THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES
in
THE MIDDLE AGES
1413 – 1560

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THESIS
presented for
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submitted by
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University history has many facets, cultural, architectural, constitutional and others: to have dealt adequately even with the constitutional aspect would have lengthened this work beyond all reasonable bounds. Even so, the nature of the present work has been determined, not only by the variety of topics awaiting attention, but also by the state of the available sources. St. Andrews inevitably has the lion's share of attention, because it has more abundant source material, a large part of which, in spite of the pioneer work of Dr. J. Maitland Anderson and Professor Hannay, still remains in manuscript. However, by the efforts of the late Dr. J. B. Salmond, the late archivist, and his successor, Mr. R. G. Cant, this splendid source material has now become readily available to scholars. St. Andrews has also been fortunate in its historians, and it is with reluctance that the present writer has found himself in occasional disagreement with Maitland Anderson and Hannay.

All manuscript sources explored have been the occasion of meeting keepers who gave generously of their time and aid, but this was particularly true of the university archivists to whom my warm gratitude is due: to Mr. R. G. Cant of St. Andrews University; to Miss Read and her successor, Mr. Wilson Reid, of Glasgow University archives; to Mr. W. Angus, secretary of Aberdeen University, for access to the King's College parchment chartulary; to M. G. Calmette, conservateur-en-chef of the Sorbonne archives and library; to M. A. Schillings, historian of Louvain University, whose archives are now at Brussels.

My warm thanks are also due to Dr. D. E. R. Watt, for access to his D. Phil. thesis on Scots students abroad; to Dr. A. I. Dunlop, for generous help in providing the loan of her transcripts of the St. Andrews arts faculty acts, and for directing my attention to a supplication regarding the chair of civil law among her Vatican transcripts; and to Dr. Leslie Macfarlane and the Rev. Joseph O'Dea, O.C.S.O., for searching out the
originals of certain Public Record Office transcripts for me in the Vatican archives, and forwarding photostats to me.

This work would have been very tedious and burdensome but for the kindly encouragement and constant stimulus of Professor W.C. Dickinson and Dr. Gordon Donaldson, whose criticisms guided me away from not a few pitfalls, and who directed my search to some useful sources. With all its defects, whatever is valuable in the thesis is the result of their sure guidance.
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Acta Rectorum, i and II
Bursar's Book
Lee Manuscripts
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Pittance Writs
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**ABBREVIATIONS**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis.</td>
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<td>A.F.A.</td>
<td>Acta Facultatis Artium.</td>
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<td>A.P.S.</td>
<td>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland.</td>
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<td>Arbroath</td>
<td>Aberbrothoc, Liber S.Thome de.</td>
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<td>Archbishops</td>
<td>Herkless and Hannay, Archbishops of St. Andrews.</td>
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<td>Auctarium</td>
<td>Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis.</td>
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<td>Brechin</td>
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<td>Cambuskenneth</td>
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<td>C.D.S.</td>
<td>Bain, Calendar of Documents, Scotland.</td>
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<td>Copiale</td>
<td>Copiale Prioratus Sanctlandree.</td>
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<td>Coupar Angus</td>
<td>Coupar Angus, Charters of the Abbey.</td>
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<td>C.P.R.</td>
<td>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers.</td>
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<td>Dunfermline</td>
<td>Dunfermelyn, Registrum de.</td>
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<td>Eeles</td>
<td>Eeles, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen.</td>
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<td>E.H.R.</td>
<td>English Historical Review.</td>
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<td>E. Recs.</td>
<td>Early Records of the Univ. of St. Andrews.</td>
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<td>Evidence</td>
<td>Evidence given to Commissioners for Universities.</td>
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<td>Exch. Rolls</td>
<td>Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.</td>
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<td>Fasti Abd.</td>
<td>Fasti Aberdonenses.</td>
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<td>Formulare</td>
<td>St. Andrews Formulare.</td>
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<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis.</td>
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<td>Holyrood</td>
<td>Liber Cartarum Sancte Grucis.</td>
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<td>Kelso</td>
<td>Calchou, Liber S. Marie de.</td>
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<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>Dunlop, James Kennedy.</td>
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<td>L.C.N.D.</td>
<td>Liber Collegii Nostre Domine.</td>
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<td>M.A.U.G.</td>
<td>Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis</td>
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<td>Newbattle</td>
<td>Neubotle, Registrum S. Marie de.</td>
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<td>North Berwick</td>
<td>Carte Monialium de Northberwic.</td>
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<td>Paisley</td>
<td>Registrum Monasterii de Passelet.</td>
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<td>R.M.S.</td>
<td>Registrum Magni Sigilli.</td>
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<td>R.S.S.</td>
<td>Registrum Secreti Sigilli.</td>
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<td>S.H.R.</td>
<td>Scottish Historical Review.</td>
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<td>St. Andrews</td>
<td>Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree.</td>
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<td>St. Leonard</td>
<td>Herkless and Hannay, The College of St. Leonard.</td>
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<td>St. Nicholas</td>
<td>Cartularium Ecclesiae S. Nicholai.</td>
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<td>St. Salvator</td>
<td>Cant, The College of St. Salvator.</td>
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<td>Scone</td>
<td>Liber ecclesia de Scon.</td>
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<td>Soltre</td>
<td>Soltre, Registrum domus de.</td>
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<td>Statutes</td>
<td>Statutes of the Faculty of Arts, etc.</td>
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<td>Supp, i and ii</td>
<td>Supplications, Scottish, to Rome.</td>
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<td>Turnbull</td>
<td>Durkan, William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow.</td>
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"I am amazed at the negligence of the Scots bishops, who had no university in the kingdom before this date."\(^1\) This judgement of a distinguished sixteenth century university man was a natural one at the time, but it lacked historical perspective. By his time universities had become little more than national institutions. In the thirteenth century the university that was purely a national institution was the exception. Nothing could have been more French than Paris, more Italian than Bologna or more English than Oxford; but none of them came into existence by the mere will of monarch or pope; they established their own status as universities, as international centres of learning, in due course ratified certainly by central authority and fortified by bulls of privilege, but in the first instance commanding by their reputation papal recognition, rather than themselves creatures born of that recognition.

Hence from the beginning Scots are found at Oxford, Paris and Bologna, and later at other schools, more specialised, but still international in composition and fame, such as Orleans and Montpellier. Even the universities founded in the Spanish

\(^1\) Major, *History of Greater Britain*, p. 349
Kingdoms, royal creations as they mostly were, were cosmopolitan at least in theory, and Lerida, for instance, in Aragon, provided in its twelfth university "nation" for the English, Scots and Irish. This is not to say (as the existence of the university "nation" itself demonstrates) that natural differences were thought unimportant, or that they did not cause serious friction, as in the war between the Northern and Southern groupings at Oxford. Oxford, because of its insular situation, was in some ways a special case, yet nevertheless, and perhaps never more than just before St. Andrews was founded, it had an international name and its scholars attracted international attention. These "great primitive foundations", as d'Irsey calls them, were never repeated, nor did the more provincial institutions called into being by papal bull, and slavishly following the original models in organisational framework and educational method, ever attain the status of their constitutional ancestors. But they were still, outside of the Iberian peninsula, generally international in outlook and in clientele, and this continues to be true of the late fourteenth century foundations like Cologne, organised no longer in "nations" but in faculties.

A subtle change, however, was taking place. As feudalism slowly disappeared and Europe became more manifestly a union of national states, a precarious union at the mercy of wars of conquest or independence, and when, alongside a decline in the prestige of the central ecclesiastical authority, it was sliced

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into two great ecclesiastical allegiances by the Great Schism of 1378, provincial, and, as in Scotland, politically narrow considerations, often decided on which side of the Great Divide one stood. By now there was general agreement that the nation's intellectual life was not only the concern of the pope or bishop, but also of the prince: and universities were seen as recruitment centres for the civil servants of which the king's household had increasing need. Nevertheless old traditions died hard. Walter Bower, in spite of his fervent nationalism and zeal for the new St. Andrews foundation, at heart agreed with Hugh of St. Victor that learning was best acquired abroad:

Mens humilis, studium quaerendi, vita quaeta,
Scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena. 4.

And many Scottish university men were loath to break with such a rooted tradition.5. Yet even centres like Paris, in the thirteenth century "a state within a state", an island of cosmopolitans, were no longer as free as they had been to speak with an international voice, but increasingly became provincial institutions merely, and instruments of national policy. What is more, while the supervision of their charges was to take great strides forward in this and subsequent centuries, while they were gaining efficiency as teaching and examining bodies and were constantly improving their organs of administration, they had ceased to provide leaders of the mental calibre of the century before.

It is necessary very briefly and very inadequately to sketch in a little of the intellectual background of the century

4. Scotichronicon (ed. Goodall), i, 444.

5. Vide infra, where the wanderings of Scots students are continually referred to.
preceding the St. Andrews foundation. In the main it is true to say that individual thinkers had been replaced by schools, often schools in bitter opposition to each other, and for this no doubt the rise of the universities had the major responsibility. The via moderna, the nominalists, looked to William of Ockham, and the realists, the via antiqua, to the earlier masters. 6. But the fourteenth century was also a very complex age, an age of great logical advance, and, within the limits imposed by faulty method, even of scientific enquiry, and not all the scientific advance was a nominalist monopoly. 7. It was a time, too, of intense mysticism and radical scepticism, like every age (to borrow the odd language of Prior Haldenstone) having its "men of the woods" and its "transhuman" personalities. 8. The disputation, the tournament in academic dress, illustrates the great fascination of logic; the lawyers even made law the subject of debates; grammar itself became speculative, and in time so arid that humanism was forced outside the schools. Yet, men, as Michalski suggests, were weary of inconclusive argument. 9. If we take two authors represented in the Glasgow chapter library of the time, Richard Fitzralph and Thomas Bradwardine, we find two Oxford dons struggling with the great themes of predestination and

6. De Wulf, Histoire de la philosophie médiévale, iii, 217-225
7. Boehner, Medieval Logic, passim; Crombie, Augustine to Galileo, Albertus Magnus adindices. On Ockham's scientific importance, however, see p. 232.
justification; and another don, Wyclif, had come to give their arguments an undonnish turn. 10. The schism presented, not only the theologians, but the greatly increased numbers of lawyers, with new problems regarding papal and conciliar authority, which developed important constitutional ideas. 11. However, the scramble of all these men for position, and the purchase of benefices, unavoidable as it may have been in the awkward system of ecclesiastical patronage as it had grown up, makes one turn with sympathy to the angry comment of Fitzralph on those who kept a great quantity of books of law and medicine hidden away, but had not among them so much as one small bible to which they might turn at the end of the day. 12. The friars were under fire, and Arbroath abbey owned one of the earliest MS. of Fitzralph's attack on them circa 1380. 13. In the older orders subjects were forced on unwilling communities and not surprisingly apostatised. 14. There were continual complaints of a corrupt clergy, but over and above all was the Schism, and the possibility, as Thomas Livingstone saw it in 1439, of a sinful pope overthrowing the whole church. 15. The consequence of these tensions was the rise of heresy.

13. Ibid., p. 48.
15. Ibid., p. 298.
The university of Toulouse was created to fight heresy; and while this aim is a commonplace of almost all bulls of foundation, it could be most truthfully claimed of St. Andrews. When Henry Wardlaw, its founder, went to study in England in 1380, the Wycliff crisis was at its height. He went very quickly on to Paris, but others who remained in Oxford risked infection with heresy as well as schism. Bower refers to those who had studied the Eleatic doctrines and those of the Academy of Athens, who helped to spread Lollard doctrine. Perhaps we can identify some of these. It seems likely that a certain R. de R., monk of Kelso, permitted to study in England in 1399 is the priest named Robert of Roxburgh pursued by the Bishop of Durham in 1403. An English Franciscan, James Resby, said to have been the first to spread Wycliffe's views in Scotland, and who, like others of his order may originally have left England as a supporter of Richard II, was burnt in Perth in 1407. His theses recall the theories of Fitzralph. A Scottish laird, Quintin Folkherd, addressed a Lollard epistle to the Bishop of Glasgow. There is continuous reference to the grip the Lollards had, and that not simply in native sources. Jean d'Achery, representing Paris University, tells the assembly of Constance in 1411 that

17. Scottichronicon II, 498. Bower implies that they had acquired philosophy and had no knowledge of higher studies, so that they tried to lead those who had gone astray.
18. Kelso, ii, 435. The author of the article in Records of the Scottish Ch. Hist. Soc., xi, 254 seq. misreads the abbreviation "diction" as "diaconem" (sic), although both clerics are called "presbiteros".
"these errors are sown especially in the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Scotland." The year before, Dietrich of Niem mentioned that they were openly professed here.\textsuperscript{21} Moreover, the first Rector of the new university was also to be the first Scottish inquisitor on record.

The threat of heresy then was undoubtedly a factor and the danger of "schismatic" infection in England, especially since the later anti-Urbanist policies of Richard II had been decisively rejected there.\textsuperscript{22} The main factor, however, is a new kind of nationalism, represented in the literature of the times by Barbour, Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower, and in its later stages encouraged by the unusual prominence in the European scene given to Scotland by the schism, and well exemplified by the place it occupied in the discussions on voting by "nations" at Constance.\textsuperscript{23} The central European universities had been in some measure by-products of the schism; and Heinrich of Langestein for that reason spoke of the "fortunate schism".\textsuperscript{24} Furthermore, the civil chaos in France after the murder of the Duke of Orleans by Jean sans Peur is assigned by the Paris nominalists of 1470, writing many years after the event, as the reason for the best teachers leaving.\textsuperscript{25} However, Scots lingered on there for some years more and it took the renewal

\textsuperscript{21} Finke, \textit{Acta Concilii Constanclensi\textit{a}, ii, 399; iv, 627.

\textsuperscript{22} Perroy, \textit{An le Grand Schisme}, p. 352 seq.


\textsuperscript{24} De Wulf, \textit{Histoire de la Philosophie Médiale}, iii, 183.

of the Hundred Years' War and the English victories, especially Agincourt, news of which was brought to the King of Aragon by a Scots student of Paris, Edward Lauder, to wrench the majority of Scots away. Nevertheless, like the Germans, they might have begun to leave earlier had they anywhere to go. If the foundation of the university of St. Andrews was "an emergency measure", it was a political rather than a religious emergency; and, if there had not been a strong consensus of opinion that it was a national institution required by the times it would never have been able to survive.

An institution of university standard, whose qualifications had, however, only a diocesan validity or at most a national acceptance, a studium particulare, may have existed in St. Andrews in 1410. The change that came about then took place after Whitsunday, following, it would seem, on a decision of the Whitsunday chapter. It came, one can be fairly certain, on the initiative, and undoubtedly with the authorisation of Bishop Wardlaw, whom Bower calls "the first founder who introduced the university in the city of St. Andrews." Private instruction was given in hospitia or inns, hired by the masters as individuals or as a group, while public teaching took place in "schools of theology", which we shall try to identify more precisely later. Masters were recruited gradually. We must not read Bower to mean that all the masters he represents as teaching after May 11th, 1410, were in fact

27. Scotichronicon, lib, vi, cap. xlvi
installed by Wardlaw at once, still less that their initiative started it all. One of them, William Foulis, a student in Paris, could not have left for Scotland till May, 1411, when he incepted in arts. The other two arts teachers listed by Bower, William Croyser and John Gill, were, however, perhaps there from the start. Gill apparently acquired his theological qualifications in St. Andrews; he took his arts degree at Paris in 1405, was part of a Scottish mission there in 1407, but was definitely back home by February 1411. Croyser was still a student in Paris in June 1409, and his St. Andrews career, whenever it may have started, was short-lived, as in 1418 he claimed to have studied theology at Paris for four years.

In the higher faculties, Laurence of Lindores taught theology, beginning with an inaugural lecture on the fourth book of the Sentences. He had been in Scotland since 1407 at least, and although in 1408 he is found in attendance on the Bishop of Glasgow, his benefice was in St. Andrews diocese (Creich). He may have been in charge of, if not the instigator of, Wardlaw's experiment. The demand for canon law exceeded that for theology, however, and Richard Cornell, archdeacon of Lothian, John Litstar, canon of St. Andrews, John Scheves, official, and William Stephenson, later Bishop

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28. Ibid., lib. xv, cap. xxii
30. He was S.T.B. in 1419, Supp., i, 63; S.T.L. in 1439, Statutes, p. 112. (The date of these statutes is discussed elsewhere).
32. Auctarium, ii, col. 55; C.P.R., vii, 73, 92.
of Dunblane, all lectured in that faculty. All need not, however, have been teaching there from 1410. Cornell probably was there, and had, it would seem, already acquired the doctorate in degrees that Bower assigns him.\footnote{34} Litstar's baccalaureate was acquired before December 1413, as was Stephenson's, and both were in St. Andrews in 1411. Litstar, a canon of St. Andrews, read in the morning, and the rest later; but this "later" \textit{(consequenter)} refers, it seems, not to afternoon lectures but to lectures begun subsequently to Cornell and Litstar.\footnote{36} While Scheves was not at this date as yet official of the diocese, but Thomas de Carnis, he was present in the town in the bishop's castle as vicar of Linlithgow at least by the 23rd November, 1411.\footnote{37}

It is likely that at this early stage Wardlaw already envisaged his university. It is hard to see how the co-operation of the imprisoned King James or of his Three Estates could have been won without his initiative. We must refuse, to my mind, Buchanan's suggestion that the masters were the prime movers. Some of them before long deserted the new foundation. Equally the hagiography of Boece and Bellenden representing Wardlaw, this man of "great expenses" \textit{(Bower)} as a frugal

\footnote{34}{S.H.R., viii, 242.}
\footnote{35}{St. Andrews, pp. 14, 16.}
\footnote{36}{Scotichronicon, loc. cit.}
\footnote{37}{Carnis was still official in 1411, C.P.R. Pet., i, 399. Scheves was first recorded as such in December, 1413, St. Andrews, p. 15. As vicar of Linlithgow, see Adv MS., 13.1.7, p. 22}
\footnote{38}{Rerum Scoticarum Historia, lib. x, cap. xviii.}
character and altogether a shining example must be rejected as fanciful. 39. He had the failings of his age, as the existence of his children testify. Nevertheless, he was plainly a man of statesmanlike stature, although curiously little involved in extra-diocesan concerns. A younger relative of Cardinal Wardlaw, a scholar of some note, he had studied arts possibly at Oxford, certainly at Paris, and canon and civil law at Orleans and Avignon. 40. He stopped short of inception in arts, proceeding as a licentiate to his doctorate in canon law. Like the founder of Heidelberg, who created a university out of nothing with the help of the Parisian teacher, Marsilius of Inghen, 41. he chose wisely when he persuaded a Scots teacher of European fame to preside over his new experiment. The employment as technical advisers of refugee teachers from Paris was common to many universities at this time; Heinrich de Langesteen, for instance, revived the almost defunct university of Vienna. 42. Yet Wardlaw was the "first founder", as we saw, and it was he who "introduced the university in St. Andrews", and not the teachers, the municipality, the prior or even the king.

