

ABBEY OLD CHURCH

Extracted from
Historical and Statistical Account
of the Town and Parish of Dunfermline Vol. 1/ P. 114-154

by
Rev Peter Chalmers, A.M.

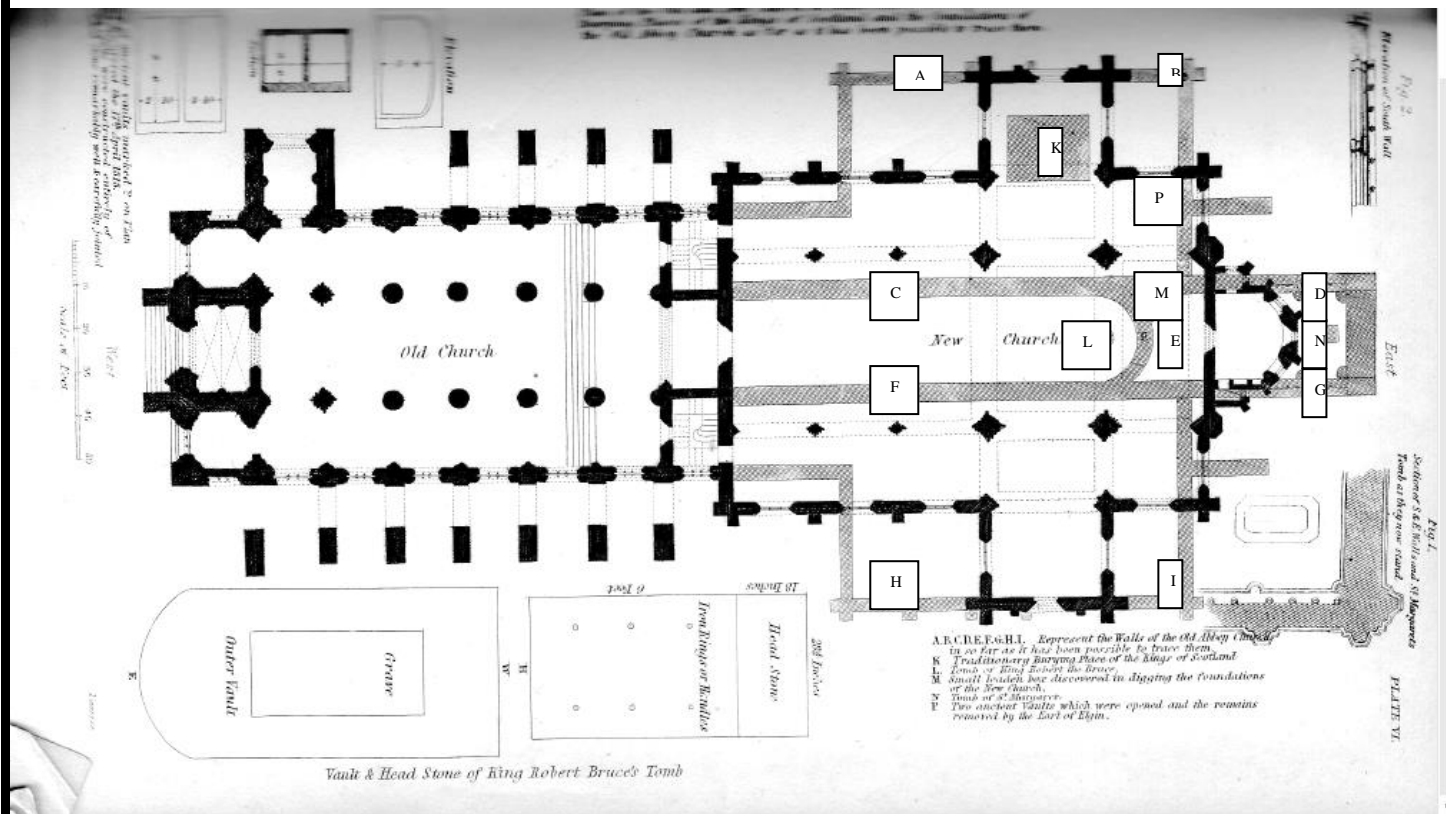
Minister of the first charge, Abbey Church

DUNFERMLINE



**PLAN OF THE OLD AND NEW CHURCH
OF DUNFERMLINE**
**Showing the burial places of the
KINGS OF SCOTLAND**
**And the foundations of the
OLD ABBEY CHURCH**
As far as it has been possible to trace them.

Plan of ancient vaults marked and discovered the 17th April 1818.
 These vaults were constructed entirely of polished stone remarkably well & carefully joined.



Vault & Head Stone of King Robert Bruce's Tomb

- A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I. Represent the Walls of the old Abbey Church
- K. Traditionary Burying Place of the Kings of Scotland See Page 18 & 21.
- L. Tomb of King Robert the Bruce.
- M. Small leaden box discovered in digging the foundations of the New Church. See page 32.
- N. Tomb of St Margaret.
- P. Two ancient Vaults which were opened and the remains removed by the Earl of Elgin.

ABBEY OLD CHURCH

Extracted from
Historical and Statistical Account
of the Town and Parish of Dunfermline Vol. 1/ P. 114
by
Rev Peter Chalmers, A.M.
Minister of the first charge, Abbey Church
DUNFERMLINE

Compiled by Sheila Pitcairn

This is all that remains of the ancient and large ecclesiastical edifice of this place, spared from the ravages committed first by the English in the fourteenth century, and afterwards by the Reformers in their zeal against Popery. Whether it was built at the time of the Monastery being founded by Malcolm Canmore, has been doubted. It is true that the convents and chapels north of the Forth, then generally occupied by the disciples of Columba, were long merely "small rustic edifices, constructed of wood or wattles, and covered with reeds and rushes." But still there were many stone buildings at the time of Malcolm Canmore, and some of them of note as ecclesiastical structures, especially at St Andrews, Abernethy, and Brechin. Malcolm too, had resided in England during the sixteen years that Macbeth held the throne, and must have seen the superb churches which were common there; and, therefore, after his return to Scotland, and marriage with Margaret, who also had been in England, he might resolve to erect a church here, which, indeed according to Boece, he did by the persuasion of Turgot, the Queen's confessor, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity. Buchanan, too, says that he built it "at great expense;" and Leslie, "magnificently" (templum, in civitate Dunfermlin-gensi magnifice suis impensis extractum, sanctiss, Trinitati dicavit.) Turgot relates, "that it was enriched with numerous ornaments vessels of solid gold, and an inestimable crucifix, formed of gold, silver, and precious stones.* But how much of the edifice Malcolm built, or of the original structure still remains, is uncertain. Additions were doubtless from time to time made to it, or portions of it replaced, particularly by Alexander I, who according to Buchanan and Leslie,¹ finished the abbey begun by his father, and greatly increased its revenues; as also by David I,² Alexander III³ and James VI,

* "I can speak more confidently of these, as I was appointed by the Queen to take charge of them, and long had them in my custody." - *Vida Margaretae apud Bolandum et Pinkerton*. See also *Hay's Scot Sacr.* p. 323.

¹ "He splendidly adorned the Abbey, which his father left unfinished, *fastigio imposito* (probably by *surmounting it with a tower*), and enriched it with many estates."

² See page....

³ In a Bull of the 7th year of Innocent IV. (1250), reign of Alexander III.) there are these words, "*Ecclesia nostra per nobilioris structurae fabricam fuerat augmentata*," Our Church has been enlarged by the erection of a more magnificent structure," and, notwithstanding this the Pope dispensed with the consecration of the church of new, because the old walls still remained. The erection of the Lady Chapel may have formed part of the enlargement, and the translation of the sainted patroness to it may have been arranged, in order to give solemnity to the opening of the church in its new form. - *Pref. to Dunf. Chart.* p. 25 and 131.

Malcolm, too, founded the new cathedral at Durham in August 1093, just three months before his death, with the assistance of Turgot, its prior, which may have account for the military in the style of architecture in the two buildings, particularly in the zig-zag lines on some of the pillars.¹

This part of the building formed the nave of the Abbey Church when completed, or the vestibule or passage to the principal portion of it, where the choir was, as it now does to the new place of worship. The black lines on Page 2, represent both edifices as they now stand. The internal dimensions of the present Old Church are as follows: - Length of the nave from the west door to its east wall 106 feet; breadth, inside of columns, 20 feet; total breadth, within walls, 55 feet; height 54 feet; breadth of the side aisles including columns, 17½, and their height 29 feet. The side aisles are arched with stone, and the roof of the centre of the nave is of wood. While the church was in use, there was for many years a lower roof or awning of wood for the sake of sound and cold. There are two ranges from E. to W. of five massive columns each, 20 feet in height, and 13½ in circumference, or 4½ in diameter, and 10½ distant from each other, with four large semicolumns. Some of these are plain and others clustered, two are marked with zig-zag, and two with spiral-ribbed lies. The semicircular arches which spring from and connect the columns, support the inner walls of the nave. The clustered columns at the west end have a pointed arch which likewise supports the inner wall. The style of the architecture is of a mixed kind, termed by some Saxon-Gothic, and by others, probably with greater propriety, Anglo Norman. On the north side there were originally five Saxon or founded windows, 8 feet in length to the top of the arch, and 4 feet wide. Three of these have subsequently been converted into Gothic or pointed windows, 11½ feet high to the point of the arch, and 5 feet 4 inches wide, with two mullions forming three compartments, and the top filled with tracery. On the south side there are six windows all Saxon. Beneath each of all these windows both on the north and south walls, there were four slender pilasters, connected above with beautifully carved arches, the remains of which are still visible. There is a fine specimen close to the north porch on the east side. The capital which remains of one of the pilasters on the south wall near the east end, has a representation of scales which was not unusual in such architecture. In front of these pilasters, and between the large columns, stood the small altars common in Roman Catholic buildings. Over the north and south aisles is a broad passage, or ambulatory, 29 feet from the floor, along the whole length of the building, from which probably, as in some other places, the solemn processions in the nave of the church might be viewed, as well as intended, perhaps, to afford a retreat or temporary sanctuary for such refugees as fled hither for protection from violence or seizure and who were thus enabled to see the ceremonies of the church, above the rest of the audience, and at the same time to enjoy personal safety; Above this there is another range of similar passages. The windows of both ranges are now shut up.

⁵ `Anno 1093, Ecclesia nova Dunelmi (Durham) est incepta tertio Kalend. Augusti feria quinta Episcopo Willielmo et Malcolmo rege Scottorum, et Turgoto priore, ipso die ponentibus primos in fundamento lapides." - *Reg ri de Hovden Annal. fol.* 1601, p. 463.
"Malcolmus (III) Dnelmense templum vetustate collapsum *refecit.*" - Leslie, p. 203.

The steeple in the north-west angle, and pillars supporting it are evidently, from their appearance, of later erection than the church, and are said to have been added by James VI. The steeple is very neat 156 feet in height, and the bartizan walk on it nearly 98. From this walk which encircles the steeple, and to which there is an ascent by a long temporary wooden staircase in the south tower, and a narrow steep stone one in the steeple, part of which is dark, there is a most extensive, beautiful diversified prospect. Part of no fewer than fourteen counties can be seen from it. The most remote and striking objects are Soutra-hill in Berwickshire; Lammermoor, dividing East Lothian from Berwick; Pentland Hills, Edinburgh Castle and City, Arthur's Seat, and other adjacent high grounds in Mid-Lothian; Tintock, in Lanark; Binnylaw, Hopetoun House, Blackness Castle, and Bo'ness, in West Lothian; Falkirk Grangemouth, Campsie, and Ochil Hills, in Stirling; Benlomond in Dumbarton; Benledi, in Perth; the windings of the Firth of Forth, from the Bass Rock to near Stirling Castle; and in the immediate neighbourhood, to the west, the Town and Abbey of Culross, and Saline; Craighluscar, Cleish, and Beath Hills to the north; with Broomhall House, and most of the gentlemen's seats in the parish.

