

BY JAMES MOIR WEBSTER





Saint Margaret's Tomb, Dunfermline Abbey Illustration from The Weaver's Craft by Daniel Thomson

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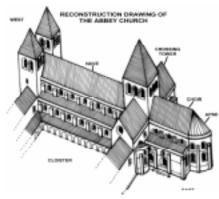
Throughout his life Dr Webster evinced the greatest interest in the historical background of Dunfermline and the immediate surrounding neighbourhood. His literary works included "History of the Parish of Carnock" and more recently, "Dunfermline Abbey." In a tribute to Dr Webster's authorship of the latter work the minister of the Abbey, the Rev. Robert Dollar, B.D., said, shortly after its publication: "He has brought all previous histories of the church up to date—and corrected a great many previous misconceptions." Dr Webster was also responsible for an introduction and notes, in conjunction with Mr A. A. M. Duncan, M.A. (Hons.), lecturer in History, Queen's University, Belfast, to a transcript of the Regality of Dunfermline Court Book, 1531-1538, which was published by the Carnegie Dunfermline Trustees in February 1953. He was also a frequent and informative contributor to *The Dunfermline Press* on a variety of topics related to the history of the burgh and its environs.

In November 1952 his jubilee as an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland was marked when he was the guest of honour at a Presbytery lunch where he was made the recipient of a gift subscribed to by fellow Presbyters. When he received his Doctorate degree from Aberdeen University in 1950 members of the Presbytery and friends in the parishes of Carnock and Dunfermline North presented him with a D.D. hood and cap to mark the honour conferred upon him.

SAINT MARGARET'S SHRINE

BY J. M. WEBSTER





An Artist's impression of The Auld Kirk of 1072

Artist's impression of Church of the Holy Trinity completed 1115

Though documentary evidence is naturally somewhat scanty, it is generally accepted that the early kings of Scotland were buried in Iona. After Iona had been ravaged by the Northmen, the succession fell upon Dunfermline. Boethius, the first Principal of the University of Aberdeen, and the author of one of the earliest histories in Scotland, is at pains to make it clear that this was no mere accident, but a deliberate intention, - "that it (Dunfermline) should be hereafter the common cemetery of Scottish Kings".

It is not to be inferred from this that, from the time of Malcolm Canmore, every Scottish king, without exception, was buried in Dunfermline. But for two hundred years and more the majority of them were, and not only kings but their families and a host of other notabilities, both civil and ecclesiastical.

This practice of burying the dead within the walls of a church, particularly a monastic church, was very prevalent in pre-Reformation days and, in view of the importance attached to prayers for the dead, quite understandable; for in a monastic church such prayers were being offered almost day and night. So valuable was this right of sepulture reckoned that, right down almost to the Reformation, considerable sums of money, or their equivalent in lands, were often given to secure it.

In 1235 Alexander II gave the monks of Balmerino an income equivalent to about £800 [modern money in 1950s] for the burial of his mother.

Randolph, Earl of Moray, gave the lands of Cullalo (Aberdour) to Dunfermline Abbey that prayers might be offered there for the soul of his late uncle (Robert the Bruce) (Reg. 243), and the lands of Kineddar and Bandrum (Saline) for prayers for his own ancestors and successors, (Reg, 245), and, as he himself was buried in Dunfermline (E.R. i. 433) it may safely be assumed that he must have given other lands to secure that right. In the second half of the 15th century James III gave to Cambuskenneth the revenues of a whole parish for the burial of himself and his Queen. (Note: - Reg. = Registrum – The Chartulary of Dunfermline. E.R. = Exchequer Rolls)

On hygienic grounds the Reformers objected to the practice but found difficulty in putting a speedy end to it, as is evidenced by the fact that, some considerable time after the Reformation, two lairds of Rosyth were buried in the Nave of Dunfermline Abbey under cover of night and threat of armed force.

That Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, his Queen, were both buried in Dunfermline is not really in doubt. In dealing, however, with events that happened so long ago one had to reckon not only with a certain amount of dubiety with regard to dates, but with definite statements that are sometimes contradictory, and, as regards the death and burial of Malcolm Canmore, this difficulty is very much in evidence.

There is general agreement that he met his death at Alnwick in 1093 as the result of an ambush, but as to what happened afterwards there is considerable difference of opinion.

