

Christian Days and Knights: The Religious Devotions and Court of

David II of Scotland, 1329-71.¹

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Abstract

This article surveys the development of the religious devotions and court life of David II of Scotland (1329-71). Using contemporary government and chronicle sources it discusses David's favour to a wide range of chivalric and pious causes, many with special personal resonance for the second Bruce king. This patronage attracted widespread support for his kingship after 1357. However, such interests also had political motivation for David, namely his agenda of securing a peace deal with Edward III of England and overawing his Scottish magnate opponents. His political circumstances meant that his legacy of chivalric and religious patronage were obscured after his early death.

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Edward III (1327-77) was celebrated by late medieval writers as a king in the biblical style: as an exemplar of Christian virtue, a warrior and generous patron of the church, founder of several royal chapels and of the knights' Order of St George. Similarly, Philip VI of France (1328-50) received praise for the time and energy he dedicated to attempting to organise a Pan-European crusade to recover the Holy Land, attracting hundreds of European knights, Counts, Princes and lesser kings to his realm in the 1330s. Meanwhile, Robert I of Scotland (1306-29) was lamented by his subjects after death as a ruler 'as gentle as [St] Andrew...[with] the strength of Samson...the steadfast faith of Simon...', as well as 'like Hector in warfare...the rose of chivalry' and a man who longed to make pilgrimage to the Holy Land as his grandfather had done; he could only do so posthumously.²

In the illustrious company of such confident, almost fatherly, kings, it is perhaps little wonder that chroniclers of the period include, in their epitaphs for David II of Scotland (1329-71), only a few remarks upon the second Bruce king's personal and public piety or his ecclesiastical and chivalric patronage.³ Yet relative to his resources, David's favour to the Scottish church and to Christian works in general was arguably as extensive as that of his aforementioned royal peers and predecessors, men who besides had a profound influence upon David's nonetheless very individual court style.

The early fifteenth century writers, Prior Andrew Wyntoun of St Serf's, Lochleven in west-central Fife, and Abbot Walter Bower of the Abbey-island of

Inchcolm in the Forth, certainly noted David's desire to sponsor or participate in renewed crusades to recover the Holy Land for western Christendom, like Philip VI and his own Bruce grandfather and father before him. This was an urge which had a practical or martial, rather than a spiritual, impact on David's kingdom. Wyntoun described David as:

Often Justyng, dansing and playing...
He raid with faire court throu all his land...
...chevalrous and worthy,
Forthy he schupe him halely
On Goddis fais to travale,
And for that way he can him traill,
Had he nocht been preventyt with deid.

Bower stressed that David wanted:

to set out for the Holy Land to tame the ferocity of the Pagans with all his might: and determined to go over there with a military force and to end his life in the Promised Land. As evidence of this pious intention David had shown favour and affection to a great and exaggerated extent to his knights and men-at-arms who were very numerous at this time, who had been enlisted for undertakings of this kind. On this account he had assigned and granted to the same men broad estates and grants of knighthood.'⁴

David's patronage to a close circle of knights of crusading or mercenary reputation has been illustrated elsewhere: notably, the king planted such men and their extensive armed followings in sensitive localities and offices in Scotland – as well as the royal household - in opposition to his great magnate opponents, in particular Robert Stewart, his nephew and heir presumptive.⁵ But does this favour and, more especially, David's patronage of the church, also reflect a genuine and heart-felt piety on the king's part? Can we positively identify a side of David first hinted at by Jean Froissart, the Hainault chronicler of chivalric and christian deeds who stayed with the king of Scots in 1365?

Froissart explains David's building of a church at St Monans in the east neuk of Fife as thanks given for that relatively obscure Irish saint's response to personal prayers to remove a painful arrow barb from the king's head (sustained in battle against England at Neville's Cross near Durham in 1346): David was thus relieved of headaches at the full moon. Another tradition holds that David founded the church of St Monan after being saved from shipwreck presumably while crossing the Forth from North Berwick to

Earlsferry.⁶ Yet is it the case that for a monarch even such an apparently spontaneous, unconventional religious act has to have a secular motive, a political value? In this sense can David's actions be equated with those of Edward III whose religious patronage was designed usually to bring esteem for the crown and immediate support for the king's person and policies as well as to leave a pious legacy to offset worldly sins and to outlive its progenitor?⁷

David II was certainly open to several strong formative channels of religion and royal piety from an early age. His father, Robert I, granted extensive patronage to both secular churchmen and the religious houses of Scotland after 1306. This was an effective means of winning support from this crucially influential estate for a usurper Bruce regime which had launched itself after a sacrilegious murder. Just as Scottish churchmen played a crucial role in Robert's government, diplomacy and propaganda, so that king made expert use of the political value of his veneration. He favoured Arbroath Abbey - dedicated to that thorn in the English crown, St Thomas à Beckett - as the seat of his chancery; he carried the relics of one of Scotland's christian founders, St Columba, into battle in 1314; he oversaw the consecration of a 'national' Cathedral at St Andrews with his great ally, Bishop William Lamberton, in 1318; Robert's regime made intelligent use of references to Scotland's loyalty to Rome and the crusades in its appeals to the Papacy; his 1329 pilgrimage to Whithorn and the shrine of St Ninian allowed him with his last breaths to appeal for support in turbulent south-west Scotland. Lastly, his corpse's burial at Dunfermline was a predictable identification of the Bruce line with its claimed dynastic predecessor, Alexander III, and the royal house of MacMalcolm; the burial of Robert's heart at Melrose in the east march could serve as a reminder of past defeats to invading English armies.⁸

Nonetheless, Robert's inclination towards these actions and other saints do reflect his sincere belief as a man of his times in such intercessionary powers and the will of God. In Annandale the first Bruce king maintained his grandfather's tradition of offerings to St Malachy O'Moore, another early medieval Irish buried at Clairvaux, so as to right an old Bruce family wrong; he also granted lands to Strathfillan parish church in Perthshire after that area, home to the arm-bone of St Fillan, had sheltered the exhausted rump of his outlawed followers in 1306; and his pilgrimage to St Ninian in 1329 - and his

request that Douglas take his heart on crusade then see it interred in Melrose Abbey - whilst the convention for such a Prince, also reflected Bruce's genuine belief that he had deeds to answer for after death.⁹

When taken together with the lifetime achievements of Robert I himself – for example, his birth, coronation and death dates as well as the battle of Bannockburn, anniversaries which succeeding Scottish kings were surely expected to mark by leading their household and court to attend masses or other ceremonial – then it can be said that David II inherited an undeniably weighty legacy of religious and other forms of commemorative behaviour to live up to in Scotland. His father had also used extensive and well calculated royal patronage to build up a network of loyal agents in the localities and a strong royal household, well attended by significant Scottish magnates, knights, esquires and clerics.¹⁰ Acceding as an infant, David may have been well versed in such practices through the tutoring of Regent Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray (1329-32), the clergy of St Andrews (while David lived at the bishop's manor of Inchmurdoch in east Fife) or the Dominican friars recorded in his household c. 1324-34.¹¹

But renewed Anglo-Balliol invasion forced David to spend his far-more impressionable adolescence in exile in the France of Philip VI. Here he grew to manhood in a country geared up since 1328 to the first Valois king's commitment to launch a fresh European crusade to recover the Holy Land. From the Bruce Scots' point-of-view, giving Philip a promise that David and his subjects would join several other European princes under his command brought them continued French refuge, supplies, cash and offers of expeditions to Scotland to fight off the Anglo-Balliol invaders.¹² David was as yet probably still too young to take the cross himself. Nonetheless, he does give the impression of having absorbed much of the heady glamour, colour and energy of the massed chivalry on display in 1330s Europe, taking part as he did in Philip's stand-off against the arrayed forces of Edward III at Buironfesse in Flanders in 1339. But the Scottish king may also have been influenced by some of the religious motives he encountered while staying at Château Gaillard near Rouen, a rock bound fortress built by the crusading Richard I of England and lying along a popular pilgrimage route into Europe. As a French royal administrative post and prison in the fourteenth century, Gaillard also lay in an area peppered with chapels and shrines dedicated with anti-

Plantagenet fervour to Beckett. David seems to have found an ally in the Archbishop of Rouen, Pierre Roger – president of Philip VI's *Chambre des Comptes* - who would go on to become Pope Clement VI (1342-52). David's household Dominicans may also have moulded his thinking at this time for in 1340 he paid for masses for his soul to be said at their Chapter General in Milan.¹³

It is likely, though, that when David returned to Scotland in June 1341, aged seventeen, his faith - whilst conventionally regal and pious - was as yet little influenced by any immediately personal experience or agenda. Tradition has it that he founded a Carmelite chapel at the sight of his low-key landfall, the small town of Inverbervie in Angus, again to give thanks for safety from near shipwreck.¹⁴ But this may be a retrospective insertion of an association with a king who really only in later life projected a far more assured, well-rounded, patriarchal image of regal piety and patronage.

