‘‘RÉALTA AN CHRUINNE CAITIR FHÍONA’’: THE CULT OF ST. KATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA IN LATE MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND

A Master’s Thesis

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July 2019

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To Saint Katherine of Alexandria and Moses

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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
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ANKARA

July 2019

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History

Assist. Prof. Dr. David Thornton
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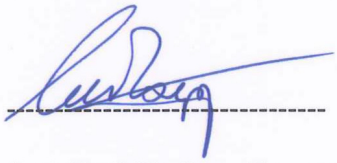

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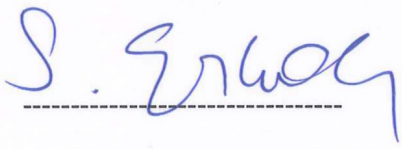

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ABSTRACT

‘‘RÉALTA [AN] CHRUINNE CAITIR FHÍONA’’: THE CULT OF ST. KATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA IN LATE MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND

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July 2019

This thesis succinctly investigates the chronological traces and the historical development of the cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval Scotland. The main argument of this study evolves around why possibly the cult of St. Katherine has not been examined in the previous literature, although the Katherine-cult was predominantly recognized by the Scottish population. The thesis will trace the cult through gradual methodological and contextual steps, that are, hagiography, liturgy, dedications, and onomastics. The outcome will attest to the necessity of the re-evaluation and recognition that the Katherine-cult in Late Medieval Scotland was not any less significant than the cults of native saints of Scotland.

Key Words: Cult of Saints, Medieval Scotland, St. Katherine of Alexandria.

ÖZET

‘‘DÜNYANIN YILDIZI, KATERİNA’’: GEÇ DÖNEM ORTAÇAĞ İSKOÇYA’SINDA İSKENDERİYELİ AZİZE KATERİNA KÜLTÜ

Çetinbaş, Eylül

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi David Thornton

Temmuz 2019

Bu tez, Geç Ortaçağ İskoçya’sında İskenderiyeli Azize Katerina kültünün kronolojik adımlarını ve tarihsel gelişmelerini incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, Katerina’nın neden bu kadar popüler ve sevilen bir azize olduğunun, ve Katerina-kültünün İskoç halkı tarafından resmen nasıl tanıdığının, buna rağmen neden daha önceden bir kült çalışması yapılmadığının muhtemel nedenlerini ele almaktadır. Burada bahsettiğimiz kült çalışması, aşama aşama ilerleyen metodolojik ve bağlamsal adımlar yoluyla sürdürülmektedir. Bu yöntemler, hagiografi, liturji, kilise adakları, ve isim çalışmalarıdır. Sonuç olarak bu tez, Geç Ortaçağ İskoçya’sındaki Katerina-kültünün nasıl ulusal İskoç aziz ve azize kültleriyle eşdeğer olduğunu ve bu yüzden Katerina-kültünün tekrar değerlendirilmesi ve tanınması gerekliliğini ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Aziz(e) Kültleri, Ortaçağ İskoçyası, İskenderiyeli Azize Katerina.

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Το πρώτο πρόσωπο στο οποίο πρέπει να ευχαριστήσω ευχαρίστως είναι, φυσικά, η Αγία Αικατερίνη της Αλεξάνδρειας. Επειδή για πολύ καιρό, με οδήγησε στο δρόμο να γίνω ποιος είμαι τώρα. Είναι πράγματι "το αστέρι του κόσμου μου", όσο ήταν "το αστέρι του κόσμου".

I owe the biggest thanks to my dear mother who has always supported me in whichever crazy or adventurous actions that I have been taking ever since my birth.

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I deeply hope that someday, I shall be worthy of all this help and affection on this path of Σοφία, with Πίστις, Ελπίς, and Αγάπη.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The cult of saints in general is a very widely researched phenomenon from late antiquity to our modern times and, as is evidently seen, already unearths and promises vast amounts of both qualitative and quantitative data to work on. Within the Christian context, the foundations are already very well-established, employing possibly essential interdisciplinary methods of study which the researcher could opt for, with a view to attain optimum insights into the various aspects of a societal ethos. Attestations as to the extent of the spread of this phenomenon within medieval societies are proven through the mediums by which they are visible. Evidence of popularity is provided in hagiographical writings, shrines, relic worship, pilgrimage, prayers, and 'attested' miracles as an eventful core of the cult of saints. There is indeed still much work to be done on the path of unearthing various saints' cults in different locations, however. Having been unnoticed or ignored before, the veneration of St. Katherine in Medieval Scotland takes up only one part of this list for which the cults have not been yet investigated in the majority of the geographical areas.

1.1. "No Saint was loved in the West more than St. Katherine"[1]

Indeed, St. Katherine's *δουλεία* have been spread throughout every corner of Western Europe albeit the origins of her cult can be traced back to Byzantium.[2] Unlike other saints as the major patrons of the most established orders such as St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Loyola and many others, St. Katherine's existence has not yet been attested. She has frequently been belied for not being a genuine historical figure. Instead of the existent narrations on the sainthood of Katherine, Pagan female scholar of the 4th and 5th century A.D., Hypatia of Alexandria who was allegedly killed by a Christian mob is thought to be the inspirational source for the saintby re-transfiguring Hypatia's paganistic portrait into beautiful, virtuous, educated, wise and this time, Christian Katherine.[3] The only non-hagiographical account was written by her contemporary Eusebius of Caesarea around 340 CE.[4] Yet, Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 340-410) translated the *Ecclesiastical History* from Greek into Latin in 401 and referred to this Alexandrian and Christian lady in the text as Dorothea rather than Katherine.[5]

1.2. Life of St. Katherine

Among the hagiographical collection, the earliest work to contain St. Katherine's *passio* dates back to the mid-tenth century written originally in Greek by Simon Metaphrastes

[1] Athanasios Paliouras, *The Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*. (Glyka Nera Attikis: Tzaferi, 1985).
[2] The Greek word *δουλεία* herein refers to theological term which means ''veneration given to the saints.'' Orlando O. Espín,, and James B. Nickoloff, *An Introductory Dictionary of Theology and Religious Studies*. (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2007), 374. For further explanation and its function in theological studies, see Sylvester Joseph Hunter, *Outlines of Dogmatic Theology*. (New York: Benzinger, 1894), 465-479.
[3] ''Hypatia and St. Catherine.'' *Sacramento Daily Union*, 14. No. 154, 1882.
[4] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 8.14.11.
[5] Torben Christensen, *Rufinus of Aquileia and the Historia Ecclesiastica, Lib. VIII-IX, of Eusebius*. (Copenhagen: Kongelige Danske videnskabernes selskab, 1989), 161.

(c.960-964), a Byzantine theologian and the arch-representative of Greek hagiography. Later Latin versions are graecized and augmented by dint of his *menologia* in which he compiles the collection of saints, rearranges and categorizes them conforming to the relevant dates; in the case of *menologia*, the months. *Menelogium Basilianum* of Basil II (976-1025) strikes as the succeeding and commonly recognized late 10th-century source to contain the Katherine-*vita*. *Menelogium* is commenced with a dedicatory poem for Basil II in its beginning and strikes as a work produced for imperial purposes. It also delineates Katherine in the likeness of Byzantine nobility, thus, Katherine's *vita* scene in which she becomes victorious against the fifty philosophers is a holy instrument to assist Basil II metaphorically in his imperial pursuits both within and outside the Byzantine borders. The translation of the story in the *Menologium* proceeds thus:

> The martyr Katharine came from Alexandria, and she was daughter of a rich and famous nobleman. She was very lovely. And being gifted, she learned Greek grammar and became wise, also learning the languages of all nations. Now a festival was celebrated among the Greeks to honor the idols, and seeing the animals being slaughtered, Katharine suffered. And she went to King Maximin/Maxentius and argued with him, asking why he had abandoned the living God and worshipped lifeless idols. He rebuked her and took vengeance on her severely. And then the king brought in fifty sages and said to them that they should dispute with Katharine and win her over: ''For if you do not prevail over her, I shall incinerate you all with fire.'' They, when they saw that they were defeated, were baptized as Christians and so were burnt. And Katharine was also beheaded.[6]

Theodore Psalter (c.1066) authored by the Studite monk Theodore for his abbot Michael is the most significant Byzantine manuscript signed and dated by its maker among all, and its production concerns with spiritual motivations rather than the imperial motivations.

[6] Bruce A. Beatie, ''Saint Katharine of Alexandria: Traditional Themes and the Development of a Medieval German Hagiographic Narrative.'' *Speculum* 52, no. 4 (1977): 789.

Each saint has a peculiar and concomitant psalm on which one could meditate. Psalm 120 is suitably chosen for St. Katherine upon her victory against the philosophers.[7]

1.3 The Monastery of St. Katherine in Sinai

Subsequent to the hagiographical manuscripts, the cultic data remarkably inaugurate with the foundation of the Monastery of St. Katherine in Sinai that was built by Justinian's order in the mid-6th century yet it was not associated with Katherine during its construction.[8] The monks in Sinai claimed that the angels had brought the body and relics of Katherine to this compound, the monastery received and would shelter the avowed relics of Katherine in the late 10th century, and became one of the most charismatic centres for pilgrimage. Therefore it attracted vast flood of pilgrims from the 11th century onwards, up until the late 15th century. The beauty of the landscape cannot be treated with ignorance, either. Besides being significant for the main epicentre of the Moses-cult, Sinai had already been associated with a certain amount of 'holiness' before Katherine. This long existent 'holiness' helped the Katherine-cult flourish even more and faster since the 10th century, the attribution of the monastery to Katherine. In the late 4th century AD, a woman pilgrim Egeria describes Sinai en route her pilgrimage to the Holy Land and defines Jabal Musa as the Mountain of God: "We were walking along between the

[7] '' I. In my distress I cried unto the Lord, and he heard me.
II. Deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue.'' KJV, Psalm 120:1-2.

[8] Procopius and Eutychius (Sa'id Ibn Batriq) present different accounts for the reasons behind the construction. Procopius claims that the compound in Sinai was built mainly for defensive and annonary reasons against the Muslim attacks but Eutychius, having written 400 years later than Procopius, claims that it was built because there was a need for monastic establishment with a defense system and protective walls. See Philip Mayerson, "Procopius or Eutychius on the Construction of the Monastery at Mount Sinai: Which Is the More Reliable Source?" *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 230 (1978): 33-38. But the profound purpose for the construction points out that the monks of Sinai asked Justinian to build a church encircled by defensive wall structures so that they would sheltered from the raids. Around 370 and 400, some monks had supposedly been killed by the local Saracens. Denys Pringle, and Peter E. Leach, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus 2 2*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 49-50.

mountains, and came to a spot where they opened out to form an endless valley—a huge plain, and very beautiful—across which we could see Sinai, the holy Mount of God. Next to the spot where the mountains open out is the place of the 'Graves of Craving'. When we arrived there our guides, the holy men who were with us, said, 'It is usual for the people, who come here to say a prayer when first they catch sight of the Mount of God,' and we did as they suggested. The Mount of God is perhaps four miles away from where we were, right across the huge valley I have mentioned."[9] John of Würzburg's writings confirm the popularity of Jerusalem as a pilgrimatic focal hub for the Scots from 1170 to 1187 that is until the Siege of Jerusalem by the Ayyubids with the leadership of Salahuddin al-Ayyubi.[10] Sinai have had a similar type of significance to Jerusalem, if not almost equal. There is evidence from the records of aristocratic houses that this cultic epicentre was also popular amongst the Scottish noblemen. In 1363, Alan de Wyntoun's son testified his father's death *en route* to Sinai for his visitation to Shrine of St. Katherine.[11] Moreover, both the monastery and its pilgrims were even deemed to have been protected by a ''honorific pseudo-order,'' the knights of Saint Katherine of Mount Sinai or Order of the Knights of Saint Katherine at the time when both Sinai and the monastery were under the Mamluk predominance.[12]

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[9] John Wilkinson, *Egeria's travels to the Holy Land*. (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1999), 91-5.
[10] Würzburg describes the Scottish pilgrimage to Jerusalem as 'Scots among the people of every race and tongue who thonged Jerusalem'. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: the Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, c.1215-1545*, p. 61.
[11] Bruce Gordon Seton, *The House of Seton: a Study of Lost Causes*. (Edinburgh: Lindsay and Macleod, 1939), 99-100.
[12] D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), xix. For a fruitful gist of pilgrim accounts and further interfaith reverence, see Anastasia Drandaki "Through Pilgrim's eyes: Mt. Sinai in pilgrim narratives of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." *Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society* 27 (2006), 491-504; "The Sinai Monastery from the 12th to the 15th century" in A. Drandaki (ed.), *Pilgrimage to Sinai. Treasures from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine*, exh. cat., Benaki Museum, 20 July – 26 September 2004, Athens 2004, 26-45; Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "The "Vita" Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 163-5 and notes.

1.4. Literature Review

For the beginnings of the Katherine-cult, it appears to have spread widely extending throughout Western Europe and stretching towards Scandinavia by the late 12th century. The cultic origins of Katherine of Alexandria in Byzantium possess utmost significance for the further historical development of the cultus. At the same time, the cultic beginnings of the saint appear to be open to a not widely known controversy since almost every study so far which dealt with Katherine's cult outside Byzantium, and especially in Western Europe, has not paid so much attention to the constantly quoted source, thus reflecting to some extent confutable assumptions or outdated observations, Tina Chronopoulos conducted full-scale research based on textual evidences of the cult, both Greek and Latin versions, noticing the differences and similarities among the hagiographical variations.[13] She is the first scholar to have found Christine Walsh's references to the cultic beginnings of Katherine in a 7th century Melkite litany text as simply non-existent.[14] Did St. Katherine's cult emerge from Constantinople and spread throughout Eastern Mediterranean or follow an antithetical pattern from Palestine towards Anatolia, eventually Constantinople and its environs? I have not yet encountered a work which interconnects the cultic *loci* such as Athens, Cyprus, Cappadocia, Constantinople, Palestine, Rhodes, Sinai, Thessaloniki and further areas towards the Balkans, and limns a panoramic overview. Chronopoulos also has hypothesized that the cult had originated not in Constantinople or Sinai, but in Syria or Palestine. Further scrutiny of sources may perhaps shed more light on previous variant or 'accurate' depictions of saints and their

[13] Tina Chronopoulos, ''The *passion of St. Katherine of Alexandria*: studies in its texts and tradition,'' (PhD diss., King's College London, 2006).
[14] Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007).

cults. For example in the case of work cited for Katherine not all of the sources available appear to have been included so far. The *Cult of Saints* database of Oxford University unearths three entries for St. Katherine: First, in the 7/8th century church of Panagia Drosiani on the island of Naxos, recorded a label of a preiconoclastic painting of a female saint. But the label is so poorly preserved that the best guess for the name of this figure might be [+ ἡ ἁγία Αἰκατε]ρί[νη (?)], whereas Dimitrios Pallas restored it as: [Νύμφη Χ]ρι[στοῦ] as an allegory of the Church.[15] Secondly and thirdly, two references have been made to a saint Katherine in the 10th century. Although Ioane Zosime lived in the 10th century, in the Georgian calendar he extensively used much earlier material from *Calendar of Jerusalem, Calendar of St Saba Monastery* and *Greek Calendar*, so the feasts could have been celebrated already between the 5th and 7th centuries. The second entry refers to 24 November along with Agapios of Palestine, the Old Testament Prophet Micah and Merkourios of Cappadocia but in the third entry of 25 November, Katherine is rather clearly associated with the bishop Peter of Alexandria, just as she is herself styled a martyr of Alexandria.[16] Another set of sources that have not yet been explored correspond with prosopographical data: Αἰκατερίνα (9) and Κατερίνα (5) are the name variations that I could discover so far, and one still bears a great deal of significance. Αἰκατερίνα**,** who was the abbess of Lukas Monastery in Thessaloniki and sister of Antonios, Archbishop of Dyrrachion and later in 843 of Thessaloniki, died approximately between 837 and 853 (BHG 1737).[17] If we can attest to the name Αἰκατερίνα as having been deployed very likely in the nature of hagionymic rather than secular personal names as early as the late

[15] Paweł Nowakowski, *Cult of Saints*, E01271. <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/>
[16] Nikoloz Aleksidze, *Cult of Saints*, E03936 & E03937.
[17] Aikaterina. In *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013). See for the other prosopographical data, *The Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* & *Prosopography of the Byzantine World.*

8th century, then the first personal name evidence will augment new chapters within the cultic development. Depending on the temporal and spatial outcomes of the cult, another question to be deciphered shares similar concerns with the political and apocalyptic motives behind the Iconoclastic controversy, whether it is truly coincidental that the cult of St. Katherine came into being and to some extent was popularized during the Saracen raids in Sinai and latter Arab-Byzantine wars or we simply have more data from 7th century onwards.[18]

The recent studies of Saint Katherine's medieval cult in Italy, England and Normandy have tragically eclipsed the scrutiny of other regions. There are cognitively prolific projects which have inaugurated to enlighten the veneration of this 'bonding saint' as the title evinces, in the unstudied areas such as Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Malta, Sweden and Wales.[19] Very few of these works have sought to shed light on the part of Scotland *per se*, however. For the Scottish veneration, the cult could possibly be projected with diverse cultic data comprised of the hagiographical (*Legend of St. Katherine* from the *Scottish Legendary*, and Gaelic poetry devoted to Katherine from *Book of the Dean of*

[18] For the compilation of the translated texts, see Daniel Caner, Sebastian P. Brock, Kevin Thomas Van Bladel, Richard Price, *History and hagiography from the late antique Sinai: including translations of Pseudo-Nilus' Narrations, Ammonius' Report on the slaughter of the monks of Sinai and Rhaithou, and Anastasius of Sinai's Tales of the Sinai fathers* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010).
[19] For Germany, see Anne Simon, *The Cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria in Late-Medieval Nuremberg: Saint and the City*. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); For Hungary, Dorottya Uhrin, ''Szent Katalin mint az uralkodók patrónusa // Saint Catherine as Royal Patron.'' *Micae Mediaevales* V. (Nyomta és kötötte a Printtatu Kft. Felelős vezető: Szabó Gábor, 2016), 243-261; For Ireland, Arthur Spears, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in Ireland*. (Rathmullen: Rathmullan District Local Historical Society, 2006); For Malta, Mario Buhagiar, ''The Cult of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in Malta.'' *Scientia* 35 (1972), 65. For Sweden, Tracey R. Sands, ''The Saint as Symbol: The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria Among Medieval Sweden's High Aristocracy.'' *St Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe.* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepol, 2003), 87-107; For Wales, Jane Cartwright, ''*Buchedd Catrin*: A Preliminary Study of the Middle Welsh Life of Katherine of Alexandria and her Cult in Medieval Wales.'' *St Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe.* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepol, 2003), 53-86 & Jane Cartwright, *Y Forwyn Fair - Santesau a Lleianod: Agweddau Ar Wyryfdod a Diweirdeb Yng Nghymru'r Oesoedd Canol.* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999).

Lismore), scriptorial dedications (dedicatory (scriptural and non-scriptural dedications), onomastic (place and personal names), and ecclesiastical (liturgies, martyrologies, breviaries, prayer books). church dedications, onomastic evidence (place and personal names), hagiographical legend in Middle Scots and Gaelic poetry, and works of art. Vis-à-vis scrupulous eruditions and findings of James M. Mackinlay, medieval dedications to Katherine in Scotland were both geographically and intermittently disseminated. There are examples for the veneration of Katherine from the further north in Orkney and Shetland, also around fringe locations as Dumfries, Kirkmaiden, Kintyre through which Scotland has continental connections with England, Ireland and Isle of Man.

