

# THE "ROYAL LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM"

OF SCOTLAND (after IONA was)

THE CHURCH OF 'THE HOLY TRINITY'  
ROYAL DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



DUNFERMLINE ABBEY CHURCH



Engraved for Andrew Mercer's *History of Dunfermline*. Dunfermline, 1828.

Engraved by R. Scott, Edinburgh.

**ASKING THE SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNISE  
DUNFERMLINE ABBEY AS**

**'THE ROYAL LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM FOR SCOTLAND'  
AFTER (IONA)**

**AT LEAST TWENTY-ONE ROYALS HAVE BEEN INTERRED  
WITHIN THESE HOLY WALLS.**

**SOME KIND OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OR MARKERS  
EITHER ON THE FLOOR, OR, AS WAS THERE BEFORE  
FUNERAL ESCUTCHEONS HANGING WITHIN THE ABBEY NAVE  
OR AT THE EAST WINDOW BETWEEN THE NAVE AND THE  
PARISH CHURCH COULD BE DECORATED AND DEDICATED  
TO THESE ROYALS INTERRED IN BOTH CHURCHES.**

**THIS WOULD BE APPRECIATED BY THE PUBLIC, PILGRIMS,  
AND TOURISTS**

**TELLING OF THE ONE TIME RESTING PLACE OF OUR -**

**KINGS, QUEENS PRINCES AND PRINCESSES**

Compiled by Sheila Pitcairn F.S.A.Scot., L.H.G. Chair of Royal Tombs Dunfermline Community  
Project Group 2018.



# DUNFERMLINE ABBEY

## CHURCH of THE HOLY TRINITY

HERE AND AROUND THIS SACRED SPOT WAS THE ORIGINAL

'*LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM*'

FROM 1093 TO 1250-(Nave or Auld Kirk)-(Survived Reformation of 1560)



Malcolm III



Queen & Saint Margaret



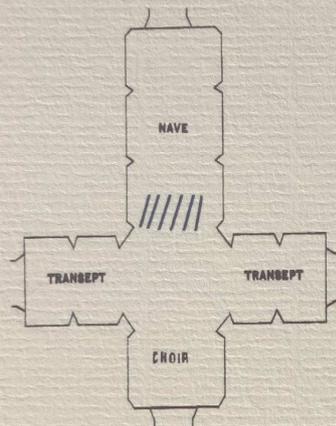
### KINGS



David I



Malcolm IV



<i>Saint</i> MALCOLM III	1093
DUNCAN II	1094
EDGAR	1107
ALEXANDER I	1124
<i>Saint</i> DAVID I	1153
MALCOLM IV	1165



### QUEENS



Queen of Malcolm III

*Saint* MARGARET



1093

Queen of Alexander I



SYBILLA

1122



### PRINCES

EDWARD	1093
ETHELRED	1098
EDMUND	1100

# DUNFERMLINE ABBEY

HERE IN THE NEW EASTERN CHURCH WAS ALSO THE

*'LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM'*



**KINGS**



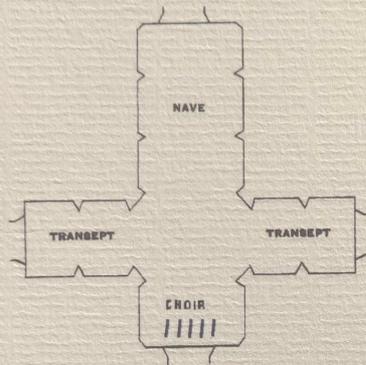
Alexander III



King Robert the Bruce

ALEXANDER III 1286

ROBERT BRUCE I 1329



**QUEENS**



Queen Annabella

Queen of Alexander III  MARGARET 1274

Queen of Robert Bruce  ELIZABETH 1327

Queen of Robert III  ANNABELLA 1403



## PRINCES

DAVID 1281

ALEXANDER 1284

ROBERT 1602

## PRINCESSES

CHRISTINA DE BRUCE 1356

MATILDA BRUCE 1366

The present Dunfermline Abbey Church was opened in 1821.  
The Shrine of *Saint MARGARET & Saint MALCOLM* (Now outside the new Church).

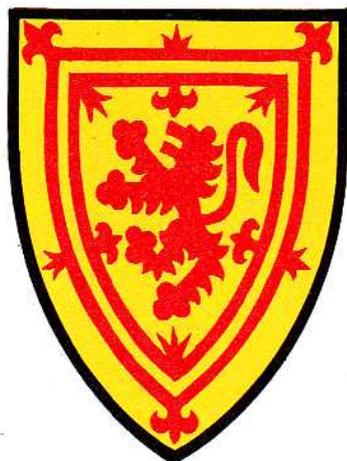
# THE ROYAL SEPULTURE OF SCOTLAND

(After *IONA* was)

## THE CHURCH OF 'THE HOLY TRINITY'

At

## DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



**Buried within the Royal Sepulture in the Nave 1093- 1250**

### HIGH ALTAR

KING MALCOLM III  
KING DUNCAN II  
KING EDGAR  
KING ALEXANDER I  
KING DAVID I  
KING MALCOLM IV

### HOLY CROSS OR ROOD ALTAR

QUEEN & SAINT MARGARET  
PRINCE EDWARD  
PRINCE ETHELRADE  
PRINCE EDMUND  
QUEEN SYBILLA

**Buried within the Royal Sepulture of the Abbey Church  
After 1250 and the Abbey Church of today.**

KING ALEXANDER III  
KING ROBERT THE BRUCE

QUEEN MARGARET  
QUEEN ELIZABETH  
QUEEN ANNABELLA

### PRINCES

DAVID  
ALEXANDER  
ROBERT



PRINCESSES  
CHRISTINA DE BRUCE  
MATILDA BRUCE



## SCOTLAND'S DUNFERMLINE ONE TIME CAPITAL AND ROYAL SEPULTURE AFTER IONA

Presented by  
Sheila Pitcairn F.S.A.Scot., LHG.

**DUNFERMELITANE, SCOTLAND'S ANCIENT CAPITAL,** Dunfermline's history is much older than that of salted Scotland, for while we date the commencement of Scottish history from the time of Malcolm Canmore (Malcolm III) who unified the Kingdom in 1057, the city now designated Dunfermline was probably one of the principal church towns of the Picts, where no doubt the PICTISH KINGS were buried and the place revered in the same way as Icolmkill (Iona) was by the Scots in the West. The name Dunfermline (DUNFERMELITANE) originated in Malcolm Canmore's time Dunfermellingtane meaning the foreigners' town on the hill, so called by the Gaelic-speaking population in the district to characterize the peculiar condition of affairs following. Malcolm's marriage to Margaret, the Saxon princess. On the defeat of the Queen's brother, Edgar Atheling, by William the Conqueror, a large number of Northumbrian nobles crossed the Border and took up residence at the Scottish Court. So numerous were the strangers, it is recorded, that they outnumbered the native population, with the result that the town was called the foreigners' town on the hill. (See "Guidi: A City of the Horestii, Appendix B. p.34.) (*The Journal Guide to Dunfermline* by Mackie. (Introduction by G.C. Meiklejohn B.S, C, (Arch.,) F.S.P. Printed at the Journal Printing Works 1929. pp.15-16)

*Memorable Historical Events, not previously noticed, and chiefly such as have not been alluded to by other Writers on the Parish.*

The Picts, the original inhabitants of the eastern and northern parts of Scotland (so named, it is well known, from having been accustomed to paint or colour, for the sake of ornament, the exposed parts of their bodies, with the smearing of an azure herb), have left, it is thought, evidence of their existence here, in a fortification, on the summit of Craighluscar Hill, about two and a-half miles north-west from the town. Some traces of its walls, now under the surface, still remain. (*Hist. Acct. Hist. Dunf. by Chalmers V. 1. p.261*)

During the period of "the Roman occupation" (A.D. 83-440) our locality, like other districts, was ruled and defended by the tribes of Caledonians, Picts, Scots, &., "who with considerable `savage address` frequently faced the Roman legions, and did havoc amongst them." For upwards of 350 years the locality on which Dunfermline now stands ever and anon "*resounded to the tramp and tread of Roman cohorts and legions.*" (*Dunf. Annals pp.1-2.*)

**Dr M'Gregor Chalmers: -**

The first church that occupied the site upon which the Abbey now stands was a Culdee church. The colony at Iona was broken up by violence about the 7th century. At no great of time thereafter we find references to Culdee settlements along the east coasts of Scotland – Aberdeen, Brechin, Abernethy, St Andrews, Dunfermline, and so on, and it is possible that these religious settlements may have been – or, at any rate, some of them may have been – established by fugitive or missionary members of the church at Iona. (*Guid to Dunfermline p 72*)

All historians agree in stating that, from the fabulous times of Fergus until MacBeth, Iona was the burying place of the kings and nobles of the Scottish race. . . .

There are still to be seen tombs bearing the arms of the Macdougals, Lords of Lorn, and Macleods, Mackinnons, Macquaries, and especially Macleans – that is to say, of all the chiefs of the clans of the adjacent districts, along with several tombs of bishops, priors and other ecclesiastics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

*(From Controversial Issues in Scottish History by William H Gregg. N.Y. 1910 pp. 472-3.)*

There appears to have been a "Culdee" (*the Gaelic name for the clergy of the Celtic church*), settlement at Dunfermline at a very remote period; but regarding its size, structure, and when built, history and tradition are alike silent; it would, however, be between A.D. 570 and 1070. Like other Culdee places of worship, it would probably be small in size, and somewhat rude in structure, capable of accommodating about fifty worshippers. This "humble hallowed cell" probably stood on or near to the ground on which the Abbey in aftertimes stood. Not a vestige of it now remains, which somewhat favours the idea, that it had been removed about A.D. 1072-1075, when the church of Malcolm and Margaret was opened for worship. In these pre-historic times, there were several Culdee churches or chapels in Fife and Fotheringhay, - viz, at Kirkheugh (St Andrews), Kirkcaldy, Abernethy, Lochleven, Pittenweem, Balchristie, Isle of May, Portmoak, Bolgin, Culross, Dunfermling and Inchcolm. For further remarks regarding the Dunfermline Culdee Church see Annals of Dunf. on "Founding the Church", under date A.D. 1072. (*Annals of Dunfermline by Henderson p. 6.*)

The original monks that were placed in Dunfermline Priory were Culdees, and probably thirteen in number. Like all the other Culdee monasteries, it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It continues a Priory until the reign of David I. about sixty years. (*Mercer p.23*)

Count de Montalembert says:

Aidan was the first prince of the Scots who passed (A.D.574) from the rank of territorial chief to that of independent king, and had of a dynasty whose descendants were one day to reign over the three kingdoms of Great Britain. . . . His direct descendants reigned up to 689. They were then replaced by the house of Lorn, another branch of the first Dalriadic colony, whose most illustrious prince, Kenneth MacAlpine, induced the Picts to recognise him as their king in 842. The famous MacBeth and his conqueror Malcolm Canmore, the husband of St Margaret, were both descended from Aidan, or of the lineage of Fergus. The male line of these Scottish kings of Celtic race ended only with Alexander III, in 1283. The dynasties of Bruce and Stuart were of the female line. . . . According to local and domestic tradition, the great modern clans of Macquarie, MacKinnon, Mackenzie, Macintosh, Macgregor, Maclean, Macnab, and Macnaughton, are descended from the primitive Dalriadans. (*The Monks of the West, vol. iii., p. 187.*)

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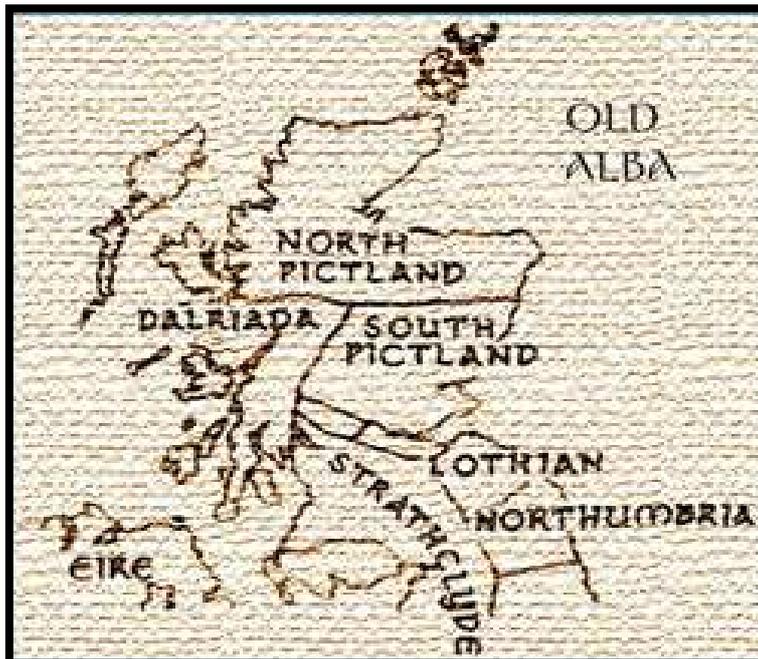
*(Annals of Dunfermline p.6 ; A History of the Celtic Church From Conception to 1153 by Rev. James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna. p. 50; The Culdees and Culross by J.B. Mackie F.J.I. P. 67 )*

But still there were many stone buildings at the time of Malcolm Canmore and according to Boece, he did by the persuasion of Turgot, the Queen's confessor, and dedicate it to the Holy Trinity. Buchanan, too, says that he built it "at great expense; and Leslie, "magnificently" (templum, in civitate Dunfermlin - gensi magnifice suis impensis extractum, sanctiss, Trinitati dicavit.) Turgot relates, "that it was enriched with numerous ornaments, vessels of solid gold, and an inestimable crucifix, formed of gold, silver, and precious stones. But how much of the edifice Malcolm built, or of the original structure still remains, is uncertain. Additions were doubtless from time to time made to it, or portions of it replaced, particularly by Alexander I, who, according to Buchanan and Leslie, finished the abbey begun by his father, and greatly increased its revenues; as also by David I, Alexander III and James VI. (*Historical Account by Rev P Chalmers P.115.*)

### SCOTLAND - SIXTH CENTURY



From -A History of the Celtic Church from Conception to 1153  
By Rev James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna. p. 91.



There was a similar foundation at Dunfermline. Of this the following account has been given by a writer of great research. "The splendid abbey of Dunfermline owed its inconsiderable foundations to Malcolm Canmore; its completion to Alexander; and its reform to David I. The monastery of Dunfermline was dedicated like the other Culdean establishments to the Holy Trinity. Here the Culdees, with their abbot, discharged their usual duties, during several reigns; and David I, who lived much with Henry I, of England, upon his accession, introduced, among the Celtic Culdees, thirteen English monks from Canterbury." (*Culdees by John Jamieson p.265*)

#### CULDEES IN DUNFERMLINE SOURCES:

1	The Culdees, From the History of Fife by A. Mercer	page	24
2	The Monastery, From Town and Parish Dunfermline by P. Chalmers.		9
3.	The History of Fife by R. Sibbald, Concerning the Culdees Concerning the Culdees, who first planted the Christian religion here.		17
4.	Showing how the Culdees were deprived of their rights.		26
5.	An extract from the Pictorial History of Scotland by James Taylor.		31
6.	An extract from The Ancient Culdees of Iona by John Jamieson		165
7.	Ancient Alba and the rise of the Highland Clan system by Frank Adam		51
8.	The Culdees and Culross by J.B. Mackie F.J.I. Dawn of Christianity in Scotland.		61
	St Serf and His Successors.		64
	The Dunfermline Culdee Settlement.		67
	The Evangelical Origin and Succession.		69
9.	A History of the Celtic Church From Conception to 1153 by Rev James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna. (Rankin op. cit., pp.31-32. See MacLauchlan, op. cit., p. 191).		50
10.	Culdee Establishment at Dunfermline (Annals of Dunfermline)		6

**King Malcolm III.** was born in 1024, the son of King Duncan (1034-1040) and Sibiela of Northumberland, grandson of Crinan, the Celtic Abbot of Dunkeld, and Bethoc; Bethoc was the daughter of King Malcolm II. (1005-1034). Malcolm II. was the son of King Kenneth (971-995), who in turn was the son of Malcolm I. (943-954). (*James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna. p. 59; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p.72. )*

**He** came to the throne in 1057. Malcolm was a good fighter, a true lover, and an effective leader; he was concerned for the welfare of Scotland. (*Ibid., p. 124. see Donald A. Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 253. Ingebjorg had by Earl Thorfinn two sons, Paul and Erlend, the latter who became Earl of Orkney.*)

**He** married, first, Ingebjorg, and the widow of Earl Thorfinn of Norway, she being the daughter of the Jarl Finn Arnison a descendant of Herald Harfagr. Ingebjorg's mother was a niece of St Olaf and of Harald Hardradi, King of Norway, whose wife Thora was Ingebjorg's cousin on her father's side. (*Ibid.*) By this marriage three sons were born, Duncan, Donald, and Malcolm. Ingebjorg died about 1067. (*James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna. p. 59; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p.72.*)

**Malcolm III** was declared King at Scone, April 25, 1057. He restored the Estates which Macbeth had forfeited, and is said to be the first who introduced the new Titles of Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, and Barons, and created *McDuff*, Thane of *Fife*, the *first Earl of Scotland*; Some think (but Buchanan dissents) that it was in his Reign, that the Nobility of Scotland began to be surnamed from their Lands. During the meeting of the States at *Forfar*, *Macbeth's* Faction, declared his Son King at *Scone*; but *Malcolm* defeated and killed him, about three months after, in *Strathbogie*. (*Controversial Issues in Scottish History by William H Gregg. N.Y. 1910 p.314.*)

Malcolm Canmore, afterwards surnamed Ceamore, or *Great-head*, was the eldest son of Duncan I, King of Scotland, previously Prince of Cumberland, who had been assassinated by Macbeth, upon whose usurpation Malcolm fled into England, and was educated in the court of Edward the Confessor. Upon the usurper being destroyed by means of Macduff, *thane* of Fife, and Siward, earl of Northumberland, Malcolm, ascended the throne of his father in 1056 or 1057. Thirteen years after, he espoused Margaret, who was a Saxon princess, the daughter of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, king of England, and grand-niece of Edward the Confessor. The fact of the marriage having been solemnized here is beyond dispute, what little discrepancy there may be among ancient authors as to the precise year in which it occurred, and the details of the incident which immediately led to it. Fordun, in description of the nuptial ceremony, quoted at p.6 makes the year, as there stated, 1070, which is the generally received date. (*Historical Account by Rev P Chalmers P.86*)

Having won over St Margaret, King Malcolm Canmore III. took her for his second wife in 1070 (*Ibid.*) The marriage ceremony was performed by the bishop of St Andrews. St Margaret's mission in life was winning over her adopted country to the customs of the Church of Rome, supplanting the old Celtic Church. Here was the most suitable instrument in influencing the Scotch. She believed most firmly that God had called her to serve Him. She held the cloisters and nunneries dear, but her court, not they, would serve her mission: that of bringing the Celts - the one people in all western Europe which still had been free into full communion with the See of Rome. (*James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna. p. 59; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p.72.*)

October 1066, Scotland became flooded with exiles, fugitives flying from the tyrannical rule of William the Conqueror. These, uniting with the original mixed population made up a people of many languages, viz., Scots, Galwegians, Saxons, Celts, Danes, French, English &c., all of whom were under allegiance to the King of Scots. Many of the early charters begin with the King declaring himself "King of Scots, English, French, and Galwegians." May not Basileus have been considered in Malcolm Canmore's time (when the Saxons and the French covered the land) a higher designation to cover many peoples of different nations. (*Ebenezer Henderson Annals of Dunfermline. Glasgow, 1879, Appendix p. 709.*)

ARRIVAL OF EDGAR THE ATHELING, WITH HIS MOTHER AND SISTERS IN THE FIRTH OF FORTH - A.D.1069 - The old accounts relating to this "auspicious event" are conflicting in their details. ... However the exiles arrived in safety on the north shore of the Forth, near Malcolm's residence. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 10*)

And in 1070 THE NUPTIALS OF MALCOLM III WITH THE PRINCESS MARGARET OF HUNGRAY AT DUNFERMLINE. The marriage was celebrated at Dunfermline this year with great splendour. Probably in attendance: - Edgar the Atheling, his mother Agatha, and his sister Christian, Fothad (Bishop of St Andrews) Turgot (Margaret's confessor), Earl Macduff, with other clerics, earls, barons, and "honest men of the realm." Fothad II, Bishop of St Andrews, perform the interesting ceremony, he was "*ane man of gret pietie and learning*". e.g. wise and learned man. Although Fordun, and other historians, state that the Royal marriage was celebrated at a *place* called Dunfermline, they do not point out the *locus* in that *place*. It may be presumed that the nuptial ceremony was performed in the Chapel of Canmore's Tower, or in the supposed Culdee Chapel adjacent. (*Annals of Dunf. p. .12*)

Again in 1070 INFLUX OF EXILES FROM ENGLAND - A "great flowing-in of malcontents from England occurred at this period." They were to be found in every town and village in Scotland, and as Dunfermline was the chief seat of Royalty at the time, it would receive its full share of the exiles. Thus the arts, then known in England, "were introduced among the semi-barbarous Scots, and the Anglo-Saxon language soon began to prevail and supersede the Gaelic, especially along the coasts. From this period a grand new era commenced in everything that characterises a nation, and the royal residence at Dunfermline became the fountain from whence flowed streams of civilisation and knowledge over the benighted land." (Chamb. Gazet. Scot. p. 214). Although there was no recognized metropolis in Scotland until 1436-1437), Dunfermline, there can be no doubt, was the metropolis of early times; afterwards other towns began to share in the distinction; and lastly, Edinburgh because the legal metropolis after the death of King James I., 1436. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 14*)

The matter was laid before Malcolm III., the King, who not only agrees to erect a new edifice, but one for size and architectural adornments that would surpass every other ecclesiastical building then in Scotland. This resolution had been taken in consequence of his having resolved to have the place of "*Royal Sepulture*" within its walls. Here historians step in and inform us that "*Ejusdem illius Turgoti suasu Malcomus Trinitatis Templum ad Dunfermlin sancivit ut exinde commune esset Regum Sepulchrum*" - i.e. "By the advice of the same Turgot, Malcolm appointed the Trinity Church at Dunfermline to be from that time the place of *Royal Sepulchre*." (*Annals of Dunfermline by Henderson p. 14.*)

**Founding of Dunfermline Church 1072.** - The **year** of the founding of the great Church at Dunfermline is not on record; but is to be presumed that it would be shortly after the "Nuptial Ceremony." The great influx of English nobility &., into Scotland, shortly at the arrival of the Royal Exiles, would, as a matter of course, greatly increase the number of the inhabitants in the then hamlet of Dunfermline, so much so, probably, as to render the little old Culdean Church no longer suitable for the increased number of worshippers. It would appear that Margaret and Turgot had often held consultations regarding the erection of a more suitable place of worship. The matter is laid before Malcolm, the King, who not only agrees to erect a new edifice, but one for size and architecture adornments that would surpass every other ecclesiastical building then in Scotland. This resolution had been taken in consequence of his having resolved to have the place of "Royal Sepulture" within its walls. Historians step in and inform us that "*Ejusdem illius Turgoti suasu Malcolmus Trinitatis Templum ad Dounfermlin sancivit ut exinde commune esset Regum Sepulchrum*" - i.e. "By the advice of the same Turgot, Malcolm appointed the Trinity Church at Dunfermline to be from that time the place of Royal Sepulture." We fix the founding in the year 1072, two years after the marriage, as the most likely date. So the great Church at Dunfermline was founded, a great national, or kind of metropolitan Church, which, when finished, would be "the largest and the fairest in the land."...He (Malcolm) founded the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermlyn, long before he enriched it with many gifts and revenues." (*Annals of Dunf. by Henderson p. 14.*)

#### **FOUNDATION CHARTER OF MALCOLM III.**

"In the name of the Holy Trinity. I, Malcolm by the Grace of God, King of Scots, of my royal authority & power, with the confirmation & testimony of Queen Margaret my wife, and of the bishops, earls & barons of my Kingdom - the clergy also and the people acquiescing. Let all present and future know, that I have founded an abbey on

the hill of the infirm in honour of God Almighty, and of the holy and undivided Trinity, for the safety of my own and of all my ancestors', and for the safety of the soul of Queen Margaret my wife, and of all my successors'; for I have granted, & by this my charter confirmed to the foresaid Abbey, all the lands and towns of Pardusin, Pitnaurcha, Pittecorthin, Petbachiehin, Lauar, Bolgin and the shire of Kirkaladunt & Innerese the lesser - with the whole shire of Fofriffie and Musselburge, with all their pertinents as well in chapels and tithes & other obligations, as in all other things justly belonging to these lands, towns, & shires, as freely as any King ever granted or conveyed any gifts, from the beginning of the world until this day. Witnesses. Ivus Abbot of the Kellendees, Mackdufffe Earl, Duncan Earl, Arnald Earl, Neis son of William Merleswain, at Edinburgh." "Agreeing with and Autograph in all respects." (As added by) "Sir Ja. BALFOUR LYONE." Printed Dunf. Chart. p. 417. (*His, & Stat Acct. of Dunf. by P. Chalmers. Appendix p.499*)

On the consummation of the marriage of Malcolm III Canmore and Margaret, a member of the Saxon Royal family of England, in 1070, they set their hearts upon providing a place of worship. Whether this was as a substitute for an existing one or not is uncertain; but the probability is that there was already one of Culdee origin, which may not have been considered worthy of the Royal house in its new style of living or its knowledge of ecclesiastical buildings, met with by both King and Queen in their exile and wanderings elsewhere.

In a letter and appended note sent by Mr Freeman of Dr Chalmers, author of the "History of Dunfermline," under date 29th December, 1855, he says in regard to this point: - "If I mistake not, the theory implies that Malcolm Canmore built the nave first and the choir afterwards. This would be reversing the usual process, but it would be conceivable under certain circumstances. I am not sufficiently versed in Sc. Eccles. history to know whether any establishment of Culdees, or similar early foundation, existed at Dunfermline before the time of Malcolm Canmore. If such was the case, it would be quite possible that their church might have been retained for a while as the choir or presbytery of the new church and the nave to have been added to the west of it." Contrary to the usual custom, the nave was built first, and the learned historian refers to Llandaff and Dunblane as cases in point, while at St Andrews the primitive church was left untouched and the new cathedral built, after the ordinary type of a cathedral, at a little distance. Further, "If such a primitive church existed at Dunfermline, and was retained for a while as a portion of the Abbey, it must have been exchanged for an ordinary Norman east end very soon after the addition of the nave. The short presbytery and round apse, shown in your ground plan, could hardly, by any possibility, come before the 11th or after the 12th century. It is the characteristic arrangement distinguished alike from earlier or later ground plans."

Now, when King and Queen were thinking of building they had to receive a highly distinguished visitor, William I, or the Conqueror, who with troops landed in Fife, marched to Abernethy and summoned Malcolm to do him homage, not only for the lands south of the Forth but for all Scotland. Under pressure Malcolm yielded it on 15th July, 1072, and afterwards is said to have received him at Dunfermline. William and his Queen knew something about building; for, marrying against Papal commands, their Normandy had lain under interdict for some years, and this ban was only removed on condition that they should make atonement by building, the monastery for men and she one for women. Some buildings for the poor they added of their own good will, it is said, and last of all, they resolved to build each a church at Caen, the capital. That of the Duchess, afterwards Queen of England, was ready for consecration in 1066, before her husband set out for England. He left the building of

his till after England was won. When the battle of Senlac gave him the throne, the Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury offered him the crown, but, turning traitor, was deposed and replaced in 1070 by Lanfranc, an Italia, bishop of Caen, who had been William's "guide, philosopher, and friend." Whether this prelate was with William in Scotland and at Dunfermline history does not say, but if he were not, and if William did not "blow his own trumpet" somewhat, it is not the least unlikely that some one ecclesiastic in his camp, or soldier for that matter, did tell what they, while in Normandy, had seen and knew of the piety and zeal of their King and Queen. Letters passed between Queen Margaret and Lanfranc, though it cannot be said that the building was their subject matter. Still, the Abbey here is of Norman architecture, and this would be carried out, not by Scottish masons, but by some of those bands of mediæval builders who, by permission of the Pope, went wherever their services were required. And Margaret was not quite "a penniless lass wi' a lang pedigree." There was money in her family (as well as some gold in Scotland then), and nothing to prevent a start here. (*Dunfermline Abbey by John Marshall p.8*)

St. Margaret died at Edinburgh, in the Castle, 1093. But her body was borne by her sons to Dunfermline "to the Church of the Holy Trinity which she had built, and deposited in all humility outside the entrance of the choir, before the Altar of the Holy Rood. Hitherto the Scottish kings had been laid to rest at Iona:

"Carried to Colmes-kill,  
The sacred storehouse of their predecessors,  
And guardian of their bones"

But the grave of their sainted mother exercised, naturally, a more powerful fascination for her children. Edgar, Alexander the First, David the First, chose their last resting place beside her. Thither, too, from Tynemouth, where after his fall at Alnwick he had been hastily interred, were brought the bones to her husband Malcolm, and those of Edward her eldest son, from Jedburgh. Dunfermline thus became for Feudal Scotland what Iona had been in the Celtic period, the Royal Sepulchre. It was with Scottish monks, apparently of some native order, that Canmore and St. Margaret first filled Dunfermline.

Malcolm's death plunged the country into chaos. She was at war, she had lost in one breath a strong capable King, and Queen his wise counsellor. Moreover, a succession war was threatened. Malcolm, like most kings of his time, not only in Scotland, had named his heir in his lifetime. He had chosen Prince Edward, and Edward now was dead, while there were still living six sons of the King, of whom three were grown men, besides his brother and certain other descendants of Kenneth MacAlpin. .... With Edward dead and no successor named, the heirship lay between Duncan and Edmund, the second of Margaret's sons. Duncan claimed it, and was opposed by Edmund in alliance with their uncle Donald Bán, who in fact was aiming at the throne for himself.... (*The Foundations of Scotland by Agnes Mure Mackenzie, Chap IX p.140.*)

The site of the Abbey has thus been continuously in use as a place of public worship for a considerable time prior to 1072, and covering the entire historical span of the Christian mission in Scotland, from its original Celtic foundation, through the long Roman period to the Reformed tradition of the present day.