Simon of Durham tells us that, after the dispersal of his troops no one being left to cover his remains, his body was laid on a cart by two poor men who conveyed it to Tynemouth.

The Addimenta to the History of Matthew Paris (p.199.) says that his body was interred in the Priory of Tynemouth in a way befitting his rank at the instance of Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, the founder of the Priory.

The Chronicle of Alnwick gives a much more detailed account, explaining that he was killed by a lance in the hand of a man called Hamond, at the time constable of Eustace de Vosci (progenitor of the Percys). "At all events", it goes on, "Malcolm fell near a spring, in land called Quarrelflat (afterwards given to Alnwick Abbey, but now within the Manor of Alnwick), to which his name was for ages afterwards attached, it being called Malcolm's Well. Eustace de Vosci, who succeeded his father in 1185, appears from the Chronicle of Alnwick Abbey to have founded upon the abovementioned spot the chapel and hospital of St. Leonard for the soul of Malcolm, grandfather of the donor's wife. The well is not now known, but the spot where the hospital stood is marked by a modern cross with this inscription: - 'King Malcolm's Cross decayed by time was restored by his descendant, Elizabeth, Dutchess of Northumberland, 1774'. The pedestal and capital of the old cross still remain among the adjoining trees'. (Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, ii.83)

The above account commends itself by its seeming reasonableness and by its reference to facts whose credibility can be tested. But they are not all like that.

The <u>Addimenta</u>, to which we have already referred, goes on to say under date 1257 that the Scots having afterwards boldly (frontose) demanded the body of their king, the body of a certain countryman of Saethtune was given to them instead, and so the malapertness (improbitas) of the Scots was deceived, - "afterwards", but with no indication as to date.

For this most unlikely story the author offers no authority whatever. He does not even try to buttress it by particulars that could be confirmed or denied. It may safely be dismissed as unworthy of serious consideration.

The same cannot be said, however, about the following circumstantial story told by Mr. John Stuart, F.S.A., author of the article already referred to as appearing in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

"In the year 1247, while new foundations were in course of being dug for additional buildings at Tynemouth, two skeletons were discovered, one of a tall person, the other of one of lesser stature. Ralph de Dunham, who was at that time Prior of Tynemouth, supposed these skeletons to be the remains of Malcolm and his son Edward, but he seems to have been ignorant of all the circumstances connected with the death and burial of these personages. It appears that, about

the same time, Ralph de Dunelmo, a monk of Kelso, had come to Tynemouth where he was hospitably entertained by the convent. During his stay the Prior related to him the finding of the skeletons, with his conjecture as to their being the bones of Malcolm and his son, but he requested his guest that if, on his return, he could find notice in any authentic record of the mode of the king's death or the place of his burial, he would communicate the result to him by letter.

The answer of the monk of Kelso is preserved in a volume which belonged to the prior to whom it was addressed and, having been given by him to the convent, is now in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum"

The letter concludes: - "Those things I have thought proper to signify to you because his body appears to be interred with you; whose soul, if it please you, aid with prayers and cause his bones to be deposited in a more fitting place, as you promised." The date of this letter is probably 1257.

Mr. Gibson, author of a History of Tynemouth, in reference to this letter, adds: - "It is probable that Prior Ralph did piously cause the bones of this royal Malcolm to be deposited in a more fitting place within the conventual church; and the canopied tombs that face each other at the eastern end of the chancel, on one of which a recumbent effigy remains, have been conjectured to be the monuments of the prior's religious attention to his promise."

A circumstantial story! Yes. But difficult to reconcile with the statement by Fordun (v.25.) that the remains of Malcolm were exhumed by his son Alexander I (i.e. before 1124) and brought for burial to Dunfermline, and with the well-vouched-for fact that both Malcolm's body and Margaret's were interred in 1250 in the tomb specially prepared for Margaret at the east end of the Conventual Church.

Fordun's phrase "after many years" may have to be somewhat modified, as the period could not have exceeded 30 years, Malcolm having been killed in 1093 and Alexander having died in 1124; but otherwise the statement is not seriously contested.