During his 'first kingship' as an adult, however, only infrequent traces of such a monarch are apparent. David issued many confirmations and fresh grants to the cathedrals and monastic houses of Scotland, including an extended regality to the Augustinian Abbey of Holyrood (which he visited on several occasions) along with the right to provide chaplains for the royal household: such a flurry of grants might be expected after the wartime disruption and royal absence of the last decade. Probably in the same manner between 1341 and 1346, David visited Dominican religious houses at Elgin and Ayr, and the Cistercians at Kinloss, while he conducted government business.¹⁵ But until his capture at Neville's Cross in October 1346 David was undoubtedly more interested in cultivating his image as a leader in war against England, attracting the support of men of chivalry with generous land grants, cross-border raids and tournaments for knights and esquires who had earned their spurs against England in the 1330s, men like Sir Malcolm Fleming of Biggar, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, William Douglas of Lothian and Maurice Murray of Drumsergard. The adherence of significant numbers of such laymen enabled David to gain the upper hand over his domestic magnate opponents after 1343. Amidst this, the only visible evidence of personal piety displayed by the king comes in 1342 when David paid for masses to be said for the soul of his brother, John Bruce, who had died in infancy and been buried at the Augustinian priory at Restenneth in Angus (where a formal Council was held in 1342).¹⁶

It was not then until the king entered the war against England on a large scale in 1346 that he indulged in pious actions on a grander scale with an obviously political or dynastic motivation. Tradition has it that in autumn of that year, the Scottish host crossed the border with a Black Rood or fragment of the Holy Cross owned by St Margaret at its head. Probably taken out of keeping either in the royal household in Edinburgh castle or David's favoured Abbey of Holyrood, this cross nonetheless proved to be of only limited effect as a national symbol of spiritual and military unity behind the young king.¹⁷ Since 1341 David had succeeded in using his patronage and personal energy to attract the loyalty of a large number of Scottish knights and esquires. Most of these men were slain or captured alongside the king in 1346: indeed Bower later remarked that David had been "fully reassured and supported by the knightly young men of military age." However, David's (21 year old's) impatience and inexperience together with tensions between the crown and magnates like Robert the Steward and the earls of March and Ross (caused by the king's interference in their land and office interests) contributed to splits within the Scottish host and a costly defeat at the hands of a smaller English militia led by the Archbishop of York.¹⁸

None of the English contemporary sources speak of this victory as revenge for the so-called 'Chapter of Myton' of 1322 when a Scottish force had massacred a militia led by a previous York prelate. Yet whilst Bower would later criticise David for ignoring a warning vision of St Cuthbert before attacking the churchlands of Durham in 1346, Edward III certainly marked his proxy triumph with a good eye for publicity and memorial: he gifted the captured Scottish Rood to St Cuthbert's chapter of Durham cathedral as a defender of the north, where it joined at least one other captured cross of St Margaret.¹⁹

It is easy to imagine that David, his thirst for war and glory against England rudely checked through defeat, the deaths of many of his key councillors and personal capture at the hands of a scheming English esquire, John de Coupland, found his serious wounds and captivity a humbling political and spiritual experience. Another tradition of unknown origin – but again apparently drawing on the king's later reputation - holds that whilst he was warded in Nottingham (sic) castle dungeon awaiting removal to London in the winter of 1346-47, David scratched the story of Christ's passion into a rock.²⁰

However, while he may indeed have felt the need to alter both his warlike policies and aggressive personality as a result of capture, David's periodic exposure to the court and personality of Edward III throughout his eleven year stay in England would have a far more marked effect on his own court and religious patronage after 1357.

For during David's captivity, Edward III founded one of the first of many European royal cults of knighthood in the Order of the Garter dedicated to St George. As well as an effective national and spiritual emblem in wartime, the order also provided a focus for important magnates and knights and ensured that they looked to the crown for favour and policy. Indeed, throughout Edward III's reign the order of the Garter arguably reflected the allegiances and factions within the English political community. Such a strong vehicle for asserting royal esteem and authority must have seemed ideal to David as a robust model upon which he could rebuild an impressive loyal following for his own kingship and court in Scotland and overawe his magnate opponents.²¹

David experienced Edward's new order at first hand. He was required and most likely pleased to attend the first Garter tournament in 1349 at Windsor (where he wore a blue surcoat decorated with a white rose) and another at Smithfield just before his release in 1357.²² By that date David also seems to have grasped the value of venerating particular 'local' saints as a means of winning sympathy for his cause, a tactic Edward III (like Edward I) had employed skilfully in raising support for his wars against Scotland and France. For in summer 1357, just as negotiations for David's release reached their crucial closing stages for the *third* time, the Scottish king (now aged thirty-three) made a timely pilgrimage to Canterbury from his open arrest at Odiham castle in Hampshire, a public act of faith which involved giving 12d in alms and surely designed to ease relations with his captor: David would plan several more visits to Beckett's tomb at Canterbury and others to St James's and Our Lady at Walsingham (Norfolk), between 1357 and 1365. He did so probably both out of genuine faith but also as a means of smoothing the way for further talks with Edward III: David sought a reduction of the 100,000 merks ransom agreed upon for his release in autumn 1357 by admitting a Plantagenet prince to the Scottish succession, thus displacing David's nephew, heir presumptive and chief antagonist, Robert Stewart.²³

Due to the paucity of sources it is not possible to build up as detailed a picture of the religious observances of David II and his court for the longest period of his mature reign, 1357-71, as Dr Mark Ormrod has done for the reign of Edward III. Nevertheless, some sense of the religious and secular figures and dates which the mature David may have felt worthy of commemoration through public masses and other ceremonial can be approached by examining his extant *Acta* [see Appendix]. It need not be a case of simply spotting instances of royal alms-giving recorded by the king's clerks or Exchequer donations to particular altars. Indeed, by ignoring those dates, regardless of the year, on which David issued a royal act, ninety or so dates can be cautiously identified as days upon which the king perhaps refrained from government business every year and instead venerated the memory of a particular saint or event, providing a backbone structure and itinerary for his court.

Left amongst these 'non-business days' are a number of obvious Bruce family and dynastic dates, as might be expected: the birth, inauguration and death dates of Robert I (11 July, 25/27 March, 7 June); the death of David's mother, Elizabeth de Burgh (7 November); David's own coronation and first marriage dates (24 November, 17 July). But David also seems to have marked some key dates for the Scottish royal house: the deaths of the last MacMalcolm kings, Alexander II (8 July) and Alexander III (19 March) from whom the Bruces claimed direct descent, by-passing the brief reign of their rival, John Balliol.²⁴ David may also have marked 13 June, the date of the papal bull granting Scotland's kings the rite of coronation and unction (1329) and first used at his own enking in 1331. Admittedly, neither the feast or translation of the MacMalcolm dynasty's and Scotland's matron saint, Margaret (16 November, 19 June) are among these dates but Bower does stress that her memory was celebrated annually in David's time: the king certainly seems to have planned to be buried alongside Malcolm III, Margaret, their sons, Alexander III and his own father, Robert I, and his Queen at Dunfermline: although he seems to have been an infrequent visitor there while alive, alabaster marble was bought in advance for intended tombs there for both David and his second Queen Margaret Logie.²⁵

Yet also missing from this suggestive list of days is St Andrew (30 November), another national saint. But if David declined from public celebration of a potentially anti-

English icon during sensitive negotiations with an English king and his sons whom he had besides grown to like and admire he may still have marked such nationalistic days as the anniversaries of the battles of Stirling Bridge (11 September) and Bannockburn (23-24 June), but never the defeats of Falkirk, Dupplin, Halidon Hill or Neville's Cross. Indeed, David may have marked his father's most famous victory of 1314, even though Edward III insisted that the Scots pay their annual ransom instalments on 24 June. Besides, the latter was also the feast of the apostle St John the Baptist, patron of the Knights Hospitallers, to whose members in Scotland David extended some favour.²⁶

The other saints venerated by David contained a number of Scottish national and regional cults, several favoured by his father, including St Ninian (26 August) and St Malachy (3 November). Predictably, a number of key religious festivals seem to have been marked: Candlemas (2 February), the Annunciation and Assumption of the Virgin (25 March, 15 August), All Souls (2 November), the presentation of the Virgin (21 November) and Christmas, obvious regulars alongside other festivals of moveable dates like those of Easter. A number of apostles and other universal saints may also have been understandably worshipped: St Benedict (21 March), St Mark (25 April), St Peter and St Paul (29 June) and St Thomas (21 December). David may also have marked the feast of St Denis (9 October), patron of the Abbey near Paris in France which through its Scottish inhabitants had helped David into exile as a child.²⁷ Finally, predictably, the feast of St Thomas à Beckett (29 December) is among his 'non-business days'.