The part played by the young James I was, however, considerable, even though the experimental foundation of 1410

41. D'Irrey, Universités, p. 151.
42. Ibid., p. 179.
would be under way before his consent or parliament's was obtained; a situation exactly paralleled in Aberdeen. Owen Glendower had already asked Benedict XIII for two studia generalia in Wales, a circumstance of which the Scots, keenly interested as they were in Welsh independence, would be well aware. Prior Haldenstone tells us that James was well read, had genuine talent and a clear head. Bower's estimate is well-known: James, in his view, was so anxious that philosophy and the other six liberal arts be introduced into Scotland, that he took the initiative (ad ipsius instantiam), while still in prison, to write letters above his own personal signature and seal, for the bulls (privilegia) of the university to be founded. At what point, however, did James take up the cause? An examination of Wardlaw's 1412 foundation will clarify his role.

On the penultimate day of February in that year (that is on the 28th, not the 27th, as 1412 was a leap year), on the feast of the translation of St. Augustine, Wardlaw drew up the instrument of his chapter-house. Before him he would have the text or formulary copy of the foundation bull of another

43. Matthew T., Welsh Records in Paris, pp. 53 seq. (Carmarthen, 1910)
45. Scotichronicon, ltb. xvi, cap. xxx.
46. R.M.S., ii, no. 209; Evidence, ii, 171; Copiale, p. 414; Dunlop, Kennedy, p. 260, read the 27th. I follow Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique, livre 2, appendix 1 and 2.
university. This additional instrument, he says, is supplied to meet the desires of masters and students, for the university has already been founded by him and begun by them in point of fact (de facto), and it is by way of further concession (ex abundanti), that he, with capitolar consent, grants this new foundation. He expressly concedes that he has not yet had papal authority, but claims to be exercising his power as legate of the apostolic see, with full authority throughout Scotland. Nevertheless, he does not proceed to exceed his legatine power, for it is only to regents and students of his own diocese that he gives permission to reside outside their sees once they have made application; others presumably must both apply to their own ordinaries and get consent. The Prior (as dean of the chapter) the two archdeacons of St. Andrews and Lothian (as concerned with schools and residence), the first two also having baronies in the university city, are signatories. Yet it is not exactly correct to call the 1410 foundation, which this deed ratified, "little more than a diocesan venture". The diocesan venture existed before 1410 in the archdeacon's school, if this had not yet degenerated into a mere grammar school. This new document

47. The introduction Dum diligentter attendimus is a less elegant paraphrase of a formula often used in such documents, e.g. the bull of Angers (1409), Fournier, Statuts., i, 349, and that used again by Benedict in his fifth St. Andrews bull, omitting the reference to heresy (Evidence, iii, 175, Dum attentæ considerationis indagine.

confirming the 1410 foundation, is clearly one of national import, and as such it is confirmed by the third papal bull and by James I himself in 1432. 49.

There are several other important signatories, graduates of distinction in law, there to advise on the legal aspects. Laurence of Lindores is not among them, nor is there as yet any mention of the Regent Albany or the king. Albany’s role is obscure. Had Wardlaw ignored him? At a later date Haldenstone incurred Albany’s displeasure by rendering obedience to Martin V in the king’s name and not in his. 50. Yet Albany could not be left out of a move that had the sanction of the Estates, given like that of James at some unknown date in 1412-13. We have the datary copy of the original supplication to Benedict, given at Peniscola, Spain, on the 28th August, 1413. 51. It is in the name of the king, bishop, prior and chapter, and archdeacon, and with the agreement of the Three Estates. It asks that a university be established in theology, canon and civil law, medicine and arts. Theology is an added faculty, not mentioned in the 1412 foundation, although we know that teaching in theology had begun. The omission from the 1412 foundation probably had diplomatic reasons, as the authorisation of a theological faculty in university foundations was, even in the fourteenth century, comparatively rare. None was authorised at Bologna till 1364; there was none at Cracow (1362),

49. _R.M.S._, ii, no.200.
50. _Caspale_, p. 15.
51. _C.P.R. Pet._, i, 601; _S.R.R._ iii, 324.
Vienna (1365) or even originally at Louvain (1425), and, when authorised, was usually in the care of mendicants. 52. Wardlaw in 1412 would not feel that its formal establishment was within his legatine competence. Other features of the supplication are dealt with elsewhere, but it is worth noticing in this context that the bishop wants to preside as chancellor, drawing up university and faculty statutes regarding academic promotion, but with the consent of the faculties concerned. This happened (at least as far as his presence was concerned) as regards the theological statutes. 53.

Bulls were issued at Peniscola on the same day, very appropriately for an Augustinian chapter, on the feast of St. Augustine. The first of these is the actual bull of foundation, opening with the usual introductory formula. 54. It goes on to grant Wardlaw's request in the original terms. Benedict XIII was well aware, and the present situation of the royal petitioner could only make him more aware, of the dangers attendant on Scottish students going to universities abroad: the English-French war, the danger from captivity on land and sea, and the quarrels, such as the fights and riots at "schismatical" centres like Oxford, and now, Paris. Many Scots, he was given to understand, who could profit by higher studies, were deterred, not only for the foregoing reasons, but because of the cost of voyaging overseas, and payment for teaching when

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52. D'Irsway, op.cit., i, 161, 177, 184.
53. Hanway, Statutes, pp. 68, 86.
54. Evidence, iii, 171-1.
they get there. St. Andrews, he understood, was suitable for the usual reasons, quietness, a sufficient supply of food and lodgings, the willingness of the ecclesiastical authorities there to grant the usual facilities, and King James is suitably loyal to Pope Benedict. He therefore founds it, not only for St. Andrews, but for the surrounding region, a vague phrase which might indicate a purely local validity, had the pope not elsewhere explicitly envisaged the whole kingdom. Furthermore he authorises the bishop or his deputy (but without mentioning the word "chancellor", as Maitland Anderson noted) to perform the essential act of the chancellor's office, namely, in consultation with the faculties concerned, to give the licence to prospective masters. The Rector, as Wardlaw desired, was to be a graduate in one of the faculties and not a student. He was also to be in major orders, at least, that is, a subdeacon. The petition had asked that he might be appointed or elected by the different faculties; that is, as at Cologne, not by the "nations", as at Paris. (Moreover, the arts faculty alone appointed the Rector at Paris). Wardlaw is vague about the university "officers" for whom he desired immunities, and Benedict leaves the method of election open, not specifying "procurators of nations" among offices held (although in itself that need not be significant).

55. *S.H.R.*, iii, 304.
The second bull makes it quite plain that students from other dioceses can attend and enjoy their benefices, secular or regular.\textsuperscript{56} There is no need to analyse it further here, except to note the rather lengthy ten year period during which absence from ecclesiastical cures is granted, sufficient for study in the higher faculties; but Wardlaw had asked for this, and Benedict had already allowed twice that time at Angers.\textsuperscript{57} It was a generous allocation, nevertheless, compared with the customary three to seven. The third bull confirms the original instrument of Wardlaw and also the earlier foundation. The fourth grants conservators as petitioned, the bishop of Brechin, the archdeacons of St. Andrews and of the rival diocese of Glasgow.\textsuperscript{58} Its purpose is to safeguard the authority of the Rector's court, and conserve its privileges even against Cistercian, Cluniac, Premonstratensian and other exempt orders, and against bishops, with invocation of the secular arm, and notwithstanding the constitutions of Boniface VIII (by which persons from one diocese could not be called to account in another). They could not however be summoned from outside the kingdom. The sixth covers the last point in the petition. This asked that, to encourage the new university in its beginnings, it might be empowered to receive bachelors and licentiands from schismatical centres abroad. The pope duly releases any such from their oaths\textsuperscript{59}.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 172-3
\textsuperscript{57} Pearson, Statute, 1, 343.
\textsuperscript{58} Evidence, iii, 174.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., iii, 176
\textsuperscript{60} Cf. this in practice, where Oxford alone is quoted. E. Regns., p.2.
and any sentences consequent upon infringement of the usual promises to complete their degrees in those universities.

All of these bulls served a strictly practical end. While there is much in them that follows a formula (and even a formula can be enlightening), they are by no means the "verbiage" they are sometimes thought to be. In spite of Wardlaw's designs receiving national confirmation, they suggest very strongly that not even the episcopal bench could be trusted to give wholehearted support to Wardlaw's courageous initiative.

The bulls arrived in St. Andrews, carried there by a recent Paris graduate, Henry Ogilvie.62. The description of this event is a set piece with Scots historians. Ogilvie arrived on the 3rd February, a Saturday, in 1414: "at last," as Bower says.62. As whose joyful coming (jocundum adventum, a phrase with strong associations for medieval university men), the bells of all city churches were rung. All the city clergy foregathered on the Sunday in the gaily decorated refectory of the monastery, where at nine o'clock the bulls were solemnly presented to Wardlaw as chancellor, a ceremony which he had doubtless planned. After they were read, a procession was formed, and the clerics and Augustinian canons sang the Te Deum. On arrival at the high altar, the bishop of Ross sang the versicle, "Send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created", to which the clergy replied "And Thou shalt

renew the face of the earth." Whereupon the collect of the Holy Spirit was sung. The procession then apparently swung out into the streets, singing, as bells pealed, organs played and the burgesses danced. The secular celebrations continued with much wine and all-night bonfires in streets and squares.

The following Tuesday (i.e. the 6th), the feast of the coming of the relics to St. Andrews, there was a double celebration. As before, clerics sang, people danced, bells rang, organs played. The prior himself celebrated a solemn votive Mass and the bishop preached ad clericum, i.e. in Latin. The university bedellus, already in existence, called a great crowd to the procession, four hundred clerics proper, besides children destined for the priesthood, secular and regular (clericulos et fratriandos), "to the glory of God and the praise and honour of the university." 64.

The four hundred clerics (if we can credit Bower here) must have been convoked from outside the city, hence the three days' delay. No other bishops (apart from the bishop of Ross) are recorded as being present, and no representative of Albany. The account indeed tells us little about the university proper, except that its founder had high hopes, that unanimity existed in the town, and that university officers were already established. The drawbacks of St. Andrews as a university centre were not to become apparent till a later stage.

63. I can find no record elsewhere of this feast. The legend was printed by John Story in Edinburgh about 1520, Dickson and Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing, pp. 100-1.
64. A phrase echoed again from university usage, e.g. Hannay, Statutes, p. 126.
HENRY WARDLAW, CHANCELLOR 1410-1440.

If we take it that Wardlaw's 1412 foundation constituted university officers, it may have been then that the first Rector was appointed, that is on the 26th February, which became the statutory date for rectorial elections.65 These were perhaps four times yearly in the early period, in accordance with Paris usage. At any rate the Rector of 1422 is elsewhere described as the fifteenth Rector, which is only possible on such a suggestion.66 The first Rector is said to be Lindores who may have been appointed by the chancellor, or rather the faculties may have accepted him as the chancellor's candidate. Under Lindores, however, the election by nations was instituted, as described previously.

The Rector had some difficulty in establishing his authority in these early years, over the prior as regards precedence and over the faculties as subjects under his jurisdiction. The uncertain status of the papal authority that had created the university, and Benedict's readiness to hear appeals, may have further complicated matters. Appeals to the pope over the university's head had to be legislated against the first rectorship.67

Disputes and quarrels rose particularly with respect to the prior's precedence. In the presence of Wardlaw the Rector,

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65. This is implied by University Statutes (MS), Title 2, constitution 2, which says that the Rector's power of excommunication resulted from the privileges granted by Wardlaw and confirmed by the pope.
66. University Statutes MS, Title 2, constitutions 5 and 6, and flyleaf at beginning. Acta Rectorum, i. See Appendix E. Another list (highly unreliable) makes Strunggeour second rector after Lindores. Acta Rectorum, i, 104.
67. Ibid., Title 1, const. 3
James Scrimgeour, extracted an agreement from the prior and chapter on the 24th March 1422. By this agreement the Rector was to precede the prior in taking up position in the church and elsewhere, in giving the kiss of peace at mass and in kissing or venerating the relics of St. Andrew and other ceremonies. Both outside and inside the church when the bishop was present, the Rector would precede the prior. If the bishop was not present, the Rector would still have primacy in honour, placing and ceremonies in church, but apparently not outside. To certify that the prior and canons had agreed in chapter, three emissaries from the chapter, the subprior, William de Balbuthie, Andrew of Wyntoun, prior of Lochleven and Laurence Fyvie (Flwle), master of the hospital of St. Leonard, confirmed that this was a permanent arrangement. University deputies present (it is not certain whether these were specially appointed for the occasion or were the regular deputies) included John Douglas, dean of Moray, Laurence of Lindores, Thomas of Tyningham, rector of Newton, and William Stephenson, rector of Restalrig.

Two days later the prior apparently took the initiative, once again in Wardlaw's presence.  

68. The year originally written 1421 (i.e. 1421-2) has later been altered to 1422 (i.e. 1422-3). Copiale, p.402, is mistaken in accepting the latter reading, as the next constitution makes clear.

69. Subprior in 1422, Copiale, p.35

70. Univ. Statutes, Title, 2. const. 6.
and notify the bishop. On the other hand if anybody in the
prior's household or related to it were to commit any crime
or injury against anybody in the university the Rector would
proceed with the injured party to the prior, and if he was
unwilling or negligent about setting the matter right, the
Rector would seek the bishop's presence or else seek other
suitable methods of righting the wrong done.

This agreement was again drawn up in the refectory in the
presence of Wardlaw, John Scheves, doctor of decrees, official,
Douglas, Lindores and Tyyingham as before, except that Nicholas
Ingis replaced Stephenson as deputy. Many canons were
present, including, besides the three already mentioned, David
de Spannyhe. This statute was originally written in the old
book by William Boys, notary and bedellus or canon law. The
query is immediately suggested; Was this an old statute book
or an old book of conclusions? If the latter, the vigil of the
Annunciation (March 24th) may represent a new rectorial election
and the slight change in deputies be accounted for by the post-
ponement (quite regular) of the election of deputies for a day
or so. 71.

71. Who died in the Roman court in 1424. Supp., ii, 76. He was a nephew of the
bishop (ii, 48) licensed in 1419 (E. Ross., p. 5).

72. The election of Paris Rectores (as copied by Heidelberg in 1386) took place
on the morrow of St. Denis (10 Oct.), 0 Adonai (18 Dec.), the vigil of the
Annunciation (if before Palm Sunday; if not, the Friday before Palm Sunday), and
the morrow of the Nativity of St. John Baptist (25 June), Hautz, Heidelberg,
ii, 316. Of these dates the 10th October could not have been used from 1415,
as the academic year began on the 10th (A.F.A., f. 1v).
Discussions of the relations between Scotland and the general council at Constance would take us far afield, but the council is very relevant to the early fate of St. Andrews and must be briefly mentioned. France withdrew its obedience from Benedict XIII in 1408, and in 1409 emissaries were dispatched by Paris university as supporters of Pope Alexander V, to win over the Scots to the Council of Pisa, but without success. In 1414 James himself received a consolatory letter from Paris, requesting that he support the Pisan cause. The emissaries went on to the Governor, but with similar lack of success. Eventually Ferdinand of Aragon, one of the last supporters of Benedict, deserted him, and the ambassador whom he sent to Scotland on Benedict's behalf in 1415, Felipe de Malla, in 1417, referring to the coronation of Martin V, wrote from Constance that the Church was the woman in the Book of Revelation, crowned with the sun, having under her feet the moon (the overthrown Pedro de Luna, i.e. Benedict), and twelve stars representing twelve kings. The King of Scots was not represented, which was a mystery. Scotland would come later like St. Paul.

St. Andrews university led the break away. Those who would not be swayed by dogmatic considerations would appreciate the financial consequences of further adherence to Benedict.

74. Copiale, p. 248 seq.
75. Fink, Acta Concilia Constanciensia, iv, 154.
The Dominican, Finlay of Albany, testified that the summons to the council had been read in St. Andrews in Wardlaw's presence, some time before 1416. 76. Champions of Constance among university men were John Elwald, Rector in 1418, Haldenstone, Stury (a bachelor in theology), and other canons of St. Andrews. 77. Against Constance the main protagonist was an English Franciscan, Robert Harding, a master in theology, whom Haldenstone called "that pestiferous flatterer and seditious superlogician (periologista)" of the same order and nation as the heretic Resby. 78. Harding left England for Scotland some time after Resby, however, perhaps as a supporter of Richard II. On September 8th, 1406, at the provincial's request, Henry IV gave commission to arrest him and two other friars who had spurned their obedience and wandered about causing great scandal. 79. On February 8th, 1409, letters of exchange for presentation abroad were granted to Harding and another friar. 80. He had already left England, therefore, but we do not know when he reached Scotland first. He was favoured by Albany, however, appointed "promoter of the church", and defended Benedict XIII "in disputations and sermons: against whom the whole university

76. Copiale, pp. 261, 389.
77. Ibid., 391-2, 73.
78. Ibid., p. 8.
79. Patent Rolls, (Henry IV), iii, 238.
80. Close Rolls, (Henry IV), iv, 444. Henry IV may not be directly involved. The provincial, John Zoucha, had made himself unpopular with the friars by his attempts at reform. Little, Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents, pp. 198-9.
of St. Andrews rose.\textsuperscript{31} This has been taken to mean that they opposed him at the council general held in Perth in October, 1418, but the whole university was not at the council general. The plain meaning seems to be that the university sermons and disputations are indicated here. Haldenstone, for his part, defended Constance and Martin V in his sermons "in the sight of the whole university of St. Andrews."\textsuperscript{32}

On the 9th August, 1418, the faculty of arts records tell us of its withdrawal from Benedict. Each master of the faculty, with few exceptions, gave his obedience to Martin V. It appointed one representative on its behalf to go to the council general to induce the Governor and council to make a solemn withdrawal of obedience from Benedict and a declaration of allegiance to Martin. Meantime it decided to postpone its own solemn act of withdrawal till then, but whatever the Governor decided, the faculty had made up its mind.\textsuperscript{33} Represented also at the council general were Lindores, as inquisitor, Elwald as Rector, and possibly John Fogo, a monk of Melrose and a master in theology, doubtless representing that faculty. Harding made a solemn proposition, speaking in Latin and the vernacular in favour of Benedict. Haldenstone wrote, reproaching the inquisitor for not immediately taking action against Harding, in that he even maintained that if Benedict were dead the Scots

\textsuperscript{31}\textit{Scottichronicon, lib. xx, cap. xxiv.}
\textsuperscript{32}\textit{Capites, p. 21}
\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Dib. p. 331.}
prelates alone could elect the pope. Fogo in particular attacked Harding, by a manuscript invective in reply to Harding's own, and Elwald and other theologians extracted several propositions which they delated to Martin. Martin wrote to Lindores on July 11th, 1419, calling for Harding's arrest. If he was not amenable to charitable admonition Lindores was to proceed to other remedies of law. He wrote similarly to the masters, doctors and university of St. Andrews, praising them for bringing Harding to his notice and asking them to assist the inquisitor to carry out his duty. Fogo took a leading part in forcing the issue, and brought Martin's letters home. Harding, Bower tells us, had taken refuge in the Franciscan house at Lanark, however, where he died shortly after Fogo brought the bull home.