1.5. Kingdom of Scotland between 1286 and 1513

The period between 1286 and 1513 which corresponds with the designation of late medieval Scotland was hallmarked by the occurrence of the Anglo-Scottish independence wars. On the morning of March 19th, 1241 Alexander III, the King of Scots tragically was found dead on the beach at Kinghorn with a broken neck. Alexander's only surviving heiress was only his 3-year-old granddaughter Margaret who was the daughter of King Eric of Norway. Consequently, the Scottish Parliament assembled at the Stone of Scone in order to put the concept of ''guardianship'' in practice which would be the term of the future defenders of the Kingdom of Scotland. Notwithstanding, Margaret, Maid of Norway, Queen of Scots died at the age of 7, on 26 September 1290 while her arrival was being expected by each Scottish guardian. William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews was just one of the people who were highly disappointed because the marriage of Margaret, Queen of Scots and Edward, Prince of Wales would perhaps soften the adamant

atmosphere between English and the Scottish borders.[20] Following the year of 1295, Edward I of England sieged Berwick in 1296 and massacred 7500 according to Fordun, 7000 according to Boece, 60,000 according to Matthew of Westminster and for the other sources, the death toll was 17.407 regardless of age, gender, socio-economic position and nationality.[21] It seems irrelevant to discuss whichever accounts should not be regarded as apocryphal here, but from a general survey it is fathomable that almost the entire town was perished. In a broader context, the outbreak of war caused people who held lands in cross-border areas to make a decision. The families were ultimately obliged to move out of either side of the border and to choose their alliances.[22] After John de Balliol swore an oath of fealty to Edward I, the committee of guardians 'usurped' the Scottish governance in 1295.[23]

The First Independence War taken place in 1296-1328, resulted with the victory of an unyielding nation, nobility and clergy. In 1314, the triumph of Battle of Bannockburn paved the way for Scottish identity of the kingdom to be successfully restored. The kingship of Robert Bruce became well-established and initiated the writing of Declaration of Arbroath to Pope John XXII in 1320 with the aim of pointing out the fact that independence of Scotland was issued for not the benefit of the king and the nobility but

[20] Laurence M. Eldredge, and Anne L. Klinck, eds. *The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi, Vol. V*. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2000), 17.
[21] John Parker Lawson. *Historical Tales of the Wars of Scotland, and of the Border Raids, Forays, and Conflicts*. (Edinburgh: A. Fullarton, 1839), 113-7.
[22] Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: an Economic and Social History, c.1050-c.1750.* (New York: Longman, 1995), 30.
[23] ''26 December 1292, Instrument concerning the homage which the king of Scotland did to the king of England: ''…the honourable prince John Balliol, king of Scotland, did homage to the king of England, as lord superior of the realm of Scotland… My Lord, Lord Edward, lord superior of the realm of Scotland, I, John Balliol, king of Scots, hereby become your liegeman for the whole realm of Scotland…E.L.G.Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328, Some Selected Documents.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 127.

for the future of the people in the kingdom.[24] The Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton signed in 1328 recognized Scotland as a self-ruling kingdom with Robert the Bruce as the righteous ruler and bestowed the kingdom with the vital autonomy and liberation.[25] The Second Independence War broke out around 1332 and ended in 1357 with the Treaty of Berwick which provided a decisive Scottish victory and the retainment of the Scottish independence.

In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, James IV (1488-1513), the king who performed most of the royal dedications to St. Katherine, was to be a romantic Renaissance king with his interests in learning many languages, supporting William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen in establishing today's University of Aberdeen as then King's College,[26] and had various mistresses along with illegitimate children.[27] The majority of the studies have not put an emphasis on his political and diplomatic manoeuvres, and his role as the royal promoter of saints' cults.[28] James IV not only promoted the cults of native saints but also the saints from Asia Minor such as Anthony of Egypt and St. Katherine of Alexandria. Notably, a month before the Battle of Flodden in 1513, he went to visit the shrine of St. Duthac at Tain for the nineteenth time and St. Duthac was famously connected with the military pursuits and to some extent, promised victory against the enemies.[29] His

[24] A. A. M. Duncan, *The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath*. (Historical Association pamphlet, 1970), pp. 34- 37.
[25] Sonja Cameron and Alasdair Ross, ''The Treaty of Edinburgh and the Disinherited (1328–1332).'' *History* 84, no. 274 (1999): 237.
[26] Alexander Ross, *An account of the antiquity of the city of Aberdeen with the price of grain and cattle, from the year 1435 to 1591*. (Edinburgh, n.d.), 102.
[27] One of the illegitimate children of James IV, his daughter was called Catherine Stewart. Maureen M. Meikle, *The Scottish People 1490-1625*. (Great Britain: Lulu.com, 2013), 205.
[28] For the survey of studies on James IV, see Jon Robinson, *Court Politics, Culture and Literature in Scotland and England, 1500-1540*. (Aldershot, 2008), 19-20.
[29] Tom Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages*. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 119-20.

dedications, visitations and donations to Anthony of Egypt and St. Katherine did not come any less in number, yet the king's motivation could be interpreted more differently than the visitations to St. Duthac.[30]

1.6. Relics of St. Katherine

The supposed relics of St. Katherine started in Mount Sinai, and commonly disseminated throughout Medieval Europe. Her arm was contained in Santa Maria, Aracoeli, Italy and her holy hair was visible in Santa Maria, Traspontina.[31] Her finger was brought along to Rouen, Normandy where the Katherine-cult in Medieval Europe became the focal cultic hub, by the Sinai monk Symeon in the early 11th century. In England, Lincoln Cathedral inventory of 1536 revealed to have stored a finger of Katherine and the chain with which Katherine bound the devil. In hindsight, Scotland was, by all means, not any different than the rest of those relic claimants. Three dedications supported by the additional sources mention the two types of the relics of Katherine stored in the Aberdeen church. Naturally, the inventory records of the church of Aberdeen do not only explain the existence of the relics of St. Katherine but also of the other saints. One of the two reliquaries of precious metal located on the altar conserves the bones of St. Katherine, St. Helen, St. Margaret, Isaac the patriarch and St. Duthac.[32] The second relic of St. Katherine that is the parts of her tomb remained in a silver phial inside Glasgow Cathedral.[33] The relics would explain the further dedications to Katherine especially in the dioceses of Aberdeen and Glasgow. Master John Clatt, canon of Aberdeen gifted the

[30] See ''Personal/Church Dedications and Donations'' chapter.
[31] Cynthia Stollhans, *St. Catherine of Alexandria in Renaissance Roman Art: Case Studies in Patronage*. (New York: Routledge, 2017), 5.
[32] EN/EW/2675. *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*. (Edinburgh, 2007). Available from http://saints.shca.ed.ac.uk/
[33] James Pagan, *History of the Cathedral and See of Glasgow*. (Glasgow: F. Orr, 1851), 21.

tabernacle on the altar of St. Katherine in 1436 whereas during the same year, Henry de Lichton, bishop of Aberdeen made the contribution of a vestment of striped cloth with an alb, amice and two pieces of linen to the altar of St. Katherine.[34] In addition, Bishop Henry gifted a missal at the altar of St. Katherine starting on the second folio with an excerpt from the Gregorian sacramentary ‘‘Ineffabile misterium coniungere voluisti […]’’.

In the absence of a modern and comprehensive study which would thoroughly investigate the Katherine-cult in Medieval Scotland, this thesis will demonstrate how St. Katherine became popular over time and venerated among the native Scottish saints by means of deploying various methods of written and non-written sources, onomastics, visualizing and manipulating the relatively small amount of data for the examination of the cult. I am well aware that working on a Scottish-related subject from overseas, without having the ability to visit the archives is another factor here which paves the way more for the constant utilization of the printed and digitized primary sources. There would be numerous sources somewhere out there, and hopefully, they will be scrutinized on a higher level in the future.

[34] EN/EW/2633.

CHAPTER II

HAGIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF ST. KATHERINE

The distribution of saints' cults does not effectively occur without the written, scriptorial sources. Although the works of hagiographical genre either in Latin or any vernacular language compose only one facet of these scriptorial sources, the Scottish episode of the interregional Katherine-cult can be examined, as evidenced by the 14th-century life of St. Katherine in the Scottish vernacular. This chapter will attest to the fact of the prior knowledge of St. Katherine besides her *vita*, sainthood, personality, and all the geographical and spatial components which were brought along with the story.

2.1. Introduction to Hagiography

Hagiography is etymologically composed of two Greek words: 'holy' (ἅγιος, ία, ον) and 'writing' (γραφή, ῆς, ἡ).[35] The medieval writers utilized such terminology in the context of 'the books of the Bible, holy writings' in order to meditate on the textual

[35] Stephanos Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*. *Volume I, Periods and Places*. (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011), 2.

content and write them down simultaneously.[36] Hagiographical works intend to indoctrinate the accounts of saints with heavenly virtues that the saints acquired either through their way of living, martyrdom or performed miracles, if any.[37] Thereby, they were predominantly written for spiritual and salvational purposes not to be loaded with factual details about the past yet to demonstrate the virtue in someone's life in order to inspire people to walk a similarly virtuous path.[38] The term itself enjoys a wide ranged collection of concepts wherefore each period had different kinds of hagiographical discourse, so it embraces narratives such as saints' lives, passions, miracle collections, visions, inventions (accounts of relics' discovery), and translations (stories about the transfer of a saint's relics to a new home). In the discourse of the 4th century, it was not limited to biographies of saints, yet included all kinds of Christian literary anthologies. For instance, the monastic figure in Archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom's writings especially the homilies (*homiliae*) and the ascetic treatises (*De virginitate, Ad viduam juniorem, De sacerdotio,* etc.) is more like a saintly exemplar who stands for a sign that God is present and how God practices divine power through this 'holy man' by bestowing him with angelic and miraculous works such as healing or exorcism.[39] The Patristic

[36] Thomas Head, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. (New York: Routledge, 2001), xiv.

[37] Gábor Klaniczay, ''Hagiography and Historical Narrative.'' *Chronicon: Medieval Narrative Sources.* (Turnhout : Brepols, 2013), 111.

[38] David B. Perrin, *Studying Christian Spirituality*. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 176.
For Postmodernist discussion on saints and their place in history, see Edith Wyschogrod, *Saints and Postmodernism: Revisioning Moral Philosophy*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

[39] Pak- Wah Lai, ''The Monk as Christian Saint and Exemplar in St. John Chrysostom's Writings.'' In *Saints and Sanctity*, 2011 ed. Ecclesiastical History Society, Peter D. Clarke, and Tony Claydon (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by the Boydell Press), 20.

Period (c.100 – c.700) witnessed memorable accounts about the saints and saintly worship. Namely, Saint Augustine counseled the faithful to ‘‘worship God alone’’ but also, to ‘‘honor the saints,’’ specifically the martyrs. He also suggested his audience to keep themselves distant from superstitious stance yet still emboldened them to exalt the saints in accordance with their cults and vocation.

During the 14th century, Eastern Orthodox theology proposed an interchangeable motivation when St. Gregory Palamas, the founder of the Palamite theology from Mount Athos likewise conveyed the advice that ‘‘you should also make icons the saints and venerate them, not as gods – for this is forbidden – but through attachment, inner affection and sense of surpassing honour that you feel for saints when by means of their icons the intellect is raised up to them’’.[40] Another Orthodox saint, but of the 19th century, St. Barsanuphius of Optina whose relics and local veneration in Russia, confirms the same viewpoint thus: ‘‘The best guide for you will be the Lives of the Saints. The world abandoned this reading long ago, but do not conform to the world, and this reading will console you greatly. In the Lives of Saints you will find instructions on how to conduct warfare against the spirit of evil and remain the victor’’.[41] In this case, as these three saints and theologians meticulously testify, Modernist Catholic theologian McBrien’s fourth definition of ‘Saints’ evolves the core of medieval saintly intercession, veneration and hence, the

[40] ‘‘St. Gregory Palamas. *The Philokalia: The Complete Text compiled by St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St. Makarios of Corinth, Vol. 4.* (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 324.

[41] Victor Afanasiev, *Elder Barsanuphius of Optina*. (St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood: 2000).

Christian spirituality.[42]

2.2. From Hagiography to Martyrdom in the Scottish Chronicles and Hagiology

Etymologically speaking, the word martyr stems from the Ancient Greek word *μᾰ́ρτῠς* for 'witness'; theologically speaking, 'witness of faith, of Christ'. The utilization of theological and spiritual martyr did not occur until the New Testament which contains copious more verses concerning martyrdom and 'being a witness' than the Old Testament albeit the concept per se is not only exclusive to Christianity. On the psychological basis, martyrdom is an unprofane act of yearning for immortality through life after death and overcoming death just as the most striking religious figures akin to the Buddha, Christ, Mohammad and Moses did.[43] Above all the physical and psychological suffering, ultimately martyrdom as the last stage before the supposed afterlife is an essential component of medieval sainthood albeit martyrdom is not robbed out of its own abstract and eschatological problems.[44] Around 185 AD, the proconsul of Asia, Arrius Antonius, quite

[42] ''Those whom the Church, either through custom or formal canonization, has singled out as members of the Church triumphant so that they may be commemorated in public worship.'' Richard McBrien harmonizes scriptural and doctrinal expositions to present four different meanings of the polysemic word 'Saints'. Richard P. McBrien, *Catholicism*. (Minneapolis, MN: Winston Press, 1980), 1109.

[43] Robert J. Lifton, ''The sense of immortality: On death and the continuity of life.'' *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 33, no. 1 (1973): 6.

[44] In 2017, Pope Francis made some alterations to the canonization process in the Catholic Church. Ostensibly, martyrdom is not the necessary but the offering of one's life with his/her free will in certain circumstances, and miracles after death are explicitly required. Id est, Mother Teresa was beatified in 2003 and canonized in 2016 albeit she had not undergone a martyr's death. See for the

compendiously exemplified people's eschatological dilemma when a Christian mob exclaimed that they wished to be put to death. The proconsul replied by saying, ''you wretches, if you want to die, you have cliffs to leap from and ropes to hang by.''[45] The Christian groups, who have somehow involved in a war with the non-Christians, helped greatly this early medieval transformation of martyrdom, sainthood, and cult of saints. After all, Paganism versus Christianity had been a highly common theme since the first century AD during which myth and history were two inseparable actors of Early Christian writings and narrative. This type of Christian historiography began with the Lukan pattern of ''salvation history'' and how his biblical narrative replaced *nomos* with *martyrium*. In other words, the Christian experience in the New Testament started as a fundamental suffering which eventually led to the future auspicious events, thus, Luke states that Stephen's martyrdom signifies an anticipated omen for the success of Paul's missionary activities.[46] At this point, the Ancient Greek word *μάρτυς* lost its truly testimonial and legal meaning of 'witness' and was replaced with the Septuagint meaning 'witness of God and faith'. Apropos of M. Geffcken, this self-sacrificial connotation was ostensibly transmitted by Stoic values, peculiarly the philosophy of Greek Stoic Epictetus.[47] Consequently, a later 18th century English historian Edward Gibbon commented sceptically on this phenomenon thus through his doubtful statement: ''A

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complete list, Carol Glatz, ''Pope approves new path to sainthood: heroic act of loving service.'' *Catholic News Service*.

[45] Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam (To Scapula)*, 5.1.

[46] Eve-Marie Becker, *The Birth of Christian History: Memory and Time from Mark to Luke-Acts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 111-125.

[47] J. Geffcken, ''Die christlichen Martyrien'', *Hermes* xlv (1910).

martyr! How strangely that word has been distorted from its original sense of a common witness.''[48] Several Church Fathers preserved the same notion and promoted martyrdom for the sake of various motivations such as preserving a Christian identity, imitating Christ's suffering, and forming rhetorical discussions or polemical arguments in favour of the martyrs' functions within the Early Church. The most notable Ante-Nicene fathers who took up the promotion of the martyrdom were indubitably Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, and Tertullian. Clement encouraged to follow the example of ''the chosen ones who have suffered many insulting treatments and tortures,'' whereas Ignatius explicated his own wish for 'invisible martyrdom'[49], that is even after he has eaten by the wild beasts, he still ''will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ''.[50]

Tertullian also manifested quite strong sentiments on martyrdom with his still widely known statement *semen est sanguis Christianorum,* and provided homiletic intendments with the aim of becoming an honourable martyr: ''Seek not to die on bridal beds, nor in miscarriages, nor in soft fevers, but to die the martyr's death, that He may be glorified who has suffered for you.''[51]

Martyrdom was at the core of almost all the hagiographical writings. After the alleged Christian persecutions in the Roman Empire had come to an end, the Early

[48] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline Fall of the Roman Empire, Volume 4*. (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2008), 112n.

[49] Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and Arthur Cleveland Coxe, eds., *Ante-Nicene Fathers. the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325 Vol. 1*. (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007), 76.

[50] Ibid, 75.

[51] Tertullian, *De Fuga* 9.4.

Medieval Church experienced another turbulent wave of Christian martyrdom writings caused by the Vikings. The role played by the Vikings whilst pondering on the martyrdom stories, new hagiographies, relics and eventually cult of saints, was tremendous. There is no doubt that the Vikings drew only a small part of the panorama that aided cult of saints and paved the way for more saints to be venerated and popularized. The story in which violent Pagan Northmen arrive at rather more 'peaceful' and 'civilized' Christian lands, kill defenseless monks, steal relics, pillage monasteries, and kidnap monks to sell them for both the Arab and Byzantine eunuch supplies.[52] Lindisfarne monastery is one of the most famously known *loci* for the Viking pillages. Perhaps a lesser recognized example is the massacre of Christmas Eve in Iona, the Northern part of Scotland circa 986 AD during which Iona was plundered, and the abbot along with fifteen seniors of the church were killed. The event of 986 initially followed the new establishment of the monastery of Kells, Ireland prior to 807. Although the event itself is not exclusively Scottish, it occurred in the settlements of the Northern Scotland, where the Scottish Catholic tradition had its spiritual roots:

> ARC [986]
> Mael Ciarain ua Maigne, comarba Coluim Cille, do dul deargmartra lasna Danaru in Ath Cliath.[53]
>
> 'Mael Ciarain ua Maigne, the successor of Columba, went to

[52] Mary Valente, "Castrating Monks: Vikings, Slave Trade, and the Value of Eunuchs," in Larissa Tracy, ed. *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*. (Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 183-7.
[53] Bart Jaski and Daniel McCarthy, ''A facsimile edition of the Annals of Roscrea.'' https://www.scss.tcd.ie/misc/kronos/editions/AR_portal.htm . Accessed on May 17, 2018.

red martyrdom at the hands of the Danes in Dublin.'[54]

It is needless to say that our source is not completely robbed out of its own biases. The Abbot of Iona, Mael Ciarain ua Maigne underwent a 'red', violent martyrdom, the chronicler grammatically emphasized on the 'deargmartra', for 'do dul' signifies 'underwent' and in Gaelic, most of the pseudo-emphasis is on the wording(s) right after the verb clause. Mael Ciarain ua Ma'igne was not the only clergyman to be martyred at the hands of the Vikings in the Northern Scotland. Sometime between 823 and 825, 161 years prior to the Abbot Mael Ciara, another Abbot St. Blaithmac was tortured 'from limb to limb' and ultimately killed since he would not disclose the location of St. Columba's shrine through which the Vikings supposedly desired to possess the golden reliquary itself rather than the holy bones within. The Danes, having killed all the monks —if this is not an exaggerated statement of the relevant chroniclers, — while they were celebrating the mass, approached Blaithmac near the altar. He delivered a short homiletic message thus:

> There he spoke to thee, barbarian, in words such as these: — "I know nothing at all of the gold you seek, where it is placed in the ground or in what hiding-place it is concealed. And if by Christ's permission it were granted me to know it, never would our lips relate it to thy ears. Barbarian, draw thy sword, grasp the hilt, and slay; gracious God, to thy aid I commend me humbly."[55]

There is another captivating detail herein. The hagiographer of St. Blaithmac was

[54] Thomas Owen Clancy, ''The Christmas Eve Massacre, Iona, AD 986.'' *Innes Review* 64.1 (2013): 66.

[55] Blaithmac indeed did not truly know about where the shrine was located due to their underground relocation by the prudent monks of Iona. For the English translation, see Alan Orr Anderson, *Early sources of Scottish history, A.D. 500 to 1286.* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1922), 263-265. See for the Latin version, Walafridus Strabo Fuldensis, V*ita Sancti Blaitmaici Abbatis Hiiensis Et Martyris* in Patrologia Latina 114: 1043-1046.

Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), a Benedictine monk who lived on Reichenau Island, the southern part of the Carolingian Empire (today's Switzerland). How did he become acquainted with the story of St. Blaithmac in a single year of time span? Surprisingly enough, Walafrid also wrote his other hexametric poem *Vita Sancti Mammae Monachi*, that is Life of St. Mammas, a 3rd century Caesarean martyr from Asia Minor. The general consensus for the transmission of Blaithmac's story is that the Irish pilgrims who visited the pilgrimage sites in the European continent brought it along with them[56] by means of pilgrimage *ex patria*. Another thought is that the surviving monks from the latest Viking attack let their brothers know about the current misdeed and suffering so that the martyrdom of St. Blaithmac would be an *exemplum* for the geographically distant factions, ecclesiastical foundations inclusive of the clergy, and to a lesser extent, individuals. Neither the former nor the latter hypothesis could be attested in the light of the surviving documents, therefore their validity remains unchallenged. Albeit St. Blaithmac became ostensibly popular even in the Western Europe for a short period of time, the cult was not preserved in quite an effective way. Insofar as the sources reveal, Blaithmac's cult is only limited to Strabo's abovementioned hagiographical material, chronicles i.e. AU, and the entries of his feast day within the Martyrologies of Donegal and Tallagh as celebrated on the 24th of July, whereas it is on the 19th of January abroad.