There are two bells in the steeple, one of which was a donation of Queen Anne, and the other of the town of Dunfermline, but both were refounded in 1728.*

What is called the old steeple or tower, directly south of the present one, and which was long considered in a very dangerous state, fell during the night of the 19th August 1807.¹ It was 80 feet high, and was soon after rebuilt by the heritors on a plan furnished by Mr William Stark, Edinburgh, a native of the parish, and a young man of great promise who died in early life.

Another steeple, which stood at the east end and north side of the present old Church, fell about 80 or 90 years ago. Near to it, on the south, in the centre of the building, where the old and new churches are now united, as seen in Page 2, stood the lofty central tower sometimes named the *Lantern* Tower, probably from the number and size of its windows, and from lamps having been suspended in it at night on great festivals, diffusing an abundance of light which light serve as a guide to travellers.

* The following inscription is cast on both of them in Roman capitals: - "Refounded by the Town of Dunfermline and Heritors of the Paroche thereof. Robert Maxwell and Company fecit. Edinburgh, Anno 1728."

Around the upper part of the smaller one there is a representation of a boar-hunt, each boar being pursued by two men and dogs, and having in front another man pointing at it a long pole or spear. The larger bell has only an ornamental scroll on it. Both are very excellent in tone. On the 13th October 1726, the present weathercock was set upon the steeple by David Inglis, wright, and author of the MS. Journal regarding Dunfermline formerly noticed. In 1805, a townsman taking aim at this object, fired a bullet through its neck, and high winds causing a loud whistling melancholy noise to issue through the perforation, long excited astonishment and alarm in the minds of the inhabitants, especially at night, till they were made aware of the real cause of the new and strange sound, proceeding from the vicinity of the mansions of the dead. It has now ceased, from the wethercock having become stationary.

² The Globe newspaper, of the 2nd September following, narrates the occurrence, stating, that the steeple buried in its ruins a stable and part of a barn, and killed three horses, and also, that three escaped, and that had the accident taken place during day, the consequence might have been fatal, the area below being a general resort for children.

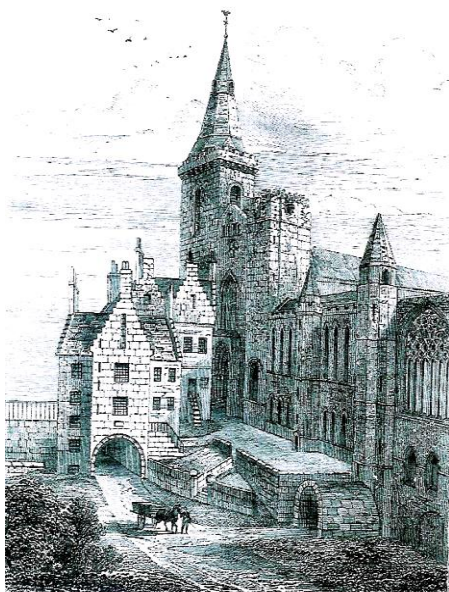
There were two great porticoes, one on the north-west, and the other opposite to it, on the south side of the nave, only some traces of the last of which still remain. There was an inner enclosed portico at the west door, which has been taken down. This, and the north porch, are exhibited on Page 2. At the west entrance there is a beautiful Norman door-way, 20 feet in height and 16 in breadth, with six slender pilasters on each side, supporting an equal number of arches carved in the zig-zag style, on the highest of which are also figures of twelve human heads which were wont to be named those of the twelve apostles.

The north porch is 14 feet in length, 12 in breadth, and about 15 in height, from the present, but about a foot and a half more from the original floor, as proved by the pedestals of the pillars at the inner door, being that distances beneath the present surface. It has an elegant groined ceiling, with ten sculptured key-stones, containing, among other devices, two defaced shields, supported by angels with expanded wings, and four heads, apparently of monks. Outside of it there is a circular arch, over the centre of which is a small vacant niche, and on each side of the porch, a few feet from the north wall of the church, is a light buttress, having a similar niche in it.

The portico at the south door of the nave extended as far out as the front of the large old fling buttress adjoining, and seems to have been built at the same time with it, if not much earlier. There are still to be seen, on the side of the buttress the remains of the roof of the portico, and over the door, the spring of an arch which supported it, - evidently inserted subsequently to the erection of the wall, and of a more modern style of architecture, than that of the north porch.

This porch was in all probability connected with the piazza or covered cloister passage, which led directly over to the dining hall of the Fraternity a distance of 105 feet, along which the monks could walk in all weathers, both day and night, to their frequent watchings and prayers in the church. The space occupied by the cloister yard was turned into a tennis court or bowling-green after the Reformation and very lately into part of the extended burial-ground.

The great west door was, it is likely, the entrance for the royal family, from the Queen's House in its immediate vicinity; the north would be intended for the inhabitants of the town and others; and the south for the ecclesiastics from the Fraternity.



Rev Peter Chalmers.
Historical and statistical account of Dunfermline.
volume 2. Showing West Door of Abbey and
Anne of Denmark's House

Close to the outside of the south door on the east, there is inserted in the wall, the representation of a shield having a crest, with an earl's cornet above, and date 1607, which being the crest of the Earl of Dunfermline, may have been placed there, when



the flying buttresses, 4 on the north and 7 on the south side of the church, and the steeple on the north-west angle, were built, of which, as constable of the royal and other edifices, he would have the superintendence. These buttresses, which are very heavy are opposite to the columns within, with a base about 8 feet north to south, and 4½ east to west, and stand 17½ feet out from the wall, seemingly to prevent it from reclining outward. The whole space under the southern ones had been once covered, with a deep sloping roof from the bottom of the original Saxon windows. The eastern part is still so and forms a burying-vault, which being nearly behind the King's gallery in the church, may have been once used by the royal family. It was gifted by Queen Anne to her chamberlain Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie, in 1616. Over the door of the vault is the following Latin inscription: - "ANNA REGINA MAGNÆ BRITANNLÆ AC DOMINA DOMINII DE DUNFERMLINE DOMINO HENRICO WARDLAW DE PITRAVIE MILITI, ET SUIS POSTERIS HUNC LOCUM IN SEPULTURAM DEDIT 1616."* Sir Henry Wardlaw had obtained from the Queen a ratification to his office of chamberlain, of the lordship and regality of Dunfermline four years previous. His representatives do not now reside in the parish, nor have any property in it, but they, and other connexions of the family, still use the bury-vault.

The eastern wall was built, and the roof of the nave and aisles, as also some of the windows were renewed, it is supposed, after the choir and transepts, had been demolished, and about the time when this part of the edifice began to be used as a Protestant place of worship at the Reformation. As such it was employed from that period till 1821, when it was abandoned for the new and elegant church adjoining it. The carved oak pulpit stood on the central northern pillar, whence two bars of iron which supported it, still project; and the desk had the usual ancient accompaniment of a sandglass, resting on a light iron pedestal. On the top of the back of the pulpit were the words, "Who is sufficient for these things?" and the date, it is believed of 1634. In 1822, soon after a visit to the town by Sir Walter Scott, and in compliance with a written request of his, the heritors unanimously resolved to make a present to him of the pulpit, having then agreed to take it down, along with the royal gallery. Part of it, accordingly, now adorns the entrance-hall of Abbotsford, where it will doubtless be long and carefully preserved, among the other memorials of the ecclesiastical and chivalrous antiquities of our country.

* "Ann, Queen of Great Britain, and Lady of the lordship of Dunfermline, gave to Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie, Knight, and his descendants his burial-place, 1616. Above the inscription are the Wardlaw arm on a shield with MEMENTO MORI, and below it are the words ULTIMA DOMUS (The last house.)

The royal gallery stood between and covering the front of the two columns on the south side, a little to the east of the pulpit. On the lower part of the wooden ceiling were painted and in gilt the crowns of Scotland and Denmark, and below these respectively were the letters I.R. and A.R. the initials of James VI. and his Queen Anne. Higher up was the crown of Scotland, and below it were the letters I.R. with the Scottish thistle between them. Immediately over the seat was a scarcely legible inscription, beginning "CUM.DEUM.COGITAS.QUI.DAT.VITAM. ET. NECESSARIA." -*

The front of the seat made of oak, which is still preserved in Dunfermline, was 18 feet long, elegantly carved and gilt, and had in the centre a crown between the letters I.R. and A.R. and a circle beneath, with some devices almost totally defaced, and the date 1610. On the western wooden partition, between the royal gallery and the adjoining one, which belonged to the Earl of Dunfermline, were these inscriptions, among some others, much defaced: - PER.RELIGIONEM.DEUS.COGNOSCITUR. NEQUE. FIERI.COGNITUS. QUIN.AMETUR.ET.COLATUR;" and "HIC. DEUM ADORA."¹

The Earl of Dunfermline's, afterwards Marquis of Tweeddale's, Gallery, was immediately adjacent to the royal one on the west. There were painted on the wooden ceiling of it two coronets, and some other devices not very distinct, with the following inscriptions: - "QUUM.DEUM.VOCAS.DOMINUM.FAC.ILLI.SERVIAS,"&-"VITA.CHRISTI.TESTATUR.HUMANAM.EJUS.PROBITATEM.MIRACULA.DIVINITATIS. OMNIPOTENTIAM.LELX.CELESTIS.SAPIETIAM.-ILLI.OMNIA. CREDERE. DEBEMUS. IN. CUJUS.POTESTATE.SUNT.RERUM.OMNIUM.EVENTUS.-PETITE.A DEO. ET. ACCIPIETIS. &.-HÆC.EST. VITA. ETERNA. UT. COGNOSCAMUS. PATREM. ET. QUEM. ILLE.MISIT.JESUM.CHRISTUM."² Over the door, between this gallery and the royal one, were four square connected compartments, on the first of which was COLE (worship), on the second DEUM (God), and on the third TE IPSUM (thyself). The fourth was illegible, but may have been COGNOSCE (known). Above another compartment was PHAESTES (may'st thou excel), and below it VIVES (thou shalt live.)