The university badly needed Martin V's patronage. His letter said that "we and the see of Rome are inclined to whatever concerns the advancement of your university". On the 21st August 1419, Martin granted Wardlaw's petition in the university's behalf. Benedict XIII, it related, had founded it with faculties of theology, canon law and civil, and the liberal arts, and had privileged it. Wardlaw himself and the university body (universitas dicti studii) had enacted statutes and ordinances for its governance and that of regents, readers and students. The king, clergy, nobles and citizens of

84 Ibid., pp. 3-4. Scotichronicon, loc.cit.
85 S.H.R., viii, 358
86 Fogo is called "professor of theology" in 1419, but also counsellor of Archibald, earl of Douglas, whose influence in the university was considerable. Supp., i, 102
87 Supp., i, 103-9.
St Andrews were associated with the petition, which mentions further privileges granted by the king and the citizens. This document is also important, then, as indicating that James had granted privileges (orally, perhaps) before the charter of 1432. Moreover, it points to an indenture with the burgh now lost, but referred to in a much later document.

The Harding documents have been held to lend support to the theory that the Scottish inquisitorial office originated in the university or at least that it is to be linked with its foundation rather than with the ecclesiastical courts. Against this theory it has to be remembered that Laurence of Lindores existed as inquisitor at the Resby trial, before St Andrews was founded. We have no evidence whatever that the university appointed the inquisitor; the above evidence certainly suggests that its members were concerned that he carried out his duties, especially as regards one who may have been one of their fellow-members. The suggestion too that the requirement by act of Parliament that the bishops should enquire by inquisition of heresy means that "only after the procedure had come under the control of the inquisitor could action be taken" is surely extravagant: a more obvious meaning is that the bishop must hold courts of enquiry, personally or through his delegates, when suspects

88 The "ancient indenture made between the university and the citizens" mentioned in Kennedy's time. Evidence, iii, 176
89 Rev. Duncan Shaw in Records of the Scot. Church, Hist. Soc., xii, 57 seq.
were delated to him. The parallel between St Andrews and Paris can be overdone. Paris was the second capital of Christianity: it was the theological school of Christendom, but in any event it was not so much its direct inquisitorial power as the immense authority of its opinio, sententia or censura that gave its theological faculty such weight in matters of doctrine. What Martin V required of the St Andrews doctors was that they throw the weight of their prestige into the scales against Harding and so assist the inquisitor; not that they usurp the inquisitor's duties.

The existence of the university in that way assisted the inquisitorial function, and the article cited brings ample evidence of that. But Lindores must have been appointed by the bishops in council, and must have been their delegate; his condemnation of Resby took place in such a council (in concilio cleri). Otherwise the inquisitor's authority would not have been national in its scope (qui nusquam inter regnum requiem dedit haereticis). He would not be the only inquisitor, moreover, but the principal one, as was Haldenstone.

The Faculty of Theology.

The first schools are the "schools of theology", mentioned on the 8th December, 1414, and subsequently, until

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91 Scotichronicon, lib. xvi, cap. xix.
92 Ibid., lib. xvi, cap. xx.
93 Ctenale, p. 178.
they are swallowed up in the college of St John for theologians and artists. The university theologians were evidently active in public affairs, but in default of records it is extremely difficult mentally to reconstruct the faculty in this first period, or to estimate with any certainty what its membership may have been. Is the liveliness of this faculty at the time of the council of Constance merely due to the virtual closure of the continental schools during these years to Scottish scholars? Where, for instance, was Alexander Lindsay studying theology in 1416 to 1419? There is just the bare possibility that it may have been in Paris, for he determined there in 1409, but all the probabilities tell in favour of St Andrews. He can reasonably be equated with the Alexander Lindsay who acted as examiner in arts in 1419. A fellow-examiner with him was Thomas Livingstone, who first graduated in arts and had become a cursor in theology before his incorporation at Cologne in 1423. He was a Cistercian. The influence of Fogo, monk of Melrose, describing himself at this time as professor of theology, might be looked for here.

Other regulars can be traced in the faculty. Finlay Gill, monk of Lindores, bachelor in theology by 1421, took security for Alexander Methven, a bachelor of arts in 1414. Two monks of Dunfermline, John Scot and

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94 A.F.A., f. 1 r.
95 Auctorium, ii, col. 63; Supp., i, 132. He must have abandoned it for canon law, however. Supp., ii, 227.
96 A.F.A., F. 14 v.
97 E. Recs., p. 3; Keussen, Matrikal, i, 253; Supp., ii, 8.
98 Supp., i, 102.
99 Supp., i, 246 (called "Igyl"); E. Recs., p. 2.
Stephen Brig, received papal permission to study at St Andrews in 1416, presumably in theology. John Shaw, another monk of Dunfermline, was a bachelor of theology by 1430 in spite of having been delated to Prior Haldenstone as dean for heresy; he must have cleared himself, as he was required to do. William Brown, prior of Urquhart, was professor of theology in 1439. Another Benedictine, William de Dalkeith, studied at St Andrews up to the degree of bachelor, but Bishop Wardlaw sponsored his petition to Martin V that he might continue theology at Paris or elsewhere, because Walter Paniter, abbot, and incidentally one of the additional conservators of the university's privileges, would not grant the necessary pension. The abbot claimed to be anxious to defend the good of his order against the fugitive monks, when he sent a party of armed abductors to seize his subject in the university, wounding fatally one of the citizens of St Andrews with an arrow in the resultant fracas. Wardlaw's plan to transfer the monk elsewhere did not, therefore, succeed.

Among other religious who were in the faculty, as far as one can gather, was William Stury, canon regular of St Andrews, a bachelor of theology by 1421, whose labours for the return of Scotland to the Roman obedience and whose work in the schools were praised to Martin V by Haldenstone.
When the statutes of the theological faculty were drawn up in 1439 Stury was abbot of Scone and professor of theology. John of Musselburgh studied arts first, then became master of the university grammar school in 1430, became a Dominican and was recorded as a professor of theology some time later.

Secular clerics who studied theology included Alexander Methven, in the arts faculty till 1416, but recorded as a bachelor of theology in 1428. John Gill has already been mentioned. William Spalding, who had been a Paris student, lectured as a bachelor sententiarlus, before taking his licence about 1429. George Newton, a nephew of Bishop Wardlaw, studied at Paris first before coming to St Andrews, and is described as a bachelor in theology in 1437. John Elwald, a theologian active as Rector in the cause of ending the schism, was a licentiate, it would seem, of St Andrews, for he took his licence between 1418 and 1420. John Innes, a licentiate in arts of 1425, is recorded also as licentiate in theology in 1447.

We may assume from the fact that James I saw the need to regulate the government of the faculty that it had suffered a setback. The withdrawal from Benedict XIII and the adhesion to Martin V may have imperilled the university's

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105 Hannay, Statutes, p. 112.
106 E. Regs., p.10; A.F.A., f. 11r.
107 Not till 1468, however, when he was vicar-general of the order in Scotland, L.C.N.D., p.193.
108 E. Regs., p.4; Supp., ii, 222.
109 Copiale, pp.74, 424; C.P.R., viii, 141.
110 C.P.R., Pet., i, 601; A.F.A., f. 20v.
111 Supp., i, 154, 256.
112 E. Regs., p.8; C.P.R., x, 295.
status, founded as it was on the bulls of Benedict. This situation should theoretically have been righted by Pope Martin's confirmation. There was also a distinct possibility in 1419, confirmed in two contemporary documents, that the university would have to desert St. Andrews. One may not find it very credible that the river Eden should have been such a dangerous water to ford that fifteen priests should have been drowned in crossing it, unless they forded it at a point well below the present Guard Bridge. But it was precisely the kind of point that Wardlaw's enemies would seize on to prove that the university was inaccessible. In any event Wardlaw obtained a papal indulgence and the Guard Bridge was built. Moreover, the danger to life and limb arising from the armed intervention, in addition to other less spectacular opposition, from religious superiors like Walter Paniter, would not help.

Here is a list, which could no doubt be amplified, of St. Andrews students who first graduated in arts and then went on to study theology:

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113 This is suggested by the phrase "so perilous as it goes down to them".
114 Supp., i, 109. Extracta a periie cronice Specie (Abbotaford Club, 1842), p. 227 note. This bridge was rebuilt in Cardinal Beaton's time by Alexander Galloway, who built the Aberdeen bridge, Rentale Sancti Andreae, p. 94. (It is called "the bridge of the Northwater", just as the Don and Dee in Aberdeen were known respectively as North and South Waters.)
115 Supp., i, p. 137, 277.
John Athilmer, lic. arts 1426;  
Robert de Essay, arts studies not recorded;  
John Lyon, lic. arts 1427;  
Jos Ogilvie, det. arts 1428;  
Thomas Logie, lic. arts 1430;  
Alan Cant, lic. arts 1430;  
George Murray, lic. arts 1431;  
Henry de Parkle, lic. arts 1434;  
John Mure, det. arts 1436;  
Archibald Whitelaw, lic. arts 1439;  
Thomas Baron, lic. arts 1436;  
Thomas Leitch, lic. arts 1437;  
William Anderson, det. arts 1439;  
John Athol, det. arts 1439.

Of these Lyon was possibly at Paris, and all the
rest at Cologne, except Logie, Murray and Mure. Even
dition doubtful} Keussen, Matrikel,  
i, 323, 312, 355, 364, 412, 424 (bis) 404, 425, 437. Murray is recorded  
as canon of Inchaffray, S.T.B. in 1458 (C.P.R., xii, 10) and Mure as S.T.B.  
much later (L.C.M.D. p. 201).  
119 Copiale, p. 347; Keussen, i, 383.

Auctarium, ii, col. 899 (identification doubtful; Keussen, Matrikel,  
i, 323, 312, 355, 364, 412, 424 (bis) 404, 425, 437. Murray is recorded  
as canon of Inchaffray, S.T.B. in 1458 (C.P.R., xii, 10) and Mure as S.T.B.  
much later (L.C.M.D. p. 201).  
119 Copiale, p. 347; Keussen, i, 383.
dean who has precedence of the rest in age and degree. This is, I think, a key to the understanding of the situation in the faculty. Lindores might well have been lord and master in the faculty in 1413, when Heldenstone was still a bachelor and Lindores a licentiate. But, for whatever reason, perhaps because he had a major interest still in the running of the arts faculty (the dean of which was not to be a doctor in a higher Faculty), Lindores was still a licentiate late in life. He was nevertheless a great theologian and a man of worthy life, as Bower noted. Bower, as a canon regular, for his part, after discussing some questions in physics (re heat and cold) goes on to say, "But what is it to us, that we should discourse on physics, concerning these things that are outside?" This would be Heldenstone's attitude. By 1439 Heldenstone was regarded as one of the first founders of the university. Yet, though present in St Andrews in 1411, he was then only a bachelor. Obviously Lindores or a licentiate could

118 Statutes, p.123. It is always arguable, of course, that this was a later insertion.
119 In 1432 (A.P.A., f.12v.)
120 Scotichronicon, ii, 445. Lindores was not Rector when the precedence of the Rector over the prior was established, nor, as we have shown, is his absence from the list of theologians at the beginning of the Statutes significant, as maintained in Aesc. Scot. Ch. Hist. Soc., xii, 55.
121 Ibid., ii, 460.
122 Statutes, p. 112.
not have given him the doctorate. Perhaps Fogo did, although we have no knowledge really of the matter, except that he is first recorded as master in theology in 1418.\textsuperscript{124} Professor Baxter has suggested that he took his degree in the papal schools.\textsuperscript{125} There is no record of him as licentiate and so it is possible that Haldenstone's final degree was at St Andrews, \textit{ex gratia cancellarii}. This is hinted by Haldenstone himself when he says that he is "an unworthy master in theology, for only one master is worthy, and that by his essence, who gave this degree by a grace."\textsuperscript{126} The conflict between Lindores and Haldenstone is suggested by the rebuke delivered by the latter to the inquisitor in 1418.\textsuperscript{127} The appointment in 1419 of Lindores as master of the college of theologians and artists at the other end of the town from the priory may be significant in this respect. Moreover, if we could be certain that the statutes concerning the limitation of the dean's power were aimed at Haldenstone by the king, who suspected the prior in other ways as being too pro-papal,\textsuperscript{128} then they certainly make a significant contrast to the arts faculty statutes emanating from the same royal source where the dean's authority is, on the contrary, strongly reinforced.\textsuperscript{129} The prior was an attractive character,\textsuperscript{130} whereas Lindores was

\textsuperscript{124} Supp., 1, 5; S.H.R., xiii, 323.
\textsuperscript{125} Coniale, p. lv.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., p. 184. Notice the typical pun on "grace".
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p. 3
\textsuperscript{128} Statutes, pp. 112-3; Coniale, p. 7 seq.
\textsuperscript{129} A.F.A., f. 12v.
\textsuperscript{130}\textit{Eloquens multum orat...liberalis in exponendo, affabilis in colloquendo,} Scotichronicon lib. v, sup. Ivii.
more formidable and invincible in debate: as Fogo found when summoned to St Andrews to defend his thesis, propounded at the 1433 council general, that the Franco-Scottish treaty of alliance did not bind the king so that he could never make a separate peace with England, if that was feasible. Fogo gave in to Lindores. Bower does not fail to note that in this instance the master in theology ceded to the licentiate. Similarly in 1432 Paul Kravar was confuted by Lindores. He was a Czech Hussite, sent from Prague to St Andrews to make converts secretly through his medical practice, and was a fellow-student at Paris with some St Andrews regents. Kravar, whose facility in citing the bible is noted, was burnt on the 23rd July. Whether Holdenstone, as dean of theology, himself had any part in this condemnation, there is no doubt from a document of 1436 that he, though not yet inquisitor, won enemies among the Lollards.

The Faculty of Canon Law.

We have already observed that the canon law faculty had several lecturers from the start, but Prior James Bisset of St Andrews, though qualified in canon law, was not one of them. It was by his

131 Scotichronicon, lib. xvi, cap. xxiii.
132 ibid. lib. xvi, cap. xx; Copiale, p. 460
133 Copiale, p. 136
provision, however, that two of his novices were masters in theology, two licentiates and five bachelors in decrees; they were his pupils (sub elus disciplinatu imbut) in that "cloistral paradise" open to "the sweet mildness of the breaking south", as Bower floridly says. John Scheves seems to have become the main lecturer, and is described as professor of decrees. Donald McNaughton, a nephew of Bishop Carden of Dunkeld, was lecturing as a bachelor from 1415. John Paterson who had not taken an arts degree and is therefore absent from Early Records, had studied for two years by 1419. There is indeed every evidence that the faculty was very flourishing, and that the proportion of canon lawyers to theologians as found in the priory was likewise found in the university. Matters are complicated, however, by the fact that some did part of their studies at other universities. The following list, while far from exhaustive, will give an idea of the trend:

STEPHEN KERR, lic. arts 1414; B.C.L. by 1436. (C.P.R., viii, 575.)

THOMAS EDMAN, lic.arts 1416; B.C.L. by 1436. (Supp., ii, 135)

WILLIAM THORNTON, B.A. 1417; B.C.L. by 1437. (Comials, p.137.)

WILLIAM TURNBULL, lic.arts 1420; lic. C.L. by 1430; studied Louvain and Pavia. (Turnbull, pp.12, 16)

NICHOLAS OTTERBURN, lic.arts 1430; lic. C.L. and B.L. by 1450; was also at Louvain. (C.P.R., vi, 66; E.H.R., xxiv, 330.)

PATRICK STEVENSON, student 1420-23. (Supp., ii, 45.)

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134 Scotichronicon, lib. vi, cap. lvii.
135 "M.J. de S... decretorum professorum", Kalse, ii, 440.
136 C.P.R., vii, 102. Muin, Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldensium, p.17.
137 Supp., i, 43-4.
ROBERT LAUBER, lic. arts 1425, B.C.L. by 1447. (C.P.R., x, 310)

JOHN FORRESTER, dean of arts faculty in 1429, M.A., B.C.L. by 1447.  
HENRY GILVIE, M.A. of Paris, B.C.L. by 1425. (Supp., ii, 96.)

JOHN DUNNING, lic. arts 1427; B.C.L. by 1445. (Wemuss, ii, 67.)

JAMES STRATHMIGLE, M.A. of Paris; lic. C.L. by 1424. (Capitola, pp. 84, 450.)

ROBERT SCRIMGEOUR, lic. arts 1430; B.C.L. by 1434. (C.P.R., viii, 496.)

JOHN SHAW, graduate in theology; lic. C.L. by 1490.

WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE, lic. arts 1430; at Louvain. (Turnbull, p. 64; C.P.R. viii, 678.)

DAVID DE CERES, lic. arts 1428; studied also at Cologne; B.C.L., 1435. (Keussen, Matrikel, i, 326.)

JAMES KENNEDY, lic. arts 1429; at Louvain, B.C.L. by 1433. (Kennedy, p. 7.)

THOMAS PENVEN, lic. arts 1430; B.C.L. by 1447. (C.P.R., x, 336.)

John Barbour, twelfth Rector of St Andrews, was previously a student in canon law at Paris and presumably taught in that faculty in St Andrews.  
The above list will also illuminate the trend whereby students in higher faculties went abroad. Turnbull is described as a licentiate in decreets at St Andrews in 1430. Yet while at Louvain he claims to be no more than a bachelor.

The answer may be that he was not a licentiate by examination, and that therefore he was received only as a bachelor at Louvain. In a petition of Robert Scrimgeour, who was licensed in arts at St Andrews in 1430, he described himself as a student in arts at


139 Dunfermline, p. 294.

140 C.P.R., Pet. i, 594.

141 A.F.A., f. 10r. The hand in which this entry is made is not the same as what follows, but I do not take it to be an interpolation.