Some of these dates may have been marked by David in his first, somewhat immature, kingship of 1341-6. However, most revealing of all – and suggesting that the king really only settled into such a regular pattern *after* his return from captivity - is David's veneration of the saint in whom he first showed a very public interest in 1362: St Monan, a 6th century Irish missionary whose cult is centered in the east neuk of Fife between Earlsferry and Crail. David's belief that this saint either eased the arrow wounds in his skull or saved his household from shipwreck may have been genuine: a 'Davy's rock' does lie just off the coast near present-day St Monans church. Yet his focus on this apparently minor cult would have had considerable political and territorial cache for the crown if exploited fully.²⁸

Most strikingly, the feast of St Monan falls on the 1st of March, the same as the king's name saint, St David, a feast upon which it is known that Edward III had sent his Scottish captive a celebratory cask of wine: it is also one of David's 'non-business days'. David's annual commemoration of St Monan thus provided a pseudo-personal cult or royal order around which magnates and knights in the service of the crown could focus. The fact that this feast fell close to David's own birthday, 5 March, may have heightened this personal connection.²⁹

This political value must have been increased by the siting of the church of St Monan. David began to embellish the existing pilgrimage shrine there at a cost of over £613 between 1362 and 1371, employing Sir William Dischington, the builder of church towers at Dundee and Brechin and of Ardross castle between Elie and St Monan on land gifted to him by the king.³⁰ The presence of this royal religious centre in Fife must have increased the crown's profile in, and control of, the earldom of Fife, premier lands over which David had been at bitter dispute since the 1340s with his heir presumptive, Robert Stewart, and his several Stewart sons. Indeed David had imposed one of his crusader/mercenary household knights, Sir William Ramsay of Colluthie (in northern Fife), a veteran of the battle of Poitiers, as earl of Fife in 1358 only to see him ousted by Robert's second son, Walter Stewart (d. 1360), who wed the heiress Isabella of Fife after her return from exile in England about 1358-9. But probably sometime in 1362 David must have secured possession by force of Isabella and laid plans for her marriage to another of the crown's crusader servants, Sir Thomas Bissett of Upsetlington, who had visited David in England in the 1350s while en route for crusades in Prussia.³¹

Building a royal chapel at St Monans – given into the charge of his favourite order the Dominicans - thus gave David an excuse to visit and reinforce his proxy control of Fife. He backed up his own presence by granting further patronage to a number of crown servants in Fife from 1362-63 as well as wedding his second wife Margaret at the nearby manor house of the bishop of St Andrews, Inchmurdoch (present-day Kenley Green/Boarhills, a few miles along the coast from Crail), shortly after Bissett and Isabella had been married: in spring 1363 at Inchmurdoch David also received the submission of Robert Stewart, his sons and the earl of March after their short-lived rebellion against David's land and diplomatic plans.

More generally, David's focus on St Monans may also have increased royal authority within the wider region of the Forth valley. His oversight of the St Monan cult with its outer edge dedications at Earlsferry in Kilconquhar parish must have given the crown control of the northern terminal of a key Forth estuary crossing in addition to that at Queensferry. This may have served as a counter balance to any influence exerted by another of David's magnate opponents and 1363 rebel, William, earl of Douglas, over that crossing's southern terminus at North Berwick, overlooked by the new Douglas castle of Tantallon since the 1350s. Both David and Douglas may have sought to influence the growing (and lucrative) traffic in pilgrims from East Lothian to Fife along this route (from Our lady of Whitekirk to St Andrews). St Monans church was in the patronage of the nunnery in the barony of North Berwick (which was itself owned by the earls of Fife); by September 1365 the king had installed his St Andrews-trained chaplain, Walter Bell, as vicar of North Berwick.³²

Patronage of St Monan also enhanced David's image and linked royal Fife with control of his chosen capitol, Edinburgh. For the medieval mercat cross of Edinburgh was also dedicated to St Monan and stood beside the burgh church of St Giles.³³ Sometime in the 1360s David helped an Edinburgh burgess and parliamentarian to found an altar in St Giles dedicated to a cult popular with late medieval crusaders, St Catherine, 'the bride of Christ.'³⁴ In Edinburgh castle in the mid 1360s, the king also paid for a chapel to be erected to that most popular cult of the later middle ages, that of the Virgin Mary; in the closing years of that decade, he would begin to build a new tower house on Edinburgh rock (shrouded by the present half-moon battery built in the 17th century) to add to the royal stables, park and tilting grounds erected successively by Robert, English garrisons and David himself since the 1320s.³⁵

Taken as a whole, this wide range of religious festivals and significant anniversary dates - observed by the king, his household and those in attendance at court - must have provided an impressive, over-arching atmosphere dictated by the crown.³⁶ This was increasingly effective in the 1360s in attracting to the king the support and service of useful lesser magnates, knights and civil service prelates and lesser clerics. This allowed David to forge an environment for putting greater magnates in their place, intimidating

them if necessary whether at daily council, formal Councils or Parliaments, or at more unusual gatherings.

That ambitious laymen with similar interests as the king found David's court and personality attractive is illustrated by a brief examination of the royal household and the key recipients of royal land and office grants and cash after 1357.³⁷ Prominent among David's favoured knights in the 1360s were the Leslies, Norman and Walter, crusade veterans and experienced (and perhaps wealthy) European mercenaries: Norman served as a deputy Chamberlain and ambassador for David while Walter would receive massive crown favour in the north, including a tailzie into the earldom of Ross.³⁸ The Leslies had strong connections by marriage, service and alliance with other extensive eastern lowland kindreds like the Lindsays, Keiths, Barclays, Ramsays, Bissets and Erskines, all generously endowed by David with lands and offices, most notably Robert Erskine, the king's right-hand man after 1360 who served variously as Chamberlain, ambassador to England and France, sheriff and castle keeper of Stirling and Dumbarton and Precentor of the lands of the Scottish Knight's Hospitaller (as well as being father of several sons involved in David's household, the crusades, pilgrimages and European warfare): in 1359, indeed, Robert Erskine sought release from his papal crusader's indulgence to attend to his governmental commitments.³⁹

David also favoured Douglas and Dunbar scions with large military followings. Archibald 'the Grim' was a bastard of the good Sir James, Robert I's lieutenant, a veteran of Poitiers (where he was a good friend of William Ramsay of Colluthie, David's sheriff of Edinburgh c. 1343-6 and the first 'placed' earl of Fife): Archibald received crown support for his marriage and the keepership of Edinburgh castle (both c. 1362), as well as the lordship of Galloway (1369) – his value to David is obvious, for Bower describes him as always being followed by 'a large company of knights and men of courage.' Sir James Douglas of Lothian (of Dalkeith thanks to David by 1368-9) was also the head of a sizeable family of five sons recorded by Froissart as all serving as esquires of the king.⁴⁰

George and John Dunbar were the half-nephews and heirs of Patrick, earl of March (born c. 1282), a man who joined Robert Stewart in deserting the Scottish host at Neville's Cross and rebelled against the crown in 1363: but George (whom David seems to have imposed early as the new earl of March about 1368) and John (whom David

imposed as Lord of Fife c. 1369) were also the sons of Sir Patrick Dunbar, earl Patrick's half-brother, another Potiers veteran, crusader and an esquire of the famous warlord and flower of chivalry celebrated by the Scottish chroniclers for his service in the 1330s, Alexander Ramsay.⁴¹ After Ramsay's murder in 1342, Patrick Dunbar and other Ramsay followers and kin like John Herries, Walter Haliburton (gifted Direlton castle), David Annan (steward of the Queen's household), Alexander Stewart (gifted Lanarkshire baronies), Robert Ramsay (sheriff of Forfar) and John Preston (steward of king's household, constable Edinburgh castle) would be knighted and gifted lands by David II, many of them emerging as prominent crown men in the 1360s alongside other household figures like Sir John Edmonstone (coroner of Lothian), Simon Reed (constable of Edinburgh castle), William de Vaux and Thomas and Nicholas Erskine (David's esquire and 'armigero').⁴² Also rewarded by David before 1346 but prominent after 1357 were a number of north-eastern men, many of them followers of Thomas, earl of Mar, David's cousin: Walter Moigne (deputy justiciar north of Forth), Lawrence Gilliebrand (ambassador), Richard Comyn (another 'armigero' of the crown) and John le Grant (forester of Darnaway).⁴³

Not only do these men form the core of David's regular charter witnesses (and thus his daily council) in the 1360s, but their names (and many more including Holyrood, St Andrews and Lothian clerics) recur repeatedly amongst those who requested safe-conducts to travel through England either on pilgrimage to Canterbury or Walsingham - as David himself did; or further afield, 'across the water', to the shrines of St James at Compostella or St John at Amiens; or on to crusade/pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁴⁴ Remarkably, the obvious Scottish names missing from this travelling group are those of David's main opponents of the 1360s, Robert Stewart and William, earl of Ross, presumably excluded from such a royal-favoured pastime. This lay religious traffic to England and the continent - along with that of Scottish clerics seeking education at Oxbridge and Anglo-Scottish merchant trade - would dwindle almost to nothing after David's death and the accession of the Steward as Robert II in 1371.⁴⁵ Moreover, a large number of the knights thus associated with the crown had been drawn, almost 'poached', from the affinities of regional magnates disfavoured by David, for example, the earls of Mar, Angus, March and Douglas.

