with formal installation and consecration as bishop, attending a gathering of senior clerics at Perth (Hornby Club 1454, no. 324). He did not attend a provincial council of the Scottish Church at Perth in July 1420, sending instead a procurator (Robinson 1866, ii, 166). This may be an indication that he had fallen ill or that he had withdrawn from the papal Curia. It is also possible that he had been reimbursed for his expenses for his trip to England at the expense of the see. Alexaner was employed by the bishops of Whithorn in the late 14th century but it is likely that he died in Scotland and was buried in the cathedral.

Alexander Van 1422–50

The new bishop was Alexander Van, who had been bishop of Caithness from 1414. His translation to Whithorn represented a career advance as, though still low in the hierarchy of Scottish dioceses, the Church of Galloway was still far wealthier than the most northerly maintained see. Van, unlike his immediate predecessors, was apparently not university educated and may have owed his promotion to personal connections and good fortune. Gordon Donaldson suggested that there may have been a son of William Van, lord of Duntulm, whom he records as dying c. 1392 (Donaldson 1493, 141), but his earlier career seems to have been formed entirely on southern Scotland and there is no evidence for any immediate connections with the Duntulm line. This northern connection may point to a relationship with the clerical line of the Van family who held lands in Ayrshire from the 1400s and who were associated with Whithorn's priory's daughter-houses at Farm, but their connection with the see, Duntulm line of the family and their date of establishment in Farm is unknown. Before 1398 he was parson of Caithness and was promoted in July that year to the archdeaconry (CPPL Benedict XIII, 38). He was promoted to the bishopric of Orkney by Pope Benedict XIII before 20 November 1407 but, despite receiving faculties permitting his consecration in Scotland in February 1408, he had still not been consecrated by 22 January 1415 several months after his translation to the see of Caithness (CPPL Benedict XIII, 166, 170, 309). In December 1422 he was at the curia, where Pope Martin V instructed his translation to Whithorn and Orkney where he was later to seek papal absolution for his possible errors in leaving to take possession of his new see before having secured the requisite papal letters (Watt 1969, 131; CSSR 1423–8, 215).

Despite his long episcopate, Alexander Van has left little evidence for his career at the see. The earliest surviving record for his activities show him involved in settling financial disputes, possibly indicating anxiety over settlement of the commote service payments which he would have been obliged to make to the earl as his patron. As part of this process, he reached agreement on a range of issues concerning appointment of parish priests and payment of money due to the bishop as confirmatory of the dean and by the abbot of Holywood, which was one of the last holders of appropriated parish churches in Galloway (NAS RH/254, RFHEL 780, both dated 4 August 1429; Reid 1960, 2–3, August 1429). He appears to have been particularly concerned about the spiritual health of his see, sometime before February 1433 coming from a past a parish priest who was unable to perform his duties and who had absconded from his charge without payment for his services for a year (CSSR 1433–47, no. 35). In 1434, he authorized the appropriation of the church of Longisle to the chantry in the cathedral which Prior Thomas was setting up (Chapter B.2.2). His last surviving act appears to be the charter of
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September 1448 which granted lands in Kirkcudbright to Thomas McDowell of Gartland and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Vans (1403, no. 159). The relationship between Robert Vans and Bishop Alexander is unknown, but there seems to have been some kind of kinship or association. Robert appears to have been the first of his family to secure a significant landholding in Wigtownshire, purchasing the properties of Barrowcarse and Redhall in Kirkcudbright from William, 8th Earl of Douglas, in January 1422 (Rex., 1609, nos. 136, 137).

By the time that Robert Vans was making his mark as a landholder, Bishop Alexander had resigned his see. In 1450, the bishop was probably around 70 years old, and age and infirmity, reasons which he himself had used to justify the removal of a parish priest at least two decades earlier, seem to have prompted him to resign his position (Donkin, 1450; Watt, 1608, 131). On 8 January 1450, his resignation in favour of Thomas Spens was received at the Apostolic Canons (Watt, 1608, 131). His exact date of death is unknown, but he appears to have lived into the early 1450s. No burial site is recorded but it seems likely that he was interred in the cathedral at Whithorn.

Thomas Spens 1450-9
The man in whose favour Alexander Van resigned was Thomas Spens, an ambitious cleric who had started his career in the service of the Black Douglases. It is possible that he had been coadjutor to Vans before his elevation to the bishopric (Donkin, 1449, 141), but no concrete evidence for this role has survived. Spens may have been one of the many former servants of the Douglas family who had been co-opted into the Whithorn organisation which had been the judicial murder of William, 6th Earl of Douglas, and his younger brother, David, and the succession of their great uncle, James 'the Groat', earl of Nithsdale, to the main Douglas magnates' seat at Whithorn. His first step forward - the provostship of Lincleddan - to Douglas patronage, his later career was advanced with the support of King James 'the Good' in 1446 (66). The late and often unavailable account of Hector Boscawen suggests that he was appointed by King James to the archdeaconry of Galloway (Boz, 1894, 37), which, if true, would suggest that he was a boy agent in James I's policy of colonization on the Doughies' power-base in Galloway. From 1450, he was very closely identified with the crown interest and witnessed numerous royal charters, his alignment with the crown being confirmed graphically in 1455 when he was one of two ambassadors sent to France by the king to explain his actions against the Doughies to King Charles VII (Omnis, 1977, 74). He was keeper of the Privy Seal before 1458 (NAS GD138/3/41). In 1457, Spens attempted to recover Spens for his services through translation to Whithorn, with Thomas Vans, dean of Glasgow, advising at his successor at Whithorn (Donkin, 1449, 141; Watt, 1609, 131). The attempted translation in 1457 was ineffective. However, in December 1458 he was again translated to Whithorn, this time successfully. On this occasion, Thomas Vans appeared as witness to his replacement, Spens served as bishop of Aberdeen for a further 22 years, and was buried in the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh, where he was buried by James IV's widow, Mary of Gueldres (Chapter 8.3).
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8.2 THE BUILDINGS

8.2.1 Liturgical and devotional arrangements and the position of the choir

The 12th-century church at Whithorn was built by the monks of the Cistercian monastery which had been founded there by the monks of the monastery of Dunkeld in Scotland in the 12th century. The church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and was the seat of the bishop of Whithorn. The church was destroyed by fire in the 15th century and was rebuilt in the 16th century. The church was later destroyed by the Reformation and the building was used as a farm until the 19th century. The building was then restored and is now a museum.

The church was originally a single-nave building with a central tower. The nave was divided into three aisles by wooden screens, and the chancel was separated from the nave by a stone screen. The church had a large choir and a small nave.