142 C.P.R., viii, 482.
St Andrews in 1431. But there has clearly been some delay in the petition. He took only four more years for his bachelorship in canon law.

In the year 1428 David Brown, chancellor of Glasgow, living in St Andrews and previously a student in decreets at Paris, founded an altar of the Virgin Mary in the parish church. There he mentions a tenement which he is granting to the altar with the land of St John the Evangelist in the east (i.e. of the university) except for a room on the eastern side of the fore close newly built and assigned to the schools of canon law, as was clear from an indenture between him and the faculty:

\[ \text{illud tenementum meum quod habui ex conquestu neo iacens in vice australi civitatis sanctiandree et ex parte australi vici eiusdem inter terram sancti Ioannis evangeliste ex parte orientali ex parte una et terram Joannis bawin ex parte accidentalii ex parte altera prout iacet in longitudine et latitudine excepta camera que est ex parte orientali clausure anterioris de novo edificata et ad soles canonum assignata prout in indenturis inter facultatem canonum et me extitit concordatum.} \]

It was in these schools that on the 27th October, 1435, Robert Gardiner, priest, bachelor of decreets was called to order for an offensive harangue delivered as part of his course. We are told there were many prelates present, including George Lauder, bishop of Argyll, John Legate, rector of the university, William Stury, abbot of Scone, John Scheves, official of St Andrews,

143 E. Recs., p. 11; C. P. R., viii, 290.
144 Fournier, in Faculté de Décret, i, 182, records David Brown "curate" of Panbride, in 1428, as a bachelar.
145 Black Book of St Andrews (General Register House), f. xxxx, verso; Rankin, Holy Trinity, p. 56.
146 A.F.A. f. 17r.
Laurence of Lindores, inquisitor, and many other lords and masters in the faculties of arts and canon law, the inference being that these were the faculties principally concerned. Gardiner confessed that he had asserted, written (i.e. in copies to be distributed among his hearers) and dogmatised in his public harangue in the schools of canon law the following propositions:

(1) In this sacred science is to be found the answer as to how one ought to govern oneself regarding God, one's neighbour and oneself, as in the Clementines; and these requirements will be found in anything deserving the name of science.

(2) What can be found in grammar except the rudiments of Priscian?

(3) What in logic but the sophisms and arguments of logicians?

(4) What in rhetoric but the blandishments of Cicero?

(5) What in natural philosophy but the propositions of the elements, the impressions of steam and of exhalations, the complexions of animals and whatever can be examined by human nature and by its reason?

(6) What in arithmetic except the battles of numbers?

(7) What in music except the measurements of sound?

(8) What in geometry except the measurements of quantity?

(9) What can be found in astrology but the influence of the heavens?
From this sacred mother (our faculty) let the barbarism and the solecism of grammarians flee and the fallacies of Aristotle and deceptive sophisms and let the supreme truth itself be principally preached therein.

In reply to these questions he gave no answer. Obviously, Gardiner did not raise the questions with a view to answering them; it followed from his initial proposition that the answer was self-evident. The seven arts did not profit a man in his threefold relationship with God, high neighbours and his self. No wonder the arts faculty was up in arms, and had recruited many powerful figures to extract a recantation. Gardiner confessed that the propositions were false, erroneous and offensive to pious ears and solemnly abjured them, promising and obliging himself never in future to assent to them or any of them, nor sustain or defend them, either personally or through another, publicly or secretly, and touched the gospels in token of his obligation. He also promised to destroy and annul the harangue and any copy of it that he could conveniently lay his hands on.

Gardiner is not in Early Records, as he had not studied in arts himself, at least for a degree; but the presence of this entry in the arts faculty records shows that the faculty had been

147 Ab hac sancta matre, could, of course, mean the university.
148 Profecto nichil responsio questionum. At principiation in canon law at Cologne there was a moderate harangue which was read, and afterwards a responsio to two opponents; but this is evidently only the harangue of a bachelor. (Bianco, Köln, Anlagen, p. 52)
scandalised, as many of them would be present at the public act. I have elsewhere suggested the influence of the Brethren of the Common life,\textsuperscript{149} and influence that would come, as later to Robert Richardson at Cambuskenneth, through the Augustinian canons.\textsuperscript{150} One of them, the abbot of Scone, presided at his condemnation and may have modified his sentence. It is at least curious that within a year he should be mentioned in a Cambuskenneth document.\textsuperscript{151}

The university legislation in the 1533 statutes probably goes back to this date.\textsuperscript{152} It laid down that nobody in the university, whatever his degree or station, might make seditious and scandalous comparisons or impose any absurdities which attacked or made little of other sciences or faculties, and that in their harangues, conferences (collations), principle of books or commendation of their own faculties. They could, however, commend, praise and extol their own faculties as customary, but only using such comparisons as are to be found in approved doctors between sciences and faculties.

\textsuperscript{149} Turnbull, p. 40, where by an error the theses are said to have been delivered in the theology faculty.

\textsuperscript{150} Robertus Richardsonus, ed. G.G. Coulton (Scott. Hist. Soc.), p. xiii. But although Richardson admires Thomas a Kempis, for him the school is "heaven", p.172.

\textsuperscript{151} Cambuskenneth, p. 298, along with another bachelor in decrees, a Robert de Tulous.

\textsuperscript{152} Univ. Statutes, Title 4, constitution 3. Appendix A.
The faculty bedellius in 1422 was William Boys, who also acted as we saw as university bedellius. The date of acquisition of the surviving mace is unfortunately not known. It contains panels with figures of St. Andrew, Peter, the Trinity, the Virgin and Child, Sts. Mungo and John the Baptist. The figure of St. Peter is self-explanatory in a canon law mace, but the figure of St. Mungo may perhaps be explained on the assumption that David Brown, chancellor of Glasgow, was a donor in this respect also. The shields on the lowest stage have unfortunately been removed. Cant suggests that the mace which is 4ft 1½ inches long may have been copied from the arts mace. It is suggestive to note (if by no means conclusive) that the founders of the altars of the Virgin Mary, St. Andrew and St. John the Baptist in the Trinity Church were all connected with the early days of this faculty: David Brown, who founded the principal altar to the Virgin Mary, John Scheves, who founded St. Andrew's altar, and John Beaton, doctor of both laws, who died in 1446/7, one of the main founders of the St. John Baptist altar.

In 1430, under the rectorship of John Legate, the contributions of the faculty to the university purse was fixed. Each bachelor in canon law was to pay nine shillings and each licentiate thirteen: the phrasing suggests, however, that these were increases on what had been earlier customary payments.

The early influence of the canons regular may have declined in this faculty, but in the three years or so preceding

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153 Ibid., Title 2, constitution 6. Another William Boys, monk of Dunfermline was a licentiate in decrees, Dunfermline, p. 334.
154 Cant, Short History, p. 138, says it was made before 1457.
155 Rankin, Holy Trinity, pp. 58, 66, 123-4.
156 Univ, Statutes, Title 3, const. 2.
1437, one of them, Alexander Bowmaker, a bachelor of Cologne, lectured at St Andrews in it. However, Bowmaker, who had been promoted from keeping the sheep and pigs, does not appear to have been favoured by his fellow-religious.

The Faculty of Civil Law:

No lectures in civil law were given at the beginning, although they were provided for in the bull and again in Martin V's ratification. Whether those associated with Wardlaw and who were qualified in civil law, such as Patrick Houston and Robert de Fernyn, canon regular, both bachelors in both laws, were able to prosecute their studies is a matter for conjecture. By 1418 Patrick Spalding, professor of laws and dean of Aberdeen, was in the town of St Andrews; he had studied civil law at Avignon, but he had died in Rome by 1422. Richard de Creich, rector of Erroll, professor of civil and canon law, was appointed by Wardlaw as arbiter. He had studied at Cologne.

The study of civil law by clerics had been the subject of discussion in the fourteenth century. Johannes Andreae was favourable towards it, but he advised that clerics should not proceed to the doctorate. Boniface IX in 1392 revoked in a measure the decretal Super Specula of Honorius III (which forbade clerics to study civil law in the public schools) and

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157 Conicla, p. 465.
158 Evidence, iii, 174; St Andrews, p. 14
159 Concub. jugur, ii, 12; C.P.R., Pet. t, 378; C.P.R. viii, 213. Supp., t, 26.
160 Spoon, p. 171; Reusen. Matrikel, t, p. 226.
granted them the fruits of their benefices. However, the situation was still confused enough, for in the first year of Eugenius IV on the 27th January, the Pope granted a petition of the Rector, masters, doctors and scholars of the university of St. Andrews regarding endowments for its civil lawyers. The petition pointed out that none or few came to study civil law at St. Andrews, although it was the only Scottish university, because there were few experts in civil law in Scotland to administer justice in civil affairs and hence wretched persons acted as aggressors against justice to the hurt of the commonweal. Many ecclesiastical persons would, however, take up the study if they were allowed, and so the faculty would flourish and the kingdom abound in legal experts by whom the commonweal would be properly directed. The petitioners therefore asked that all priests holding dignities, parsonages and other benefices with cure, in whatever diocese they were, might be dispensed to study and read laws in the university and teach, dispute and exercise other scholastic acts, acquiring the degrees not only of bachelorship and licence, but also of the doctorate, with the requisite insignia, i.e. including the doctoral chair, which even Johannes Andreas disputed. This grant was to be despite apostolic ordinances and ecclesiastical customs (in dioceses in which benefices were situated), to the contrary. The petition was granted in the pope's personal presence, especially for priests.

A doctor in both laws, John Beaton, was licensed in arts in 1440. The faculty of civil law was apparently conjoined to

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that of canon law, as at various other universities, including Cologne and Heidelberg: at the latter it is explained that this was because of the similarity of subject matter.

The Arts Faculty.

The records of this faculty are fortunately extant from the beginning. The leading figure in the faculty was, of course, Laurence of Lindores. He incepted at Paris in 1393, along with John Derp, another noted nominalist, under Egidius Jutfaes. He followed up his arts studies with a course in theology, and was continually at Paris till 1403, when the last mention of him occurs. He returned to Scotland on taking his licence, but without the doctorate. Lindores did not lecture at first in arts, but in theology. The arts courses were taken by John Gill, William Croyser, and William Foulis, all Paris men, the first a pupil of Arnold Uitwick, the second a pupil of Crannock and Bloc (the latter himself a pupil of Jutfaes, Lindores' teacher, and Uitwick), and the third of Crannoch alone. They were all therefore reared in the same nominalist succession.

165 For Heidelberg, Hautz, ii, 315, "The second faculty is of canon and civil law, which because of their nearness to one another, we plan to be considered as one." Bianco, Die Alte Universität Köln, Anlagen, p. 50.

166 Auctarium, i, cols. 676-7.

167 Recs. Scot., Hist. Sec., xii, 52, states that he was a doctor and that he returned about 1410. He was in the bishop of Glasgow's manor in May, 1408 (Paisley, pp. 398-9) and condemned James Resby the previous year (Scotchchronicon, lib. xv, cap. xx).

168 Auctarium, i, col. 853 (Gill); it, cols. 5, 55 (Croyser); it, cols. 100, 106 (Foulis).
According to Michalski, the only writer who has made a study of the surviving manuscripts of Lindores, he is far the most part a follower of Jean Buridan, whose theory of impetus (the ancestor of the Copernican theory) he stated in more concise form: *Ponendo istum impetum salvamus omnia*. Another phrase, quoted from one of his pupils in Central Europe, is more ambiguous, however, suggesting a compromise with more strictly Aristotelian ideas: *Alii dicunt, ut Londonius, quando philosophus dicit projectum moveri ab aere, ly 'ab' non importat causam efficientem proprie dictam sed causam sine qua non.*

For that reason, Annaliese Maier, who has not herself examined his work, suggests that the short citation by itself is not sufficient evidence of the nature of Lindores' views. In his commentary on the Physics he also discusses the geometrical models constructed by Nicolas d'Oresme to represent the degrees of intensity of different physical qualities. The views of Lindores were considered sufficiently important by his contemporaries to obtain wide currency in the nominalist universities of Central Europe; including Cracow, where Copernicus studied. In his commentaries on the De Anima he is said by Michalski to be influenced by the materialism of Averroes and Alexander of Aphrodisias and the later Greek commentators on Aristotle and is inclined to take

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169 S.H.R., xxv, 92, article by Prof. J.H. Baxter. Another manuscript, not recorded by Baxter, of Lindores' commentaries on the *De anima* and physics is in Wurzburg, Univ., M. ch. F, 235.


171 Ibid., p. 158

refuge in an irrational faith (fideism). Here again the manuscripts would require detailed study.

A distinguished mind like Lindores could hardly but be influential in the arts faculty and indeed in the whole university, of which he was the first Rector. The first mention of his presence in that faculty is on the 6th October, 1416, when he was dean. (No doubt he was not dean of theology at this time.) On the 16th February, 1418, a majority of the faculty decided that the doctrine of Albert should still not be read, but only that of Buridan. The day may be significant: the Wednesday after the first Sunday in Lent, about which time the bachelors should have been received for responses. Had the questioning by the dean on this occasion elicited the presence of Albertist teaching? It seems most probable, especially as the same congregation also decided that the faculty

174 I briefly examined the Munich manuscript of the De Anima for evidence of authorities cited; the only two I noticed were one reference to Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae and several to the treatise on the De Anima of Themistius. However, from what we know from other sources of Lindores, Michalski's judgement of his views on knowledge seems pretty near the mark. The treatise opens: "Et anima sapient ignorans quomodo possit fidem facere de alis, scribit themistius primo de anima superima parte..." (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS. Lat. 26794, ff.1-90r.)
175 A.F.A., f.4r. Lindores is credited with the authorship of a commentary In libros periphrasmaticae by J. Uriarte, S.J., La Preclara Facultad de Artes y Filosofia de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares en el Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1942) p. 495. Various MSS of Lindores (on the physics and De Anima) were in the Vienna Dominican Library, Theodor Gottlieb, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskatalog Oesterreichs, i, 403-4 (Vienna, 1915).
bedellus should be paid 8d by each bachelor about to dispute. Had a young regent newly recruited from Paris been converted to the realist doctrine? Or was this influence coming from the theological faculty, where Haldenstone seems to be a realist? 176

The influence from Paris is not improbable. A Paris student brought Benedict XIII a memorial on behalf of his fellow Scots there in August, 1414. He explained that there were still over 20 Scots there, who, he observed had the laudable desire to study and graduate in Paris or elsewhere in France, because the quality of the teaching there was well-known. John Gray, master of Arts and medicine, asked to be excused in that he was acting as ambassador to Scotland on behalf of the French king and forwarded a letter by the bearer. The following month the messenger received instructions. The Scots about to graduate were given authority to receive their master's degree from Wardlaw in St Andrews and in public, having presented proof of their academic attainments, or any Catholic bishop might confer it at Paris, but only in secret and not in a public act. 177

176 Referimus nos hominibus ... beati Thome doctrinam inspicere volentibus, prout in veritatibus theologie suam tradit doctrinam (Copiale, pp. 181-2).

177 Finke, Acta Concilii Constanciensis, i, 348. In spite of this, some lawyers held on till 1419. Fournier, La Faculte de Decret, i, 182.
Another place where we might look for the influence of Lindores is in the inceptors' oath of the 6th June, 1417. In addition to oaths that were familiar at Paris, inceptors promised to defend the church against the "insult" of the Lollards (their very existence, no doubt, constituted a standing insult) and to resist to the best of their ability whoever adhered to their sect.\textsuperscript{178} As we have seen, arts graduates were considered by Bower peculiarly prone to turn Lollard.

The faculty had other troubles owing to its scattered nature. On the morrow of St Lucy (14th December), 1414, a regent, Robert de Strathbrock, was in trouble.\textsuperscript{179} Strathbrock graduated in Paris in 1410 as a student under Crannoch. On the feast of the Conception (8th December), the faculty had decided that the determinants should be admitted to determine by the dean and regents after their sufficiency was approved, and that before admission 20 shillings should be paid to the bedellus.\textsuperscript{180} Moreover, if any difference of opinion arose between the dean and regents as to their admission, then recourse should be had to the faculty.

\textsuperscript{178} A.F.A., F.3v. Prof. Baxter and J.M. Anderson were mistaken in referring this undated document to 1416 as was McCrie in referring it to 1418, \textit{Cosmals}, p. 383; S.H.R., iii, 307.

\textsuperscript{179} A.F.A., F.1 r.

\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Auctarium}, ii, cols. 63, 74, 77.

\textsuperscript{181} A.F.A., f. 1r.
Strathbrock had violated this conclusion, and the faculty thereupon deprived him of the regency and from participation in all solemn acts for a year, until he humbled himself before it, in as much as he had proceeded with the determination of William Raderny against the decision of the dean and other regents, and apparently without the presence of the Bedellus, for Raderny was now called upon to pay him two shillings. At the end of the congregation Strathbrock announced by word of mouth his appeal to the chancellor and Rector. Raderny’s position was apparently safeguarded, as he was recorded among the bachelors of 1415.

In a further congregation, however, held on the Monday after Sexagesima (4th February), 1415, Strathbrock apologised for the false, hurtful and scandalous language of his appeal, and hand on heart bound himself to stand by the faculty ordinance. The faculty readmitted him, ordering him to reveal his accomplices and coadjutors in the manufacture of the appeal, insisting that she should make amends to the faculty and dean in a general congregation of the university with his appeal in his hands, with the words, "Lord Rector and you others. Previously without thinking and ill-advisedly, but out of a certain levity, I appealed from my mother the faculty of arts, in which appeal I used false, hurtful and ill-sounding words, for which I

182 E. Rector, p. 3. The precise date of these entries is uncertain owing to the year ending on the vigil of the Annunciation. (i.e. 26th March).
grieve not a little and which gives me great displeasure." He was then to tear and destroy the appeal and supplicate the faculty, dean and all the other masters to forgive his fault. These two entries were heavily deleted in December 1425 by the dean of the time at the faculty's request.

A similarly deleted entry concerns John Gill. The entry merely states that on October 6th, 1416, Lindores, after enquiry, had found Gill disobeying the statute of the previous June forbidding touting for scholars. As dean, Lindores therefore deprived him of his regency for the next ordinary, which began, by an ordinance of 1445, on the morrow of St Luke, i.e. 19th October. (Enquiry here apparently does not mean that the culprit was first heard in the faculty's presence to see if he had any excuses to allege, a defect rectified on the 15th January, 1417, by a congregation that did not deny however that deprivation or other penalty belonged to the dean.)