The above-presented references demonstrated how martyrdom was utilized as a common theme within the context of the Scottish chronicles and hagiographical

[56] Richard A. Fletcher, *The barbarian conversion: from paganism to Christianity*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 379.

writings whilst paving a more substantial way to describe the development of saints' cults in medieval Scotland. With a view to turning back to hagiography and its historical authenticity, hagiographical elements and martyr stories in any medieval text often overarch the scientific consciousness of the historian. But, one cannot dismiss the fact that no *vita* and *passio* were fully complete without the martyrdom and to some extent, before or after life miracles. There is an on-going matter to be resolved between these two disciplines of historiography and hagiography including the actualization that some scholars do even consider hagiography as an unsustainable field of study and unworthy of detailed academic research.[57] The previous historians have often tended to stamp the hagiographical texts as ''kirchliche Schwindelliteratur''[58] meaning ''ecclesiastical swindling-literature''.[59] Nonetheless, it should not require for anyone to be a Medievalist to fathom the significance of hagiography and consequently, the saints' cults in the process of decoding the medieval belief systems, (here, Christianity and Christian ethics) and indeed, the mentality and motivations of a society's development *per se*. It is the historian's utmost duty to perform a meticulous selection out of the available hagiographical material and utilize the selection in the way which would adequately

[57] Anna Taylor, ''Hagiography and Early Medieval History.'' *Religion Compass* 7, no. 1 (2013): 1-14. ''Despite the great scholarly interest in writings about saints, historians have for the most part ignored, dismissed, or cherry picked these verse lives for evidence without considering the significance of their poetic form.'' p, 1. It is also beneficial to note that there is a limit to the utilization of hagiographical material. Full analyses of the saints' cults seem to substitute and hinder excessive usage of unscientific data with supportively more reliable sources.

[58] Bruno Kursch, ''Zur Florians- und Lupus-legende. Eine Entgegnung.'' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 4 (1899): 559.

[59] Paul Fouracre, ''Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography.'' *Past and Present* 127 (1990): 5n.

serve the purpose of unearthing the medieval world.

2.3. The Scottish Legendary

The earliest and foremost example of the Scottish hagiographical writing within which St. Katherine took a striking position was authored during the late fourteenth century by an anonymous clergyman in the Scottish Lowlands, possibly in the environs of Aberdeen. While having been compared to the English *South English Legendary*, the Katherine Group MS Bodley 34, the late medieval prose legend of St. Katherine Southwell Minister MS 7, and John Capgrave's the *Life of St. Katherine* (c.1463), the *Scottish Legendary* (MS. Cambr. Uni. Lib. Gg. II. 6) has received much less scholarly attention. C. Horstmann, P. Buss, and more recently W. Metcalfe who is the editor of the published manuscript in three volumes, have exhaustively discussed the literary qualities of the *Scottish Legendary*, hereafter the *ScL*, specifically over the authorship, dating and mapping of the manuscript. The only book-length study of the *Scottish Legendary* was published in 2016 and aimed for an extended contribution to this historical and literary enigma.[60] It still remains a historical and literary enigma since the efforts to find out the original author have proved to be quite an onerous task without the attestable sources. Carl Horstmann already attributed the text to John Barbour, the author of the eminent national poem *The Bruce* in his two-volume book.[61] Alois Brandl who reviewed Horstmann's both

[60] Eva Von Contzen, *The Scottish Legendary Towards a poetics of hagiographic narration.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

[61] C. Horstmann, ed., *Barbour's Des Schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung: Nebst Den Fragmenten Seines Trojanerkrieges*. 2 vols. (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1881-2).

volumes in 1881, found contradictory linguistic elements with Barbour's *Bruce* and the *ScL*; yet instead of accrediting the text to a different author, he thought that the linguistic differences were caused by the later Southern influence and the 20-year gap between the two works. 5 years later, having taken Horstmann's interpretation of the anonymous *ScL* author as the focal point, Peter Buss published his article written again in German and tried to decipher the quandary: ''Are the *Scottish Legendaries* published by Horstmann the work of Barbour?''. The linguistic investigation gave its fruits when P. Buss found out that the rhymes of the *ScL* neither match nor show a similar pattern with those of Barbour's *Bruce*. Therefore, Buss supported the idea that the two distinguished works have had two different authors.[62] W. M. Metcalfe, who edited the *Scottish Legendary* in three volumes, stood by the viewpoint of Buss and ruminated that the text could not be attributed to Barbour. Metcalfe also found the textual sources from which the *vitae* were extracted and re-adapted into the *Scottish Legendary*. The main general source corresponds with Jacobus Voragine's most widely known medieval saints' lives, the *Legenda Aurea* or the *Golden Legend*. For the saints that have not taken place within the *LegA*, the author made extensive usage of *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, *Legend of St Mary of Egypt* by Sophronius, *Vita Niniani* by St. Ailred, the Latin *Acts of Thecla*, the *Vitae Patrum*, the *Martyrology of Ado*, and the

[62] Peter Buss, "Sind Die Von Horstmann Herausgegebenen Schottischen Legenden Ein Werk Barbere's? " *Anglia* 9 (1886): 493-514.

Passio of S. Andreæ.[63] At the end, the common and continuous attribution of the *ScL* authorship to John Barbour limits the other possibilities that other Scottish authors apart from Barbour, either clergyman or laity could have edited and produced hagiographical compilations in the 14th century Scotland, if not before.

In some cases of the hagiographical writings as in the exemplary Scottish hagiography, the text might be utilized as a reflection on the author's either religious or secular social assessment or possibly even a criticism directed towards the men and women of high status who get indifferently distracted by the worldly concerns:[64]

> Ȝit, quene þai hafe þare thing done,
> Þat afferis þare stat,
> alsone Þai suld dresse þare deuocione,
> in prayere & in oracione,
> or thingis þat þare hert mycht stere
> tyl wyne hewine, tyl þat þai are here.[65]

Mostly, they played the role of *exempla* or some kind of a social criticism as in the instance of the author of the *Scottish Legendary* in which the Katherine *vita* was fully written down for the first and only time. The author in this context preaches the desire to recreate a devotedly pious community by giving a hortatory guidance: ''alsone Þai suld dresse þare deuocione, in prayere & in oracione'', ''they should at

[63] W. M. Metcalfe, ed., *Legends of the Saints in the Dialect of the Fourteenth Century.* Scottish Text Society. Vol. 1. (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1896), xviii.

[64] Katherine J. Lewis, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2000), 196.

[65] Metcalfe, ed., *Legends of the Saints,* p. 1.

once direct their devotion into prayer and the act of praying''. In its essence, Christian hagiography as much as Muslim hagiography is a significant branch of didactic literature which always teaches both a positive and negative admonition, and supplements inspiration for the readers through the 'saintly' and eximious characters.[66] The author of the *ScL* assures the readers in the prologue that indeed, this work was authored with instructional purposes. Western and Byzantine hagiography often possesses interchangeable peculiarities with such system of the hagiographical works and cults from the British Isles that they often witnessed a more acute underlying of the societal matters since the hagiographical accounts were not only deemed as a branch of the 'popular' or 'fictitious' literature but also vocalized the thoughts and feelings of their authors, and were heard or perused by the entire society regardless of the socio-economic and gender conditions.[67]

The ownership of the manuscript raises different questions. The last flyleaf of the *Scottish Legendary* contains the handwritten note from the 17th century ''Ketherine Greham with my hand Finis,'' and signifies that the previous owner of the manuscript was once a woman called Katherine Graham. If she had not acquired the

[66] See for discussion on the hagiography as a sub-category of didactic literature, Stavroula Constantinou, "Women Teachers in Early Byzantine Hagiography,'' in *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 189-205; Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Women in Early Byzantine Hagiography: Reversing the Story," in *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*, eds. Lynda L. Coon, Katherine J. Haldane, and Elisabeth W. Sommer (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 36-60.

[67] Evelyne Patlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography and Social History," in *Saints and their Cults: Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 102.

manuscript and used it for personally devotional purposes, the note would not have been written down otherwise. Katherine Graham presumably read the whole manuscript and carved her own name to indicate that she, indeed, used this manuscript as a breviary. Two noblewomen called Katherine Graham exists in my onomastic database of the personal name 'Katherine' in medieval Scotland; however, the first entry of Katherine Graham, the spouse of George Wallace is dated back to the mid-15th century, Kincardineshire in lieu of the 17th century as Metcalfe recorded the date of the handwriting.[68] The second Katherine Graham, the spouse of Sir Humphry Colquhoun from the Highland clan the Colquhouns died around the late 16th century.[69]

The partial text of St. Katherine occurs in the facsimile of MS. fol. 202a within the second volume of the Metcalfe edition. The text appears to be partial since Metcalfe previously found out that the folio, with which the legend of Katherine begins, has not been intact in the original manuscript.[70] For that reason, the Katherine-legend was to be initiated from the fol. 380a onwards in order to be finalized with the fol. 395a, right after the folios which comprise of the Thecla legend (f. 376b− f. 379b). The inclusion of the Thecla legend is quite peculiar in this context because the Thecla cult in late Medieval Scotland has still not been well attested on account of the scarcity of sources. The anonymous *Scottish Legendary* author instigates the

[68] RMSRS, vol. 2, p. 537.

[69] J. S. Keltie, ed., *A History of the Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans and Highland Regiments*. Vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1875), 286.

[70] Ibid, ix.

Thecla legend by introducing the acts of Paul and how ‘‘it hapnyt hyme percase to cume to the tone of yconyum’’, ‘‘it happened to Paul to come to the town of Iconium’’. One of the problematic issues in editing and blending the various versions of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* is that some variations present one point too obvious and could create plot flaws if not mentioned. Thecla would not exist without Paul, nor had he not come to the town of Iconium. The *Scottish Legendary* is one of these texts, not misogynistic yet the background to Paul is ostensibly evident that the story does not solely belong to Thecla, hence the theological commentary and literary criticism which both define the *APTh* as a branch of the religious romance robbed out of the physical love, Eros.[71] The Katherine-legend, on the other hand, does not exhibit the necessity to include a coexistent character.

2.4. Placing the Katherine-legend within the *Scottish Legendary*

The presentation of the Katherine-legend at the very end of the manuscript does not take place due to her late feast day. The author of the *ScL* simply does not opt for the sequence of the saints in accordance with the liturgical calendar. For the Katherine legend and all the virgin saints associated with her, he preferred to intertwine the virgin and martyr saints as Agnes, Agatha, Cecilia, Lucy, Christina, Anastasia, Euphemia, Juliana, Thecla and Katherine. Albeit Katherine does not occupy the last place in the liturgical calendar, the reason why she was put at the

[71] Jennifer Eyl, “Why Thekla Does Not See Paul: Visual Perception and the Displacement of Eros in the Acts of Paul and Thekla.” in *The Ancient Novel and the Early Christian and Jewish Narrative: Fictional Intersections*, eds. Judith Perkins and Mariliá Futre Pinheiro, eds. (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing, 2013), 11.

end of the manuscript could be explicated with her importance in the eyes of the owner. The author or the late owner of the manuscript might have held Katherine as a dear virgin and martyr saint venerated in the 14th century Scotland and they could have prayed with this manuscript so frequently that the reading of the Katherine legend folios at hand would have been uncomplicated to open. After all, having put the habitually read folios at the end or in the beginning of the whole manuscript would facilitate the process of reading contrary to turning multitudinous numbers of folios each time during which the manuscript was wished to be perused. In such a case, the *ScL* would confirm the hypothesis that the legends were written for a lay audience, especially the private reading of the noblewomen with the extensive inclusion of the virgin martyr saints.[72]

What about the exclusion of the native Scottish saints? The author of the *ScL* integrated only three insular saints Machar, Ninian and George. The rest of the saints are mostly biblical (Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James the Less, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude, Matthias, Mark, Luke, Barnabas, Mary Magdalene, Martha, John the Baptist), and non-native international saints (Mary of Egypt, Christopher Blasius, Clement, Lawrence, the Seven Sleepers, Alexis, Julian, Nicholas, Margaret, Theodora, Eugenia, Justina, Pelagia, Thais, Eustace, Vincent, Adrian, Cosmas and Damian, Agnes, Agatha, Cecilia, Lucy, Christina, Anastasia, Euphemia, Juliana, Thecla, Katherine.). The exclusion of the native Scottish saints could have resulted in two hypotheses. The first hypothesis

[72] Contzen, *The Scottish Legendary*, p. 5.

supports the argument above on the purpose of writing the *ScL* in the first place, for the perusal of the lay audience. Thence the manuscript was a product of personal veneration and at the end, dedication of the individually chosen saints. The second hypothesis is the fact that the native Scottish saints in the 14th century Scotland were not the only favourable saints that were venerated in parallel to the claims of the McRoberts thesis and other nationalistically inclined works. Germane to the testability of the two hypotheses, they both reflect the societal situation regarding the veneration and cult of non-native saints including St. Katherine in Medieval Scotland.

2.5. Style and Context of the Katherine-legend

In the vein of the other legends, the Katherine-legend bears the rhyming couplets, 1213 lines in total exclusive of the missing folios for which the definite numbers of lines are unknown. The usage of quotations in tandem with the dialogues highlights the personal traits of Katherine on the nobleness, beauty, benevolence, wisdom, eloquence, and advanced rhetoric more effectively than the lives of other virgin and martyr saints. Within the contextual framework, the Katherine legend takes the typical story of St. Katherine into account and presents a succinct introduction prior to listing her qualities:

> In þat tyme katrine duelli*ng* had
> In till a p[a]lace, quhar pat scho bad,
> of all rich and fare in þat cyte,
> In mekill welth and nobilte,

as till a kingis douchtir feryd.[73]

The story proceeds in the similar direction with Voragine's version of the Katherine-legend. The reader is encouraged to be familiar with the background of her life, the noble parentage and the city of Alexandria. Considering the hagiographical texts as the remnants of the cultural and historical memory, the readers of the *ScL* must have already associated the city of Alexandria with the Katherine-legend at this point. In fact, one later entry from the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* which dates back to 1531 confirms the geographical awareness of the saints and their cultic birth places. James V (1513-1542) authenticated the charter of Gavin, bishop of Aberdeen that the bishop performed an altar dedication at the altar of ''Katherine Egypticae'' or ''Katherine of Egypt'' instead of Katherine of Alexandria.[74] Since the character ''king Costy'' (Costas), the father of Katherine and the place ''cite of Alexandir'' (city of Alexander) are not fully explicated within the text, the non-existent explanation attests to the precedent knowledge of the Katherine-*vita*, and all its temporal and spatial components by the 14th century. For instance, the author opts for the Scots usage of the name Maxence, ''Maxens'' which was probably borrowed from the same French ortographic version.

The personal stance of Katherine against the so-called persecutor Emperor Maxentius and his faith within the Katherine-legend are the two main themes

[73] *Legends of the Saints*, vol.2, p. 443, line 46-51.

[74] EN/JD/648.

praised throughout the narrative. The philosophical and theological discussions made by Katherine herself against the trial of the fifty philosophers compare Aristotle, Plato and Christ to a degree that no saint in the compilation of the *Scottish Legendary* has the intellectual capacity to preside over such a debate:

> þat has of wisdome sic plente,
> & dout*is* þat Ihesu crist suld be,
> syne plato, þat ȝe wisest call
> in science of ȝour doctorr*is* all.
> In his ty*m* mad p*ro*bacione
> of c*ri*stis incarnacione;
> & Aristotill, his pre*n*teis.[75]

This chapter, mainly on the literary and hagiographical facet of the Katherine-cult, explained and exemplified the significance of the Katherine-legend or *vita*. The next chapter will continue examining the gradual steps of the Katherine-cult and interweave the hagiographical sources in this chapter with the liturgical sources under the same roof.

[75] Metcalfe, ed., *Legends of the Saints*, p.454.

CHAPTER III

ST. KATHERINE IN MEDIEVAL SCOTTISH LITURGY

Medieval liturgy left a great impact on the process of underlying the religious agenda either public or private, by means of liturgical manuscripts, readings, hymns, prayers and theatrical performances. The liturgical celebration would encapsulate the multisensory experiences for the worshipper and invoke the five senses by sight, hearing, smell, touch, and taste. The Aristotelian concept of simultaneous *synaisthesis* or "joint-perception" was essential to the medieval liturgical practice.[76] Therefore, the worshippers would astonish at the grandeur of architecture and the beauty of the captivating icons, find comfort through hearing the chants accompanied by smelling the unique odour of incense, caress the relics or icons to gain spiritual and physical strength, and finally receive the taste of wafer and wine so that they could be united with the body and blood of Christ. Kingdom of Scotland also observed and held the liturgical traditions in high esteem; hence, this chapter will

[76] *De Anima* (DA) 425a30-b3; *De Sensu* (DS) 449a10-20.

discuss whether the Katherine-cult could be attested in the liturgical sources, and to what extent the cult was promoted through liturgy.

In the course of his trip to Italy in 1625, Sir William Kerr, 3rd Earl of Lothian (1605-1675) narrated the mystical spectacularity and impressions in awe of which the liturgical ceremonies left on his mind. Beyond the psychological effects of the liturgical ceremonies carved on the minds of the individuals, this 17th -century unpublished manuscript called *Itinerario* meticulously described the effects of the liturgy on the ceremonial events, wherefore the multisensory liturgical performance itself re-transformed into the grand ceremony with the attendance of the Pope:

> 'Be yee oppen yee euerlasting Gates and let the King of Glory in.' Then the quire that are within aske him 'Who is the euerlasting sonne?' Which being ansuered, he sayeth, 'This is the holy gate and the godly enter by it.' Then he strykes on a Cross on the midst of a doore. Then they that are within pull it doun and his guard thrust it with the halberts. Then he goeth in and euery man taketh a peece that can, whereof in ane houre there was not a whit left of a thick wall of a foot broad. When he comes in to the Church he sings vespres and returnes in the order he came in, but not by that way (for it is lawfull for any man to goe in that way but not to come out), but at the great doore, for this holy doore is almost on the corner of the church.[77]

The fundamental question of this chapter why Katherine was re-adapted into the canon texts of the Scottish liturgy albeit from the Sarum Use and selected to be one of the international saints who took place within the progress of interweaving the cults of the national Scottish saints, should not be left unanswered. These liturgical manuscripts help us fathom not only the liturgical celebrations of Katherine among

[77] John J. MacGavin, *Theatricality and Narrative in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 128.

the parishes, but also to what extent the knowledge of the hagiographical narrative such as the geographical and prosopographical elements within a particular *vita* were absorbed by the society. What the Scottish liturgiology could also provide in this cultus study is not confined to the societal understanding of Katherine, yet also raises a number of questions whether the saint's veneration found echoes through the English liturgical usage and transferred from the Sarum Rite, though this thesis fundamentally attempts to prove otherwise.

3.1. The 'McRoberts Thesis' and the *Aberdeen Breviary*

Mgr. David McRoberts (1912-1978) who was the Honorary Canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Glasgow, Keeper of the Scottish Catholic Archives, and editor of the *Innes Review*[78] authored his article "the Scottish church and nationalism in the fifteenth century, " in 1968 and argued that ''liturgical and devotional nationalism'' was a persistent practice in the late medieval Scottish society. The so-called 'McRoberts thesis' defended the national trends of the cults, therefore, supported the idea that the national saints of Scotland were venerated in a more systemized and popularized approach than the international saints. The national saints are the saints who were born, served or travelled within the Scottish borders, that are, St. David I was born in Scotland, Sts Adomnan and Columba served as the two important abbots of Iona, and St. Andrew travelled from Asia Minor to the British Isles and became the patron saint of Scotland. International saints, on the other hand, incorporate the

[78] James Darragh, "David McRoberts 1912-1978," *Innes Review* 30, no. 30 (1979): 2-15.

rest of the saints who had no direct spatial connections and associations except for the cults.

It was not until 1985 that the modern scholars have so far quoted, discussed, accepted or challenged the claims of rising national cultic trends in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth-century Scotland,[79] and even warned by means of a slightly exaggerated approach that we should not fall into 'the trap of the McRoberts thesis'.[80] In essence, McRoberts was devoted to emphasizing on the common trend of rising national sentiments emanating from Europe and their attempted applications both to the liturgical practices and societal devotions in late medieval Scotland that is in itself, a speculative argument pertaining to the medieval Scottish historiography and for most of the part within which, I think, McRoberts has, to some extent, been misinterpreted or not fully investigated. McRoberts, indeed, overshadows the long antedated presence and the escalating popularity of international saints throughout the late fifteenth century. But, none of the McRoberts critiques have made a clear distinction between the two separate arguments in his article, the first of which denotes the aforementioned statement concerning his omission of the international saints' cults in medieval Scotland, and the second defines the production of the

[79] See for further commentary, Tom Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages.* (Leiden.:Brill, 2015).For the critique, David Ditchburn, "'The 'McRoberts thesis' and patterns of sanctity in late medieval Scotland," in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland,* eds. S. Boardman and E. Williamson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 177-94.