The creation of such a potent and potentially rewarding court focus for men of chivalry (as well as clerics and burgesses) was arguably the most public way in which David attracted support for his person and policies: other more understated but obvious methods included favour for men related to the king's wives, mistresses and sisters.⁴⁶ Yet that David was genuinely stimulated by his patronage of men of christian chivalry and his oversight of a court in part defined by its observance of useful and meaningful secular and religious themes is suggested by further evidence of the vibrancy of that royal culture. David did not invest in a chivalric romance dedicated to the memory of his father: that was left to the anti-English Steward as Robert II through Barbour's The Bruce. But David's court did provide an environment for such literature: Chaucer's translated Romance of the Rose was apparently popular, along with tales of the martial fame of contemporaries like Sir Walter Leslie and Alexander Ramsay as well as more traditional Arthurian legends.⁴⁷ When Froissart stayed with David II in 1365 not only did he and his chivalric cadre relate to the eventual author of the Chroniques their own romanticised, chivalrous version of the events of Neville's Cross but he may also have attempted to impress upon his guest and visiting French knights the Arthurian associations of royal Scotland, including Dumbarton and Stirling castles (perhaps to rival Edward III's own Round Table interests). Such was the impact David's chivalric milieu may have had upon Froissart that he later wrote an epic chivalric romance, Méliador, partly set in Scotland.⁴⁸

David also oversaw tournaments. As early as 1342 he had used such gatherings as a means of popularising his leadership in war and to put the seal of community approval on parliamentary decisions. There is evidence to suggest that after 1357 David, influenced by Edward III's Garter jousts in London, may have held lists at Edinburgh just before parliaments in 1359 and 1364 so as to win support for his plans to alter the Scottish succession through a peace deal with Edward III.⁴⁹

Indeed, it is tempting to speculate that David may have held his own regular lists in the week around St George's (23 April, after which David's 'non-business days' show a clear week). In the fourteenth century St George would have been invoked by many besides the English against the outbreaks of Black Death c. 1348-50 and 1362. Several Scottish knights – including David's supporters the Leslies, Sir Patrick Dunbar, David

Barclay, Walter Moigne and Thomas Bisset – may have fought under the banner of St George in Europe in the 1350s; St George is certainly the only ‘English’ saint included in the late fourteenth century Aberdeen Breviary (in which a life of St Monans was also recorded).⁵⁰

Combat overseen by the king was also a means by which David strengthened his paternal hold over his royal affinity. In 1362 and 1368 he oversaw single combats in the royal park at Edinburgh to settle disputes between members of his chivalric cadre: the first between William Keith, the Marischal, and Thomas, earl of Mar; the second between James Douglas (of Dalkeith) and Robert Erskine’s son, Thomas Erskine. David ordered armour from England for the latter bout, probably in the same way as he supplied his own armoury and stud for which there are many substantial exchequer payments extant. But he was also careful to intervene to end the second bout with words and money gifts after honour had been satisfied.⁵¹

However, whilst David could use such men of christian chivalry both at the centre of government and as his agents in the localities, often employing them to interfere directly in his magnate opponents’ interests, his religious patronage allowed him greater legitimate access to some regions of Scotland. As a national institution closely linked with the crown, the church - both secular and regular - gave David a vital avenue into his subjects lives in addition to that provided by the crown’s judicial and fiscal roles. David clearly had personal religious inclinations: he continued to favour the Dominican order in Scotland at Elgin, Ayr, Edinburgh, Perth and Stirling, issuing that order a general protection in Scotland in 1367 whilst his household confessor, Adam de Lanark, was also a Dominican; and the king confirmed the Carmelites’ holdings at Inverness, Inverbervie and in Perthshire.⁵²

But at the same time such royal patronage and church appointments had political ends. Adam de Lanark went on to become David’s bishop of Galloway about 1366 giving him in theory a loyal agent in the sensitive Scottish south-west: similarly, Alexander de Bur became bishop of Moray and David’s agent in the north against the ambitions of the Steward’s fourth son, Alexander, later known as the Wolf of Badenoch. More generally, David gave patronage to various royal burgh churches including that of St Lawrence at Stirling but also the churches of the Holy Cross in both Inverness - in spite of the

influence there of the earl of Ross - and in Peebles - despite the local clout of the earl of Douglas.⁵³ As regards the latter, Wyntoun noted that David “oft would ly” at Melrose Abbey. His father’s heart was buried there and David may have contributed to the rebuilding of the Abbey’s fabric at this time. But his presence there also served as a check upon the active landed and financial interests of Douglas. As Justiciar south of Forth, until his displacement in favour of one of David’s knights c. 1360-2, earl William had been repeatedly warned about interfering in that houses’ regality lands (which had been confirmed by the king). It was while returning with the king’s party via Melrose from delivering a ransom instalment across the border about 24 June 1360 that David’s mistress, Katherine Mortimer, was murdered in a plot conceived “by certain great men of Scotland.”⁵⁴

By that stage, these Scottish magnates – the Stewarts and the earls of Douglas, Ross, Angus and March - must have felt relentlessly threatened not only by David’s Anglophile policies but by his growing knightly cadre of support around his person and vibrant court. Great provincial lords like the Steward and Douglas could undoubtedly ‘hold court’ for themselves.⁵⁵ Yet they found it extremely difficult to compete with a king who was increasingly able to extract the resources with which to build up his household and middling following, embracing many with his patronage: by 169-70 David’s income was about £13-15,000 Scots. Royal veneration of various secular and religious traditions of the Scottish crown provided a potent and persuasive arena for such mens’ ambitions. For essentially west-coast Gaelic magnates like the Steward or for the northern earl of Ross an extra layer of difficulty may have existed in their discomfort at being intimidated by the king and his supporters in such a lowland, English- (middle Scots) and French-speaking court environment.

It was a crucible which clearly worked to David’s advantage. In 1360 David was able to imprison Thomas Stewart, earl of Angus, for his part in Katherine Mortimer’s death; in 1362 David’s household successfully besieged the earl of Mar’s Kildrummy castle. Then in Spring 1363 David was able to pay and reward a wide circle of knights, esquires and their armed followings for their loyal service against the rebel earls.⁵⁶ Not only that, but many of these supporters accompanied David on his embassy to England to renegotiate a ransom-succession deal in the winter after the earls’ submission. Christian

chivalry and the obvious sympathy between David and Edward III and their courts further facilitated these talks. Froissart relates that David was making a pilgrimage to Walsingham at Norfolk in 1363 when he heard that Peter I of Cyprus was in London recruiting men for a crusade to recover Alexandria: David rushed to meet him and feasted in London in the company of four other kings [England, France, Denmark, Cyprus], a moment of Arthurian esteem for Edward III noted by English writers. David and his household also received gifts of money and silver cups from their English host.⁵⁷