Bishop Leslie again affirms that Malcolm III gave to the church here monks of the Benedictine order, and many writers have followed him in this statement. The opinion is favoured by the circumstance of the long residence of Malcolm, as well of his

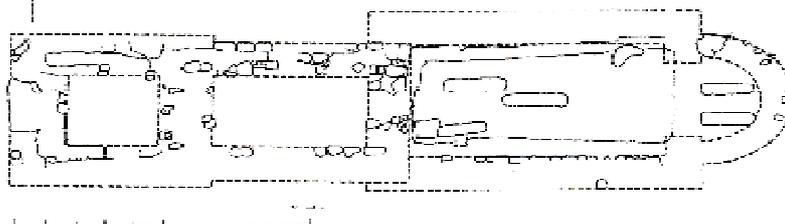
Queen in England, where this order extensively prevailed and the consequent preference' which they might thereby imbibe of the pomp and splendour of the English prelacy to the simple constitution and worship of the ancient religion of Scotland. It may have been strengthened, too, and if it did not take its rise from, the fact that David I, who ascended the throne in 1124, added thirteen English monks to the monastery whom he translated from Canterbury, and who were of the Benedictine order. (*Historical Account by Rev P Chalmers P.174*)

**Prior to A.D.1072 DUNFERMLINE ABBEY CHURCH NAVE** - beneath the Nave, but open to view through five gratings set into the floor, are the foundations of two earlier churches - the small Roman church with a semi-circular apse built by Malcolm III of Scotland for his saintly queen Margaret about 1072 and the still more ancient Celtic church, which is undated.

The two Earliest Masonry Structures on the Site were excavated in 1916

The first building consisted of a room 23ft (7m) square on the exterior, with a narrow rectangular room to the east in the position of a chancel. Since the walls of the square were thicker than those of the eastern room it is likely that they supported a tower, making the building an unusual type of two-cell church with a tower for a nave.

**PLAN OF LEFT CULDEE CHURCH  
AND CHURCH FOR ST MARGARET ON RIGHT**



*Dunfermline Abbey plan of the early church found below the nave in 1916.*

The remains relate to two buildings clearly distinguished in the Nave, by two different east-west axes and by breaks in the masonry indicating that the eastern building was added to the western one.

1. Church was standing in 1070 and Margaret built the extension. making church (1) earlier than c. 1070.
2. Church (2) was that built by Margaret.

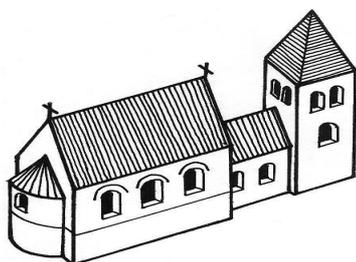
*(The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey by Eric Fernie)*

The remains of an early church have been recovered beneath the nave of the great Romanesque church which superseded it, and they are of much importance. They represent two distinct but connected buildings operations, each of unusual interest. To a small pre-Conquest church, consisting of an oblong cell with a square western tower, there was added on the east a square choir with a rounded apse. The earlier church belongs to a tenth-eleventh century type of manorial or in this instance palace church, and was doubtless that in which Margaret was married; the addition, with its characteristically romaneseque apse, may be attributed to Margaret and thus signalises the introduction of the romaneseque style to Scotland. (*Scottish Abbeys, by Stewart Cruden, p.54*)

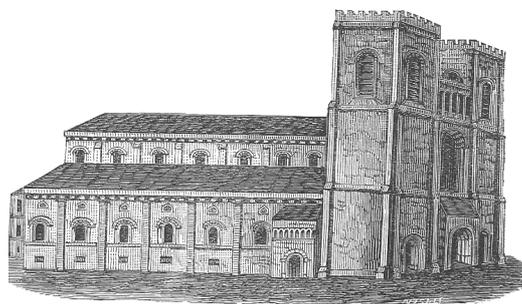
The outlines of these two churches are clearly shown on the floor of the Norman Nave of the Abbey. There may be traced the lines of the Belfry and the little Culdee church itself. Adjoining this are the outlines of the second church with the semi-circular apse. (*Dunfermline Abbey. A Brief Guide p.7.*) Alexander I. founded the third church the Nave as a Priory in 1124. (*Ancient Culdees` by John Jamieson p.1.*)

Founding of Dunfermline Church.1072 the year of the founding of the great Church at Dunfermline is not on record; but is to be presumed that it would be shortly after the "Nuptial Ceremony." The great influx of English nobility, &. into Scotland, shortly ate the arrival of the Royal Exiles, would, as a matter of course, greatly increase the number of the inhabitants in the then hamlet of Dunfermline, so much so, probably, as to render the little old Culdean Church no longer suitable for the increased number of worshippers. It would appear that Margaret and Turgot had often held consultations regarding the erection of a more suitable place of worship. The matter is laid before Malcolm, the King, who not only agrees to erect a new edifice, but one for size and architecture adornments that would surpass every other ecclesiastical building then in Scotland. This resolution had been taken in consequence of his having resoled to have the place of "Royal Sepulture" within its walls Historians step in and inform us that "*Ejusdem illius Turgoti suasu Malcolmus Trinitatis Templum ad Dounfermlin sancivit ut exinde commune esset Regum Sepulchrum*" - i.e. "By the advice of the same Turgot, Malcolm appointed the Trinity Church at Dunfermline to be from that time the place of Royal Sepulture." We fix the founding in the year 1072, two years after the marriage, as the most likely date. So the great Church at Dunfermline was founded, a great national, or kind of metropolitan Church, which, when finished, would be "the largest and the fairest in the land."...He (Malcolm) founded the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermlyn, long before he enriched it with many gifts and revenues." (*Annals of Dunf. by Henderson p. 14.*)

Three Churches have stood on the site covered by the present Nave. The first of these, the original Celtic church in which Malcolm King of Scots married, about A.D. 1068/70 as his second wife, Margaret the fugitive Saxon princess. The second was the one Malcolm built for Margaret and was begun in 1072 and probably completed in 1075. The outlines of these two churches are clearly shown on the floor of the Norman Nave of the Abbey. There may be traced the lines of the Belfry and the little Culdee church itself. Adjoining this are the outlines of the second church with the semi-circular apse. (*A Guide to Dunfermline Abbey, by Macpherson.*)



**Church 1 & 2 St Margaret**



**Church 3 Nave**

This clause is in the highest degree suggestive.

It was in a church of the ninth or tenth century that Queen Margaret and Malcolm Canmore were married - a church small and primitive like those of Ireland in that era. They consisted of a simple oblong chamber with a single door and one small window. The walls were often built without mortar, and the wall apertures were finished with

undressed stone. They might be either thatched or barrel-vaulted. "Until the Romanesque influence is felt, not a trace of any kind of ornament is to be found on these churches. Latterly a few details resembling Norman work are introduced." This clause is in the highest degree suggestive.

When Malcolm Canmore hired Aelric, the Saxon Master-mason, to build for him a church to replace the little Celtic one in which Princess Margaret and he had been married, he gave him (Dunf. Abbey, p. 215, and E.M.A. p.16) for his services the lands of Ledmacduuegil which afterwards came to be known as Masterton (the place where the Master-mason lived). It is known that for many years there was on the lands of Garvock a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, with a Chapel-Well in the immediate neighbourhood. Does it seem unreasonable to suggest the possibility that Robert the Carpenter may have acquired his portion of these lands in payment for his services as architect of the chapel? There was nothing more common in the Scotland of these days than meeting a financial obligation by a gift of land. (*Early Mason & Carpenters by J. M. Moir. p. 5.*)

We can still picture the church as St. Margaret left it. The great square tower she added rising on its west front; the larger building, probably floored with tiles, adjoined to the east, terminating in a semicircular apse. She kept to the Celtic predilection for dedicating the high altar to the Blessed Trinity, while the two side altars usual in the early church were here consecrated, that at the south-east angle to Our Blessed Lady. In front of the altar of the Holy Rood where St. Margaret's body was first laid, Dr Macgregor Chalmers found that the mortar bed for the pavement had been cut. Where Malcolm's bones were laid in a tomb on the north side, probably in front of the altar of Our Lady, there was no sign of the pavement having been disturbed.

In A.D. 1075 St Margaret rebuilt Church at Iona and founded monastery at Dunfermline. (*A History of the Celtic Church From Conception to 1153 by Rev James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna P. 89.*)

**THE FOUNDATION CHARTER OF DUNFERMLINE CHURCH, GRANTED BY MALCOLM III 1075.** Vide Printed "Registrum de Dunfermlyn," Also the Chartulary of the Abbey it contains about 600 deeds, writs and charters relative to the possessions, & of the Abbey. The most ancient charter under date 1128 is the Confirmation Charter of David I. The original is held in the Advocates Library Edinburgh. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 417 15, 709, 716.*)

In 1097 CUMERLACHI were Gifted to the Church of The Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, about this period, by KING EDGAR, shortly after his ascension to the throne. Cumerlachi, sometimes designated "Cumberlachi," appear to have been a low grade of fugitive servants, or slaves. Considerable difference of opinion still exists as to the etymology of this singular word or name. May it not refer to Edgar's "slave servants," who had been brought from his possessions in Cumberland into Scotland. (*Annals of Dunf by Henderson p. 26.*)

**ROYAL GIFT OF A CRUCIFIX, GOLD AND SILVER VESSELS, JEWELS, &c.,** to Dunfermline Church of the Holy Trinity by Queen, consort of Malcolm III., about this period (Hailes's An. Scot. vol.i p. 38), "Queen Margaret enriched Dunfermline Abbey with many *jewels* of great value, with vessels of *gold*, and silver, curiously wrought; and also a *Black Cross*, full of diamonds, which she brought out of England." (*Hay's Scotia Sacra, vol. i. p. 328 & Annals Dunf. p. 16*)

**ROYAL GIFTS, TO DUNFERMLINE CHURCH.-** About this period Malcolm III, and Margaret his consort the Queen, bequeathed in free gift to the Church of The

Holy Trinity of Dunfermline, just partially opened and dedicated the following possessions: - "*Pardusin, Petnurcha, Pettecorthin, Pethauchlin, Laur, Bolgin*, the Shire of *Kircaladinit*, and *Inneresk the Lesser*, and the whole *Shire of Fothriff and Musselburgh*." It is not known as to whether or not these possessions were conveyed by Charter or by "*oral gift*." David I., their son, in his great Confirmation Charters to Dunfermline Abbey, A.D. 1128-1130, notices these gifts of his father and mother, and confirms them so also dose succeeding monarchs on their ascending the throne. (See *Print. Regist. Dunf. pp. 3-5, 19, &c.*) (*Annals of Dunf. p.15.*)

#### THE ALTARS IN THE CURCH OF THE HOLY TRIITY AT DUNFERMLINE –

There were at this period (1074) at least two altars, in this Church of the Holy Trinity,  
1st The *High Altar*, sometimes known as the "*Great Altar*" (*Grate Awtre*), which stood at the east end of the Church (east of the auld kirk);

2nd The *Altar of the Holy Cross* some-times called the "*Rood Altar*" (*Rwde Awtre*), which stood in the south side of the Church, about forty feet south-west of the *Great Altar* in the *Rood Aisle*. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 17*)

Another part of the Abbey's property may be mentioned. As early as 1098 King Edgar gifted to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, some slaves whom he is believed to have brought from his estates in Cumberland. His father, Malcolm Canmore was in the way of bringing captives from England and disposing of them to his people as slaves. These gifted to the Abbey would be like the Gibeonites, hewers of wood and drawers of water to the monks. In 1142 David I, added his bondsmen "*Ragewin, Gillepartic, and Ulchell*," as he says, "for ever to the Church of the Holy Trinity, as my own men." Then King William bequeathed for ever as a free gift to the Abbey *Gillandrean MacSuthin* and his children..... (*Abbey by John Marshall p.20.*)

In addition to the High Altar at the eastern end of the choir and the Holy Rood and St Mary's Altars in the Nave, there were numerous other Altars at various points within the church. Twenty-six are known to have existed and there may have been more, each dedicated to a particular saint and served by its own monks, and endowed by individuals and guilds in the town and countryside. (*Guide to Dunfermline Abbey Kirk Session 1976*)

Church at Dunfermline partially opened for worship in 1075 - It would appear, from the writings of several authors, that Abbey and great Churches were commenced to be built at the extreme east end, and, as circumstances permitted, the building operations were carried on toward the west until finished. Sometimes thirty or forty years were occupied in rearing a large sacred edifice. Dunfermline Church appears to have taken up the greater part of forty years before it was finished. Such being usual, a part of the eastern division of the edifice was built and completed for immediate worship, a temporary wall being built in the meantime on the west side of this completed part, in order to render it comfortable for the worshippers, and a the same time allow the west part of the building to be carried on at leisure until finished. It may be presumed that this eastern part would be finished abut this period (1075) three years after the supposed date of "*the founding*" (see date 1072). Probably, there would be "*a chapel of the castle*" in the Tower on Tower Hill, as was generally the case in these times; and if there were, it would likely be here that Malcolm, Margaret, &c., would worship during the three years 1072-1075. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 17*)

St Margaret died November 16th 1093. Malcolm was killed at Alnwick; later buried in Dunfermline. Important date in Scotch history as large number of Italian clergy

and English of the Roman persuasion came to Scotland. (*A History of the Celtic Church From Conception to 1153* by Rev James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna p. 89.)

**DONALD III BANE**, (born c. 1033—died after 1097), King of Scotland from November 1093 to May 1094 and from November 1094 to October 1097, son of Duncan I.

**KING DUNCAN II 1093-1094** was the eldest son of Malcolm III and Ingibjorg and became King after defeating Donald III his uncle, with Norman/English help. His reign was brief as he was killed a few months later at the Battle of Monthechin, Kincardine, by Donald Ban, whom he had deposed. Duncan II, who was assassinated this year, is said by some old writers to have been buried at Dunfermline. (*Abridged Chron. Scot. p. 59 &*) This is not absolutely certain, but extremely likely. He knew that his father, Malcolm III, had ordained the Church of Dunfermline to the place of future sepulture of the Royal Family of Scotland; besides this, by the previous entry, it is seen that by his munificent gift of the *two villas of Luscar* to the Church he had become one of its benefactors. It may be noted here, that there existed much difference of opinion among authors regarding legitimacy of Duncan II.

In 1094 DUNCAN II, bequeathed, as a free gift of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline "TWO VILLAS" called "LUSCAR". (*Annals of Dunf. p. 25*)

In 1094 DONALD III BANE, upon the death of his brother Malcolm III Canmore (1093) there was a fierce contest for the crown. Donald Bane besieged Edinburgh Castle, took it, and, with the support of the Celtic Scots and the custom of tanistry (the Celtic system of electing kings or chiefs), he was king nominally for at least six months. He was expelled by Duncan II, son of Malcolm III, and his first Queen Ingibjorg of Orkney, assisted by English and Normans and some Saxons. Duncan's reign was equally short, for Donald Bane had his nephew Duncan slain, and again reigned for three years.

These years saw the last attempt of the Celts to maintain a king of their race and a kingdom governed according to their customs. Edgar the Aetheling, who had newly befriended the Norman king of England, led an army into Scotland, dispossessed Donald Bane, and advanced his nephew Edgar, son of Malcolm III, as sole king of the Scots. (*Wikipedia*)

**DUNCAN II**, who was assassinated this year of 1095, is said by some old writers to have been buried Dunfermline (*Abridged Chron. Scot. p. 59 &c & Annals of Dunf. p. 26.*)

In 1097 CUMERLACHI were Gifted to the Church of The Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, about this period, by KING EDGAR, shortly after his ascension to the throne. Cumerlachi, sometimes designated "Cumberlachi," appear to have been a low grade of fugitive servants, or slaves. Considerable difference of opinion still exists as to the etymology of this singular word or name. May it not refer to Edgar's "slave servants," who had been brought from his possessions in Cumberland into Scotland. (*Annals of Dunf p.26.*)

At the commencement of the 12th century 1101, the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, stood unfinished, - the western part of its aisles, the west gable, with its two massy lofty towers and grand entrance between them, were still unbuilt. (*Annals of Dunf p 27.*)

**EDGAR, THE KING**, (1097-1107) son of Malcolm III, died at Dundee, 7th January, age 33 and shortly afterwards was interred in the Church of the Holy Trinity,

Dunfermline, with great solemnity, the Royal burial-place before the High Altar, or *Grate Awtre* of Winton &c. (*Annals of Dunf.* p.28.)

Another part of the Abbey's property may be mentioned. As early as 1098 King Edgar gifted to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, some slaves whom he is believed to have brought from his estates in Cumberland. His father, Malcolm Canmore was in the way of brining captives from England and disposing of them to his people as slaves. These gifted to the Abbey would be like the Gibeonites, hewers of wood and drawers of water to the monks. In 1142 David I, added his bondsmen "Ragewin, Gillepartic, and Ulchell," as he says, "for ever to the Church of the Holy Trinity, as my own men." Then King William bequeathed for ever as a free gift to the Abbey Gillandrean MacSuthin and his children.....(*Dunf Abbey by John Marshall p.20.*)

ALEXANDER I, son of Malcolm III, succeeded his brother Edgar in 1107. He was distinguished as *the Fierce*, being of a fiery impetuous disposition, and thus terrible to evil-doers. But he was profuse in his charity, and liberal to the church. He greatly increased, as already stated, the revenues of the Monastery at Dunfermline, the church of which, begun by Malcolm, he finished.... He died at Stirling 26th April 1124, in the 18th year of his reign, and "was buried at Dunfermline honourably, on the date of St Mark the Evangelist, *near his father, befor the great altar.*" (*Fordun, v. 49. Historical Dunf. P Chalmers p.132-4.*)

It has been said that Scotland's ancient Capital, Dunfermelitane, breathes that national sentiment in greater degree than any other town north of the Tweed. Seldom does a native pass through the portals of the Royal Pend and witness the remnants of that stately edifice which formed part of the palace chambers, but a pang of grief stabs at his heart, with a smothered anathema upon the generation which permitted such wanton iconoclasm.

Dunfermline was once the Royal Capital of Scotland, the birthplace of kings, the playground of their youth, and is the locus Sepulturæ regius where they rest with their queens and their children. Within that proud monumental edifice, the Abbey, the Holy Trinity Church, there rest in repose nineteen Royal personages: eight kings, four queens, five princes and two princesses, in silent keeping beside the foremost and most valiant of Scottish nobility. (*Guide to Dunfermline by Mackie p. 15*)

Dunfermline created a Royal Burgh 1109- The precise year when Dunfermline was created a Royal Burgh is not known. Alexander in this year erected Stirling into a Royal Burgh, and he would probably grant Dunfermline its Burghal Charter in the same year. It will be seen, under date 1112 that Dunfermline is then, at all event written down as a burgh. (*Guide to Dunfermline by Mackie p. 15.*)

**Royal Gifts to Dunfermline Church, Alexander I, the King, bequeathed to the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, about this period, 1109 the *Chapel of the Castle of Stirling and Teinds.* (*Annals of Dunf p.29.* )**

In 1115 the Remains of Malcolm III brought to Dunfermline. Malcolm III, (Canmore) was slain, along with his eldest son Edward, at the siege of Alnwick Castle, in England, on November 13th, A.D. 1103, and was buried hurriedly at Tynemouth. It is well known that Alexander I, the third son of Malcolm III, got liberty from the English authorities to exhume his father's remains and to take them to Dunfermline; but the precise year of this transaction has not been ascertained, and we are therefore forced to lean on probabilities. The date of the exhumation is here placed in A.D. 1115, the middle year of the reign of Alexander I. In order to reduce any error to its minimum, for the same reason we give A.D. 1115, as the date when the Church of the

Holy Trinity was finished, and opened for the celebration of public worship. It is extremely unlikely that Alexander I, would exhume his father's remains at Tynemouth, and convey them to Dunfermline before the church he had founded was finished in all its details. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 30.* )

**THE GREAT ROOD AND THE ROOD SCREEN.** Prior to the 16th Century, no Christian church was considered to be properly equipped without its Great Rood (or Cross), usually flanked on either side by subsidiary figures representing the Virgin Mary and John the Apostle. As its name implies, the Great Rood was of impressive proportions and was either suspended from the roof timbers or, more often, fixed upright on a beam stretching high across the building and supported by a partition or screen. This erection was called the Rood Screen.

The Great Rood was the most prominent object in any church. It was designed to catch the eye of everyone entering the Nave and was plainly visible throughout the whole building. To be buried near its foot was an honour greatly prized by the devout.

A fragment of the Rood Screen has survived in Dunfermline and is still in position at the eastern end of the Nave, immediately in front of the entrance to the modern church. Note that it was erected over the line of the altar of the earlier church of St Margaret's. It is thought by some that the Rood Altar may have been set against the middle of the screen, and that processional doors to right and left gave access to the Choir. Other evidence suggests that the Rood Altar was in the south aisle, that another dedicated to St Mary stood in the north aisle, and that the processional door to the Choir was in the centre. A bronze plaque has been set into the fragment of the Screen, explaining its function. (*A Guide to Dunf. Abbey 1987 p. 7*)

**King Alexander I.** seems to have brought the conventual buildings to something like completion, since in the very year of his death in 1124, his brother and successor, David I. was able to bring a colony of thirteen monks from Christ Church, Canterbury, to form the community together with any others who might be already in possession. At their head was Godfrey, Prior of Christ Church, who was made superior, though, owing to the long vacancy in the See of St Andrews, he did not receive the abbatial benediction till four years later. Godfrey ruled the monastery for thirty years, dying in 1154, a year after David I. had been laid to rest near the tombs of his parents and brothers. The church received consecration in 1150, by which time the great nave seems to have been completed. (*Scottish Benedictine Houses of the Past. By Michael Barrett, O.S.B., of Fort Augustus (1848- 1924).*)

**ALEXANDER I** was interred at Dunfermline, the fifth son of Malcolm III he died at Stirling on April 26th 1124 in the 18th year of his reign, and about the 48th year of his age, and was interred before the High Altar of the Church of the Holy Trinity Dunfermline. According to Fordun, he was interred "near his father before the Great Altar." The Great Altar and the High Altar are identical. (*Fordun, v. 40*) (*Annas of Dunf. p.38*)

It may be noted that there is a blank in the history of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, from 1115 to Alexander's death in 1124. Such a blank can now only be filed up by conjecture.

From what is known of Alexander I., and his strong Romish proclivities - as strong as those which influenced his brother and successor, David I. - it may be presumed that at the time, or shortly after the time of the opening the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline - the most splendid church Scotland had yet seen - he had,

besides the munificent gifts he had bestowed on it, resolved to raise it still higher in importance, viz., to the rank of an Abbey; but to carry out such a resolution, monastic buildings for the domestic accommodation of an abbot, monks, and their necessary attendants, would in the first place have to be erected. It may be presumed, therefore, that a considerable portion of the time between 1115, and the time of his somewhat sudden death in 1124, was employed in erecting the necessary buildings. His sudden death in the latter year prevented him from carrying out his pious wishes, and the duty of doing so fell on his brother, David I. It will be seen by the next entry in the *Annals*, that immediately after ascending the throne David, apparently without the least delay, sent to Canterbury for his 13 monks, which fact implies that the monastic buildings erected for their accommodation by his brother and predecessor Alexander, were completed. There can be little or no doubt that it was Alexander I, who founded and finished the Monastery of Dunfermline, between the years 1115 and 1124, and not David I, as, has been hitherto asserted. (*Annals of Dunf. p.39*)

**DUNFERMLINE ABBEY AND MONASTRY OF THE ORDER OF ST. BENEDICT.** - Shortly after his accession to the throne this year, David I, raised the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Dunfermline, to the rank and dignity of an Abbey and translated to it a colony of 13 Benedictine monks from Canterbury, in England - thus carrying out the pious wishes of his deceased brother and predecessor. Thus there were belonging to the Abbey in 1124, 13 Culdees and 13 Benedictine monks. (*Annals of Dunf. p.39*)

**DUNFERMLINE MONASTERY** was first founded as a Priory by Alexander I, who died in 1124, and, in 1124, it was erected into a Benedictine Monastery by David I, the "Sair Sanct for the Cross," who placed in it an abbot and twelve monks from Canterbury. By the close of the thirteenth century it had become the most magnificent Conventual establishment in Scotland. The monastic buildings were on a lower level than the church and to the south of the nave. The imposing ruins, shown in the drawing, form the south wall of the Refectory, and probably date from the fourteenth century. A part projecting between the buttresses in the east-most bay and supported by an ornamental arch, had a reading desk from which one of the monks read aloud at meals. The Pends, arching the street, connected the Monastery on the right with the King's Kitchen and Palace shown on the left. (*Robert Somerville. Dunfermline Sketches and Notes. Dunfermline, 1917.*) (*Annals of Dunf. p. 40*)

Christ Church, Dunfermline, was founded by Margaret c. 1074 as a daughter-house of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the mother-church of the Christian faith in Britain. From Canterbury Archbishop Lanfranc sent monks for this historic adventure. The monks were few, the church was small, and the convent probably did not survive the anti-foreign national resistance of Donald Ban after the death of Malcolm and Margaret in 1093. The remains of an early church have been recovered beneath the nave of the great Romanesque church which superseded it, and they are of much importance. They represent two distinct but connected buildings each of unusual interest. To small pre-Conquest church, consisting of an oblong cell with a square western tower, there was added on the east a square choir with a rounded apse. The earlier church belongs to a tenth-eleventh century type of manorial or in this instance palace church, and was doubtless that in which Margaret was married; the addition with its characteristically Romanesque apse, may be attributed to Margaret and thus signals the introduction of the Romanesque style to Scotland.

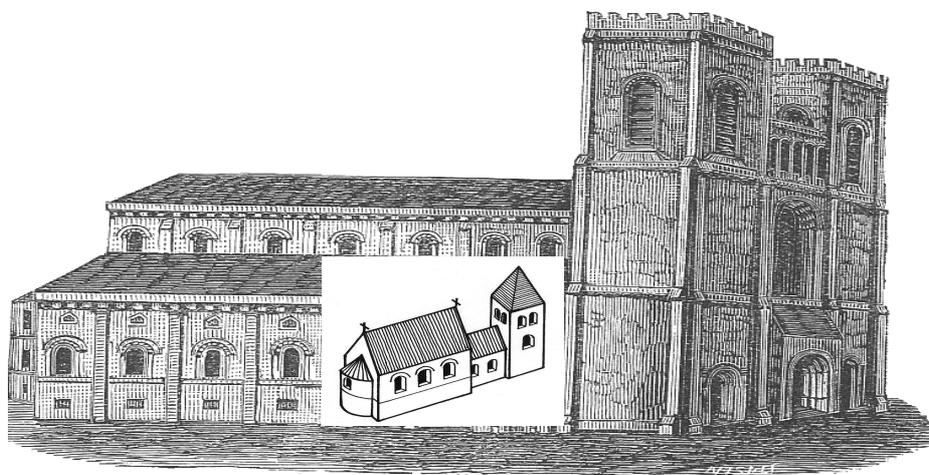
The plan of the early church is indicated on the paving of the nave of the existing church which was begun in the reign of her son David I, c. 1128 and which was dedicated in 1150. It is important to know what stage in the great twelfth-century church this dedication commemorates. We do not know. There would be two dedications; one for the completion of the eastern limbs, which would then be put to use; the other or the completion of the whole work, which might be some twenty years later if all went well. If 1150 is the date of the second dedication it includes the completed nave, if it is of the first dedication it throws the nave into the second half of the twelfth century. (*Scottish Abbeys by Stewart Cruden p.14.*)

**DUNFERMLINE** was once the Royal Capital of Scotland, the birthplace of kings, the playground of their youth, and is the locus Sepulturæ regius where they rest with their queens and their children. Within that proud monumental edifice, the Abbey, the Holy Trinity Church, there rest in repose nineteen Royal personages: eight kings, four queens, five princes and two princesses, in silent keeping beside the foremost and most valiant of Scottish nobility. (*Guide to Dunfermline by Mackie p. 15*) (*G.C. Meiklejohn Introduction*)

The abbey of Dunfermline was of the Benedictine order, so that doubtless it could have boasted of some very learned inmates, had it not been for the wanton destruction of its records, as well as of its walls, at the era of the Reformation, when the Scotch people set to work for more vigorously than their southern brethren in destroying the nest of the clergy, so as to scare away their episcopal inmates, whether Catholic or Protestant. Its early history may be very briefly told. It was begun by Malcolm Canmore and finished by Alexander I, surnamed "the Fierce"; and it was held in high honour for several centuries as the burial place of a long line of Scottish kings. In all probability it was originally intended at least to include a hospital, as it is styled in early documents "hospitium mente infirmorum." This is rendered the more probable, as at first it was only a priory subject to a prior; but it was raised into an abbey by David I, who in 1124 brought to it thirteen monks from St Augustine's house at Canterbury, and it gradually grew in wealth and importance. (*The Abbey and Palace of Dunfermline, The Gentleman's Magazine p. 86*)

There was a similar foundation at *Dunfermline*. Of this the following account has been given by a writer of great research: "The splendid Abbey of Dunfermline owed its inconsiderable foundation to Malcolm Ceamore; its completion to Alexander I, and its reform to David I. The monastery of Dunfermline was dedicated, like the other Culdean establishments to the Holy Trinity. Here, the Culdees, with their Abbot, discharged their usual duties, during several reigns; and David I, who lived much with Henry I, of England, upon his accession, introduced, among the Celtic Culdees, thirteen English monks from Canterbury." `Spotiswood mentions that this place "was formerly governed by a prior: for Eadmerus, speaking of the messengers thus were sent by - King Alexander I, in the year 1120, to Radulph Archbishop of Canterbury, for procuring Eadmer to be bishop of St Andrews, says, *Horum unus quidem monachus, et Prior ecclesiae Dunfermlinae, Petrus nomine.*"` He conjectures that "it was then an hospital;" especially as it is designed, in some old manuscripts, *Monasterium de monte infirmorum*. "But it is evident that this is merely a monkish play upon the name of the place; like *Mons rosarum* for Montrose, properly *Munross*. As Gaelic *Dun* denotes a hill, and *fiar* crooked; it might afford a tolerable foundation for monkish ingenuity. The fact seems to be, that it continued as a priory, till the time of David. who, A. 1124, raised it to the dignity of an Abbey. (*Ancient Culdees by J. Jamieson London 1811 p.165*)

When thus the Church founded by Malcolm III, in the year 1072 and finished in 1115, it would appear from a north-west point, as shown in the following print, copied from a drawing made by the author in 1827. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 32.*)



*Inside, shows the Church build by Malcolm for Margaret, The Holy Trinity  
Completed by Alexander I. Church of the Holy Trinity. Priory.  
Added to and enlarged by David I. into an Abbey*

The old fabric, now called the "Auld Kirk," is original Church of the Holy Trinity, built between A.D. 1072 and 1115. (*Fordun, v. 40.: Annas of Dunf. p.32.*)

It may be noted that there is a blank in the history of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, from 1115 to Alexander's death in 1124. Such a blank can now only be filed up by conjecture.