However, on the 17th October, Gill recognised that he had gone against the statute and humbly begged pardon. He also recognised his excessive language in speaking against the dean in a certain Rector's court, for which he also asked pardon of the faculty and dean. Considering his humility, and the fact that it was his first transgression, the faculty remitted the offence in so far as he had been deprived by the dean's sentence, adding a threat regarding a future infringement, which unhappily defies

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183 A.F.A., f. 7r.
184 Ibid., f. 3r.
185 Ibid., f. 3r.
deciphering. Gill's disgrace was not long-lived as he was Rector in 1417, which could hardly have been to Lindores' liking.

The fact that Lindores was dean in 1416 may be significant in another direction, for it is then we have the first mention of St. John's college and its chapel. Lindores was of course master of this college of artists and theologians in 1419, and I shall give reasons later for suggesting that he was also master in 1416. As Hannay suggested, Robert of Montrose's gift of the mastership to him shows his confidence in him and may be another reason for his active presence in the faculty from 1416 on.

Relations between university and faculty were not always as harmonious as may appear from the cases of Strathbrock and Gill. The university had arranged by the 13th October, 1418, that graduates and non-graduates, masters and scholars, should have a vote in its deliberations. The faculty concurred, but refused to admit that the university could dispose of any faculty funds without the consent first volunteered by the Faculty concerned. The argument evidently concerned the Rector's visit to Perth for the council general regarding the withdrawal from Benedict. However, by its grace and kindness,

186 Univ. Statutes, Title 8, constitution 14.
187 Statutes, pp. 5, 96.
It donated ten shillings to the cause. In spite of this in 1430 under John Legate the university did legislate regarding payments by determinants and licentiates, but the faculty's previous agreement was duly noted.

The Rector was occasionally present at faculty meetings; for instance William Otterburn on the 2nd April, 1417, and another on the 12th May, 1419. The faculty agreed on the 9th March, 1430, that the Rector and certain deputies should have 40 shillings for expected expenses in a parliament at Perth, where he would labour to obtain certain privileges for the university. Perhaps this was an earlier stage of the dispute between Cupar and Crail and St Andrews mentioned about this time; the city's decline would not be in the university's interest. No payment was recorded regarding the visit in March 1432, when the bishop, Haldenstone, Lindores as Rector, and various others journeyed to Perth. On the 21st January, 1437, the Rector and other deputies were again about to journey to Perth for the same reason. Five marks were paid by Simon

188 A.F.A., f. 4r.
189 Ibid., f. 1or.
190 Ibid., f. 1or.
191 Ibid., f. 19r.
193 Balfour-Melville, James I, p. 119
194 A.F.A., f. 19r.
Wardlaw, the faculty receiver, on security that the money would be returned and that as soon as possible. The faculty gave the Rector the solemn mace (used for important occasions) for which Alexander Lychton, Rector, became security, promising to return it undamaged in the usual way de communis forma, that is, in writing. No doubt a similar receipt was exacted from Elwaid in 1418.

Another instance of an appeal from the faculty to the university was that of John Athilmer and his adherents, who appealed against the faculty decision that the doctrine of Buridan was to be read in future and not the doctrine of Albert of the Summulae of Peter of Spain. This was on the 13th October, 1438. John Cameron (de Camera) sought instruments from Alexander Methven, notary public, both as to the faculty decision and Athilmer's appeal. Cameron alleged that the appellant acted against the liberty of the faculty and against the previous agreement that the mother university could not come to a decision infringing the faculty's freedom or power without consultation or consent. Twenty-one names (including Thomas Ramsay's and Alexander Methven's) supported Cameron: five masters, John Wright, Robert Stewart (originally among the first group), Patrick Sandilands, Athilmer and William Hall supported the Albertists. Clearly Athilmer was confident of the higher faculties' support: he himself was one of the leading figures in the theological faculty.

Wright was appointed as ethics lecturer in the faculty at a congregation of the 13th October, 1425, to read the book of Ethics (not laid down in the earlier scheme) on feast days. He was a Paris theologian of a later vintage than Lindores, and probably came under the Albertist influence that appeared after Lindores' departure. The influence of the king who visited St Andrews a lot about this time cannot be ruled out. Bower says that the King was more gifted and more learned than many men even of great ability in moral philosophy. Was his influence, or that of his advisers, behind the appointment of the young Paris theologian? Eventually, as we shall see, this became a university lectureship.

The most astonishing case of royal interference, however, was in 1426, when James suddenly sought a mandate from Martin V to transfer the university to Perth, and the pope gave a commission to the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane to effect the transfer if they were satisfied it was necessary. Perth had the advantage of central situation, of being the parliamentary capital, of distance from the sea and therefore English naval attack, but above all it was "subject to the King's rule". Hannay was of the opinion that the available evidence was hardly enough to suggest that he wished to

197 Balfour-Melville, James I, pp. 286-7. This is mostly charter evidence, but there is also the Exch. Rolls, iv. 413, 423.
198 Scotichronicon, llib. xvi, cap. xxxi.
199 For Wright, see Supp., ii, 210, which corrects Auctarium, ii, col. 217.
200 S.H.R., iii, 314-5; C.P.R., vii, 440-1.
control it personally and emancipate it from the triple influence of bishop, cathedral and monastery. Others have considered that he thought Wardlaw too papalist, and wanted to free it from his grip. Prior Haldenstone had certainly come under suspicion, and he attacked some of the King's informers as like "those who praised Christ on Palm Sunday (in paschate florido) and condemned him on Good Friday", but it was he who drew up the letter of the earl of Douglas to the Scots bishops praising the pope as "the one supreme monarch in the world under Christ". But perhaps royal sway is being contrasted less with clerical sway than with the turbulent highlands of Scotland. There was already something of a school of higher studies in the Dominican house at Perth, where also the bishop of Dunkeld was in the habit of living.

Another possibility is that some of the staff were themselves keen on the Perth transfer: not least perhaps John Gill, later chancellor of Dunkeld, and possibly the son of a Perth custumar and provost, who had moreover a grievance against Lindores. However, all this is conjecture.

201 Statutes, p. 18
202 Balfour-Melville, James I, p. 129
203 Costale, pp. 12, 19
204 The bishop was the former Paris Rector, Robert de Cardeny. I have elsewhere suggested the possibility that the King's two confessors, John Fogo and David Rait (the former Cistercian, the latter Dominican), may have wished to liberate the university from Laurence of Lindores (the Cistercians were sending their young theologians to Cologne). We shall again find this alliance of Cistercians and Dominicans at Glasgow, and yet again at Aberdeen. Turnbull, p.10
205 Exch. Rolls, iv. 10; Milne, The Blackfriars of Perth, p.38; Statutes, p. 112.
The fate of the petition, granted conditionally on the 1st August, is equally obscure. The bishop of Dunblane, William Stephenson, a former professor of canon law in the foundation days, could hardly have been sympathetic, while the other commissioner, Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, was new to the see, and may well have found that, while there might not be unanimity in favour of a university subject to Bishop Wardlaw, there would be unanimity against one subject to the King. The acid test may have been James's capacity for financing his new venture. A transfer elsewhere was already being envisaged in 1419 in the charter of Robert of Montrose to Laurence of Lindores. Hannay thought that Lindores might have stood for autonomy and that his appointment in 1430 to govern Wardlaw's united Pedagogy pleased the King, who wanted unity, as his proposals regarding the dean of faculty showed. Moreover, of course, Lindores was Rector when the university's privileges were confirmed in 1432. The motives of the King and his advisers were, no doubt, complex, but this confirmation of the university's privileges is probably of less consequence that has been thought, as they had had some sort of royal confirmation before.

206 Statutes, p. 19
207 R.M.S., ii, nos. 199-200
208 Ann., i, 109
king probably wanted most of all was civil lawyers, and we have seen the university trying to provide for this demand in the traditional way, by providing ecclesiastical livings for them, and not by royal subsidy as yet.

The King submitted certain proposals regarding the faculty of arts on the 21st November, 1432, in which proposals (the word appunctuamentum is used) the keeper of the privy seal, William Foulis, had a large hand. Foulis was one of the initial regents in the faculty, a colleague of Gill, whom Wardlaw at one date refused to give collation to a benefice. The faculty in congregations decided that the "appointment" should not as yet be entered as a statute, but would have statutory force, with penalties for infringement, until the faculty was able to revoke it in whole or in part, which suggests after the lifetime of James.

Whereas the faculty itself had been concerned to emphasise the dean's responsibility to itself in its regulations of 1426, the royal "appointment" is more concerned with the reverse. All masters, whatever their status, and all scholars studying arts or grammar, have to show honour and respect to the dean and must be careful to render him the obedience due to his office.

209 A.F.A., ff. 12r-13r.
210 C.P.R., vii, 360. By 1435 he was archdeacon of St Andrews, Copicia, p. 130.
211 A.F.A., f.7v.
The dean of the time was Lindores, who was also given authority to visit each pedagogy once a week, or at least as often as convenient, and also the houses of grammar students, with powers (now that his united pedagogy project had failed) to investigate the methods of reading and teaching of the masters, and the honourable governance of the scholars in their life together, their speech, their passing of the night, and in details like clothes, behaviour, arguments and disputations, and to rebuke, correct and punish and reform delinquents according as he judged fit: in other words the halls were brought entirely under the dean's regulation. His counsellors in the execution of his office and the assessors in his judicial capacity were not to be regents, but three of the senior and more prudent non-regents. Moreover, to discourage separatism further, all masters and scholars living in different pedagogies were to meet weekly for disputations, thus encouraging concord, family feeling and friendliness among them, the details of arrangement being left to the dean, his council and the regents. Masters holding houses or pedagogies and regents both in grammar and logic (in these houses and pedagogies) were required to renew annually their oaths to the dean and promise obedience in such visitations, corrections and punishments.

212 Deputies existed in 1427 for this purpose, but they are unfortunately not named (A.F.A., f.3v).
213 Rashdall was right, I believe, in translating tenere domicillum as "to keep a hall" as this shows. (Harvey, Statutes, p. 25 and note 3.) But in the phrase he quotes, "keeping hall" is used of all the resident masters living as colleagues (collagialiter). Three, including a principal, were to govern the united Pedagogy of 1430 (A.F.A., f.11v.
Convocation to solemn faculty acts would in future be by the bedellius in the morning lectures of regents (and the rest by their friends) but not from crowds of masters and scholars moving about in town. The Feast of Kings was to be shorn of its superfluities and vanities. Any student leaving for home without leave or not intending to return, and who detained a room in a pedagogy meantime in his absence, with his clothes and other necessaries, should, whether he returned or not, be made to pay half the cost he would have had to meet if present. Scholars were further regulated. Anyone spending the night in town after receiving leave from his master to go home would be charged up for so wasting his time as if he had stayed all the time in the pedagogy. The celebration by the faculty of the feast of St. John the Evangelist by the regent and non-regent masters was also arranged. No master could promote any scholar to any degree in the faculty (as Strathbrock had done) without prior licence from the dean under the statutory penalty, nor would the promotion so effected by considered pro forma (as, however, Radarny's had been).

These regulations were an evident victory for the party of Lindores, but it is not surprising that the faculty was unwilling to embrace them without question. The dean was being given rather more power than they
bargained for, and although "diversity of doctrine" was "fruitless for perfection", yet supervision and inspection of teaching has never been a thing that teachers took kindly to. Nevertheless in the main the regulations were eminently wise and passed into common use.

Before proceeding to the background of these important articles of the king we shall say something about other faculty officials.

The next faculty officer in importance to the dean was the receiver, who existed from the beginning and whose seal was decided on in 1414. He was usually a student in a higher faculty, as was the first one to be named, Donald McNaughton. His predecessor had to render account before Christmas of 1415. There appears to be no common chest or arche in May 1416, as the dangers in the custody of money are there adverted to.

After the death of Laurence of Lindores, George Newton, senior master of arts present in the studium, and Rector of the university, convoked all masters of

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214 A.F.A., f. 10v.
216 MA., Lic. decrees, 1420 (Supp., i, 204)
217 A.F.A., f. Ir and v. The faculty bursaria is first mentioned on the 21st May, 1416, when he was given 20 shillings in addition to his yearly salary of 60 shillings. There were frequent changes of bursaria in the early years probably due to the low emoluments. (Ibid., f. Ir.)
arts (not, therefore, the students) in the schools of St. John the Evangelist at nine on the 16th September, 1437. It was agreed to elect Newton as dean in place of Lindores, but, the book being lacking for the moment, he was not able to take oath. For the common good of the faculty, the masters present sought the aid of the bishop of Orkney (Thomas Tulloch), and the bishop-elect of Dunkeld (James Kennedy), to make an approach to Wardlaw, along with the lords-deputy already nominated to assist the dean, and to head a deputation of all the masters. Their purpose was to get him to convolve the executors of Laurence to make them surrender to the dean of faculty the mace and the charters of the College of St. John, with the instruments and other muniments belonging to the faculty. This mace had first been placed in his custody in December 1419, because he had paid a large sum towards its making, the total cost to the faculty (partly met by Archibald earl of Douglas) being 45 marks and twenty pence, excluding money spent on coverings and charcoal to the goldsmith. He recovered this money in June 1426 by subtracting it from his assets as faculty receiver, a procedure that did not meet with unanimous approval. It is possible that his executors wanted to

\[218\] Ibid., f. 20r. Not John Newton as in Kennedy, p. 268
\[219\] A.F.A., f. 5r.
\[220\] Ibid., f. 7v.
retain it for a higher faculty, theology, whence bachelors contributed towards the maintenance of the arts-bedellius in 1421.\textsuperscript{221} However, the faculty met next day again and agreed to hold anniversary celebrations for Lindores at faculty expense (these were not kept up). The book had not yet been acquired from his executors and the dean's oath was postponed. A common chest for the silver mace, muniments of St. John's and the charters of the tenement of the new school (i.e., the Pedagogy), the common fund and precious faculty vessels, was not ordered till April of 1439. This seems to be the first appearance of the common archa, and the unfortunate experience at the death of Lindores is the reason for it. There were now to be three keys and three locks, the dean to have one key, and the receiver and a senior master the others.\textsuperscript{222}

Mrs Dunlop has pointed to the outbreak of faculty revolt which followed on Laurence's death.\textsuperscript{223} The influence of new arrivals from Cologne, like John Athilmer, would be decisive in bringing it to a head. The Albertist revival is echoed in a work like Ratis Raving, where the author speaks of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[Ibid., f. 3r.]
\item[A.F.A., f. 2ar.]
\item[Kennedy, p. 238]
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"Albert the subtyll clerk and wyss
That in his tyme servit gret price
And honestly in gud maner
Declaryt propretieis seir,
How kind dois men and best to bee,
And fysch and foul in ther degree." 224

Yet there is no doubt that to men like Laurence of Lindores all philosophical realism savoured of heresy, even if only because it had been an occasion of heresy to men like Jerome of Prague. 225 A general congregation of the four faculties at Cologne met at Christman, 1425, to reply to the objection made by the prince electors to the teaching of Thomas and Albert in the schools of arts. The electors had maintained that their sole wish was to save the faith (bonum Fidelis salvere) and eliminate what was contrary to it. They complained that the young were being introduced in another via, the way of Thomas and Albert the Great and other ancient doctors whose language was above their heads (alti Sermonis Doctorum). It was not in itself evil, but the young could not follow its subtle sayings and elevated principles, yet, nevertheless, presuming to use the language of this doctrine, they fell into heresies or controversies, as did the men of Prague. The more modern masters like Buridan, Marsilius of Inghen and their colleagues or followers, foreseeing the danger, reduced arts teaching to something more humble and to

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224 Patris Raping (S.T.S., ed. R. Girvan), p.48
225 Ehrle, Der Sentenceskommentar Peters von Candia, pp.282 seq.
terms from which no infection of error could come.
The gist of all this was, of course, as in the sixteenth
century controversy over the vernacular bible, to
question the wisdom of putting the admittedly sublime
doctrines of the thirteenth century doctors, so close
to the theological sources in the scriptures and the
Fathers,\textsuperscript{226} within the reach of juveniles.

The reply of the Cologne masters pointed out that
the \textit{via modernerum} was not prohibited and that masters
compiling books of questions (for examination purposes)
made respectful reference to their teachings. Some
scholars in arts before arriving at Cologne were
taught their foundations according to the \textit{modern way}
in the independent schools from which they came. The
\textit{via antiqua} included Thomas, Albert, Alexander of Hales,
Bonaventure, Giles of Rome and Scotus. We must make
a distinction, they said, when we admit that it transcends
juvenile capacity; it does, insofar as they cannot
comprehend it by themselves, but it does not, insofar
as they can be helped by their preceptors to do so.
The men who do this work, are, they said, experienced
men who know how to break the solid bread of knowledge
and to make it digestible in accordance with youthful
capacity. As to Jerome of Prague, "the Mosaic law

\textsuperscript{226} Gilson remarks that Jean de Maisonneuve, the Paris Albertist
leader, "was anxious to maintain the rights of the Fathers of the
Church against the philosophers, and that it was not a strictly
philosophical but a theological reaction; \textit{History of Christian
Phil. in the Middle Ages}, pp. 523-5. But this appears to me to
consider only one aspect of the movement."
in that way was an occasion of sin... and the Pharisees made Christ's teaching the occasion for drawing out inconvenient consequences". The connection between the faculties of arts and theology was so indissoluble that if a doctrine must be prohibited or allowed in either it must be prohibited or allowed in both. Moreover, to prohibit it would not further the princes' intentions, "for the Roman and universal Church holds these doctors in approbation. Is the prefect then to revoke the law laid down by the King?"