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CLOTHING FOR THE SOUL - DIVINE BURIALS AT THE TOMB OF ST NIGELL

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high levels of post-1200 decay, the Whithorn Cathedral and its surrounding buildings were destroyed and the site fell into disuse. As a result, the architectural features of the cathedral were not preserved. However, the church's ruins were eventually restored in the 19th century, and the remains of the cathedral are now preserved as a historic site.

The ruins of Whithorn Cathedral include the remains of the nave, transepts, and chancel, as well as the remains of the tower and other structures. The church was originally built in the 12th century and was augmented in the 14th century, with the addition of a new tower. The cathedral was used as a place of worship until the 17th century, when it was abandoned and fell into disrepair.

The Whithorn Cathedral is located in the town of Whithorn, Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland. The site is now managed by the Historic Environment Scotland, and it is open to the public for visits and tours. The ruins of the cathedral are a popular destination for tourists and historians, and they offer a glimpse into the history and architecture of medieval Scotland.
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of a presbytery with the high altar placed against the east gable, but the altar was subsequently placed further to the west and the space behind it developed instead as a reliquary chapel (Fairweather 1997, 26). Unlike St Denis or Canterbury, there was no two-tier arrangement, the eastern chapel at St Andrews having no crypt. To what extent this chapel was intended for public access is unclear, for late medieval alterations involving the at least partial blocking of part of the nave area from the north choir aisle would have severely restricted any flow of pilgrim traffic. Access would have been easier before the insertion of a tomb in the eastern arcade of the north choir aisle, but it is possible that the relics of St Andrew (which comprised only the right arm from elbow to palm, three fingers of the right hand, the right knee-cap, a tooth and portions of the skull: ibid. 1930, 120) were contained in a portable reliquary rather than displayed in a large reliquary upon a monumental base as that employed at Canterbury or Westminster, and were brought out from the chapel into the main body of the church when necessary. An alternative interpretation of the arrangement at St Andrews is explored by Yeoman (1999, 65-7). Setting aside the presence of a crypt, in its general form of a reliquary chapel behind the high altar, this may have been the plan adopted at Whithorn.

The extended east end at Whithorn

Construction of an enlarged east end may have provided both a more elaborate setting for devotions at a separate saint’s shrine of St Ninian and also accommodation for more significant liturgical arrangements associated with the growing narrative concerning the early Christian communities in the area. The exact structural layout of the 13th-century church cannot be determined from the surviving ruins, but a number of conjectural restorations have been prepared based on extrapolation from the visible fragments and other architectural elements exposed during grave-digging operations in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The earliest detailed analysis, offered by David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross but based on the architect William Wallet’s plans drawn up during the course of the Magnus of Five Churches excavation and completion of the east end of the ruins, suggested that the eastern limb was an aisled structure with two bays, possibly with chapels on either side (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 481). Galloway, in his clearance of the crypt, had exposed the lower part of a staircase descending from the north side of the choir to the two vaulted chambers which supported the floor of the easternmost portion of the church. How these separate components were arranged, however, is not considered by them. The Galloway/MacGibbon and Ross aisleless plan was reproduced by the Royal Commission in the Worshipful inventory of ancient buildings in Dumfries and Galloway (HMAC 1952, Figure 101) and it remained the standard interpretation until 1934 when Henry Kerr offered a re-reading of the surviving remains which proposed that there had been a north aisle running for a few bays east of the central crossing, with a further unaccounted extension housing the eastern chapel projecting beyond that over the vaulted crypt (Kerr 1934, 31-9). Kerr’s interpretation went of a long, narrow church with shallower projecting transepts of only one bay’s depth to north and south. The shallowness of this projection was based on his identification of a transept in the north transept of the main structure, and he suggested that the church must have been extended eastwards. This interpretation was based on the notion that the church extended beyond the present limits of the nave and that the eastern extension was continued in the south transept. Kerr (1934, 34). He referred to the earlier suggestion of a chapterhouse immediately to the north of the north transept which was limited to the southern limit of the nave of St Ninian’s church and was interpreted as the south wall of the chancel, but the position of the small sub-rectangular building at the north of the eastern crypt led him to argue that there was probably an aisle on this side from which the building, interpreted by him as a sacristy, could be entered (Kerr 1934, 34, 36). He also argued that the site leading down into the crypt on the north side was probably accessed from an aisle rather than descending within the thickness of the wall. Despite the cautionary nature of what Kerr had proposed, by the time of the programme of excavations at the site began in 1949 by Ralph Radford and John Galloway, the aisled side chapels had become a largely accepted fact.