There still remains, however, the thorny question of where exactly Malcolm's bones were interred when they were brought from Tynemouth to Dunfermline. The latest published statement on the subject is that of Mr. Francis C. Eeles in Dr. Beveridge's <u>Burgh Records</u> (xxxiv.) which runs as follows: -

"St Margaret and Malcolm had thus been buried near the High Altar of the old church, - St. Margaret probably in the middle, Malcolm on the north side of the sanctuary, further east, sub testudine archuali, - that is to say, in a position that afterwards came to be beneath one of the north arches of the 1150 nave." It cannot be said that this is a particularly convincing statement. It begins by saying, in effect, that they were both buried in Queen Margaret's Church and it ends by saying that Malcolm's grave was under one of the north arches of the Nave. Now a glance at the outline of Queen Margaret's Church as revealed by the excavations of 1916 shows beyond question that every single arch and bay of the Nave lay outside Queen Margaret's Church; so that, if this grave was under one of the north arches of the Nave, he cannot have been buried in Queen Margaret's Church. It cannot even be pleaded that, in burying his father where the Nave would afterwards be, Alexander was but acting on a reasonable anticipation of what his brother David would do when he came to the throne. How could he be sure that David would outlive him?

We are therefore faced with the alternative, - either that Malcolm was buried in the little church that he had employed Aelric, the Saxon Master-mason, to build for his Queen, or that he was not buried in any church, - for there was no other church at that time in Dunfermline, - and, in view of the extreme difficulty we find in accepting the suggestion that Alexander brought his father's bones back from Tynemouth to bury them <u>outside</u> the church where Margaret lay, we're inclined to the belief that he was buried beside her.

The story of Margaret's death and burial is easier to follow. She was lying critically ill in Edinburgh Castle and, on receipt of the news of the death of Malcolm and Edward, almost immediately expired. Donald Bain, her husband's brother, was known to be in the neighbourhood with a body of troops and there were grave doubts among her attendants as to the possibility of conveying her body to Dunfermline, but thanks to the intervention of a heavy mist, it was conveyed by stealth through a postern which Winton calls the "west yhet", down the steep western side of the Castle Rock, across the Forth by the Ferry that bears her name and safely laid to rest in the little church she had, soon after her marriage, persuaded Malcolm to build for her.

The exact spot cannot be indicated with certainty because her church was in time replaced by the Nave of the Abbey Church, and, in the course of the centuries, the Nave itself has suffered change.

All the old chroniclers, however, agree that she was buried in front of the altar in her own church. In course of time this would become, or be replaced by, the High Altar of the Nave, but there was another altar, the Rood Altar, in the immediate neighbourhood and, according to some, it was before this altar that her body lay. As we are frequently assured that "the Rood Altar was situat near the High Altar" it probably would not make much difference either way.

Was there any memorial to mark the spot? It is difficult to answer offhand "Yes" or "No". Whatever may have been the position "furth of Scotland", it is practically certain that there was no sculptor in Scotland in the year 1093 who could have been entrusted with the erection of a memorial of the kind.

But it is worth noting that Roger of Hoveden when telling how William the Lion, uncertain whether or not to commit himself to another invasion of England, resolved to spend a night in prayer and meditation before the shrine of his ancestress Queen Margaret, the word he used was not the usual "tumba" but "feretrum".

Now, "feretrum" is a Latin word meaning "a bier or litter" and a ferertory shrine is one that can be carried in procession, - a shrine, that is, that is portable.

The use of the word "feretrum", therefore, in this connection would seem to suggest that near the grave of Queen Margaret, or above it, was a casket containing relics of the Queen capable of being used for processional purposes. That there were various possessions of hers that came in time to be regarded with special veneration, some of them even to be credited with supernatural powers, is amply vouched for.

"The shirt (shift, nightdress) of St. Margaret, queen of Malcolm III, was long a cherished relic at Dunfermline. It was carried to Mary of Gueldres at the time of the birth of James III. This appears from the Account of the Bailies of Inverkeithing rendered in Exchequer 19 July 1451, for the year then ended ...

A similar payment is entered by the Treasurer for sending it to Queen Margaret at the time of the birth of James V." (Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, i. lxxiii.)

So then, the existence of such a casket in connection with Queen Margaret's tomb is quite a probability, but a permanent memorial is a somewhat different matter.

Fordun, it is true, speaks of a stone monument, but the Dictionary of National Biography translates the words as a stone-coffin, which is much more likely and would not in any way conflict with the idea of a portable casket as suggested.