From what is known of Alexander I., and his strong Romish proclivities - as strong as those which influenced his brother and successor, David I. - it may be presumed that at the time, or shortly after the time of the opening the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline - the most splendid church Scotland had yet seen - he had, besides the munificent gifts he had bestowed on it, resolved to raise it still higher in importance, viz., to the rank of an Abbey; but to carry out such a resolution, monastic buildings for the domestic accommodation of an abbot, monks, and their necessary attendants, would in the first place have to be erected. It may be presumed, therefore, that a considerable portion of the time between 1115, and the time of his somewhat sudden death in 1124, was employed in erecting the necessary buildings. His sudden death in the latter year prevented him from carrying out his pious wishes, and the duty of doing so fell on his brother, David I. It will be seen by the next entry in the *Annals*, that immediately after ascending the throne David, apparently without the least delay, sent to Canterbury for his 13 monks, which fact implies that the monastic buildings erected for their accommodation by his brother and predecessor Alexander, were completed. There can be little or no doubt that it was Alexander I, who founded and finished the Monastery of Dunfermline, between the years 1115 and 1124, and not David I, as has been hitherto asserted. (*Annals of Dunf. p.39*)

By 1124 DUNFERMLINE MONASTERY was first founded as a Priory by Alexander I, who died in 1124, and, in 1124, it was erected into a Benedictine Monastery by David I, the "Sair Sanct for the Cross," who placed in it an abbot and twelve monks from Canterbury. By the close of the thirteenth century it had become the most magnificent Conventual establishment in Scotland. The monastic buildings

were on a lower level than the church and to the south of the nave. The imposing ruins, shown in the drawing, form the south wall of the Refectory, and probably date from the fourteenth century. A part projecting between the buttresses in the east-most bay and supported by an ornamental arch, had a reading desk from which one of the monks read aloud at meals. The Pends, arching the street, connected the Monastery on the right with the King's Kitchen and Palace shown on the left. (*Robert Somerville Dunfermline Sketches and Notes. Dunfermline, 1917.*)

**DUNFERMLINE ABBEY AND MONASTRY OF THE ORDER OF ST. BENEDICT.** - Shortly after his accession to the throne this year, David I, raised the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Dunfermline, to the rank and dignity of an Abbey and translated to it a colony of 13 Benedictine monks from Canterbury, in England - thus carrying out the pious wishes of his deceased brother and predecessor. Thus there were belonging to the Abbey in 1124, 13 Culdees and 13 Benedictine monks. (*Annals of Dunf. p.39*)

**DAVID I**, the youngest son, of Malcolm, ascended the throne in 1124. He was distinguished for the affability of his temper, the mildness of his government, but especially for his munificent donations to the Church. He founded and richly endowed several abbeys and bishoprics, and raised the Priory at Dunfermline to the rank of an Abbey. He lamented the depredations committed by his soldiers on the places of worship in England, and in satisfaction of such injuries, bestowed a piece of plate on every church which had thereby suffered. In consequence of his extraordinary liberality to the ecclesiastical order, James I, King of Scotland, when at Dunfermline, and having the stately monument and shrine of his ancestor David I, named Saint David, pointed out to him as one of the benefactors to the ecclesiastics and church here, quaintly, but not very justly termed him, "ane sair sanct to the croun." It is related that he was found dead in the attitude of devotion. Buchanan admits him to have been a *good king*. (lib. viii.) He died at Carlisle, 24th May 1153, in the 20th year of his reign and, "his body was brought from Carlisle to Dunfermline, and interred *before the great altar, in the pavement of the middle choir* in the noble monastery which he himself had reared and enriched with many possessions." (*Fordun, vii.7.*) (*Chal. Hist. Dunf. Vol. I p. 135*)

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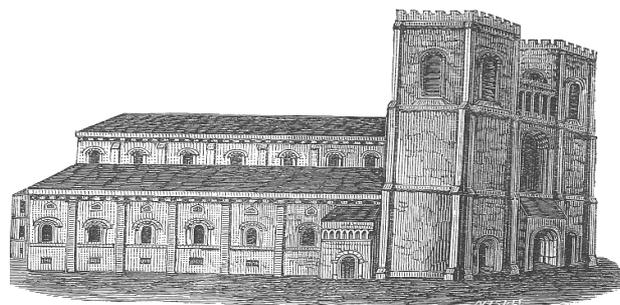
The monastery of Dunfermline is generally thought to have been only a Priory till the reign of David I, and to have been raised by him to the rank of an Abbey, on the occasion of his bringing thirteen monks from Canterbury; which on the supposition of the previous occupants being Culdees, was intended to reconcile them to the new order of things. The foundation for this opinion is the occurrences of one Peter, monk and prior of Dunfermline, among the messengers sent by King Alexander I, in 1120, to Randulph, archbishop of Canterbury, on order to congratulate him on his safe return from Rome, and beg of him Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, to be bishop of St Andrews. "Horum unus quidem monachus, et prior ecclesie Dunfermline Petrus nomine." From King David's time, the house was governed by an abbot, prior, and sub-prior. (*Hist. & Stat. Acc. of Dunf. by Rev P. Chalmers. p. 176.*)

**1124 KING DAVID I** remodeled the original foundation, placing in it a Benedictine Abbot and twelve monks from Canterbury. By him, too, the fabric was completed or restored. Under him, in 1150, it was dedicated. Before its High Altar, three years later he was buried. "He was a glorious king," says Fordun, "fed and clad with everyday thrift; and for holiness, integrity, and disciplined behaviour on a level with the best votaries of the monastic life. His life, ever to be wondered at, was followed by a precious death"; so tranquil that "he seemed not to have died," so devout, that his hands were found clasped for prayer, and raised, as if in that prayer he had breathed forth his soul to heaven.

The splendid Abbey of Dunfermlin owed its inconsiderable foundation to Malcolm Ceamore; its completion to Alexander I, and its reform to David I. The monastery of Dunfermlin was dedicated, like the other Culdean establishments to the Holy Trinity. Here, the Culdees, with their Abbot, discharged their usual duties, during several reigns; and David I, who lived much with Henry I, of England, upon his accession, introduced, among the Celtic Culdees, thirteen English monks from Canterbury. (*Ancient Culdees by J. Jamieson London 1811 p.165*)

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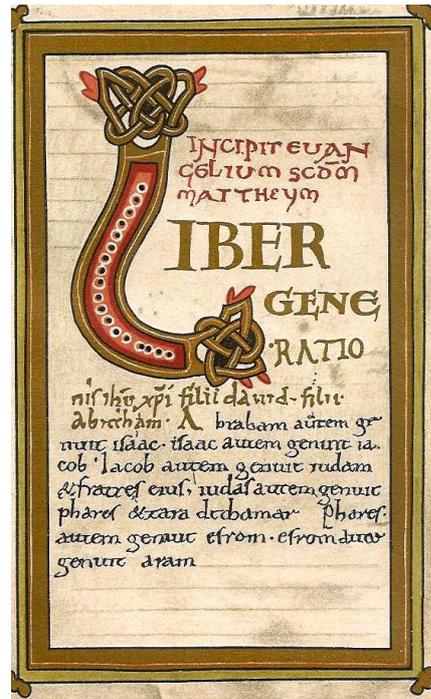


*Church of the Holy Trinity. Completed by Alexander I, as a Priory in 1124.  
"The splendid abbey of Dunfermline owed its inconsiderable foundations to Malcolm Canmore;  
its completion to Alexander; and its remodel and its reform into an Abbey by David I."*

**INNOVATION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MONASTIC ORDERS.** Roman Catholic monastic orders in King David I's reign brought about the Romanisation of the Church of Scotland. Roman monks had been brought from England and France by St Margaret, for we recall the monk who was confessor to her. King Edgar had re-established Coldingham monastery, and King Alexander I, had founded monastic foundations at Scone, Inchcolm, and Loch Tay. In David's I reign, however, the monastic movement was supreme. Monks were brought from France to Selkirk and Jedburgh. Richly endowed, beautifully constructed monasteries such as Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, Holyrood, Newbattle, Dunfermline, Cambuskenneth, and Kinloss were David's witness. The Knights Templars were granted Temple in Midlothian, and at Torphichen we find the Knights Hospitalers. A Cistercian convent was established for nuns at Berwick-on-Tweed; those nunneries attached were; Gullane, in Lothian, Strafontaine in Lammermoor, and Elbottle in Haddington. The abbeys of Kilwinning and magnificent Dryburgh were founded by Hugh de Morville during David I's reign. The abbeys of Souleseat and Dundrennan were founded by Fergus of Galloway, who also re-established the Bishopric of Whithorn (Candida Casa). (*History of the Celtic Church by Rev James A. Hanna.p.66*)

It would appear that it was not until about the year 1150 that the Romish worshippers in the Abbey superseded the original service; and thus after becoming masters of the situation the Abbot and monks would, by an imposing ceremony, according to the rites of Romish worshippers *consecrate the fabric* of the Church, and also consecrate the dedication. The long stone, placed near the arch of the north-west Norman door of the Church (within the porch) by the late Rev. D Chalmers, should have had "*consecrata*" instead of "*dedicata*" thus .....(*Annals of Dunf p.51; Chal. Hist. Dunf. Vol ii pp.162-166; vide Appendix E.*)

A beautifully written and illuminated copy (in M.S.) of Jerome's Latin Bible was used in the Abbey service, at Dunfermline, from its foundation in 1124 till its destruction in 1560. Some have thought that this Dunfermline copy is as old as the days of Malcolm III and St Margaret; but we are rather inclined to think that it was brought from Canterbury, this year by Gaufrid, the Abbot. This Bible is still in existence, and in good preservation in the Advocates' Library, (now in National Library of Scotland) where it is shown as one of its choicest literary treasures. It is written on vellum, is quite entire, legible and clean, except at some parts where it is a little soiled with grease spots, which appear to have been caused by the frequent anointing with the Holy Oil. The leaves re-ornamented with a great variety of figures, such as scriptural and historical subjects, and there are several seemingly out of place, as they are singularly grotesque. It is not in the original binding; it was re-bound about 40 years ago (in 1878) in a very elegant and expensive way. This Bible was used in the Abbey service at Dunfermline from about this period, 1124, down to the Reformation in 1560, when it was taken by Abbot Dury, the last Abbot, to France, along with other sacred relics. Afterwards it came into the possession of the celebrated Mons. Foucault, as appears from his arms on it. At his sale it was bought by a Scotch gentleman, and brought back to his country and deposited as a gift in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. (*John Fernie. A history of the town and parish of Dunfermline, Dunfermline, 1815, p. 89; Andrew Mercer. The history of Dunfermline, from the earliest records, down to the present time. Dunfermline, 1828. Peter Chalmers. Historical and statistical account of Dunfermline. 2 volumes Edinburgh, 1844-59, volume I, p. 156.*)



THE NEW LARGE EASTERN CHURCH OR CHOIR, begun circa, 1126, appears to have been completed this year - a structure "perhaps unequalled in Scotland; but the great expenses attending its erection during the past ten years had a very much impoverished the Abbey. The Abbot applied to the Pope for relief, soliciting the patronage and presentation to vacant churches. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 69*)

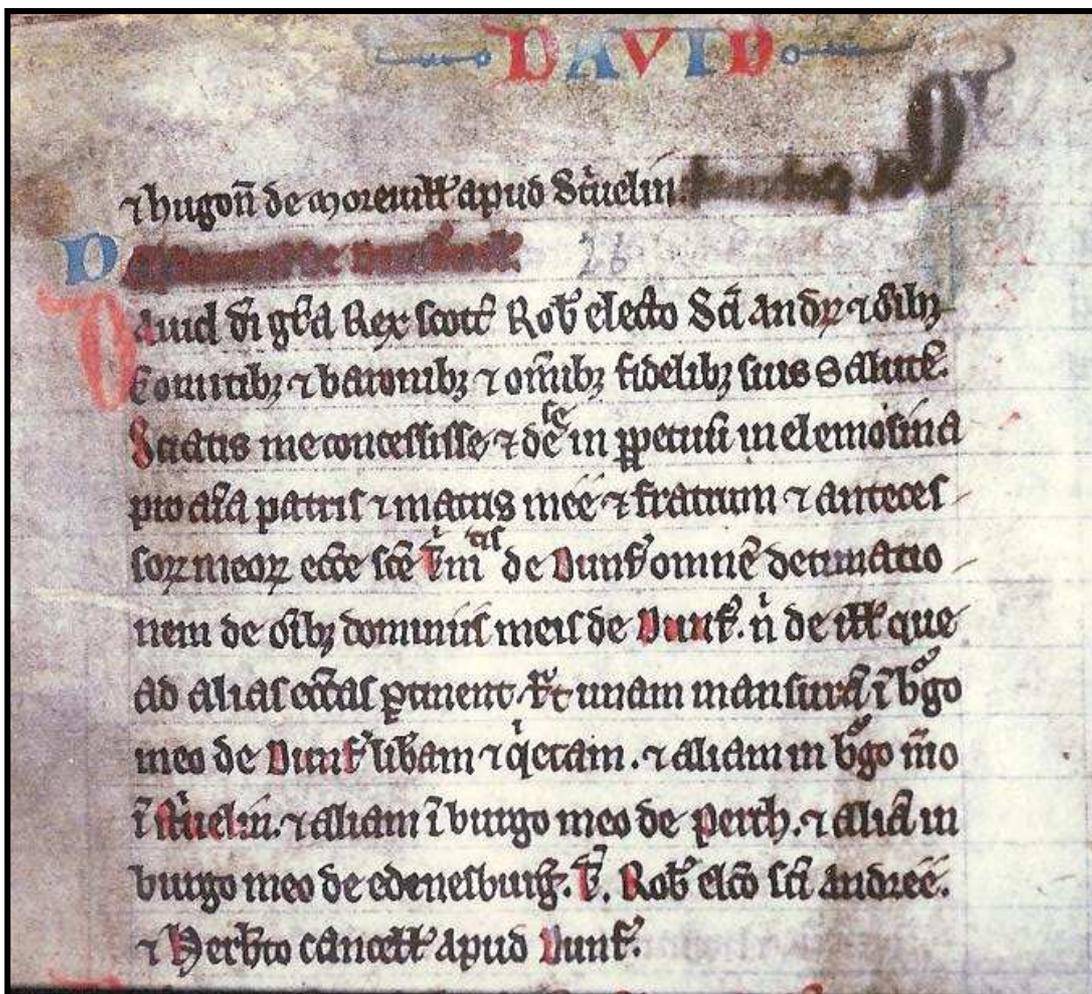
**1128** It was in a church of the ninth or tenth century that Queen Margaret and Malcolm Canmore were married - a church small and primitive like those of Ireland in that era. They consisted of a simple oblong chamber with a single door and one small window. The walls were often built without mortar, and the wall apertures were finished with undressed stone. They might be either thatched or barrel-vaulted. "Until the Romanesque influence is felt, not a trace of any kind of ornament is to be found on these churches. Latterly a few details resembling Norman work are introduced."

We can still picture the church as S. Margaret left it. The great square tower she added rising on its west front; the larger building, probably floored with tiles, adjoined to the east, terminating in a semicircular apse. She kept to the Celtic predilection for dedicating the high altar to the Blessed Trinity, while the two side altars usual in the early church were here consecrated, that at the south-east angle to Our Blessed Lady. In front of the altar of the Holy Rood where S. Margaret's body was first laid, Dr Macgregor Chalmers found that the mortar bed for the pavement had been cut. Where Malcolm's bones were laid in a tomb on the north side, probably in front of the altar of Our Lady, there was no sign of the pavement having been disturbed.

When in 1128 King David begun his work and built the choir, tower, and transepts to the east, he had doubtless before him the whole scheme he intended to carry out; but it was 1140 before he cleared away the early church and erected there the Nave that is the glory of modern Dunfermline. (*The History of Fife by James Wilkie pp.159-160*)

Translation of Confirmation Charter of King David I, 1130 to Dunfermline Abbey-  
No. 2. (See *Print, Regist, Dunf*, pp. 5-7; & *Annals of Dunf.* p.46.)

### CHARTER BY DAVID I



King David addressing Robert Bishop (elect) of St. Andrews and his earls, barons, and liegemen, informs them that he has given for ever in alms to the church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline the title of all his demesne lands of Dunfermline except of those which belong to other churches, and also a house (mansura) in the burgh of Dunfermline, another in Stirling, another in Perth, and another in Edinburgh.

(*Registrum de Dunfermline*, dated circa 1126-27) (See *Print, Regist, Dunf*, pp. 5-7; & *Annals of Dunf.* p.46.)

**BONDMEN, OR CUMBERLACHI 1142.** - David I, about this period bequeathed to Dunfermline Abbey, his *servi* - *Ragewin*, *Gillepatric*, and *Ulchell* - "for ever to the Church of the Holy Trinity, as my own men." (*Print. Regist de Dunf.* p. 13, No. 19; *Dal Mon. Antiq p. 41*) (*Annals of Dunf.* p.50)

**ROYAL, GIFT OF GOLD TO THE ABBEY**, about this period 1144, David I, bequeaths, by charter-right, to the Abbey the tenth of all his gold obtained in Fife and Fothruff. (Title of Charter, or Writ, "*De Decima Auri.*") (*Annals of Dunf.* p.50.)

By 1150 Queen Margaret's Church replaced by the monastic church, of which the Nave is the finest surviving example of Scoto-Norman monastic architecture. (*A Guide to Dunf. Abbey 1987 p. 25.*)

**CONSECRATION CROSS.** A Consecration Cross, believed to date to 1150, is still discernable on the pilaster which supports the vaulting opposite the 5th pillar from the west in the north aisle- about seven feet from the floor, facing inward, it is a Greek cross with enlarged ends, measuring 7½ inches by 8, and was said to have been inlaid with gold and embellished with jewels in medieval times. (*A Guide to Dunf. Abbey 1987 p. 9.*)



**ABBAY SEALS 1151** -The following engraving represents the obverse side of what has hitherto been taken for the oldest Abbey Seal taken from a much defaced impression, in brown wax attached to a deed, by the Abbot I of Dunfermline, in the archives of Durham Cathedral. There is evidence to show that this Abbot R. was Abbot Robert de Berwick, who was in office from 1198 till 1202, and therefore the age of the seal has been assigned to this period; but the fact of its being found attached to a deed of this period does not infer that it had no previous existence. After the Abbey became thoroughly Romanized, *circa* 1150, a seal would be a necessary instrument for giving legality to deeds, writs. and other documents. We are inclined therefore to place the origin of this seal under date of 1151, as most likely year it was made and granted. On this, the most ancient seal of the Abbey, there is a representation of a Baptismal Font, enclosed within a Norman-arched canopy with side columns and round the circumference is the legend, "SIGILLVM SANCTE TRINITATIS" - i.e. "Seal of the Holy Trinity." (*Annals of Dunf. p. 52.*)



David I. INTERNED AT DUNFERMLINE 1153- the sixth and youngest son of Malcolm III and Margaret his consort, died in the Castle of Carlisle, on 27th May, in the 30th year of his reign, and about he 76th year of his age, and "was buried at Dunfermline honourably on the day of St Mark the Evangelist, near his father (Malcolm) before the Great Altar - (Fordun v. 4) - "in the pavement of the middle choir." ( Fordun viii. 7. David was "found dead in a, posture of devotion." etc. Annals of Dunf. p. 53.)

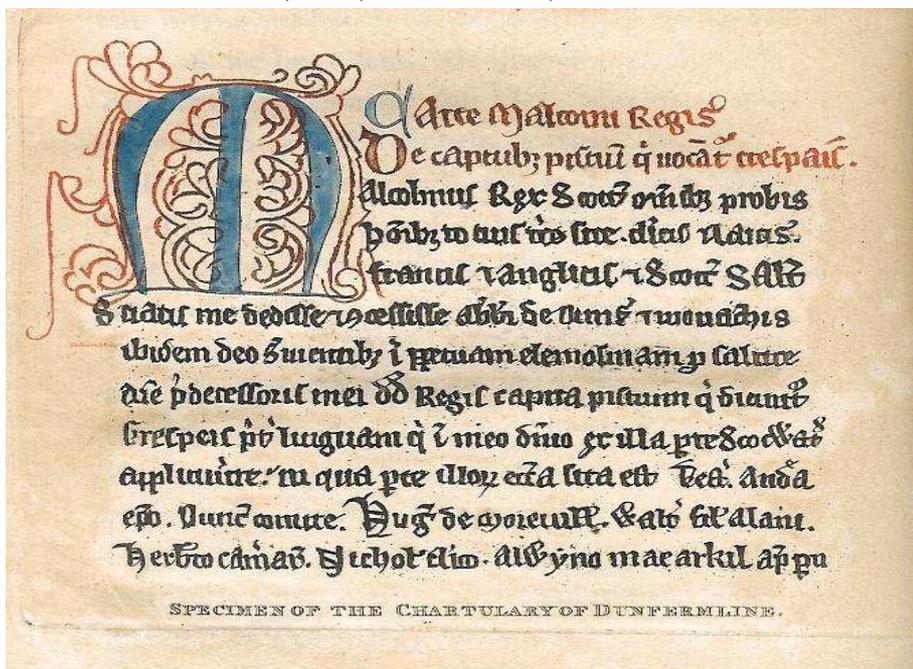
David I. He was buried, 1153, in state in the pavement before the high altar of the church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, which, first founded by his father and mother, had been added to in property and buildings by his brother Alexander while he himself also had loaded and endowed it with more ample gifts and honours; and he was laid there, at a good old age, beside his parents and brother's. (John of Fordun's Chronicle - Chap. XXXIV. by W. F. Skene)

CONFIRMATION CHARTER OF MALCOLM IV 1153 - CARTA NO. 35; "Confirmacio Malcolmi Regis," This is the first of Malcolm IV's charters to the Abbey of Dunfermline. He granted fifteen charters to the Abbey. This one is a Confirmation Charter, granted shortly after he ascended the throne. It occupies three-and-a half quarto pages of "Registrum de Dunfermlyn," and, like the other Confirmation Charters, confirms the gifts of his predecessors, &c., as also those bequeath by himself. (Print. Regist. de Dunf. pp. 19-22. Annals of Dunf. p.54.)

Masterton or Maistertoun, from the Anglo-Saxon Maester-tun, signifying, the inhabitants of the master. This place was granted by Malcolm IV to the monks of Dunfermline, under the name of Ledmacduuegil. Ailric ('Magister Ailricus cementarius') was granted at Dunfermline lands of Ledmacduuegil, later known as Masterton, in Fife, in about 1153. (Printed Dunf. Chart p.23 (P. Chalmers vol. i. p. 482)

MALCOLM IV., 1158 in a short charter of this date, "claims the protection of the Abbey of Dunfermline, where the body of grandfather, King David, rests in God." (Print Regis. Dunf. p. 25; Dal Mon. An. p. 51 - Printed at Edinburgh. Annals of Dunf. p.55.)

**KING MALCOLM'S CHARTER ON THE HEADS OF THE FISHES CALLED CRESPEIS MALCOLM IV, 1155, CHARTER 37, REGISTER OF DUNFERMLINE**



Malcolmus, Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue, **Malcolm King of the Scots, to all good men of his whole land,** clerics et laicis, Francis, et Anglicis, et Scottis, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et **clerical and lay, French and English and Scottish, greetings. Know ye that I have given** concessisse Abbti de Dunfermelyn, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in **and granted to the abbot of Dunfermline, and the monks there serving God, in** perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime predecessoris mei David Regis, capita **perpetual alms for the salvation of the soul of my predecessor, King David, the heads** piscium qui dicuntur *cespeis*, preter linguam, qui in meo dominio ex illa parte **of the fishes which are called cespeis, except the tongues, which may be stranded in** Scotwater applicuerint, in qua parte illorum ecclesia sita east. Testibus Andrea **My lordship on that part of Scotwater situated within the bounds of their church.** Episcopo, Duncano Comite, Hugone de Morevill, Waltero filio Alani, Herberto **The Chamberlain, Nicholas the Clerk, Allwyn MacArkil at Perth.** Camerario, Nicholao Clerico, Alwyno MacArkil, apud Pert.  
*(Sir John Graham Dalyell (1776-1851). A tract, chiefly relative to monastic antiquities. Edinburgh, 1809.)*

**MALCOLM IV INTERRED AT DUNFERMLINE 1165.** - He died at Jedburgh, December 9th 1165, in the 24th year of his age and the 12th of his reign. He was brought with the highest honour, by the most distinguished persons of ranks in the kingdom, to Dunfermline, and interred in the middle pavement of the Abbey, to the right of his grandfather, King David, before the High Altar, the royal burial place.  
*(Fordun viii. ii; Hailes; Annals of Scotland vol. i. p. 109. Annals of Dunf. p.58.)*

**CONFIRMATION CHARTER OF KING WILLIAM 1166.** - Shortly after his ascension to the throne this year, King William granted a Confirmation Charter to the Abbey, confirming the gifts and privileges bestowed by his predecessors, and his own. The charter is entitled "*Confirmacio Willmi Regis*," and occupies pp. 28, 29, 30, of the printed Registrum de Dunf. (*Annals of Dunf. p.60.*)

**ROYAL DONATION OF A BONDMAN AND HIS CHILDREN TO THE ABBEY OF DUNFRMLINE 1174.** - King William, by a Charter titled "*De Servis*," bequeaths for ever, as a free eleemosynary gift to the Abbey, *Gillandrean Mc Suthen* and his children. (*Print. Regist. Dunf. p. 36, No. 64; Dal. Mon. Ant. pp. 40, 41.; Annals of Dunf. p. 60.*)

**KING WILLIAM** in a Charter of 1179 declares that xxiii. s. iiij. d was the sum that the monks of Dunfermline were wont to draw from his lands of Fitkill. In the year 1180, AD, the first year after the consecration of Master John at Edinburgh, the thought was sent from above (as we believe) into the minds of the brethren of the church of Dunfermline that they should move the tomb of St Margaret the queen from the place which it was situated. And since the place of her last repose had been prepared (as it seemed to them) in a less than suitable way, they should raise it up and employ more elegant craftsmanship. To increase devotion to her they had already employed an artist called Ralph, a man of gret reputation and most renowned as a creator of carvings..... (*Print. Regist. Dunf. p.35; Annals of Dunf. p.610.*) The masons meanwhile applied themselves in constructing a stone table on which it was to be raised up, so that the reliquary placed above might make a more beautiful sight to onlookers.....(*Miracles of St Margaret by Robert Bartlett p. 93.*) ...as she walked so weakly, into the well which is near the tomb and is called St Margaret's fountain. ... (*Miracles of St Margaret by Robert Bartlett p. 79.*) **THE HOLY WELL** and Aumbry, in the south aisle, near the second pillar from the west, a well with a circular stone cap has been set into the floor. The well probably dates back to CULDEE days and its

masonry to the 13th Century. On the wall of the aisle close by is a recess known as the aumbry. In Pre-Reformation days this held a cupboard for church vessels. (*A Guide to Dunf. Abbey. 1987 p.8*)

**KING WILLIAM** and his **DUNFERMLINE WORKMEN 1185.** - A Charter or Writ of King William about this date notifies; "When I repaired my castles in Ross, *the men belonging to the Abbot and Monks of Dunfermline* assisted, of their own goodwill, at my request along with other honest men of mine; but it is my command that, having done this at my instance, it shall not be construed into any precedent. (*Print. Regist. Dunf. p. 32, No. 54.: Annals of Dunf. p.62.*)

**LIGHTING THE CHURCH OF DUNFERMLINE 1190** - Archibald, Abbot of Dunfermline, about this period received an undated Charter from King William in his favour granting the right to receive annually from the burgh of Haddington, "the sum of 3 merks - one half at Feast of St Martin, the other half at the Feast of the Pentecost - *for lighting the Church of Dunfermline.*" (*Print Regist. de Dunf. p. 31; Chal. Hist. Dunf. vol. I p. 181.; Annals of Dunf. p.63.*)

The 13th century opens on Dunfermline with Robert as Abbot (but with murmurs of discontent). Lambinus as Prior; and connected with the Abbey there are 26 monks and 12 officials. An enlargement of the Abbey is under consideration. King William and his consort, Queen Ermingarde, and the royal children, occasionally reside in the Tower. (*Annals of Dunf. p.47*)

#### **ABBEY CHURCH - 1153 - 1201**

1. *Original Church was a Culdee Church at Dunfermline.*
2. *Malcolm's church for Margaret, they both died in 1193 and interred in the Priory.*
3. *Edgar left the third church unfinished. Edgar died 1107 interred in Priory.*
4. *Alexander I, finished the third church, and brought his Father's body back from Alnwick where he was killed in 1193, to Dunfermline in 1115, suggested the Priory was then finished and opened for worship. Alexander died 1124 and was interred in the Priory.*
5. *The splendid Abbey of Dunfermline owed its inconsiderable foundation to Malcolm Ceamore; its completion to Alexander I, and its reform to David I.*
6. *The Holy Trinity. Continued a Priory until the reign of David I, about sixty years.*
7. *David I, was king from 1124-1153 when he died he was buried next to his Father.*
8. *King William did some improvements, William died 1214.*

**1201** The 13th century opens on Dunfermline with Robert as Abbot (but with murmurs of discontent). Lambinus as Prior; and connected with the Abbey there are 26 monks and 12 officials. An enlargement of the Abbey is under consideration. King William and his consort, Queen Ermingarde, and the royal children, occasionally reside in the Tower. (*Annals of Dunf. p.47.*)

**POPE INNOCENT III**, between the years 1206 and 1216, granted eleven Bulls or Writs to Dunfermline Abbey. (*Vide printed Regist. Dunf. pp. 161-166.: Annals of Dunf. 67.*)

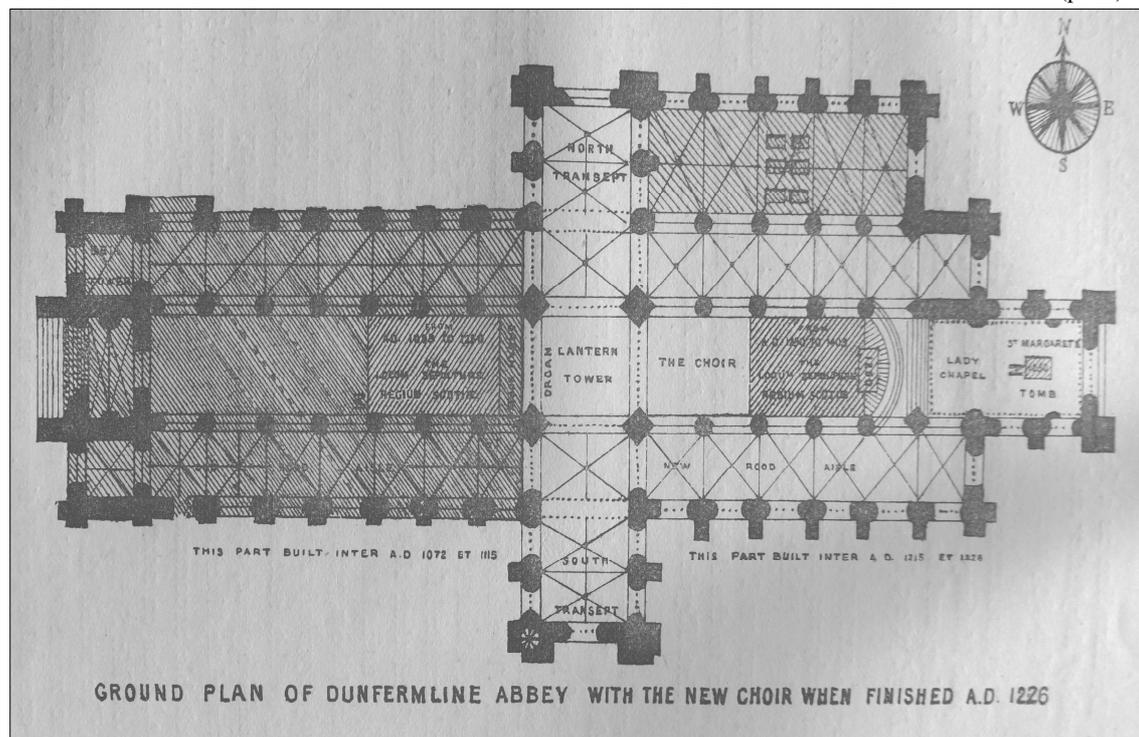
**ALEXANDER II** Forty-three years elapsed between 1072 and 1115; but it was about one hundred years more before King Alexander II, (1214-1249) took in hand the addition of the choir with transepts and the Lady Chapel to the building. Then the church assumed the form of a cross, 275 feet long outside and with a breadth of 130 feet outside at the transpents. At the junction of the old and new parts on the north

side, was built a tall lantern tower, so called either from the number of its windows or the lights seen there that cast a cheering radiance over the little town nestling not far from the Abbey walls, and gladdened the hearts of the many weary-footed pilgrims that, in the years that followed found their way to Dunfermline for purposes of piety or patriotism, or of merchandise in the sale and purchase of their varied wares on the season set apart for the great fair of the town. (*Dunf. Abbey by John Marshall p. 14.*)

**Genealogies of Bondmen, (Slaves)** by John Graham Dalryell Esq. Tells us during the reign of King William I, who died in 1214 and Alexander II. In the year 1216. - Pope Innocent III between the years 1206 and 1216 granted eleven Bulls or Writs to Dunfermline Abbey. The Eastern Extension of Dunfermline Abbey commenced about this period, it was completed in 1226. In 1249, The New Choir was not to be Consecrated as it was an extension of the old walls already Consecrated. Alexander II, died in 1249 at the time of Margaret being made a Saint along with King Malcolm III and just before the Translation of Margaret and Malcolm III, in 1250. Alexander II, his son Alexander III aged eight was present with his mother.