Ralph Radford’s main work focused on the early chapel underlying the east end of the cathedral and in the nave, but a north-north-west transept opened up parallel with the western side of the access path to the current parish church was intended to define the extent of the transepts. No surviving evidence for the transept chapel was found, but, re-erecting the building on the north side of the choir which Galloway and Kerr had thought to be the chapterhouse as a more extensive north transept and the cross-shaped font, Radford (1963, 1955) proposed the two south-eastern bays of the north transept at the north-east junction of transept and choir. Ralph Radford proposed that the north and south transepts were three bays deep and had eastern chapels in the two outer bays (Radford & Donaldson, 1955, Fig 4). More importantly, however, although no physical evidence was found to support his interpretation, he also proposed that the choir was sized for four bays on both sides, with only the two east transepts’ bays’ lengths, carried on the substructure formed by the crypt and transepts, indicated in plan, under construction (1955, 34). This interpretation was based on the view that the crypt and choir were not part of St Ninian’s structure and would have to be channellised to either side of the central aisle where the canons’ stalls were located, to avoid disruption of the monastic services. Ralph Radford (1963) argued that, to allow access to the easternmost chapel over the crypt, which he saw as containing a new shrine housing the relics of Ninian, the high altar of the cathedral was placed against a screen three bays east of the crossing (Radford & Donaldson 1955, 34). From the fourth bay of the north side, a straight flight of stairs descended eastwards to provide access to the crypt, and, to smooth and speed the flow of pilgrims, a second flight of stairs probably connected the crypt and the fourth bay of the south side, but all traces of this have been obliterated by the construction of a south-eastern chapel in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. This arrangement, it was argued, provided a means for pilgrims to circulate behind the high altar to visit the reliquary shrine, descend into the tunneled north transept, ascend into the choir of the easternmost chapel and exit via the south side, a plan similar in design if much smaller and simpler in scale and execution than that adopted at Glasgow (Cruden 1958, 90, 160). Ralph Radford’s interpretation was modified in the 1960s, mainly by the shortening of the transepts and the extension of the north aisle to provide a link with the upper portion of the curious detailed structure which stands to the north of the eastern church, but his general outline was still regarded as sound (and revised version in Radford & Donaldson 1964, 16). Stewart Cruden, however, argued that the crypt stalls – a matching pair was by then accepted as a fact – descended in thickness of the wall rather than through the floor of the aisles (Cruden 1968, 90). His comparison of this plan with the scheme employed at Glasgow has been significantly elaborated upon by Peter Yeoman, whose interpretation of the devotionality arrangements of the east end suggests a sophisticated and carefully managed venue for maximizing the spiritual impact on the pilgrims from the transept (Yeoman 1999, 65, 66). As discussed above, there are good analogies for the location of shrine chapels east of the high altar at other pilgrimage churches in Scotland and elsewhere in Britain. The aisleless design of the chapels housing a treasury in this location at St Andrews, discussed above, where the unadorned periphery is believed to have housed the spade relic, and Dunfermline, where the stepped base which supported the treasury containing St Margarets relics can still be seen in the ruins of the eastern chapel (Yeoman 1999, 65, 71-4). At St Andrews, the east end of the cathedral was laid out as part of the grand new scheme commenced in 1160 by Bishop Arnold, while at Dunfermline the shrine chapel was part of the new choir limb built in the mid-13th century and sufficiently completed by 1250 for the consecration of St Margaret’s relics to their new location (Fairweather 2005, 49). At Glasgow, the arrangement of choir, clerestory and clerestory chapel, constructed as part of a major rebuilding programme which commenced c. 1240, are significantly more complex than at any other Scottish medieval pilgrimage church, but the original early 13th-century east end may have been closer in form to the plan adopted at Whithorn (Mcleod 1999, 46-7 Yeoman 1999, 18-24). The developed 13th-century plan, however, provided a new formery chapel east of the high altar while protecting the empty tomb of St Kenneth for reception of pilgrims in the crypt. At Whithorn, no dating evidence survives for the superstructure of the choir, but the architectural details of the surviving cobbles and springers for the original ribbed vaults of the crypt, which are exposed in the north-north-west angle and midway along the north wall, indicate that work probably commenced on this portion of the church soon after 1200 (Radford & Donaldson 1955, 10, 12). Although contemporary evidence for its design is sought, then Glasgow offers more obvious parallels than any church in the archdiocese of York. It must be stressed at this point that, although it is possible that the east end at Whithorn was modelled on the arrangements at Glasgow, there is actually no surviving documentary record datable to before 1501-6 which gives any indication of the physical layout of the pilgrimage arrangements at the former. All the elaborate reconstructions of the 13th/15th-century church are based on backward projection from the records of James V’s pilgrimages to the shrine (see below) coupled with speculative analogy with other sites. Key to all of these reconstructions is the location of the High Altar, which has been largely accepted on no solid grounds to have stood around two bays west of the east gable, but could equally have stood directly in front of the gable itself, over the road. These observations are of potentially crucial significance when the position of the bishops’ tombs is discussed below. Alternative schemes for the form of the choir and the associated design at Whithorn were already well developed by the 12th century, nor least the arrangements derived from the form developed at Tours where the tomb and shrine terminated in a cancellated form. Clearly the interpretations of the structural remains at Whithorn have changed several times over the centuries.

As a result of the present study, the most likely arrangement is that the high altar lay at the east end of the church, against the gable wall, with the bishops’ tombs immediately to the west of it.
Provided by the canons and chantries, and with the officiating priest saying a special collect and the psalm De prophetis in the pulpit's leaf, plus a collect and a sermon delivered to the congregation. The dedication of the new church was on 22 June 1666, and the service was attended by a large number of people. The service was followed by a banquet in the chapter house.}

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demonstrated in this study (Chapter 3.2.5), along with the possibility of further crypt excavation at the South Transept.
Such substantial alterations to the sub-structure of the east end of the church perhaps signify significant alterations to the building which they covered. The newly South Chapel would thus have required the breaking through of the south wall of the choir, and the creation of access into the South Chapel from the choir, of which ‘Galloway’s box’ is evidence (Chapter 3.2.5). Despite the various plans and conjectural reconstructions, it is difficult to know how this was arranged (eg Kerr 1934; Ralston & Donaldson 1953 and 1984; or that by David Simons reproduced in Yeoman 1999, figs 45), the only feature of the post-15th century which could previously be proposed with any confidence is that, on the evidence of the location of a large projecting buttress in the middle of the east wall of the south-east undercroft, the structure above was divided into two compartments. These probably both held altars beneath large windows in the sections of wall divided by the buttress.
The construction of this South Chapel should probably be seen as a manifestation of the late medieval proliferation of altars in major churches, associated in particular with the later medieval ‘cult of death’ and provision for the saying of orate memento masses. Parallel for the development of such chapels at shrines churches can be seen at both Fiaiss and Glagow, where enlarged southern chapels were added to the buildings. At Fiaiss, the south transept of the crossing early 13th-century church was massively extended in an operation perhaps intended to provide a new setting for the shrine of St Columba, though the church appears to have been abandoned uncompleted in the 14th century and was swept away in a mid-15th-century reorganisation of the east end (Jones 1992, figs 24-26 and fig 38). The southern chapel at Glagow, although named the Blackadder Aisle and associated with late 15th-century archbishop, appears to have been part of the scheme of work continued by Bishop William of Ballinderry around 1420. It was possibly intended to house some subsidiary cult associated with St Columba, but was never completed. As at Whithorn, it was intended to be a two-storeyed structure with the chapel on its upper level, but this was never completed and appears never to have been much more than the height of the lower vault (Fawcett 1998, 5). Both these examples, however, are of late 13th-century date, whereas at Whithorn was of late 15th- to early 16th-century construction. Closer functional parallels can perhaps be seen in the large chantry chapel at Arbroath, of which theories have been advanced much beyond the height of the lower vault (Fawcett 1998, 5). 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high altar. From these, pilgrims may have descended into the crypt to the saints' tombs and other relics by the steps to the north of the high altar, perhaps returning to the church by the south stair (if it still existed at that date) to make an act of pilgrimage to the two shrines and the relics kept in the lady chapel, which this schedule suggests was perhaps housed in the southern chapel, excepting the existing burial.