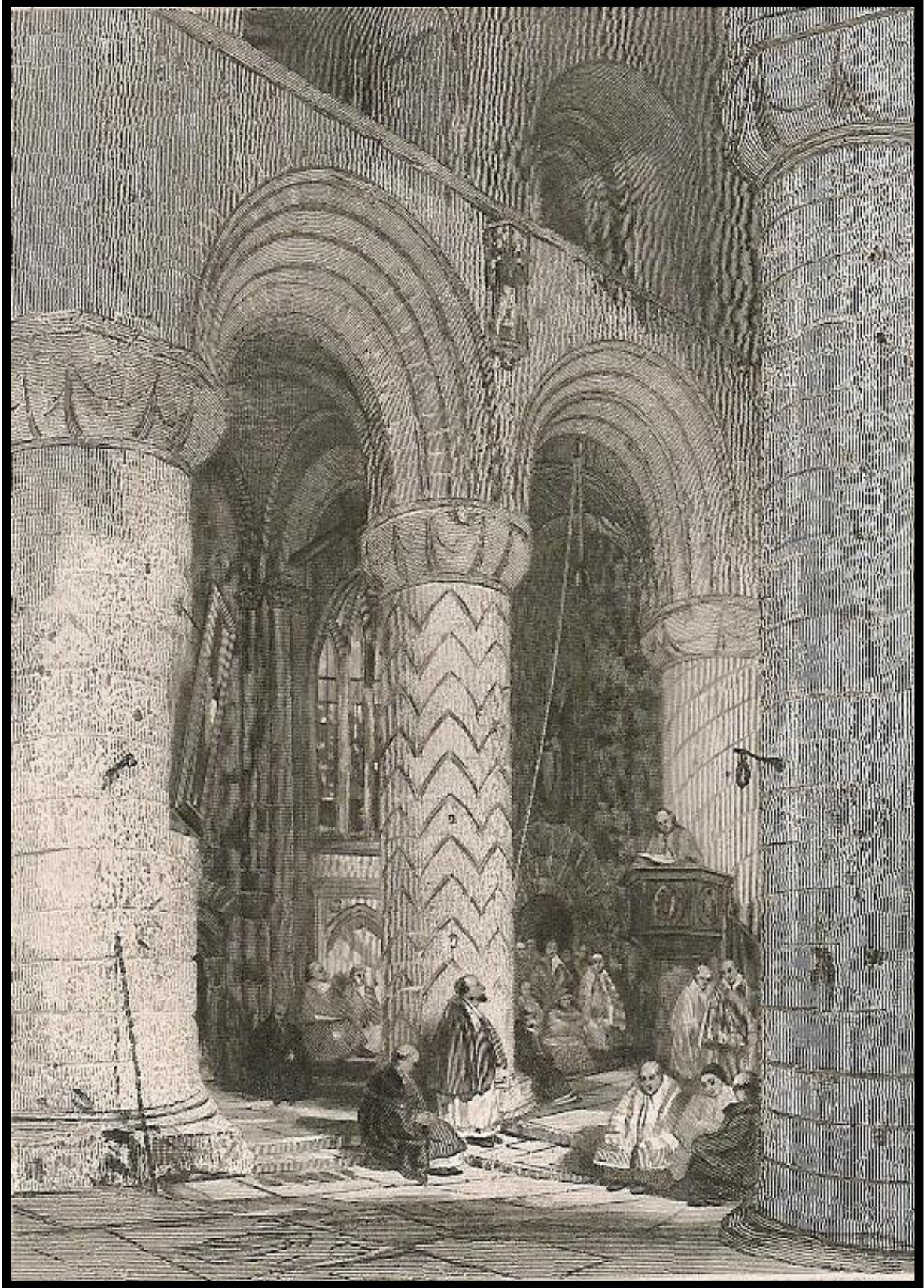
On the front of the seat was a board containing the following inscriptions and devices: - SEMPER (always), a crescent, a coronet (gilt), a shield, in four compartments, two of which had three crescents, and the other two three mullets each, supported by two white horses, with the motto below - "NEC. CEDE. ADVERSIS. REBUS.NEC.CREDE.SECUMDIS;"³ the coat or arms of the Earl of Dunfermline. The board is still preserved in Mr Paton's interesting and valuable collection of national antiquities, and the front of the seat (of oak) was sent to Abbotsford, along with the pulpit.

* "When thou thinkest on God, who gives life and things needful".

¹ God is learned by religion, nor can he become known, without being loved and worshipped." Here adore God."

² When thou callest on the Lord God, see that thou serve him, &. The life of Christ bears witness to his human excellence; His miracles to the omnipotence of His divinity; His heavenly doctrine to His wisdom. We ought to trust all things to Him, in whose power are the events of all things. Ask from God, and you shall receive. This is life eternal, that we know the Father and Jesus Christ, whom He has sent."

³ Neither yield to adversity, nor trust to prosperity.



Drawn by G. Cattermole. Engraved by W. Simmons.
Published in 1834 by Charles, Tilt Fleet Street London.

All the inscriptions in these galleries were in Roman capitals and gilt, most of the devices were also gilt, and the rest of the wood was painted of a whitish colour.

The Magistrates' Gallery was on the right of the pulpit.

The two aisles of the church are now used as the burying-ground of these heritors, who formerly interred in what was named the Psalter* church-yard the site of the ancient eastern church the exchange having been made at the time, and in consequence of the new church being erected on that spot. At the east end of the north wall is a mounted, erected to the memory of Secretary Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline, on which the coat-armorial is still very distinct, and in good, preservation. On the centre of the north wall is another in memory of the son of Abbot Dury, along with a modern one, in memory of the Abbot and his descendants, proprietors of Craighuscar, in the north-west of the parish. Near to this originally stood also the monument of Mr William Schaw, Architect to James VI, which in order to make room for a window, was removed about fifty years ago to the bottom of the steeple where it now is. Their epitaphs, and some others, are given in the Appendix. P. 487.

On the south wall there is a neat white marble tablet, with a suitable English inscription, to the memory of the late Major David Wilson, long Provost of the burgh, and a very active public spirited gentleman, who died in 1822.

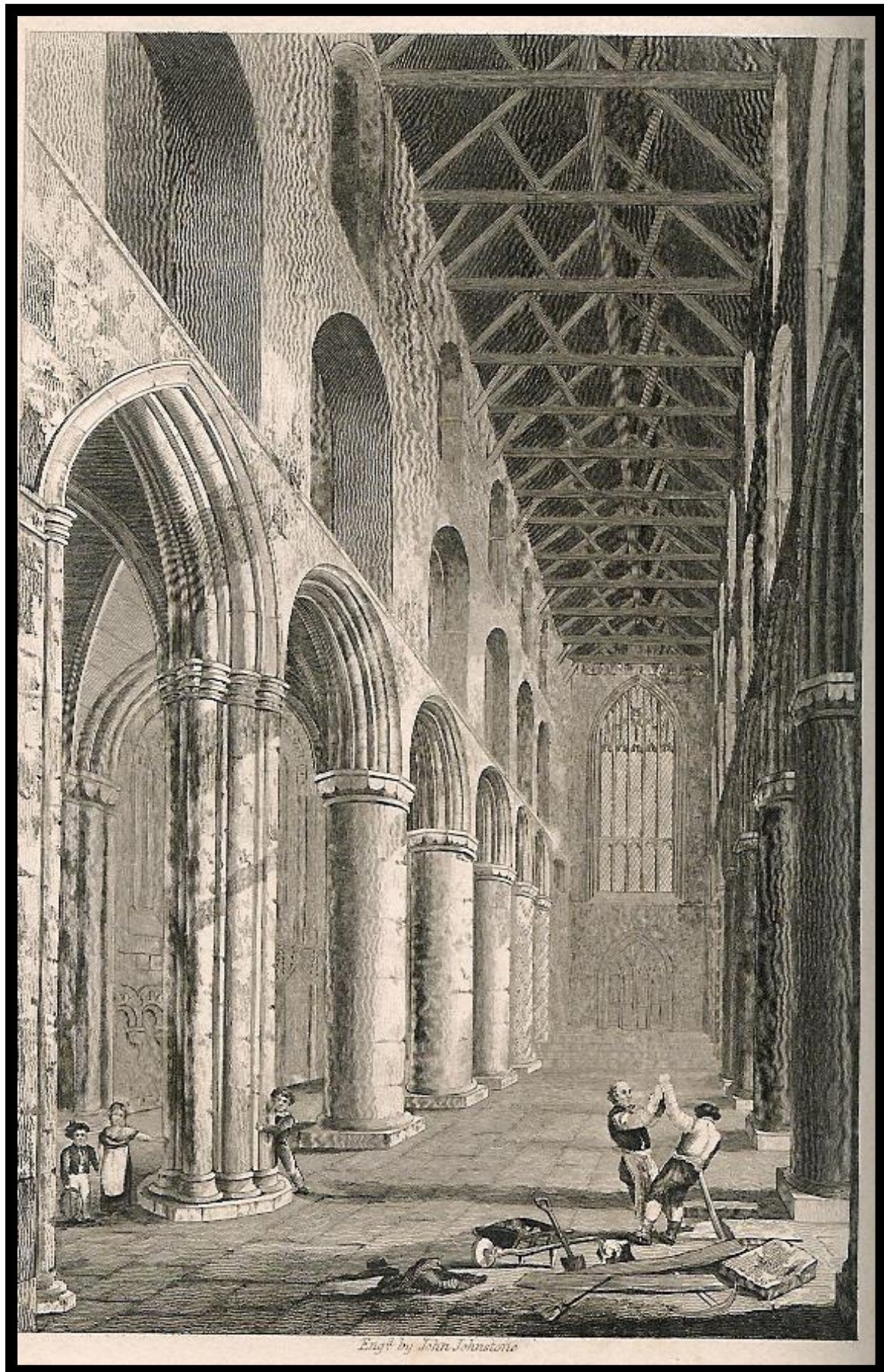
In the middle area of the church there is a large flat long stone, bearing in Old English letters the name *JOHANNES SCOTT*, &c, and the date *m^o v^o viii*, the oldest gravestone, it is believed, now remaining, with a legible inscription, on the once lettered pavement of the Abbey Church. The floor bears traces of having been once covered with devices, inscriptions, and even brass plates, now long since torn off, over the remains of the once illustrious persons, ecclesiastics, or burgesses, who had been interred underneath.

On the east wall of the north porch, there is a neat marble monument, erected to the memory of Adam Rolland of Gask, Esq., who died in 1763, grand-father of the present proprietor of Gask and Luscar, with an excellent character of him, written in elegant Latin; and on the opposite side there is one in memory of William Hunt, Esq, merchant, who died in 1788, grandfather of the present proprietor of Pittencrieff.

There are memorials of some of others also.

It is matter of regret that this ancient and interesting fabric should remain in such a state of dilapidation as it has so long done, more especially as the Barons of Exchequer, at the time of the erection of the new church, gave the heritors reason to expect a pecuniary grant for repairing and upholding it, in consequence of their having incurred a large additional expense in extending, at the desire of the Barons, the plan of the new church, so as to enclose within its walls, and the better to protect the spot, which is understood to contain some of the ancient royal remains of Scotland: - an act of liberality on the part of the heritors, which they enhanced by heightening of there own accord, the tower, and topping its pinnacles with royal crowns and large letters, commemorative of the patriot king whose bones were discovered at the same period to repose beneath. Memorials containing applications for pecuniary aid, for this purpose, have been presented by the heritors and magistrates three several times - first in 1832, and then in 1834, addressed to the Barons of Exchequer, and latterly, in 1836, to the Commissioners of Woods and

* So named, probably, from the Greek verb *Psallo* (to sing) as being the place where the music, was performed. Colloquially it was pronounced *Satur*.



Engd by John Johnston

make similar provisions, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, for upholding ancient ecclesiastical and other buildings, few of which can boast of so great historical interest as the present; and this apart from the special claim now adverted to. It is to be hoped, however, that something may yet be done towards the preservation and improvement of the edifice.

Ancient Eastern Church. - The foundations of the walls of this portion of the Abbey Church, so far as can be traced, are marked in faint lines on Page 2, discovered at the time of the erection of the New Church. On the lines C and F were found the bases of the series of columns, being continuation of those which are in the nave or west part of the building. The only part of the walls which are now visible, are at the eastern extremity, around the monument of tombstone of Queen Margaret (marked N), namely, the south and east walls, and a small fragment of the north. What remains of the south wall is 22½ feet in length, and 4½ in thickness, and of the east wall, 19 feet in length, and 5½ in thickness. Both are about 3 feet above the present surface, but the droved ashlar work of which they consist, extends 5 feet below it. On the scarcement of the south wall, inside, are the pedestals of six small columns, and on that of the north, it is likely there would be the same. Inside the walls, on the ground, are parts of four larger columns. On the south-east corner, out-side, there still exists a considerable portion of a large, and what must have been a very handsome double connected buttress, facing both south and east, with several small angular projections, and on the south wall there are the remains of two similar and smaller ones. All these parts are well shewn in a separate section and elevation on the Page 2.*

The inside area is 19 feet in width from north to south, in the centre of which is the tombstone of Queen Margaret, which is 9 feet in length, and 6½ in breadth, 3 feet from the east wall, and 5 from the wall of the session-house of the New Church. The floor at this place, as well as throughout the original Abbey Church, seems to have been laid with thin flat red bricks in mosaic work, some of which were lately found on the scarcement of the south wall. Other pieces of a lighter colour have been met with, and portions of stained glass, red, blue, and green, were also at one time discovered.

The projection here may have been the site (or near it) of what was common in such buildings, the Lady Aisle or Chapel behind the choir, 40 feet long by 28 broad, outside of walls.