[80] Kate Ash, "St Margaret and the literary politics of Scottish sainthood." in *Sanctity as literature in late medieval Britain*, eds. Eva Von Cortzen and Anke Bernau (Manchester University Press, 2016), 32.

calendar *Aberdeen Breviary* led by bishop of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone (1483-1514) and supported by James IV (1488-1513) as an attempt to revive national Scottish liturgy and saints in lieu of the pre-existent Roman and Sarum Uses. In this case, considering the most renowned liturgical manuscript of medieval Scotland, the *Aberdeen Breviary* as an imminent part of this national endeavour is not incorrect. Therefore, it is *de facto* not McRoberts who ignores the veneration of international saints in late medieval Scotland in the first place, since he re-establishes the quandary which Bishop Elphinstone previously failed to observe that is the patterns of saintly veneration and cults within the late medieval Scottish societal devotions. Therefore, the mastermind of this so-called 'McRoberts thesis' does not exactly have to embody McRoberts himself, but those supported the national saintly veneration tendencies in the making of the *Aberdeen Breviary* who ''reminds us once again of the difficulties of the ecclesiastical authorities in identifying, and then harnessing, popular trends in religious practice''.[81]

3.2. International Saints of Scotland

Another problematic trend with the help of which this thesis could become highly popular and debated among the discussions of the Scottish historiography is the process of cherry-picking the available sources and studies which have chiefly undertaken regarding the Scottish saints, rather than the international saints. David

[81] Tom Turpie, "North-Eastern Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary and the Historia Gentis Scotorum of Hector Boece: Liturgy, History and Religious Practice in Late Medieval Scotland," in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in the Dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray*, ed. J. Geddes (London: Routledge, 2016), 246.

Ditchburn assesses the exhaustive impact of employing the so-called dichotomous terms of 'national' and 'international' saints on the underestimation of the geographical scopes which are comprised of the regional and local cults.[82] On the whole, uncovering the saints' cults in accordance with their main cultic *loci*, ethnicities and nationalities contribute the cults to a greater extent, even better while deciphering the scale of universal, regional and local cults. Nevertheless, Ditchburn draws attention to one constructive point, especially when the Scottish and non-Scottish saints cannot adjoin with one another. Had the past and present research concerning the international saints' cults in medieval Scotland become prominent, we would be able to discuss these phenomena as clearly and commonly as in medieval Europe. The continuous projects have not shed much light upon the non-Scottish saints, either and consequently, this absence brings out the necessity for the terms of 'national' and 'international' saints. For instance, the modern edited translations and commentaries of the *Aberdeen Breviary* offer a compelling analysis of the national saints, but do not contain the liturgical readings and prayers from the international saints except for the listed names in the calendar to observe the feast days; whereas the breviary, in its fundamental manuscript form, contains pages of readings in support of the international saints. The remark that the *Aberdeen Breviary* was styled as the English Sarum Use and most of the English saints were removed from the *AB* instead of drawing attention to the Scottish selection of the international saints and adapting the selected saints into this retransformed national liturgy is still

[82] Ditchburn, "The 'McRoberts thesis'", 192.

limitative during the exploration of the international saints.[83] The veneration of saints in the late medieval Scottish society does not evidently suggest a connection between the concept of nationality and the concept's manifested applications to the cult of saints. As for instance, Steve Boardman has already debunked the argument that throughout the Anglo-Scottish wars, St. George, the patron saint of England whose insignia were worn by the English troops, was intentionally held in enmity by the medieval Scots. On the contrary, by means of both the onomastic evidence and the church dedications, it is now attested that the cult of St. George occupied a prominent place in late medieval Scotland.[84] Hence the fruitful investigation to fathom why the nationalistic historiographical trends still persistently environ the hagiographical and cultic studies of late medieval religion in Scotland, despite the fact that some of these presumptuous trends of the nationalistic hypotheses have been proven completely wrong. While at this point, the whole argument employing the examples of many other saints will not be discussed, St. Katherine is not the only 'international' saint whose *vita*, readings and prayers were no doubt observed by the *Aberdeen Breviary*.

[83] Alan Macquarrie, , "Scottish saints' legends in the Aberdeen Breviary," in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, eds. S. Boardman and E. Williamson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 146.

[84] Steve Boardman, "The cult of St George in Scotland," in *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, eds Steve Boardman, John Reuben Davies and Eila Williamson (Woodbridge, 2009), 146–59.

Table 2: List of international saints and feasts in the *Aberdeen Breviary*[85]

Circumcision of the Lord	January 1
Octave of St Stephen	January 2
St Genovesa, virgin; St John the Evangelist	January 3
Octave of the Holy Innocents	January 4
Epiphany of the Lord	January 6
St Felix, priest	January 14
St Maurus, abbot	January 15
St Antony, abbot	January 17
St Prisca, virgin	January 18
Sts Fabian and Sebastian, martyrs	January 20
St Agnes, virgin and martyr	January 21
St Vincent, martyr	January 22
Conversion of St Paul the apostle; St Praeiectus	January 25
St Julian, bishop and confessor	January 27
St Agnes, 2nd feast	January 28
Purification of St Mary	February 2
St Blaise, bishop and martyr	February 3
St Agatha, virgin and martyr	February 5
Sts Vedastus and Amandus, bishops	February 6
St Scholastica, virgin	February 10
St Valentinus, bishop and martyr	February 14
St Juliana, virgin and martyr	February 16
St Peter's Chair	February 22
St Mathias, apostle	February 24
St David**;** St Chad, bishop**s** and confessor**s**	March 1
St Adrian, bishop and martyr	March 4
St Thomas Aquinas, doctor	March 7
St Gregory, pope	March 12
St Joseph, confessor	March 19
St Benedict, abbot	March 21
The Lord's Annunciation	March 25
St Olaf, king and martyr; St Rule, abbot*****	March 30
St Mary of Egypt	April 2
St Ambrose, bishop and doctor	April 4
Sts Tiburtius, Valerianus and Maximum, martyrs	April 12
St George, martyr	April 23
St Mark, evangelist	April 25
St Vitalis, martyr	April 28
Sts Philip and James, apostles	May 1
Finding the Holy Cross	May 3
St John before the Latin Gate	May 6
St Gordianus, bishop and martyr	May 10

[85] Alan Macquarrie, ed., *Legends of Scottish saints: readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen breviary* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. xliii-xvii.

Table 2: List of international saints and feasts in the *Aberdeen Breviary*[85]

St Potenciana, virgin	May 19
St Urban, bishop and confessor	May 25
St Augustine, apostle of the English and confessor	May 26
St German, bishop and confessor	May 28
St Petronilla, virgin	May 31
St Nichomedes, martyr	June 1
Sts Marcellinus and Peter, martyrs	June 2
St Boniface, bishop and martyr and his companions, martyrs	June 5
Sts Medard and Gildard, bishops	June 8
St Barnabas, apostle	June 11
St Basil, bishop and confessor	June 14
Sts Vita, Modesta and Crescentia	June 15
Sts Ceriacus and Julittus, martyrs	June 16
Sts Marcus and Marcellinus, martyrs	June 18
St Alban, first martyr of the English	June 22
Birth of John the Baptist	June 24
Sts John and Paul, martyrs	June 26
St Leo, pope	June 28
Sts Peter and Paul, apostles	June 29
Commemoration of St Paul, apostle	June 30
Visitation of St Mary the virgin	July 2
Translation of St Thomas the martyr	July 7
The seven holy Brothers, martyrs	July 10
Translation of St Benedict	July 11
The nine holy Virgins	July 15
St Margaret, virgin and martyr	July 20
St Praxedes, virgin	July 21
St Mary Magdalene	July 22
St Apollonaris, bishop and martyr	July 23
St Christina, virgin	July 24
St James, apostle	July 25
St Anna, mother of Mary	July 26
St Samson, bishop	July 28
St Olaf, king and martyr**;** Sts Simplicius and Faustinus**,** martyrs	July 29
Sts Abdon and Sennen, martyrs	July 30
St German, bishop and confessor	July 31
St Peter in Chains	August 1
St Stephen, pope and martyr	August 2
Finding of St Stephen	August 3
Feast of St Mary the Snows	August 5
Transfiguration of the Lord	August 6
Solemnity of the Name of Jesus	August 7
Sts Ciriacus and his companions, martyrs	August 8
St Roman, martyr	August 9
St Laurence, martyr	August 10
St Tiburtius, martyr	August 11
St Hippolitus, martyr and his companions	August 12

Table 2: List of international saints and feasts in the *Aberdeen Breviary*[85]

St Eusebius, priest	August 14
Assumption of St Mary	August 15
Octave of St Laurence	August 17
St Agapitus, martyr	August 18
Octave of the Assumption of St Mary	August 22
St Bartholomew, apostle	August 24
St Augustine, bishop and doctor	August 28
Beheading of St John the Baptist	August 29
Translation of St Cuthbert	September 4
St Bertin, abbot	September 5
Birth of St Mary	September 8
St Gorgonius, martyr	September 9
Sts Protus and Hyacinthus, martyrs	September 11
Exaltation of the Holy Cross	September 14
Octave of the Birth of St Mary	September 15
St Lambert, bishop and martyr	September 17
St Matthew, apostle and evangelist	September 21
St Maurice and his companions, martyrs	September 22
St Cyprian, bishop and martyr; St Justine, virgin and martyr	September 26
Sts Cosmas and Damian, martyrs	September 27
St Michael, archangel	September 29
St Jerome, priest and doctor	September 30
Sts Remigius, Germanus and Amandus, bishops	October 1
St Leodegar, martyr	October 2
St Francis, confessor	October 4
St Faith, virgin and martyr	October 6
Sts Marcus, Marcellinus, Epuleius, martyrs	October 7
St Triduana, virgin*****	October 8
Sts Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius	October 9
St Gereonis and his companions, martyrs	October 10
St Calixtus, pope and martyr	October 14
St Michael in Monte Tumba	October 16
St Luke, evangelist	October 18
The 11,000 holy virgins	October 21
St Romanus, bishop and confessor	October 23
Sts Simon and Jude, apostles	October 28
All Saints' Day	November 1
All Souls' Day	November 2
St Leonard, abbot	November 6
St Theodore, martyr	November 9
St Martin, bishop and confessor	November 11
St Brice, bishop and confessor	November 13
St Anianus, bishop of Alexandria	November 17
Presentation of St. Mary	November 21
St Cecilia, virgin and martyr	November 22
St Clement, pope and martyr; St Felix, martyr	November 23
St Chrisogonus, martyr	November 24
St Katherine of Alexandria, virgin and martyr	**November 25**

Table 2: List of international saints and feasts in the *Aberdeen Breviary*[85]

St Linus, pope and martyr	November 26
St Saturninus, martyr	November 29
St Eligius, bishop and confessor	December 1
St Barbara, virgin and martyr	December 4
St Nicholas, bishop and confessor	December 6
Conception of St Mary	December 8
St Lucy, virgin and martyr	December 13
St Thomas, apostle	December 21
St Photinus, bishop and martyr*****	December 23
The eve of Christmas	December 24
Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ	December 25
St Stephen, the protomartyr	December 26
St John, apostle	December 27
The Holy Innocents	December 28
St Thomas, bishop and martyr	December 29
St Silvester, pope	December 31

I extracted the above-presented saints who somewhat do not have direct connections to Scotland except for the entries marked with three asterisks: Sts Rule, Triduana and Photinus. Sts Rule, a Greek monk from Patras and Triduana, a maiden from Colossae are the two legendary saints whom the Scots considered to have brought along the relics of St. Andrew to Scotland in the fourth century. Notwithstanding that they play a very active part in the process of weaving this national saint selection narrative as St. Andrew and the accompanied justification through the arrival of the relics of St. Andrew from Patras to Scotland, they reflect a greater understanding of the cross-cultural and intercommunal connections between medieval Scotland and what we could call then as Byzantium, especially in this case, Constantinople and Patras. St. Photinus reflects a sanctified embodiment of another national concern, because he is thought to correspond with a different saint in his 'depictified' form, St. Fittick.[86]

[86] Macquarrie, *Legends of Scottish saints*, xxix.

Regardless, this does not alter much the fact that the original St. Photinus of Lyons was venerated in late medieval Scotland.

3.3. The *Aberdeen Breviary* and Other Liturgical Sources

Turning back to our international saint Katherine of Alexandria, the *Aberdeen Breviary* includes nine *lectiones* and two hymns all of which commence with an *antiphona super psalmos* directly extracted from the Sarum liturgy:

> Ave virginum gemma katherina, ave sponsa Regis regum gloriosa:
> Ave diva Christi hostia, tua venerantibus patrocinia implorata non deneges suffragia.[87]

The Aberdeen Breviary is not the only liturgical document to contain the liturgical attestations to the cult of Katherine in late medieval Scotland. The earliest example of the late 15th-century liturgical manuscript the *Fowlis Easter* (c.1450) from Angus, now MS.21247 located in the National Library of Scotland, contains the full Katherine-liturgy of two *ad vesperas*, one *oracio*, one *ad matutinas*, one *ad laudes*, three *in nocturno*, nine *lectiones* in total which again corresponds with that of the Sarum Use.[88] The second liturgical manuscript the *Holyrood Ordinale* (c.1450), now present in the collection of the Royal Collection Trust, produced for the usage of the Augustinian Holyrood Abbey supplies ample amount of information on how the Augustinians functioned and what they did in the Scottish territory. Therefore, the

[87] William Blew, ed.,*Breviarium Aberdonense*, Bannatyne Club Publications 96. (London: Toovey, 1854), fol. 170r.

[88] William Dunn Macray, ed. *Breviarium Bothanum; sive, Portiforium secundum usum ecclesiae cujusdam in Scotia*. (London: New York, Longmans, Green, 1900), fols. 339-340: pp. 653-656.

Gothic manuscript possesses the quality of concretizing the monastic liturgical usage in later medieval Scotland. Katherine is engaged to four sub-divisionary sections within the modern edited version: the kalendar, the litany, the gospels and homilies in the original version, and the inventory of the church goods along with the Scottish names in the kalendar added later to the original manuscript in 1493.[89] Gilbert Burnet (1643-1745), Bishop of Salisbury, historian and advisor to William III gifted the 15th-century illuminated gothic manuscript with no precise date, the *Burnet Psalter*, now MS 25 located in the Aberdeen University Library to his former school Marischal College. The devotional manuscript originally belonged to an unknown English male aristocrat of the late-fifteenth century origin.[90] The *BP* celebrates Katherine with the hymn *Gaude Virgo Katherina*[91] begotten by the English composer John Dunstable (1390-1453); however, the commemoration cannot be attested to pinpoint the motet's unlikely liturgical usage. It was either composed for the marital celebration of Henry V and Catherine of Valois or for the personal and private devotion as included in this unknown male aristocrat's psalter in late medieval

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[89] Francis C. Eeles, ed., *The Holyrood ordinale: a Scottish version of a directory of English Augustinian canons, with manual and other liturgical forms*. (Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. Constable, 1916), xxviii.

[90] Amelia Grounds, "Singing from the same hymn-sheet: two Bridgettine manuscripts," in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, eds., Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2008), 149.

[91] ''Gaude virgo Katherina qua docto\res lex divina traxit ab erroribus.\ Gaude pro qua tenebrosus\ carcer fuit luminosus fragrans\ ex ordoribus. Gaude convertens\ reginam cernens roteque <rotarum> ruinam plebs [plebis] in discrimine.\ Gaude tu que flagellaris et post preces decolla\ris fundens lac pro sanguine. Gaude Syna que\ portaris ubi iuge veneraris olei propagine. O bea\ta post Mariam posce nobis celi viam in supremo\ culmine. *Nec cum tibi presentamus fac ut tecum gau*.\'' fol. 26r. *The Burnet Psalter*, University of Aberdeen, 1997. Available online from <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/burnet-psalter/>

England.[92] The presence of the manuscript in Scotland albeit it was acquired not before than the late 17th century, necessitates the inclusion of the *BP* among the liturgical sources. The composition of the third subsequent liturgical manuscript, the *Calendar of Fearn* was completed by 1471 but the bounding of the manuscripts which were edited and made additions by several hands came later in 1844. What the *Calendar of Fearn* makes unique than the other liturgical sources is that the *CoF* does not possess the value of a typical liturgical manuscript, because the fragmentary state of the whole text resulted with the fact that the original Christian calendar accumulated a miscellany of various historical sources and gradually retransformed into ‘‘an ecclesiastical memoranda-book, a monastic necrology, an incipient chronicle, and for almost a century a family obituary book, ending as an antique curiosity with parts of its text inked over by novice pensmen’’.[93] Besides featuring Katherine in the liturgical calendar under the date of November 25,[94] the table of additions within the modern bound and translated version of the *CoF* supplies the names of the hands involved in the same writing process including the eight chronological entries for the female hands whom were called Katherine: Katherine Munro, widow of John Monylaw (1494), Katherine Ross (1518), Katherine Mackenzie, lady Balnagown (1592), Katherine Urquhart, wife of Andrew Munro of Newmore and Milton (1610), Katherine Ross, lady Mey (1612), Katherine Vaus,

[92] Susan Kidwell, "Gaude Virgo Katherina: The veneration of St. Katherine in fifteenth-century England," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 25, 1 (1999): 32-3.

[93] R. J. Adam, ed., *The Calendar of Fearn: Text and Additions, 1471-1667*. (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1992), 9.

[94] *The Calendar of Fearn,* p. 56

lady Lochslin (1613), Katherine Urquhart, wife of William Ross of Balkeith (1613), Katherine Ross, widow of John Munro (1644).[95] The fourth Scottish liturgical manuscript to include Katherine's feast day under the date of November 25, the *Perth Psalter* (c. 1475) or MS.652 in the National Library of Scotland was *dedicatio eclessie de perth*, hence an artefact of the dedication to the medieval church of Perth. The *Perth Psalter* also demonstrates similarities both with the Sarum Use and the *Aberdeen Breviary* in terms of the context and the style. For another anecdote of the similarities between the post-Celtic Scottish liturgical texts, the English liturgiologist F. C. Eeles claims that the corresponding beginnings of the collects were applied interchangeably in the *Aberdeen Breviary* and the *Fowlis-Easter Breviary*. He also expands these similarities among the Scottish liturgical texts and highlights the commonly accepted characteristics of the Scottish liturgiology that the Scottish liturgy derived from the Sarum Use and blended with the addition of the Scottish saints particularly whilst comparing the *Arbuthnott Missal*, the *Fowlis-Easter Breviary* and the *Perth Psalter*.[96] The fifth liturgical Gothic manuscript to include Katherine with her feast day, the *Glenorchy Psalter* (c. 1490), now BL Egerton 2899, was probably owned by the 3rd Laird of Glenorchy, Colin Campbell (c.1468-1523). Clan Campbell had a special and collective devotion to St. Katherine. The petitions to Rome of the mid-15th century highlight Clan Campbell's deep affinity to both Katherine of Alexandria and of Siena that the Campbell family

[95] Ibidem, pp. 65-73.

[96] F. C. Eeles, "A Mass of St. Ninian," *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 10, No. 37 (1912): 35n; Eeles, ed., *The Holyrood ordinale: a Scottish version of a directory of English Augustinian canons, with manual and other liturgical forms*. (Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. Constable, 1916), xxvi.

founded and endowed a chapel dedicated to St. Katherine in the Loch Fyne region, also asked petition from Rome to hold masses in the same chapel.[97] Clan Campbell also helped commonize the name Katherine among noble women. For instance, the daughter of Colin Campbell, 1st Earl of Argyll (1433-1493) was called Katherine in 1451, probably after St. Katherine.[98] For that reason, it is not surprising to observe the commemoration of St. Katherine within the context of the *Glenorchy Psalter.*

Lastly, the *Arbuthnott Missal* (c.1491), the sixth and the last liturgical manuscript of this chapter, now presides in Paisley Museum and Art Gallery, Renfrewshire. The *Arbuthnott Missal* is unique in the sense that like the *Aberdeen Breviary*, it contains the full version of readings and prayers rather than mentioning only the feast day. In addition, the reading summarizes the situation in Sinai and how Katherine was associated with this holy site:

> Corpus caelitus sublatum,
> est in Synai tumulatum,
> tumba manat oleum.
> Synai signis illustratur ;
> caelum sibi gloriatur,
> addi sidus aureum.[99]

Having collected all the liturgical sources, personal and church dedications together with donations, the next chapter will analyze the personal and church dedications.

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[97] *CSSR* vol. 5, p. 326.

[98] Innes. ‘‘Cràbhachd do Mhoire Òigh air a’ Ghàidhealtachd sna meadhan-aoisean anmoch, le aire shònraichte do Leabhar Deadhan Lios Mòir.’’ (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2010), 109.

[99] G.H. Forbes, and A. P. Forbes, *Liber ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott.: Missale secundum usum Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotia*. (Bruntisland: Prelo de Pitsligo, 1864), 399.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONAL/CHURCH DEDICATIONS AND DONATIONS TO ST. KATHERINE

4.1. Dedications and Donations

Personal and church dedications accompanied by donations are of great value apropos of any researcher who works on cult of saints. Dedications and donations are two of the cultic elements through which we can examine the Katherine-cult in medieval Scotland. Hence, this chapter will firstly list the dedicatory sources, their frequency and geographical distribution, the significance of these dedications and how they serve the panoramic study of the Katherine-cult.