Aisle-door aisle? A final issue which has a direct bearing on the position of the bishop's tombs within the east end of the enlarged cathedral church is how the choir was separated from the supposed freestanding choir chapel. The plans offered by Ralston Ralston and reproduced by Historic Scotland down to the present suggest that the central aisle compartment of the choir carried through as an unobstructed space to the east, with the division between the choir and freestanding chapel being provided only by a screen behind the high altar at the third pier east of the crossing. This is, however, somewhat debatable as to whether the eastern chapel was carried up to the same height as the rest of the eastern limb of the church. If it was a lower structure, rising perhaps only to the height of the nave aisle, there would have had to be a gable pediment positioned probably on the line of the suggested third or fourth pier east of the crossing. This is the arrangement suggested by David Simons in his speculative reconstruction of the eastern shrine chapel and crypt and in the associated schematic floor plans of the transept (Yeoman 1999, figs 20 and 21). His reconstruction, however, suggests that there was a pier positioned midway between the north and south aisle piers, dividing the choir from the freestanding chapel by a two-tiered arcade and leaving an ambulatory between it and the screen behind the high altar one bay further to the west. There is, it must be stressed, no evidence for the existence of such a pier, and the arrangement seems to be based entirely on Henry Kerr's wholly speculative 1953-4 reconstruction of a soaring shrine chapel proposed from the choir by a two-tiered arcade in the position Kerr (1954, plates 1 and 5).

An important alternative to the arrangement proposed over the last 75 years by Kerr, Ralston Ralston, and Yeoman is that the eastern limb of the cathedral was existed largely without lateral aisles throughout its history. Only Kerr considered this possibility in the speculative plan which he published in 1954, based on William Galloway's earlier proposals for a simple, unadorned nave. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that only of Scotland's medieval cathedrals had lateral eastern limbs, while the cathedrals of even comparatively wealthy see towns such as Dunblane and Dunfermline seem never to have been intended to be anything other than unadorned (Fawcett 1997, 118-22). While Dunblane, Aberdeen, Brechin, Brechin, Dunblane and Dunfermline had added aisles and ornate choir chapels. Fortrose and Lismore were conceived originally as extended rectangular structures with no obvious lateral differentiation between nave and choir space. If Whithorn had an aisled (or partly aisled) choir and unadorned nave, this would have been unusual in Scottish cathedral architecture. Even allowing for the constraints of space or expansion imposed by the presence of the claustral area to the north of the cathedral, it is highly unlikely that the nave was not intended to expand to provide additional space for chapels in side aisles later in the Middle Ages. This, we must allow, could account for the possible expansion at the east end, particularly the provision of the South Chapel in the late 13th or early 16th century. Without exception, this question will probably never be resolved satisfactorily. There is, however, one possible analogy to consider: Whithorn's daughter-house at Fearn in Easter Ross.

Although Fearn was founded originally in the 1220s, nothing obvious survives of the first stone buildings erected on its site. The surviving church is believed largely to be a product of the central two quarters of the 14th century, with some minor late medieval additions and a post-Reformation transept of its nave (Fawcett 1994, 77, 134). At its stand, it is basically a simple rectangular church with no obvious external (or internal) structural differentiation between the nave and choir portions of the building. While this plain form at Fearn cannot be taken as proof positive of the plan at Whithorn, it must be considered as a possibility along with all the implications which this design would have for the speculative lateral and devotional arrangements in the cathedral.

The above reconstructions of historiographical arrangements in and pilgrim circulation routes around the cathedral are mainly predicated on the positioning of the post-1200 high altar and the possible existence of a shrine chapel behind that altar. While this has been since the late 1940s the preferred model for the cathedral's layout in the early 13th to late 13th century, bearing in mind that no solid evidence survives for the existence of the lateral sides which would have made this arrangement possible, we must consider the possibility that the high altar stood immediately in front of the east gable of the 12th-century extended east end. This was the position occupied by the high altar at Dunoroch (probably) Fortrose, Lismore, Elgin, Aberdeenshire, Brechin, Dunblane and Dunfermline. Of these churches, only Elgin has an unadorned nave and relatively simple style, while at the others the choir stalls were apparently positioned immediately adjacent to the side walls of the chancel without any passage behind them. At Whithorn, given the recorded story of the tombs of the bishops in the choir between 1235, the narrowing of the central compartment of an aisled cathedral would have made the easy flow of
end of the recorded succession of Northumbrian bishops in the 830s and the emergence of the first of the medieval succession in the later 1120s, comparison with monasteries elsewhere in Scotland and those widely in the British Isles suggests that it is unlikely that any of the burial identity in the plot of the Premonstratensian community founded here in 1177 (Table 8.2). The only prior for whom there is some evidence for burial on the site of the east end of the cathedral is Thomas Magdalenhus who in the early 1330s was making endowments for a chantry at the altar of St Mary in the church (discussed above). His arrangement suggests that he may have planned to be buried in St Mary’s chapel, but there is no surviving evidence that this was the case.

What appears to be the most common burial place for the local communities was the chapter house or the chapter almonry immediately outside the entrance to the chapter house. This tradition does not appear to be unique to any one monastic order, but is common to all orders present in Britain by the early 13th century and is likely to be a standard practice during that period. As such, the burial tradition is not unique to any one monastic order and can be found in similar settings in other monastic communities in Scotland and elsewhere in Britain. The chapter house was not only a place of worship but also a place of social and cultural activities, and its location near the entrance to the church is likely to have been chosen for its strategic importance.

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At Whithorn we are forced to argue from negative evidence, given that no structural remains of the chapter house survive, that not even their exact location can be fixed with absolute certainty, and no documentary record during the 13th century survives to give any indication of the place of burial of the earliest Prior. It is difficult, too, to make analogies with other Premonstratensian houses in Scotland. For most only a few, if any at all, of the 13th- and 14th-century abbots, the surviving tombs and effigies of Abbots Finlay McFadze (d 1478), however, rests in a burial chapel said to have been built by him and attached to the eastern side of the 14th-century church (Fawr 1954, 77; McEwen & Ross 1996, s. 546). The absence of demonstrably earlier burials in the church at Fearn suggests that the general trend away from chapter-house tombs in church to chapels or on the left side of the 14th-century church is well documented. The chapter house door (as seen by the present writer – these features are not mentioned in Colvin & Gysberts-Beer 1970). Fragmentary though the Premonstratensian evidence is, however, it does seem to indicate that the church was not a common venue for burial of the heads of the community until the later medieval period.