The next stage in the story of the Shrine is what is known as the "*Translation*". When her own church, in which she was first buried, was replaced by the Nave, the change did not, we may be sure, involve any interference with her grave. But when the Conventual Church was finished in 1250, it was resolved to mark the occasion by transferring the remains of St. Margaret (she was canonised by the Pope about this time) to the sepulchre specially prepared for her at the east end. This so-called "*Translation*" was effected, according to the Chartulary of Dunfermline (P.235.) in presence of Alexander III, seven bishops and seven earls of Scotland. Who the seven earls were is not recorded, but, according to an entry in the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland (i.83.) the seven bishoprics represented were St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunblane, Brechin, Ross and Caithness.

Conjectural drawing of Dunfermline Abbey in the time of Alexander III, with Saint Margaret's Chapel At the east end on the left.

Dunfermline Abbey c.1620 (East section Choir) of Abbey and St Margaret's Shrine in ruin.

"Fordun, who gives the date as 19th June, 1250, tells us that the king and the queen, his mother, with bishops and abbots, earls and barons, and other good men, both clerics and laymen, in great numbers met at Dunfermline and took up in great state the bones of the blessed Margaret, sometime Queen of Scots, out of the stone monument where they had lain through a long course of years (157 to be exact) and laid them with the deepest devoutness in a shrine of deal set with gold and precious stones." (Skene, Celtic Scotland, i.491).

Without exception, the chroniclers tell us of an unexpected hitch that occurred in the course of the carefully pre-arranged proceedings. There are differences in detail, but the substance of the story is the same. The men deputed to lift the bones of St. Margaret had no more than started on their processional journey towards the Eastern Church when, on reaching Malcolm's

grave they were unable to proceed further. The assembled multitude was struck dumb with amazement, until someone suggested that it might be well to take her husband's bones too. Acceptance of this suggestion at once ended the dilemma, and both bodies were buried in the same grave.

In view of the profound veneration in which Margaret's name was held - increasing as time went on, - it goes without saying that the new tomb prepared for her would be in every possible way worthy of the purpose for which it was intended, and it does not seem unreasonable to expect that now, at least, something would be done in the way of erecting a permanent memorial.

In telling of her first burial in 1093 we questioned the likelihood of finding any Scots architect or sculptor of sufficiently outstanding gifts and experience to be entrusted with a commission of the kind; and even in 1250 there might have been some difficulty.

But an English one could certainly have been found; for, some thirteen years before this date, we find in the Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland a wealth of detail concerning the tomb of another Queen of Scotland, Joanna, wife of Alexander II, and sister of Henry III of England.

According to this Calendar, King Henry directs the Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset to have the image of a Queen cut in marble and carried to Tharente of the Nuns, there to be placed beyond the tomb of the King's sister, the late Queen of Scotland. The Sheriff of Wilts is likewise commanded to pay for the marble tomb which Master Elias de Derham is making at Salisbury and with all haste to cause it to be taken to Tarrente, there to cover the body of Johanna, late Queen of Scotland; and the Sheriff of Dorset is further directed to provide out of the issues of his county two wax candles constantly burning, viz. one at the head of the late Queen of Scotland, the King's sister, and the other before the High Altar in the Conventual Church of Tharente; While fifteen wax candles are kept constantly burning, by the king's directions, at the Mass of the Blessed Mary, and one thousand scholars fed, in addition to as many poor as could enter the king's greater and lesser Halls at Westminster, - all for the soul of Johanna, late Queen of Scots. Tarrant Abbey, at the same time, is granted by the king various exemptions and privileges, including the right to elect their own Abbess, that prayers may be offered for the weal of the king's soul, for the souls of his ancestors and successors, and for the soul of Johanna, formerly Queen of Scotland, his, sister.

(Elias de Derham, above referred to, was an English architect of considerable standing. John H. Harvey in his "Henry Yevele" says of him:

"Whether directly or indirectly, Derham's influence was responsible for the design of Salisbury Cathedral begun in 1220, the West Front of Wells Cathedral, the great Hall of Winchester Castle begun about 1232, and the Chapel of the Nine Altars at Durham started about 1242.")