**THE EXTENSION OF DUNFERMLINE ABBEY** commenced about this period. The Abbey, or rather Church founded by Malcolm and Margaret about the year A.D. 1072, had long previous to 1216 been found unsuitable for the "pomp and parade of Roman worship." It was resolved that the Abbey should at once be extended, and a new building united to the walls of the original Abbey on the east that it should be a great Cross Church, with *transepts, choir, lantern tower, presbytery, lady chapel, chapter-house*, and other necessary offices. According to this resolution the extension of the Abbey was begun, and it would appear, a slight extension of Monastery on the south, for a contemplated increase in the number of monks for 30 to 50, and also for suitable accommodation for receiving strangers, visitors, &c. The ground-plan on next page is from a large one, done in 1790, by the late Rev. Mr Syme. (*Annals of Dunf p.67*)

GROUND PLAN OF DUNFERMLINE ABBEY WITH THE NEW CHOIR WHEN FINISHED A.D. 1226 (p. 68)



1. St Margaret's Tomb 1250

3. 1250 A.D. 1240 to 1403 The Locum Sepulture Regium Scotia

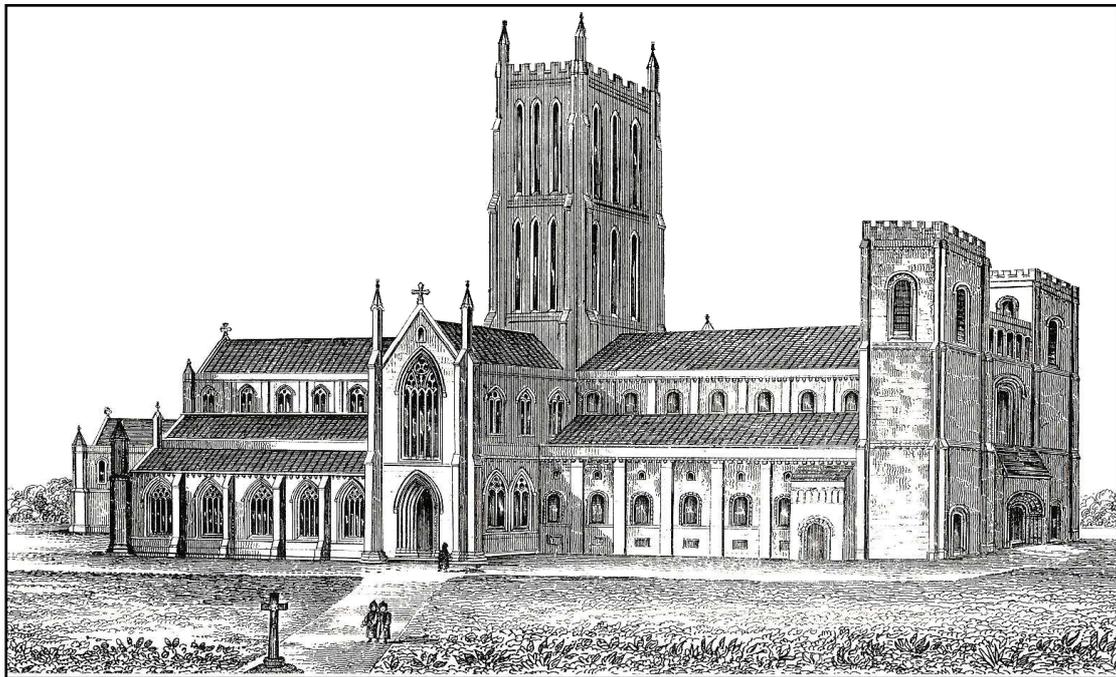
4. The Choir

6. Organ

2. Lady Chapel

5. Lantern Tower

7. From A.D. 1093 to 1250



It may be noted that historians and others have too frequently treated the names "Abbey" and "Monastery" as if both names referred to one object, as if they were interchangeable. They are not so. "Abbey", is the *holy place*, the place wherein the rites and the forms of worship were conducted; and "Monastery" is the *place* wherein the monks who conduct the worship reside - where they take their meals, sleep and perform any secular duties. (*Annals of Dunf.* p. 67)

**THE NEW LARGE EASTERN CHURCH OR CHOIR** 1226, begun circa, 1216, appears to have been completed this year - a structure "perhaps unequalled in Scotland; but the great expenses attending its erection during the past ten years had a very much impoverished the Abbey. The Abbot applied to the Pope for relief, soliciting the patronage and presentation to vacant churches. (*Annals of Dunf.* p. 69)

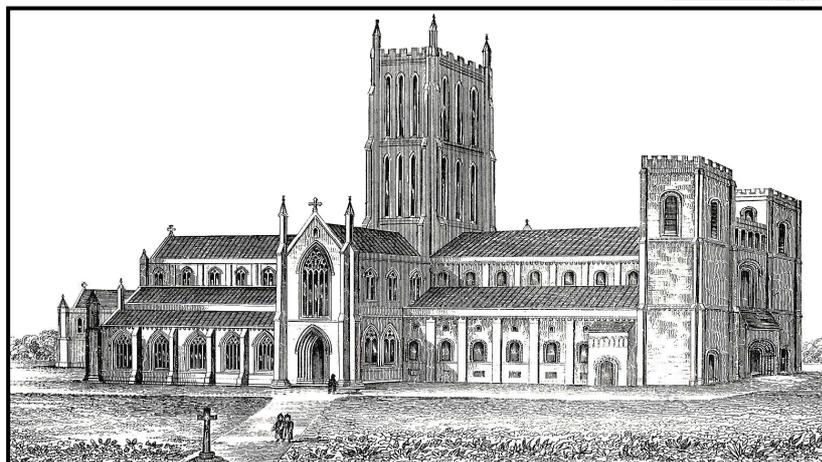
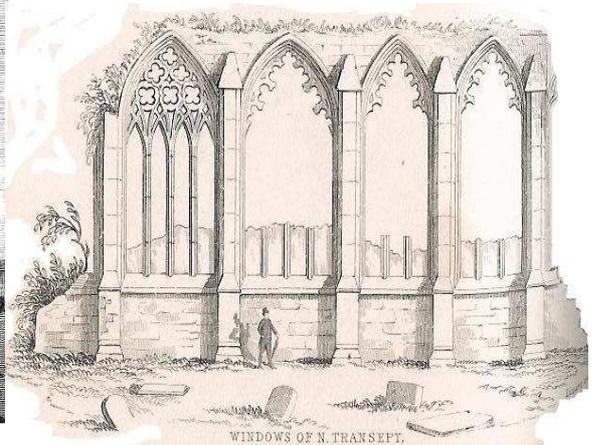
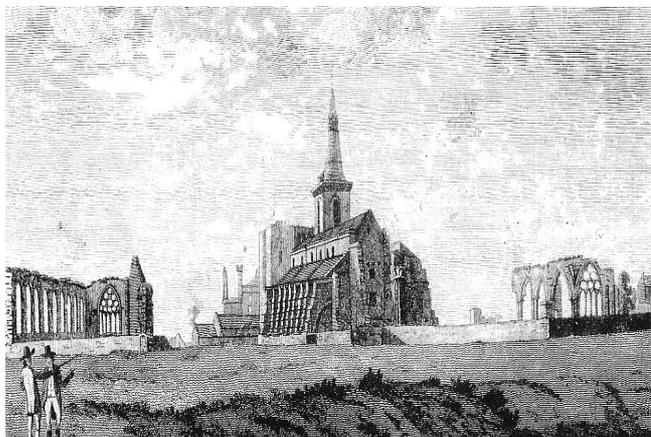
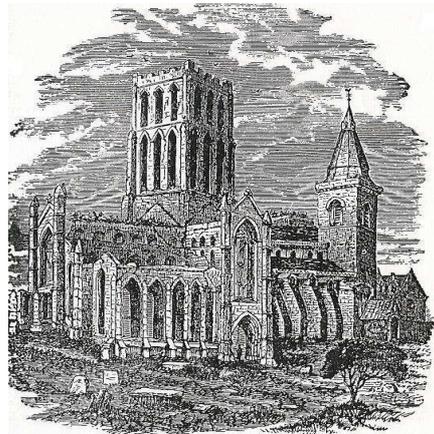
**Bull of Honorius III** regarding the foregoing, refers to the augmentation of the Monastery and the noble structure of the extended fabric, &. This allusion shows that the "noble structure" had just then been completed, viz., 1226, for this Bull or Writ is dated in the tenth year of his pontificate. This Pope in his Bull goes on to say, in order sufficiently to sustain the honour and the hospitality of the Abbey, he conceded and confirmed to the Abbot &., the vicarages of the Churches of Hailes and Kinglassie, &; dated at "Reat, 1 January, Pontif. anno x" - that is, A.D. 1226. (*Print. Regist. Dunf.* p. 167, No. 257; see also *Regst. de Dunf.* No. 130: and *An. of Dunf.* dated 1231.)

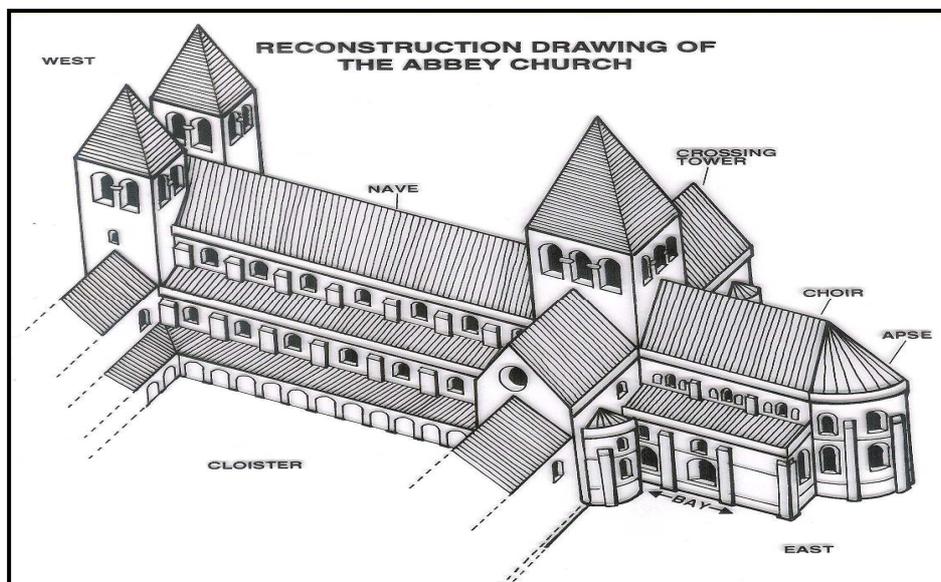
A letter of Pope Honorius III, dated 1226, speaks of the "more noble buildings" which it has been found advisable to erect, and in consideration of the great outlay incurred thereby, and the increased expenses of a larger community and more frequent guests, grants the revenues of certain churches which had been offered as a donation to the abbey. (*Registrum* p. 167.) a few years later, Gregory IX granted the patronage of

certain other churches in the diocese of Dunkeld; the monks, according to he Abbot's statement, having increased from thirty to fifty, and he revenues being insufficient to sustain them fittingly, as well as defray building charges. (*Registrum p. 167*)

Pope Honorius III between the years 1225 and 1227, granted four Bulls, or Writs, to Dunfermline Abbey. (*Print Regist. Dunf. pp. 166-168.*)

View of Dunfermline with the New Choir - There are of course, no views extant o Dunfermline Abbey at so early a period - nor, indeed, are there any for some hundreds of years after this period; but still, from the old prints and sketches in the writer's possession, some showing a portion of the north wall of the new choir of 1228, the fragment of the lantern tower as it stood in 1705, which along with the known architecture of the north wall of the "Auld Kirk" (the original Abbey), a pretty correct idea can be formed of the "noble structure" when it stood completed in 1226. (*Annals of Dunf. p.69.*)





An artist's impression of the Great Abbey of Dunfermline in the time of Alexander III.

**CAPITULAR SEAL OF THE ABBEY.** The age of this fine Seal has not been ascertained; probably it may date from the year 1226, when "the Abbey was enlarged by noble structures." It would appear that a chapter-house was then erected, and it may be presumed therefore, that a special chapter-seal was then made for "chapter business."

The Seal is a *matrix one* of brass, and is  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter (same size as in the preceding engraving, which is a correct representation of the obverse side of the seal.) (*Annals of Dunf. p. 70*)



**CHARTULARY OF DUNFERMLINE, 1230** now called the "Register of Dunfermline, appears to have been begun as early as this period....First Charter by David i., 1128. (*Annals Dunf. p.73*)

**THE ABBEY ENLARGED 1231** by a "Noble structure," and the number of Monks increased from 30 to 50 - Under date of 1226, notice is taken of the enlargement of Dunfermline Abbey by this erection of a more noble building, viz, the Choir. This year 1231, the newly erected noble structure is again noticed, along with an increase of 20 monks. The following is a free translation of the Charter of 1231 referring to the new Choir and increase of monks. This Charter is titled "*Confirmacio Gilberti Dunkeld Epi de Ecclia de Molin*": - (*Annals of Dunf. p.73*)

"My beloved son, the Abbot and Convent of Dunfermline have made known to me that, in the aforesaid Monastery which they have anew enlarged, not without great expense and debt, with a fabric of a nobler structure specially for the improvement of the worship of God; and they have increased the number of servitors (monks), so that

when there used to be *thirty, fifty monks* are now kept, their own means not sufficing for support of these, and for the reception of strangers, poor people and guests, they often undergo the burden of debts; whence they have made humble supplication, because in certain churches of your diocese they hold the right of patronage, in order that the worship of God may not perish altogether in the said Monastery from want of necessaries, for hospitality be diminished, that we should assign to their special use a certain part of the foresaid churches for this purpose. Wherefore, &c., - Given at the Lateran, July 6th, in year of our Pontificate" (1231). (*Annals of Dunf. p. 73.*)

#### **DUNFERMLINE ABBEY NAVE EARLY HISTORY**

The original monks that were placed in Dunfermline Priory, were Culdees, and probably thirteen in number. Like all the other Culdee monasteries, it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It continued a Priory until the reign of David I, about sixty years. (*Ancient Culdees` by John Jamieson p.1.*)

First impression of Church of the Holy Trinity completed with eastern extension. The Choir of monastic church extended and Queen Margaret's Shrine erected for 1250. (*A Guide to Dunf. Abbey 1987 p. 25*)

The Choir of monastic church extended in 1240 and Queen Margaret's Shrine erected. (*A Guide to Dunf. Abbey 1987 p. 25*)

The Abbey Church of Dunfermline had Kings, and their Queens, for its founders and its benefactors. It was, emphatically, what Pope Innocent the Fourth pronounced it, "your Royal Abbey." (*A Royal Abbey, being a Sermon by, The Rev. James Cooper, D.D. p.4*)

**ROYAL ABBEY** "And Kings shall be thy nursing fathers and their Queens thy nursing Mothers." - Isaiah XLIX, 23.

**THE NEW CHOIR** in 1249 was not to be consecrated. It would appear that he Abbot and Monks of Dunfermline had even requested by the Bishop of the diocese to consecrate the New Choir. They refused to do so, and appealed to the Pope, The Pope in his reply says that although the Abbey had been increased in size by a nobler structure, yet the old consecrated walls to which the new edifice was united remained in use; therefore by these presents, "we declare that while the old walls so remain, no one can compel the Abbot &c., "on the account to consecrate the same church anew; therefore *Non Consecratur.*" (*Print Regist. Dunf. p. 184, No. 288. & Annals of Dunf. p.80*)

**DUNFERMLINE ABBEY** in 1243 becomes a Mitred Abbey, by a Bull of Writ of Pope Innocent IV in the *Register of Dunfermline*, he confers on the Abbot of Dunfermline the honour and privilege of wearing, or using the *Mitre*, the *Ring*, and other pontifical ornaments - (*de mitra et annulo et certis episc.*). These other, no doubt, refer to the crosier, the shoes, &c. This Writ is addressed to "my sons, the Abbot and conventual brethren of Dunfermline. (*Print. Regist Dunf. p. 180. No. 179.*) (*Annals of Dunf p.76-77.*)



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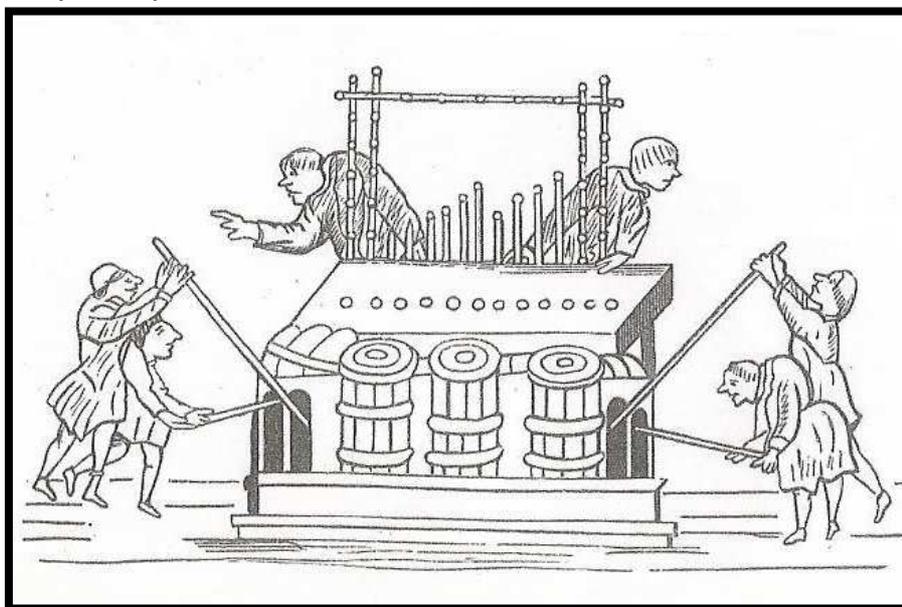
Caps, or Bonnets, *may be used by the Monks of the Abbey.* Pope Innocent IV in a writ sent to the Abbot in the first year of his pontificate, concedes to a request which

the Abbot and Convent had solicited, viz he says “that on considering the *frigid region*” (cold climate) “which the Abbey is situated, he consents to allow the monks the privilege of wearing caps, or bonnets, suitable to monks of the Order, but they must not forget to preserve due reverence at the elevation of the Host, at the Eucharist, and other observances.” This writ is titled “*De pileis*”—i.e. concerning the Caps, Hats, or Cowls. The writ is dated “Lyons, 7th May,” in the first year of his pontificate. viz. 1243. It would appear that their caps, or cowls, were made of leather, as several fragments of ‘bowl-shaped leather’ were found amongst the mounds of rubbish which had for centuries lain on the site of the choir, during the levelling of the ground, in 1817, for the present Abbey Church. (*Ebenezer Henderson. Annals of Dunfermline. Glasgow, 1879.*)



**King Alexander II** solicited the Pope, in 1245 that the body of Queen Margaret of blessed memory, should be enrolled in the catalogue of the saints the facts being given, the Pope, in 1245, issued a bull to the Bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane..... (*Print. Regist. Dunf. p. 181, No. 281. Annals of Dunf. p.78*)

**THE ORGAN IN 1247.** It would appear that as early as this period a large organ was erected in Dunfermline Abbey, at the junction of the Old Church with the New Choir, for the daily Abbey services &c. (*Annals Dunf. 79.*)



Church Organ worked by levers *Psalter of Edwin*. Manuscript volume of 1240. Cambridge University Library. Ebenezer Henderson. *Annals of Dunfermline*. Glasgow, 1879, page 79. (The original source has not yet been found.)

**Alexander II** (1198-1249). Son of William I succeeded 1214; married (1) Joan, daughter of King John of England and (2) Marie-de-Coucy, daughter of a Picard lord, by whom he had his only son. Alexander II solicits Pope Innocent IV in 1245 to have Queen Margaret enrolled in the catalogue of the Saints, as her body had exhibited “*infinite miracles.*” The Pope issues a bull to the bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane, commanding them to make strict inquiry into her life, merits, and miracles, to reduce what was proved to writing, attested by their seals, and to transmit it by a trusty messenger, that he might thence learn how far he could indulge the King’s request. In 1246 the bishops proceed to investigate the matter; but neglected to record either the names or words of the witnesses, on which account the Pope refuses the King’s request. 1249 a cardinal is charged with a new inquiry regarding the “Miracles

of Queen Margaret,” and corresponds with the bishop of St. Andrews concerning it. 1250 the “miracles” attributed to Queen Margaret’s relicts having been particularly inquired into, and the facts proved, she was canonized, and her remains removed to a situation contiguous to the high altar. (*Ebenezer Henderson. Annals of Dunfermline. Glasgow, 1879.*)

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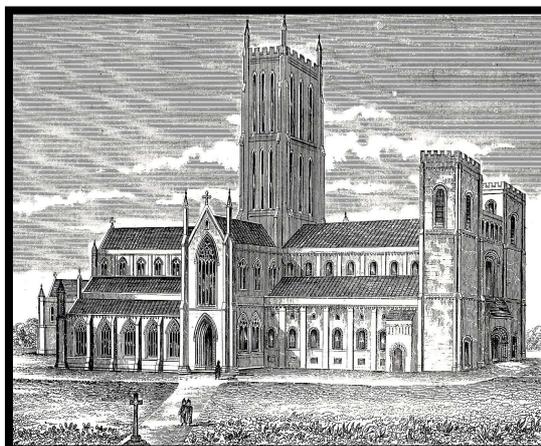
Forty-three years elapsed between 1072 and 1115; but it was about one hundred years more before King Alexander II (1214-1249) took in hand the addition of the choir with transepts and the Lady Chapel to the building. The church assumed the form of a cross 275 feet long outside and with a breadth of 130 feet outside to the transepts. At the junction of the old and new parts on the north side, was built a tall lantern tower, so called either from the number of its windows or the lights seen there that cast a cheering radiance over the little town nestling not far from the Abbey walls, and gladdened the hearts of the many weary-footed pilgrims that, in the years that followed, found their way to Dunfermline for purposes of piety or patriotism, or of merchandise in the sale and purchase of their varied wares on the season set apart for the great fair of the town. (*John Marshall. (Late Head Master Townhill School) Dunfermline Abbey. The Journal Printing Works Dunfermline, (No Date) Dunfermline Carnegie Library D/ECC.*)

At 1250 in a Bull of the 7th year of Innocent IV. (125), reign of Alexander III.) there are these words," *Ecclesia nostra per nobilioris sructurae fabrican fuerat augmeutatis.*" Our Church has been enlarged by the erection of a more magnificent structure," and notwithstanding this, the Pope dispensed with the consecration of the church of new, because the old walls still remained. The erection of the Lady Chapel may have formed part of the enlargement, and the translation of the sainted patroness to it may have been arranged, in order to give solemnity to the opening of the church in its new form. - Prof. to Dunf. Chart. p. 25 and 184. (*History of Dunf. by P Chalmers Vol. 1 p.115.*)



Mitered Abbot of the Order of St. Benedict.

### DUNFERMLINE ABBEY 1250



**THE TRANSLATION OF ST MARGARET 1250.** On the 13th July 1250, the "sainted remains" of Margaret were exhumed in presence of the young King Alexander III came to Dunfermline with the Queen - Mother, bishops, abbots and other Nobility of the kingdom..... The Queen could not be transferred further until the tomb of hr husband was opened, and his body raised with similar honour. (*Fordun Annals of Dunf. pp. 82-83*)

**MALCOLM III, King of Scotland,** was translated with Margaret his consort, on 13th July (O.S.) 1250, to the *Lady Aisle*, east of the Choir; and although it is not on record there would, no doubt, be a splendid tomb erected to his memory, unless the remains of both husband and wife were deposited in one sarcophagus. It would appear that the *miracle* the bones of Malcolm helped to produce at the *Translation* had been reported to the Holy See, for Malcolm is soon after found "Canonized, and enrolled in the *Catalogue of the Saints*" In Dr Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, p. 150, article "Alphabetical Calendar," his name is thus noticed: -

"MALCOLM III., King of Scotland - the Saint's day, June 2nd."

There are, therefore no less than three "Canonized" and enrolled `Saints" lying in Dunfermline Abbey Church Nave, viz., St. Margaret and St. Malcolm St. David, (*Annals p.p.89- 90.*)

The Culdees' Sentence and the Lord Abbot. 1250- The religious controversy which had long subsisted between those who held to the Culdee form of worship and those who adhered to Rome was this year settled. A meeting of both sects, by delegates, was held in the Church of Inverkeithing, in October 1250, to determine the case "according to justice." The Culdees, "according to this sort of justice," were found in the wrong, and Robert, Lord Abbot of Dunfermline, Chancellor of Scotland, and one o the King's Chaplains, was appointed to pronounce sentence. The sentence was deferred for a time, in consequence of the Culdees not coming forward on November 7th. Sentence of expulsion was passed upon them shortly after; and thus the Culdees, as a distinct body of worshippers ceased to exist. (*See Sibbald's His. Fife, p. 195, &.*) (*Annals of Dunf by Henderson p. 90.*)

The Church of "*The Holy Trinity and St Margaret*," after 1250, is found in the *Register of Dunfermline* and other old writings. St Margaret at the same time, became the TITELAR SAINT of Dunfermline. St Margaret's *Black Cross* or *Rood*, given by her to the Church or Abbey of Dunfermline, was well know throughout Catholic Scotland, and held in the highest veneration. (*Annals of Dunf. p.87.*)

**POPE INNOCENT IV,** between the years 1243 and 1251, granted twenty-one *Bulls*, or *Writs*, regarding the *rights, privileges* and *new privileges* conferred on Dunfermline Abbey. They are addressed to the abbot, and also to the Bishops of St Andrews, Dunblane, and Dunkeld; but they all refer to "monentous affairs" relative to Dunfermline. (*Vide Print. Regist. Dunf. pp. 177-187*) (*Annals of Dunf. p. 90.*)

In 1255 THE PERPETUAL LIGHTS burning before the tombs of David I, and Malcolm IV (donated in 1179) had this year their *grants confirmed*, by Gregory de Melville, a descendant of the donor. (*Print. Regist. Dunf. pp. 116-119*) (*Annals of Dunf. p. 93.*)

A Scottish historian, Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," declares that in Dunfermline "The Culdees with their Abbot discharged heir usual duties during several reigns."