Comparison with other orders appears to bear this observation out. As a consequence of the major programme of excavation at Jedburgh Abbey in 1945 and documentary records relating to St Andrews cathedral priory, perhaps more is known about the burial of the first abbots and priests than of many other orders in Scotland. At St Andrews, the only other cathedral-priory in Scotland, it is known that all the abbots between John of Hadriansburg (1304) and James Bruce (d 1416) were buried either in the chapter house or in vestry near it (Carroll 1950; RGR 1953, 253). The location of the pre-14th-century priory’s graves this is less certain, but we know they were almost certainly also in the chapter house. The priory of Whithorn, however, remains relatively unknown, with the only record being the mention of a chantry at the altar of St Mary in the church, where its remains may have been an integral part of the major programme of renovations which it oversaw during its prorship (see above). Excavations within the chapter house at Jedburgh revealed 17 burials (Levis, Bvnt & al 1995, 18-25). Here, most of the interments appear to date from the 12th to 14th centuries.
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few evidently being inserted after a major remodelling of the church which involved the construction of a central pier to support a nave vault in the late 12th or late 13th century (Lewis, E. at al 1995, 145-6). In Cistercian houses, it was also standard practice for the burial of the head of the community to be made in the chapter house. At Kelso, the first Cistercian foundation in Scotland, the early abbots were also buried in the chapter house, where the remains of Abbot Whithope (d 1159) were in 1171 re-re-interred under a polychrome marble slab and where a more elaborate shrine was later constructed for the somber abbots (Fawcett & Grenier 2004, 22, 24, 184; Richardson & Wood 1949, 18-19). In 1290, the remains of the early abbots were recorded as having been moved from their original tombs east to the entrance of the chapter to new locations at the east end of the enlarged building (Bannamaye Club 1837b, n. 1246). One of the finest surviving groups of Cistercian abbatial burials in Scotland can be seen at Duddon Cross, where five funerary slabs of the late 12th- and 13th-century date survive in the present of the chapter and a superb late 12th-13th-century recumbent effigy of an abbess is also on display at the east end of the nave (Richardson 1981, 6 fig 4, 9; figs 11-13, 15). At Sweetheart, the late 13th- or early 14th-century coffin-lid of the first head of the convent, Abbot John, and a broken portion of the coffin-lid of an unknown later medieval successor, are misleadingly displayed in the south transept of the abbey church as part of a collection of medieval sculptural fragments, but seem to have been re-used originally from the ruins of the chapter house (Richardson 1981, 49). Though throughout Scotland there is a general practice to have been common to all Cistercian monasteries. At Jervaulx in Yorkshire, for example, nine slabs survive in the chapter house marking the sites of abbatial interments (Richardson 1981, 182). Further examples can be seen in Yorkshire at Byland, Fountains (where 19 abbeys are buried in the chapter house, the last interred in 1346), and Rievaulx, where eleven abbots are buried in the south transept. An elaborate effigy was developed into an elaborate shrine at the entrance to the church (Peers 1952, 10; Peers 1967, 8-10; Gildroy-Bercher 1970, 46). There has been limited archaeological investigation of monastic burial grounds in Scotland, a problem compounded by the obliteration of the physical remains of the chapter houses or entire cloister complexes. Kello’s church cloister, for example, survives only in a single element of its west range – an outer porch – while the area of the cloister and nave is now overlain by a post-Reformation cemetery. A similar situation occurs at Dunfermline where, although substantial sections of the south range survive, the nave range has been almost entirely destroyed and is now taken up by the new church. Although some of the cloisters which contain a shrine and where the medieval bishops were considered to be the apostolic successor of the saint in question. What emerges from a survey of the surviving tombs is the potentially unique arrangement of the burial at Whithorn, not only in Scotland but also within the archdiocese of York.

Cathedrals without a major shrine: In the first category, the position of the medieval episcopal interments in the cathedral at Brechin and Lismore are unknown (MacGibbon & Ross 1889, n. 303-5; RCAHMS 174, no 267). The irregular succession of bishops of Argyll in the 13th century and the appointment of Laylenders to the see by the crown in the 15th century may have produced a situation at Argyll where few bishops were buried in their cathedral. Bishop Robert Colquhoun (1473-90) is the only one for whom a burial place is known. He appears to have been buried amongst his kinsmen at Last on Loch Lomond (in the diocese of Glasgow), where no other known early effigy survives (Lacaille 1954), rather than in Lismore.

The surviving group of episcopal grave monuments in Scotland at Elgin Cathedral (which have been discussed in detail by Richard Fawcett (1999a, 67-75) and the following is offered only as a summary of his work. It is believed that 18 of the pre-Reformation bishops of Moray were buried at Elgin, seven of them apparently within the central space of the choir in the eastern apse. The earliest, that of Bishop Andrew de Moravia (1224-42), who re-founded his cathedral from Spey to Elgin, may be marked by a later slab of thorn marble with a rectangular inset for a memorial brass which lies just in front of the first of the three steps which rise within the preceptory, towards the south side and in front of the opening from the central space of the choir to the preceptory (Fawcett 1999a, 67, 70). This is not unlikely to have been the location of Bishop Andrew’s tomb, but the monument itself probably dates from after the mid-14th century when the church was remodelled, possibly replacing an earlier monument damaged in the 1393 fire. The oldest surviving tomb believed to be that of Bishop Archibald (1253-88), combines a polychrome effigy on the platform and the inner screens of the preceptory (Fawcett 1999a, 45, 67, fig 84). This was apparently a highly favoured position for tombs, especially of founders or rebuilding, as the monument was often used as an altar Sepulchre. It was possibly the effigy from this tomb that was discovered in 1936 buried on the west side of the chapter house (Fawcett 1999a, 12, fig 9). The last surviving bishops’ tombs within the choir lie in the opening from the preceptory into the north side. The tomb chest itself and all ornamental heraldry or inscriptions have been lost, but it is suggested that it must have been the burial place of Bishop

(1482-1501) (Fawcett 1999a, 67, fig 130). While the earliest tombs at the cathedral appear to have been located close to the high altar in the preceptory in the 15th century the bishops were choosing to be buried in more visible and less cramped sites further west in the choir. Further bishops’ tombs do survive in the south aisle of the choir, that of Bishop John Whitchester (1437-58) at its east end beside the altar of St Mary, and possibly that of Bishop William Talbot (1477-82) south-west of the choir on the north side of the aisle. In Tullibech’s tomb there has been inserted an effigy from an earlier tomb, possibly belonging to either Bishop John Pulteney (1226-29) or Bishop Alexander Both (1242-97), but where the grave which it originally covered lies is not known (Fawcett 1999a, 70-71, figs 140-2, 144-5). Three further sites are known. In the south transept there are two recumbent tombs in such south wall beds which now contain the effigies of knights. The location of the two is identified on the site of its heraldry as that of Bishop James Stewart (1458-69), and the western as that of his brother and successor, Bishop David Stewart (1460-73) (Fawcett 1999a, 72, 74, fig 149). The remaining tomb identifies that of Bishop John Innes (1407-14). This stood against the north wall of the tower and was completely swept away to the collapse of the tower in 1711. A damaged effigy of a kneeling bishop now placed in the south transept is believed to have come from Innes’ tomb and indicates that it was a splendid monument similar in execution to examples from England and France.