However, more importantly, at this meeting David may have promised to dispatch a number of Scottish knights to join Peter. These men - including the Leslies, Archibald Douglas, Alexander Lindsay, David de Mar, Nicholas Erskine, Alexander Reckington (keeper of Dunbar castle) and various clerics - would not prepare to leave for the continent until 1365 (too late for all of them to join Peter's host's brief seizure of Alexandria).⁵⁸ But David's co-operation and genuine enthusiasm may have helped put a ransom-succession peace deal on the table with Edward in 1363-64. In its details it was not the deal David sought ideally, and its pro-English clauses led to its humiliating rejection by a Scottish parliament in March 1364. However, one form of the deal proposed laid plans for Edward III's third son, John of Gaunt, to be recognised as David's heir presumptive. As Gaunt's modern biographer has pointed out, this Prince was just the kind of young, vigorous, crusade-minded knight David liked to favour as well as being the son-in-law and heir of Henry de Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, who was an original knight of the Garter (and thus well known to David) as well as author of a devotional treatise.⁵⁹ Although the Gaunt plan ultimately stalled, the apparent 'rycht gret specialtie' between David and Edward and certain members of their close circles allowed further talks to continue after 1364; David had to drop his idea for an altered succession, but these talks did result in a favourable resetting of his ransom in 1369.⁶⁰

More generally, the last five years of David's reign seem on the surface to have been calmer than all those before. David had arguably matured into a far more assured and confident king, one well able to control his surroundings and dictate events through the comfortable medium of his court and household: his patronage of Christian chivalry clearly formed a stable basis for the "*raddure*" - the strong personal authority - which late medieval Scottish chroniclers felt he was well able to exercise over his subjects.⁶¹

David was able to continue to call upon the support his patronage and royal image attracted to force a formal submission from John MacDonald of the Isles in 1369, temporarily forfeit and imprison Thomas, earl of Mar, and disinherit the line of William earl of Ross in 1369-70.⁶² Support from favoured churchmen and knightly families also provided David with the chance of ridding himself of Queen Margaret whom by 1368 he certainly viewed as a barren prospect for the furtherance of the Bruce dynasty. A dubious divorce (probably overseen by cleric, David de Mar, a precentor of the lands of the Knights' Hospitaller in Scotland, Archdeacon of Lothian by 1368) and generous favour to a new mistress and prospective third wife, Agnes Dunbar, followed. Agnes's brothers, George, earl of March, and John (whom David made Lord of Fife, 1369) – along with Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway (1369), James Douglas of Dalkeith (1368, perhaps Agnes's intended husband until chosen by the king), Robert Erskine (life keeper of Stirling, 1368) and Walter Leslie (forcibly installed as heir to Ross, 1369-70) – became the focus core of David's chivalric cadre.⁶³

It is in this context that David began allegedly to consider a personal crusade to the Holy Land: Bower even goes as far as to assert that he named guardians for his realm during his planned absence. The king's premature death may indeed have denied such plans fruition. However, the reality probably was that despite his court's considerable interest in christian chivalry David's personal and political circumstances – and, probably, his still limited resources – would never have allowed him the luxury of such an excursion, or even the cheaper, easier option of founding a formal Order of Knights (of St Monan or St Andrew?) to send en masse in his stead. Indeed, his failure to produce a Bruce heir threatened to fatally undermine the stability of his regime and with it his impressive court culture and religious and knightly favourites.

Not only did Queen Margaret manage to appeal to the Papacy to block the annulment of her marriage but David's lack of a direct blood heir, his hung marital status, his continued interference in Scottish magnate lands and his diplomatic talks with England threatened to provoke far more extensive crown-magnate conflict in Scotland after 1369. In the end the continuance of the Scottish court-life which had developed since the 1340s, really since 1357, was utterly dependent upon David's person and

dynasty. With his sudden death aged just 47 in February 1371, Robert Stewart as Robert II was able to sweep away much of David's royal practices and environment. Unlike Edward III – who's private and public religion had been compatible with his key subjects' expectations from his kingship – David II's life and court style would not outlive their patron.⁶⁴

Such was the unexpected nature of David's demise and the very personal nature of his lordship that a number of his lesser household knights and esquires felt it wiser to quit Scotland for continental chivalric employment rather than remain in a realm now dominated by Stewarts and the Douglas earl. The more substantial members of David's cadre – Robert Erskine, Archibald and James Douglas, and the Dunbars – were able to cut deals with their former magnate opponents. But many crown supporters – like Walter Leslie – found their fortunes reversed dramatically without their Bruce patron.⁶⁵ David and his court legacy were also quickly shoved aside by the new nervous incumbent of the throne. Robert II's renewal of the Franco-Scottish alliance against England and his parliamentary affirmation of the Stewart succession were almost as swift as his burial of David – seemingly with little fanfare – before the high altar of what may simply have been (although David had favoured it) the nearest Abbey, Holyrood, in a tomb destroyed along with other royal graves in church riots in the seventeenth century: plans for another Bruce state funeral at royal Dunfermline were thus abandoned.⁶⁶ Stewart veneration would have a distinctly more Celtic and west coast, low-key bent. Work certainly seems to have stopped on St Monans church leaving only the transept, chancel and central tower complete: what became of the marble for David's tomb is unknown. The Black Douglases especially fell heir to the lowland 'national' festivals and anniversaries associated with Robert I and war against England.⁶⁷

The contemporary chronicle extract used by John of Fordun makes only the briefest note of David's passing. It remained really to Walter Bower in the fourteenth century – as a servant of a king arguably cast even more strongly in David's mould, James I - to revive suppressed contemporary epitaphs for the second Bruce king. In particular, Bower reproduced a funerary poem written shortly after David's death. Still, even in this verse, the political climate after 1371 ensured that only limited recognition could be given by Scottish commentators to David's contribution to the formation of a strong

Scottish royal household with a potent chivalric and christian identity: more had been indirectly made of David's interest in chivalry and piety by Froissart who had spoken at length with the king and his subjects in 1365.⁶⁸ Yet the favour David and his court had shown to such works went beyond merely fashionable crusading pretensions and patronage of worthy knights: moreover, this had been achieved before Barbour's The Bruce a work which must have drawn something from the highly personalised and politicised environment created by David II.

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Appendix: David II's 'Non-Business Days' and fixed Court Masses 1357-71?*

Jan 3 -	Aug 2 -
7 – St Kentigerna, mother of St Fillan?	5 -
8 -	9 -
30 -	10 – St Lawrence
Feb 2 – Candlemas/Purification of Virgin	15 – Assumption of Virgin
5 – [St Agatha?]	16 -
9 -	19 -
19 -	21 -
22 – Cathedri Peter/Beckett canonized	26 – St Ninian
Mar 1 – St Monan/St David	29 – [John the Baptist beheaded?]
7 –	30 -
11 – St Constantine	Sept 2 -
19 – Alexander III d./St Joseph	5 -
21 – St Benedict	11 – Stirling Bridge
22 -	21 – St Matthew
25 – Annunciation of Virgin/Coronation Robert I	25 -
28 – d. Prince Alexander 1283	26 -
Apr 21 - Robert Bruce (VI) d. 1304	Oct 8 -
25 – } and St Mark	9 – St Denis
26 - }	11 -
27 - } St George lists?	12 – [Pope Boniface VIII d.]
28 - }	21 -
29 - }	25 -
May 9 –	29 -
11 -	30 -
16 - Whitsunday	Nov 2 – All Souls Day
21 –	3 – St Malachy
23 - St William of Perth **	7 – Elizabeth de Burgh, David's mother, d.
30 -	8 -
June 2 -	19 -
7 – Robert I d. 1329	21 – Presentation of Virgin
11 – [St Barnabas?]	24 – David II Coronation
13 – Crowning/Anointing Bull	Dec 1 – St Giles?
23 – Bannockburn Day 1	12 – St Columba/ battle Annan 1332
24 – Bannockburn Day 2/ St John Baptist	19 -
26 -	20 -
27 -	21 – St Thomas Apostle
29 – St Peter/St Paul	22 -
Jul 8 – Alexander II d.	23 -
11 – Robert I born	25 - Christmas
12 – David II = Joan of Tower	29 – St Thomas Beckett
13 – Alexander III inauguration 1249	
17 -	Probably marked but date unknown;-
23 -	Death of David's brother, John.
29 -	

* - Extrapolated from *RRS VI*. Similar logical commemorative dates can be extrapolated for Robert I from his *Acta [RRS V]*: e.g. the feast of Saints Fillan, Kentigern, Constantine, George, Columba, Ninian, Malachy and Andrew, the death dates of Alexander III and Earl David of Huntingdon [through whom the Bruces claimed the throne], the battles of Stirling Bridge and Bannockburn.

** - David may have come into contact with this cult and its shrine at Rochester during his pilgrimage to Canterbury: William was held to be a Scottish baker, who gave every tenth loave he baked as alms, martyred while en route to Beckett's tomb [H. Coxton, *Pilgrimage to Canterbury* (Newton Abbot 1978), 155-6].

Notes

¹ I would like to thank Dr Norman Macdougall and Dr Michael Brown both of St Andrews, Dr Stephen Boardman of Edinburgh and Dr Alexander Grant of Lancaster, for their comments and advice on this piece at various stages.