This Cologne statement seemed worth paraphrasing at length for it was a young master from Cologne, both a theologian and an arts master, who led the pro-Albertist party, and because it seems to me that the impulse that led to the St. Salvator's foundation (of which John Athilmer became head) and that which led to the Glasgow foundation, as also that which led to the Aberdeen one, all came from men bred in the outlook of the via antiqua. On the 14th November, 1438,\footnote{A.F.A., f. 28r.} the chancellor intervened through the bishop of Orkney announcing that there should be freedom of teaching, and that the way of Albert or any other philosopher approved by the Church could be taught as long as it did not contain errors in logic or philosophy. The faculty concurred, only for the present, however, although in effect the battle was
won by the opposition. I have suggested elsewhere that the grammar school was already being ruled by an adherent of the via antiqua and have pointed to some noted Dominicans recruited from the students in this period.228

The opportunity provided by the plague of 1439 was given to Athilmer and another master to teach outside the university town. The Rector, John Leitch, seized on the occasion to be dispensed his two years' lectures, and, on the 1st December, the former dean, George Newton, presented the faculty with a copy of a book containing the statutes and privileges of Paris.229 The statutes, as we have them, however, cannot simply be related to Paris, although Hannay concluded as much, while recognising the possibility of Cologne influence at Glasgow.230 We are told that they were recommended by the deputies of the faculty, at a congregation on the 11th December,231 but already on the 2nd December they are said to have been drawn up and confirmed by the university, yet the deputies were only appointed the day before, the 1st December.232 What happened was this. The deputies drew them up in certo forma, that is

228 Turnbull, p. 35, note 9.
229 A.F.A., f. 29r.
230 Statutes, pp. 10, 1, note 2.
231 A.F.A., f. 29v.
232 Statutes, p. 106. This must surely be an error for the 22nd as the Rector is not recorded as approving till the 11th and some other faculty members as doing so on the 22nd.
arranged them in titles under various headings, some early statutes with a strong Parisian flavour giving the impression of not fitting very well into the scheme, while others were emitted as they stood (the Parisian-influenced inceptors' oaths of 1417, for instance). The point is perhaps somewhat academic, especially as the Cologne old statutes as we know them bear a strong Parisian impress. Among the names of these recorded as approving on the 11th December, the dean, Strathmiglo, was a Paris student, but the next three names, Leitch, the Rector, Walter Stewart, archdeacon of Dunblane, Robert de Essy, inquisitor and vicar of Auchterhouse, are Louvain or Cologne men. Another notable signatory was James Ogilvie, vicar of Markinch, another Cologne man, later to succeed Athilmer as provost of St Salvator's. The statutes were written out by William Boyle, university bedellus and notary, on fifteen sheets of parchment, ready for presentation to the faculty on the 22nd December, when Athilmer was present and gave his approbation. He had probably been absent from the town teaching. In addition to other troubles there was a great food-shortage, both in 1435 and 1438,

233 E.g., Statuta., p. 96
234 A.F.A., f. 30v.
235 Strathmiglo was a pupil of Grunnoch (Auctarium, II, col. 149). The others are in Keussen, Matrikel, i, 223 or 234 (Stewart), 312 (Essy) and S.H.R., xxx, 329 (Leitch).
236 Keussen, Matrikel, i, 355.
the latter lasting almost two years, according to Bower.

The plague intensified the problem of further lectures after inception. The policy of the faculty in normal times was to insist on them, as a regulation made during the plague of 1439 affirmed, and that within eighty days of the opening of the next term, and if prohibited by plague, the temporary closing of the studium or illness, they were to pay according to a scale of fines. Even in the event of two masters, David Ceres and Finley Dempster, both perhaps in higher faculties, proceeding to France on royal business, namely escorting the princess Margaret over for her marriage, the faculty's dispensation from lectures only sufficed till their business was over; if they wished to be dispensed further, they must pay for it. This marriage, incidentally, involved the visit to Scotland of Reynault Girard, a French envoy, to whom the university made a propositio (or public disputation) in 1435.

Wardlaw died on the 9th April, 1440. Like other chancellors, he was often represented no doubt by subchancellors as in 1417. He was present at faculty congregations in April and May 1419, when

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238 Scotichronicon, ii, 502, 514
239 A.F.A., f. 23r.
240 Graduates of 1426 and 1428 respectively, E. Records, pp. 9, 10.
242 Balfour-Melville, James I, p. 220
academic standards regarding books were being laid down. The chancellor’s approval was asked in 1420, when stringency regarding the requirement of inceptors’ lectures was being enforced. He seems to be active in the final examination of bachelors in cameris in 1428. His gift of the Pedagogy will be discussed shortly. He intervened on behalf of a candidate (David Crannoch, dean of Brechin), to hasten his graduation, although he had not read all the books, on which occasion the faculty appeared to concur, but still required Crannoch to take oath by proxy to read the books after his degree. It was he who presided with his council on the 28th May, 1430, at St Leonard’s (i.e., on the Sunday after the Ascension) when a congregation acting through deputies (as in a rectorial election) elected Lindores as principal, and Alexander Methven and Thomas Ramsey as co-regents, all to govern the united Pedagogy. All the evidence goes to show that the rulers of university and faculty relied on Wardlaw’s help in enforcing their authority and that he was prompt always to give it. Equally, however, there can be no doubt that James I had a tonic influence on the university, forcing Wardlaw into decisions over the theological statutes, the

244 Ibid., ff. 4v, 5r.
245 Ibid., f. 5r.
246 A.F.A., f. 19r
247 Ibid., f. 11r.
teaching of civil law, the united pedagogy and possibly even the canon law building just mentioned in 1428. No medical faculty or teacher is provided for, however, as later by James IV at Aberdeen. The only hint of a medical interest I have found is a manuscript of Avicenna's Canon belonging to Robert of Tyningham, an Oxford bachelor received to the faculty in 1413-4. There were few Parisian Scots students of medicine at this time.

The Buildings.

(a) The Schools of Theology.

The original buildings referred to in the acts of the arts faculty (8th December, 1414) are the "schools of theology". We are given no indication as to where these were, whether on the site occupied by the theologians in 1419, namely the chapel and college of St. John the Evangelist at the west end of South Street, or in the neighbourhood of the monastery, for instance at St Leonard's.

248 E. Ragg., p. 2
249 E. Wickershauser, art. on "Les Médecins de la Nation Anglaise de l'École. de Paris au XIVe et XVe siècles" In Bull. de la Societe française d'histoire de la Medicine, xii, 228 seq. Tyningham's manuscript passed to three other St Andrew students, John Dunning, Tulloch, bishop of Orkney, and Kennedy, abbot of Soulseat. It is now Edinburgh University Ms IX. 11.10.
250 A.P.A., f. 1r.
The arts faculty had the use of St Leonard's hospital for meetings from 1416 till 1432. It has been assumed that the phrase "at St Leonard's" refers to the church. Might it not equally well be the almonry school there, which certainly may have met in the church? I take this to be the "old school" mentioned in the sixteenth century. The first mention of the "new school" that I have found is in 1527, fifteen years after St Leonard's hospital was refounded as St Leonard's College. The "old school" occurs in a slightly later document. This building may merely have been a hospital hall converted to scholastic uses about 1512, but it may just as well have been the external school of the monastery in St Leonard's almonry. The priory had in addition, of course, an internal school in the cloister. It too had been renewed in the sixteenth century, for in 1551 we hear of the new schools of the monastery: in nouis scolis canobii sanctiandrei in claustro eiusdem. The collegium, incidentally, in priory documents is not this school (or the Lyceum that Martine mentions).

251 Ibid., f. 10.
252 St Leonard, p. 15. The reference to Appendix II says the church is specified in 1413, but this appendix merely says quod sanctum Leonardum.
253 Protocol Book of Thomas Kane (Register House), f. 5r.
254 St. Leonard, p. 198 and note 3.
255 Acts Pastorum, ii, 49. St. Andrews, p. 143 mentions this "almonry of St. Leonard".
256 S.H.R., vii, 232. This hardly seems a description of St Leonard's, although that was within the abbey cloisters using the word in its wider sense of "abbey area".
but merely the chapter of canons: Heldenstone uses the word in this sense, and it can be paralleled elsewhere in Scotland (for instance at Aberdeen).

The responsibility for education in St Andrews was not, as commonly implied, the prior's, but the archdeacon's. It would not have been out of place for his school to be held near his house, the Archdeacon's Inns or present Dean's Court. The original rectors of the schools were, if not lodged, paid there in domo ferlanii. The prior, though dean of the chapter, was always a regular canon, the archdeacon a secular cleric. But the cathedral and priory area was gradually secluded off by the transfer to the town's west end in 1411 of the Trinity or parish church, as later by Prior Hepburn's heightening of the precinct wall. If we assume that university teaching began at the west end partly to safeguard its independence and partly to allow room for development, we can take it for granted that "the schools of theology" were acquired by Wardlaw in this area.

The College of St. John the Evangelist.

These schools of theology were obviously common property, unlike the early arts pedagogies which were rented or owned by different masters. As suggested

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257 Conolly, p. 16 (conunonici illius collegii); St. Andrews, p. 429
259 Murraire, ii, 104, 227, 240.
260 Rankin, Holy Trinity, p. 18
they are to be identified with the College of St John on the south of South Street, where the artists already met in 1416. The "schools of theology" as such disappear from view about this time, and they are probably identical with the chapel of St John. It is by no means evident that this chapel was conveyed along with the rest of the property on this site in 1419. It may have been an old chantry chapel put to a new use, or a chapel specially constructed for the purpose by the donor of the property adjacent (Robert of Montrose), though, if so, it is strange that the fact escapes mention. It could even be a chapel originally held by the knights of St John of Jerusalem, who held property on the opposite side of South Street.\textsuperscript{262} The change of dedication from St John Baptist to St John the Evangelist in accordance with a new purpose would not be without parallel elsewhere.\textsuperscript{263} The chapel also had a "barmkin" or curtain wall in the early sixteenth century; and there can be little doubt that the hospitalers' property had also such a defensive wall.\textsuperscript{264}

The 1419 charter of foundation is a difficult document. More deeds connected with this foundation formerly existed; in 1437 we hear of "the charters

\textsuperscript{261} A.C., f. 29; Statutes, pp. 5, 96.
\textsuperscript{262} We have no means of knowing whether this property was always merely a source of income to them and not a house of residence. In the 16th century they owned five parish churches. Bisson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, p. 133.

\textsuperscript{264} Robert de Bruce, Ep. 21r; D. Henry, The Knights of St John in
of the College of St. John the Evangelist with instruments and other muniments belonging to the Faculty of Arts". The surviving writ is a copy only of later date. Taken at its face value it would seem to be the original deed embodying the original sasine. But there must have been an anterior arrangement, because the college of St. John is mentioned in 1416. If the explanation is that here we have the conversion of one kind of collegiate foundation, however small, to another kind, why is there no explicit mention in the document and at least the name of one further associate of Robert of Montrose?

It is clear that the founder of the college was Montrose. He gifts his tenement to the college he has founded and the gift is received in the person of Lindores, its master, presumably its first master. The grant ordains that on Lindores' death the appointment of a new master would be in the hands of the theological faculty, and, only as a later resort, in the hands of the arts men. Although the college was to be "a college of theologians and artists", the gift was primarily to the former.

It is hardly possible to explain this charter except as the final one in a series or as the deed

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255 A.S.D., f. 80r.
256 The college of St. John is not recorded in Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland among academic colleges or collegiate churches. Of its constitution we know nothing, except what the sasine of 1419 says.
recording a saisine which had preceded it by some time. If so, the hereditary gift to Lindores as master had already taken place; yet the charter now constitutes him as master for life, although future masterships are not envisaged as life appointments (their removal was in the power of the theologians). The city bailies had given saisine by transfer of the usual symbols and, in this instance, also the statute of St. John, to represent chaplainry duties. The Latin construction is obscure, but should apparently read: Noveritis... quod fundando quoddam Collegium Theologorum et Artistarum (et) ... saisinam... praedicto collegio... per ballivos... hereditarie tradi feci in personam Magistri Laurentii de Lendoris. The chapel was not in the grant. On the contrary, it was specified that if the college failed to maintain the services laid down, the tenement, pertinents and annual rents should go to "the chapel and chaplain resident in it", at the burgh's presentation and collation.

What was the actual extent of this site? It was probably thirty feet or one rig west of Buckler's Wynd or the present West Burn Wynd.\textsuperscript{268} The intervening

\textsuperscript{267} Inserted in error?
\textsuperscript{268} For a rig in St Andrews, St Salvator, p. 81
rig was occupied by the Arthur family. The chapel, being orientated, would lie west to east, and may have occupied most of two rigs (sixty feet) adjacent to the Arthur tenement. It is likely that it was in line with the old forehouse of David Brown, which stood about forty feet back from South Street, fronted as it was, by two or more buildings, one occupied by John Athilmer junior, and the other by the school of Canon Law. The phrase "the chapel or south school" of 1569 confirms these conclusions. The suggested western limit of the Montrose site about ninety feet west of the West Burn Wynd is confirmed also by a break in the masonry visible today on the north buildings on St Mary's site.

**Wardlaw's Pedigree.**

To the west of this site again was the land given by Bishop Wardlaw. On the 26th March, 1430, the dean informed the arts faculty that Wardlaw was prepared to grant a tenement for building a college of arts, provided its construction was financed from the faculty's common purse. Here then was to be an area exclusively the property of the artists.

The scribe wrote originally that the new site was "south" of the chapel, but corrected himself to "west": his original word may not have been very far

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269 A.F.A., f. 45r.
270 St. Mary's Pits (SM.B15/9).
271 A.F.A., f. 10r.
out, if part of the chapel is envisaged as broaching the Wardlaw territory. The site was defined by him solely with respect to the chapel, perhaps the only part of St. John's tenement to which b, this time the faculty had a claim. The Montrose land is referred to as such in the subsequent charter of April 9th, and not as the other tenement of the faculty as one might have expected. Moreover the chapel is to be refounded (fundanda) on the new site, confirming the view advanced that it was a gift prior to the Montrose grant.

The Wardlaw site was apparently also two rigs i.e. about 60 feet wide. It went as far south at least as the mill lode, but probably to the burn (ad torrentem). The purpose was to provide for faculty schools, and, if necessary, grammar schools, which were subject to the faculty in a way the documents do not clarify. It is not impossible, of course, that the chapel was on a second storey with a building underneath, "the lower school" of later references: such an arrangement could be paralleled at Cambridge, and would account for theological and arts schools held together in the chapel building. But it is much more feasible that the "lower school" is the "south school" of later

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272 Evidence, iii, 350
days. In this event the chapel would be a single-
storey building with an antechapel (perhaps in
transept form) suitable for scholastic use, such as
we frequently find. The "south school" was
described as the usual place for meetings at St
Mary's in 1558, and, while the chapel no doubt was
adopted and incorporated in the great new church
of St Mary founded by Cardinal Beaton - the niche
bases of which (or ten of them) are built into
the present university library - it stood further
back from the road than Beaton's church, on the very
site in which the earliest faculty meetings were
held.

Neither chapel nor church is mentioned in the
1588 and 1597 inventories, but the north and south
schools are mentioned without their respective
positions relative to other buildings being made
clear. In 1597 there was little residential
accommodation in the eastern quarter of the outer
quadrangle, only two rooms. We are led to assume
from this that the church and schools took up the
available space. At that date the south school was
the examination hall, where the black stone was
placed and it was fitted out with desks and tables.
The chapel had perhaps become no more than an oratory.

274 E.g., at Oriel, Victoria County History, Oxfordshire, iii, 127
275 R.M.S., v. no. 759
276 National Library of Scotland, Bute Manuscripts, vii, f211r, 213r.
277 Ibid., f. 213v.
Already in the sixteenth century the annual faculty mass, which originally took place there, was now celebrated in the parish church.

The word "pedagogy" is not mentioned in Wardlaw's charter. What he intended evidently was a "college of arts", to separate the arts students from the theologians. He wanted the site to be built up at faculty costs with residences (edificia), halls and students' rooms. At Glasgow the site was given to the principal regent, but at St Andrews to the dean, that is, not to Laurence of Lindores as master of St. John's but to William Turnbull, dean of faculty. Yet the charter is in honour of our Lady and St. John the Evangelist, and "the chapel of the college" is to be founded on the land (in capella collegii in dicta terra fundande). Surely the plan here is to refound the chapel of St John in this territory and probably extend it further east. The first purpose of the grant was to provide schools and then to repair and construct other buildings as the dean and "the greater and saner part" of the faculty saw fit; in the meantime the chapel of St. John therefore would continue to provide faculty schools. All chaplains of the college

278 Burnet's Book., f. Mr. However by then the chapel had been enlarged, and university meetings to elect deputies began to meet there rather than in the Dominican church.
were to celebrate the anniversary of his death along with the dean and regents in ordinary copes or humiae. Moreover, every day a chaplain was to say a collect for Wardlaw's soul at Mass. Most probably these chaplains are the chaplains of the existing college of St. John, one or more of whom were to be maintained by Lindores under the Montrose foundation of 1419 to celebrate thrice weekly for his soul and that of his predecessors and successors, while all the collegiate members were bound to the weekly Salve every Saturday.  

It is extraordinary that we have so little information regarding these foundations. Why, for instance is the eastern boundary of Wardlaw's college called the "land of the late Robert de Montrose" and not "the college of artists and theologians"? There is no reason to think that the theologians had as yet gone elsewhere. Another puzzling fact is that the Wardlaw college was bounded on the west by that of David Brown, chancellor of Glasgow, and controller of James I, who on the 12th September, 1428, gave his tenement to found two chaplainries in the parish church, yet who describes his eastern boundary as "the lands of St. John the Evangelist", eighteen months before Wardlaw's foundation. The explanation probably is that the land (formerly Patrick Scissor's) paid an annual rent towards the

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279 Evidence, iii, 330.
280 St Andrews Charters (Inventory, Reg. House), no. 18.
281 Scissors might mean Shearer or perhaps Skinner. On the 24th October, 1430, Lindores gave land to Robert Skinner, citizen of St Andrews; on the south of South Street between his own land on the east and (another) David Brown's on the west. Ibid., no. 20.
college of St. John under Montrose’s foundation.

An undated entry (obviously the 9th April, 1430, that is, Palm Sunday) shows that Turnbull announced the fact of Wardlaw’s charter (promised already on the 26th March), authorising the sasine of a tenement for a college of the faculty. After their meeting in St Leonard’s the faculty went in a body to the chancellor, who invested them in it in the presence of the bishop of Caithness (Robert of Strathbrock), the Rector, procurators of nations and others.

It was not, however, till a later meeting (but before the 28th May) that the problem raised by the new college was faced. What about the pedagogies now springing up again which caused "schisms" in the faculty? Was it not expedient to have one only? It was decided "to put aside self-love" and not to open any new house or pedagogy without special faculty licence under the threat of expulsion. On the 28th May it was also decided, after many talks between the parties concerned, to appoint three masters to govern this pedagogy and its arts students (grammar-houses being no longer mentioned). Their appointment was tentative only "as long as they should govern well and discreetly".

282 As in Wardlaw’s charter in Evidence.
283 A.F.A., f.10v.
Lindores was principal, the other two were probably of the same mind: Alexander Methven and Thomas Ramsay. On the 10th July, again at St Leonard's, it was decided to have only one grammar school, but this time John de Mysselburgh was appointed its master, which looks like a victory for the party that was critical of Lindores. The appointment was made by agreement (concorditer).