The length of the choir or ancient eastern Church within walls to supposed Lady Aisle, was 100 feet, and to supposed great altar, at E, 90 feet; its breadth, clear of the columns 20 feet, and with these and side aisles, 55 feet. The length of transepts was 115, and their breadth 73 feet. The extreme length of the whole ancient ecclesiastical edifice outside was, 275 feet, and its extreme breadth 130. Till 1818, there were standing four very tall and beautiful Gothic windows which formed part of the north wall of the north transept of the Abbey, but which were removed at the commencement of the building of the New Church in that year. Some good paintings of them, as noticed at p. 81, are in the parish.

* The plate was finished before these figures were added, otherwise the buttresses also would have been shewn on the smaller scale of walls around the tombstone.

There were many altars in "The Abbey or Conventual Kirk of Dunfermline," at which religious services were performed by chaplains appointed for the purpose. The probable sites of some of these in the Old Church, or side aisles of the nave, have already been mentioned, but there were also many in the choir and aisles connected with it. The following is a list of fourteen of these, the names of which have been found in the oldest of the Burgh MS, volumes, commencing 1473, and ending 1574. They are inserted there promiscuously at various periods, ranging from 1507 to 1524:-

1. The High , or Great Altar.¹
2. Our Lady's Altar, "in the Lady Aisle."²
3. The Haly Bluid Altar.³
4. The Rode (Rood), or Holy Cross Altar.⁴
5. St Michael's Altar (The Archangel's).
6. St John's Altar.
7. St Thomas' Altar.
8. St Stephen's Altar.
9. St Mary Magdalene's Altar.
10. St Margaret's Altar, (The Queen's).⁵
11. St Nicholas' Altar.
12. St Ninian's Altar.
13. St Cuthbert's Altar.
14. St Trunzean's Altar.
15. St Laurence's Altar.⁶

¹ Most probably at E in Page 2. as King Robert Bruce, whose tomb is at L, is related to have been interred "under the grand (high) altar," and the remains of Queen Margaret, whose tomb is at N, were deposited above it. The authorities for these and other statements below, are given under the next article *Royal Tombs*.

² Supposed to have been at the extreme east end of the original church where Queen Margaret's tombstone is. The aldermen and bailie were patrons of this altar; and the allowance to the officiating chaplains were eighty-eight shillings Scots per annum, derived from rents or feus of houses in the burgh.

³ So named, as sacred to the memory of the blood of our Saviour. There are a few acres of ground at the east end of the town of Dunfermline, called Holy Bluid acres, from having been devoted, it is likely, to the support of this altar. The houses having been devoted it is likely, to the support of this altar. The houses recently erected there have been denominated Martyr's Place, but doubtless from a misconception of the origin of the name.

⁴ So named in commemoration of the crucifixion at Calvary, and usually had a large crucifix made of wood, silver, or other material, with a human figure on it, often as large as life, representing our Lord, and with other accompaniments of that awful scene. Malcolm III, his Queen, and their son Prince Edward, were interred before this altar. And as his two sons, Edgar and Alexander, were interred near their father, "before the great altar," and David I, his youngest also before the great altar," in the pavement of the middle choir," while Malcolm IV was interred "before the greater altar in the middle of the pavement," site of the Holy Cross altar is thus ascertained to have been somewhere in front of the great altar in the choir.

⁵ Either, it is likely, near where she was first interred at the Rood Altar, or where her body was translated to, at her present tombstone.

⁶ Note N. p.127. Since the list of altars in this page was printed, another has been discovered, being 15. "*St Laurence's Altar*," for the support of which a person and his heirs received from Abbot Richard and the convent, in 1455, a charter to a croft of St Laurence, near the lower gate or port of the burgh, at the west end of the Nethertown; the *reddendum* being 8s. *per annum*. - *Printed Dunf. Chart.* p. 335.

Royal Tombs. - It is well known that the celebrated Iona or Icolmkill, in the Western Isles, was originally, and, for many centuries, the place of royal sepulture. But if the testimony of Boece¹ can be credited on this point, as it has generally been, Malcolm III, changed it to Dunfermline, appointing the church which he had built there to be thenceforth the comon cemetery of the kings of Scotland.² It is certain, too, from other and older authorities, as the Chronicon de Mailros, Chronicon de Lanercost, Fordun, and Winton, tht Dunfermline church was so used from the time of Malcolm III, during many succeeding reigns. At present, all tht remains, perceptible by the eye, of this ancient and once splendid royal burying-place, is the tombstone of Queen or St Margaret, already noticed, which is a large horizontal slab of course blue marble or limestone, in two tiers, about three feet above the surface, at the east end of the new church, outside, marked N. on Page 2, covering the spot in which, it is understood, were once deposited not only her remains, but those of her husband, Malcolm III. There are to be seen on it six indentures, which tradition says, are the prints of candlesticks, in which candles were kept burning; and, it is added, that³ a proprietor in Fife, at Pitiloch, in Falkland parish once paid an impost for lighting them. Early in the twelfth century Waldeve, the son of Gospatric, gave the church of Inverkeithing to the Abbey, "for the love of God and St Margaret," and for the benefit of himself and others who are named, "that our Lord Jesus Christ, by the intercession of that holy Queen, and by the prayers there offered up may have compassion on our souls."⁴ And King Robert I, made a similar gift for burning a perpetual light before the shrine of the blessed Margaret, in the choir.⁵ The earth below this stone was, to a small depth, examined, about three years ago, by two of the heritors; but nothing was found except a few fragments of carved stones.

King Malcolm III, having been slain at the siege of the Castle of Alnwick, in Northumberland, on the 13th November 1093, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign his body was first deposited in the monastery at Tynemouth, by Earl de Moubray, who killed him, and afterwards exhumed by his son, Alexander I, and brought with royal pomp to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline.⁵

His eldest son, Prince Edward, died three days after his father, in consequence of a mortal wound, received at Edward's Dyke, in the forest of Jedwood during the confused flight of the Scottish army from Alnwick; and his body was also conveyed to Dunfermline, and buried, as already stated, near his father, before the altar of the Holy Cross (juxta, patrem ante altare sanctæ crucis).⁶

¹ Boece (Boethius), a native of Dundee, was the first Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, a man of talents, and an elegant writer, but fond of fiction, who wrote a history of Scotland, at the beginning of the sixteenth century; seventeen books of which in a folio volume were published in Latin, at Paris, in 1526. It underwent a second impression, in 1574, at Paris, after his death and was enriched with the 18th and part of a 19th Book, written by himself. A farther continuation of it was executed by Ferrarius, a learned Piedemontese. a good translation of the seventeen books, in te Scottish language, was made by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Murray, for the use, and at the expense, of King James V, of which there was a reprint about twenty years since at Edinburgh, in 2 vols. 4to.

² Ejusdem illius Turgoti suasu Malcolmus trinitatis templum ad Doumfermilen condidit, sanciens ut exinde commune esset regum sepulchrum." Beot. Hist. lib. xii. c. xii.

³ MS. Dunf. Chart, fol. 85. Printed do, p. 94

⁴ MS. Ditto, fol. 19.

⁵ Fordoun, v. 25.

⁶ Ib

Queen Margaret was confined by sickness in the Castle of Edinburgh at the time of her husband's death, and was so affected, it is said, with grief at the sad intelligence of it, and of his body being in the hands of the enemy, as also of her son's mortal wound, that her strength and her spirits failed her - she made confession - received the holy sacrament - gave her dying blessing to those of her children who were around her - and expired on the third or fourth day after Malcolm, the 16th or 17th November 1093. Her remains were conveyed out of the Castle of Edinburgh, according to Fordun, by a postern gate on the west, because the Castle was besieged by Donald Bane on the eastern side. This is said to have been effected very wisely and cautiously by her younger son Ethelred, who was with her at the time, and who, fearing the interruption which might be given from the spirit of insurrection which broke out immediately after the king's death, got the remains removed from the castle previous to her decease being generally known.

Winton says:

Hyr swne Ethelrede, quhen this felle
 That wes hys modyr nere than by
 Gert at the west yhet¹ prewaly²
 Have the cors furth in a myst
 Or mony of hyr endying³ wylt⁴
 And wyth that body thair past syne,
 But ony let⁵ til Dwunfermelyne⁶

Fordun adds, that a mist miraculously sprung up, and did not entirely clear away until they had reached the northern shores of the Firth of Forth, on their way to Dunfermline where her body was deposited. The room in the castle in which Margaret expired was long afterwards known by the name of "the Blessed Margaret's Chamber," as expressed in a royal charter, when a resignation in 1278 took place.**

The remains of Margaret, as well as of Malcolm, were removed about the year 1250, by order of Alexander III, from the spot where they were first laid, viz. the altar of the Holy Cross denominated by Winton "the Rude Awtare of the Kirk of Dunfermline," to a more honourable part of the building, in the choir above the great altar, "*in choro supra majus altare*," or the site of the blue marble slab.* This had been termed the translation of the most holy Queen Margaret and her husband Malcolm. The account gives of this by the early writers already named, and also by Leslie and Hay,⁷ is briefly to the following effect :- Alexander III, came to Dunfermline with the Queen-Mother, bishops, abbots, and other nobles of the

* Fordun, x. 3: "Be-for the Rude Awtare wyth honowre
 Scho wes layd in haly sepulture,
 There hyre Lord wes layd alsuá
 And wyth thame hyre sownnys twá
 Edwarde the fyrst and Ethelred."

WINTON, vii. 3, line 103-7.

¹ Gate. ² Privily ³ Death. ⁴ Knew. ⁵ Without any hindrance. ⁶ Cronykil, vii. 3, line 96-272,3
 vo. i.

** Dal. mon. Antiq. p. 54 MS. Dunf Chart. fol. 15.

⁷ Dr John Leslie was Bishop of Rose, an accomplished scholar, and man of extensive experience, who published a History of Scotland, in Latin, at Rome in 1578; an English translation of which, executed by himself, long unknown to the public, was lately printed by the Bannatyne Club. Father Hay was a descendant of the family of Roslin, and sent to Paris, where he became canon regular of St Genevieve, and Prior of St Pierremont there, and wrote his Scotia Sacra, still in MS, at the end of the seventeenth century.

kingdom, when they took up the bones of the renowned Queen, his grandmother, from a stone monument in which for many ages they had rested, and deposited them with much devotion in a silver chest magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. On processing through the church, and reaching the monument of Malcolm all were astonished, it is gravely related, by a kind of miracle then wrought, in the sudden halting of the bones of Margaret, which could not be moved till those of Malcolm were diligently gathered together and placed in the same chest, which being done, there was no impediment to the procession.

Saynt Margretis body a hundry yhere
Lay be-for the Rwd Awtere,
In-to the kyrk of Dwnfermelyne;
But scho wes translatyd syne
In-to the Qwere, quhare scho now lyis,
Hyr spyryt in-til Paradys.
And of that translatyowne,
Made wyth weneratyowne
The Fest yhit is haldyne ay
Be-fore Mydswmyr the fyft day.

WINTON vii. 3. line 115-24.,.