The retrospective survey of the church dedications do not merely dates back to the early middle ages, but also to the late antique period, more precisely during which Eusebius recorded the earliest instance of the church dedications at Tyre within his panegyric discourse to celebrate the same ceremonial occasion in 314. Eusebius' portrayal of the church dedication and consecration at Tyre determines that the church dedications did not have a peripheral impact on the public worship; on the

contrary, the ceremony was festive, united in faith and even mystical:

> After this there was brought about that spectacle for which we all prayed and longed: festivals of dedication in the cities and consecrations of the newly-built houses of prayer, assemblages of bishops, comings together of those from far off foreign lands, kindly acts on the part of laity towards laity, union between the members of Christ's body as they met together in complete harmony. Certainly, in accordance with a prophetic prediction that mystically signified beforehand what was for to come, there came together bone to bone and joint to joint, and all that the oracular utterance in dark speech truly foretold.[100]

Another early example for treating the church dedications is presented in Sermon 337 where St. Augustine delineates the same concept of the church dedications based on more physicality, the spaciousness and surroundings of the dedicated church, and then unites the physicality of the newly dedicated church with the spirituality of the community. If the building process of the church to be dedicated is toilsome, then the dedication and celebration of this church is a spiritual event at which the community must be rejoiced:

> As long as the stones are being hewn from the mountains and logs from the forests, while they are being shaped and chiselled and fitted together, there is a lot of hard work and worry. But when the dedication of the completed building is celebrated, there is rejoicing.[101]

In the previous Sermon 336, the interchangeable reference overlaps with the latter reference from the Sermon 337. The only changing element within the context of

[100] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History Volume II: Books 6-10*. Trans. J. E. L. Oulton, Loeb Classical Library 265. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 397.

[101] *Sermo* 337.2. *The Works of Saint Augustine: Translation for the 21. Century*. Part III: Sermons. Vol. 9: Sermons 306-340A, on the Saints, ed, John E. Rotelle, trans. Edmund Hill. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1994), 272.

these two references strikes out as to that the earlier reference shifts from what is physical to what is spiritual, and for the latter reference vice versa:

> What was going on here when these walls were rising, it is going on here and now when believers in Christ are being gathered together… but when the people are catechized, baptized, formed it's as though they are being chipped and chiselled, straightened out, planed by the hands of carpenters and masons.[102]

Leaving the late antique observations of the church dedications aside, the 13th century writings do not exclude the discourse on the church dedications although the examples are less in number compared to the late antique and early medieval paradigms. Jacobus de Voragine, in fact, incorporated his 182nd section, namely the *"*Dedication of a Church*"* at the very end of his *Legenda Aurea* or the *Golden Legend*. Voragine also draws a distinction between the physical, spiritual and additionally, salvational aspects of the church dedications and clearly regroups the data as the altar and church dedications with the aim of explaining them in detail. He presents the raw theological references concerning the feast of the dedication of a church hereafter accompanied by the further explications and comments regarding ''this twofold temple'' in the opening section.

> The dedication of a church is celebrated by the Church among the other feast days of the year; and since a church or temple is not only a material thing but a spiritual one, we must here briefly treat of the dedication of this twofold temple. With a regard to the dedication of the material temple, three things are to be seen, namely, why it is dedicated or consecrated, how it is consecrated and by whom it is profaned. And since in the church two things are

[102] *Sermo* 336.1, p. 266.

> consecrated, namely, the altar and temple itself, we must first see why the altar is consecrated, and secondly consider the temple.[103]

In accordance with how Voragine brings the altar dedications forward as the first ecclesiastical component to be consecrated, the rite of church dedications could be examined in various other aspects since the core building as a whole is not the only significant part of the church dedications process. The hospices, sick houses, hospitals, the altars and altar ornaments, already existent or future relics, other inventorial items such as the bells, candles, chalices, and crosses may individually be dedicated to a number of saints and thus, belong to the inner sub-category of the church dedications. However, this distinction does not conclude the questions on the terminological and theological problems of the usage ‘‘church dedications’’. Terminologically speaking, K. E Kirk equates the first problem with a solecism that he considers using the term ‘‘church dedications’’ interchangeably with the ‘named’ or ‘entitled’ to a saint –as in, for instance, to claim a church is named to St. Peter– meaningless. The second problem he tackles, that is the theological part of what he defines as a snare, denotes the dedications to saints rather than God *per se*, as if the dedications could be made to anyone or anything else but God.[104] Consequently, at the present time, there is no existent unproblematic terminology for the long established term ‘‘church dedications’’, and expecting the invention of a new one soon seems unlikely. Nevertheless, the supposedly problematic tendency of this

[103] Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, trans. William Granger Ryan, with an introduction by Eamon Duffy. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 771-781.
[104] Kenneth E. Kirk, *Church dedications of the Oxford Diocese*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), 4-5.

terminology does not undermine the historical value of the church dedications. In most of the cases, the sources of the church dedications to saints remain as quite valuable historical assets because it would be almost impossible today to investigate the spatial and temporal scales of saints' cults without the dedications in their most fundamental form.

If the extent of the personal and church dedications reflects enough data not only concerning a selected saint, but besides other saints including female and male, native and non-native; then comparing a selected saint with the type, quantity and economic value on the basis of other saints' dedications will provide a better accuracy while attempting to draw a panoramic picture of the full-scale cult. I intend to investigate dedications by means of using the most extensive digital and non-digital sources available so far, that are the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* (2007) encompassing 11911 entries of dedications to all the saints in total with the help of the canonical work on the dedications *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland* authored by James M. Mackinlay, and the various primary sources from which I extracted the small and larger scale dedications. I prefer to employ the Mackinlay method but in a slightly altered form to facilitate the analysis of the relevant data: thus, instead of designating the dedications as scriptural or non-scriptural, I will categorize the types of dedications into two as the scriptorial and non-scriptorial dedications. This experimental categorization and hence to some extent the methodology, will ameliorate the understanding of the physical and written sources. The non-scriptorial, in other words physical sources gravitate

around what we perceive as physical buildings, such as churches, chapels, monasteries or any other built compounds, and smaller structural units inside the physical building and objects, such as tombs, altars, relics and reliquaries, church bells, church sculptures, wall paintings and stained-glass windows.[105] The possible hypotheses on the physicality of these above-mentioned elements should not be considered inapposite to the nature of dedications and the cultus study. On the contrary, the inquiry of ‘‘how do the physicality of the dedicated buildings, structures, and objects help the researcher fathom the spatial panorama and connotations belonging to a specific place and time?’’ facilitates the understanding process of the cultus study and reveals the ways in which these physical components relate to their surroundings and to the overall architecture. Forming a subtle judgment regarding the question of what these physical components mean for the space and for the people is not, by any means, unimportant either. The homogenous rules that were validated for the physical dedications, likewise apply to the scriptorial dedications. Verse hagiographies within their own entities and prose hagiographies within the liturgical usage, liturgical manuscripts, breviaries, prayer books, devotional poems, church inventories and the records of the onomastic personal or place names befall in the scriptorial, written sources category. This

[105] For the philosophical discussion of the physicality and the physical objects, Ned Merkosian recommends the definition of Thomas Hobbes ‘‘a body is that which having no dependence on our thought, is coincident, or coextended with some part of space,’’ and re-evaluates it as ‘‘a physical object is an object with a spatial location’’. Ned Markosian, "What Are Physical Objects?" *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 61, no. 2 (2000): 366-7. For the discussions on the physicality of the architecture, see Kenneth Frampton, and John Cava, ed., *Studies in tectonic culture: the poetics of construction in nineteenth and twentieth century architecture*. (Chicago, IL: Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, 2007).

chapter, however, will only expound the church dedications under the category of non-scriptorial dedications, scriptorial dedications to follow after within their own sub-categories.

In relation with the Marian, Christocentric and saintly cults, the dedications were in a way less systemized personal ways of veneration from the depths of one's own heart and soul. Religious inclinations are expected to be the part of the individual psychology whilst delving into an individual's private world just as we fathom in the modern sense; but the religious phenomena, especially those pertaining to the Middle Ages, should be regarded a branch of the mass psychology.[106] Due to this mass psychology, we might not as well distinguish the difference whether a medieval individual took an action of dedicating either voluntarily or under the pressure of his or her own ethos, including the influence of the ecclesiastical office. Relatedly, the clash between what is typical and what is eccentric leads to the questioning of the dedications whether they have been acted out of medieval trend or of one's own unique experiences. G. Lukács says:

> The typical is not to be confused with the average (though there are cases where this holds true), nor with the eccentric (though the typical does as a rule go beyond the normal). A character is typical, in this technical sense, when his innermost being is determined by objective forces at work in society.[107]

In case these ''objective forces in society'' embody the ecclesiastical offices or

[106] Freud's discussion on the general analogy of religion coincides with the medieval mass psychology. Sigmund Freud, *Moses and monotheism*, trans. Katherine Jones. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 91.

[107] György Lukacs, *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*. (London: Merlin, 1967), 122.

other societal influences, then this statement would prove to be accurate.

The factor of the peculiar belief that one felt obliged to adapt his or her inner spiritual values into some sort of 'physicality' played a striking role in the development of 'physical dedications'. The medieval Christian *mentalité* would naturally require these 'unmaterialistic' values to be publicly demonstrated and to become somehow materialised and the same mentality would not require for the religious belief to be of the personal choice either in Scotland or Sicily, after all.[108] The mid-13th-century English friar and encyclopaedist Bartholomaeus Anglicus exemplifies this medieval dilemma on the definition and physicality of the Aristotelian 'matter' when he discusses the concept and claims that ''nothing is more unknown than the matter''.[109] Another anecdote for the same dilemma relates to what is actually 'physical' and on the other side, what is symbolical or metaphorical. There were the series of controversies over the Eucharistic tradition which emanated from the clash of the 'physical' and 'metaphorical', resulted with some Frankish laity as much as everywhere else not seeing much importance in taking the Eucharist during the late-8th and 9th centuries. The reason was the actual physicality of the Eucharist and how the bread and wine proved to be an attainable material and to invoke bodily senses.[110] Nevertheless, it is an auspicious privilege to

[108] David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: the Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, c.1215-1545*. (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), 33.

[109] *Medieval Lore: From Bartholomew Anglicus*, ed., Robert Steele, trans. John Travisa. (London: De La More Press, 1905), 22.

[110] Marta Cristiani, "La controversia eucaristica nella cultura del secolo IX," *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser., 9 (1968): 216-219.

have a chance to investigate such documents which reveal the dedications, even more than the attempts to fathom the motivations behind the dedications that would be a factual enigma for any multidisciplinary enquiry.

At the outset, the quantitative comparison extracted from the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* (2007) will allow us to analyse these dedications within total four sub-categories: native/non-native saints and female/male, native/non-native female saints, native female saints, and finally non-native female saints whom will mostly be comprised of the Eastern saints in style of St. Katherine. Only thus, we could fully explicate the dedications made to Katherine, and fathom the scale of her cultic veneration among other saints and their cults in the light of these compilatory sources supplied by the database. *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* (2007) contains (262) dedicatory entries on behalf of St. Katherine of Alexandria. The *terminus post quem* entry dates back to the 13th century whereas the last entry is inserted as circa 1559. At this point, the frequency of the dates bears an equal significance to assess whether the dedications became more or less common among their Scottish dedicators. Compared to the onomastic and prosopographical data, these dedications pose relatively less quandaries because at the very least, the database entries do not generally lead to the confusion of homonymic saints' names. The epithets of 'the Virgin ', 'Virgin and Martyr' and 'of Egypt' denote an unerring depiction of our saint. St. Catherine of Siena is clearly separated from Katherine of Alexandria and only (9) dedications can be attested to her name.

First category to observe herein is the dedications which posit Katherine among all the female/male and native/non-native saints. Within this classification, Katherine occupies the eleventh place by means of the most (262) dedications. Marian devotions from the year 1010 onwards and inevitably, the Marian cult in Medieval Scotland persisted interminably compared to the dedications of the other lesser saints whose dedications could not surpass the saints and feasts below. Hitherto, secondary to Virgin Mary, only Katherine as a female non-native saint dwells in this list. Oddly enough, this chart contains only one existent native saint that is St Ninian.

Table 3: St. Katherine among female/male and native/non-native saints

Virgin Mary	2762
Nicholas	660
Laurence	531
Holy Trinity	518
Leonard	434
Holy Cross	405
All Saints	325
Thomas Beckett	293
Ninian	290
Michael the Archangel	278
Katherine of Alexandria	262

The second category examines Katherine among female native/non-native saints. This time, Katherine takes up the second place encompassed by her fellow female saints. The venerational pattern of the female biblical saints seems to be evident even more than the male biblical saints.

Table 4: St. Katherine among female native/non-native saints

Virgin Mary	2762
Katherine of Alexandria	262
Mary Magdalene	224
Brigid of Ireland	103
Anne, mother of Mary	79
Martha	33
Margaret of Antioch	19
Helena	11
Lucy	11
Milburga of Wenlock	10
Triduana	10
Catherine of Siena	9

The third category clearly demonstrates how Katherine takes up the first place on the top of the native female saints. Insofar as this category is concerned, the Katherine-cult was not any less significant than the cult of St Margaret of Scotland.

Table 4: St. Katherine among female native saints

Katherine of Alexandria	262
Margaret of Scotland	158
Mayoca	8
Baya	5
Maura	5
Kentigerna	1
Kenner	1

The fourth category provides the optimum accuracy while tracing the manifestations of all the non-native female saints' cults in Medieval Scotland and the extent of the dedications to Katherine were undertaken in comparison with all the apocryphal, biblical, insular, and the other listed non-native international female saints that are Katherine of Alexandria and of Siena, Helena, Lucy, Margaret, and Triduana.

Table 5: St. Katherine among female non-native saints

Virgin Mary	2762
Katherine of Alexandria	262
Mary Magdalene	224
Margaret of Scotland	158
Brigid	103
Anne, mother of Mary	79
Martha	33
Margaret of Antioch	19

While aiming for the examination of every single Katherine dedication entry in the database is not quite practical, it will be fruitful to extract one or more examples of each kind from different time periods. The entries do not only stand for solely the personal or communal dedications, yet they might reflect a greater picture of the societal circumstances with all their duties, agreements and disagreements, fortunate or unfortunate incidents and the ecclesiastical occurrences regarding for instance, when to celebrate the mass, who celebrates them and where exactly the priest and mass are located. The very same dedications also serve the further investigations of the medieval Scottish prosopography, thereby reveal that the actors and actresses who either personally or communally, venerate Katherine. Before moving on the dedication references, we should note that every entry to Katherine from the database does not constitute the dedications, they also contain entries which introduce a number of the personal and place names somewhat interconnected with St. Katherine.

4.2. Communal Dedications and Donations

The scrutiny of the dedication references inaugurate with their first category that is the term I put forward as the 'communal dedications and donations'. The communal dedications and donations will somewhat have collective interactions among the ecclesiastical offices and the aristocracy rather than only one person or a family offering church dedications on their behalf. Basically, they consist of the dedications involving the plurality of the people, more than one person and a family. The earliest dedicatory instance in the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*, hereafter *DDSMS*, dates back to a charter of 1253 in which William de Bondington, bishop of Glasgow and the chaplains of the chapel of Obernistun had had a temporary disagreement with the hereditary claimant of the land, Sir Walter of Moray yet solved this dispute after the ecclesiastical office became victorious. Both the bishop and the chaplains claimed that Obernistun had been bestowed to them by God and 'Blessed Katherine'.[111] This statement hints a pre-existent dedication for the chapel even before the dispute. The second dispute related to St. Katherine occurs later in 1464 at the time when the Lords in Council summoned the chaplain of Saint Katherine's altar, John Haliburton ''to schaw to the kyng quhat resoun he has to occupy the said landis''.[112] The proceeding charter from 1327 confirms Robert Terwerac, a fellow monk of Dunfermline monastery as the newly appointed elemosinar (almoner) in the almshouse outside the gate near the Chapel of St. Katherine the Virgin. He would also give to the poor a boll of meat on the feast day

[111] EN/JD/2286, *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*.

[112] EN/JD/2627.

of St. Katherine, November 25th.[113] The Chapel of St. Katherine was ostensibly serving as an auxiliary *hospitium* to Dunfermline monastery.[114] Dunfermline Abbey was the cultic centre of St Margaret of Scotland; hence associating Katherine with even one part of this miraculous pilgrimage complex attributes an exceptional status to the Katherine-cult. In 1329, the priest in the Abbey of Kelso was to celebrate the mass on all the Christocentric and Marian feasts, and the feasts of All Saints, St. Andrews, St. Katherine and St. Mary Magdalene.[115] John de Pilmuir, bishop of Moray decided together with the dean, chapter and vicar of Inverness to grant all the declared lands and possessions in the same charter to John Scot, burgess of Inverness, inter alia, the land of Blessed Katherine the Virgin near the east side of the chapel. John Scot and his heirs would in return pay twelve pennies sterling for the illumination of Blessed Katherine in the parish church, to the vicar of Inverness.[116] Another charter of 1374 yields the agreement of the annual render between the monastery of Paisley and Sir William More, and these acts were performed in the church of Saint Giles, Edinburgh in the chapel of St Katherine the Virgin.[117] The early 15th century dedications commence with the complaint concerning the annual rent of Ayr on behalf of the Friars Preachers of St. Katerine of Ayr, made to King Robert III that the King Alexander had promised the endowment of annual £20

[113] EN/EW/3226.

[114] James Moir Webster, *Hospital of St. Catherine, Dunfermline*. (Dunfermline: Pitcairn Publications, 1948), 10.

[115] EN/EW/3932.

[116] EN/JD/4057.

[117] EN/JD/2480.

sterling to the friars, whereas in 1401, they were endowed with £10.[118] 14 years later, the *Acta* of the Faculty of Arts of the University of St. Andrews (1413-1588) held one of their general congregations at Saint Leonard's on the day subsequent to the feast of Saint Katherine.[119] In a supplication sent to Pope Martin V dating from 1420, William Cunygham, priest in Glasgow diocese and Nicholas de Loudun, burgess of Yrvyn had three altars built in the Irvine Parish church of the same diocese to honour Holy Cross, St. Ninian, and St. Katherine.[120] The supplication includes a small prayer with hopes to increase the faith of these dedicated altars and their honoured saints:

> May Christ's faithful may have greater devotion to the above altars, may the Pope grant to all who, truly penitent and confessed, devoutly visit the same on the feast days of Holy Cross, St. Ninian and St. Katherine every year and stretch out helping hands for the augmentation and endowment of the said chapels, one hundred days of true indulgence, of perpetual duration ; and would also grant an indult that the priests who celebrate masses at the altars may at the end of these masses give to the people present a simple blessing.[121]

[118] EN/EW/3294. *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Are - Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr*, p. 35-6.
[119] EN/JD/3834. *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree 1413-1588*. Volume 54, p. 3.
[120] EN/EW/4240.
[121] *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-1422*, p. 165-6.