(Fawcett 1999a, 67, fig 153). What the surviving group at Elgin reveals is the range of forms which such high-status tombs could take. While most are recumbent tombs which originally housed monumental effigies, others were free-standing chest tombs (again with effigies), but slab or ledger tombs were also present, some with inset memorial brasses. Changes in fashion are evident in the forms of some of the tombs, and certain styles of monument have clear chronological breaks, but it is apparent from what little is left that monuments of all types could be constructed at almost any point. What does seem to occur, however, is quite a dispersed pattern of burial originally focused on the eastern links but with a subsequent drift westwards through the preceptory as a burial site and with the construction of the new chapter house, thus preserving the old chapter house, yet without the clarity of the old chapter house, yet without the clarity of the new.

All the pre-Reformation bishops’ tombs at Aberdeen appear to have been lost in the post-Reformation destruction of the abbey and preceptory of the Diocese of Aberdeen. The nave levels of the transept walls have survived, however, dating from a pre-Reformation building operation which was started by Bishop Henry Lithgow (1442-45) and completed by Bishop William Elphinstone (1453-54), who completed the tower over the crossing and rebuilt the choir. Of the earlier bishops, the fine for whom remains a place of burial
CATHEDRALS containing a shrine but not of an apostolic predecessor of the medieval bishops. In the second category are the cathedrals of St Andrews and Dunstable, the former housing relics of St Andrew, the latter relics of Columba brought to it from Iona in the 9th century. We are fortunate in the case of St Andrews to have a number of medieval sources which record the interment of medieval bishops within their cathedral, in some cases providing quite precise detail as to the location of their tombs. The reposeful chapel in the later medieval period at the cathedral occupied the four bays in the eastern limb of the choir limb of the church, passed through the fifth bay of the choir stalls, while the high altar stood in front of a recess forming a screen across the presbytery by the fourth piers of the arcade, an arrangement similar in concept to that proposed for post-1200 Whitby (Fawcett 1994, 37-9 and fig. 4). No monuments to any of the pre-14th-century bishops of St Andrews have survived in situ and, of the 14th- and 15th-century bishops the only tomb to survive largely intact is that of Bishop James Kennedy (1480-85), which located in the collegiate church of St Salvator, which he had founded (Fawcett 2002, 314 and fig. 7.96 S.C.A.M.S. 1933, no 460). Of the tombs in the cathedral which can be identified tentatively, that of Bishop Henry Wardlaw (1403-40) occupied a position similar to that of Andrew Stewart at Iona (see above), apparently in an integral part of the presbytery from the north choir aisle (Fawcett 2002, 305-7 and fig. 4.70). The tomb in the north wall of the second bay of the nave, in the past identified as that of William Labadie (1342-85), which has characteristic references to his burial beneath the pavement of the west door (Cruden 1950, 13). No further tombs or monuments survive of the original posits. This absence of a very fine bishop's effigy (the head and the lower part of the chasuble) are preserved in the cathedral interiors, resting on the former existence of free-standing statues to mural memorials with rich inscriptions (Cruden 1950, 16, R.C.H.A.M. 1933, fig. 389). In the centre of the presbytery lies a great slab of the second bay, 73 x 235 m, now to receive memorial brasses. This slab, which is not in its orignal location, is the base of a 13th-century expensive grave monument, perhaps that of one of the late 12th or early 13th century archbishops (R.C.H.A.M. 1953, 237). Although Dunstable has a long history as an ecclesiastical see, the earliest recorded antecedent of its bishops was Thomas de Lenchay (1236-49). Of his predecessors, Bishop John the Scott (d 1203) had been buried in the choir of Newcastle Abbey, while bishop Geoffrey's church was founded by Pecholre (d 1210), John de Lericre (d 1214) and Gilbert (d 1228) were interred in Lancaster Abbey, with which the bishops of Dunstable had a very close relationship (Barnastey Club 1831, 6, 8, S. Eason & MacDonald 1838, xxii-xxiv, Wood 1960, 4-5, Pecoe & MacRobert 1978, 6-7, 19, Fawcett 1956, 99). When the church at Indulce was rebuilt in the last 13th century, the tombs of all three bishops were relocated, Richard and Gilbert's tombs being raised to seats on the north side of the choir, close to the high altar and John in a recess on the south side, part of the painted plaster decoration of which, showing a procession of deacon, has survived (Imbecius in the church continued through the medieval period. In 1483, for example, Bishop James Livingstone was buried in the abbey (Barnastey Club 1831, 11, 26). At Dunstable itself, only two bishops' tombs have survived of the various interments recorded in the cathedral. The older is that of Bishop William Sinclair (1312-27), which was described in the early 1500s by Alexander Mylne as lying originally at the presbytery step in the middle of the choir, where his body is buried, covered with a marble stone (Barnastey Club 1831, 33). He added that a fine alabaster effigy of the bishop had lain in this slab but in case any chance it should be discovered, or should be an obstacle in front of the altar...it has now been set up close to the steps of the high altar at the western part of the north window of the choir. It survives, although repaired and lacking its legs, in a mural recess in that location. The timbre of the two surviving tombs is that of Bishop Robin de Cardery (1398-1427), which is located in the chapel of St Ninian, which occupied the eastern bays of the south side of the nave. It occupies a mural recess in the south wall but may originally have been intended to be free-standing within one of the chapel sacristy (Fawcett 1997, and fig 56; Wood 1960, 15). The restoration is very similar to that of Bishop William Wardlaw at Iona. Cardery's tomb and the chapel in which it lies should probably be seen as a single component, built as a chantry for the bishop. CATHEDRALS containing shrines of sainted apostolic predecessors. In the third category there are four examples in medieval Scotland: Glasgow, Dunfermline, Dunblane and Whithorn itself. Glasgow is already well established, a number of the most obvious Scottish parishes. Not only are there physical similarities in the architectural response to the problems of a sloping site but there seems also to have been a similar approach to the location of the main pilgrimage spot within the cathedral. There is the added parallel that in both cases the form of the site was one in which an individual was regarded as the local predecessor of the medieval bishops, Ninian at Whithorn and Kentigern at Glasgow. Perhaps interesting in view of the relationship between sainted prelates in two of the few of the medieval succession were buried within their cathedral (Stones 1965, 37-46). Indeed, what is most striking is that none of the three bishops who oversaw the major building operations at Glasgow—John (1188-47), Jocelin (1174-99) and William de Brusdon (1235-58)—were buried there. Bishop John, the man responsible for the facing of the sec. At Whithorn and the consecration of the new 12th-century cathedral, was buried in the Augustinian priory at Jedburgh which he had founded (Ibis I 1895, 321). Bishop Jocelin, who greatly extended the cathedral in the last 12th century and probably first developed the high lark beyond Kentigern's tomb and the elevated east end containing the shrine, was buried on the north side of the choir at Melrose Abbey, where he had formerly been abbé (Chew, Harvard, in loc. Bishop Brusdon, in whose episcopate the major portion of the east end of the present building was commissioned, who died as the episcopal mansion house at Antram in Eskdale, was also buried at Melrose "beneath the large Iona" (Barnastey Club 1837, no. 1256). Six of his successors, who remained at Whithorn until death, were also apparently buried elsewhere than in the cathedral (Stones 1964, 49). Of the five bishops of Glasgow who can be identified with some certainty to have been buried within their own cathedral, little evidence survives of their tombs (Stones 1966, 38-9). Three of these interments are said to have been in the 'lower church' or crypt; close to St Kentigern's tomb. Of these, the possible elements of only one, that identified as the tomb of Bishop Robert Wodstrit (1717-1365), survives in a highly altered condition and probably no longer connects the bishop's remains (Stones 1969, 38, 41-5, 46). This was located under the arcade between the chapel of St Peter and St Paul and the chapel of the two central chapels in the four which occupied the vault of the ambulatory at the east end of the church (Dunlop 1928, 23-4, fig 1 for position of the altar in the lower church). The tomb of Bishop William Wardlaw has been identified (Stones 1967, 351-357) as said to have been described by Bishop John, the altar of the Blessed Virgin, is the altar of the Lady Chapel, which occupied the central compartment of the lower church between the two principal chapels. It was last used in 1878 (Stones 1965, 23-5). The remaining episcopal tomb in the lower church may have been that of Bishop John Living (1471-83), but it...
where it remained until the time of Bishop Robert I (1214-49) and his major re-organisation of the diocese, its chapter and location of its cathedral. Bishop Robert I, who may have been under some considerable influence from Earl Fergus of Ross to move his seat to the east near Permonomannin Abbey at Fearn, responded instead by enlarging his cathedral by a site only a mile to the west of the town of Forres at Fyne (Cayn 1886, 54). It is not clear if Fainnach's remains were translated from the early church at Rosemarkie or to what extent the new cathedral at Forres provided a provision for a shrine within it, and the post-Reformation destruction of the main compartment of the building has removed all evidence for the tombs of the 13th- and 14th-century bishops. A similar drift in the location of burial arises from the long and early central church of the town to more prominent locations in the western compartments as is evident at Elgin, however, may also be disputed at Forres. The early tombs were probably located in the wholly demolished east end, but two late medieval episcopal tombs do remain in the sill upstanding south side and north chapel of the nave. Both are chest tombs, one inserted into the western arcade of the southern chapel, the second - an inscribed opening cut into what had originally been a section of blank wall between the aisle and chapel arcade. This latter has been identified as the tomb of Bishop Fraser (1410-1450) and the former as that of Bishop Robert Cameron (1552-45) (Fawcett 1987, 22; Fawcett 2002, 318 and fig 4.9). When what was believed to have been Bishop Fraser's tomb was opened in 1977, it was found still to contain his bishop's body and skull, but it seems that the vestments in which he had been buried, together with parts of a wooden casket (Smart 1854-5) for the casser, which is now on display in the National Museum of Scotland, for Fawcett 1987, 76). Although the 13th-century cathedral of the see of Caithness at Dornoch has survived as a functioning church in the post-Reformation period, no trace within it has survived of any shrine of St. Gilbert, bishop 1223-1241 of his predecessor, St. Adam (1213-22), or of the tombs of his successors. The cruciform church, of which the crossing and eastern limb survive in restored condition, were largely constructed during Gilbert's lifetime and display a sign of subsequent adaptations to accommodate a shrine. Adam's remains had been translated in 1239 from their original burial place in the church of Holkirk in Caithness, beside the site of the episcopal mansion-house where he had encountered in 1222, and it seems that his successor, Gilbert, had plans to develop a similar cult around his inurned predecessor (Kersattey Club 1957-9, n.2, 1239). The translation occurred during the building of the cathedral at Dornoch but the plan of the church makes no obvious provision for a shrine church, and it is unlikely that there were distinct shrines of either Adam or of Gilbert himself located within it. Gilbert, presumably, was interested in the choir of the church which he had built but specific entries are on record in 1522 as being touched by John Maitland of Saintowe at part of the process whereby he legally bound himself to the dean to provide arrangements for Adam's tomb (Fraser 1892, 69, dated 6 July 1522). The act involved touching the Holy Evangel and the relics of the givings Gilbert, which could be interpreted as indicating that some relic of the bishop had been removed from his tomb and was kept in a portable reliquary for just such purposes. Certainly, there is no surviving reference to a shrine or shrine of St. Gilbert (nor, indeed, of St. Adam), and there is no remnant of his individual tomb. The only medieval monument to survive in the cathedral is a mutilated mid-13th-century effigy of a knight, believed to be that of Bishop Gilbert's brother, Richard de Monzie, which has been placed in the reconstructed nave (Gilfoold 1992, 560). The position at Whithorn has been explored in more detail above. It seems likely to be intimated here that the evidence points towards the majority of the 12th- and 13th-century bishops being buried in their cathedral and the strong likelihood that most were buried at the eastern chapel rather than further west in the choir, crossing or nave. It is unlikely that any of the burial identified are those of the medieval priests, the majority of whom down to the 13th century were probably buried in the chapter house. There is no evidence for the construction of elaborate chest tombs and any evidence for a monumental tomb has been swept away in the destruction of the eastern limb (although three stone coffers survive in the nave. However, as Glayre Davidson notes of the inscribed stones and lost monumental coffers now shown (Chapter 6.12), one or more of Whithorn's medieval bishops provided themselves with what was clearly a grave space for grander effigies or funerary monuments, set into the pavement at the east end of the church. Architectural of York