This translation was commemorated in the Popish church by a festival, about the exact time of which, as Dr Jamieson informs us, there has been a little controversy. "Winton says" (as above) that the feast of her translation is still observed with great veneration, the fifth day before mid-summer.' This, however, in the list of holidays, given by D. Macpherson, the editor of Winton, is fixed to June 19th. There is still some vestige of its having been formerly observed on this day; for the 19th of June is kept at Forfar (according to the last (old) statistical account) 'as an anniversary in honour of St Margaret, Malcolm Canmore's queen.' I cannot, however, account for it, that David Chalmers gives the 10th as the day observed in memory of her translation. This exactly corresponds with the English Martyrology, A. 1608* The coffer which contained some sacred relics of St Margaret, the tutelar saint of Dunfermline, especially her reputed skull and auburn hair, by which many miracle were said to be wrought, and for the veneration paid to which many indulgences were granted, was, during the troubles of the Reformation, carried first to the castle of Edinburgh, and shortly afterwards to the manor-house of George Dury, abbot of Dunfermline (situated on Craighluscar Hill in the north-west part of this parish), who resided there after the plunder of the monastery, and the flight of the religious from it. It was, in 1597, delivered to the custody of the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland, who thinking it was in danger of being lost or profaned, conveyed it to Antwerp, and it was ultimately lodged in the Scotch college at Douay, where it was exhibited as a pious relic, so late as 1770. It was lost, however, in the confusion which attended the suppression of the

* Jamieson's Royal Palaces, p. 138. Keith, in his Calendar of Scots' Saints, makes the day also 19th June, Cat, & p. 377. But Father Hay names the 10th June as the festival of this princess. Scotia Sac. i. 327. And Lord Hailes says, - "In 1673, Clement X allowed an office of St Margaret to be celebrated on 10th June. In 1678 Innocent XI appointed the Festival of St Margaret to be a festival of the Church, and again transferred it to the 10th of June. This was at the request of James II, and his queen, for reasons which will occur to the reader; *Acta Santorum*. 10th June, p. 333." (Annals 4to. vol. i. p. 42.) See also Bishop Geddes' Life of S Margaret, 8 vol, 1794, pp. 48, 53, for a further account of these changes.

order of Jesuits. It is said that certain relics both of Margaret and Malcolm III, are preserved in the Escorial in Spain.*

Previous to the Reformation, one of the pilgrimages in Scotland was to Dunfermline abbey, on account of the shrine of St Margaret. There are still to be seen in Dalmeny parish about a mile from South Queensferry, on the Edinburgh road the remains of the "Pilgrim's Cross." It is on the south side of the road, on the summit of the rock, through which the road has been cut, and where the first view of Dunfermline, previous to the trees being planted, would be had by a pilgrim from the south; in reaching which he would no doubt kneel down in gratitude and adoration for such a near termination of his journey, and for joy at the prospect of soon treading the sacred courts of the monastery. The upper part of the shaft of the cross has been broken off, but the lower part, about a foot in height still remains in the centre of the old stone pedestal, which is between three and four feet square. This has recently been very properly surrounded by four new stones fastened together with iron, for security Bishop Geddes, in describing the spot, says, "that it was regarded as a place of *devotion*, and a *cross of stone* was erected, which was demolished at the change of religion; but its pedestal is still to be seen, and the eminence has the name to this day (1794) of *Cross Hill*, and so, likewise, the neighbouring farm is called."¹



* Hay's Scotia, MS. vol. i. -327-329. Fern. Hist. p. 87. Maitland Hist. vol. ii. p. 294. Dal. Mon. Antiq. p. 17.

¹ Life of Margaret, p. 50.

Besides Malcolm III, his Queen Margaret, and their eldest son, Prince Edward, named by Winton Edward I, there were according to different authors, interred at Dunfermline, the following royal distinguished personages: -

Edward, eldest son of Malcolm III;
King Edgar;
Alexander I;
David I;
Malcolm IV;
Malcolm, Earl of Athole and his Countess, in the reign of William the Lion;
Alexander III; and Margaret, his first Queen;
David and Alexander his sons;
Robert I; and Elizabeth his Queen;
Mathildis, their daughter;
Annabella Drummond, Queen of Robert III, and mother of James I;
Constantine and William Ramsay, Ears of Fife;
Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, nephew of Robert I, Regent of Scotland during the minority of David II;
Robert, Duke of Albany, and Earl of Fife and Menteith, Governor of Scotland;*

together with those ancient public characters, whose monuments stand in the Old Church, formerly spoken of.

Till the present New Church was built, there were to be seen, on the north side of the Psalter church-yard, (K) Page 2, although now not visible, being under the floor of the north transept of the New Church, six very large flat stones, the smallest being 7 feet long, and above 3 feet broad and the largest 9 feet inches long and five feet 2 inches broad, and all of them between 6 and 7 inches thick, closely adjoining, and arranged in two parallel rows.

* Edward interred in the Trinity Church of Dunfermline, before the Altar of the Holy Cross - Balfour's Annals, Edinburgh, 1824; I, p.2 Hailes' Ann, i. p. 24.

King Edgar was he fourth son of Malcolm III, and succeeded to the throne in 1098. He is said by historians to have been amiable in his temper and mild in his administration, "beloved and revered by the virtuous, but formidable to the turbulent." He founded the Monastery at Coldingham. He died 7th January 1107, in the 10th year of his reign, according to some at Dundee, and to others at Edinburgh, and he was buried in the church of Dunfermline, before the gret altar, nigh to his father." - Fordun, v. 35.

Alexander I, fifth son of Malcolm III, succeeded his brother in 1107. He was distinguished as the Fierce, being of a fiery, impetuous disposition, and thus terrible to evil-doers. But he was profuse in his charity, and liberal to the church. He greatly increased, as already state, the revenues of the monastery at Dunfermline, the church of which, begun by Malcolm he finished. He founded a monastery at Inch Colm, and dedicated it to St Columba, out of gratitude to the Patron Saint of the Island to whose intercession he attributed his deliverance from a storm which he encountered near it, by which his life was put in imminent hazard. He was detained in the island three days till the storm abated, and was hospitably entertained by a hermit out of his frugal means. He died at Stirling 26th April 1124, in the 18th year of his reign and "was buried at Dunfermline honourably, on the day of St Mark the Evangelist, *near his father, before the great altar.*" - Fordun, v. 40.

David I, the youngest son of Malcolm, ascended the throne in 1124. He was distinguished for the affability of his temper, the mildness of his government,, but especially for his munificent donations to the Church. He founded and richly endowed several abbeys and bishoprics, and raised the Priory at Dunfermline to the rank of an Abbey.

They still remain in their original site, a few feet below the surface of the present floor. These were understood to indicate the royal burial-place. "Locum sepulture regium," and to cover the remains of as many sovereigns, or, as a learned antiquarian, Sir John Graham Dalyell, advocate supports, to have had the tombs in which these remains were deposited, or at least some of them, resting upon them. This opinion he thus expressed in his Tract published in 1809. In opposition to general belief, I must acknowledge myself induced to suspect, that they (the Royal remains) were deposited in tombs standing above the large flat stones, or at least, that all were not interred below them; and that these tombs were destroyed in the general wreck of the Abbey."

"He illumynyd in his dayis
 His landys with Kyrkis and wyth Abbayis.
 Byschapyrkis he fand bot foure or thre;
 Bot, or he deyd, nyne or ten,
 And set in thame relygyws men.
 Melros, and Holmcultrane,
 And Newbotil in Lowthyane,
 Kynlos in Murawe, South Berewyke,
 Til Cystews* all in Ordyr lyk;
 Haly-rwdhows he bygged syne,
 Cumbyskynel nere Stewelyne;
 All thir abbays fowndyd he,
 And rychely gert thame dowyt be.
 Of Cawntyrbery in Dunfermylne
 Mwnkis he browcht, and put thame syn,
 And dowyt thame rycht rychely,
 Wyth gret possessyownys and mony."

WINTON, vii. 6, line 31-46.

He lamented the depredations committed by his soldiers on the places of worship in England, and in satisfaction of such injuries, bestowed a piece of plate on every church which had thereby suffered. In consequence of his extraordinary liberty to the ecclesiastical order, James I, King of Scotland, when at Dunfermline, and having the stately monument and shrine of his ancestor David I, named Saint David, pointed out to him as one of the benefactors to the ecclesiastics and church here, quaintly, but not very justly, termed him, "*ane sair sanct to the crown.*" It is related that he was found dead in the attitude of devotion. Buchanan admits him to have been a *good king*. (Lib. vii.) He died at Carlisle, 24th May 1153, in the 30th year of his reign, and, "his body was brought from Carlisle to Dunfermline, and interred *before the great altar, in the pavement of the middle choir* in the noble monastery which he himself had reared and enriched with many possessions." - Fordun, viii, 7.

Malcolm IV. confirms to the Abbey the gifts which he made to it, "on the day when his grandfather (King David) was buried there." - Printed Dunf. Chart. p. 21.

Malcolm IV. succeeded his grandfather, David I, at the early age of twelve, in 1153. He is related to have made a vow of strict purity of life, and to have been intent on divine things, to the neglect even of the administration of his kingdom; but at the same time, to have been fond of military enterprises, so that, in the words of Lord Hailes, "his character exhibits the virtues of a *nun*, his life the qualities of a heroic young prince" - Ann. i. p. 120.

He was surnamed the *Maiden*, rather, it is thought, on account of his youth and fair complexion, than of the blamelessness of his manners. He died at Jedburgh, 9th December 1165, after a reign of only 12 years, and "his body was conveyed with the highest honour by all the distinguished persons of the kingdom, of every rank, as far as Dunfermline, where it rests, interred in the middle of the pavement, on the right of his grandfather King David, *before the greater altar, the royal place of burial.*" - Fordun, viii. 11.

* Cystews [pl. n.] Cistercians, Fr. Cistaws.

(p.6) From what has been said, however in the text and in the note, as to the probable site of the great altar, and most of the sovereigns being interred in front of that altar, in the pavement of the middle choir, and one of them at the Presbytery, which was generally near the altar, and to the east of the choir - and whose remains thus, as Mr Innes remarks (pref. to Chart. p. 25), "all lie crowded round that old high altar" - the correspondence of the locality of these stone with this description is not so evident now as it must anciently have been, when there was a large area to the west of them included, within the original walls as seen on the plan, so that they would still be nearly in the centre of that space, and somewhat *before* both the altar and the Presbytery.

William (the Lion) confirms the right to certain lands in Dunfermline, "which Walter, the son of Alan, my steward, gave to the church on the same day that my brother, King Malcolm (IV), was buried there." - MS. *Dunf. Chart.* fol. 12; *Dal. Mon. Antiq.* p. 51.

In the reign of William, Malcolm, Earl of Athole, and his Countess, appointed Dunfermline the place of their interment. - Ditto, fol. 82; *Dal.*, p.52..

Alexander III. succeeded his father Alexander II, on 8th July 1249, when only eight years of age. He is famed for his great labours in administering justice, having made an annual progress through his kingdom, and held itinerant, courts in every quarter; and although he was unable to reform the rudeness and licentiousness of the age, yet he afford these no encouragement by is own example, which is well spoken of. He died on the 16th March 1286 by accidentally falling, from his horse, over a precipice between Burntisland and Kinghorn, when contrary to the advice of his attendants, proceeding on his journey in the dark night, from North Queensferry to the latter place. Winton says of his death and interment, -

"Alysandyr our king deyd at Kyngorne.
Fra that place he wes had syne,
And enteryd in Dwnfermlyne;
In that Collegyd Kirk he lyis,
His Spyryt in-til paradys. - vii. 10, line 474-478.

and Fordun, after narrating the circumstances of his violent death, adds, "And he is buried in the monestry of Dunfermline, as became a king." - x.40.

His heart, according to Father Hay, was interred at Perth, the parish church of which named St John the Baptist's long belonged to Dunfermline. - *Scot. Sac.* p. 329.

In the *Chronicon de Lamercest* (an Abbey in Cumberland), containing a general history of the affairs of England and Scotland, together with incidental allusions to continental proceedings between 1201 and 1346, *printed by the Maitland Club* 1839, p. 117, there is this additional notice of the site of his tomb, - "1285. He lies at Dunfermline alone in the middle part, and is buried near the Presbytery." The portion of the building, termed the Presbytery, was generally to the east of the choir, and a few steps above it, near the great altar, where the presbyters or priests and other clergy met to perform certain sacred duties. The choir or chancel was set apart for the bishop, abbot and other clergy, while the nave or body of the church was intended for the laity. The writer in the *Chronicon* afterwards adds - "Whence when we see a multitude lamenting, as much his sudden death, as the desolation of the kingdom, they alone did not moisten their cheeks with tears who closely adhered to him or his acts of friendship and god deeds."