This dedication could be the most fruitful paradigm whilst explaining what we termed before as 'communal dedications'. The dedicators William de Cunygham and Nicholas de Loudun sent this supplication to Rome by being conscious of the promotional prayer which they were going to receive for the sake of further veneration and even perhaps dedications.[122] Similar usage of proper 'communal dedications' take place on the 26th August of the year 1485, this time with the addition of an interesting cross-cultural detail. George de Brana, bishop of Dromore from 1483 to 1499 consecrated the chapel of St John the Baptist and his altar, the chapel of St Ninian and his altar, the church of St Vigean and two more altars, and lastly four other altars within the monastic church of Arbroath that are of St. Katherine, St. Peter, St. Laurence and St. Nicholas.[123] The two exceptional reasons clearly distinguish these dedications from the remaining references: one is that George de Brana addresses these consecrations as having been undertaken by 'we' including all the first person plural verb declensions, thus, the subject is collective rather than solely referring to a singular act committed by himself as the dedicator: ''Nos Georgeus de Brana Dei et apostolice sedis gracia episcopus Dromorensis notum facimus per presentes quod consecrauimus […] et dedicauimus […]''.[124] The second case concerns the eventful background of George de Brana, how he was originally born in a village of Athens and ended up becoming the bishop of Dromore, Ireland approximately 30 years after his birth. George de Brana arrived at Rome for the first time in 1477 and asked for the papal indulgence so that he could collect enough money to ransom his wife, two sons and five others in the captivity of the Turks. Sixtus IV approved the papal

[122] Cunningham family granted lands, tenements and annual rents for the chaplaincies of St. Catherine and St. Ninian.
[123] EN/JD/2639.
[124] Ibid.

indulgence and promised to grant whomever helped George would receive 5 years of the remissive penance. Therefore, George traveled throughout Europe and finally remained in Ireland as a canon at the Augustinian priory of All Saints in Dublin until he was appointed to the bishopric of Dromore in 1483 by Pope Sixtus IV. Both his church consecrations and altar dedications were offered two years later in 1485. Moreover, George appeared to be present in Scotland at the time of the dedications while he was working as a suffragant at Arbroath.[125] He moved to Edinburgh at his old age, died in 1529 and his inheritance in Edinburgh passed down to Evangelist Passer of Neapolitan origin, the banker of King James V.[126] Although McRoberts does not find these foreign encounters within these cross-cultural medieval stories somehow leading to Scotland uncommon, these encounters bring out the necessity to acknowledge their historical value and attested validity.[127]

In the similar manner, communal dedications present ample evidence for the monetary facet of the dedications and even regarding discharge of the food and drinks. Around 1507, those singing mass in Clunie, Perth on St. Katherine's day were provided with 4 shillings besides victual.[128] During the same year, the *granitar*[129]of Clunie Sir Patrick Oliphant explains the barley outcome as to ''on St. Katrine's day last bypast in 8 gallons ale, 3 f., the making thereof to be allowed in the account of meal''.[130] On December 16th

[125] Jonathan Harris, "Greeks at the Papal Curia in the Fifteenth Century: the Case of George Vranas, Bishop of Dromore and Elphin", in M Hinterberger & C Schabel, eds., *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History 1204-1500.* (Peeters, Leuven, 2011), 428-430.
[126] D. McRoberts, "The Greek bishop of Dromore", *Innes Review* 28 (1977): 32.
[127] Ibid, 33.
[128] EN/JD/3029.
[129] Granitar is a Scots usage of the person who is ''an official, esp. of a religious house (also, of the treasury), in charge of a granary or granaries; a granger''. "Granitar *n.*". *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd, 2004. <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/granitar>
[130] EN/JD/3027.

of the same year, those visiting Clunie on St. Katherine's day and chanting received 2 f. In 1510, the *granitar* Sir James Henrisoune recorded the barley discharge of 4 gallons on St. Katherine's day, 1 b. 2 f. malt.[131] On November 11th, 20 shillings were discharged for the fabric of the church of Saint Katherine in Newburgh near Lindores.[132] In the following year of 1511, Sir John Balbirny tracked the record of the meal discharge to those singing mass on St. Katherine's day, and other servitors of his Lord, 3 f.[133] Likewise in 1512, those singing mass on St. Katherine's day were given 9 s. 1 d. Between 1512 and 1513, Sir John Balbirny noted the money discharge for fish and wheaten bread on St. Katherine's day, 4 s.[134] In the meal discharge entry from 1514, Sir John mentions the inclusion of the dates ranging from September 20 and December 16, taking into account the feasts of Saint Adomnan and Saint Katherine, 9 b. The selected two saints bring out the question pertaining to why Saint Katherine was opted for the exemplification of the month December, whereas her feast day took place in the last week of November. The reason behind choosing Saint Adomnan does not bring many suspicions because his feast day on September 23 coincides with the aforementioned date. For the case of Saint Katherine, the *granitar* Sir John affirms that he includes the feasts of Sts Adomnan and Katherine in the absence of his lord. Apart from the Christocentric and Marian feasts, only a limited number of saints are celebrated and several discharges for the feast days of these peculiar saints have been made within the context of the Dunkeld records. Based on the chronological order for the discharges, these saints are St. Giles, St. John the Baptist, St. Stephen, St. Praxedes, St. Katherine, St. Michael, St. Andrew, St. Adamnan, St. Maur,

[131] EN/JD/3030.
[132] EN/JD/3040.
[133] EN/JD/3032.
[134] EN/JD/3036.

St. Columba, St. Matthew, St. Martin, and St. Nicholas.[135] St. Katherine leads this list since the most number of discharges were performed on her feast day and it raises the question if these discharges were done on St. Katherine's feast day in deliberate manner or just by coincidence. If the ample number of the discharges were performed on the feast of St. Katherine intentionally, then Katherine was by no means unimportant in the Dunkeld diocese. The documentary evidence favours the former presumption that St. Katherine occupied a distinctive position among the other saints both those of Scottish and non-Scottish origin. Previously in 1476, James Levington, bishop of Dunkeld had built and endowed the altar of St. Katherine, virgin and martyr in the church of Dunkeld.[136] This dedication lead by the bishop himself would attest to the increasing personal and later communal interest in the reverence of St. Katherine.

4.3. Personal Dedications and Donations

After presenting the various paradigms of the communal dedications and donations above, personal dedications and donations involved one person or a family committing dedications and donations on behalf of themselves or their family. Among the personal dedications and donations of the noblemen or women along with the people of middle stratum, and seldom the common people who perhaps had too little to leave behind, still the aristocratic dedications and donations were coming on strong. Thus, the same problem with respect to the existent personal onomastic data takes part herein as well that is, the dedications or the names of these dedicators from the lower ranks of the medieval Scottish society are unknown due to the lack of sources. In other words, both the personal

[135] *Rentale Dunkeldense. Being Accounts of the Bishopric (A.D. 1505-1517), with Myln's 'Lives of the Bishops' (A.D. 1483-1517)*, tr. and ed., Robert Kerr Hannay, and a note on the cathedral church by F. C. Eeles. (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1915).
[136] Ibid, 338.

dedications and the personal names do not belong to the whole society, yet to the aristocratic population. The aristocratic personal dedications have the quality of being carried out in order to achieve salvation. Ergo, almost each and every of these aristocratic dedications contain the salvational theme for the verbatim unmistakably states why they were performed in this direction. Namely, the earl of Wigtown, Malcolm Fleming donated his annual payment of 100 shillings to God, St Mary and the Friars Preachers of the house of St Katherine of Ayr around 1336.[137] The burgesses denote the similar connotations, if they did not have enough economic power, they could not have undertaken the dedications in the first place, since their dedications do not stop at the first dedicator but generally contain the promises that their heirs would continue the further tenements and payments. There is a dedication directly devoted with salvational purposes to God, St Katherine the Virgin, and the house of the Friars Preachers of Ayr by John Kilmarnock, son and heir of the late John of Kilmarnock, burgess of Ayr for the sake of his soul, his family and all the faithful. He and his successors were to grant certain lands and rents of 100 marks sterling on the feast of St. Katherine.[138] Around 1300, Knight Henry de Braid grants the teinds of his lands in Bavelaw to the church of Holyrood, Edinburgh so that the canons there could sustain the divine office of the chapel of St. Katherine in Pentland.[139] The charter belonging to William of Lydale was registered during the year of 1334, on Friday, the feast of Blessed Katherine the Virgin.[140] The late Adam de Ponte, burgess of Ayr had donated his stone house, three particates of land and 21 s. of annual rent. Consequently in 1340, her daughter and heir Juliana de Porte

[137] EN/EW/3287.
[138] EN/EW/3290.
[139] EN/EW/3544.
[140] EN/JD/3186.

confirmed her father's dedication in her charter that she too granted 21 s. of annual rent to God and St. Katherine.[141] In the same year, Andrew de Wasford, son and heir of the late Simon de Wasford, burgess of Ayr donated the tenement and two particates of the land left by his father to God, St. Katherine the Virgin and the Friars Preachers of Ayr.[142] In 1344, David II confirmed the charter of Margaret Stewart, countess of Angus concerning her request for the celebration of a daily mass at the altar of St. Katherine the Virgin in Arbroath Abbey. The daily mass would be celebrated ''imperpetuum pro animabus'', in perpetuity for the souls of her husband, herself, her children and heirs.[143] David II issued another charter in 1358 stating the charter's confirmation to God, Blessed Mary, Saint Katherine, virgin and martyr, and additionally to the chaplain of the altar of St. Katherine in the Parish Church of Edinburgh.[144] In 1360, ''vir honestus et discretus'' William de Chalmers of Fyndon, burgess of Aberdeen established the altar of St. Katherine in the Parish Church of Aberdeen and provided the altar with an image of Katherine, a gilt chalice and other holy vestments. He was also buried right before the same altar.[145] Before he died in 1417, he had conducted a different dedication by granting six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence usual Scots money to God, Blessed Virgin Mary, All Saints and the altar of St Katherine in the Church of St Nicholas of Aberdeen ''pro salute anime mee'', for the salvation of his late wife, the souls of his father and mother, and his predecessors and successors. Doubtlessly, William of Chalmers had a tremendous amount of personal interest and affection in the sainthood of Katherine to the extent that he was buried adjacent to Katherine's altar. Another personal veneration of Katherine is attested

[141] EN/EW/3288.
[142] EN/EW/3289.
[143] EN/JD/2618.
[144] EN/JD/3521.
[145] EN/EW/1886.

in the dedication of Hugh Wallace, Lord of Craigie who granted 4 bolls of white oats annually from his lands of Craigie or 13 s. 4 d. silver to God, St Katherine the Virgin, All Saints and the Friars Preachers of Ayr serving God and St Katherine on her feast day in 1397.[146] Likewise, Adam de Boure, burgess of Ayr promised an annual rent of 4 s. after his death to God, St. Katherine, All Saints, and the Friars Preachers of Ayr serving God and St Katherine in 1423.[147] Dedication of the altar items and the mass garments were quite common, especially in the diocese of Aberdeen where Aberdeen Cathedral housed the supposed relics, the bones of St. Katherine.

4.4. Royal Dedications and Donations

The royal dedications as in the sense what it indicates herein does not take the possible cults of the Scottish kings and queens into consideration, but the dedications and donations made by the Scottish royalty. The mediums of scriptorial and non-scriptorial sources prove that the king and queens performed both public and private devotions towards the saints. In such a case, Queen Margaret of Scotland both embodied the sainthood of the Scottish dynastry with her widely spread cult and generated the momentum to initiate the veneration of the Katherine-cult among the Scottish royalty including her own children and great-grandchildren. St. Katherine, too, was of noble birth and how she relinquished her nobility on the way of Christ was not so different from the humble life of St Margaret. As it was narrated in the Dunfermline *Vita* by Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, he would rather speak of her nobility of the mind in Christ, yet found no

[146] EN/EW/3293.
[147] EN/EW/3296.

errors in speaking of her nobility according to this world.[148] Conforming to the anecdote of a continental folk tale, Queen Margaret sent her ladies to Sinai so that they would bring holy healing oil from the Shrine of St. Katherine. Upon the arrival of the demanded oil, Margaret had supposedly built the well-house in Liberton parish, Edinburgh which has still been called by various names of 'the Oily Well', 'the Liberton Well', 'the Balm Well' and 'St. Katherine's Well'. Hector Boece visited the miraculous well, especially for the skin diseases and narrated the legend in his *Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis Origine* written back in 1526:

> Nocht two mills fra Edinburgh is ane fontane, dedicat to Sanct Katrine, quhair sternis of oulie springis ithandlie with sic aboundance, that, howbeit the samin be gaderit away, it springis incontinent with gret aboundance. This fontane rais throw ane drop of Sanct Katrinis oulie, quhilk wes brocht out of Mont Sinai, fra hir sepulture, to Sanct Margaret, the blissit Quene of Scotland. Als sone as Sanct Margaret saw the oulie spring ithandlie, be divine miracle, in the said place, scho gart big ane chapell thair, in the honour of Sanct Katherine.[149]

The chapel dedicated to St. Katherine adjacent to the Balm Well in addition to the well itself received papal indulgence in 1420 so that the continuation of the construction and further visitations to the aforesaid compound on the feast of St. Katherine would be encouraged through the papal succour.[150] The site was later renovated respectively by James VI (and James I of England) in 1617, yet by 1650, the whole compound was

[148] Turgot, Bishop of St, Andrews, *Life of St Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, trans. William Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1884), 25.
[149] Hector Boece, *The History and Chronicles of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Reprinted for W. and C. Tait, 1821), xxxviii.
[150] Annie Isabella Cameron and E. R. Lindsay, eds. *Calendar of Scottish supplications to Rome 1418-1422*. (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable Ltd., 1964), 186.

reduced to ruins by Oliver Cromwell and his forces.[151] The donations performed by the subsequent Scottish kings to the chapel and the well are peculiarly interesting since they regularly donated shillings for the well-being and renovation of the premises. James IV who fought against Henry VIII at the famous Battle of Flodden, performed at least 22 donations in total, all to St Katherine, 8 of which were offered to "the Olywell". James IV did not make any visitations and donations to St. Katherine during the same year of the Battle of Flodden in 1513 as he performed at the shrine of St. Duthac at Tain. He made his last donations to Sts. Katherine and Anthony of Egypt in 1512. Therefore, his veneration for both of these international saints from Asia Minor denote more spiritual connotations along with possible imperial and diplomatic strength. After all both St. Anthony and St. Katherine were widely known saints who had special importance. St. Anthony recreated the concept and practice of the desert and the desert asceticism. Both St. Katherine and St. Anthony could be affliated with Constantine I, hence they were imperially recognized saints.

[151] Nicholas Carlisle, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland and the British Isle*. Vol. 2. (London: Printed for G. and W. Nicol, 1813), 307.

Table 6: The dedications and donations of James IV to St. Katherine[152]

Tuesday, November 24, 1489	Glasgow	18 s.
Early December, 1502	"to Andro, he laid doun to the Kingis offerand on Sanct Katrinis day bipast"	14 s.
January 12, 1502	"Kingis offerand to Sanct Katrinis of the Olywell to by ane chalice thare"	9 s.
1503	Friars of St. Katherine	7 lib.
November 25, 1503	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis of the Olywell"	9 s.
1503	Friars of St. Katherine	7 lib.
May 29, 1504	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis at the Oly Well"	9 s.
November 25, 1504	Dunfermline	9 s.
November 25, 1504-5	"to put in the candill at the heving (christening) of the lard of Cokpennis barne"	28 s.
April 19, 1505	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis at the Oly Well"	14 s.
June 25, 1505	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis of the Oly Well"	14 s.
June 27, 1505	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis of the Hope"	14 s.
August 8, 1505	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis of the Oly Well"	14 s.
November 25, 1505	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Jelis Kirk at Sanct Katrinis mes (mass)"	2 franch crounis (the French gold), summa 28 s.
Penult day, November, 1505	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis of the Oly Well"	14 s.
May 26, 1506	"Kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis of the Oly Well"	14 s.
May 2, 1507	"Sanct Katrinis day de Senes, to the Kingis offerand to the Blak Freris"	28 s.

[152] *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. 1 -4. (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877).

Table 6: The dedications and donations of James IV to St. Katherine[152]

1507	‘‘payit to the comptrollar he laid doun to Ruthirfurd to pas to summond the lard of Buquhannan for the lands of Lochkethern (Loch Katherine)”	9 s.
November 25, 1507	‘‘in Sanct Katrinis, for offerand to the bred[153]’’	14 s.
1511	‘‘to the litil lass, because scho ȝeid to Sanct Katherinis’’	8 d.
July 29, 1512	‘‘for offerand at Sanct Katherinis”	10 s.
1512	‘‘to the said Paulis, for ane ymage of Sanct Katrin in brodrywerk, deliverit be him to the King or he enterit to his wagis, and for his expensis cummand of Flandris to Scotland”	10 Franch crounis (the French gold) of wecht (weight) & 9 lib.

There is no doubt that James IV held personally St. Katherine dear to himself. At the time when he even donated 8 d. to ‘‘the litil lass’’ because he witnessed that ‘‘the litil lass ȝeid to Sanct Katherinis,’’ ‘‘the little girl came to St Katherine’s’’. It was enough for James IV that this little girl visited the church of St. Katherine and the action must have affected him emotionally as much as the sainthood of Katherine. The regular donations and restorations made by James IV and the other Scottish kings denote two impetuses behind the importance given to the well. The well was built by St. Margaret and became a temporary pilgrimage location for the sick until it was demolished in 1650. Therefore, the well firstly was the constant reminder for the memory of St. Margaret and her saintly veneration among her future kin and other worshippers. Secondly, the well was a

memorable signification for the Katherine-cult with the supposedly miraculous oil which H. M. Cadell considered to be petroleum.[153] At the end, the fundamental reason for why the well attracted much attention by the royalty and the laity was that it became one of the central cultic locations of the Katherine-cult in Scotland and it also encompassed the binary cults of Sts. Margaret and Katherine.

The Oily Well was not the only healing spring to bear the vocation of Katherine. Notwithstanding the fact that the exact patron, date and manner for the construction of the well have been unknown, it is considered to be medieval. 200 miles further to the Northeast of Liberton, the isle of Eigg in the Inner Hebrides has housed the healing St. Katherine's Well in Galmisdale. M. Martin recorded a range of informative details on the insular well which would be impossible to find out unless the island was visited. The islanders of the 18th century observed quaint religious practises by intermingling their Catholic faith with the leftover remnants of the Celtic traditions around this well led by the local priest, Father Hugh:

> In the village on the south coast of this isle there is a well, called St Kathrine's Well, the natives have it in great esteem, and believe it to be a catholicon for diseases. [...] it was consecrated by one Father Hugh, a popish priest, in the following manner. He obliged all the inhabitants to come to this well, and then imploy'd them to bring together a great heap of stones at the head of the spring, by way of penance; this being done, he said mass at the well, and then consecrated it; he gave each of the inhabitants a piece of wax candle, which they lighted, and all of them made the dessil, of going round the well sunways, the priest leading them; and from that time it was accounted unlawful to boil any meat with the water of this well. The natives observe St Kathrine's anniversary, all of them come to the well, and having drunk a draught of

[153] H. M. Cadell, *Story of the Forth*. (Glasgow: J. Maclehose, 1913), 198.

> it, they make the dessil round it sunways; this is always performed on the 15th day of April.[154]

4.5. Parochial Mackinlay Dedications

According to a medieval Scot, *de facto* not only to a Scot, parish churches were the places where the individuals were christened, married and buried. Insofar as the surviving documents unveil, the first mention of the word *parochia* in medieval Scotland took place during the inquisition of the 'Glasgow Inquest' commenced by David I, while as the prince of Cumbria around 1120. The terminology *parochia Cumbrensis* denoted the erection of the new office belonging to Bishop of Cumbria and his influence over this diocese:

> We by these presents have committed to record certain matters transacted by the Cumbrian nobles. That is to say, in Cumbria—a certain territory lying between England and Scotia, the Catholic Faith earlier flourishing and increasing in these countries— the Household of Faith and the Magnates of the Kingdom, the King of the Province co-operating, in honour of God and of St. Mary the Blessed Mother, founded the Church of Glasgow as the See of the Bishop of Cumbria, and confirmed it by proper sanctions according to the pristine religion of the holy Fathers.[155]

The word *parochia* had not implied the meaning of the parish as a modern territorial division until it appeared in *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* of 1185 and 1187. Therefore, the earliest instances of the term *parochia* stand for the diocesan impact, especially in this case of the Cumbrian diocese, owing to the early stages of the parochial system rather than the parish which was perceived later as ''the bedrock of the

[154] M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*. (London: Printed for A. Bell, 1703), 277-8.
[155] J.T.T. Brown, "The Inquest of David : Text, Translation and Notes." *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, New Series, 8, no. 3 (1933): 106. See pp. 108 and 112n for the usage of *parochia: […]s*piritu sancto largissue operante per Cum brensem parochiam diffudit.

Church''.[156]

I give the name of 'Mackinlay dedications' to this category of parochial dedications, since every parochial dedication within this sub-context has been unearthed by James Murray Mackinlay (d.1916). Mackinlay is the first and for the time being, the last author to have included an extensive list of both native and foreign saints accompanied by their dedications and to some extent, the cults.

Out of the surviving churches today, around 28 parish churches have observably been dedicated to St. Katherine.[157] The earliest of these churches commence with the late 1160s and continue until the 19th century.[158] What is captivating about St. Katherine's distribution of the parochial dedications in medieval Scotland is that several ploughgates, two Quoys (sheep-pen) and even a prebend were named after Katherine. The invocation of St. Katherine on the bells and local fairs have been attested within the sources, but the farm dedications, church revenues and salaries do not always appear in the similar context.[159] A prebend was called St. Katherine by one of the cannons of the cathedral church of St. Magnus in Orkney. The same church was endowed with several farms and two Quoys named after Katherine. Another chapel in Glenadle in Southend parish, Caibeal Cairine had also two farms close to the chapel known by the same name as the parish church. Also, numerous bishops of Caithness at times reposed in Halkirk Parish,

[156] Mark Greengrass, *Christendom destroyed: Europe 1517-1648*. (New York: Penguin, 2014), 317.
[157] R. Fawcett, J. Luxford, R. Oram and T. Turpie, *A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*. (2008). Available from: http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches.
[158] Thomas O.Clancy,R. Butter G. Márkus, and M. Barr, *Saints in Scottish Place-Names*. (2010-3). Available from: http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/
[159] James Murray Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*. (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1910), 419-423.

Caithness. This parish was thought to be under the vocation of St. Katherine.[160] The establishment of the St. Catherines in the Hopes parish (St.Andrews, Lothian) bears an exceptional legend of its own.[161] In the early 14th century, in case Sir William Sinclair of Rosslyn could catch a white deer, he would attain a tract of country; otherwise, he would lose his life. He prayed to St. Katherine in the forest and his hounds immediately helped him to catch the deer. Sir William Sinclair supposedly received the lands of Logan House, Kirkton and Earnscraig in free forestry.[162] The map below demonstrates the areas, rather than the frequency in which both the personal and church dedications along with donations from all the categories discussed above were attested within the sources.

[160] Ibid., pp. 416-7.
[161] Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1967), 177.
[162] Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications,* p. 425.

Figure 1: The geographical distribution of the dedications to St Katherine, 1320-1559[163]

[163] I created the map by using the two digital data manipulating and visualizing platforms: Tableau and Mapbox.

Having demonstrated the geographical and chronological distribution of the church dedications and donations, the next and the last cultic component, that is, the name evidence will encapsulate the personal and place names.