Thus we reach the reign of the first King David, the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret, he who filled our land with Abbeys, Monasteries, and Churches, and raised beside the royal tombs at Dunfermline the first and grandest of our Scottish fanes. That David I, built the entire church, as suggested by Innes, cannot be affirmed with certainty, but that the ancient and existing nave owes its erection to this pious King there is no doubt whatever. The cathedral church of Durham had then arisen in all the splendour of the Norman architectural style, and King David's tribute to the memory of his parents was vitalised by what he had seen on the banks of the Wear. "A Durham in miniature," his effort has been termed; but it was only the miniature of a portion of its prototype, appropriate in scale to the Dunfermline situation, and a noble adjunct to the original basilica of his parents. In one form or other, that humbler temple seems to have stood till the days of Alexander II, who in 1216-26. reared on its site or over it the splendid Gothic choir and transepts destroyed at the Reformation and replaced by the present Parish Church in 1818. (*Royal Dunfermline by Alan Reid and William Kirk p. 24*)

Queen Margaret's pietistic favour seems from the first to have been of a strongly aggressive character. Her influence on all around her was sweetly masterful, and her zeal found many outlets in the reformation of the primitive tenets and observances of the debased Culdee Church. From that to temple building was a natural progression. On the west front of an earlier church she added a great square tower, and built at the east end a larger church, with a semicircular apse, which contained the high altar. Thus was founded the Church of the Holy Trinity in the year 1070 ? (1075) All traces of the building was lost for centuries until, in 1917, Mr Macgregor Chalmers discovered the foundations and lower walls under the floor of the old Norman Nave.

Says Professor Cosmo Innes, "the original church of Malcolm, perhaps not of stone, must have been replaced by a new edifice when it was dedicated in the reign of David I." and that the "Sair Sanct" was the founder of the existing ancient church there can be no serious doubt. The gentle Edgar, who in 1107 was buried before the High Altar, may have enriched the monument of his illustrious parents; and Alexander the Fierce, who, ten years later, removed his father's remains from Tynemouth to Dunfermline, signalled their solemn re-interment by large endowments, if not by extensions of the sacred building. It must be remembered, however, that at her own express desire the Queen-mother-lay buried within the early foundation, and only a dire necessity, which could not then have been clamant, would warrant King Edgar or Alexander I, in interfering with this holy ground.

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The "more noble buildings" alluded to below are those of the magnificent addition to the abbey church which consisted, of transept, choir, and Lady Chapel in Early English style; as this addition was contemporaneous with the "Nine Altars" of Durham, the eastern end of Westminster and the choir of Glasgow, an approximate idea may be obtained of the beauty and grace which made the newly finished pile a fitting canopy for the shrine of a national saint. It is, indeed, highly probable that, in view of the looked-for canonisation of St Margaret, the arrangements of the new

portion of the Church were assigned to provide or a receptacle for her remains beyond the new Choir, at the back of the High Altar in a position similar to St Cuthberts shrine at Durham; for it is worthy of note that the buildings were finished only just before the translation of St Margaret's relicts in 1250.....

Nor was there lacking a miracle of divine grace; for after that far-famed coffer had first been placed in the outer church, and finally easily lifted by the sacred hands of bishops and abbots, that it might be placed on the top of the high altar in the choir, as had been pre-arranged in order to do it honour, when I was brought in procession with organs (this is the first mention of the organ in Scotland) chanting the voices singing in chorus upon the wicket in the chancel, near the tomb of her husband King Malcolm,... lo! Suddenly the arms of the bearers became as it were exhausted and powerless, so that, from the weight of the massy burden, they were unable to move the bier with the holy relicts away from the spot any further. The Historian goes on to relate that in spite of the added strength of fresh bearers they were still unable to move until I was thought to be revealed by that sign that the holy queen would have the same honour shown to the remains of her husband, since they were one flesh while they were in the world... So after his tomb was opened and his bones were taken up both biers were solemnly and in state brought to the appointed places without any trouble or effort. (*Liber Pluscardensis. II Historians of Scotland, vol. x translated by F. J. H. Skene, p. 56.*)

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There are, therefore no less than three "Canonized" and enrolled "Saints" lying in Dunfermline Abbey Church Nave, viz., St. Margaret and St. Malcolm St. David, (*Annals p.p.89- 90.*)

**The Culdees' Sentence and the Lord Abbot.** 1250- The religious controversy which had long subsisted between those who held to the Culdee form of worship and those who adhered to Rome was this year settled. A meeting of both sects, by delegates, was held in the Church of Inverkeithing, in October 1250, to determine the case "according to justice." The Culdees, "according to this sort of justice," were found in the wrong, and Robert, Lord Abbot of Dunfermline, Chancellor of Scotland, and

one of the King's Chaplains, was appointed to pronounce sentence. The sentence was deferred for a time, in consequence of the Culdees not coming forward on November 7th. Sentence of expulsion was passed upon them shortly after; and thus the Culdees, as a distinct body of worshippers ceased to exist. (*See Sibbald's His. Fife, p. 195, &c.*) (*Annals of Dunf by Henderson p. 90*)

The Church of "*The Holy Trinity and St Margaret*," after 1250, is found in the *Register of Dunfermline* and other old writings. St Margaret at the same time, became the TITELAR SAINT of Dunfermline. St Margaret's *Black Cross* or *Rood*, given by her to the Church or Abbey of Dunfermline, was well known throughout Catholic Scotland, and held in the highest veneration. (*Annals of Dunf. p.87*)

POPE INNOCENT IV, between the years 1243 and 1251, granted twenty-one *Bulls*, or *Writs*, regarding the *rights, privileges* and *new privileges* conferred on Dunfermline Abbey. They are addressed to the abbot, and also to the Bishops of St Andrews, Dunblane, and Dunkeld; but they all refer to "momentous affairs" relative to Dunfermline. (*Vide Print. Regist. Dunf. pp. 177-187*) (*Annals of Dunf. p. 90*)

In 1255 THE PERPETUAL LIGHTS burning before the tombs of David I, and Malcolm IV (donated in 1179) had this year their *grants confirmed*, by Gregory de Melville, a descendant of the donor. (*Print. Regist. Dunf. pp. 116-119*) (*Annals of Dunf. p. 93*)

It may be noted that historians and others have too frequently treated the names "Abbey" and "Monastery" as if both names referred to one object, as if they were interchangeable. They are not so. "Abbey", is the *holy place*, the place wherein the rites and the forms of worship were conducted; and "Monastery" is the *place* wherein the monks who conduct the worship reside - where they take their meals, sleep and perform any secular duties. (*Annals of Dunf. p. 67*)

DUNFERMLINE PHANTOM WARRIORS AND THE BATTLE OF LARGS 92nd October, 1263) - An old tradition continues to inform us that "On the eve of the battle of Largs, it was believed by the Scots that the Royal Tombs at Dunfermline gave up their dead, and that there passed through its northern porch to war against the might of Norway a lofty and blooming matron in royal attire, leading in her right hand a noble knight refulgent in arms and a crown on his head, and followed by three heroic warriors, like armed and like crowned; these were Margaret and her Consort, Malcolm, and her three sons, the founders of the medieval Church of Scotland," &c. (*Quart. Review lxxx, p. 120; Stanley's Church of Scotland p. 38.*) (*Annals of Dunf. p. 95*)

INTERMENT OF QUEEN MARGARET AT DUNFERMLINE. - Margaret, the Queen (Consort of Alexander III) died at Cupar Castle, 26th February, 1274 and was interred in the Choir of the Abbey of Dunfermline, near King David's tomb. (*Hay's Scotia Sacra, p. 329*) (*Annals of Dunf. p. 95*)

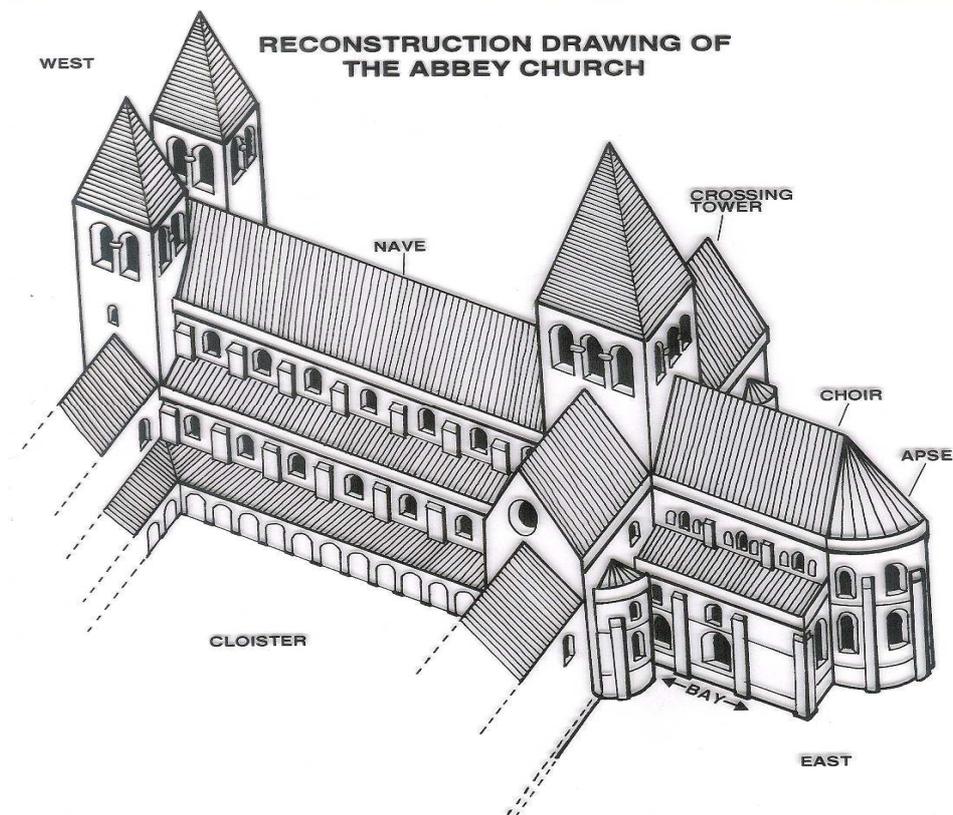
DEATH OF ALEXANDER III. In the list of valuations of Abbeys made 1275 A.D., eleven years before the sad death of King Alexander III, in whose days the Monastery is said to have reached its highest pitch of grandeur, Dunfermline stands second. Balmerino and Crossraguel are entered at £533.6s.8d. each; Gllenluce, Culross, Iona at £666 each; Scone, Cupar Angus, Lindores at £1666.13s.4d; Melrose at £2499 Dunfermline and St Andrews Priory at £3333 6s. 8d each; and Arbroath at £4000.

Bulls on its behalf were sent out by Pope Innocent IV – 21 between 1245-1252, and 12 in 1256, sufficient in number surely to prove this Pope's interest in the Abbey's

welfare and its abilities to meet the consequential and substantial cost of them. No fewer than 58 Royal Charter in favour of the Monastery were granted – 15 by King David I, 24 by Malcolm IV, 7 by William the Lion, 6 by Alexander II, 12 by Alexander III, 12 by Robert the Bruce, and 7 by James I, evidencing the donors' sense of the importance of the church and the amount of royal benefactions due to it in presence of many other competing claims.

Then in 1450 James II, granted a charter of confirmation of the Abbey's rights, possessions and privileges, in which is given the account of its belonging up to that date.

Forty-three churches and chapels acknowledged its right of patronage and paid dues. It had lands or church proprietary rights in places as far apart as Dingwall in the north and Berwick in the south; as Coldingham and Roxburgh on the east and Renfrew on the west. Along the Fife coast it owned property in Crail, Buckhaven, Kirkcaldy, Abbotshall, Kinghorn, Burntisland, Inverkeithing, Limekilns, Torryburn; and inland in Kinross, Carnbee, Newburn, Kinglassie, Beath, Saline, Cleish, Carnock, Orwell, Clackmannan, Perth, Scone and Dunkeld, Stirling and Logie. South of the Forth, there were some of its possessions in Linlithgow, Cramond, Musselburgh, Tranent, Haddington, and Liberton. Near Dunfermline some sixty properties, farms or other possessions, owed its rents or tiends. (*Dunf Abbey by John Marshall p.16*)



Artist's impression of Church of the Holy Trinity completed with eastern extension

BECAUSE OF DIFFICULTY IN THE SOURCES OF  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE ABBEY  
CHURCH

DISPARITIES COMPLICATES THE PLACES OF  
INTERMENTS ESPECIALLY OF

DAVID I.

WE HAVE EXTRACTED SOME OF THESE  
DISCUSSIONABLE SOURCES AS TO  
WHETHER SOME INTERMENTS TOOK PLACE  
IN THE NAVE OR IN THE NEW EASTERN  
CHURCH

THERE IS AT LEAST TWENTY- ONE  
ROYALS WHO AT ONE TIME FOUND REST IN  
THE DUNFERMLINE ABBEY CHURCH

**IT DOES NOT MATTER WHERE THE ROYALS**

**WERE ORIGINALLY PUT TO REST**

**IT MATTERS THAT THESE ROYALS**

**WERE AT ONE TIME INTERRED WITHIN THE**

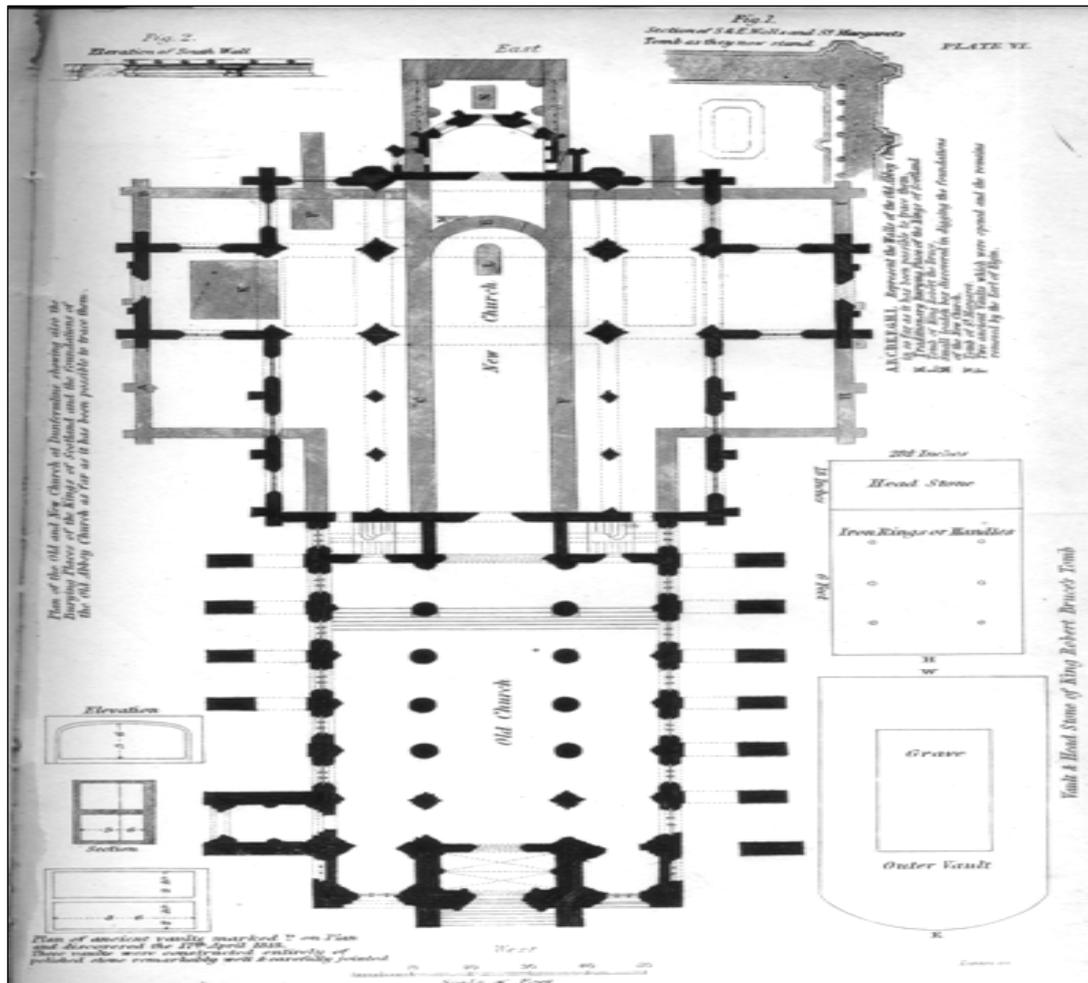
**WALLS OF THE ROYAL SEPULTURE OF**

**SCOTLAND**

AND SHOULD BE RECOGNISED WITH MARKERS

OF SOME KIND

TO REMEMBER THEM **FOREVER**



Ancient Eastern Church - The foundations of the walls of this portion of the Abbey Church, so far as they can be traced, are marked in faint lines on Plate VI., discovered at the time of the erection of the New Church. On the lines C and F were found the bases of a series of columns, being a continuation of those which are in the nave or west part of the building. (*Historical & Statistical Account of Dunf. Rev P. Chalmers p.124.*)

**OTHER PEOPLES INTERPRETATIONS OF THE NAVE AND THE EASTERN EXTENTION OF THE ABBEY CHURCH. (CALLED ITS COMPLICATED)**

Extracted from the following: -

	Page
1. The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland by David McGibbon 1846 vol.1 p.231-232.	19
2. Scottish Abbeys by Stewart Cruden p.14.	20
3. <i>The Burgh Records of Dunfermline by Erskine Beveridge (1917) - The Development and Internal Arrangement of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline by Francis C. Eeles</i>	20
4. <i>The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey by Eric Fernie.</i>	22
5. <i>Dunfermline Abbey Historic Monuments (Scotland) Commission p.106</i>	26
6. <i>Dunfermline Abbey by John Marshall p.8</i>	27
7. <i>Royal Dunfermline by Alan Reid and W Kirk p.23.24</i>	28
8. <i>The History of Fife by James Wilkie 1924 pp.159-160.</i>	29
9. <i>The History of Fife by James Wilkie 1924 pp.159-160.</i>	26
10. <i>The Journal Guide to Dunf. by Mackie p. 72</i>	30

(1.) According to Turgot her confessor and biographer, Queen Margaret, immediately after her marriage, founded a church "in that place where the nuptials were celebrated." This church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity in 1074. It became the place of royal sepulture, and Queen Margaret was buried there a few days after her death. From that time onwards there are continuous references to grants to the Church of the Holy Trinity, and to interment of royal personages therein.

As no notice has been preserved of the erection of a new church till the building of the choir in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, it had been supposed that the nave of the existing structure (which is in the Norman style) may have been the church founded and erected by Queen Margaret. But the style of the building forbids this supposition. None of the English cathedrals were founded till the end of the eleventh century, and few were carried out till the expiry of the first quarter of the twelfth century. Scotland would certainly not be in advance of England in its style of architecture, and we know that little, if any, Norman work was executed in this country till the days of David I. Professor Innes is, therefore, no doubt right when he says -

"The original church of Canmore, perhaps not of stone, must have been replaced by a new edifice when it was dedicated in the reign of David I." The style of the structure is early Norman, and would naturally follow the erection of Durham Cathedral, which took place about twenty-five years earlier.

Probably the original church of Malcolm stood where the new choir was afterwards erected, and David I, added the Norman nave to it. The nature of the site seems to favour his view, as the ground to the west slopes rapidly away, and scarcely allows room for the west end of the nave; while the conventual buildings, for want of suitable space have had to be carried with an archway over a public street.

It is believed that Alexander I, contemplated the erection of the church into an abbey, and had possibly made arrangements for the introduction of monks. At any rate, in the year of the accession of his successor, David I, (1124), canons of the Order of St Augustine were brought from Canterbury and established at Dunfermline.

It was, no doubt, soon after that event that David I, carried out extensive works at the new monastery and probably added the Norman nave to the then existing church of his parents, Margaret and Malcolm.

The monastery continued to flourish, and was largely endowed. The early church was soon found to be too small, and it was resolved to rebuild it, so as to form a new choir and transept worthy of the dignity and importance of the convent. This was accordingly carried out between 1216 and 1226, when the choir, with its aisles, and transept, and the presbytery were erected. (The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland by David McGibbon 1846 vol.1 p.231-232)

(2.) Christ Church, Dunfermline, was founded by Margaret c. 1074 as a daughter-house of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the mother-church of the Christian faith in Britain. From Canterbury Archbishop Lanfranc sent monks for this historic adventure. The monks were few, the church was small, and the convent probably did not survive the anti-foreign national resistance of Donald Ban after the death of Malcolm and Margaret in 1093. The remains of an early church have been recovered beneath the nave of the great Romanesque church which superseded it, and they are of much importance. They represent two distinct but connected buildings each of unusual interest. To the small pre-Conquest church, consisting of an oblong cell with a square western tower, there was added on the east a square choir with a rounded apse.

The earlier church belongs to a tenth-eleventh century type of manorial or in this instance palace church, and was doubtless that in which Margaret was married; the addition with its characteristically romanesque apse, may be attributed to Margaret and thus signalises the introduction of the romanesque style to Scotland.

The plan of the early church is indicated on the paving of the nave of the existing church which was begun in the reign of her son David I, c. 1128 and which was dedicated in 1150. It is important to know what stage in the great twelfth-century church this dedication commemorates. We do not know. There would be two dedications; one for the completion of the eastern limbs, which would then be put to use; the other or the completion of the whole work, which might be some twenty years later if all went well. If 1150 is the date of the second dedication it includes the completed nave, if it is of the first dedication it throws the nave into the second half of the twelfth century. (Scottish Abbeys by Stewart Cruden p.14.)

(3.) ..."David I. built a new church on a much larger scale in the following century, sometime after 1124, when he brought monks from Canterbury, and he made his nave the same breadth between pillars as the total width of the old church, which could thus remain in use while the work was going on. The new church was arranged in such a way that the High Altar of the old building was on the line of the rood-screen of the new, and became the Rood altar. This accounts for the apparent contradictions in various references to royal burials by ancient writers, like the metrical chronicler Wyntoun, who speaks of St Margaret being buried before the Rood Altar. ...p. xxxii  
..... David I. (1153), who died at Carlisle, was buried before the High altar of his own new church. Malcolm IV, who died in 1165, was buried on David's right, both graves being in the middle of the choir..... Robert the Bruce (1329) and some of the later kings and queens were afterwards buried still further east, in the presbytery before the High altar of the choir as rearranged. By Frances C. Eeles. p. xxxviii.

.....It is probable that the thirteen-century builders did less than is usually supposed. The choir they found, which was consecrated in 1150, was probably apsidal, like the original choir of Durham, the aisles terminating in internal apses square outside. The foundations of an apse appear to have been found at one time. Most likely the thirteenth-century builders only extended the east end, destroying the apse, and adding the chapel which afterwards contained the shrine. They may have remodelled the clearstory and parts of the aisles; but that they left the main walls, and in no sense rebuilt the choir as a whole, is borne out by the fact that a papal decision was given against a fresh consecration in the thirteenth century: -

From this we may safely conclude that the great eastward extension of the choir which left the grave of Malcolm outside the screen and before the Rood altar instead of before the High altar had been carried out prior to 1150. But it is probable that the thirteen-century builders re-erected the High altar a bay farther east.

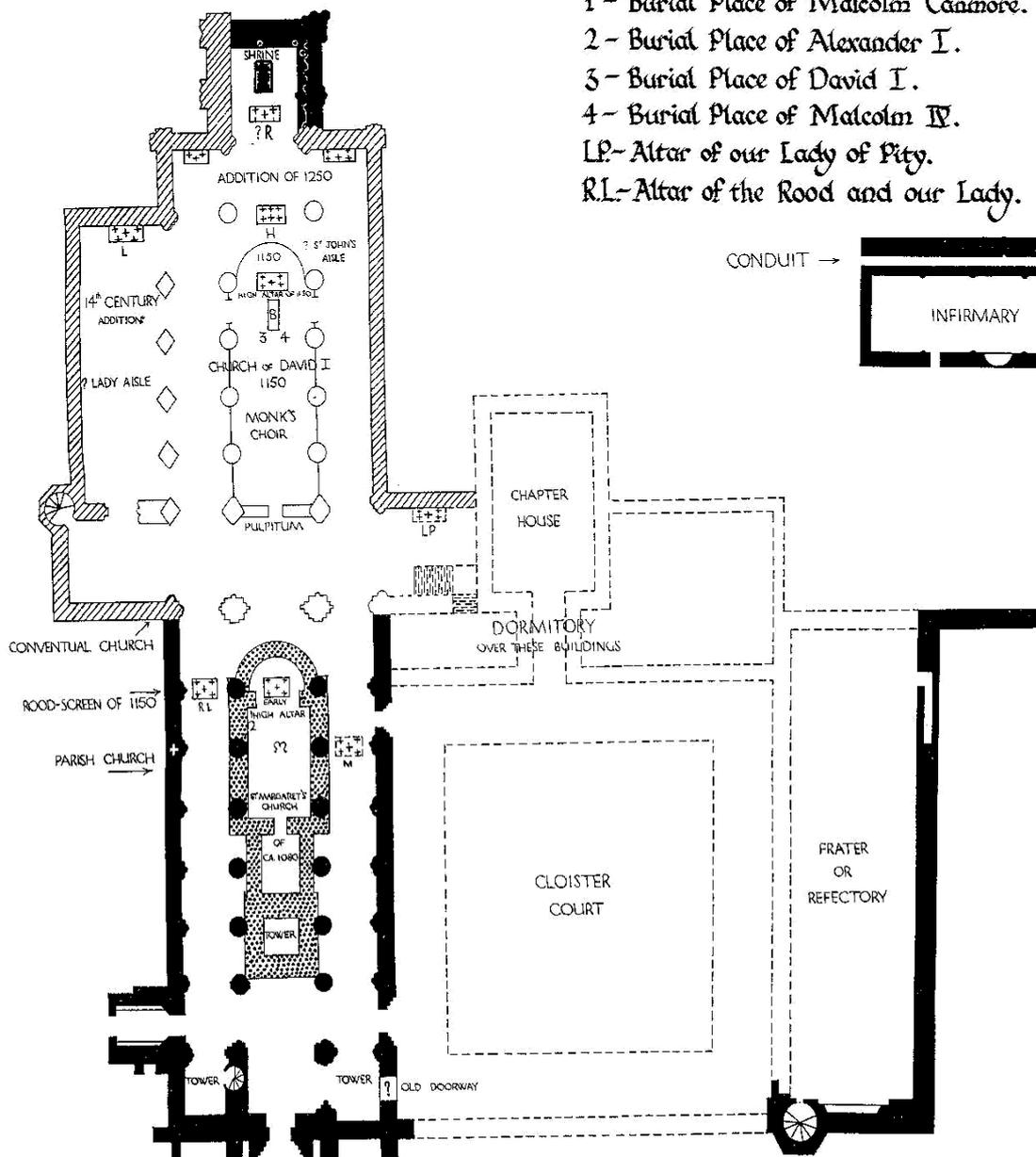
Such appears to be the story of the development of the main divisions of the church, are as it is possible to piece it together from the scraps of documentary and other evidence, including that of the recent excavations, checked by what is known about the arrangement of other similar Benedictine churches. p. xxxviii. (*The Burgh Records of Dunfermline* by Erskine Beveridge (1917) - *The Development and Internal Arrangement of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline* by Francis C. Eeles .....)

## SKETCH PLAN OF DUNFERMLINE ABBEY, c. A.D. 1400-1550

From - The Burgh Records of Dunfermline by Erskine Beveridge, LL.D.  
 Edinburgh 1917. With gratitude for his much invaluable assistance from Mr. F.C.  
 Eccles, Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers, and others.

Note: - 1400 - Reign of King Robert III - This chart is difficult to interpret regarding burials of David I (3) and Malcolm IV (4) as being shown on the map. David was buried beside his father Malcolm in Alexander's Priory, afterwards David's Abbey and David was buried next to his father Malcolm, and Malcolm IV next his grandfather David I.

- H - High Altar of conventual kirk.
- R - Relic Altar.
- L - Lady Altar.
- M - S<sup>t</sup> Margaret's Altar.
- 'm' - Original burial place of S<sup>t</sup> Margaret.
- B - Burial Place of Robert the Bruce.
- 1 - Burial Place of Malcolm Canmore.
- 2 - Burial Place of Alexander I.
- 3 - Burial Place of David I.
- 4 - Burial Place of Malcolm IV.
- LP - Altar of our Lady of Pity.
- RL - Altar of the Rood and our Lady.



(4.) The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey, by Eric Fernie  
(Journal of the British Archaeological Association) For 1986 (1994)

....."The abbey lies in the south-west part of the town, half-way down the slope but still high above Tower Burn which runs to the west and south of it. Apart from a few pieces of masonry dateable to the 12th century, the monastic buildings are all of the later middle Ages. There is evidence of five successive churches (or major buildings of parts of the church) on the site: the two earliest, which are known from excavations under the nave; the third church, built by David I in the second quarter of the 12th century of which only the nave survives; a 13th-century eastern arm of which only the easter-most part, the chapel for the shrine of St [Margaret, remains in part; and fifthly between the 12th-century nave and the 13th-century chapel an early 19th-century eastern arm. Fig 1

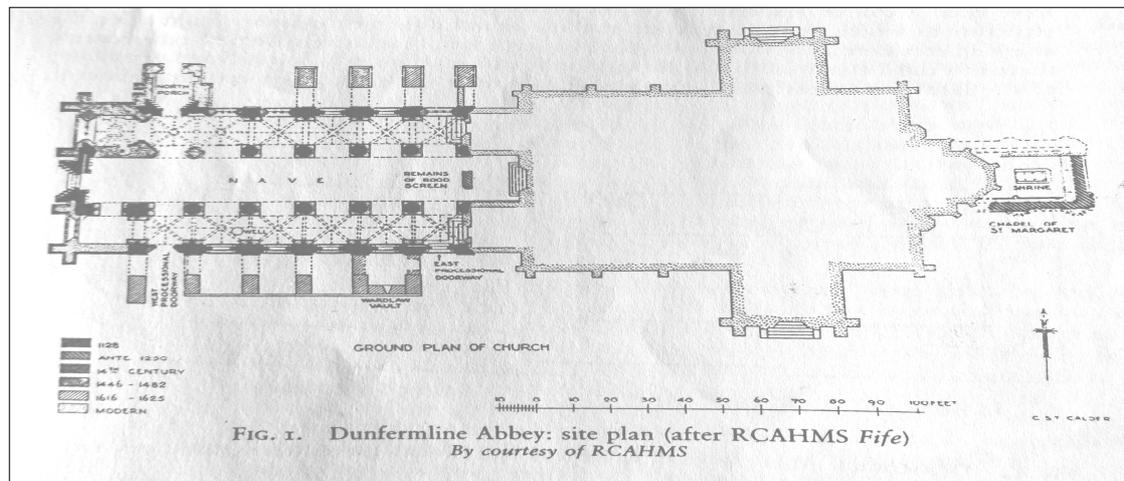


Fig 1. Dunfermline Abbey: site plan (after RCAHMS Fife)

The Two Earliest Masonry Structures on the Site of the Nave were Excavated in 1916 (Fig 2) they have both been extensively robbed, but the evidence for their plans are unambiguous..... By Eric Fernie. (*The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey*)

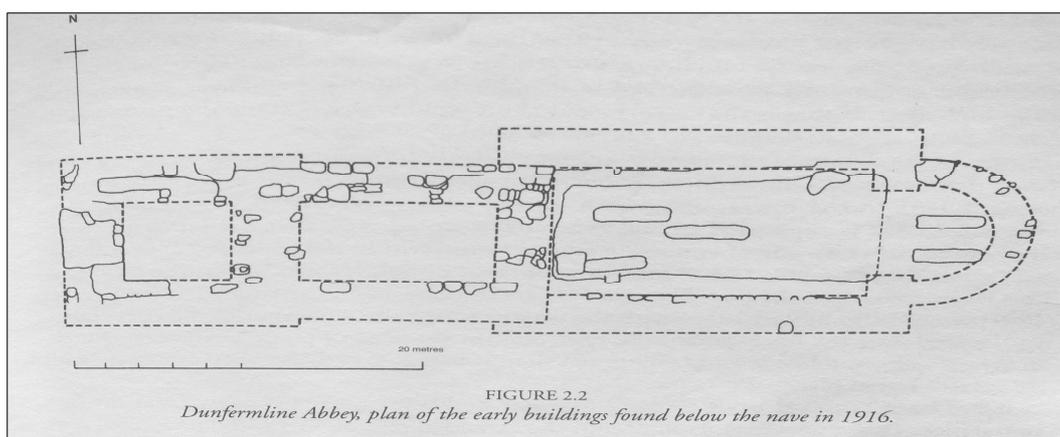


Fig 2. Dunfermline Abbey plans of churches I and II with graves.