Within the archetypal arches of York - perhaps the closest parallel with pre-1100 Whithorn - could be expected at Hexham, with which there seems to have been a close relationship in the 12th-century period, but for the post-1160 period it is perhaps Dunblane, where the cathedral contained the shrine of St Cadburt, the canonised predecessor of the medieval bishops of Durham, which is more relevant. It was also a monastic church, consecrated in 1133 by a commend of Benedictine monks which replaced an earlier displaced church of secular canons. As Whithorn, the cathedral as developed in the late 11th and early 12th century contained a shrine chapel which housed Cadburt's remains, still entrained in their late 11th-century grave, located immediately east of the high altar and later relocated in the choir by the monks of Cadburt's sister Dunblane. A similar relocation was treated to a shrine in 1104, costing an ornate casket raised on a slab carried by nine angels, set immediately behind and rising above the high altar (Wilson 1977, fig 26). This redevelop programme was begun under the direction of Bishop William de St Calais (1080-96), but he was not buried within his new church. Indeed, his tomb lies at the western end of the chapter house, beneath the so-called high altar, for his immediate successors - Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128), Geoffrey Rufus (1113-42) and William de St Barbe (1143-52) and Hugh de Point (1153-95) - were buried elsewhere; as later were Robert de Jesus (1274-83) and Richard Kellise (1314-6) (Cheetham 1968, 126). None of the late 11th- to early 12th-century bishops who were buried at Dunblane was buried close to the tomb of Cadburt. Indeed, even the later bishops were buried in various locations around their cathedral - Antonio Bek (1286-1311) and Richard of Barry (1333-55) in the Chapel of the Nine Altars at the east end of the cathedral of St. Andrews de Beantos (1373-9) in front of the high altar steps; Thomas Hylfrid (1345-81) in his monumental tomb under his throne in the fourth bay of the south arcade of the choir; and Roberts Neville (1438-57) in the nave (Cheetham & Cheetham 1968, 100, 107, 108, 118) - but none was interred within the somewhat cramped shrine chapel. If anything, there seems to be an almost arbitrary way to avoid interment anywhere close to the shrine on the part of the earlier bishops, while their 14th- and 15th-century successors appear to show the same interest in proximity to the high altar already noted for their counterparts in Scotland. As York itself, despite the fact that the five pre-10th-century archbishops had been canonised, all were buried elsewhere and the Master acquired a major cult focus only in the 12th century when Archbishop William Fitzhurford (d. 1154) was canonised in 1227 (Wilson 1977, 8 and n.19). William's tomb lay at the east end of the nave in front of the nave altar and, despite the canonisation, received no great elaboration before the late 13th century. In 1284, Bishop Anthony Bek of Durham paid for the ceremonial translation of William's remains to a splendid new shrine located beside the medieval high altar of the Minster, which most likely was further west than the present high altar (Wilson 1977, 8 and n.20). This new shrine became the main focus for pilgrimage, but medieval records record the existence of another, much smaller shrine in addition, with a small shrine rearing up in the choir. The portable reliquary appears to have been kept at the otherwise empty original tomb (Wilson 1977, 8-9, note 2), an arrangement which may have been replicated at Whithorn and which may be
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reflected in the sequence of devotions recorded for James IV in the early 1500s.