² W. M. Ormrod, 'The Personal Religion of Edward III', *Speculum*, lxvi (1989), 849-77; C.J. Tyerman, 'Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land', *English Historical Review*, 100 (1985), 25-52; *Scotichronicon – Walter Bower*, eds. D.E.R. Watt et.al. (9 vols., Aberdeen 1987-99) [hereafter *Chron. Bower*], vii, 47-57.

³ B. Webster, 'The Absent Monarch', *The Story of Scotland*, 6 (1988), 144-7 nonetheless describes David as 'fatherly' in his mature years. See also B. Webster, 'David II and the Government of Fourteenth Century Scotland', *TRHS* 5th series, xvi (1966), 115-30. Prior to the 1960s historians usually condemned David II as an Anglophile womaniser who let his father down rather than seek out the achievements of his reign [R. Nicholson, 'David II, the historians and the chroniclers', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxx (1966), 59-78].

⁴ *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, ed. A. Amours (Scottish Text Society, 6 vols., Edinburgh 1903-14) [hereafter *Chron. Wyntoun*], vi, 154, 244; *Chron. Bower*, vii, 361.

⁵ A. MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095-1560* (Edinburgh 1985), 81-4 – this author's unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Edinburgh 1982), 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement in Scotland, 1095-1560' contains additional material; S. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996), ch. 1 and an occasional paper which inspired my own line of research, 'David II: Scotland's Crusader King?' [Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, 1993], 1-13; M. Penman, 'The Kingship of David II, 1329-71' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1999), passim.

⁶ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 261, 464n; I.H. Forsyth and J.I. Chisholm, *The Geology of East Fife* (Edinburgh 1977), 178-9.

⁷ Ormrod, 'The Private Religion of Edward III.'

⁸ *Regesta Regum Scottorum* [hereafter *RRS*]: V – *The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29*, ed., A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh 1985), ad indecim; M. Penman, 'A fell conuiracioun agayn Robert ye douchty king': the Soules conspiracy of c. 1318-20', *Innes Review*, 50 no. 1 (Spring 1999), 25-57, 56-7; G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert the Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 3rd edition 1988), 262-9, 295-6, 302-9, 317-9;

⁹ *Ibid.*, 25, 318, 322-4. I am grateful to Dr Simon Taylor of the University of St Andrews for several fascinating discussions about the cults of St Fillan and St Monan – see S. Taylor, 'St Fáelán: the problems of a multiple saint' (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, ch. 14; M. Penman, *Thesis*, ch. 1.

¹¹ *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* [hereafter *ER*], eds. J. Stuart et. al. (23 vols., Edinburgh 1878-1908), i, 109, 297, 431. While at Avignon in 1324 Randolph received a crusader's indulgence [MacQuarrie, *Thesis*, 183-4].

¹² J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Vol. I – Trial by Battle* (London 1990), 134, 145-7; Penman, *Thesis*, 85-95; *Chron. Bower*, vii, 141-3; *RRS* VI – *The Acts of David II, 1329-71*, ed. B. Webster (Edinburgh 1982) no.s 23-24; *ER*, i, 449, 464; Archives Nationales P. 14/73 for a French expeditionary plan of 1335. In 1336 Philip was still insisting to his Papal backers that several European kings had taken the cross, Edward III was prepared to consider a truce and that David II was still in France, suggesting that the Scots king may have taken the cross [Tyerman, 'Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land', 46].

¹³ J. Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century', in J. Hale, R. Highfield and B. Smalley eds., *Europe in the Late Middle Ages* (London 1965), 184-216, 190; *ER*, i, 297; W. Moir-Bryce, 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, iii (1910), 13-104, 40. For Gaillard see: J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (London 1989); S. Sochon, *Château Gaillard* (Condé sur Noire 1985), 17-77; M. Leve, 'Thomas Beckett à Gisors eu son culte l'Eure', *Connaissance d'Eure*, 89 (1993), 24-5.

¹⁴ D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London 1969), 114.

¹⁵ *RRS* VI no.s 22, 25-29, 33-4, 48-50, 55, 59-60, 65-7, 70-1, 74, 76, 80(A), 82-4, 86-8, 90 [protection for the liberties of Dunfermline Abbey], 91, 98, 101, 109; *RMS* I App ii no.s 730, 742, 754, 770, 807, 837, 845, 848, 856-8, 865, 949 [confirmation of privileges to all Carmelite friars], 958, 1039.

¹⁶ *RRS* VI no.s 52-3, 80(A), 226(A) [1360], 346(D) [1365], 421 [1369] for Restenneth. For David's lay support 1341-6 see M. Penman, 'The Scots at the Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346', (forthcoming), and *Thesis*, ch. 4. It should be noted that the *Exchequer Rolls* for mid 1343 to 1347 are missing.

¹⁷ G. Watson, 'The Black Rood of Scotland', *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, ii, 1909, 27-46 which argues that the cross lost in 1346 was not *the* Black Rood of St Margaret but one of several owned to that Queen, a line also taken by L. Rollason, 'Spoils of War? Durham Cathedral and the Black Rood of Scotland' in D. Rollason and M. Prestwich eds., *The Battle of Neville's Cross* (Stamford 1998), 57-65.

¹⁸ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 253; Penman, 'The Scots at the Battle of Neville's Cross.'

¹⁹ J. Rollason, 'Spoils of War?', 57-9; *Chron. Bower*, vii, 257-9. The army of the see of Durham had carried a banner of St Cuthbert into battle against David [J.R.E. Bliese, 'Saint Cuthbert and War', *Journal of Medieval History*, xxiv (1998), 215-41, 237-8]. Ironically, on 6 May 1346 David had granted lands in Carrick in return for the annual payment of a penny on the feast of St Cuthbert [*Calendar of Laing Charters, 854-1837* (Edinburgh 1899), 11-2].

²⁰ P. Abercrombie, *The Martial Achievements of the Scottish Nation*, (2 vols. Edinburgh 1711-15), ii, 141, which also notes David II's participation in tournaments and pilgrimages.

²¹ J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (London 1982), 17, 49, 69, 77; Ormrod, 'The Personal Religion of Edward III', 848-77; C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (London 1986), 142-59, 280-1. While a captive in the Tower of London David may also have had access to the English crown's large collection of chivalrous and religious books.

²² G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter* (London 1841), 380; D. Boutlon, *The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in the Middle Ages* (London 1987); R.L. Graeme-Ritchie ed., *The Buik of Alexander* (Scottish Text Society, 3 vols., Edinburgh 1925), i, cliv, cxcvi. David would also take inspiration from Edward III's coinage, employing Florentine moneyers he met in England to copy Edward's issue of gold nobles depicting a king aboard a ship overlooked by the hand of God, a symbol of the Mother Church [J. Davidson, 'Distinguishing Marks on the Later Issues of David II', *British Numismatic Journal* (1950), 155-63].

²³ British Library Add MSS 24,511-24,512 and E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, 'Papers relating to the Captivity of David II', *Scottish History Society Miscellany IX* (Edinburgh 1966), 9-35 for William Trussell's accounts of David's expenses in captivity; P. MacGregor, *Odiham Castle, 1200-1500* (London 1983), 104-6. For David's pilgrimage requests see *Rot. Scot.*, i, 828 [July 1358], 872

[April 1363], 881 [February 1364], 887 [November 1364], 900 [March 1366], 917 [October 1366], 928 [January 1369]; *Foedera*, iii part ii, 787 [February 1370]. During his 1359 trip to London David stayed at the London Dominican House [RRS VI no. 207].

²⁴ David may also have empathised with William I of Scotland, captured by the English in battle in 1174 and hit with biting release terms. William, the 'Lion', founded Arbroath Abbey dedicated to Beckett after his release: a now headless statue, probably of William, can be seen at Arbroath – made of Durham marble and dated to the mid fourteenth century it is tempting to think that David paid for it [G. Henderson, 'A Royal Effigy at Arbroath' in Ormrod ed., *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Suffolk 1986), 88-98; G.S. Gimson, 'Lion Hunt: a royal tomb-effigy at Arbroath Abbey', *PSAS*, cxxv (1995), 912-16].

²⁵ *ER*, ii, 300, 348. Margaret Logie made pilgrimages to St Ninian's shrine at Whithorn and St Thomas's at Canterbury [*ibid*, lx, 226].