"The two earliest masonry structures on the site were excavated in 1916. They have both been extensively robbed, but the evidence for their plans is unambiguous....

This shows the remains that relate to two buildings clearly distinguished in the Nave, by two different east-west axes and by breaks in the masonry indicating that the eastern building was added to the western one.

The first building consisted of a room 23ft (7m) square on the exterior, with a narrow rectangular room to the east in the position of a chancel. Since the walls of the square were thicker than those of the eastern room it is likely that *they supported a tower*, making the building an unusual type of two-cell church with a tower for a nave.

1. Church was standing in 1070 and Margaret had built the extension making church (1) earlier than c. 1070.
2. Church (2) was that built by Margaret

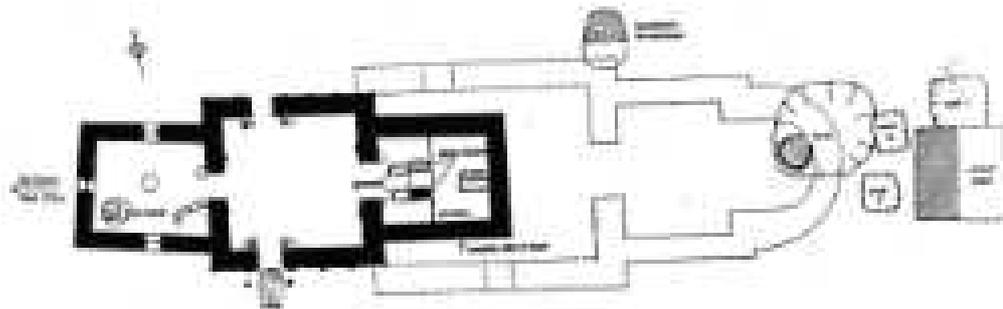


Fig 3. Barton-upon-Humber: plan as in c. 1100 (after *Antiquaries Journal*, LXII (1982)  
Plan reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London.  
(*The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey* by Eric Fernie)

In 1128 David, Margaret's third son, confirmed her foundation at Dunfermline and had Geoffrey, prior of Canterbury, appointed its first abbot. The foundation was intended to have thirty monks, and the church was consecrated in 1150. This building had an aisled eastern arm ending in an apse, a crossing with north and south transept arms, and an aisled nave of eight bays including the westernmost supporting a pair of façade towers. Fig 4

When a new church was constructed over an earlier one, the common practice in the Middle Ages was for a new sanctuary to be placed as nearly as possible in the same position as the old, with a shrine or important tomb often maintained in exactly the same position. The new building at Dunfermline could not follow this practice because the ground falls away so steeply to the west: David's church is, as one might expect, much larger than Margaret's, so that, if its eastern arm had been placed over the apse of the old church its nave would have extended much further west and would have needed building up to an excessive extent in order to maintain a constant floor level. The old sanctuary consequently lies, not under the main sanctuary at the east end of the new church where one would expect it to be, but under the east end of the nave. The new building none the less bears an intimate relationship with its predecessor in the following four different ways.

- 1). The builders made the sanctuary in the old building, church II, coincide with the nave sanctuary of church III.....
- 2). The Linking of the two parts must have been aided by the image of the cross which appears to have been located in virtually the same position in the church III as it had been in church II.....
- 3). The site of Margaret's burial is itself one of the strongest linking elements.....
- 4). The arcade walls of David's church stand on the walls of Margaret's church.

This results in the nave being much narrower than is usual in churches of Norman Romanesque design.....The placing of the arcades cannot have been conditioned by a wish to rescue the old walls as foundations, as they are so extensively robbed and must have been much more of a hindrance than a help in the construction. One is left to conclude that the builders wished the old church, once again to be reflected in the new.

Having examined the links between Margaret's church and David's we can now analyse the evidence for the new building as a whole.

The eastern arm of the 12th-century church is lost under the two re-buildings of the 13th and 19th centuries, and whatever evidence was gleaned at the time of the building operations of 1818-21, including the likelihood that it had an apse, has been lost..... As these remarks imply, there is no basis for the apparently assured plans which are often published of the eastern arm.

The transept is also lost in its entirety, but unlike the eastern arm it is known from three drawings of the late 18th and early 19th centuries; one published by Grose in 1791; a sketch in York possibly by Cave; and another by Hutton, both of uncertain date, but at any rate earlier than the construction of the neo-Gothic eastern arm in 1818. The York drawing, which is the most detailed, shows the west wall of the north arm, with an arch into the north aisle of the nave and a blank area of wall, to the right, that is the north, with blind arcading decorated with chevron at its base. The decoration indicates that the blind arcading belonged to David's church, and the arcading in turn shows that there was no western aisle to the transept (whether or not there was an eastern one). The springing point of the arches of the crossing is very low, near the base of the gallery rather than level with that of the clerestory, as is more normal. There is no obvious explanation for this oddity, though it may be a response to the narrowness of the nave." p.30

The nave may thus be no more than a fragment of the original whole, but it is none the less a structure of great interest, rich in archaeological puzzles and architectural design, and lying right at the heart of royal power and patronage in the kingdom of Scotland in the 11th and 12th centuries p. 15. *The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey* by Eric Fernie.

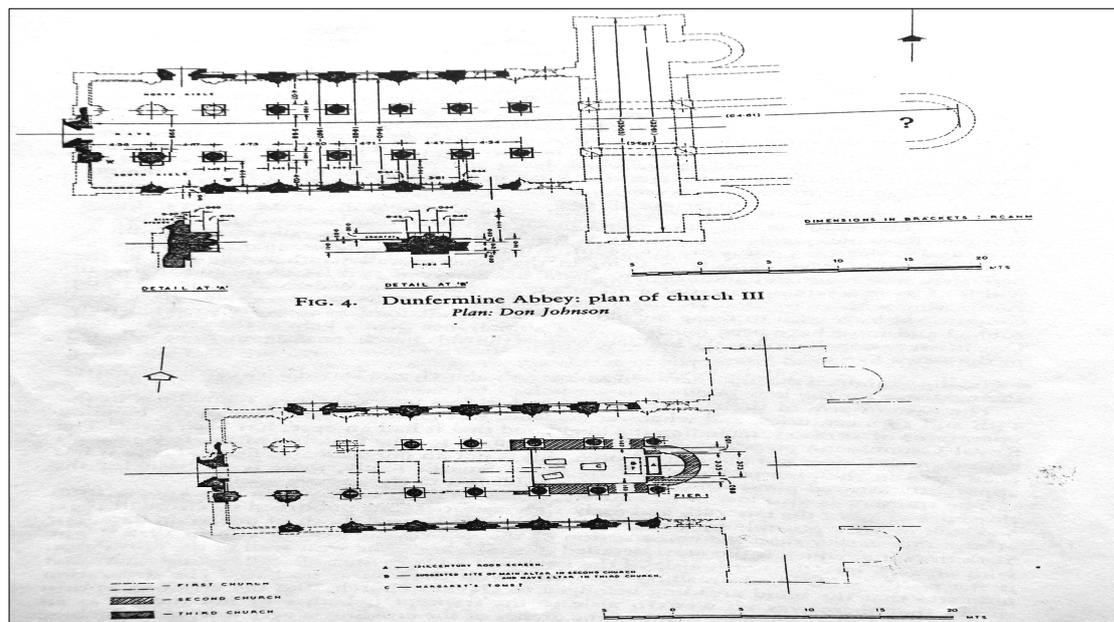
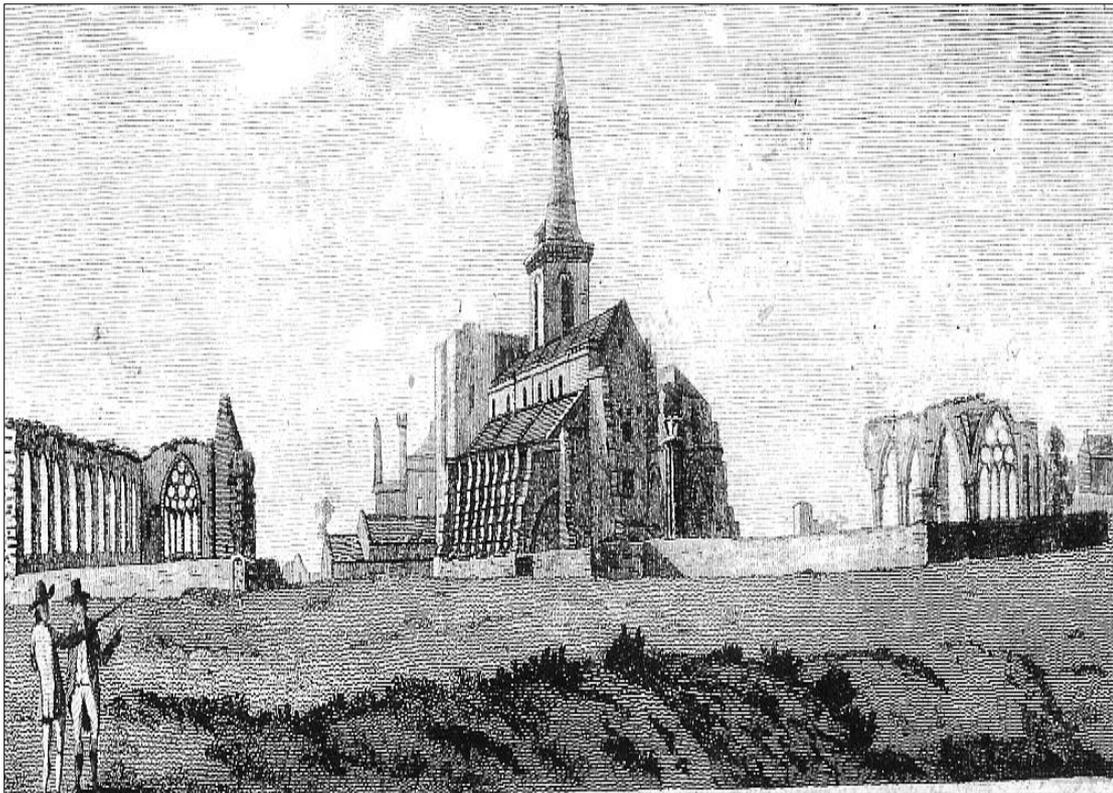


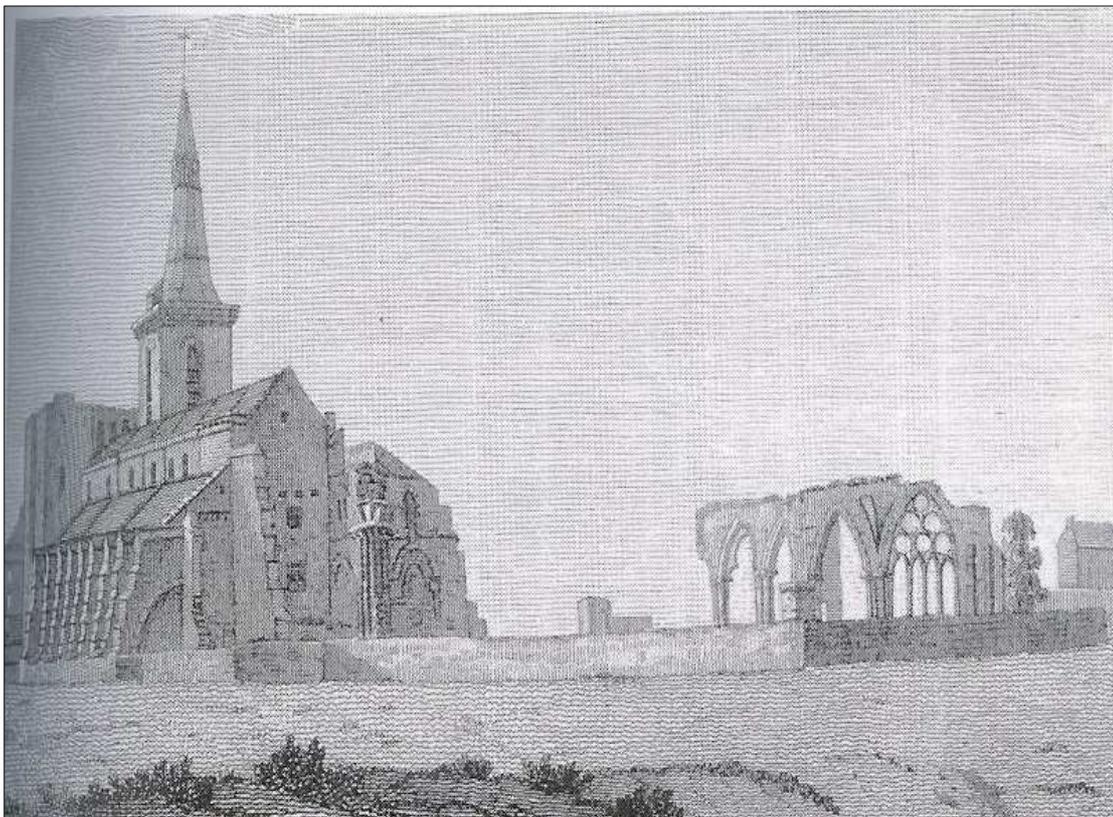
Fig 4. and Fig 5. Dunfermline Abbey plan showing church II in relation to church III  
(*The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey* by Eric Fernie P.29)

**DUNFERMLINE ABBEY AFTER 1560**



*By S. Hooper.*

*Published March 25, 1797.*



*Prepared for Lieutenant-General George Henry Hutton (d. 1827). National Library of Scotland.*



Lieutenant - General George Henry Hutton (d. 1827). Drawings. National Library of Scotland.  
 (The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey by Eric Fernie P.32)

(5.) The great monastic church, dedicated in 1150, was *commenced* in 1128, when David I, when he brought Geoffrey, the Prior from Canterbury to be the first Abbot of Dunfermline. It was a fully developed cruciform structure with north and south aisles western towers, and a tower at the crossing. It measured internally some 212 feet from east to west by 107 feet between the gables of the transepts. Nothing is now left of it except the nave, but this, although incomplete and to some extent modified, is one of the finest surviving examples of Scoto-Norman Monastic architecture. In detail and lay-out it closely resembles Durham, which was begun in 1093 and finished by 1128. (*Years built: 1093–1133, additions until 1490* Google) As at Durham the east end was "paralled-apsed" and the nave arcades were eight bays in length, with the western bays opening into the undercrofts of the western towers.

In the 13th century David's Church was "enlarged by the construction of a nobler building (*per nobilioris structurae fabricam fuerit augmentata*)." So extensive indeed were the changes that the question arose whether there ought not to be a new consecration. The Papal decision, however, was that this was unnecessary, seeing that "the old walls, for the greater part remained in their original state."

The "old walls" were the existing walls of the nave, the improving and "augmenting" of the fabric being the reconstruction of the eastern part and the addition of the chapel of St Margaret at the east end. The date of the Papal pronouncement is August 1249. As the remains of Queen Margaret and Malcolm Canmore were transferred to their new resting-place "in the choir beyond the high altar (*in choro supra magno altare*) in the following year, the date 1250 may be taken

as that of the completion of the church. The chief vicissitudes which it has since undergone are as follows.

In the 14th century the choir was extended in a north aisle, probably the Lady Aisle, which was afterwards demolished, while on the north side of the nave three of the aisle windows and all of the triforium windows were transformed from Romanesque into Gothic, the wall-head of the aisle being of the same time lowered. Towards the end of the same century, or possibly somewhat later, the west gable was reconstructed from above the doorway. The subsequent rebuilding of the north-west tower, as well as of the two adjoining bays of the nave-arcade and of the vaults of the corresponding bays of the north aisle, and the addition of a porch in front of the Romanesque north door can all be ascribed with certainty to Richard de Bothwell Abbot from 1446 to 1482, since the arms of Bothwell of Hallbank appear on one of the tower buttresses..<sup>22</sup> Historic Monuments (Scotland) Commission p.106. Continues.....

The foundations of the older building were discovered beneath the existing nave by the late Dr Macgregor Chalmers in 1916, and were planned by H.M. Office of Works in the following year. F.228 has been prepared from the survey then made. The outline of Queen Margaret's church is now traced on the floor of the nave, where certain parts of its foundations can be seen through gratings. On plan it had consisted of a nave with a square western tower, and an oblong choir ending in an apse. Choir and apse were evidently an addition to nave and tower, for the axial lines do not coincide, and the foundations of the choir are not uniform with those of the nave. Further provision of an archway between choir and apse points rather to Roman than Celtic church-building practice. During the excavations three graves were exposed within the chancel and two others within the apsidal sanctuary. The great monastic church, dedicated in 1150, was commenced in 1128, when David I, brought Geoffrey, the Prior, from Canterbury to be the first Abbot of Dunfermline. It was a fully developed cruciform structure with north and south aisles, western towers, and a tower at the crossing. It measured internally some 212 feet from east to west by 107 feet between the gables of the transepts. Nothing is now left of it except the nave, but his although incomplete and to some extent modified, is one of the finest surviving examples of Scoto-Norman monastic architecture. In detail and lay-out it closely resembles Durham, which was begun in 1093 and finished by 1128... In the 13th century David's Church was "enlarged by construction of a nobler building (*per nobilioris structurae fabricam fuerit augmentata*)" So extensive indeed were the changes that the question arose whether there ought not to be a new consecration? The decision, however, was that this was unnecessary, seeing that "the old walls, for the greater part remained in their original state.?" The "old walls" were the existing walls of the nave, the improving and "augmenting" of the fabric being the reconstruction of the eastern part and the addition of the chapel of S Margaret at the east end. The date of the Papal pronouncement is August 1249.?.....In the following year, the date 1250 may be taken as that of the completion of the church....(Dunfermline Abbey Historic Monuments (Scotland) Commission p.106)

(6.) A Scottish historian, Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," declares that in Dunfermline "The Culdees with their Abbot discharged their usual duties during several reigns."

Thus we reach the reign of the first King David, the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret, he who filled our land with Abbeys, Monasteries, and Churches, and raised beside the royal tombs at Dunfermline the first and grandest of our Scottish fanes. That David I, built the entire church, as suggested by Innes, cannot be affirmed with certainty, but that the ancient and existing nave owes its erection to this pious King

there is no doubt whatever. The cathedral church of Durham had then arisen in all the splendour of the Norman architectural style, and King David's tribute to the memory of his parents was vitalised by what he had seen on the banks of the Wear. "A Durham in miniature," his effort has been termed; but it was only the miniature of a portion of its prototype, appropriate in scale to the Dunfermline situation, and a noble adjunct to the original basilica of his parents. In one form or other, that humbler temple seems to have stood till the days of Alexander II, who in 1216-26, reared on its site, or over it the splendid Gothic choir and transepts destroyed at the Reformation and replaced by the present Parish Church in 1818. (Royal Dunfermline by Alan Reid and William Kirk p.24)

(7.) On the consummation of the marriage of Malcolm III Canmore and Margaret, a member of the Saxon Royal family of England, in 1070, they set their hearts upon providing a place of worship. Whether this was as a substitute for an existing one or not is uncertain; but the probability is that there was already one of Culdee origin, which may not have been considered worthy of the Royal house in its new style of living or its knowledge of ecclesiastical buildings, met with by both King and Queen in their exile and wanderings elsewhere.

In a letter and appended note sent by Mr Freeman of Dr Chalmers, author of the "History of Dunfermline," under date 29th December, 1855, he says in regard to this point: - "If I mistake not, the theory implies that Malcolm Canmore built the nave first and the choir afterwards. This would be reversing the usual process, but it would be conceivable under certain circumstances. I am not sufficiently versed in Sc. Eccles. History to know whether any establishment of Culdees, or similar early foundation, existed at Dunfermline before the time of Malcolm Canmore. If such was the case, it would be quite possible that their church might have been retained for a while as the choir or presbytery of the new church and the nave to have been added to the west of it." Contrary to the usual custom, the nave was built first, and the learned historian refers to Llandaff and Dunblane as cases in point, while at St Andrews the primitive church was left untouched and the new cathedral built, after the ordinary type of a cathedral, at a little distance. Further, "If such a primitive church existed at Dunfermline, and was retained for a while as a portion of the Abbey, it must have been exchanged for an ordinary Norman east end very soon after the addition of the nave. The short presbytery and round apse, shown in your ground plan, could hardly, by any possibility, come before the 11th or after the 12th century. It is the characteristic arrangement distinguished alike from earlier or later ground plans."

Now, when King and Queen were thinking of building they had to receive a highly distinguished visitor, William I, or the Conqueror, who with troops landed in Fife, marched to Abernethy and summoned Malcolm to do him homage, not only for the lands south of the Forth but for all Scotland. Under pressure Malcolm yielded it on 15th July, 1072, and afterwards is said to have received him at Dunfermline. William and his Queen knew something about building; for, marrying against Papal commands, their Normandy had lain under interdict for some years, and this ban was only removed on condition that they should make atonement by building, he a monastery for men and she one for women. Some buildings for the poor they added of their own good will, it is said, and last of all, they resolved to build each a church at Caen, the capital. That of the Duchess, afterwards Queen of England, was ready for consecration in 1066, before her husband set out for England. He left the building of his till after England was won. When the battle of Senlac gave him the throne, the Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury offered him the crown, but, turning traitor, was

deposed and replaced in 1070 by Lanfranc, an Italia, bishop of Caen, who had been William's "guide, philosopher, and friend." Whether this prelate was with William in Scotland and at Dunfermline history does not say, but if he were not, and if William did not "blow his own trumpet" somewhat, it is not the least unlikely that some one ecclesiastic in his camp, or soldier for that matter, did tell what they, while in Normandy, had seen and knew of the piety and zeal of their King and Queen. Letters passed between Queen Margaret and Lanfranc, though it cannot be said that the building was their subject matter. Still, the Abbey here is of Norman architecture, and this would be carried out, not by Scottish masons, but by some of those bands of mediæval builders who, by permission of the Pope, went wherever their services were required. And Margaret was not quite "a penniless lass wi' a lang pedigree." There was money in her family (as well as some gold in Scotland then), and nothing to prevent a start here. (*Dunfermline Abbey by John Marshall p.8*)

(8.) Says Professor Cosmo Innes, "the original church of Malcolm, perhaps not of stone, must have ben replaced by a new edifice when it was dedicated in the reign of David I." and that the "Sair Sanct" was the founder of the existing ancient church there can be no serious doubt. The gentle Edgar, who in 1107 was buried before the High Altar, may have enriched the monument of his illustrious parents; and Alexander the Fierce, who, ten years later, removed his father's remains from Tynemouth to Dunfermline, signalled their solemn re-interment by large endowments, if not by extensions of the sacred building. It must be remembered, however, that at her own express desire the Queen-mother-lay buried within the early foundation, and only a dire necessity, which could not then have been clamant, would warrant King Edgar or Alexander I, in interfering with this holy ground.

Thus we reach the reign of the first King David - the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret - he who filled our land with Abbeys, Monasteries, and Churches, and raised beside the royal tombs at Dunfermline the first and grandest of our Scottish fanes. That David I built the entire church as suggested by Innes cannot be affirmed with certainly, but that the ancient and existing nave owes its erection to this pious King there is no doubt whatever. (*Royal Dunfermline by Alan Reid and W Kirk p.23. 24*)

(9.) Like the name Dunfermline, about which much has been written with little certitude except as to the first syllable the earliest religious settlement there is matter for conjecture. Recent researches, however, have cleared up many points on which antiquaries and local historians can agree, and concerning which more widely known writers such as Mr E. P. Freeman have had something to say.

As we have seen it was in a church of the ninth or tenth century that Queen Margaret and Malcolm Canmore were married - a church small and primitive like those of Ireland in that era. They consisted of a simple oblong chamber with a single door and one small window. The walls were often built without mortar, and the wall apertures were finished with undressed stone. They might be either thatched or barrel-vaulted. "Until the Romanesque influence is felt, not a trace of any kind of ornament is to be found on these churches. Latterly a few details resembling Norman work are introduced."

We can still picture the church as S. Margaret left it. The great square tower she added rising on its west front; the larger building, probably floored with tiles, adjoined to the east, terminating in a semicircular apse. She kept to the Cetic predilection for dedicating the high altar to the Blessed Trinity, while the two side altars usual in the early church were here consecrated, that at the south-east angle to Our Blessed Lady. In front of the altar of the Holy Rood where St. Margaret's body was first laid, Dr

Macgregor Chalmers found that the mortar bed for the pavement had been cut. Where Malcolm's bones were laid in a tomb on the north side, probably in front of the altar of Our Lady, there was no sign of the pavement having been disturbed.

When in 1128 King David begun his work and built the choir, tower, and transepts to the east, he had doubtless before him the whole scheme he intended to carry out; but it was 1140 before he cleared away the early church and erected there the Nave that is the glory of modern Dunfermline. Like a dutiful son, he made the shrine of St Margaret and the tomb of King Malcolm the central point of his design. Four richly decorated pillars still guard the spot, and the remains of the stone rood screen, which rose to a height of eleven feet between the two eastern columns, have recently been discovered, untouched since 1150. In it were two doorways, one on each side of the rood altar. The nave was the parish church; the choir and transepts that of the monastery. Malcolm and his queen bequeathed to the abbey in free gift "the whole shire of Fotheriff." ..... (*The History of Fife by James Wilkie 1924 pp.159-160*)

**(10)** It is generally believed that the Monastery of Dunfermline was founded by King Malcolm III about the end of the eleventh century. It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and it is assumed by several authorities that the Church to which it was attached was a Culdean establishment, and a priory till the reign of David I, who introduced 13 monks from Canterbury and raised the Monastery to the rank of an Abbey. The ruins of an old structure which have been discovered under the Abbey Nave, built by King David, may have been the humble Culdee Chapel in which the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret was solemnised.

Mr James Shearer, architect, who has made a close study of the history of Dunfermline and the architecture of the Abbey, refers to the work of Dr M'Gregor Chalmers: -

The first church that occupied the site upon which the Abbey now stands was a Culdee church. The colony at Iona was broken up by violence about the 7th century. At no great interval of time thereafter we find references to Culdee settlements along the east coasts of Scotland – Aberdeen, Brechin, Abernethy, St Andrews, Dunfermline, and so on, and it is possible that these religious settlements may have been – or, at any rate, some of them may have been – established by fugitive or missionary members of the church at Iona.

At the beginning of the recorded history of the church at Dunfermline then, we have a Culdee church already in existence – for how long, there is no record – and in the church it seems certain that Margaret and Malcolm Canmore (or Malcolm III) were married in 1070.

Shortly after her marriage, and in consultation with her confessor, Turgot, formerly prior of the monastery of Durham, and latterly Bishop of St Andrews, it is written that Margaret built a new church "in the place where her nuptials were celebrated" – the date of the dedication of this church being variously placed between 1072 and 1074. The site of this church of Queen Margaret remained, until quite recent years, a matter of conjecture, but in 1916 Dr MacGregor Chalmers, a distinguished architect and ecclesiologist of Glasgow, obtained permission to open the floor of the Nave, and there he discovered the foundations of an ancient church which most authorities now agree can be accepted as the foundations of the church in which Queen Margaret was married, and to which, according to Dr Chalmers, she afterwards added extensively. Dr Chalmers attributes to her not a completely new church, as the old writers indicate, but the erection of a square tower to the west of the existing church, and the addition of a larger church with an apse to the east. The lines of the foundations discovered by

Dr Chalmers are trace exactly by lines of gun metal on the present pavement of the Nave. The church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

King David I, the builder of many abbeys is the generally accepted founder of the Abbey of Dunfermline, and his charter confirms and amplifies the charter of his father, Malcolm. It is suggested that David I began the building of his great church considerably to the east of the church associated with his mother's life and death – first erecting the choir, then the tower or towers. The earlier church, according to Dr Chalmers, was not removed until about 1140, and the same authority fixes the date of the nave at 1150. It is feasible, but I am not sure that every element of uncertainty is quiet disposed of, for Dr Chalmers thus allows only 66 years of existence to the tower, church, and apse, which he attributes to Margaret. No more acceptable explanation of what has been found nevertheless is in view.

“Between the years 1115 and 1226 a large eastern addition was made to the original church of about 170 feet in length, consisting of a choir, transepts, Ladye Chapel, and tall lantern tower. When this new addition was completed, about 1226, the high altar in the old building was removed and erected near the east end of the new Church, and before it the daily church services were conducted; immediately in front of it a large space was consecrated as the new ‘locus Sepulturæ regius.’ Thus there were two places of royal sepulture in Dunfermline Abbey, viz., in the original Church (Auld Kirk) from 1093 to 1250, and from 1274 to 1403 in the then great Eastern Church or Choir.