Margaret, Queen of Alexander III, and daughter of King Henry III, of England, died at Cupar Castle in 1274, and was interred at Dunfermline, near King David's tomb. - Hay's *Scotia Sacra*, p. 329.

Their son David died at Stirling, and Alexander at Lindores, the latter aged 20, both in 1280, and interred here. - Hay, p.329.

Robert I, "in medio choro" and his Queen Elizabeth, mother of King David II, spoken of afterwards more fully. - Hay, p.329.

David II, spoken of afterwards more fully. - Hay, p. 329.

Mathildis, their daughter, and sister of David (II) Bruce, interred here. - Hay, p. 330.

Queen Annabella is affirmed to have adopted a minor palace at Inverkeithing, where she died 1403, and to have been buried at Dunfermline. - *Chalmers' Gazeteer*, ii. p. 534-5.

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

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

"This coffin had certainly never been opened, and I am inclined to ascribe its structure to a more ancient date than the decease of the kings whose bodies are said to be deposited in the Abbey; for I do not conceive that any of them are contained in it. All the bones were returned to their original situation, and the pieces composing the top of the coffin put over them" (p. 3-5.) - He adds, "The tomb of Robert I, is said to have stood a few yards south-west of the spot examined; but not-with-standing the quantity of iron which we are told was used in its structure, all traces of it are equally obliterated as of the rest." (p. 6-7)

Little valuable information was thus obtained from this investigation so far as it immediate object was concerned, but what is mentioned as at that period only conjecture, founded on ancient historical notices as to the site of the sepulchre of Scotland's most renowned monarch, the achiever of her glory and independence, was proved in 1818 to be a reality. On the 17th February of that year, during the preparations which were going on in the Psalter churchyard towards the building of the New Church, the workmen while clearing away the earth, accidentally came to a vault which they supposed to be that of some distinguished person if not of King Robert, which indeed was expected to be found in that neighbourhood. There happening fortunately at the time to be a meeting in the Town-house of Heritors and Magistrates, with William Burn, Esq., architect and myself, information was immediately given to us of the occurrence when we all repaired to the spot. The vault shewn on Page 2, was seven and a half feet in length, twenty eight and half inches in breadth, and eighteen inches in depth, built of regular and polished masonry.

Thomas Randolph died at Musselburgh, being poisoned, it is said, by an English monk, and was buried at Dunfermline before the altar of "Our Lady," in 1332. - Hay, p. 330.

He orders that he should be buried in the Monastery, and establishes a priest to celebrate masses on certain days for the repose of his soul, during the performance of which, "two wax lights are to burn, one at his head and the other at his feet." - Printed Dunf. Char. p. 244.

Robert, Duke of Albany, died 1419, and was solemnly interred at Dunfermline in St Mary's Chapel (i.e. Our Lady's Aisle). - Balfour's Annals, i. p. 151.

The stones, when afterwards examined, were found to be of a soft gritty sandstone, and easily fractured. The covering consisted of two large flat stones of different sizes; the western one, which formed the headstone, being much smaller than the other, and only 18 inches long. The longer or lower one, when first observed, had on it six iron rings, or rather handles, which had been fixed in with large bats and lead, but in a very decayed state, and some of them even quite loosened from the stone. The head-stone was entire, but the other was broken in several places, probably from the ruins of the edifice having fallen on it. Within the outer vault there was another and smaller one, only seven feet in length, and twenty two and one half inches in breadth, but of the same depth having no additional covering. The larger vault was of an oblong figure, and circular at the east end, the bottom of which was regularly paved with large stones, but which had in it a fracture or opening along its whole length, of about two inches in breadth.

In the inner vault lay a very large body, about 6 feet long, cased in lead, which had been wrapped round it like a sear-cloth. The lead, which consisted of two thin coats, each about the eighth of an inch in thickness, and the upper more corroded than the lower, was pretty entire, except at the breast, knees, and toes, where it was much decayed, exhibiting part of the skeleton of the body in a state of great preservation. It was considerably depressed also the abdomen. There were found the fragments of some very fine linen cloth, interwoven with gold, by means of which I think its texture had been so long kept together, and which apparently had been thrown loosely over the lead, as a shroud after the body had been deposited in the coffin. Sir H. Jardine, the King's Remembrancer, very properly observes, - "This was most probably the same kind of cloth which, in our old records, is called *Toldour*, *Toldore*, and *Twoldere*, most likely, as Dr Jamison remarks a corruption of French *toile d'or* or cloth of gold."* Something of the appearance of a crown was said to be seen on the head, by one or two who were standing near the head-stone, on its first being lifted off; but it must have been of very perishable materials, possibly a part of the shroud, folded in that form round somewhat similar folds in the lead, and must have instantly disappeared on exposure to the air, since others, on having their attention drawn to it, could not observe it. A wooden coffin appeared to have enclosed the body, of which some vestiges still existed. The mouldered wood, which was oak, lay stowed on the bottom of the tomb, and one or two iron nails of large size, with broad-heads, were picked up from amongst it, which had no doubt been used in the wooden coffin. After the first inspection, the grave was closed, and carefully watched; and subsequently, by the direction of the Barons of Exchequer, secured from idle intrusive curiosity or mischievous depredation, by three rows of large flag stones placed over it, in room of those which were removed, and fastened together by strong iron bars, till the intentions of their Lordships, as to farther procedure for a more thorough investigation, were ascertained.

On the 5th November 1819, when the wall of the new church were sufficiently high to exclude a crowd, a second inspection of these interesting remains took place by order of the Barons of Exchequer, in the presence of two of them, viz. the Lord Chief Baron, and Mr Baron Clerk-Rattray, Mr Baron Adam (late Lord Chief Commissioner of the Jury Court), having been unavoidably absent from indisposition, which was much regretted, and he had taken, especially from being an heritor, a very deep and active interest in all the previous arrangements, Sir Henry Jardine, the late Dr Gregory, his Majesty's first physician for Scotland, Dr Monro, Professor of Anatomy

* Printed report relative to the tomb of King Robert the Bruce. - Edinburgh, 1821. 4 to p. 38-9.

in the University of Edinburgh, and other gentlemen of science; W. Burn, Esq., architect of new church the Magistrates o the burgh, many of the heritors and gentlemen of the county; the parochial ministers, and principal inhabitants fo the town of Dunfermline. At this second inspection, it was found that the breast-bones, which were in their natural position when first observed, had collapsed by their exposure to the air; that all the teeth in the under jaw were remaining and entire, but that there were four or five wanting in the upper jaw; and that the jaw-bone in front had received a considerable fracture, which would no doubt have been in some of Bruce's early, bold and hazardous adventures; and that the formation of the skull had any peculiarities, which were pointed out by Sir Robert Liston in his anatomical remarks upon it. One of these is, "that the lower jaw is remarkably strong and deep. This has always been considered," he says, "as a mark of strength; and hence the ancient sculptors, in their imaginary figures of the divinities, have combined depth of this bone, along with the shortness peculiar to youth. The *ramus** rises almost perpendicularly from the base of the bone."¹ Of this inspection, and of Robert the Bruce's tomb generally, the King's Remembrancer published a report in 1821, addressed to the Barons of Exchequer, from which I have extracted some of the particulars now detailed. Dr Gregory also, in a private letter to a friend in London which was published in the *Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature, and Arts*, in 1820² gives a very humorous, and at the same time, professional description of the exhumation and reinterment of Robert the Bruce. The celebrity of the writer, as well as its own intrinsic merits, will excuse, if not fully justify, its being here quoted at length. It was communicated to the editor of the *Journal* with the following short introductory note.

LONDON, *March* 1, 1820.

"DEAR SIR, - The enclosed extract of a private letter, which I received a few days ago from Edinburgh, may, I think, prove acceptable to two classes of your readers; first, to the lover of antiquarian research (and *Ivanhoe* will make us all antiquaries), and secondly, to the natives of `the land of brown heath,' who imbibe with their earliest breath an enthusiasm for the name of Bruce, of which, in these latitudes we cannot be expected to form any adequate idea. It may add to the interest with which it is read, to be told, that it is from the pen of the Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh. - Believe me, &c.
"G."

"EDINBURGH, Thursday, February 10. 1820.

"I had lately in my hands (Nov. 5 1819) the skull of a great king, and a great hero, *Roberti Brusii Scotorum Regis immortalis memoriae*. If you met, with a scotch newspaper, soon after that time, you would know that I had been at his resurrection and reinterment. His grave was *paved* and lined, both sides and head and foot, with *hewn squared* stones, and was covered with three large square stones, each having large iron ring in it.** It was necessary to take down and remove that mason-work, in order to enlarge the grave, so that it might receive the king's new leaden coffin in which his remains, *bonus bona bonum*, for nothing else remained of him, were put. For that purpose and to get room to the workmen who were to build up a new grave for him of brick, the walls of which are made nine inches thick, with an arch of the same thickness over it, a deep trench, full three feet wide, was dug all round the original stone grave. Into that trench I descended, and having got hold of his skull, held it up to the view of the spectators (who were very numerous), telling them, `This is the head of king Robert`.

* Bone proceeding upwards from the back part of the jaw.

¹ Appendix to Sir H. Jardine's Report, p. 52.

² Vol. ix. No. 17, p. 138.

** The Doctor's account differs a little on this from Sir H. Jardine's which last I have followed, as likely to be more correct.

His skull was 490 years after his death, as entire as yours or mine are at present. So were almost all the bones, especially the large ones, but even the *os hyoides*¹ was entire, so were some of the cartiliges of the *larynx*² which had been *ossified*. But all the other cartiliges of his body, as well as the ligaments, tendons, and all the softer parts, were completely mouldered into dust. Even the intervertebral cartiliges³ were gone, so that I easily lifted some of the vertebræ and the left *humerus*, without moving the neighbouring bones. The *femur*⁴ too, was lifted earsily. It was carefully measured, and found to be 17½ inches long; supposing it to have been the fourth part of his whole length (the common proportion in a well made man), his stature must have been 5 feet 10 inches, or, at the utmost 5 feet 11 inches, making allowances for the want of cartilage at both ends of it. His skull, too, was of the common size, very well formed, with no peculiarity that I could see, except very long *styloid* processes,⁵ by far the largest that I remember ever to have seen. There was not a vestige of *encephalon** as I found on putting my middle finger in at the *foramen magnum*⁶ and turning it round. We found that the *sternum*⁷ had been sawed asunder longitudinally⁸ from end to end. This no had been done immediately after his death, according to his own desire, that his heart should be taken out and carefully embalmed and sent to Jerusalem to be buried in the holy sepulchre. I presume his whole body had been embalmed. A leaden urn, or rather a square leaden box, supposed to have contained his bowels, as it was full of *tallowy*, or spermaceti-like matter, was found very near his grave. Some of it was brought away and given to Dr Hope, that he might examine it.⁹

"The King's body had been enclosed in two coverings of hin sheet lead, enwrapping it like a double coat-of-mail, which had been covered with a robe or shroud of cloth of gold, that is, of *linen*, with gold threads in it. That it was of *linen*, not *silk*, I ascertained by burning a small bit of it at the flame of a taper and smelling it while burning; it had the smell of linen (or at least of vegetable matter), not he lest of the *fetor*¹⁰ of silk, feathers, or any animal substance. The body had not been put in a leaden coffin, but in a strong oaken one, secured by several strong iron nails, some of which, with a little of the oak timber preserved, I suppose by the oxide or carbonate of the iron sticking to them, I have seen; and I have heard of one piece of it being found, as big as a man's hand. But almost all the coffin, as well as all the softer parts of his body, were mouldered down to a kind of black dust, which covered the bottom of the grave.

¹ A moveable bone at the root of the tongue.

² A substance between flesh and bone, on the upper part of the windpipe.