²⁶ I.B. Cowan, P.H.R. Mackay and A. Macquarrie eds., *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland* (Scottish History Society, 1983), xxxii-v, 49-56, 193-5. Or rather, David favoured men interested in the lands of this Order (worth up to 600 merks p.a.) – namely:- Sir Reginald More (David's Chamberlain before 1341) and his son William; Sir Alexander Seton (a key Bruce supporter in the Lothians and David's boyhood household Steward); David de Mar (a cleric in David's pay) and Robert Erskine (David's right-hand man and key councillor in the 1360s).

²⁷ *Chronique de Richard Lescot* ['The Scot'], *Religieux de Saint Denis, 1328-44*, ed. J. Lemoine (Paris 1896), 34-5 stresses the role of one Humphrey Kirkpatrick in accompanying David to France: Humphrey can be associated with St Denis in 1341 and according to *Oeuvres de Froissart publiées avec les variantes...*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (24 vols., Paris 1870-7), v, 489-83, was killed at Neville's Cross in 1346.

²⁸ *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, ed. W.M. Metcalfe (3 vols., Edinburgh 1896), cited in *ER*, ii, cvii also includes the version about David's prayers for relief from painful wounds, following Froissart (who stayed with David in 1365) and preceding Bower.

²⁹ A. Boyle, 'Notes on Scottish Saints', *IR*, xxxii (1981), 59-81, 66; *CCR: X Edward III, 1354-60* (London 1908), 347. For the St Monan cult from Earlsferry to Crail cautious use can be made of S. Fyall, *St Monans: History, Customs and Superstitions* (Durham 1999), 23-31. David's extant *Acta* suggest that he was always moving north-south or vice-versa about 1 March each year after 1362. David may have been able to claim a personal connection to St Monan through the last Celtic earl of Carrick, Adam of Kilconquhar, descended from the earls of Fife (who's widow would wed David's grandfather). Kilconquhar parish church was dedicated to St Monan and David's coastal shrine lay within its bounds; Adam died at Acre on crusade with Edward I's brother, Edmund, and Robert Bruce the Competitor of Annandale, David's great-grandfather, in 1270 [Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, 57-9]. In 1370 David granted St Monans church the nearby lands of East Barnes [RRS VI no. 463(C)].

³⁰ *ER*, ii, 114, 137, 169, 175, 178, 221, 243, 289, 307, 333, 347, 357; J. Turnbull, 'The Parish Church of St Monans', *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, iii (1895), 180-92, 185; Easson, *Medieval religious Houses of Scotland*, 82. For Dischington see RRS VI no.s 228, 351(A), 361, 430(A), 450(A). St Monans church lay a few hundred yards from Newark castle, held by the Sandilands family; Sir James Sandilands had received considerable land rewards as an envoy for David during his captivity [RRS VI no.s 94, 115, 127, 131, 163; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 727].

³¹ For the dispute over Fife see Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 12-25; Penman, 'The Scots at Neville's Cross.'

³² P. Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London 1999), 48, 50-1, 59-62, 116-8; C. Tabraham and D. Grove, *Tantallon Castle* (Historic Scotland guide, Kirkcaldy 1994); D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford 1977),

34-5; *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* [hereafter *APS*], eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes (12 vols., Edinburgh 1814-75), i, 551, 565 – by 1374 the earl of Douglas held North Berwick barony of the new Stewart earl of Fife.

³³ P. Millar, 'The Mercat Cross of Edinburgh – its Site and Form', *PSAS*, xx (1886), 371-83. St Giles church was passed on its south side by a St Monans wynd [National Archives Scotland [formerly SRO] GD 103/2/4/17].

³⁴ For David's altar in St Giles see *CPL to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon, 1394-1419*, ed. F. McGurk (Edinburgh 1976), 300; for St Catherine veneration in Scotland see J.M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland – Vol. II Non Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh 1914), ch. xxvi. David may have patronised other St Catherine sites – the Dominican friary at Ayr was dedicated to that saint as were other sites at Holyrood (altar), Dunfermline (chapel, hospital and altar) and Cambuskenneth (altar), as well as the Edinburgh Blackfriars and the Priory of Beaulieu in Inverness-shire (where David installed his illegitimate nephew as prior in opposition to the earl of Ross); and William de Camera, David's justiciary clerk north of Forth in the late 1360s founded an altar to St Catherine in Aberdeen cathedral in 1369 [Watt, *Scottish Graduates*, 75-6].

³⁵ *ER*, i, 238; *ER*, ii, cx, 79, 83, 113, 246, 308, 364, 393, 473, 551, 608 [tower completed in 1370s]; C. Malcolm, 'The Gardens of the Castle', *BOEC*, xiv (1925), 215-6, 252; W.T. Oldrieve, 'Account of the Recent Discovery of the Remains of David's Tower at Edinburgh Castle', *PSAS*, xii (1914), 230-70.

³⁶ Many of these dates can be confirmed as significant in the late medieval royal calendar by examining breviaries held in Scotland within the period. For example, Edinburgh University holds an early 14th century breviary annotated in a late 14th century hand with annals of Scottish history and extra saints' days – the latter includes that of St Monan, the coronation of Robert I and other dates possibly marked by David [C.R. Borland ed., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University* (Edinburgh 1916), 38-41].

³⁷ For David's favour to the following men see *RRS* VI, *RMS* I App ii, *ER* i and ii all *ad indecim*; Penman, *Thesis*, chapters 3, 6 to 10.

³⁸ For the Leslies and other Scots' European reputations see Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, 79-81. For Walter Leslie and Ross see Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 25, 75-7 and M. Penman, 'Vendetta: David II and William, (V) earl of Ross' (forthcoming).

³⁹ A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland, 1306-1469* (London 1984), 120-33; *CPR* iii, 346.

⁴⁰ For Archibald and James see M. Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* (East Linton), 46-90 passim; *Chron. Bower*, viii, 35; *Scalacronica: The Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III as recorded by Sir Thomas Gray*, trans. H. Maxwell (Glasgow 1907), 125; *Oeuvres de Froissart*, v, 137, 337, which adds that Archibald's sword was so heavy it required two normal men to wield it. In 1379 Archibald founded a hospital within the precinct of Holyrood Abbey in memory of Robert I, David II, Edward Bruce and the Good Sir James Douglas [*CPL to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon, 1378-94*, ed. C. Burns (SHS, Edinburgh 1976), 34]. Moreover, through Archibald, David may have patronised, Thomas Barry, vicar of Bothwell, later author of an epic poem celebrating the Scots' victory at Otterburn in 1388 [Watt, *Scottish Graduates*, 31-2].

⁴¹ For the Dunbars see Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 23-5.

⁴² *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 160-2; *Chron. Bower*, vii, 151-3; Penman, 'The Scots at Neville's Cross.'

⁴³ For David de Mar's career rise as envoy to England during the release talks for David II, as treasurer of Moray and then archdeacon of Lothian see Watt, *Scottish Graduates*, 382-4.

⁴⁴ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 854, 872, 886, 893, 897, 901, 905, 915, 932; A. Goodman, 'A Letter from an Earl of Douglas to a King of Castile', *SHR*, lxiv (1985), 68-78.

⁴⁵ David obtained general permission for Scottish clerics to visit Oxbridge and Scottish merchants to trade with England in 1357-58 [*Rot. Scot.*, i, 815; *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-96*, ed. G.H. Martin (Oxford 1995), 163]. The many clerics who went to Oxbridge included Walter Bell (royal chaplain and vicar of North Berwick), William Boyesvill (royal clerk), John Carruthers (royal chaplain), Robert Smallhame (clerk of the liverance), Walter Blantyre (David's childhood confessor and clerk), and John Barbour (Archdeacon of Aberdeen and author of the The Bruce, 1371-5) [see Watt, *Scottish Graduates*, 28-9, 34-5, 58-9, 92, 498].

⁴⁶ Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 1. This cadre of Scots had enough of a reputation for many of their arms to be included along with that of the Bruce dynasty in later 14th century Flemish armorials [*L'Armorial universal du heraut Gelre, 1370-95*, ed. P. Adam-Even (Switzerland 1971), 7-10, 52-55; C. Campbell, 'Scottish Arms in the Bellenville Roll', *The Scottish Genealogist*, xxv, ii (1978), 33-52; C.J. Burnett, 'Early Officers of Arms in Scotland', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 12 (1996), 3-13.

⁴⁷ *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, ii, 212; C. Leslie, *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie, 1067 to 1869* (3 vols., Edinburgh 1869), i, 65-71; R.J. Lyall, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Scotland' in J.D. McClure and M.R.G. Spiller eds., *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Aberdeen 1989), 33-47, suggests that John Barbour, later author of The Bruce may have been adapting French works like 'Les Trois Nobles Fils de Rois', 'Vois of the Peacock', 'Ferrand ert of Flanderis' and 'The Tail of the Brig of Mantrabil' for the royal court before 1371. Interestingly, the first of these works features a Scottish prince, 'David', and an 'earl of Douglas' who achieve great chivalric deeds alongside counterparts from England and France [*The Three King's Sons*, ed. F.J. Turnivall (2 vols., London 1895)].