This faculty pedagogy and grammar school now installed itself obviously in the "college" of Wardlaw, and indeed the next two meetings took place in the chapel of St. John. However, by the 13th November, 1432, the united pedagogy was no longer united and the faculty forced the dean, Lindores, to admit scholars of a second pedagogy to determine without special faculty licence. It was this situation that called for royal intervention: James I ruling that the pedagogues would remain, but that the authority of the dean over them would be reinforced.

Similarly on the 4th February 1434, the question of revoking the single grammar school came up and the majority of the faculty approved. The chancellor intervened and postponed the revocation, which, however, came to pass on the 20th March.

These developments, however, explain why Wardlaw's college was so soon transformed into a faculty pedagogy, and how that in turn became no longer a pedagogy for all the arts students in the university, but merely.

284 A.F.A., f.11r.
their common school. The further development by which the college of theologians became also part of this pedagogy area, while continuing to hold schools there, and by which the law schools also seemed to become part of the pedagogy, is most obscure. There can be no doubt that such principals of this pedagogy as came to light were only principals of the arts pedagogy, but that nevertheless this whole area became the university headquarters and the site of all its common schools.

The college of St. John, however, completely disappeared, as far as the arts faculty was concerned, after Wardlaw's death. Meetings in the "great school of the college" are recorded on the 26th February and the 28th November, 1436. Lindores died in September 1437, when he was master of both pedagogy and college. By April 1439 the arts faculty had in its possession the charters both of "the tenement of the new school" (Wardlaw's) and the "muniments of St. John's college". We know of no master of St. John's after Lindores. No doubt the theology faculty made no appointment, although they would, I think, still make use of the chapel as a school. The "new school" of the arts faculty and the "great school" were one and the same thing and they both occur together in the same period in the
arts faculty records. One indication of the common use of the chapel by both faculties, even as late as October, 1515, is the handing over by the dean of arts to the Pedagogy's safe-keeping of a silver chalice to be inscribed "the chalice of the faculties of theology and arts".

JAMES KENNEDY: CHANCELLOR 1440-1465.

Bishop Wardlaw died on the 9th April, 1440 and James Kennedy, bishop of Dunkeld, was elected via Spiritus Sancti on the 22nd April, and provided by the pope on the 1st June. His period of office was most memorable in the university's history, and has been fully investigated by Dr. Dunlop in her book. But Kennedy's name does not stand alone.

John Athilmer, senior.

The most notable accession to the university about this time was John Athilmer senior (or Aylmer). He determined at St Andrews in 1424-5 and was licentiate and master in 1426. After completing his lecture-period he went to Cologne between the 20th December 1429 and the 24th March, 1430, to study theology. This identifies him therefore with John Athilmer, senior, the theologian, as distinct from John Athilmer, junior, who was a canon.

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235 A.F.A., ff. 17v, 13v, 22r. Another tenement in St Andrews belonging to Lindesay of Byrse paid 40s annual rent to the faculty or the pedagogy in 1484. (Evidence, iii, 351).
236 A.F.A., f. 139r.
237 Kennedy, p.39.
238 E. Recs., pp. 8-9
lawyer. The confusion between them results from the fact that they were both successively vicars of Menmuir. Athilmer, junior, was also at Cologne. He is named as vicar of Menmuir on the 5th June, 1460, but perhaps succeeded before that when his elder relative was presented to Cults.

Athilmer, senior, had a brilliant career at Cologne. If the 1439 dating of the St Andrews theological statutes is accepted, he was licentiate of theology and vicar of Menmuir in March of that year, and influenced considerably the phrasing of these statutes. On the 23rd June 1441 he was incorporated in the Council of Basle. He was sent by Cologne university on an embassy to Frankfurt in 1442 being then a licentiate in theology. In 1444, at the archbishop's request, the university sent him and others as representatives to the Diet of Nuremberg. On the 24th April 1446 Cologne wrote to James II on his behalf asking him to be restored.

289 John Athilmer, junior, bachelor of decrees, vicar of Menmuir, 1470, (Emynus, ii. 98) and official of Brechin as late as 1476, after Athilmer, senior's death. Brechin, ii. 277; cf also ibid., i.198) Keussen's note in Matrikel, i. 323, is reliable. Capitale, p. 485, though informative, is confused, corrected in part by Kennedy, p. 273 both, however, misled by the accepted dating of the faculty of theology statutes.

290 Keussen, Matrikel, i, 431, 470 note; A.F.A., f. 31v. Lawyers who graduate in arts later are, however, not unknown; E. Reca., p. 22

291 A.F.A, f. 49v.

292 A.F.A. ff. 21v, 23v. He was dean of the arts faculty in 1435 and 1446. He was at St. Andrews from April 1438 till December 1439 (on the last occasion "vicar of Menmuir")

293 Hannay, Statutes, p.112 (and my observations in Chapter 2), Capitale, p. 485.

294 Keussen, Matrikel, i, 323.

to his benefices in Scotland from which he had been deprived because of his attitude in the schism, presumably therefore because of his support of Felix V, the pope appointed by Basle.\(^{296}\) He was still at Cologne on the 2nd April 1447, when the Cologne faculty arranged with him regarding a book to be written for them and partly finished by him.\(^{297}\)

Between 1439 and 1447 there is no record of him in Scotland, but on the 3rd November 1448 he was dean of the faculty of theology at St Andrews and assessor to the dean of the arts faculty.\(^{298}\) The book he wrote for Cologne may have been similar to the *questiones Phisicales in parte Magistri Johannis Elmer* (bound up with a commentary of Albert on the physics) found at Glasgow in the time of Duncan Bunch, and the *glosa Petri Hispani secundum usum Magistri Johannis Elmir super quinque tractatibus*.\(^{299}\)

It is a reasonable deduction that Athilmer was one of the Cologne Albertists, for he taught in the *bursa Laurentiana* there, which was known for its Albertist views, and we have earlier found him espousing the Albertist view against the Buridanists of St Andrews. Cologne wrote to Nicholas V on the 4th May 1450, on his behalf, pointing out that he

\(^{296}\) *Conicale*, p. 333.
\(^{298}\) *A.F.A.*, f32r.
\(^{299}\) *M.A.U.O.*, iii, 405
was a member of their university and "a professor of arts and the sacred page", a man of great learning and virtue and poor in things temporal. Whether the pope had already taken up his cause or not, it was in virtue of a bull of Nicholas V's that some months previously he became rector of Cults, and first appears in public as such when the great enterprise of St. Salvator's College was under way.

Richard Guthrie

Another notable figure in this period was Richard Guthrie. There is no need here to go into his career in detail. Guthrie matriculated at Cologne in 1441, was received as a bachelor of St Andrews in 1442 and was licensed in arts there in 1443. He may also have begun the study of theology there.

301 Copiale, p. 358.
302 St Salvator's Book "B", f. 64v shows him being presented to Cults by Kennedy on the death of Hugh de Turyn, last rector, in May, 1449.
303 Keussen, Matrikel, i, 437 and note. In 1447, he became a canon of Brechin and in June 1449 he was received as a monk of Arbroth in order to succeed the aged abbot Walter. Some data regarding him can be found in the Arbroath register. (Arbroath: i, 77 seg.) C.P.R., x, 196, 315. Andrew de Durisdear, later bishop of Glasgow, acted for him in the curia, Scot. Bep, p.42.
A manuscript of Albert owned by him is at Aberdeen. It lists several works left by him in the abbey of Arbroath in 1473, including some of Albert's and a book of quodlibets. He was evidently in the St Andrews theological faculty on the 3rd October, 1457, when he was asked by the faculty to take the office of quodlibetarius and give up the fee of a noble towards his reception to its membership. Guthrie postponed his decision but was received in November as a bachelor in theology. He was, however, professing theology by November of the next year and active in the arts faculty also.

In 1463 he exhorted the faculty that each master should preside in turn at weekly disputations throughout the year. These weekly disputations were not apparently the ordinary disputations of masters but similar to those advised by James I in 1432. Guthrie's opinion carried weight as he was confessor of the King and chaplain of honour of Pius II. The faculty deputed the Rector, Athilmer senior, and some others to look into the

304 Aberdeen Univ. Lib. MS 105, f. 3 verso. "Liber magistri Richardi guthre" (misread by M.R.James in his Catalogue).
305 See Appendix E.
306 A.F.A. f.44v.
307 Ibid., f. 45v. The entry mistakenly reads 'October'.
308 Ibid., f. 46v.
309 Ibid., f. 54r.
310 C.P.R., xi. 686; Scot Ben., p. 237
matter and refer back, but in 1464, the fewness of masters made them defer it again, and the same happened later. The disputation did eventually become part of academic routine, but when is not clear. It is worth noting here that Guthrie and Athilmer were associated, however, for in 1455, Athilmer, "a man of revered and outstanding learning", appeared as procurator for Guthrie at Arbroath to resign his office of abbot. After the resignation of Guthrie, Athilmer "moved with mercy and pity, the tears gathering to his eyes and falling", suggested that if the said lord abbot had exercised his office at all honourably and well that it pleased him greatly. If, however, he had been hasty or negligent he begged pardon of his subjects. He was re-elected in November 1470, but Paul II did not confirm the election but provided him afresh.

Town and Gown.

The influence of Cologne on St Andrews was not confined to ideas: there were other influences through the Rhine trade.

On the 20th April, 1443, the civic authorities of St Andrews sent by two messengers, Andrew Ramsay and Duncan Lambie, a letter of enquiry regarding the

311 A.F.A., ff. 54r and v.
312 Arbroath, ii, 86-88.
313 Ibid., ii, 165: Scot. Ben., p. xliii note. As royal almoner-general he was appointed in 1469 to carry out the act for hospital reform and there is record that he visited and reconstituted St Laurence's hospital, Haddington. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses p.146. He also made visitations of the hospital at Arbroath, (Arbroath, ii, 141), and Montrose (Fraser Papers, p.152)
attitude of Cologne to its university. At the request of these representatives the Cologne authorities drew up their reply in letter form and affixed the city's seal ad causas, and this on the 28th June. The letter was received in St Andrews and a transcript made by the university bedellius on the 26th August in the chapter-house of the cathedral, in the presence of the subprior and others. 314

The final settlement of the issues raised by the letter was not possible till the 26th May of next year, when Ramsay, who was then provost, and the Rector, Walter Stewart, archdeacon of Dunblane, came to an arrangement, or rather accepted an arrangement for which Bishop Kennedy was responsible. 315

The Cologne authorities had pointed out that they took the university members under their protection and treated them as citizens and with the respect due to ecclesiastical persons. Like the citizens they could buy food and fuel as they pleased. St. Andrews was prepared to do as much for its university, provided the university gave help and advice to the citizens in their affairs and no difficulty was made about buying and selling not conducted for business purposes. Esquire

314 Copiale, pp. 327 seq.
315 Evidence, iii, 176-9
bedels, familiars, servants, scribes, stationers, parchment makers and their wives, children and women-servants were, as usual, to share these privileges.

At Cologne university members hired houses and accommodation from the citizens on the basis of a contract, which bound the citizens and continued to bind them unless the renters chose to inhabit such rented accommodation themselves, or sincerely wished to make alterations, or sold it. The town of St Andrews was prepared to adhere either to the arrangements made in the bull or act according to the form of an ancient indenture made between the university and the citizens (which had not survived, unless it is identical with the arrangements in the bull).

That the Rector had jurisdiction over citizens, so that, at the instance of the students he could cite a citizen before him in a civil case or a case of injury or any other case, was utterly denied by Cologne, although they did not deny his authority over his own members. If a student had a case against any citizen he had to pursue it before a competent civic judge and not before the Rector. However, Cologne admitted that they considered it a good custom to decide a case of serious injury arising between students and citizens on a friendly basis in consultation with the Rector and the deans of faculty (there being no procurators of nations).
This was very different from procedure at St Andrews, of course, and Kennedy had to deal with it by lengthy legislation.

As regards offenders against the assise of bread and ale, the provost and bailies under Wardlaw's arrangement had to punish the guilty person within one day. Kennedy extended this to the next Friday if the guild court sat then, or to the next day on which it did sit, if not more than eight days after the complaint. (Turnbull adopted this arrangement at Glasgow, although he worked from the Wardlaw not the Kennedy agreement). If the matter was not rectified within that time, the Rector punished him according to burgh laws. Change or alteration in the weight of bread had to be notified by the bailies to any university bedellius within 24 hours so as to be presented to the Rector.

If civil cases arose between members enjoying university privileges and citizens and they complained to the Rector, the Rector was to send the complainant with a bedellius to the bailies or a bailie. If the citizen admitted the debt or complaint, the bailie would give him suitable warning to pay within eight days if the sum was under 40s; if greater, then all longer time was allowed, but not exceeding 20 days. If the debtor pleaded poverty, then the bailie was to make the debtor declare himself
unable to meet his debts (ad eordum)\textsuperscript{216} according to the laws of Scotland. If, however, he neglected to meet his debts or refused in an action to meet the complaints against him, then the complainant could call him before the Rector's court for the usual summary judgement. This very much qualified the earlier power of the Rector, as reflected in Wardlaw and Turnbull. As with them, however, if any party considered himself injured by the Rector's taking the case into his hands, or by his sentence or the manner in which it was executed, he could approach the bishop or (if he were abroad) his vicar general with his complaint. If, however, the bishop agreed with the Rector's procedure he would return the offender to him. But the bishop would not be prepared to hear more than three complaints from the same person in the same case.

If on the contrary a citizen complained against a university member the same procedure would be followed by the Rector, except that, if the university member could not give sufficient security to meet the demands of the complainant, then the Rector would arrest him and point his goods. Similarly there could be a final appeal to the bishop.

\textsuperscript{316} Literally "dispossessed".
Any injured member could complain to the Rector under oath, and the latter would then send a bedellus or someone worthy of credit with the injured person to the town authorities to inform them, after which they were to make the delinquent do amends within three days according to the quality of the crime, failing which the Rector could try the case. Severe injury was still, however, reserved to the bishop's judgement. The provost could attend the Rector's court during such a trial, not as a judge but as an assessor only. If there were any complaint regarding the Rector's procedure at any stage, it could be referred to the bishop once more.

If any citizen or inhabitant of St. Andrews or anyone enjoying university privileges had an action to raise, either in a civil case or a case of injury, against the Rector he could report it to the provost or the procurator of his nation, who would then direct the Rector's attention to the matter. If the latter refused to meet the complaint, then the bishop, his commissary or vicar general would take the matter up at the complainant's insistence. Similarly when any university member had an action to raise against the provost, the Rector was to send a discreet member or the bedellus to the provost to point out the complaint and exhort him to satisfy the complainant. If the provost refused he could be convened before the bishop.
If ambiguities were to arise again in these arrangements, it was indicated that the procedure was not to write to Cologne! The bishop would clarify all ambiguities indicated by Recôr or provost and provide for any further difficulties by new ordinances, which both parties would agree to observe.

The provost and bailies were to take oath in the hands of the Rector both for themselves and their successors to observe the contract, and in return were allowed to give up the formality of an annual oath on appending their common seal to the articles in this agreement. The Rector took notarial instrument from a notary and the contract was promulgated at the town house in the presence of the provost and his bailies and of the official, archdeacon and other witnesses, ecclesiastical and lay. The provost had not quite got what he wanted: the Rector's authority was still intact, but not quite so absolute. The bishop's legislation is primarily concerned with effecting a workable arrangement within the framework of Wardlaw's original provisions to which the town had at first agreed. One's only criticism would be that by its widening of the system of appeals it left a lot to the sagacity of the individual bishop.
Faculty Building.

The faculty came into its own with the gift of the Pedagogy land by Wardlaw. Before the death of Lindores, it was already able to speak of "the new school of the faculty", on the 31st May, 1437. Previously in 1437 and November, 1436, we hear of "the great school of the College", but evidently this is identical with the faculty school. After the death of Lindores the "college" terminology is dropped, at least in the arts faculty.

Before the death of Lindores we have evidence of the following buildings: the chapel of St. John and its school (implying a hall for residence and with dining facilities) a kitchen. These may all have been on the St. John's site, and have been principally the property of the theologians. The prime purpose of Wardlaw's foundation was that the artists should have their own schools, and although the phrase "in the artists' schools" does not occur till July 1447, the faculty must have begun to create its own schools about 1430. What the faculty probably did was to form another school by extending an existing one, which if it were a

318 A.F.A., ff. 10v, 13r.
319 This lower school is mentioned in 1525: "pro obstructione unius fenestrae et allis minutis in scola inferiori", Sarsa's Ex, f. 21r.
transept of the chapel, would run north and south. By 1445 the masters are being asked if they wished the gable of the new school with a vault. The meaning of this is arguable, but it can be interpreted to mean that an extension was being made endwise on to the gable. Certainly before 1452, when Robert Renter was appointed bursar, a hall must have existed, that is the hall later known as "the small hall", which certainly existed before Renter demitted office as bursar, but which he did not claim to have made. Renter did claim to have made the great hall and the faculty kitchen: "The which accountant in his time from the common expenses of the faculty caused make the great hall of the faculty of arts and its kitchen, repaired also the school inside with tables, seats, windows, a lectern and all the hall tables...."

This statement gives us a firm basis for our reconstruction, although there is, of course, an element of conjecture until the site is excavated.

In 1442 a meeting held in the new faculty school elected Thomas Logie to collect money for repairs for the school and houses of the faculty. In 1445 the masters were asked about the building

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321 Bursar's Book, f. 7v. Meeting held in parva aula Pedagogii.
322 A.F.A., f. 25r.
on the new school’s gable: they wanted it vaulted, in other words they hoped to build upwards. The faculty chest was to be kept there eventually; \(^{323}\) evidently therefore the dean or bursar meant to live there. To my mind this must therefore be the Samil Hall at the north of the site, running east to west, but possibly not covering the whole sixty feet, because in 1457 the house of Athilmer junior on David Brown’s land to the west looked on to their land \(\text{[fundus]}\). Ahead of that again was the faculty of canon law building also looking on to faculty land. \(^{324}\) The dean’s room was likely to be situated here. \(^{325}\) Some years later (1460) Thomas Potter, a priest connected with the David Brown foundation, \(^{326}\) lived near the law schools and described himself as looking east towards the faculty close, \(^{327}\) that is probably into a walled area: residential accommodation is implied — clausura hospicii facultatis. There would be a few rooms in the schools area on the east of the close and probably more on the north by then. The other close would be the kitchen close. The west side does not seem to have been built up.