It is true that all this was done by a king of England, but, by the beginning of the next century, there is abundant evidence to show that the embellishment of royal tombs was a common enough occurrence even in Scotland. In 1329, for example, we find a marble memorial being ordered from Paris for King Robert the Bruce, while he was still alive, and payments being made to Thomas of Charteris, who seems to have been in charge of the funeral arrangements; to the workman who brought the tomb from Paris via Bruges to Dunfermline; to the mason who erected it and to John of Lithgow, the painter, who gilded and decorated it, and so on. (Vide "Dunfermline Abbey, p. 34")

In 1368 a sum of £10 was paid by the Exchequer for two stones for the tomb of Queen Margaret under construction at Dunfermline and for their carriage from London. (E.R. ii.300).

(NOTE; - In "Dunfermline Abbey", pages 23/4, reference is made to these stones as if they were for the Shrine of St. Margaret. This is a mistake. The stones were for a tomb for Queen Margaret (Margaret Logie second wife of David II,) which was under construction at Dunfermline during the lifetime of that queen, - a very different person – aunt of Annabella Drummond, the Queen of Robert III), she had been previously married to Sir John Logie. She was eventually divorced by David II (possibly on grounds of consanguinity) and appealing to the Pope got reversal of the decree, but by that time the king was dead. David II was buried at Holyrood. Queen Margaret died near London 14 August 1362. Where she was buried is unknown. Of the tomb erected for her at Dunfermline, if ever it was finished, there is no known trace).

For David's own tomb we have references in Ryder's Foedera (Vi. 721), according to which William Guppill and Andrew Paynton "de Scotia" were given protection and safe-conduct to go overseas for a tombstone for King David de Bruys; while another passport was issued to Mag(ister) W. de Patrington (an important English sculptor who worked at Westminster), John de Walseley and Geoffrey Mason, with 3 mates, going to Scotland concerning the erection of a certain tomb; and in 1373 Andrew Payntoun, William Clark and John of Edinboro had permission to go through England to Flanders, with 4 mates, for certain black stones for the tomb of David de Bruyis.

Further entries in the Exchequer Rolls show in 1377 payment made to Nicholas, Mastermason, for making and sculpturing a tomb for our lord the king, who now is (presumably Robert III); while Andrew, the painter, is paid for his work on the tombs of Robert II and his father and mother (Walter Steward and Marjory Bruce).

In 1394 this same Nicholas gets £20 for his work the year before (doubtless for work on royal tombs, the payment being made from the King's Exchequer), and that same year there is a curious reference to a stone which had been taken from the tomb of the deceased Robert II in St. John's Church, Perth, and conveyed to Scone. (iii.348).

(NOTE: - Nicholas was a Scotsman, designed as "of Hane" (de Hana) and variously described as the King's Mason, the King's Macer and Custumar (Collector of Customs) at Stirling. Andrew, the painter, was also a Scotsman, and was employed by Abbot Reid to decorate the Abbey Church of Kinloss).

In view of the particulars above-given concerning royal tombs, it is disappointing beyond measure to be unable to find so much as a single reference to the most historically interesting of them all, Saint Margaret's Shrine. And yet, strangely enough, it is the only one of them all of which any material trace remains.

That the massive limestone blocks, which clearly constituted the base of it, were intended to carry an elaborate superstructure is evident; but what was the nature of that superstructure, or who was the sculptor of it, we have simply no idea. We cannot even suggest with any confidence an approximate date for its erection.

The base-stones themselves tell us next to nothing. According to Dr. Chalmers (I.126.) There are to be seen on the upper stone "six indentures which tradition says, are the prints of candlesticks in which candles were kept burning" In Dr. Beveridge's Burgh Records (xxxvii) we are told that "on the upper surface are six shallow depressions (with halves of two others also showing at the truncated west end), each roughly 7 inches wide, evidently made to receive the bases of as many shafts which supported the upper part of the shrine".

[The shrine is made from Frosterly Marble of fossilised seashells millions of years old, brought from a place called Frosterly near Durham, especially for the Royal Burial. Only the Frosterly marble base of the shrine survives, together with the base of the outer chapel walls.]

No matter, which we accept, but we are not much nearer to an understanding of the nature of the superstructure.