MALCOLM III	the King, and MARGARET, the Queen, his Consort,			
	translated from their old resting- Place in the Auld Kirk to			
	the Ladye Chapel at Extreme east end of the new			
	Eastern Church or Choir	...	...	1250
MARGARET	(The Queen Consort of Alexander III.			1274
DAVID	(Prince, son of Alexander III.)	...	...	1280
ALEXANDER	(Prince, son of Alexander III.)	...	...	1284
ELIZABETH	(Queen Consort of King Robert the Bruce)			1327
ROBERT I	(King Robert the Bruce)	...	...	1329
MATILDA	(Princess, daughter of King Robert the Bruce)			1356
CHRISTIAN	(Princess, sister of King Robert the Bruce )			1366
ANNABELLA	(Queen Consort of Robert III.)	...	...	1403
ROBERT	(Prince, infant son of James VI and Anne)			1602

In this Eastern Church or Choir there were interred, so far as has been authentically ascertained, the remains of 2 Kings, 3 Queens, 3 Princes, and 2 Princesses. In the Auld Kirk, 6 Kings, 1 Queen, and 2 Princes; total in both places, between A.D. 1093 and 1602, 19 royal interments. Some author's state that Margaret, in 1274, was interred in the Nave, we think she would be interred in the Choir. Her husband Alexander III is buried there, and it is probable he selected the Choir before his death as the place of sepulture of his family.” (*The Journal Guide to Dunf. by Mackie p. 72*)

## THE RUINS OF DUNFRMLINE ABBEY - AFTER REFORMATION OF 1560



From Ebenezer Henderson. *Annals of Dunfermline*. Glasgow, 1879.

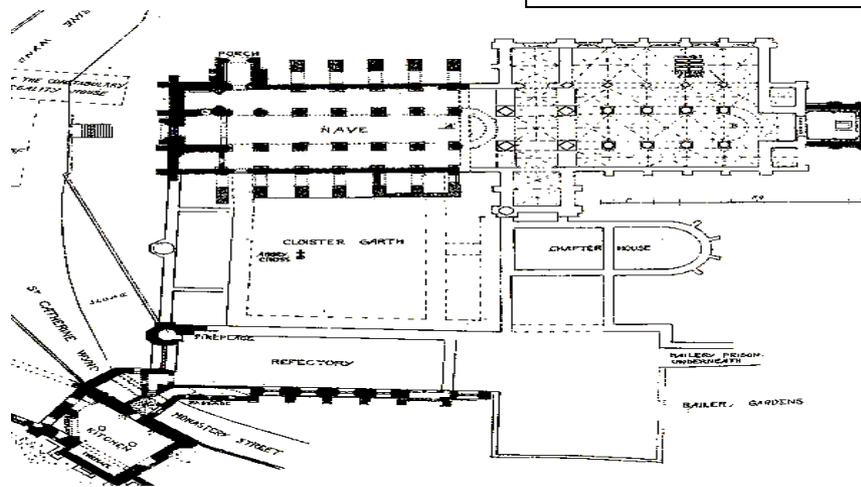
The principal part of the church, having (it would appear) been demolished at the time of the Reformation, involved in its ruins everything splendid belonging to the royal monuments. Indeed, was it not, that the page of history assures us that with us are the sepulchres of kings; it could not now be otherwise discovered.

The particular spot, which is pointed out as the burying place of the kings, is covered with six large flat stones. The largest of these was raised, and the ground below examined in July 1807; but nothing remarkable (except a stone coffin) was discovered. (The smallest of these stones is above seven feet long; all of them above three feet broad, and between six and seven inches thick. The one which was lifted is nine feet, six inches long, and five feet, two inches broad.)

At the east end of this churchyard, and at some considerable distance from the large flat stones, stands what is said to be the tomb of St. Margaret. The monument does not now indicate anything magnificent. At first, she had been interred in a different part of the church. Alexander III in 1250, or 1251, caused her remains to be taken up, and deposited in a more honourable situation. This has been called the translation of St Margaret. (*John Fernie. A history of the town and parish of Dunfermline, Dunfermline, 1815.*)

As one of many instances of the partial and insecure footing of the Reformers in Scotland for several years after their legal establishment, it is mentioned that "in 1580 a few Benedictines Monks of Dunfermline, with doors bolted and barred kept watch in their choir by the Shrines of St Margaret and St David, the Sepulchres of Bruce and Randolph." But, as a proof of their not desiring a sweeping demolition of the parish churches, "in 1588 the Kirk appealed to the King demanding that he should interpose to alert the rain which threatened Glasgow, *Dunfermline* and Dunblane." (*Peter Chalmers. Historical and statistical account of Dunfermline. 2 volumes. Edinburgh, 1844-59, I. p. 271.*)

Traditional burying  
place of the Kings of  
Scotland Six large flat  
stones



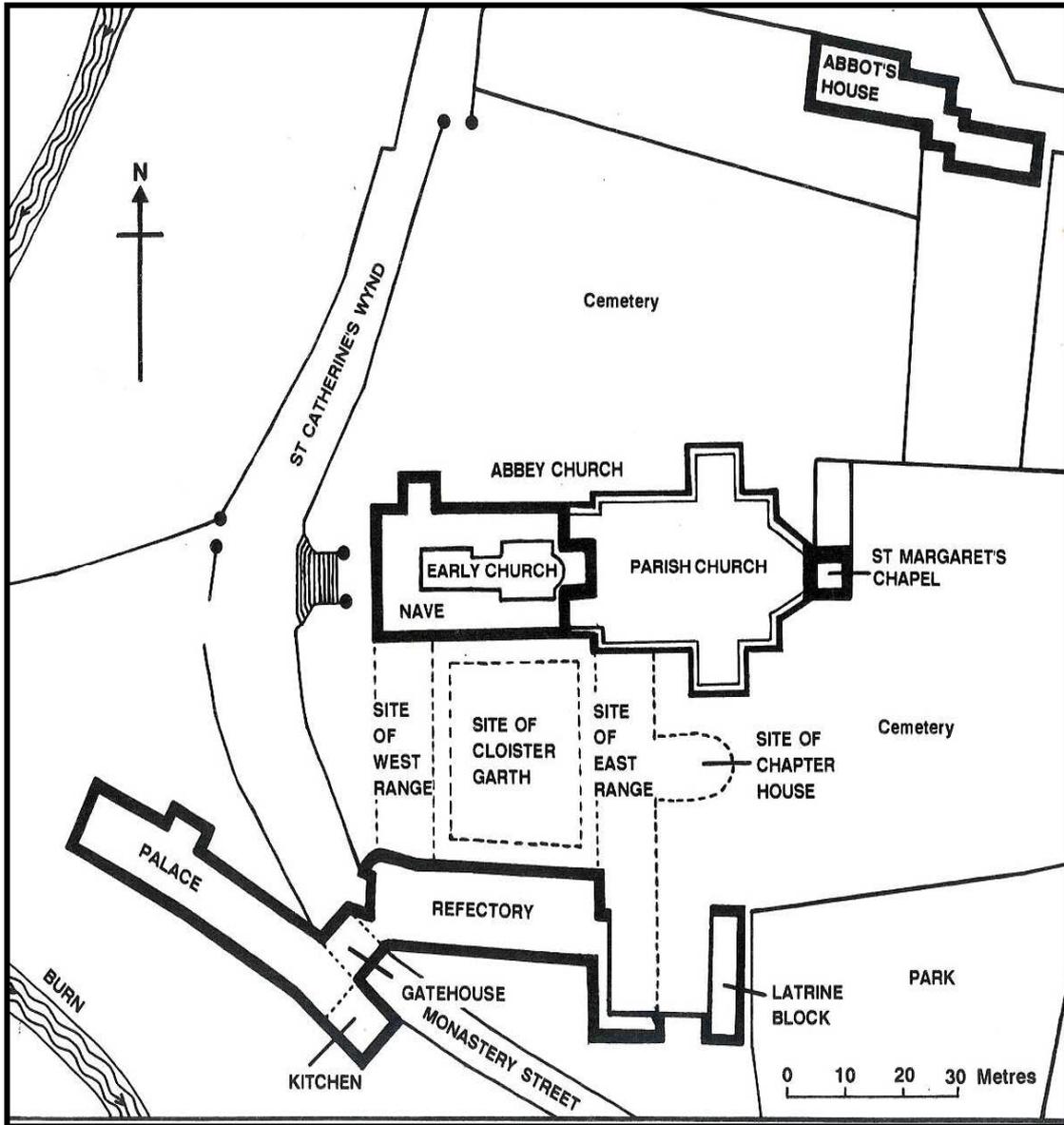
" In the belief so long prevalent, that the six large flat stones were on the site of the Royal burying place in the Eastern Church, Sir J. Graham Dalyell, very laudably resolved in 1807, to make a search with a view to ascertain whether such remains still slumbered under the repositories in which they were said to have been entombed. accordingly, having obtained the consent of the proper authorities, and with the aid of the late Rev. Mr Fernie and others, he early, on the morning of the 28th July of that year, got the middle stone of the west row, which was the largest, removed, and the result of this examination he thus records in his Tract, published two years after".

"The earth immediately below the surface, and even to the depth of two or three feet, had the appearance of having been dug before, though perhaps at a remote period, and nothing whatever was found among it, excepting a few human bones, brittle and rotten. Under this, however about four or five feet from the surface, a coffin rudely built of small irregular pieces of sandstone along with a scanty portion of lime, and covered in the same manner with similar materials, was found, containing the skeleton of a full grown person, pretty entire. Its position was not directly below the large stone, but one half of the length further west. It lay among soft humid clay, completely filling the coffin, from which the bones had imbibed so much moisture, that on lifting the broken one, the water poured from the lower end as on squeezing a sponge. The head or upper part of the coffin, towards the west, was contracted into narrow compass, just admitting the skull, which was quite fresh, and the teeth sound."

"This coffin had certainly never been opened, and I am inclined to ascribe its structure to a more ancient date than the decease of the kings whose bodies are said to be deposited in the Abbey; for I do not conceive that any of them are contained in it. All the bones were returned to their original situation, and the pieces composing the top of the coffin put over them" (p. 3-5.) - He adds, "The tomb of Robert I, is said to have stood a few yards south-west of the spot examined; but not-with-standing the quantity of iron which we are told was used in its structure, all traces of it are equally obliterated as of the rest." (Sir John Graham Dalyell (1776-1851). *A tract, chiefly relative to monastic antiquities*. Edinburgh, 1809.)

This proves interesting reading, especially the mentions of the bodies being more ancient date than the decease of the kings whose bodies are said to be deposited in the Abbey.

# ABBEY PLAN





\* Several curiosities have been lately been discovered at Dunfermline. - Some months ago, an iron chest was dug up containing a number of very ancient Danish silver coins, esteemed a great curiosity.

\*\* About the middle of May, as some labourers were digging in the spot where the east part of the church stood, they discovered a human body entire, which appeared to be a female. It was enclosed in a stone coffin, covered with three flag stones, on which could easily be discovered a crucifix, with some other figures or letters, in much defaced as not to be understood. Several gentlemen in the neighbourhood have visited this curiosity, and from various circumstances, have reason to believe it to be the body of Queen Margaret, wife to Malcolm Kenmore, who was buried at Dunfermline, and who afterwards was canonized, and known by the name of *Saint Margaret*. This we know, that at Dunfermline many of the Royal Family of Scotland lie interred; and among them St Margaret was grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside King of England, after the fatal battle of Hastings, having every thing to fear from William the Conqueror, she, with her brother and sister, secretly retired from that kingdom, with a view of going to the Continent; but tempest on weather were forced on the coast of Scotland, and for safety ran up the firth of Forth, to a creek near Dunfermline, ever since from that accident known as the name of *St Margaret's Hope*. They were kindly received by King Malcolm then residing at Dunfermline; who on account of the many shining virtues of Margaret, some time after married her. She is celebrated as the most virtuous princess of the age; and her piety and charity, with her respect for the clergy, procured her at her death the honour of canonization.

\*\* In the beginning of July was dug up a silver cup with double handles, which will contain three half-pints. It is of curious workmanship, and thought to be upwards of 1300 years old.

In the belief so long prevalent, that the six large flat stones were on the site of the Royal burying place in the Eastern Church. (Marked K on Plan) Sir J. Graham Dalryell, very laudably resolved in 1807, to make a search with a view to ascertain whether such remains still slumbered under the repositories in which they were said to have been entombed. accordingly, having obtained the consent of the proper authorities, and with the aid of the late Rev. Mr Fernie and others, he early, on the morning of the 28th July of that year, got the middle stone of the west row, which was the largest, removed, and the result of this examination he thus records in his Tract, published two years after.

"The earth immediately below the surface, and even to the depth of two or three feet, had the appearance of having been dug before, though perhaps at a remote period, and nothing whatever was found among it, excepting a few human bones, brittle and rotten. Under this, however about four or five feet from the surface, a coffin rudely built of small irregular pieces of sandstone along with a scanty portion of lime, and covered in the same manner with similar materials, was found, containing the skeleton of a full grown person, pretty entire. Its position was not directly below the large stone, but one half of the length further west. It lay among soft humid clay, completely filling the coffin, from which the bones had imbibed so much moisture, that on lifting the broken one, the water poured from the lower end as on squeezing a sponge. The head or upper part of the coffin, towards the west, was contracted into

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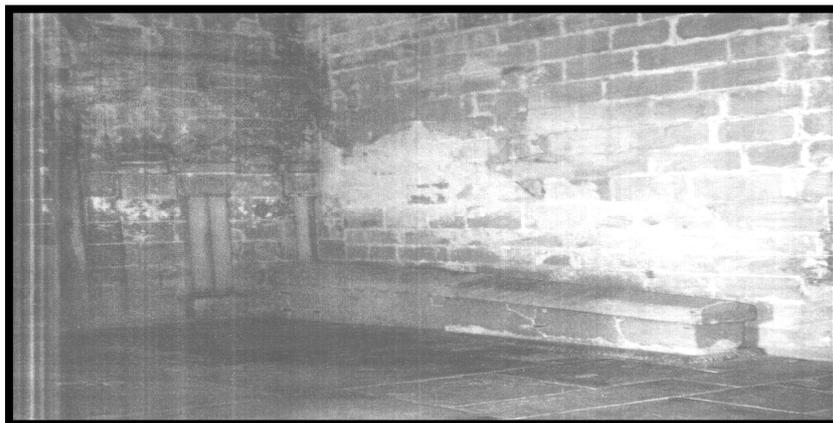
**PRINCE EDWARD**, eldest son of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, died of a mortal wound in his 22nd year 1093. Slain with his father at the siege of Alnwick Castle in Northumberland. His remains were brought to Dunfermline and were, "with grate honoure," interred "*Juxta patrem ante altare Sanctæ Crucis*" - (Fordun, v. 25) that is, were interred near his father, before the Altar of the Holy Cross at Dunfermline.(Fordun, lib. v. c. 25; Boece, lib. x. fol. 260; S. Dunelm, p. 218; Hailes's An. Scot. i. p. 24; Balfour's Annals, p. 2; Chalmers's Hist. Dunf. vol. i. -. 128, 133; vol ii. p. 142, &)

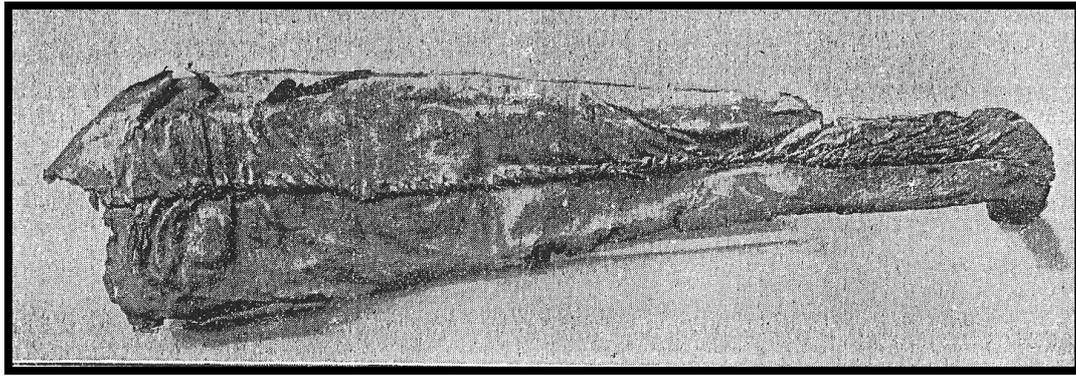
**EDWARD** - (c. 1070-93) Eldest son of Malcolm III and Margaret; mortally wounded when his father was killed. Buried in Dunfermline Abbey Nave. The army was thus thrown into confusion. and grief was heaped upon grief; for EDWARD the king's firstborn, was mortally wounded and met his fate on the 15th of November 1093, - the third day after his father - at Edwadisle, in the forest of Jedwart. He was buried beside his father, before the altar of the Holy Cross, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Dunfermline.

#### STONE COFFINS

In Nave of Dunfermline Abbey  
[The Journal Guide to Dunfermline P.87]

Two stone coffins near the west door attract attention. They were found in 1849 in the Royal Sepulchre, in the place where princes Edward and Ethelred, sons of Malcolm and Margaret, were supposed to have been buried. In one of the coffins when opened lay some large and decayed bones. The other contained a leathern shroud, believed to have encased the remains of Edward, eldest son of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret (now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh) laced on the breast, closely stitched with a strong thong from neck to heel and along the soles of the feet, and enclosing some fragments of bones and a little hair of dark colour.





THE STONE COFFINS NEAR THE WEST DOOR OF NAVE.

The stone coffins by the west door were discovered during excavations of the Nave in 1849. The larger one contained a leather shroud which had been wrapped around the body and stitched with a thong from head to heel and along the soles of the feet. Within were fragments of bone and a little dark coloured hair. The remains were believed to have been those of Edward, son of Margaret and Malcolm, who originally had been interred near his mother. The shroud is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, and a photograph of it hangs on the wall in the entrance to the modern church from the Nave.

[EXITING NEWS: - FOUND 2018 IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS FOR SCOTLAND THE CONTENTS OF THIS STONE COFFIN HAVE SURVIVED \(THE SHROUD OF PRINCE EDWARD WHO DIED 1093\).](#)

### **NOTICE OF A STONE COFFIN**

From - Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline.

By Rev. Peter Chalmers, A.M. p. 142

NOTICE OF A STONE COFFIN FOUND IN THE PAVEMENT OF THE ABBEY CHURCH DUNFERMLINE IN 1849, AND OF ITS CONTENTS: - Read by me at a Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and printed in the Proceedings, Vol. II., and Part I. 1586.

During the re-laying of the pavement, along with other repairs, of the nave of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, under the direction and at the expense of the Commissioners of her Majesty's Works, in the autumn of 1849, the workmen came upon two massive stone coffins, lying side by side at the east end of the centre of the building, in one of which was found a leathern shroud. The shroud is in good preservation, except at the forepart of the legs, where it is entirely wasted; and the portion which surrounded the head has from being appropriated by various early visitors, disappeared. The tanned leather skin has double folds, had been wrapped round the body in the mummy fashion, had been laced on the breast like a pair of stays and is still closely stitched with a strong leathern thong all down the back from the neck to the heels, and along the soles of the feet very carefully. The length of what remains is nearly five feet.

The body thus swathed had become almost entirely decomposed, only the small fragments of a bone being found by me, which was so much decayed that it soon mouldered into dust. There was remaining also a little of the hair, which is of a dark colour.

The exact spot where the stone coffin lay is a little before and between the second and third eastern columns, now marked by an ancient gravestone, transferred for this purpose from the middle area of the edifice, bearing in old English letters the name

"Johannes Scott" &., and the date 1508, the oldest that remains, with a legible inscription, on the once lettered pavement of the Abbey Church.

The coffin is hollowed out of one block of sandstone, with a circular space for the head, and the lid or covering, consisting also of one stone, is slightly peaked or gently tapers upwards, about 1½ inches. Its dimensions externally are 6 feet 7 inches in length; 2 feet 2 inches in breadth at head; 2 feet 3 inches in depth at foot.

Quite contiguous to it on the south was another stone coffin, smaller in size, but of similar construction, enclosing a body, the large bones of which still existed, but all in a separate condition.

Both coffins were lifted, and have been removed to the floor at the west end of the church where, it is likely they may remain for the inspection of the curious.

From the absence of all inscriptions on the stone coffin, in which was the leathern envelope, it is difficult to fix absolutely either the owner or the date. But there is every reason to believe that the position was near or "before the altar of the Holy cross," termed by Wyntoun "The Rude Awtare of the Kirk of Dunfermline,," where the remains of King Malcolm III the founder of the monastery, and of his renowned queen, its tutelary saint, were deposited, and whence they were taken up and transferred by Alexander III at the famous translation in the year 1250, not long after the finishing of the eastern portion of the sacred edifice, which was begun, it is thought by Malcolm "to a more honourable part of the building in the choir above the great altar,"\* or the Lady Aisle, now indicated by the large blue slab, or Queen Margaret's tombstone, outside the present place of worship. The wearer of the skin-wrapper must evidently have been a person of distinction: and as there was another stone coffin alongside of his, smaller, but of similar character, the following lines of Wyntoun, prior of Lochleven in his rhyming Chronicle, written towards the middle of the fifteenth century, most probably refer to the spot, and to the occupants of both, two royal brothers, sons of Malcolm and Margaret: -

"Be for the Rude Awtare, wyth honowre,  
Scho wes layd in haly sepulture,  
Thare hyre Lord was laid alsuá,  
And wyth thame hyre sownnys twa,  
Edwarde the fyrst, and Ethelred, \*\*

Saynt Margretis body a hundyr yhere  
Lay befor the Rude Awtere,  
In-to the kyrk of Dwnfermelyne;  
But scho wes translatyde syne  
In-to the Qwere, quhare scho now lyis,  
Hyr spryt in-till Paradys. "\*\*\*

The interment of Edward in the Trinity Church of Dunfermline is attested also in Balfour's Annals, Edinburgh, 1824, i. 2. and in Hailes' Annals i. 24. Edward was the eldest son, but neither he nor his younger brother came to the throne. The larger stone coffin, and the leathern shroud, harmonise with his senior age and superior dignity. The Holy Cross, or Rude Awtare, must have been at that time at the east end of the present old church, so that these two stone coffins, and the others in which the

\* Fordoun, x. 3.

\*\* Wyntoun, vii, 3, line 103107

\*\*\* Wyntoun, vii, 3, line 115-124.

monarch and his consort lay, would be precisely before, or a little to the west of it. Altogether, therefore, there is almost a certainty of this interesting role having encircled the person of Prince Edward, the first-born of Malcolm Canmore and the sainted Margaret.

And as he fell in consequence of a mortal wound received in the forest of Jedwood, during his flight from the siege of Alnwick, where his father was killed, and was buried with him, first at Tynemouth, whence both bodies were afterwards conveyed to Dunfermline, his corpse may have been there swathed in this leathern skin, for its better preservation in the view of its transportation hither - the date being, consequently, the end of the eleventh century. Ethelred, the younger brother, who escaped from the fatal battle, communicated the mournful tidings of the double calamity to his expiring mother in the castle of Edinburgh; and being driven into exile by his uncle, Donald Bane, who had usurped the Scottish throne, died in England, but, according to Wyntoun, as just shown, was interred also in Dunfermline.

The following extract from a letter on the subject of the discovery, was received by a friend in Dunfermline from an eminent antiquary and artist in London: -

"Stitching the body in a core-cloth or hide was very common in the thirteenth century, and *earlier*; and illuminations in MSS, of that period proved it. In Matthew Paris's drawings, illustrative of the lives of the Offas (a work of the time of Henry III.) bodies are represented as wrapped in cere-cloths, and swathed round like mummies, with narrow fillets. I have a copy of another illumination I copied from a MS. of the fourteenth century, in the Royal Library, Paris, which exhibits a woman engaged in stitching up a body in a similar manner to what you describe.

FRED W. FAIRHOLD, F.S.A., &c. Oct. 7. 1849."

An opinion having been expressed in Edinburgh, at the time of my paper, on the discovery of the stone coffin, with its leathern shroud, being read, that a somewhat similar one at Durham, hearing the inscription of "Cospatricius Comes," would militate against my argument as to the stone coffin and shroud in Dunfermline being so ancient as the time of Malcolm's sons, I entered into correspondence with some antiquaries of note at and near Durham on the subject of Earl Cospatric's stone, and also myself afterwards inspected it. It has a peaked ornamental lid. The communications I received may be interesting to some, as the result was found not in the least adverse to the antiquity assigned to the Dunfermline stone coffin and shroud.

1. - From WM SIDNEY GIBSON, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

"NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,

10th April 1855.

"In accordance with my promise, I have the pleasure to state the result of my inspection of the sepulchral slabs and coffins now place in the crypt at Durham, which were formerly in the Galilee. The oldest of the coffin lids and slabs collected in this place is the stone inscribed `Cospatricius Comes.` It is a flat oblong stone, narrowed towards the feet, and square-headed. The edges are bevilled and sloped. The stone coffin near it does not appear to correspond. What I particularly wanted to learn is, whether any one remembers what remains were found on raising the lid, as you would think it interesting to know whether the body was encased in leather, like that found at Dunfermline. The other slabs are inscribed with crosses, and are later. There are not among those collected remains any peak-ridge coffin-lids, but some in that form are outside the Cathedral Church *in situ*. I believe there is no tradition of a king or prince having been buried at Durham.

Do you think `the Rood Altar` at Dunfermline can have taken its name from the celebrated Black Rood of Scotland? This rule of the royal foundress seems to have been placed on the high altar originally but a separate altar may have received it at the east end of the nave; and before it might well be the place of sepulture of Prince Edward."\* etc.

P. 150 ..... Numerous stone coffins exist, some of which appear to be as old as the *eleventh* and twelfth centuries. They are usually found of a single block of stone, hollowed out to receive the body, with a small circular cavity at one end to fit the head, and they are usually rather wide at this end than the other. There are generally one or more small holes in the bottom, to drain off the moisture arising from the body as it decayed. Sometimes in church they were place entirely above the ground, and thus become the originals of altar-tombs. *There lids were either coped* or flat, and were very frequently sculptured with cross of various fashions and other ornaments."\*\*

A large coarse stone coffin without a lid, but with holes in the bottom, found in the churchyard of Dunfermline, now lies in the belfry of the steeple.

At the west end of the nave of the church there are some old monumental stones, or portions of them, lately transferred thither from underneath the south tower, the original positions of most of which are unknown, and almost all of them are in a dilapidated condition. Among these is the marble inscription-stone on the monument to the grandfather of the present Earl of Elgin, Charles, the fifth earl, who died 14th May 1771, aged 39 years. This monument originally stood at the east end of what was named the Psalter Churchyard, the site of the present new church, at the building of which it was transferred in detached pieces to the interior of the south tower of the old church, where it remained under cover till lately. The inscription, written by Dr Hugh Blair of Edinburgh, is given at PP. 519-20 of the first volume.

#### **JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLES - VOLUME I. P.184.**

##### **CHAPTER XX. p. 208**

*Foundation f the Church of Durham by Malcolm - Siege of the Castle of Murealden by the same - He and his Son slain there.*

THIS King Malcolm practising these and the like works of piety, as we read in *Turgot*, began to found and to build the new church of Durham - this same King Malcolm, William, bishop of that church, and Turgot, the prior, laying the first stones in the foundation. He had likewise, long before, founded the church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, and endowed it with many offerings and revenues. But when he had, in his wonted manner, many a time carried off much plunder out of England, beyond the river Tees - from Cleveland, Richmond, and elsewhere - and besieged the Castle of Alnwick (or Murealden, which is the same thing), smiting sore those of the besieged who made head against him those who had been shut in, being shut out from all

\* The Black Rood of Scotland was brought to Scotland by St Margaret. She grasped it in her hand when at the point of death, and it stood by the dying bed of St David her son, and probably of other kings, her sons or descendants. It was taken from the Scotch at the battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, on 17th October 1346, in the reign of David II, and is believed to have been preserved at Durham until the Reformation.

\*\* In Gloucester Cathedral there were found, in making a tomb for Abbot Parker in the Chapel, a cross wrapped in a bull's hide.

help of man, and acknowledging that they had not strength to cope with so mighty and impetuous an army, held a council, and brought to bear a novel device of treachery, on this wise; One, more experienced than the rest, mighty in strength, and bold in deed, offered to risk death, so as either to deliver himself unto death, or free his comrades from death. So he warily approached the king's army, and courteously asked whether the king was, and which was he. But when they questioned him as to the motive of his inquiries, he said that he would betray the castle to the king; and, as a proof of good faith, he carried on his lance, in the sight of all, the keys thereof, which he was going to hand over. On hearing this, the king, who knew no guile, incautiously sprang out of his tent unarmed, and came unawares upon the traitor. The latter, which had looked for this opportunity, being armed himself, ran the unarmed king through, and hastily plunged into the cover of a neighbouring wood. And thus died that vigorous king, in the year 1093, on the 13th of November, to wit - Saint Brice's day. The army was thus thrown into confusion, and grief was heaped upon grief; for Edward, the king's firstborn, was mortally wounded and met his fate on the 15th of November, in the year above noted - the third day after his father - at Edwadisle, in the forest of Jedwart. He was buried beside his father, before the altar of the Holy Cross, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Dunfermline. King Malcolm, after he was killed, says *William*, for many years lay buried at Tynemouth; and he was afterwards conveyed to Scotland, to Dunfermline, by his son Alexander.

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Dr Samuel Johnson, on visiting the Island of Iona, says, - "*That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.*" The same may well be said of the ancient city of Dunfermline, which, after Iona, was by Malcolm Canmore constituted the *Locum Sepulturae Regium*, the *Campo Sancto* or Holy Field, where the greatest in the land were interred for centuries. (Reminiscences of Dunf. by Alex. Stewart p. 4.)



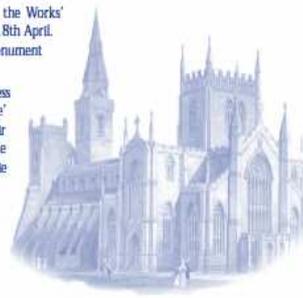
# ROYAL DUNFERMLINE

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the KINGS, QUEENS, PRINCES, PRINCESSES and NOBILITY INTERRED at the CHURCH of the HOLY TRINITY DUNFERMLINE, SEPULTURE of the ROYAL FAMILY of SCOTLAND

The place selected by Malcolm and Margaret for the "*Locus-Sepulturae Regum*" of Scotland after Iona, St Columba's Isle. The remains of the pious Margaret were deposited before the Rude Altar - The Altar of the Holy Cross. This was where King Malcolm III's body was also placed. In 1249 Margaret was made a Saint and in 1250 they were both translated through the new Choir to St Margaret's Chapel and Shrine where the bones of Saint Margaret and Malcolm III rested until the Reformation. The Shrine is still visited. The re-interment of Robert the Bruce under the Pulpit of the Abbey Church can still be seen. The two stone coffins of Edward and Ethelred, sons of Malcolm III and his Queen, Margaret, can be seen in the Nave behind the great west door. Prince Robert, young son of James VI and I and Anne of Denmark, was laid to rest in the Wardlaw Tomb on the south side of the Abbey Nave.