CHAPTER V

PERSONAL AND PLACE-NAMES

Tracing the evidences of the personal and place names related to Katherine in Medieval Scotland is quite a formidable task since it comes with all of its qualitative and quantitative problems. Naturally, the existent or non-existent sources in this case, do not allow such full-scale demographic name research. Valentine et al. suggests a classification of the proper names under the light of cognitive psychology categorized under eight subgroups. 5 of these subgroups serve the existent data to examine the Katherine-cult in medieval Scotland that are the personal names, geographical names, names of unique objects (in this case ships)[164], names of institutions and facilities (churches and hospices), and titles of books and artworks (prayer books, liturgical calendars, church panels or windows).[165] Despite of all the methodological problems, this chapter will attempt to shed light on the encountered methodological problems, how possibly to entangle the existent data and to what extent of the personal and place names that the cult might be evident in Scotland.

[164] The ship names likewise adapted the name 'Katherine' for protection and strength with %5 to %10 frequencies in the records of the late-15th and early 16th centuries.
[165] Tim Valentine, Serge Brédart, and Tim Brennen, *The Cognitive Psychology of Proper Names*. (London: Routledge, 1996), 12.

5.1. Personal Names

The first problem occurs in the qualitative methodology of hagionymic names is the inability to interpret difficulties or to fathom the true impetuses such as family heritage, church authority including liturgical calendars, personal or communal veneration behind personal naming, unless someone who was involved in this process somehow well informs the researcher. Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, attests to the early Christian names given out of the love for the biblical saints, and also the anticipation that God would also love whomsoever were called after the beloved saint(s), hence the homogeneous distribution of the names John and Peter:

> I hold that there have been many persons of the same name as John the apostle, who for the love they bore him, and because they admired and esteemed him and wished to be loved, as he was, of the Lord, were glad to take also the same name after him; just as Paul, and for that matter Peter too, is a common name among boys of believing parents.[166]

Syriac as well as other Christian traditions, on the other hand, may favour the liturgical calendar besides family veneration for the naming process as in a Syriac friend's name, Kuryakos, was born two days before the feast of early Christian martyrs St. Cyricus and his mother St. Julitta in Tarsus. The same affectionate notion exists within the Islamic context where Bukhari Hadith explicates Muhammad's attempts to raise awareness of bestowing prophet names, and the others that God loves or dislikes the most:

> 814. Abu Wahb, a Companion, reported that the Prophet, said, "Name yourselves with the names of the Prophets. The names which Allah

[166] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* II, trans. J. E. L. Oulton, Loeb Classical Library 265. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 203, https://doi.org/10.4159/DLCL.eusebius-ecclesiastical_history.1926.

> Almighty loves most are 'Abdullah and 'Abdu'r-Rahman. The most truthful names are Harith and Humam. The ugliest names are Harb and Murra."[167]

The second is just as the researcher unfolds multiple entries of the relevant name(s), whether these names are genuinely hagionymic, necronymic, matronymic or patronymic both in the sense of blood kinship and also spiritual kinship through the baptismal names.[168] In an occasion of later medieval English sources, Hildeyerd family construes the impetus behind naming their daughter as Katherine thus: ‘‘There was a question amongst those in the church how she could be called Katherine as neither of her godmothers was so called, and to this, it was replied for the love of St. Katherine she was so named.’’[169] Indeed, the instance of Hildeyerd family is completely unique and not every source uncovers the true motivation behind the naming process among the modern families, let alone the medieval ones.

The third stands for the relatively correct analysis that small-scale data could provide compared to the vast amount of names by a thorough examination, yet at the same time without stepping forward too far and committing historical fallacies. Prosopography as a field works with both the countless numbers of names and the small groups of names. The quantity of the names and other relevant information should not transform the quality of the prosopographical analysis.

The fourth is the whole amount of data extracted from the primary sources, especially

[167] Muḥammad ibn Ismaʿil Bukhari, *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad: A Code for Everyday Living : the Example of the Early Muslims*. (Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2005), 113.
[168] Robert Dinn, “Baptism, Spiritual Kinship, and Popular Religion in Late Medieval Bury St. Edmunds,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 72 (1990): 103.
[169] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* 8:142.

on why they are more or less than the researcher has long anticipated. The fifth is the name variants especially in the Scottish context where there has almost always been inbred cross-cultural connectivity amid its linguistic background. Lastly, the sixth problem accommodates the homonymic names for different saints if the data could be attested to correlate with St. Katherine of Alexandria rather than another very prominent but later saint St. Catherine of Siena (1347–80). Still, perhaps the practical point in the investigation of these two names is that the medieval social pressure on the male names did not exist for feminine names, and so the number of homonymic feminine names would be less in number and more unchallenging to categorise.

Unfortunately enough, the evolution of the name Katherine in Medieval Scotland posits all these abovementioned quandaries on the table. The chart below will demonstrate that the date parameter of the name occurrences is designated between 1220 and 1565 because the earliest record found among the existent sources dates back to 1220. By the year 1565, Catholic traditions in Scotland had already begun to decline and so the Catholic practices of naming the new-borns after saints. Most of the early and mid-sixteenth century records could not be attested to latter Catholic names, either. Enmity against saints and saints' cults, on the other hand, commenced around 1530s with the intermittent local instances of preaching and breaking the images of saints in their cultic locations. By the late 1540s, the acts transformed into communal reactions against the Catholic counterpart, and in 1560 *Book of Discipline* characterized what was ‘the idolatry’ as 'the Mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same; and, finally, all honouring of God not contained in his holy word'. Therefore, rather than 1560, I chose the date 1565 to be on the safer side and to include

the Katherines who were presumably born 20 or 30 years before the 1560 reformation.

Linguistic rendition and periodical alteration of the name Katherine appear to be compelling only up to the point of surveying the sources. The name Katherine is somewhat unfixed while seeking it in the sources due to the possibility that it could encompass diverse languages, dialects and spellings. Fifteen name variations of the name Katherine that I could attest so far have been thus:

Table 7: Name variations of 'Katherine', 1320-1565

Caitrina
Catarine
Catharine
Catherine
Catrina
Katarina
Katarine
Katerina
Katerine
Katherine
Katheryne
Kathryne
Katrina
Katrine
Katryne

The name form starting with the letter K seems to have persisted before the late fifteenth century and more modernised form of the name with C, from very late fifteenth century onwards. Ostensibly, notwithstanding the probability that the sources might come with a rudimentary index, they provide either Katherine or Catherine instead of the original form quoted within the main text; thus, both the sources which do not supply indexes and those of which do, offer great difficulty in detecting the original nominal assets. These abovementioned names, of course, exclude the traditional Gaelic

variations of Katherine. Apropos of Arthur Spears, Gaelic variants attested in Ireland are Catalina, Caitriona, Cataríona, Caitríona, Caitlín, Cáit (Kit), Kathleen, and Kate. Needless to say, medieval Gaelic genealogies of Scotland akin to those of Ireland depended on patronymic constructions. The only Scottish Gaelic source I could attest to was MS 1467 or formerly known as National Library of Scotland, *Advocates' MS*. 72.1.1, *Genealogies of (Highland) Clans*. In accordance with the genealogy entry supported by the original documents, Catherine was daughter of Duncan was the mother of Keneth, Patrick and Gilespic.[170] Considering the possible dates of the MacLachlan genealogy, this Catherine was the daughter of Duncan MacLachlan sometime between 1410 and 1436.[171]

Table 8: The *POMS* entries of the other female names

Ada	**27**
Agnes	**52**
Alice	**42**
Amabel	**20**
Beatrice	**11**
Cecilia	**19**
Christina	**72**
Elizabeth	**14**
Euphemia	**11**
Helen	**26**
Isabel	**48**
Margaret	**77**
Margery	**35**
Mariota	**18**
Mary	**37**
Sybil	**13**

[170] *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, Consisting of Original Papers and Documents Relating to the History of the Highland and Islands of Scotland*, ed., Iona Club. (Edinburgh: T.G. Stevenson, 1847), 57.
[171] Martin MacGregor, "Genealogies of the Clans: Contributions to the Study of MS 1467," *Innes Review*, 51:2 (2000): 139.

The *People of Medieval Scotland 2018* (1093–1371) database contains 995 prosopographical entries belonging to non-Gaelic feminine forenames, the total of which only four forenames correspond with Katherine. When compared to the other non-Gaelic female forenames, four entries could only be equivalent to almost nothing. The small frequency chart above will testify that the most celebrated hagionymic female forename in the *PoMS* database is Margaret, after Queen St Margaret of Scotland. Even the forename Helen (26) surpasses Katherine (4), but this situation is indeed, anticipated. The cult of 3rd century Queen Helen (26), after the Roman emperor Constantine I's mother who supposedly found the True Cross in Jerusalem, might have reached Scotland much more sooner than Katherine (4) since several legends linked Helen (26) 's heritage to Britain, Katherine (4) to Cyprus in the case of which Katherine was, in fact, Helen's step-granddaughter.

What about the other primary documents? Does no existent source contain any fruitful data at all for the sake of the forename Catherine? The number of printed and exceptionally digitized sources, still, do not disappoint at supplying fertile data. The available printed and digitized sources *Accounts of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, *Database of Saints' Dedications in Scotland*, *Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1317*, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, *Glasgow Register*, *National Records of Scotland*, *Perth Guildry Book 1464-1598*, *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, and *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* have so far provided 190 forenames of Katherine from 1220 to 1565. The previously mentioned quantitative enigma arises precisely at this point because numbers of the forename Katherine increases in parallel with the latter dates. What does this mean? Does it imply that Katherine's veneration attested in the

personal name evidence was becoming more popular during the latter dates, especially commencing with the mid-sixteenth century, or there are better and further copious sources to analyses than the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? T.M.Cooper's demographic assessment for Scotland in 1300 is the 5 to 1 ratio of England's population that the English curve rests somewhere around 5,500,000, and so the Scottish curve seems to be around 400,000 inhabitants located mainly in the rural Lowlands.[172] Thus, the growth of the name Katherine might have been prompted by not only the chances of the new source compositions and their availability but also the increasing demographic values, yet again they do not necessarily have to pursue a consistent increase or decrease, for that matter. Whilst tracing the cult of St. Blaise through the agency of modern population figures, Armand Tchouhadjian draws attention to the popularity of the name Blaise in the twentieth-century France on the back-cover of his comprehensive work. [173] Throughout the book, he diversely shifts both the geographical and spatial focus from the hagiography of St Blaise to the cultic attestations and the survived traditions in various countries. Thus, the idea of including the modern name statistics somewhere within the cultus research could substantiate the presence of the same cultus when we consider these modern personal name figures as the 'leftover' names lasted from the long existent worship. At the outset of this contemporary onomastic survey in Scotland, the nineteenth and early twentieth-century modern census figures, for instance, follow the same unstable

[172] T. M. Cooper, "The Numbers and the Distribution of the Population of Medieval Scotland." *The Scottish Historical Review* 26, no. 101 (1947): 3-4. Cooper distributes this population of 400,000 in 1300 in accordance with the taxation records and chartularies of church revenues as following: Glasgow 107,000; St. Andrews 88,000; Aberdeen 35,000; Dunkeld 34,000; Dunblane 20,000; Argyll 18,000; Moray 18,000; Whithorn 11,000; Brechin 10,000; Ross 5,000; Caithness 4,000; Outlying areas 50,000.

[173] Armand Tchouhadjian, *Uluslararası Üne Sahip Sivaslı Aziz Vlas*, trans. Arusyak Özfuruncu (İstanbul: Aras yayıncılık, 2004), XIX. For the original French version, see Armand Tchouhadjian, *Saint Blaise: Evêque de Sébaste, Arménie Mineure. Premier Saint du IVe Siècle Universel et Populaire. Son Culte Dans le Monde* (Paris: Harmattan, 2004).

demographic pattern with the medieval demographical statistics and eventually, the lesser quantity of the unearthed names. From 1841 to 1901, at least %5 of Scottish women whom were called Katherine does not decline in percentage whereas this figure fluctuates and moves towards an ultimate decrease in the 1911 census, the name hits its lowest figure of %3.69 by 90,680 names out of female total 2,452,065.[174] To the end of this demographic assessment, the nominal changes in quantity desynchronize with the latter dates concerning the modern results. The modern onomastic evidence projects two clear results herein; the first corroborates that %5 of the modern Scottish female population bore the name variants of Katherine between the years 1841 and 1901, and the second result demonstrates that the name Katherine, at least, was neither estranged nor rare among the modern Scottish female population.

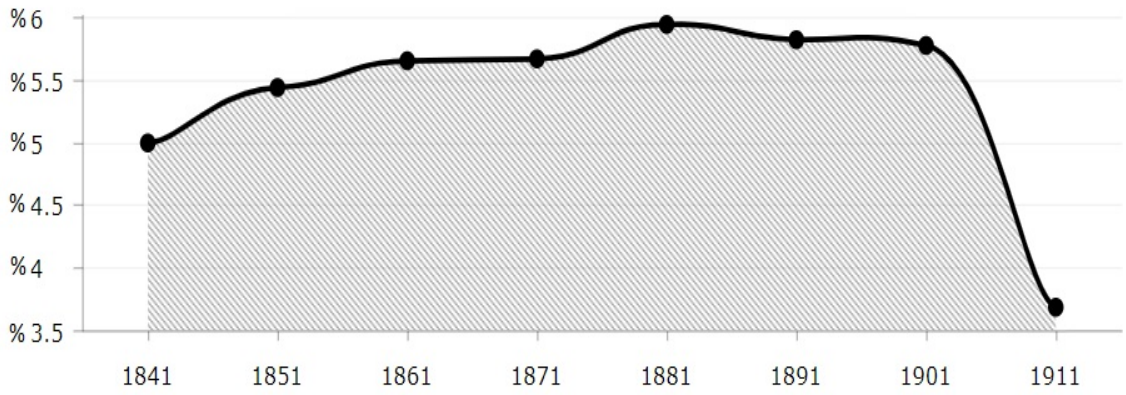

Figure 2: The frequency of the modern name 'Katherine'

Another above-mentioned qualitative problem to disentangle herein is the homonymic names for different saints whether these 190 personal names found from various sources

[174] For the population figures, distributed in accordance with gender see James Gray Kyd, ed., *Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1952), xvii.

refer to our saint St. Katherine of Alexandria rather than St. Catherine of Siena (1347–80), let alone the other eighteen eximious women, medieval or modern whom were also called Katherine.[175] The optimal way to elucidate this multi-faceted dilemma would be the quantity of dedication entries in *Database of Saints' Dedications in Scotland* not only because it is a perfect example of digitised and facilely accessible sources, but also a fruitful compilation of what is available in the archives. Thereby St. Katherine of Alexandria (262) surpasses St. Catherine of Siena (9) with the difference of 253 dedications almost more than half of which date back to the 16th century.[176] Dedications to St. Catherine of Siena (9) begin to flourish for the first time circa 1505 while St. Katherine of Alexandria has already had 130 dedications by the year 1500. All these (9) dedications exclusive of (2) to St. Catherine of Siena were performed by King James IV of Scotland (1473–1513) in Edinburgh which should hint at the possibility that St. Catherine of Siena enjoyed her reverently centralized cult especially environs the monastic establishments. The sixteenth-century names near Edinburgh, where Convent of St. Catherine of Siena was established in 1517 by Lady Rosline, Countess of Caithness, perhaps gained its momentum and influenced the burgesses of Edinburgh to name their children after St. Catherine of Siena during the later dates. If that was the case, it leaves us with 22 names from 1505 to 1564 within Midlothian region, specifically Edinburgh. Still, presumably there would be many more attestable names besides dedications to St.

[175] The other beatified, canonized or whose cults attested 'Catherines' are chronologically thus: St Catherine (Karin) of Sweden (?1331–81); St Catherine of Bologna (1413–63); Bl. Catherine of Pallanza (?1437–78); St Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510); Bl. Catherine Mattei (1486–1547); St Catherine of Ricci (1522–1590); St Catherine Thomás (1533–74); Bl. Catherine of Nagasaki (d. 1622); Bl. Catherine Tanaka (d. 1626); St Kateri Tekakwitha (1656–1680); Bl. Catherine Jarrige (1754–1836); Bl. Catherine Emmerich (1774–1824); Bl. Caterina Cittadini (1801–1857); St Catherine Labouré (1806–1876); Bl. Catherine Troiani (1813–1887); St Catherine Volpicelli (1839–94); St Katharine Drexel (1858–1955); St Catherine Yi (d. 1839); St Catherine Chong Ch'oryom (d. 1846). Basil Watkins, *Book of saints a comprehensive biographical dictionary*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 130–2.

[176] Dedications chapter will attempt to elaborate on this more exclusively, anyhow.

Catherine of Siena from Midlothian region if her cultic components, somehow, overshadowed that of St. Katherine of Alexandria. Yet, the amount of dedications and interconnectedly the names prove otherwise.

The above-mentioned sources at hand, they vary from burgh records to royal records and registers, but the latter compose most of the data. At least, the nature of such sources reveals the audience, actors and actresses whilst probing into whom these 190 women called Katherine were, their background and their role in multiple facets of the society. In a deeper scope, the aforementioned sources disclose the relevant characters chiefly with an aristocratic background. There is no difference between the scrutiny of these aristocratic names and the prosopographical model which Lawrence stone put forward as the 'elite prosopography'. The 'elitist or elite prosopography' includes the analysis of the prosopographical data in terms of how the small groups maintain power through politics, marriage, kinship and economic relations.[177] Bearing this classification of 'elite prosopography' in mind, all the entries except for two deal with the aristocratic power relations, marriages and economic relations. For that matter, we will not have been able to know much concerning the personal name frequency of Katherine among the non-aristocratic population.[178] That is why, the conduction of a thorough prosopographical analysis except for the elitist part among the entire Scottish population would never be complete unless the name frequency and the details of social network regarding the non-aristocratic Scottish population were discovered and recognized. Only two exceptions remain out of this aristocratic category: Katherine Cripple, an almswoman and Katherine

[177] Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography." *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (1971): 47.
[178] Same problem occurs whilst analysing dedicatory data as well. See 'Dedications' chapter.

Boid who both received alms from the bishopric of Dunkeld in the early 16th century.[179]

5.2. The 13th-Century Personal Names

Once again, as in the chapter of 'Dedications', it will not be practical to examine all the 190 names herein, yet rather unique and less stereotypical paradigms in this context. The earliest example for our hagionymic name dates back to 1220 during which Katerine was the wife of Peter de Haig, lord of Bemersyde and her husband donated a part of his woodland in 'Flatwode', Mertoun parish to Dryburgh Abbey ''pro salute anime mee et Katerine sponse mee […]''. [180] In 1238, Maldoven, earl of Lennox granted the whole ploughgate of the land 'Cartonvenach' to Maurice, son of Galbraith and his heirs from Katarina, his spouse and the daughter of Cospatrick.[181] In 1277, Katherine de Welles, daughter of the late Walter de Welles of Aberdeen wrote a letter to convey her lands in the Green purchased by the Carmelites.[182] Then the database proceeds onto the 14th century instances.

5.3. The 14th-Century Personal Names

Despite of having been published in 1828, Walter Scott designated his heroine as Catharine, the female name what he probably thought to be the most popular for the time setting of his novel *Fair Maid of Perth* set in the 14th-century Perth. In 1328, Roland Ascoloc (O Scoloc) and his wife Katherine granted all their land of Borness in

[179] *Rentale Dunkeldense. Being Accounts of the Bishopric (A.D. 1505-1517), with Myln's 'Lives of the Bishops' (A.D. 1483-1517)*, tr. and ed., Robert Kerr Hannay and a note on the cathedral church by F. C. Eeles. (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1915).
[180] *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh: Registrum Cartarum Abbacie Premonstratensis de Dryburgh*, ed. John Spottiswoode. (Edinburgh, 1847), 95.
[181] *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax : Ab Initio Seculi Decimi Tertii Usque Ad Annum, 1398*, ed. James Dennistoun. (Maitland Club, 1833), 26.
[182] EN/JD/308.

Kirkcudbrightshire to Duncan, son and heir of Duncan Campbell and his wife Amabel and all his heirs.[183] Albeit not of Scottish origin, Catarine Mortimer, 'young lady of London', 'the Welsh woman', and a courtier in the Harem of David II, was murdered in the court around 1360.[184] In 1366, Alexander Ramesay, Lord of Dalwlsy, husband of Catherine Ramesay issued a charter to grant the land called Blyndhalch on the north side of Southeske to the monks of Neubotle for the soul of himself, his wife Catherine and his father who is buried there.[185]

5.4. The 15th-Century Personal Names

In 1424, the wife of Lord Walter Lindesay was called Katerine Lyndesay.[186] Around 1428, King James I of Scotland granted the lands of Vogry in the environs of Edinburgh to Alano de Erskyne and his wife Katherine.[187] Similar to the entries of any other century, the 15th-century personal names henceforth continue with the noble women called Katherine as the wives and daughters of lords or any other aristocratic men. For instance, in 1530 Katherine Rathow was the daughter and heir of the deceased Alexander Mar and Marion of Mar. Katherine Maxwell became the wife of Gilbert Kennedy, 1st lord of Kennedy before 1450. Two years later, Katherine Chesholme or Chasame was the lady of Gask in Perthshire on the basis of having been married to Walter of Haliburtoune, lord of Gask.