While the interest of the development of the cult of St William of York may be one reason for the lack of focus in the description of ecclesiastical burial around the Minster, it is very unlikely that the tomb remained isolated in the nave after 1277 and the shrine never came to form a focus for the internments of the archbishops post-1284. Walter de Gray (1215–55), in whose episcopate St William was canonised, was buried in the southern bay of the south transept, flanked by his two successors, Seisul de Besoil (1256–69) and Godfrey de Ludham (1258–65), to his north and south respectively. Of the pre-Reformation archbishops from the time of the northern archbishops, only Walter Greenfield (1296–1310), Richard de Scrope (1398–1405), Henry Bowes (1407–23), Thomas Rotherham (1480–1500) and Thomas Savage (1501–7) were buried in the eastern limb of the church, all of them except Savage in the eastern extension chapel behind the shrine. Again, it is clear that there was no focus on the north choir, or the eastern choir, as a place of burial for William Fitzherbert's successors.

8.3. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The above overview raises several very interesting questions relating to the burial arrangements at Whithorn plus the planning and use of the eastern limb of the cathedral church. What is clear, however, is that the frequency of burials within a comparatively small space is unique amongst the cathedral churches of Scotland, northern England and, indeed, the wider British Isles and northern Irish countryside. This density of interment is inescapable, given the patterns and trends which are evident elsewhere, and raises several important questions concerning the layout of the post-1260 church.

A first question is whether or not the eastern extension of the church comprised a shrine-chapel behind the high altar, or presbytery with the high altar against the east gable. If the former were the case, then the position of the bishop's burial becomes even more unusual for they would be crowded into a narrow space of no more than one bay's length between the niches behind the high altar and the front of the posterior shrine-base supporting the freestanding

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spar the services offered. The most sophisticated example of such projects were the collegiate churches founded from the mid-14th century onwards, such as Lincoln in eastern England, where the tombs of Archbishop, 4th earl of Douglass, and his wife, Margaret Stewart, forms an integral element of the design of the church. In most cases, however, chapels were added to existing structures, which appear to be the case with the chapel of St Mary at Whithorn begun in 1431 by Prior Thomas Meldrum (Chapter 8.3.1: Later medieval building 1426).

Loss of the bulk of the medieval records of Whithorn priory has possibly distorted the picture of the pattern of interments and the development of separate chapels or chantry chapels within the cathedral church, but the absence of any reference anywhere to anything other than the chapel of St Mary is unassuming. Indeed, the recusant would reveal the existence of these altars — the wood altar, high altar and altar of St Mary — and, while there must have been others, if only to provide for the number of canons within the community even in the immediate pre-Reformation period, the number seems always to have been small.

This lack of proliferation of altars, even in the later 15th and 16th centuries, can be interpreted in two main ways, as a matter of funding or as an issue of space. It is possible, for example, that there was a lack of significant lay patronage from which the endowment of such altars or chapels most commonly arose. We know, however, that the Douglas redrew a chapel in the 1420s and that they were not alone in seeking to extend their influence within the priory in the 15th and 16th centuries. There is no clear evidence, given the presence of women among the burials, that lay patronage was seeking burial at Whithorn. If money was no object, then this points towards another alternative — that the lack of proliferation of altars was due to the fact that there was limited space for the physical expansion of the church to accommodate additional chapels. Here may be evidence for at worst the absence of altars which could be partitioned by screens to form separate chapels, or at best the need to keep the altars unencumbered by such screens to smooth the flow of pilgrims around the pressure areas in the east end of the church. Add in the unusual concentration of episcopal burial in the relatively cramped block in the east end of the church and the likelihood emerges that they were buried there because there were few other places where they could have been interred without recurring to major structural enlargement of the cathedral. The concentration of internments in the one densely-packed space is probably the strongest argument for the absence of lateral aisles in the choir, for space for burial could have been found under the choir arcades or in the aisle walls (the solution adopted at Dunfermline, Dunblane, Aberdeen etc). The outer walls of an aisle-less choir would have been unsustainable for burials, moreover, as the canons' stalls and the bishop's throne would have needed to have been placed against the wall surface, while space on the walls within the presbytery would have been occupied by the doorways leading to the crypts, cellars for the altars in the mass, parclose and, possibly,串联for storage of more paraphernalia. That no attempt was made to provide a south aisle on the nave (as was adopted at a space solution at the much less cramped cathedral site at Portsmouth), coupled with the conflict over finances for building operations in the early 15th century, perhaps implies that, as Bishop Elinor claimed, but no was unprioritized and the cathedral remains old and unmodern.