- 1093 **Malcolm III** was slain whilst besieging the Castle of Alnwick, Northumberland, 13th November 1093. He was interred at Tynemouth Priory. His re-interment at Dunfermline took place in 1115 with great pomp and ceremony before the 'Great Altar' and secondary at the Lady Chapel of Dunfermline Abbey in 1250.
- 1093 **Margaret, Queen of King Malcolm III.** Malcolm's (second) wife died in the Castle of Edinburgh three days after her husband Malcolm on 16th November 1093 and was brought to Dunfermline by her son Ethelred and buried before the 'Rude Altar' the Altar of the Holy Cross. She became Saint Margaret in 1249 and in 1250 the Translation of St Margaret along with Malcolm III took place to the Lady Chapel in the Choir of Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1093 **Prince Edward.** Eldest son of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret. Died of a mortal wound in his 22nd year. Slain with his father at the siege of Alnwick Castle in Northumberland. His remains were brought to Dunfermline and interred near his father before the Altar of the Holy Cross.
- 1094 **Duncan II King of Scots.** He was assassinated this year, the son of Malcolm III and his first wife Inghjorg. Hostage to William the Conqueror 1072, assisted to the throne of Scotland by William II of England 1094, but after six months killed and superseded by his uncle Donald Bane; granted first extant Scottish charter. Duncan II is said to be buried at Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1098 **Prince Ethelred.** Abbot of Dunkeld, son of Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, died about this year and was interred near his mother.
- 1100 **Prince Edmund.** Second son of Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, shared the Kingdom with Donald Bane 1094-7, became a monk in England. Died about this year and interred at Dunfermline.
- 1107 **Edgar the King of Scots.** Son of Malcolm III and Queen Margaret supported Duncan II 1094, supported by William Rufus from 1095 and established on the throne by an English army 1097. He gave endowments to Durham, Coldingham, Dunfermline and St Andrews. Died at Dundee 7th January aged 33 and had reigned 9 years, he was buried before the High Altar.
- 1120 **Sibella, Queen of Alexander I.** She was the illegitimate daughter of Henry I of England, died and was buried at Dunfermline.
- 1124 **Alexander I King of Scots.** Fifth son of Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, known as 'The Fierce' from his suppression of a northern rising. Died at Stirling 26th April aged 48 and had reigned 18 years, he was buried beside his father before the High Altar. He had no legitimate children.
- 1153 **David I King of Scots.** Commonly called 'Saint David' 'the sair saunt to the crown', from the large grants he made to different Abbeys, and the great number of these which he founded and endowed all over his Kingdom. The sixth and youngest son of Malcolm III and Queen Margaret. He spent his youth in England. He died at Carlisle 27th May age 76 and had reigned for 30 years. He was found dead in a posture of devotion. Buried near his father before the Great Altar in the pavement of the Middle Choir.
- 1165 **Malcolm IV King of Scots.** Called 'The Maiden', son of Earl Henry, son of David I he succeeded his grandfather 1153. He founded Coupar Angus Abbey 1162. Died at Jedburgh 9th December age 24. He had reigned 12 years and was interred in the middle pavement of the Abbey to the right of his grandfather King David I before the High Altar. He died unmarried.
- 1184 Andrew, Bishop of Cathness formerly a Culdean Abbot of Dunkeld. Buried at Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1196 Malcolm, Earl of Athole and his wife the Countess died between 1194 and 1198. Interred in Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1274 **Margaret, Queen of Alexander III.** Daughter of Henry III of England, she was the mother of Alexander, David and Margaret, all of whom predeceased their father. She was the grandmother of the 'Maid of Noway'. She died at Cupar Castle 26th February, interred in the Choir of the Abbey of Dunfermline near King David's tomb.
- 1281 **David, Prince of Scotland.** Younger son of Alexander III died age 18 at Stirling.
- 1284 **Alexander, Prince of Scotland.** Elder son of Alexander III. Prince Alexander married Margaret of Flanders but had no issue, he died age 20 at Lindores.
- 1286 **Alexander III King of Scots.** Son of Alexander II. King Haakon of Norway attempted to reassert his authority in the west, but withdrew after the Battle of Largs. He died by falling with his horse over a high precipice between Burntisland and Kinghorn on 16th March age 44 and had reigned 36 years. He was interred in the middle part near the Presbytery. The Presbytery was situated near the east end of the new Choir, or a little to the south of the site of the pulpit of the present modern church.
- 1303 **The Mother of Sir William Wallace** was hastily buried at the spot now in the northern churchyard marked by a thorn tree. This site was that of the Abbey Churchyard Weeping Cross, destroyed at the Reformation and replaced by a tree of thorns.
- 1305 **Wallace, Sir William** second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie, Renfrewshire. Victorious at Stirling Bridge, knighted, and defeated at Falkirk. Captured by the English 1305 and executed in London 23rd August. Tradition states that some of his bodily parts were returned by the monk, John Arnold Blair and placed beside his mother in the Church of The Holy Sepulchre.
- 1327 **Elizabeth, Queen of King Robert The Bruce.** Daughter of Aymer de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, second wife of Robert I. m.1302. Died at Cullen Castle near Cullen on 26th October and was buried at Dunfermline in the Choir.
- 1329 **King Robert The Bruce.** Grandson of Robert Bruce the Competitor and son of Robert Earl of Carrick. Joined Wallace's rising. Defeated Edward II at Bannockburn. Died at Cardross Castle on the Clyde, Dumbartonshire on 7th June 1329 in the 55th year of age and 24th of his reign and was interred with great pomp and ceremony in the middle of the Choir of Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1332 Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland. He was the nephew of King Robert I. He was a leader on the field of Bannockburn in 1314. Elected Regent of Scotland on the death of King Robert I in 1329 and said poisoned by an insidious monk in 1332. He died at Musselburgh and was interred below the Lady Chapel at Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1356 **Christian De Bruce.** Sister of King Robert de Bruce and wife of the late Andrew de Moravia, the good Regent of Scotland. Buried at Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1360 William Ramsay, 14th Earl of Fife, died and was interred Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1366 **Mathilda Bruce.** Daughter of King Robert the Bruce was interred Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1403 **Annabella Drummond, Queen of Robert III.** Daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall. Died at Inverkeithing and was interred in "haly sepulture in the Abbey of Dunfermline".
- 1419 Robert Stuart, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife, Regent of Scotland, buried at Dunfermline.
- 1443 The body of a child found while pulling down the Royal Walls, buried in such a way it was as fresh and uncorrupted as the first hour when it was buried. This child was judged to be the son, who died in his infancy, of Queen Margaret.
- 1486 William Brown, Eminent Theologian and Poet, died age 90 years.
- 1499 Robert Henryson, Monk, Schoolmaster and Poet, died age 76 years.
- 1508 Johannes Scott is believed to be the now oldest legible inscription on the once lettered pavement of the Abbey Church. A man of position as the stone is so near the site of the Old Rood Altar.
- 1561 George Dury, Archdeacon of St Andrews, was the last Abbot of Dunfermline before the Reformation, son of John Dury of Dury in the County of Fife. He died or suffered martyrdom 27th January. Two years after his death he was canonized by the Church of Rome. Buried at Dunfermline Abbey.
- 1577 The Young Laird of Rosyth Buried in the Kirk of Dunfermline.
- 1584 Robert Pitcairn, the first Commendator of Dunfermline, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Secretary of State for Scotland. Died age 64 on 18th October, interred in the northeast angle of the nave in the Abbey.
- 1592 James Murray of Perdwis, a man of considerable note in his day, died 28th September and was interred in Dunfermline where his tombstone is to be seen in the lumber corner, near the south tower of the Church.
- 1598 Mr. David Ferguson, first Protestant minister of Dunfermline, died 23rd April, aged 65 years and the 38th year of his Ministry.
- 1602 **Prince Robert.** Infant son of James VI and Anne of Denmark born 1601 died 27th May and was buried in the vault given to Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie by the King and Queen in 1616.
- 1602 William Schaw 'Master of the Works' Architect to James VI died 18th April. Queen Anne ordered a monument to be erected.
- 1727 Elizabeth Halkett, Authoress of the ballad 'Hardy-Knute' she was married in 1696 to Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie and interred in the Pitreavie Burying-vault.

Many more Abbots of Dunfermline, gentry and ordinary folk are buried in Dunfermline Abbey the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.



Spinet Repro, Dunfermline

Shelia Pitcairn

# THE FORGOTTEN ROYAL TOMBS at DUNFERMLINE

## DUNFERMLINE ABBEY CHURCH



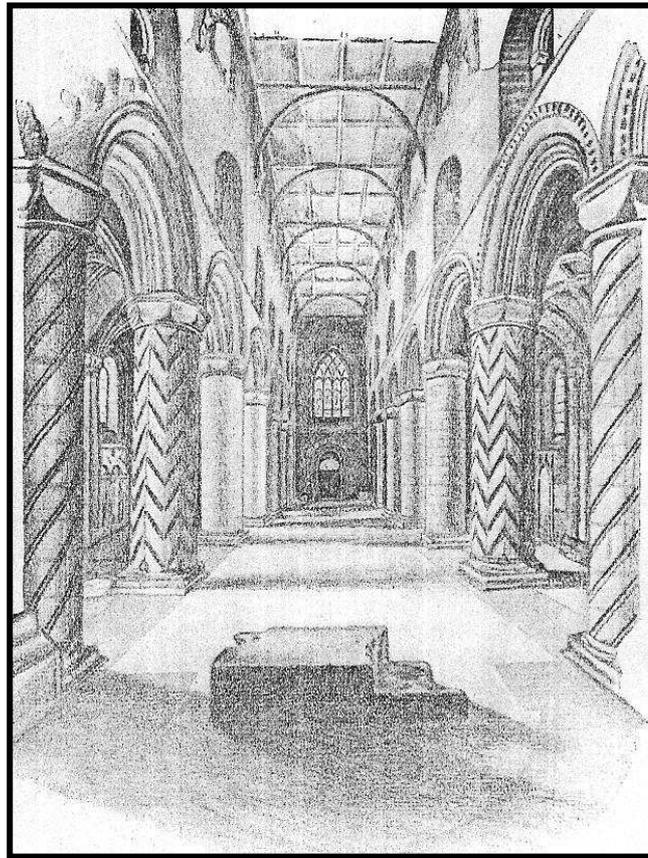
Engraved for Andrew Mercer's *History of Dunfermline*. Dunfermline, 1828.

Engraved by R. Scott, Edinburgh.

In our paper of 25th May we\* inserted a letter on 'the Royal Scottish Cemetery at Dunfermline' by M.G. Surenne, F.S.S.A. Since then, several of our contemporaries have published extracts from the papers on 'the Royal Tombs at Dunfermline,' by Dr E. Henderson of St Helens. As the subject is one of gret historical, as well as local interest, we give the following from the fullest account we can find. From a perusal it will be seen that it is now nearly 300 years since the Royal Tombs at Dunfermline were destroyed, and that hitherto, tradition has been in error when pointing out he site of the 'LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM' of history. 'Within the hallowed walls of Dunfermline Abbey were interred the mortal remains of eight Kings, five Queens, six Princes, and two Princesses of Scotland. Their once magnificent tombs have long since disappeared, not a vestige of them remains to point out the site of the ancient original "LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM." Tradition from time immemorial, has pointed to a spot, now under the floor of the north transept of the present modern church, as being "the sacred ground" where the royal remains were deposited.<sup>1</sup> Why does tradition point to this place? Probably because there lay here – uncovered until the year 1818 – six extraordinary large flat gravestones, arranged in two parallel rows; and as it was long the popular belief that there were *only* six kings interred in the Abbey, very likely at some remote period an inference was drawn that these 'the six kings;' and thus in process of time tradition would pint to these stones in this place as being the undoubted 'LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM.'

\* Scotsman.

## CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY



But never did tradition commit a more serious error. For ages tradition has been pointing to this spot as the royal burial-place, all the while tradition has been pointing to a *myth*, for the royal tombs were not here, the site of the ancient 'LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM' was not in this place – it was before the altars in the Church of the Holy Trinity. Previous to 1250 this *traditionary site* of the royal tombs *was entirely in the open air*, at some distance from this church and its altars.

In the year 1834 the writer was in Dunfermline, and he carefully examined the traditionary site of the royal tombs, and compared it with several important but hitherto over-looked facts recorded in history. After mature consideration, he came to the conclusion that this traditionary site *had no connection with the royal bury-place*; and also that there must have been *two distinct places of royal sepulture, at two different periods of time*, within the walls of the Abbey. The first series of royal interments, commencing with Margaret in 1093, were deposited before the ALTARS of the Church of 'THE HOLY TRINITY,' and that the second series, beginning with Alexander III, in 1285, were deposited in the new eastern church, finished in 1250.

The writer thinks he will place this beyond dispute, and also show that the ancient Church of 'the Holy Trinity' still exists in the western edifice of Norman architecture, now known as the 'auld kirk;' and consequently, that in front of its altars was the sacred locality selected by Malcolm the Third and Margaret his Queen, as the 'LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM' for Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> These large stones were placed here between the years 1250 and 1560. Probably they indicate the last resting place of Abbots, or of Erles, Baronys, or other grete personygis, who had in their life times given large donations, and bequeathed gifts of land to the Abbey. In 1807, Dr H. thoroughly convinced Sir John that no royal remains were ever deposited here.

The church at Dunfermline was founded by Malcolm III (Canmore) about the year 1075. Being a Culdean establishment, it was dedicated to 'The Holy Trinity,' and was likewise ordained to be the future place of royal sepulture for Scotland. This old church of 'The Holy Trinity' had a least *two altars*, viz. - THE HIGH ALTAR, and THE ALTAR OF THE HOLY CROSS. These two altars, and these two only, are all we find mentioned in ancient deeds, charters, or other historical records, as being in this church. Before 'THE HIGH ALTAR' of THIS CHURCH were interred, Edgar in 1107, Malcolm Canmore, exhumed at Tynemouth and deposited here about 1115, Alexander I, in 1124, David I, in 1153 and Malcolm IV, in 1165; and before 'THE ALTARE OF THE HOLY CROSS' were interred, Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmore, in 1093, and her three sons, Princes Edward, Etholrade, & Edmund, in 1093, 1094, an 1105 respectively. These are well ascertained facts, resting on undoubted authority. This church of 'The Holy Trinity' was raised to the dignity of an abbey by David I, and was consecrated in 1150.

The year 1250 introduces us to an entirely new era in the history of the Church at Dunfermline. In 1250 a splendid new church, in pointed gothic, with lantern tower, transepts, and 'ladye aisle,' was built to the *east* end of the Church of 'The Holy Trinity,' forming along with it, an immense ecclesiastical pile, stretching in length from east to west 276 feet. In 1250, the name, 'Holy Trinity,' as applied to the old western portion became extinct. The old church of the 'Holy Trinity' this year became a noble vestibule to the then new building joined to it on the east, and from this period to the year 1560 was called '*The Vestibule*,' sometimes '*The outer Church*,' and sometimes '*The Nave*,' as by the force of circumstances it had actually become. The new eastern edifice was very frequently called the 'Qwere' (choir), and sometimes 'The Psaltery,' and the united buildings were known by one name viz. 'Dunfermline Abbacie.' In 1250 the old church of 'The Holy Trinity,' now become the *outer church or nave*, was dismantled of its religious furniture, and the crosses, altars, images, and relics were transferred to the new building, where the daily services were now performed, accompanied by a powerful organ, supposed to have been the first introduced into public worship in Scotland. And in this same year (1250)

**A NEW HIGH ALTAR** was erected in the new eastern edifice, in 'Supra Choir.' It was before this second site, this new second High Altar, in the choir of the EASTERN CHURCH, that the Earls, Barons, Burgesses, &c. of the kingdom swore fealty to Edward I, on 22nd July 1290. It was to the south and west of this new second High Altar where the remains of Alexander III were deposited in 1285, and near to the same second High Altar the remains of Elizabeth, Queen of Robert Bruce, were interred in 1327, and in the year 1329, directly in front of the ALTAR, in 'Medio Chori,' were deposited the remains of the immortal hero of glorious memory, KING ROBERT THE BRUCE. The pulpit of the present modern church stands nearly on the site of the *second* high altar. Hitherto historians have made sad blunders when describing the royal tombs; hitherto, they have always spoken of one high altar only, and thus making it appear as if the whole of the royal remains were deposited before or around the same altar on the same site. Henceforward, therefore, let it be known, that Dunfermline Church had TWO HIGH ALTARS, AT TWO DIFFERENT PERIODS, and on TWO DISTINCT and DISTANT SITES, viz.- From 1075 to 1250 the high altar was in the Church of 'THE HOLY TRINITY;' and from 1250 to 1560, the second high altar was in the New Church on the east finished in 1250....

Since the discovery of the remains of King Robert the Bruce on 17th February, 1818, the site of the second high altar has been placed beyond the possibility of a doubt. Fordun, in the *Scotichron*, xiii. 13, says, that King Robert Bruce ‘was interred at the monastery of Dunfermline, *in the middle of the choir, with due honour;*’ and again, in *Scotichron*, xiii. 20, &c. we find that King Robert was magnificently interred *under the high altar* of the church at Dunfermline; and Barbour says he lies ‘in a fayr tumb intil the quer.’ Therefore, the precise spot where King Robert lies being known, it will be evident from the fore-going that this spot where he lies is in the MIDDLE OF THE CHOIR, under or before the HIGH ALTAR. As before noted, the site of the present pulpit: King Robert lies a few feet to the west of it. Previous to 1818 there was a raised place at this spot, a kind of dais with a few steps in front – the second high altar stood on it. Since the site of the second high altar has been determined by the tomb of Bruce, discovered in 1817, let us now determine the sites of THE OLD OR FIRST HIGH ALTAR, and ALTAR OF THE HOLY CROSS, in the Church of ;THE HOLY TRINITY.’ It is evident, in the first place, we must settle beyond dispute THE SITE of this church of ‘THE HOLY TRIITY.’ The following historical facts are well known, but have never before been brought to bear on the question, ‘Where was the site of the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline?’

The following proofs will shew, and for ever set at rest, that the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, founded about 1075, the place of original sepulchre of royalty, still exists, and is the same building now called ‘*The Auld Kirk...*’

The following is a tabular view of the royal interments in Dunfermline Abbey:-

#### KINGS.

Duncan II .....1095	David I .....1153
Edgar.....1107	Malcolm IV .....1165
Malcolm III.....1109	Alexander III .....1285
Alexander I .....1124	Robert Bruce .....1329

#### QUEENS.

Margaret .....1093	Elizabeth .....1327
Isabella .....1120	Annabella .....1403
Margaret .....1274	

#### PRINCES.

Edward .....1093	Alexander .....1280
Ethelrade .....1105	David .....1280
Edmond .....1099	Robert .....1602

#### PRINCESSES

Christina .....1356	Matildas .....1366
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For these royal interments, *vide* Fordun, Barbour, Boece, Winton, Haile’s *Annals of Scotland*, Abercrombie’s *Mart. Acts*, *Saxon Chron.*, *Chron. Melros.*, *Chron. De Lanercost*, Hay’s *Sacra Scotia*, *Carte de Dunf.*, &c. &c.

Several of the above royal interments are recorded in history, without specifying the exact place, or before which altar; in such cases the sites are left to conjecture. But we may safely conclude that the following royal remains were deposited at the east end of 'the Auld Kirk' in the vicinity of the ornamental columns, viz. – DUNCAN, EDGAR, MALCOLM III ALEXANDER I DAVID I and MALCOLM IV with QUEENS MARGARET, consort of MALCOLM III, ISABELLA, Queen of Alexander I. MARGARET, Queen of Alexander III also, Princes EDWARD, ETHELRADE, EDMOND, and ROBERT; these were all interred in the church of 'the Holy Trinity,' which has been shown to be 'the Auld Kirk;' and in the New Eastern Church, opened in 1250, lie interred ALEXANDER III. ROBERT the BRUCE; with Queens ELIZABETH, consort of Robert Bruce, and ANNABELL, Queen of Robert III as already shown.

### **ROBERT THE BRUCE TOMB**



Besides the royal interments, Dunfermline has in keeping the ashes of men who were 'great in their generation and men of renown.' The following are a few of the most conspicuous, viz.-

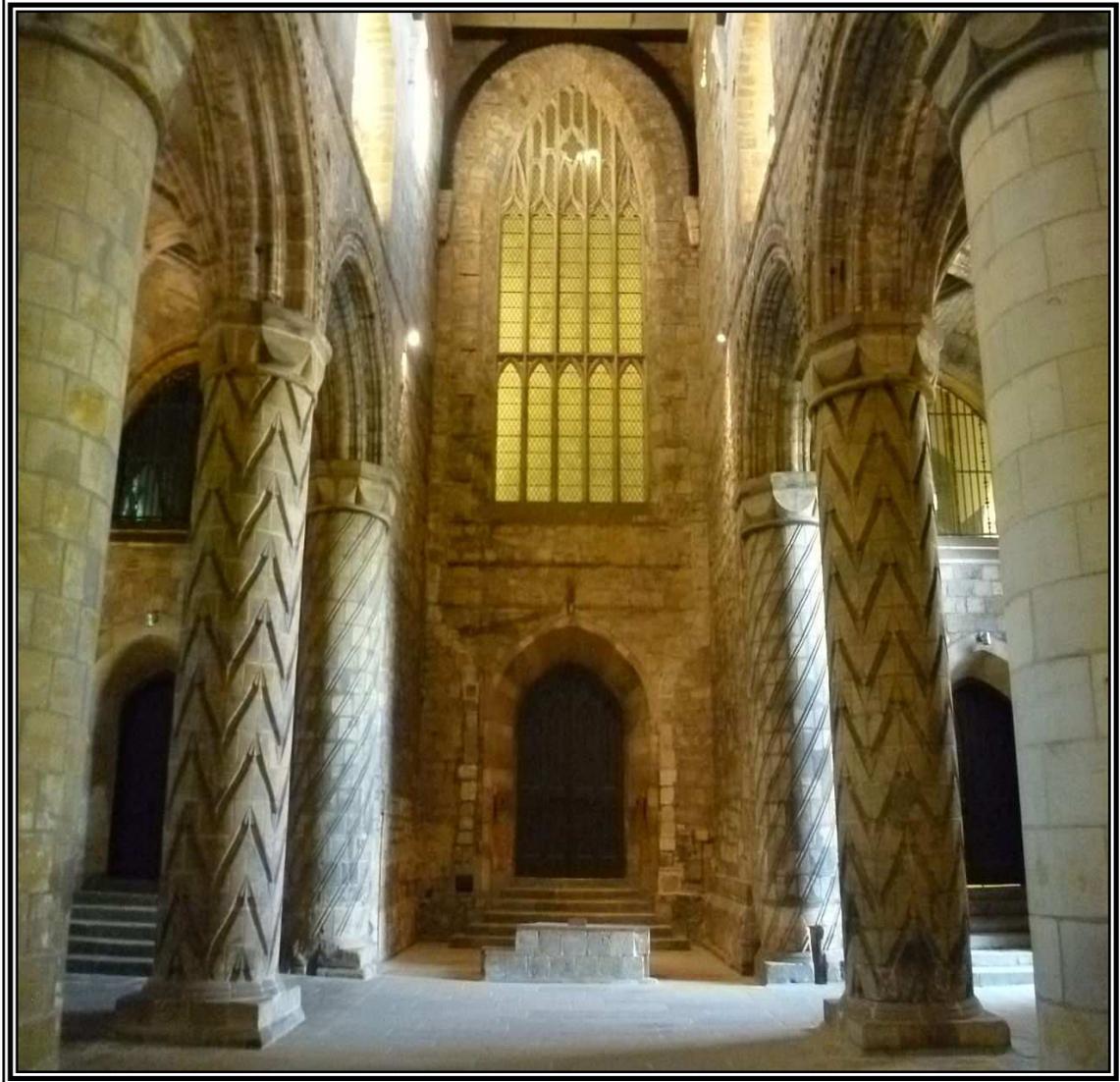
Several Abbots and other celebrated Functionaries of the Abbey; also, Malcolm Earl of Fife; Andrew Bishop of Caithness; the Earl and Countess of Athol; Thomas Randolph; Earl of Moray (the great Randolph of Bannockburn renown, he lies not far from St Margaret's tomb); Robert Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland; Robert Henryson, 'poet and schoolmaster of Dunfermline;' Robert Pitcairn, Secretary of State; David Ferguson, (Dunfermline's first Protestant minister), William Schaw, 'Maister of the Wark' (to the Abbey); Elizabeth Wardlaw, authoress of the celebrated poem, 'Hardy Canute;' Rev. Ralph Erskine; Re. Thomas Gillespie, &c. Well may the City of Dunfermline be proud of having the ashes of so many of the great and good in keeping.

IN CONCLUSION, it may be remarked that the Abbey of Dunfermline, after its destruction on 28th March 1560. lay long in ruin. The western part, which seems to have entirely escaped the wild fury of 'the Reformers' in 1560, was repaired and fitted up as a Protestant place of worship about 1562, and again in 1598-1603, by James VI when it underwent extensive repairs. In 1816 this old church was so uncomfortable and ill adapted for worship, that it was determined to have a new building erected on the east, as had been done before in 1250. A new church was accordingly founded in 1818, and opened for public worship in the end of 1821, which bears no resemblance to its magnificent predecessor; and as already noticed, '*the Auld Kirk, the original church of the Holy Trinity,*' has since 1821 been serving a second time as an *outer church* or *nave* to a *second* eastern edifice.

At a comparatively small cost a neat column might be erected at the east end of the Old Church, on the steps of its ancient Graditorium, with an inscription telling the visitor that here and around this sacred spot was the original 'LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM' from 1093 to 1250, and that here were interred the following Kings, Queens, &c. &c.; and directly in front of the pulpit of the new church another column indicating that here and around this spot was the SECOND 'LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM' FOR 1250 TO 1560, AND HERE WERE INTERRED &C. &C. If this was done we would hear no more unpleasant reflections about the royal tombs: Dunfermline would in future be exonerated from blame and apparent apathy respecting them, and the sacred building would command the proper respect and reverences of the passing traveler.

Referring back to page one, where it stated that tradition from time immemorial, has pointed to a spot, now under the floor of the north transept of the present modern church, as being "the sacred ground" where the royal remains were deposited.<sup>1</sup> Why does tradition point to this place? Probably because there lay here – uncovered until the year 1818 – six extraordinary large flat gravestones, arranged in two parallel rows; and as it was long the popular belief that there were *only* six kings interred in the Abbey, very likely at some remote period an inference was drawn that these '*the six kings;*' and thus in process of time tradition would point to these stones in this place as being the undoubted 'LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM.' (Royal Tombs at Dunfermline by E. Henderson LL.D.)

**ROYAL TOMBS DUNFERMLINE**  
**THE ORIGINAL CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY (THE NAVE)**  
**‘ROYAL LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM’ FOR SCOTLAND**



*Dunfermline's story in the history of Scotland, the Culdees link, and the effect of Macbeth being killed by Malcolm III. The destruction of Iona and King Malcolm making Dunfermline the place for Royal burials.*

## 'ROYAL LOCUM SEPULTURÆ REGIUM' FOR SCOTLAND

### ROYAL DUNFERMLINE ABBEY CHURCH



James Stewart.

Joseph Swan, engraver.

END

## CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES IN SCOTTISH HISTORY

By William H Gregg. New York 1910.

Having always taken an interest in the history of the land of my ancestors, I determined, on being freed some twenty years ago from those numerous duties devolving upon a man of affairs, to devote a considerable part of my time and effort to a research into the annals of Scotland. The work became far more involved than I had anticipated, until I ultimately found that I was delving into the annals of the remotest antiquity, such as those of the Greek and Roman writers - Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Herodotus and others. From these I was naturally led through the historical works of John Fordun, 1385; Andrew of Wyntown, 1420; John Major, 1521, Hector Boece, 1536; David Chalmers, 1556; Raphael Hollinshed, 1578; together with many others of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, not so well known as those here enumerated. These works, in the main, I found to be uniform and consistent with the oldest documents on record.

In 1729, Thomas Innes published his famous *Critical Essay*, which had been given first place in point of accuracy, fairness and impartiality, by all writers since his time. This work brought to light several documents hitherto almost inaccessible.

During the latter part of the eighteenth, and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries, a new school of writers began to appear, whose aim was apparently to evolve a new history of Scotland. *Caledonia*, by George Chalmers, published in 1807, was the first important work under the new regime; then came John Pinkerton's *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, in 1814; followed by William F. Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, in 1837, since which time there seems to have been a preconcerted movement utterly to abolish the old history of Scotland, and to replace it with the one which has contributed no new facts, nor established any documentary evidence. On the contrary, they have relied on theoretical "deductions" and so-called "conclusive arguments" as a basis for their new scheme of authorship. By accepting the works of some of these later writers, and eliminating those of an earlier period, we shall soon find ourselves in possession of a history of Scotland purely Hypothetical.

The changes effected by this coterie of authors are brought to the attention of the careful reader by the use of quotations and some three hundred facsimiles, taken from the most important of the works reviewed in this volume. This method serves a two-fold purpose - avoiding any possible charge of misquoting, incorrectly Translating or interpreting the text, and eliminating such footnotes as tend merely to divert the reader's attention.

No better illustration of this perversion of Scottish history can be found than that period of two hundred and fifty years, occupying between the reigns of Kenneth MacAlpin, A.D. 843, and Malcolm Canmore, A.D. 1093, a period long considered the most obscure in the early annals of Scotland. As the eighteen years of King Gregory's reign fall within this epoch, which has been a subject of controversy since the appearance of the *Pictish Chronicle*, in 1729, I have used it as the best illustration of my contention.

While the methods I have pursued in this volume may subject me to the criticism of having relied too freely upon quotations and facsimiles from other works, I believe no one will disagree with me that it is the only safe way in which to handle controversial subjects and since I have stated the truth as I found it, impartially and without prejudice, I feel that no apologies are necessary for my shortcomings. I believe that the new history of Scotland can be destroyed with very much less labour than was expended in building it, and that the very materials which some of the modern writers have used for its construction, can be called into play to work its easy demolition under industrious and capable direction - to which end the writer is pleased to contribute this volume.

W. H. G.

St. Louis, March 1910.

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