[183] POMS, 3/0/0. Loudoun Charters, no 7.
[184] Hill, *Surnames of Scotland*, p. 358.
[185] National Records of Scotland, GD40/1/64.
[186] Exch. Rolls Scot., vol. VI:42.
[187] Registrum Magni Sigilli Regnum Scotorum, vol. 2, p. 21.

5.5. The 16th-Century Personal Names

At this point, I will not go further than 1565 with a view to excluding the usage of hagionymic personal names at the time of the Scottish Reformation; because, as explained before in the beginning of this chapter, selecting whichever names would belong to the Catholic or Protestant naming tradition is simply impossible and impractical.

Around 1507, the Edinburgh parliament gathered and gave the order of release to Johannes (John) Morgane and Laurentius (Laurence) Morgane whom were charged with the death of Katherine Cheild from the bubonic plague and also the negligence.[188] 2 years later in 1509, King's Lord High Treasurer recorded the purchase of cloth made for Katheryne Makcoran, ''lavendar in the court''. [189] In 1512, Katrine Auchinrosch allegedly had ''for art and part of the slauchter (slaughter) '' of Richard Hill.[190] During the reign of James V (1513-1542), Katrine Fyn was the nurse of the king's brother Alexander Stewart.[191] Moreover, Kathryne Ker was a laundress in the court of James V.[192] In 1531, three women whom were called Katherine attended the Killern parish church in Glasgow: Katherine Reisk, Katherine Blair, and Katherine Car.[193] Within the walls of the North Berwick convent Katherine Leventone was a nun who was one of the others to notify the court that 'sadly', the common seal of the monastery had been stolen.[194] By 1555, Katherine Ramsay, the daughter of William Ramsay of Brakmonth obtained her own seal which was comprised of a contourné eagle and initials of her name

[188] RMSRS, vol. 1. 1488-1529, p.233.
[189] ALHTS, vol. 7, p. 175.
[190] RSSRS, vol. 1, p. 369.
[191] ALHTS, vol. 5, p. 329.
[192] ALHTS, vol. 7, p. 429.
[193] NRS, GD86/97.
[194] NRS, GD158/254.

K.R at the side of the seal.[195] Katrina Dunbreck from Aberdeenshire held lands in Shapinsay, Orkney around 1562[196] while Katherine Ruthven married Colin Campbell, 6th Laird of Glenorchy, moved to live at Finlarig Castle and became Lady Glenorchy in 1565.[197]

5.6. Place Names

If a particular region offers place-name evidence, the linguistic data greatly assists the historiography of saints' cults. The names do not necessarily sustain only the vernacular language or Latin but also the visible influences of heterogeneous cross-cultural connections. They also draw a panoramic image which often demonstrates the extension of cults and whether they were prevalent enough in the faction to reconsider. Simon Taylor relatedly created a categorization in order to define the types of place names and ''ecclesiastical names'' thus:

1. Places set aside for worship, usually a church or a chapel, as well as for other rites of the church, such as baptism and burial.

2. Places where the men and women who staffed and managed the church lived, either together in communities, or individually, including hermitages.

3. Places set aside for sanctuary, usually a space surrounding a church.

4. Places whose income supported the Church in all its multifarious activities.

5. Places containing names of saints, or allusions to incidents in their lives.

[195] William Rae Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals*. (Edinburgh: William Green and Sons, 1904), 282.
[196] ALHTS, vol. 11, p. 123.
[197] NRS, GD112/39/5/6.

6. Places “to which some religious quality or blessedness was agreed to belong”.[198]

Such a method of categorization of the place and ecclesiastical names contributes to what kind of settlements and mostly parishes were established within that region and in the case of the hagiotoponyms, how these place names were distributed whether along the coast, on the mainland or the smaller Scottish islands. The evidence for the name Katherine subsumes each of these 6 categories.

[198] Simon Taylor, ‘‘Place-names and the early church in Scotland.’’ *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 28, p. 1-2. Taylor extracted the last quotation in the sixth section from G.W.S. Barrow, “The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: a Note on Some Place-Name Evidence”, *Scottish Studies*, 27 (1983), 2.

Figure 3: Distribution of the place-names named after Katherine of Alexandria

The hagiotoponymic evidence extracted from the database *Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names* (2015) suggests that from the 13th century onwards, the name Katherine was widely utilized particularly in the medieval settlements of Aberdeen, Berwick, Dundee, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews.[199] These burghs had the utmost significance for Scotland's commercial sources and also for both the local

[199] For the map and all the place-name data below, see *Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names*, ''Catherine of Alexandria.'' University of Glasgow, 2015. Available from <https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk>.

and long-distance trade, thus, the place-name evidence somewhat confirms the interconnection between the commercial affiliations and spread of cults. Aberdeen encompassed St. Catherine's Hill which was begotten together with a chapel on the same hill around 1242. Capelle Beate Kateryne (St. Catherine's Chapel) in Glasgow could be traced back to an equivalent date. Again, the Liberton Well in Edinburgh is another quiet notable for which it was allegedly ordered to have been built by St. Margaret. The chapel in addition to Hospitium and Hortus Sanctae Catherinae, all in Dunfermline make impact as the onomastic apotheoses that substantiate the cultic presence. What is the most stimulating detail about the place-name evidence for Katherine is that Stronsey parish of Orkney encircled a shore settlement called St. Catherine's. The manuscripts of 1843 do not specify an antecedent date; however, the settlement must have been referring as far back as to the late 15th or the early 16th century. The same issue is valid for Sandsting parish of Shetland in which a water spring was entitled as Catherine's Water. Thereupon, the inland medieval cities were not the only evident centres for the cult but also the isolated remote islands of Orkney and Shetland harbored the veneration of Katherine, as well.

5.7. Chronological and Geographical Analysis of the name Katherine

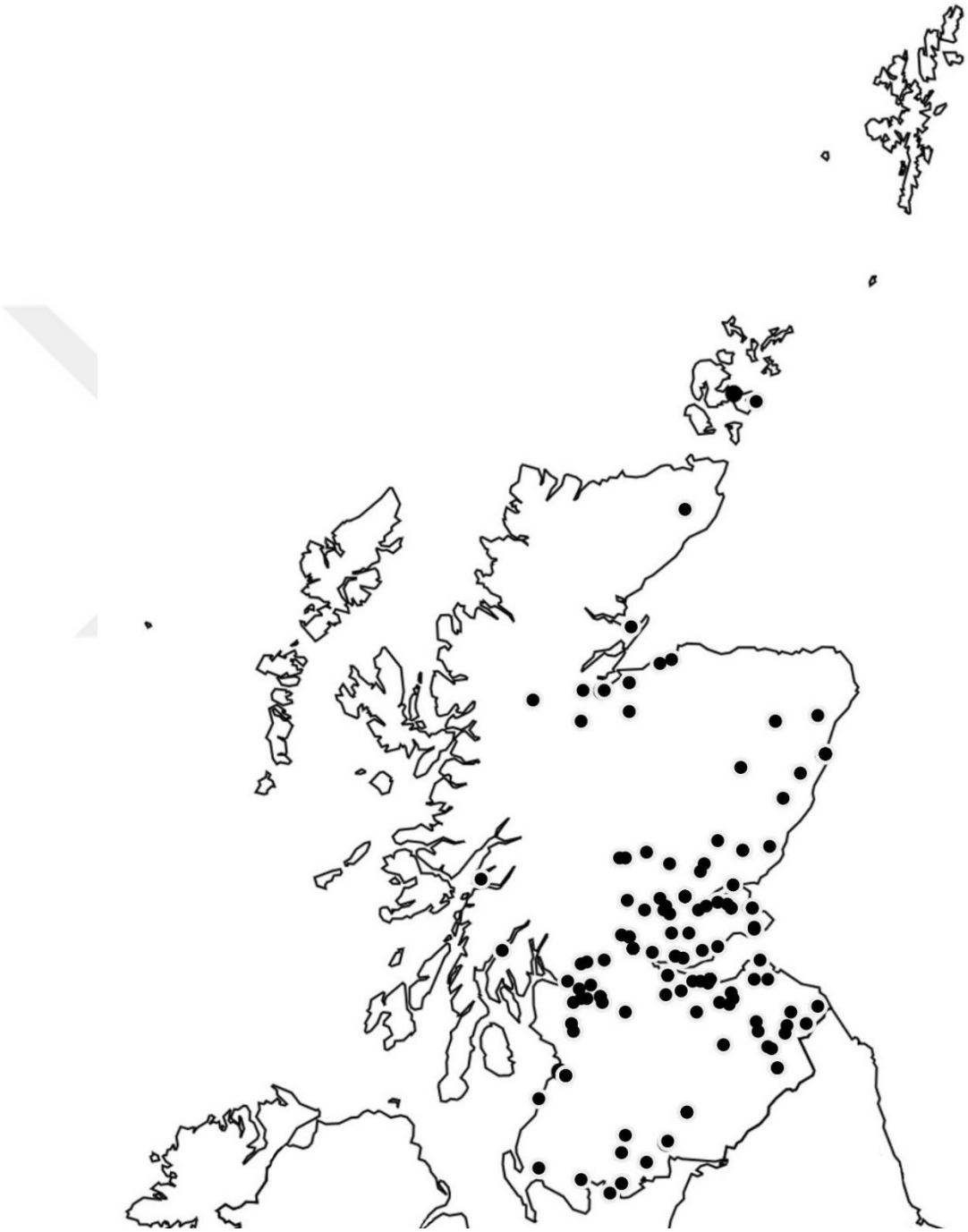

Figure 4: Distribution of the personal name variations "Katherine", 1220-1565[200]

[200] I created the map by using the two digital data manipulating and visualizing platforms: Tableau and Mapbox.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

When I attempted to conduct this study before, probably akin to many other researchers, I thought that there was not enough material to trace the Katherine-cult in Late Medieval Scotland and St. Katherine was a remote saint in the kingdom's ''saints' cults menu''. Indeed, the necessary sources have not been very easy to find, especially considering that no Scottish archives were visited during this research. Through this study, I attempted to fill in the missing parts of the cult of saints in Medieval Scotland.

E.G. Bowen catalogues the optimum methods to uncover new cults; he suggests the examination of the place names, available local historical material to list all the known churches and chapels, and dedications and distributions of dedications.[201] The findings of this research have also attempted to follow such a pattern and reached one major conclusion, which is that the Katherine-cult in Medieval Scotland, with the support of the Scottish Catholic Church attracted great appeal amongst the general Scottish population. As I have outlined in each chapter, the Katherine-cult has long been ignored due to the

[201] E. G. Bowen, *Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales*. (University of Wales Press, 1956), I.

dominance of the nationalistic historiography. Contrary to the consensus, the relevant sources exist in diverse forms. As a result of these sources, Katherine travelled to Scotland either by means of the English neighbour, the popularity of the relics in Normandy, the private veneration of St. Margaret, returning crusaders or the interregional trade connections with Italy and the Low Countries, all of the possibilities which were quite likely to have occurred.

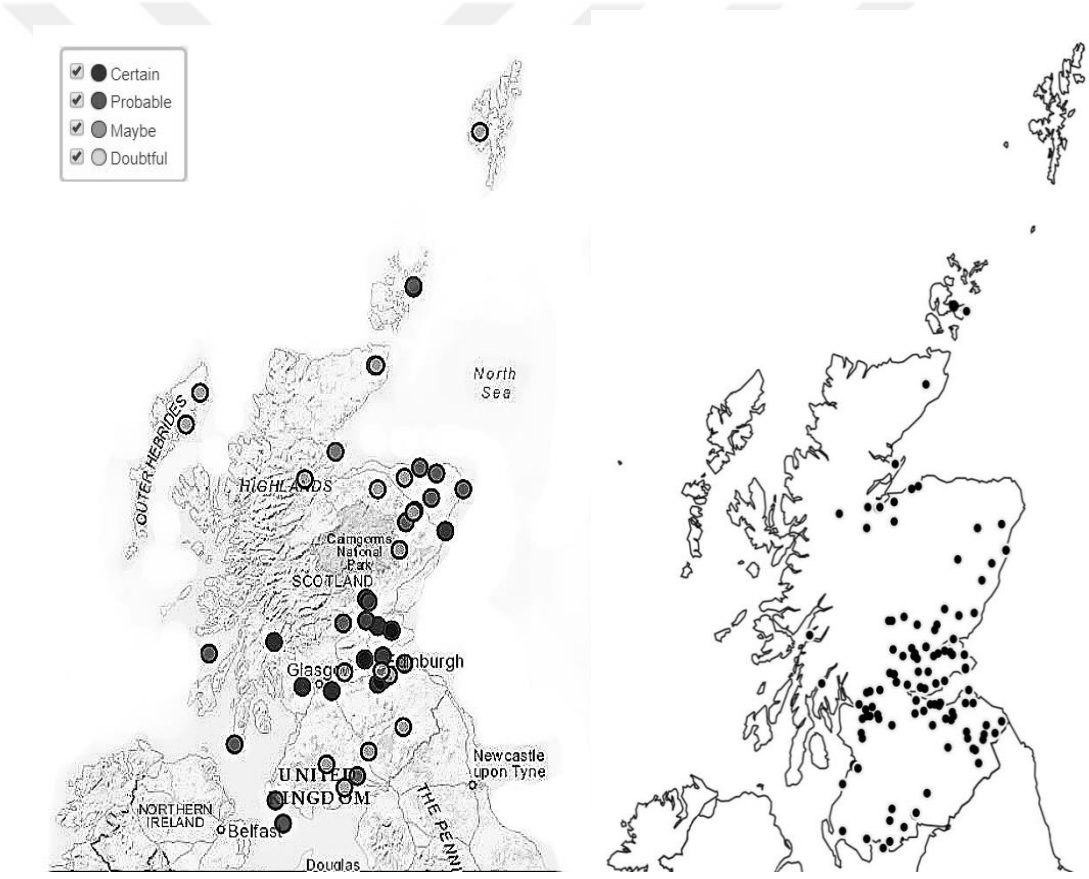

Figure 5: Distribution of the place-names (left) and the personal names (right).

The relevant data have attested that there is, indeed, a visible cultic pattern among the dedications, personal and place names. The 190 female names related to St. Katherine between the years of 1220 and 1565 signify that the geographical distribution of the

name Katherine follows a chronological pattern. The earliest name occurrences start on the mainland of the Southern Scotland i.e. Bemersyde, Melrose, and later in the environs of Edinburgh and Glasgow. As the dates move onward, the route takes its new direction towards the Northern Scotland and eventually the Orkney islands. The examples from the Northern Scotland are attested to commence around the early 16th century, whereas there are no name instances except one in 1486 which occurred beyond the Northern borders of Aberdeen. Assuming that the Katherine-cult pursued the same route, began to flourish on the Southern mainland and along the coasts of Kirkcudbrightshire, travelled to the Northern parts from the early 16th century onwards, the cult was then popularized mainly in the Lowlands and Midlothian region where the names were the most abundant. Despite of the existent sources reflected on this map, the high name frequency in the Lowlands was caused by the availability of the sources. Therefore, the only safe comment on the onomastic level of the cultus study would be to claim that the name Katherine definitely travelled from the Lowlands towards the Northern parts of Scotland.

Surprisingly enough, the geographical distribution of the personal and place names portrays visual parallels with the distribution of the dedications. The data from the Highlands produces very few examples, especially the Northwestern Highlands, while the Midlothian region and the Southwestern territories generate the high name frequency. In order to fathom the similarity in a better way, the two maps appear adjacent to one another as the following: As supported by the first source examples, the cult disseminated as a cosmopolitan veneration started off around the Lowlands, crowded burghs and expanded throughout the Northern Scotland. The geographical

features and distribution of the cult generates the name, what I call as ‘‘the S-shaped cult’’, since the topography of the Highlands is excluded from this investigation. Furthermore, the cosmopolitan focus of the cult explains why mainly the Katherine-legend and *vita* and the other aforementioned scriptorial sources came to be produced around the Southern Scotland.

The dynastic facet of the Katherine-cult is also worth mentioning; even if the Scottish kings and queens did not attempt to legitimize the cult within the public worship and simply venerated the sainthood of Katherine in secluded and private manner, the acts of dedications certainly had an impact on the aristocratic dedications. James IV led the royal branch of the cultic promotion, even though there can be no definite answers as to his motivations to venerate St. Katherine, the probable reasons were the importance of St. Katherine for the Scottish kings and queens through the generations, and what the sainthood of Katherine represented for his kinship. Thus, besides the personal interest in St. Katherine, it is fruitful not to eliminate the concepts of kinship and kingship in this context.

Katherine took place within all these cultic components by the side of the native Scottish saints as a woman from Alexandria, Egypt and one of the *Virgines Capitales*. St. Katherine was not one of the native saints of Scotland and the Scottish society did not bother to re-adapt Katherine into the Gaelic realm by means of the late medieval Irish poem in the appendix which gave its name to the title of this thesis. Katherine was ultimately accepted as who she was – a noble lady and martyr saint from Alexandria, Egypt in contrast with the Byzantine cult which interrelated Katherine

with the Byzantine Orthodoxy and the dynastic kinship as in the half-sister of Constantine I by blood. In other words, there is no detectable attestation that the medieval people who got involved in the process of dedications, for instance, defamiliarized Katherine and deemed her as ‘too young, feminine or foreign’. Even though people might have felt these nationalistic tendencies towards the saints as promoted by the McRoberts thesis, there are almost no signs of the Scottish rendition, attempting to reform Katherine into a potent Scottish aide. Nevertheless, St. Katherine relatedly succoured begetting a bridge between not only the different faiths in Sinai but also serfs and lords, lowest ranks of infantry and knights, women and men, nuns and priests, free and unfree, scholar and illiterate along with helping us to attain unique insights on ostensibly dichotomous sides of the coins in every facet of medieval life.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: ‘‘Star of the world, Catherine’’. Lambert McKenna, ed. and trans., 'Some Irish Bardic Poems XV. St. Catherine of Alexandria' in Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review, Vol. 19, No. 75 (Sep., 1930), pp. 439-440.

Réalta [an] chruinne Caitir Fhíona * fhóireas Gréagaigh,
fóiridh forgla clann gach chóigidh * ann ar éagaibh.

Caitir Fhíona inghean [chasda] * craobh na buaidhe,
gnúis mar blath na habhla úire * abhra [uaine].

Abhra uaine ag inghin Gréigríogh * nar ghabh guidhe
[a-táid] i ndath a gruadh gile * 's snuadh na suibhe.

Snuadh na suibhe [is] samhradh gréine * 'n-a gruaidh chorcha,
iomdha glún as a fréimh feactha * 'n-a céibh choptha.

Ar deilbh corrshúl Caitreach-fíona * nír cínn Gréigbean,
súil chorr nachar fhéagh ar óigfhear * béal donn déidgheal.

Gnúis mar abhaill, ucht mar eala * ógh nar truailleadh,
nír ghile clúimh ná a bas bháingheal * súil ghlas ghruaidhgheal.

Ní fhaghaim ógh ar a gruaidhse * gan a guidhe
go síntear brat ar mo bhuile * ó Mhac Muire.

Brighid Éireann agus Alban * ógh na n-oiléan
is í an blath braoingheal na mbanóg * caoilthreabh [coiréal].

Athrachta fhóireas na Luighnigh * lór a déine
is í an bhanóg bhoinnfhionn Bhúille * coinneall chéire.

Ciarán Caoimhfhionn, Colam Cille * caomh an fhoireann
Pádraig, Martain, Mongan, Manann * Coman, Coireall.

An Tríonóid, mórMhuire is Míchéal * macradh gréine
aoinmhíle déag banógh mBúille * glanógh gléire.

1. Star of the world, Catherine, helper of the Greeks; she succours most of the races of every province there against death.

2. Catherine curly-haired maid, branch of victory; face as the bloom of fresh apple-tree; bright brow.

3. Bright brow has she, daughter of the King of the Greeks, who never accepted suitor; in the hue of her cheeks is the sheen and colour of the berry.

4. The berry's colour and summer sunshine is in her ruddy cheek; many the curl bending from its stem in her coifed hair.

5. In the shape of Catherine's round eyes no Grecian woman surpassed her; round eye that gazed on no young warrior; lips deep-red and white.

6. Face as apple-blossom; bosom as swan; maid inviolate; down is not whiter than her gleaming white hand; grey eye in fair cheek.

7. No maiden do I see like her in charm but I entreat her; may Mary's Son hide away my folly.

8. Brighid of Éire and Alba, Virgin of the Isles, she is the soft white bloom of virgins, ...

9. Athrachta succour of the Luighnigh; great her zeal; she is the fair-footed virgin of the Búill; waxen candle.

10. Bright gentle Ciarán, Colum Cille - gentle the company! - Pádraig, Martain, Mongan, Manann, Comann, Coireall.

11. The Trinity, great Mary and Michael, the host of the sun, (and) eleven thousand virgins of the Búill, flower of fair maids.