Nor do we learn much from the Chartulary. In addition to a letter from the Pope, 21 September 1246, and granting yearly relaxation of forty days to penitents who visited the greater church of Dunfermline on her (St. Margaret's) Day (Reg. 291), the Chartulary contains three references to her shrine. All three belong approximately to the same period (1300) and all are in the same terms: - "to the honour of God and of the blessed Andrew, our patron, and of the blessed Queen Margaret, to whose remains there (people) come in pilgrimage."

The word translated "remains" might with equal probability be rendered as "relics" or "reliquary". If we accept either of the latter two, it would suggest that the "feretrum" (portable shrine) Hoveden referred to in connection with the grave in her own church had been "translated" with her to the new tomb or a new one provided to take its place.

The shrine as it stands to day is described by Mr. James Shearer, R.S.A., as follows:

[&]quot;Of the foundation walls of the Chapel as they now exist, only a few areas of the original masonry survive. A good deal of the masonry now visible consists of repair work executed at a much late date, - quite possibly when the new church was built in 1818.

DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



The Nave with the -New Abbey Church dedicated 1821.

The moulded flag-stone course on the inside of the south and east foundation walls is authentic, and parts survive of the double splayed external base. Returns of this base at the south east corner of the building indicate the type of angle buttress used in these positions.

On the south foundation wall also can be seen the original moulded bases of the slender stone columns which supported the wall arcading; but whether these bases remain in their original positions along this wall may be regarded as doubtful, because the presence of a five feet arch centre in a series of arches at three feet centres is difficult to account for in the kind of arcade in which it occurs, and suggests the possibility that those bases were somewhat casually re-set at the time the foundation walls were being repaired.

Enough of the original foundation walls remain, however, to give, with at least some approach to accuracy, the original dimensions of the Chapel and to indicate the date of its erection."

The rest of the story may be left to Papebroch.

"Before 1567, - he says, - her (St. Margaret's) head was brought to Mary Stuart in Edinburgh, and, on Mary's flight into England, it was preserved by a Benedictine monk in the house of the laird of Dury till 1597, when it was given to the missionary Jesuits. By one of these, John Robie, it was conveyed to Antwerp, where John Malden, the bishop, on 15th Septr 1620, issued letters of authentication and licence to expose it for the veneration of the faithful. In 1627 it was removed to the Scots College at Douay where Herman, Bishop of Arras, and Boudout, his successor, again attested its authenticity. On 4th March 1645, Innocent X granted a plenary indulgence to all who visited it on her festival. In 1785 the relic was still venerated at Douay, but it is believed to have perished in the French Revolution.

Her remains, according to George Conn, the author of "<u>Do Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos</u>", Rome, 1628, were acquired by Philip II, King of Spain, along with these of Malcolm, who placed them in two urns in the Chapel of St. Laurence in the Escurial.

When Bishop Gillies, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh, applied, through Pius X, for their restoration to Scotland, they could not be found."

A pencilled note on the margin of the second volume of the Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquarians, in the Central Library, Dunfermline, indicates that a later application in 1863 was successful, and that the remains are now in St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh.

Sheriff Aeneas Mackay, after detailing these particulars, except the pencilled note, in his article on Queen Margaret in the Dictionary of National Biography, concludes with the remark that the value of these statements varies according to religion and temperament from the implicit belief of Papebroch to the mocking scepticism of Mr Burton (Hill Burton, the historian).

Happily, it is still possible to turn to other memorials, to St. Margaret's Stone, between St. Margaret's Hope and Dunfermline, and, still more precious, St. Margaret's Gospel-book, so romantically preserved and still in such wonderful condition. [A facsimile copy can be found Dunfermline Carnegie Library]

Two leaves from the book of the Gospels which belonged to St. Margaret of Scotland.

Note: - The sure possession of these memorials, whose authenticity cannot be called in question, somewhat lessons the sense of regret that so much else has disappeared.

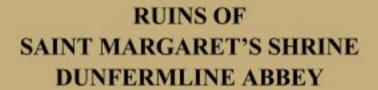


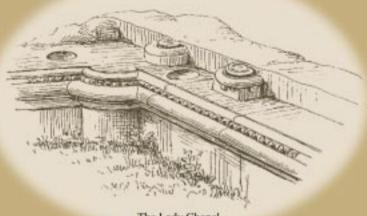
Re-interpretation of the lost Head Shrine Reliquary of Saint Margaret of Scotland
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