⁴⁸ *ER*, ii, 25, 211, 281; W. Fraser ed., *The Lennox* (2 vols., Edinburgh 1874), i, 76; *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ii, 312-3; P. Contamine, 'Froissart and Scotland' in G.G. Simpson ed., *Scotland and the low Countries, 1124-1994* (East Linton), 44-57; P.F. Dembrowski, *Jean Froissart and his Méliador* (Lexington 1983); R.S. Loomis, 'Scotland and the Arthurian legend', *PSAS*, lxxxix (1955-6), 1-21; F. Alexander, 'Scottish Attitudes to the Figure of King Arthur – a Reassessment', *Anglia*, 93 (1972), 17-34. Arthur enters the Scottish chronicle tradition in the late fourteenth century in the works of Fordun and Wyntoun.

⁴⁹ *RRS VI* no. 46, *ER*, ii, 77, 127, 177, 222.

⁵⁰ *Oeuvres de Froissart*, iv, 203-6; N. Housley, *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580* (London 1996), 5, 14, 55-7; *Legends of the Scottish Saints*. I am grateful to Dr Stephen Boardman for pointing out to me the popularity of George as a Scottish forename in the late fourteenth century as adopted by many of the families loyal to David and interested in the crusades – Leslie, Abernethy, Douglas of Angus, Lindsay, Dalziel, Lauder, Preston, Moray, Dunbar.

⁵¹ *Scalacronica*, 172-3, which relates how David's favour for Keith over Mar provoked a short conflict; *Chron. Fordun*, I, 370n; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 915, 917; D. Sellar, 'Courtesy, Battle and the Brieve of Right, 1368 – A Story Continued', *Stair Society Miscellany*, ii, (1970-84)1-12; *ER*, i, 238, 487, 506-8, 511 ['king's charger']; 522, 528, 531 [king's 'jousting arms']; *ER*, ii, 90, 101, 130-2, 168, 174, 176 ['king's armour']; 168 ['banners with arms']; 246 ['stables']; 130-2, 174-5 ['Nicholas, keeper king's armour']; *ad indecim* for horses.

⁵² *RRS VI* no.s 199, 214, 271(A), 347, 356, 362, 390, 436, 439, 440(A-B), 466, 468, 470, 473(E); *RMS I* App ii no.s 1305, 1327, 1364 [grant to Our Lady altar at Dundee], 1421 [to Our Lady Kirk, Aberdeen]; for David's itinerary see P.G.B. McNeill and H.L. MacQueen eds., *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh 1996), 171-2.

⁵³ Watt, *Scottish Graduates*, 67-70, 325-6. Lanark also served as an ambassador to Rome in 1359 to secure papal approval of Scottish clerical taxes to help pay David's ransom. *RRS* VI no. 225 for Inverness; W. Chambers ed., *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles, 1165-1710* (Edinburgh 1872), lx, 8-9, 89-91; R. Renwick ed., *Charters and Other Documents relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 1124-1705* (Glasgow 1884), 23.

⁵⁴ *RRS* VI no. 219, 255, 237, 450; *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 234; *Scalacronica*, 162.

⁵⁵ The Steward certainly had a cultural protégé in his brother-in-law and former Alexander Ramsay esquire, Sir Hugh Eglintoun, lamented after his death as a great vernacular makar; however, the Arthurian romances previously attributed to Eglintoun are more likely to have originated in northern England [W. Fraser ed., *The Memorials of the Montgomeries* (2 vols., Edinburgh 1859), i, 16-7; M.P. McDiarmid and J.A.C. Stevenson eds., *Barbour's The Bruce* (3 vols., Edinburgh 1985), i, 15-6 n11]

⁵⁶ Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 12-20; Penman, *Thesis*, ch. 6, 7, 8; *ER*, ii, 119-86; *RRS* VI no.s 289 to 311(C).

⁵⁷ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 876-7; *CDS* iv no. 93 which included a silver cup for William, earl of Douglas, a former and future antagonist of the crown but a man sufficiently interested in christian chivalry to be persuaded at times of the value of seeking David's and Edward's good lordship; P. Contamine, 'Froissart and Scotland', 43-8; *Chronica Johannis Reading et Anonymi Cantuarensis*, ed. J. Tait (Manchester 1914), 158.

⁵⁸ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 875, 897. About 1366 a papal circular bull calling for a crusade against the Turk was circulating around Europe [reproduced in *Chron. Bower*, vii, 449-51].

⁵⁹ A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: the Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth Century Europe* (London 1992), 43; A.A.M. Duncan, 'A Question About the Succession, 1364', *Scottish History Society Miscellany XII*, 1-57; Penman, *Thesis*, ch. 8; *Le Livre de seyntz medicines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. S.J. Arnould (Anglo-Norman Text Society, Oxford 1940). *Chron. Bower*, vii, 323, asserts that it was Edward III's second son Lionel of Clarence who was mooted as David's heir in this deal – Lionel was planning a crusade just before his death in 1368.

⁶⁰ *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 242 – "at Lundone play him [David] wald he/For thate wes rycht gret specialte/Betuix him and the King Edwart."; *RRS* VI no. 441 for the ransom.

⁶¹ *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 234, 252-3; *Chron. Bower*, vii, 359-65.

⁶² R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh 1974), ch. 7; Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 20-25; Penman, *Thesis*, chapters 9, 10. The earl of Ross would claim in 1371 that one of Leslie's esquires had physically intimidated a messenger from Ross who was to seek support in various quarters against Leslie's intrusion: yet in the end Ross admitted "Sir Walter [was] very powerful at court with the king and Queen" [D. Forbes, *Ane Account of the Familie of Innes* (Aberdeen 1864), 70-3].

⁶³ Penman, *Thesis*, ch 10; *RRS* VI no.s 413, 417, 419, 424, 425, 435 454, 457, 459, 465, 469, 496, 508 [Douglas of Dalkeith]; *ibid*, 444, 447(A), 451 [Archibald Douglas]; 405(A), 405(B), 444, 462(A), 506, 508, 509 [George Dunbar]; *RMS* I App ii no. 1624 [John Dunbar]; *ER*, ii, lxiii, 328, 345, 357 [Agnes Dunbar]; *RRS* VI no.s 399, 402, 403, 427, 466(B) and *ER*, ii, 344 [Robert Erskine]; *RRS* VI no.s 391, 466(A) and *ER*, ii, 364 [Thomas Erskine]; *RRS* VI no.s 462(D), 462(E), 468(H), 457(B) [Walter Leslie].

⁶⁴ Ormord, 'The Private Religion of Edward III', 876-7.

⁶⁵ Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 39-62; M. Penman, *Thesis*, 520-3. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 943-4 saw David's supporters Bartholomew de Leon, William Ramsay (junior), Simon Reed, Alexander Ramsay (junior), Walter Leslie, John Abernethy and others seek passage out of Scotland in March-May 1371.

⁶⁶ *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* (Edinburgh 1840), 90-95. Over £1,000 was to be spent on Robert I's funeral including marble, gold leaf, rails for the tomb, black lawn and daub for the body and mourners; some £682 was spent on Robert II's funeral – but there are no records of any payments after 1371 for David's funeral [*ER*, ii, 150, 167, 175, 213-5, 221 and ii, 242, 279-80].

⁶⁷ Turnbull, 'The Parish Church of St Monans', 193-5; Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 94; M. Brown, 'Rejoice to hear of Douglas': The House of Douglas and the Presentation of Magnate Power in Late Medieval Scotland', *SHR*, lxxvi (1997), 161-84; S. Våthjunker, 'A Study of the Career of Sir James Douglas: The Historical Record versus Barbour's *Bruce*' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1992); C.J. Edington, 'Paragons and Patriots: National Identity and the Chivalric Ideal in Late Medieval Scotland', in D. Broun, R.J. Finlay and M. Lynch eds., *Image and Identity: the Making and Remaking of Scotland Through the Ages* (Edinburgh 1998), 69-81.

⁶⁸ *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 370; *Chron. Bower*, vii, 359-65; Contamine, 'Froissart and Scotland.' Yet such was David's image that a later English chronicle mistakenly asserted that in 1420 King James I of Scotland, son of David II (sic!), was captured by England while on his way to the Holy Land [*Les Anciennes Chroniques d'Engleterre par Jehan de Warin*, ed. M. Dupont (2 vols., Paris 1858), i, 209-10].