³ Cartilages between the bones of the spine.

⁴ Thigh bone. ⁵ Sharp bony processes at the base of the skull.

* Brain at the back, or lower part of the brain.

⁶ A large hole, about the size of a halfpenny piece, at the base of the skull, out of which all the nerves that go to from the spiral chord issue.

⁷ Breast Bone. ⁸ Perpendicularly. ⁹ Smell

** "This box was 2 feet 6 inches in length, 9 inches in breadth, and 5 inches in depth, lying about 11 feet 6 inches distant from the east-end of the outer vault, in a north-east direction from the tomb, M on Page 2. This we carefully examined, and found in it a considerable quantity of a substance resembling lime, and a small substance from 6 to 8 inches in length, and 4 inches in breath and about half-an-inch thick, of a tough and firm texture, apparently of animal substance; it was most probably the bowels of some person of consideration who had been buried in the church, but not those of King Robert, as it was found at so great a distance from his tomb, and not even within the outer vault already described, but it was judged proper to deposit it in the large leaden coffin, along with the skeleton." - Report, p. 43.

"The grave was found accidentally, in the very spot where, as *Fordun*, one of our oldest Scotch chronicle writers, mentions he had been buried, *in medio chori*. But the good Presbyterians of Dunfermline had forgotten what a choir was, as completely as Sir John Falstaff had done what the inside of a church is made of and long ago wishing to find King Robert's grave, and to see what was in it, had been *hawking* (digging, in old English *houghing*) very diligently all over the body or nave of church¹ They might as well have been howking in Westminster Abbey. If his sublime highness, Prince Posterity, shall wish, some *thousand* years hence, to see the remains of King Robert Bruce, he will find them as entire as I saw them on the 5th November last. I have taken effectual care of that matter. I suggested to the Barons of Exchequer (in Scotland) who took charge of the business, that it would be desirable to preserve his remains from farther decay; and for that purpose, as a cheap, but withal an excellent substance for embalming, by excluding air and water, and resisting putrefaction, I recommended pitch, and advised that all vacuities in his grand new leaden coffin should be filled up, by pouring melted pitch into it. This was done five barrels of pitch, about 1500 lb, being employed for that purpose. The new leaden coffin is very large almost seven feet long, two feet eight inches broad at the shoulders, and two feet four inches deep. It lies his Majesty fairly embedded in pitch, which by this time must be as hard as a stone, and (baiting only the chance of being softened a little, or perhaps melted by the heat of the general conflagration) must remain so for 10,000 or 20,000 years. So, if Prince Posterity shall insist upon seeing the remains of King Robert, he will find it very hard work to pick him out of his shell; and, in the mean time, I have taken care that the present generation shall neither *steal* his bones (which there evidently was strong desire to do), nor toss them about, and make a common shew of them, as, within my memory, was done in a most indecent manner with the ones of our kings, and queens who had been buried in the royal vault in the chapel of Holyrood House. That kind of misdemeanour, as well as the further decay of his remains, I wished to prevent by embalming or enclosing them in pitch. But before that could be done, so alert and zealous were the good people of Dunfermline, that two or three of his teeth which were very entire, but so loose that they came out in taking a cast (in plaster of Paris) of his skull, and one or perhaps more of his smaller bones, were *stolen*.

"I took ---- over to Dunfermline to assist me at the resurrection.

On our return at the inn at the Queensferry, he convinced me that he had not returned empty handed, by producing a metatarsal bone* of King Robert, very little decayed. This he declared that *he did not steal*, but he must have received it knowing it to be stolen. However, as it was impossible by that time to restore it to its rightful owner, and it remains with ----- till King Robert claims it; and, in the mean time, I have put it carefully in a glass phial with a ground-glass stopper, and an explicit memorandum, telling whose bone it is, and when it was stolen.

"Dr Monro, who was also at the resurrection, brought with him an excellent artist (sculptor), Mr Scouler, to take casts of the King's head, and of his face too, if it had remained. Mr Scouler is a kind of pupil and assistant to Mr Chantrey, whose fame and merit are well known."

¹ The Doctor must have been misinformed as to this.

* The large toe.

After the minute examination, which the talented and facetious physician thus so well describes, the bones were all again placed in their natural position, and the skeleton was carefully wrapped up in its original lead covering, ready to be laid in the new leaden coffin, which had been prepared for it. Melted pitch was first poured into this coffin to the depth of four inches and then leaden boxes, well secured, were deposited containing the following articles: - Barbour's Life of Bruce, Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, Kerr's History of the Reign of King Robert, the History of Dunfermline by the Rev. John Fernie, the Edinburgh Almanack and Directory for 1819, with a variety of the Edinburgh Newspapers of the day, and of gold and silver coins of the reign of George III, from 1787 to 1819.

"The skeleton," in the words of the King's Remembrancer, "was then placed upon the top of the leaden coffin, resting upon the wooden board by which it had been raised, and, in order to gratify the curiosity of an immense crowd of people who were assembled on the outside of the church, the south and north doors of the (new) church were thrown open, and the people were allowed to enter by the south door, passing along the side of the vault, and retiring by the north, which they did in the most decent and orderly manner. As soon as the public curiosity was gratified, the vault was levelled to the floor which was also taken up and laid level, and upon the top of it was placed a bed of bricks laid in mortar, on which, and in the exact situation in which the skeleton was found, the leaden coffin was placed, and the body carefully deposited in it. It was then filled up within two inches of the top with the melted pitch, and the top soldered on; upon which was cast, in raised letters, the following inscription denoting the year of the King's death, and of his reinterment -

KING ROBERT BRUCE

1329

1819*

The sides of the vault were then built up with bricks, the whole arched over, and a strong stone wall, 18 inches thick, was built all round the brick arch.¹

It was intended to erect a Sarcophagus, or small marble monument, in the vacant space, before the pulpit of the new church, in commemoration of the distinguished king and hero who reposes beneath and a little behind it, for which the late Dr Gregory wrote the following very appropriate and elegant Latin inscription; -

* A cast of his skull, with this inscription, is in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, Edinburgh.

¹ Report, p. 41-43.

HIC. INTER. RUINAS, VETERIS. TEMPLI.
DUM. NOVUM. STREBATUR.
RETECTO. FORTE. A.D. MDCCCXVIII, SEPULCHRO.
ROBERTI. BRUSS II. SCOTORUM. REGIS.
IMMORTALIS. MEMORLÆ.
EJUSQUE. RELIQUIS, CERTIS. INDICIS. RECOGNITIS.
PIO. CIVIUM. OFFICIO.
IN. TERRAM. DENUO. CONDITIS.
SERI. NEPOTES.
ANNO. POST. IPSIUS, OBITUM. CCCCLXXXIX.
HOC. MONUMENTUM. POSUERUNT.
MAGNANIMO. HEROI. OPTIMO. REGI.
QUI. SUMMA. IN. BELLO. VIRTUTE.
IN. PLACE. CONSILIO.
EVERSAS. PENE. ET. DESPERATAS. RES. SCOTICAS.
UNUS. RESTITUIT. ET. CONFIRMAVIT.
PATHRIAMQUE.
AB. INFESTO. ET. POTENTISSIMO. HOSTE.
DIU. SCEVITER. OPPERESSAM.
IN. LIBERTATEM. PRISTINAM. ET. GLORIAM.
VINDICAVIT. FELIX*

This monument, however, as well as others, or at least inscriptions intended to commemorate the burying-place of King Malcolm and his Queen Margaret, to whose pious zeal this ancient fabric owed its origin, and of the other sovereigns interred here, has never been executed.¹

It may now be proper to answer a very natural enquiry which is often put, What evidence is there for believing tht this is indeed the tomb of King Robert Bruce? It is gratifying to think, that the evidence for this fact is clear, varied, and strong.

* The Doctor gave also the substance of the inscription in English, for the benefit of the lady patriots, which is as follows: -

"Here amidst the ruins of the old, in buildings a new church, in the year 1818, the grave of Robert Bruce, King of Scots, of immortal memory, being accidentally opened, and his remains recognised by sure tokens, with pious duty again committed to the earth by the people of this town, a distant generation 489 years after his death, erected this monument to the great hero and excellent king, who with matchless valour in war, and wisdom in peace, by his own energy and persevering exertions, re-established the almost ruined and hopeless state of Scotland, long cruelly oppressed by an inveterate and most powerful enemy, and happily avenged the oppression, and restored the ancient liberty and glory, of his country."

¹ That the exact sit of he grave of Robert the Bruce should not yet be distinguished in any way, even by letters or a crown on the pavement, is much to be regretted, as it may in the course of time be forgotten. Surely the heritors and magistrates might themselves make at least this trifling addition to their other acts of patriotic liberality, in connection with this edifice.

In the first place, the King himself selected Dunfermline as the place of his sepulture. For it appears from the Chartulary of Dunfermline that he gave the church of Kinross and in honour of his predecessors buried in it, but on account of his own sepulture, which it is said "I have specially chosen among them;* and again, "he chose his own interment to be among the kings of Scotland in the honourable monastery of Dunfrmline."¹ Then Barbour and Fordun, two of our earliest chroniclers, record that he had been buried here, and in what may be presumed, the very spot now discovered. Barbour gives the following account of the funeral: -

"I hop that nane that is on lyve²
The lamentacioun suld discryve³
That the folk for thair lard maid⁴
And quhen thai lang thus sorrow it had,
Thai haiff had him to Dunferlyne: -
And him solemly erdyt⁵ syne
In a fayr tumb, intill the quer,
Byschappys and prelatis, that thar wer,
Assoilyeit** him, quhen the service
Was done as thai couth best dewiss:⁶
And syne, on the tothyr day,
Sary and wa ar went thair way,
And he debowaillyt was clenly.
And bawmyt syne richly:"⁷

Fordun, too, who wrote after Barbour, and who acknowledges the excellence of his work, says, that "the King was interred at the monastery of Dunfermline, in the middle of the choir with due honour."*** And further, as quoted by Morton, in his Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 232, "magnificently interred under the grand altar of the church of Dunfermline Abbey."¹ Both these early writers mention the choir,

and the latter, the middle of it, as the situation of his grave, and the spot found precisely corresponds with this, as far as the form of the ancient building can be ascertained, for it is in a line with the exact centre of the Abbey Church. Farther, it is well known that Bruce, in the view of his approaching dissolution, which took place at Cardross near Dumbarton, on the 7th June 1329, from a severe disease, then termed leprosy, at the age of fifty-five, in the twenty-fourth year of his arduous and glorious reign, reckoning from his coronation at Scone, took a pledge from his faithful friend

- * Printed Chart. p. 229-30 (1314.)¹ Printed Chart. p. 412
2. Alive.³ Describe.⁴ Lord⁵ Internal
6 Devise⁷ The Bruce, Edn. 1820 4to B. xix I. 871-884.

**Assoilzeit. As King Robert was excommunicated by the Pope, for the murder of Cuming in Dumfries, on account of treachery, so far back as 1305, his body could not receive the accustomed rites and ceremonies of what was then deemed "Christian burial" in consecrated ground, till this sentence was removed by ecclesiastical authority. This may explain what is here referred to by the Pope. Some authors, however, state that he was pardoned in 1309. Guthrie's Hist. of Scot. ii. p. 205.

*** Scotichron. xii. 13. 1 Scotichron. xiii. 20.14.

Sir James Douglas to carry his heart, on his decease to Jerusalem, and humbly to deposit it in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre there, as the only mode which he then had of fulfilling a vow, which he had made as soon as he restored the peace and freedom of his kingdom, to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land against the enemies of the Christian faith. This pledge, the gallant knight, on the demise of his beloved master, immediately went to redeem, along with a numerous retinue, bearing the heart of the monarch enclosed in a silver casket, suspended from his neck by a silver chain. But in passing through Spain, in his progress to Jerusalem, he assisted Alphonso, the young King of Leon and Castile, against the Saracens, and after exhibiting feats of valour, he fell in battle, when his body, with the casket and its precious contents, were conveyed to Scotland under the charge of Sir William Keith, one of his surviving companions. His remains were interred in the Church of Douglas, the sepulchre of his forefathers, and the heart of Bruce was entombed in Melrose Abbey, by the Earl of Moray, then Regent of Scotland.¹

Now, in order to carry into execution this object it behoved the body of Bruce to be embalmed, and accordingly it exhibited full evidence of having been so, as the metrical account also of the funeral by Barbour, just quoted, states that it was.

The *sternum* or breast-bone was found sawed asunder longitudinally from top to bottom, according to the awkward mode adopted by the anatomists of those days, for reaching the heart, with the view of complying with the sovereign's dying command, and a small box was discovered in the vicinity, supposed by some to contain the entrails.

The whole appearances, too, of the tomb and body, as described indicate them to have been those of a person of high consideration, while in the immediate neighbourhood were found numerous fragments of fine white and black marble well polished, carved and gilt, in all probability the remains of a monument which had been erected over the grave inside the church, and which had been demolished at the destruction of the abbey. Some of these exhibit small ornamental columns, and one of them, and animal in a reclining posture. Along with a few of these in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, found long prior to the discovery of Bruce's tomb and

erroneously labelled as having belonged to the tomb of Malcolm Canmore there is a small head, cut in soft bluish stone, seemingly *calm* stone, the same as what many of the other ornaments are made of, with a crown on it. The face is unfortunately destroyed but here are large curls h ear, of the form and style seen in the coins of



Robert the Bruce so that there is every probability that this was meant to represent his head. From the Chamberlain Rolls, too, it appears that the King himself had ordered, during his long and tedious illness, such a monument to be erected; that it was of a very splendid nature, and that probably from its being beyond th skill of the artists of this country at tht period, it had been executed in Paris, and convey hither by the way of Bruges.*

¹ Hence the noble family of Douglas carry on their shield a heart crowned and the present Lockharts of Lee, descendants of Sir Symon Lockhart who accompanied Sir (styled also Lord) James Douglas in the expedition still bear, in remembrance of the same event, the locked heart, as part of their armorial bearing, to which their family name Lockhart is an allusion.

* In these Rolls, some extracts from which will be given in the Appendix, various and curious items of expenditure are specified, and ordered to be paid to a number of persons who are named and from which it is evident both much gold and iron had been used in the tomb. Hence some of the fragments have a profusion of gilding upon them, and contain iron within them, meant to fasten on piece upon the other.

What would have completed this body of evidence to us would have been a plate, with an actual inscription, signifying that this was the tome of Bruce; but the probability is, that such a plate made of brass, as was then common, with an inscription round the edge, had been upon the monument and carried off at the plunder of the abbey or destroyed.*

Fordun had preserved Bruce's epitaph, which it is likely was inscribed upon the tomb, and which I have not seen before quoted.

It is this ---

"HIC JACET INVICTUS ROBERTUS, REX BENEDICTUS,
QUI SUA GESTA LEGIT, REPETIT QUOT BELLA PEREGIT.
AN LIBERTATEM PERDUXIT, PER PROBITATEM,
REGNUM SOTORUM; NUNC VIVAT IN ARCE POLOBRUM.."¹

* A well-executed and appropriate plate, bearing the appearance of antiquity, was found at the grave after the re-interment of Bruce, but it was satisfactorily ascertained not to be ancient. It was the doing of a few individuals, as a *jeu d'esprit*, which would have been harmless enough, had it been acknowledged shortly after producing its intended effect.

¹ "Here lies the invincible Robert, blessed King,
Let him who reads his exploits, repeat how many wars he carried on;
He led the kingdom of the Scots to freedom, by his uprightness,
Now let him live in the citadel of the heavens."

Scotichron. viii. 15.

It may be proper to subjoin to the above narrative, the length of which, it is hoped will be justified or excused by the deep interest which the subject at first excited in this locality particularly, and which must still in some measure remain, three short extracts, containing a description of the character of this great man, the first drawn by his biographer Robert Kerr, from the transactions of his life alone, and the other two by eminent phrenologists, George Combe, Esq, and Sir G. S. Mackenzie, Bart, from the development of the brain, as indicated

by the skull which they had examined. Mr Kerr says, "In closing the history of this interesting reign, it may be fairly pronounced of *Robert King of Scots*, that, for the period in which he reigned, and the people over whom he ruled, he was eminently endowed with the virtues and talents which best fitted his situation, and the age and nation in which he was placed. He possessed consummate bravery, directed by profound military judgment; steady and impartial justice, tempered by mercy; was affable, affectionate, and endearing among his family, friends, and military followers, wise, dignified, and judicious in his negotiations with his great enemies, - the second and third Edwards, and the Roman Pontiffs. During the whole of his reign, he executed all the duties of royalty in the most simple and efficient manner, almost unexampled in history; and to him may be justly applied the truly great and honourable title of *Father of his Country*."*

Mr Combe says, in the conclusion of his phrenological remarks on the organs of Bruce's skull. "The individual would possess great activity, courage, and determination, modified by prudence and cautiousness. He would be acute in perceiving what was presented to his mind, and decided in determining on his course of action. But his view would not be extensive. He would not see far before him what was to be the remote consequence of his present doings. He would not be naturally amiable; but he would know how to please others when his interest required him to do so.

* Kerr's Life of Bruce, vol. ii. p. 488-9. Edin. 1811.

Tomb of King Robert Bruce's Queen. - It has already been noticed, that there is reason to believe that Elizabeth, the second Queen of Robert the Bruce, was interred at Dunfermline, near her husband; and I have now to adduce the historical and *actual evidence of this*. It may previously be mentioned, that she was the daughter of Aymer de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, in Ireland, and died about two years before her husband in 1327, while he was engaged in the siege of Norham Castle. She was taken prisoner along with other ladies by the English in 1306 at Tain in Ross-shire, and hence carried to England, where she remained in captivity for eight years but was treated with great liberality for the manners of the age, having been allowed, it is related, among other indulgences, freedom to walk and amuse herself in the parks adjoining her residence, three grey-hounds for hunting, venison and fish for her table, and several suitable attendants. Soon after her release, having been at the battle of Bannockburn, she was again taken prisoner, but exchanged along with some others for the Earl of Hereford. From little being recorded of her character, it is presumed that her life was spent without reproach, and that she proved herself the worthy *consort* of her distinguished husband and sovereign.*

He would be steady in his attachments, although he would not always use his friends well. He would be disposed to religion; but his small portion of reflection and benevolence would give it a tendency to run into superstitious observances. He would be fonder of power than of money."

Sir G. S. Mackenzie thus concludes his observations, "On examining his (Bruce) skull, we find that, while it indicates but middling talent, it exhibits all the qualities of the leader and warrior, - qualities which, in the time of Bruce, were more admired than any others which fall to the lot of man. We see Courage largely developed, and Firmness in great proportion, as well as Love of Approbation and Self-Esteem. Destructiveness, too, is large; and there is no doubt that Cuming fell by the hand of Bruce.

"Secretiveness, so necessary to a man who undertakes the management of public affairs, is also large; but the sense of justice, even when Love of Approbation and Destructiveness were inactive, seems to have been scarcely sufficient to guide him in the path of rectitude. Veneration is well marked; but Benevolence is not particularly prominent. The former led

him to regret that he had not accomplished his purpose of visiting the Holy Land, and to direct that his heart should be carried thither after his death.

"At this moment, when a sort of enthusiasm has been kindled for the memory of Bruce, such an estimate of his character may lead many to think that a hero may be both a bad man, and not remarkably clever; that Bruce was neither very superior in intellect nor in generosity; not very strictly just or merciful. Secretiveness, Love of Approbation, and Cautiousness or Fear, may have led him to do great and generous actions when they seemed necessary to clear his way; but if the skull found be really that of Bruce, of which there is no reason to doubt, it is certain that whatever his conduct may have been, his feelings were those of a man of quick perception, whose courage was equal to his ambition; his perseverance equal to his confidence in his prowess; his ferocity of temper subservient to these; and his intelligence no greater to be sufficient to enable him to know how to manage the Scotch as they then were, and to make his own use of the name and character of a hero who had conquered the enemies of his country. He has been celebrated for nothing else; and no acts are ascribed to him to mark him as being possessed of superior wisdom, or of a character particularly amiable. ** It thus appears that the phrenological does not give such a light estimate of the talents and character of our hero as the historical account; but the intelligent reader will judge for himself as to which is likely to be the more correct.

* Tytler's Hist. i. p. 245. Goth. Hist. ii. 299. &c.

** Sir H. Jardine's Report, 56-60.

Bower, the continuator of Fordun, says, that "In the year of our Lord 1327, died the Lady Elizabeth Queen, and mother of King David (II) and was buried in the choir of Dunfermling, near her husband King Robert."¹ Accordingly, as early as July 1766, it is mentioned in the Scots Magazine of that period, under the head *Dunfermline*, "that about the middle of May preceding, as some labourers were digging in the spot where the east part of the church stood, they discovered a human body entire, which appeared to be a female. It was enclosed in a stone coffin, covered with three flag stones, on which could easily be discovered a crucifix, with some other figures or letters, so much defaced as not to be understood. Several gentlemen of the neighbourhood have visited this curiosity, and, from various circumstances have reason to believe it to be the body of Queen Margaret, wife to Malcolm Kanmore who was buried at Dunfermline, and who was afterwards canonized, and known by the name of Saint Margaret." The fact of such a tomb, with a female figure in it supposed that of a queen being found in that situation, is important; but the conjecture as to the body being that of Margaret is evidently a mistake, from what already been said regarding her and her grave."* Again, at the end of 1817, or beginning of 1818, when the monument which had been erected to the memory of Charles, Earl of Elgin (who died in 1771), and which stood some feet north-east from the tomb of his illustrious ancestor, was in the act of being removed by order of the late Earl, his son, to another position, in consequence of its interfering with the site of the new church, the workmen came upon a stone vault, in which also was a female skeleton as known by the long hair of her head which still remained, of a reddish colour (a portion of which is in my possession). This was distinctly seen, as a side of the vault happened to fall down in the course of the operations. The stone vault as seen also in February 1818, at the second inspection of Bruce's tomb, being very near to it. Its form was like to that of King Robert's but not so large. From the situation of this vault, being only a few feet west from the outer one of his tomb there is little reason to doubt that it was that of his queen, corresponding with the historical description, of being "juxta sponsum suum," more especially if, as is most probable, it be the same as that which was discovered in 1766, just noticed, in which a female body was seen, supposed to

be that of a royal personage. The coincidence of the two discoveries, made at different and distant periods is very striking and satisfactory.

Under the south transept of the new church, the Earl of Elgin has a large and excellent vault, to which the remains of his ancestors including, I believe, the ones of King Robert the Bruce's queen, were removed, as already referred to, at the period of the building of this church, when the vault, too, was executed. Over his original tomb, which stood in the Psalter Churchyard, a handsome monument had been erected bearing an elegant and, it is understood, deserved tribute to the memory of his Lordship's father, Charles Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, who died on the 14th May 1771, age 39 years, written by the late Rev. Dr Blair of Edinburgh.

¹ "Anno Domini 1327, septime kalendas Novembris, obiit Domina Elizabeth regina, mater regis David. et sepulta est in choro de Dunfermling, juxta regem, Robertum sponsum suum." Fordun. Scotichron. Lib. 13. c. 12.

* In the same article of the Scots Magazine it is mentioned that several curiosities had lately been discovered at Dunfermline. Some months previous an iron chest was dug up, containing a number of very ancient Danish silver coins, esteemed a great curiosity; and in the beginning of July (same year 1766) was dug up a silver cup, with double handles which will contain three half-pints. This is said to be of curious workmanship, and thought to be upwards of 1300 years old.

DUNFERMLINE ABBEY CHURCH



THE END