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323 Ibid., f. 27r.
324 A.P.A., ff. 43v, 44r.
325 Mentioned 1457, Ibid., f. 44v. The faculty bursar’s meetings were in camera decani till the building of the great hall. See Appendix A.
326 Rankin, Holy Trinity, p. 59
327 A.P.A., f. 45r
In 1450 the dean paid for 37 beams of oak with a small beam of 7 feet for the upper floor (solium) of the faculty school which shows that the school had accommodation overhead. In 1454 at a meeting in the new faculty school Archibald Whitelaw complained that the lower school (being less new?) was now put to the private use of certain masters in the faculty; in other words they were using it not for ordinary and public lectures but for tuition purposes. It should be a common school, he said (implying that the upper school was), and used as a dining hall for public feasts with a kitchen constructed to the south. What then had happened to the St. John's kitchen; from which before Lindores' death (1437), as we shall see, Thomas Ramsay was alleged to have removed some wood? The garden of the new faculty house (which may have been to the north of the Small Hall) should be tended by a gardener, said Whitelaw, and the products put to common use. The dean agreed that the lower school and the garden should be for common use, but proposed consulting his deputies regarding how best to alienate the new school from its present use and whether to build a kitchen.

326 A.F.A., ff. 33v, 34v.
The lower school is clearly the New School, here, or, as I suggest, part of a continuous building running north to south of which the upper half was probably the newer half, all designated, because of adaptations since 1430, as the new school. The new school was used for a determinants' feast in November, 1456, but this was explicitly ruled out in future, probably because the new dining hall in the Great Hall was now projected. This suggested placing of the schools is confirmed by a decision of the 13th August, 1456, when the faculty agreed to remove the partition or stone wall in the lower school and in its place put a pillar under the great roof-beam, and in addition (consequenter) it was ordained that a lectern with reading board (ambo de tabulis) be placed in the small house at the end of the great school for fixing (probably chaining) books in a library. This "great school" I take to be either the implied "upper school" or else a school with no residential accommodation overhead, and the small house to be part of the hall erected on its gable, that is, the parva aula.

331 This is implied by the phrase used in 1378 "in nova schola apostolica colloqui Marioni" (Bucicrass MS, VII, f.153) as though there were two new schools, one of them a north school.
332 A.F.A., f. 43r.
333 Ibid., ff. 42v, 43r. This charge was probably under way in 1463 when the auditors met in the house of Robert Skinner instead of the dean's room. Rector's BK., f. 3v.
The Great Hall did not exist before 1464 when funds were required for building "the new house", but it was ready by the beginning of 1471.\textsuperscript{334} The school of the theological faculty mentioned in the university statutes as existing in the rectorship of Thomas Logie (that is in 1450 or 1462) was probably in the St. John's College area. Most of the accommodation as well as the dining room would be in this great hall. It ran west to east, for in 1564 its gable was at the edge of David Brown's land.\textsuperscript{335}

St. Salvator's College.

On the 27th August, 1450, Kennedy took the first great step towards founding St. Salvator's College. He chose this day because it was the vigil of St. Augustine and the eve, therefore, of the anniversary of the bull founding the university; it was also St. Maelrubha's day, and he was the patron saint of the parish of Cults which was to take a prominent place in his plan.\textsuperscript{336} On that day, Kennedy went to the site in North Street made up of five burgher tenements, four of which had belonged to the Austin canon, Henry Dryden of

\textsuperscript{334} 80 beams for the fabric of the new house are mentioned as being in the burser's hands. Burser's Re., f. 3v. Of "in nova aula eadem facultatis". Ibid., f. 5v.
\textsuperscript{335} St. Salvator, p. 53; A.P.A., f. 53r. Univ. Statutes, Title 3, const. 3.
\textsuperscript{336} The David Brown land west of the Wardlaw pedagogy was not acquired till Cardinal Beaton's time and extended "to the gable of the old hall of the said college" (i.e., St. Mary's), St Andrews charters (Reg.No.), no. 348.
\textsuperscript{337}Aberdeen, ii, 17 (Kalender). Peter Chaplain's testament mentions this dedication of Cults: excerpts in Appendix A
Holyrood, a friend, it would seem of the founder. A sixth was added in 1453 by John Loch. Already therefore by this latter date the new college had a street frontage of 180-200 feet, a third more than the combined frontages of both St John's College and the Pedagogy together. No wonder it excited envy in the South Street men.

Kennedy also made the formal charter of foundation on the same day. If we examine the introductory clauses, we find that the theme that recurs is the bishop's pastoral obligations to workers in the field of theology lest they lack temporal maintenance, a consideration recently put to Nicholas V by Cologne University on behalf of the college's first provost — "lest those who teach others to love eternal things should be compelled on account of poverty to fail in so holy a study." How then is his foundation to be related to the College of St John? To all appearances Kennedy was not at first attempting to replace it. The name, St. Salvator, may indeed be a tactful way of asserting continuity.

338 St. Salvator, pp. 81, 100.
339 Ibid., p. 94.
340 CoIntel, p. 359
It was the dedication of the mother church of Christendom, the Lateran basilica donated by Constantine, which also (because of its baptistery) had a dedication to St John the Baptist, later becoming St John the Evangelist. The former St John baptised the Saviour, which baptism is part of the threefold liturgical celebration on the feast of the Epiphany, which Kennedy chose as the St Salvator's feastday. No doubt the Bruges dedication (of the ancient St Salvator church there) influenced him, for he certainly visited Bruges, and it might appear odd that he did not choose as college feast the feast of St Salvator (which is also the feast of the dedication of the Lateran basilica) or the Transfiguration (August 6th). But, as Cant points out, he wished to return "to the central inspiration of medieval life -- the universal and eternal Kingship of Christ." Hence he chose the great Cologne feast of the Three Kings, who, according to Gratian, brought three

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341 Statutes, p. 31.
342 Given in the Aberdeen breviary, though absent from the calendar. For his visits to Bruges, Kennedy, pp. 40, 135, 199.
343 St Salvator, p. 5.
gifts to the eternal King, namely, the three parts of philosophy: the philosophy of speech, that is the trivium; real philosophy, the quadrivium; and the third which is moral philosophy. In the St. Salvator's mace (made in Paris by Jean Mayelle in 1461) we have the Saviour represented with the world at his feet and triumphant, even though attendant angels bear the Passion tokens. Underneath, emerging from dungeons, the powers of darkness are in chains bearing the shields of the see of St. Andrews, of Kennedy himself and, with the imperial orb, representing the Kingdom of God as well as the Christian empire descended from Constantine. Below this again we have the Christian King, the bishop, and another figure generally believed to be a Franciscan friar. The uppermost knop has three angels portraying the parable of the talents, which James Ogilvie, one of the original canons of St. Salvator's, in his letter to the university, had quoted to

345 Cant, Short History, pp. 139-40; P.S.A.S., xxvi, 440 seq; Royal Comm. on Hist. Monuments (Scotland), Fife, etc. (11th Report, 1933; Edin.), figs. 36-40
346 Lyon thought, Hist. of St. Andrews ii, 199, that the Saviour and angels represented the Church Triumphant, the King, Bishop and Friar the Church Militant and the 3 demons the troubles on this earth of Christianity. But while the 3 demons do probably represent the world, the devil and the flesh, one would have expected the Church Suffering to complete such a trilogy.
win them over to support his own candidature to St Andrews
go against Kennedy's. The "three monkish figures", as they have
been interpreted, reading the scriptures appear to me to be
three theologians in academic dress commenting on the sacred
page: the pulpit in which they are set may be a mere cathedra.
The three figures looking upward in an adoring attitude on the
lowest knop probably signify the liturgical side of the life of
St Salvator's. "The three preachers in the pulpits", as they
are usually interpreted, may be the teachers of the three
philosophies that made up the arts curriculum, which interpretation
would bring us back again to the Three Kings theme. Before
leaving the theme, it might be as well to note another instance
of Kennedy's tact: the feast of the Epiphany was, of course, a
great occasion throughout Scotland, but it was also an old
student feast which the faculty recognised by regulating the
procession of King of Bean, and so in effect making it an
additional faculty feast, conducted according to houses and
preceded by the Epiphany mass, an arrangement that Kennedy now
tacitly recognised and reaffirmed for his own "house".

St. Salvator's had been compared with New College, Oxford,
but the English universities appear not to influence Scotland at
all in this century, although we need not doubt that many took a

347 Codice, p. 208
348 Statutes, p. 18.
349 St. Salvator, p. 3; Kennedy, p. 283-4; a comparison questioned by Erian and
Jacob in S.H.R., xxxi, 75, 176.
friendly (or unfriendly) interest in English thinkers, not merely Thomas de Rossy, the Franciscan, partly trained in England, but John Ireland, trained solely at St Andrews and Paris. 350 The obvious model, apart from the recent college of the Holy Spirit at Louvain for seven theologians, is surely again to be found in Cologne. There about 1430 an earlier burse (corresponding, that is, to our pedagogy) was transformed into the Bursa Coronarum, the Crowns Burse, for students of theology and law, with a Rector and twelve poor scholars. Denifle, however, was uncertain whether this was a college proper, a question he meant to discuss in the book 2 he projected, but which never appeared. 351 The Louvain Holy Spirit college was founded in 1445 in honour of the seven gifts for seven theological students, two of whom had to be priests and have a "prebend" (allowance) from the college emoluments double that of the other poor students. 352 Prague has

350 H. McBurn, "A Theology Solamne", Art. in Innes Rev., viii, 21 seq. Shows Rossy quoting Ockham, Thomas of Buckingham, Bradwardine, Roger Conway, etc. The Ireland MS. at Aberdeen University (Ms.384) quotes the first three as well as Halifax ("eliphant"), Holcot, Fitzwalthe.

351 Denifle, Die Universitaten des Mittelalters, i, 402-3. The distinction between the Louvain "pedagogies" (such as the Porc, Faucon, Lis, Château) and the "houses" was, according to Reusens that the teaching in the pedagogies was accepted by the faculty as pro forma, but not that in the houses. Reusens, Documenta relative à l'Univ. de Louvain, 11, 310.

352 Reusens, op.cit., i11, 11.
also been suggested as a model in its *Collegium Carolinum*
with its conjunction of collegiate church and academic society; this appears more fanciful than it is, because Kennedy and his advisers drew on a wide pool of academic experience, and one of the college’s first members spent some time (as we shall see) studying in Vienna, while a member of Prague university was burnt for heresy in St. Andrews in 1433. Yet unquestionably the foundations regarding which Bishop Kennedy would be best informed at this date (apart from Paris) were those at Cologne and Louvain. Of these, the *bursae* were really pedagogies, including Athilmer’s own *bursa Laurentiana*, and the nearest approach to a college was the Crowns *bursa*, which like St. Salvator’s had twelve students (on the apostolic model) headed by a ruler (representing Christ): unlike its founder, Kennedy did not cater for law, which, as far as one can judge, was reasonably well provided for at St. Andrews.

The provost of the college was to be a doctor in theology and hold the parish church of Cults; he was appointed by Kennedy by imposition of a ring on the feast of the patron of Cults, St. Maelrubha. The next was the licentiate, Thomas Logie, university Rector, canon of Dunblane and of the Chapel Royal of St. Andrews, who was expected to

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353 *St. Salvator*, p. 3.
354 *Coniaca*, p. 460
355 The date of the feast is in Peter Chaplain’s testament (App. A);
*St. Salvator*, pp. 52, 60. It was no doubt then that he gave up the vicarage of Mennuir.
denied his rectory of Kemback, but who instead succeeded to the licentiate’s post and kept all his benefices. The Logies were relatives of the Crannochs, and Bishop Crannoch’s seal was appended to Kennedy’s foundation. The third was the former bachelor, James Ogilvie, who again would not as yet succeed because his prebend of Dunino was not yet vacant, and who was in any event as yet out of the country, as will be seen. These were to be the ruling body within the college. They were to eat in college at college expense, provided the provost lectured every week in two ordinary lectures, the licentiate four times and the bachelor on every lecturing day, and that the two former preached to the people in the college church, the provost four times yearly, the licentiate six, while the bachelor’s sermons were left to the decision of his own conscience. In other words the college church was not to be a private chapel as at Oxford and Cambridge: Kennedy’s concern as Cant said, was with the whole quality of the spiritual and intellectual life of Scotland. His church was on the street and open to the city. The vicarage of Cults remained intact to serve the parish of Cults; in Kemback and Dunino perpetual vicarages were instituted, the first with a salary of £10, the second £8 Scots, presentation to all three pertaining to their rectors.

356 St. Salvator, pp.53, 55 (cedentibus vel decedentibus modernis rectoriibus emend), 60.
357 St. Salvator, p.60 Alison Crannoch, widow of the late Thomas Crannoch, citizen of St. Andrews, was Logie’s heir. General Reg. House, Charters, iii, No.48.
358 St. Salvator, p.3.
Under this theological apex were four masters of arts, all students in theology, and not merely clerks but priests (an unusual requirement), but who were to remain merely for the period required for the bachelorship; after which they, unlike their seniors, were removable, so that the benefits of theological study might be spread around. At the base of the structure were six students in arts, four clerks, equally removable on reaching the mastership.

Kennedy's plan, which has been fully discussed by Cant, is in such minute detail that it is hard to take in as a whole. What he had done was to take over Robert of Montrose's idea and provide for the weakness in Montrose's plan by a scheme of ample endowment. St. Salvator's was a kingdom of God in little, an imperium in imperio, a model of ordered life to be set over against the squabbling, touting masters of the South Street buildings. There was not the breathing space in South Street for him to annexe St. John's and develop it: moreover the squabbling and touting of the individual pedagogies could not be destroyed, as Wardlaw had found, without destroying the university. The day when all university life in St. Andrews became collegiate was still far ahead.

The bull of Nicholas V was dated the 5th February.

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360 S.H.R., xxxii, 171.

361 For the gradual growth of college teaching, J.H. Baxter, St. Andrews University before the Reformation, (St. Andrews: 1927), p.8 seq.
It added the information that besides the teaching of the three seniors, the masters of arts (i.e. the theological students) were to lecture on philosophy and metaphysics, and reminds us that there was an additional code of college statutes now lost. On the 4th April, 1458, Kennedy revised his foundation, and it was confirmed on the 13th September by Pius II. The secret of this new foundation is not easy to prise out, and possibly never will be prised out now. It has been said that "considering that all the general principles of the original foundation were preserved, it is extraordinary that Bishop Kennedy should have considered it necessary to issue a revised charter at all." Yet it is clear that Kennedy was worried by the turn of events even to the point of accusing himself of neglecting his foundation. Now that he could seize the opportunity he would, as its founder, and, as such, rightful interpreter of its foundation, announce the right ends and means to be kept in view in ploughing through difficulties (the Kennedy motto being avise la fin). He was patently worried about possible wrong-headed interference from future bishops: they had not to invade

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362 St. Salvator, pp. 61 seq.
363 Ibid., p.15
364 Ibid., p.11, note.
365 St. Salvator, p. 70, questionibus et negotiis imminentibus et interpretatoris et fundatoris succurremus ne consequam promulguemus, and not interpretes, as on p.63 (line 28).
366 Ibid., p. 79.
the college like greedy wolves. The main dilemma of
Kennedy was, I suggest, however, that of making the provost
king in his own kingdom without derogating from the authority
of the Rector, university and faculties over their subjects.

The point may be briefly made. The students in the
college must be promoted according to the statutes of the
arts and theology faculties in the university; in other words
lectures were not pro forma within the college, unless these
faculties recognised them as such, nor could the college test,
examine and graduate its members on its own authority or evade
paying faculty and university fees. Athilmer, however,
disagreed with Kennedy here; and, after his death, on the 25th
February, 1469, he obtained these rights for himself and the
college as "dean and chapter" of a college famous in all
Scotland and where continuous lectures in theology took place;
perhaps indeed by this time it was the only theological school
in the university. But Kennedy also wanted two of the
theological students, not merely to lecture in the post-logical
subjects as required by the first foundation, but to give
ordinary lectures and hold disputations (not just, therefore,
in fulfilment of their post-graduate lecture), one to the pre-

367 Eildencejilli, 273-4
368 St. Salvator, p.12.
bachelor arts students in logic, and the other to the bachelors in physics and philosophy (that is first philosophy, or metaphysics). But these public lectures were evidently given in the faculty school and under its auspices: lectures in arts in St. Salvator's were not as yet recognised by the faculty. Moreover, these lecturers not only received their ordinary expenses (food, drink, rooms and use of the college amenities), but also extraordinary ones (such as clothing), plus a salary of two marks Scots for the logician and three for the other. The Rector would now always have a hand in promoting a theological student to the prebend of the bachelor, and no doubt he would tend to give his preference to someone who would serve the university at large.

Other new regulations affected the separate body of chaplains that was growing up in the college, whose relation to the others was left undefined, however. The presentation to these chaplainries was left to the bishop's brother and the Kennedy family. The period of absence of college members was confined to the period from St. Giles abbot (1st September) to St. Remy (1st October), that is the holiday period, and another month in all. Two only could be absent at a time, and if the third in their absence went off too, he was to be automatically deprived. This stringency is necessitated by

369 Ibid., p. 72.
370 Ibid., pp. 22-5, 78.
371 Ibid., pp. 74-5.
the fact that the academic college was also a collegiate church: as has been remarked by an Oxford historian, the identification of the three heads of the academic college with the canons serving and administering an imposing collegiate church has no precedent elsewhere and is a development on lines peculiar to St. Salvator's.

It has been suggested that the poor clerks studying in arts were not choristers. The original statutes are lost, and the statutes of Hugh Spens (7th June, 1533) are not clear: the first of these laid down that all canons, masters, chaplains and "youths" (who may however be choirboys pure and simple) founded in the college, as they entered or left the choir precincts in their habits, were to be obliged to make the required inclinations of the head, first to the main altar and secondly to the provost. Furthermore, while the choir chaplains strictly so called developed their own officers and a common seal, the fifth Spens statute forbade these "private conventicles" and the use of any other seal except the college common seal or the provost's personal seal. All of which emphasised the unity of liturgy and learning.

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372 S.H.R. xxxi, 170.
373 Ibid., 171
374 St. Salvator, p. 27
375 St. Salvator's Book "B", unnumbered leaf near end. See Appendix D.
which R.G. Cant has so well underlined: \textit{ut non solum scientie fructus sed cultus etiam augeatur divinus}. It also emphasised, what Kennedy had been at pains also to emphasise: that the theologians were in charge. When one remembers that out of four hundred and more Scots at Paris in the period 1340-1410 only twenty secular clerks are found studying theology the necessity for subvention of secular theologians, especially in competition with the more lucrative degrees in law, is evident, as it was evident to Robert of Montrose before Bishop Kennedy's time. The defect of St. John's seems to have been, not merely inadequate endowment, and we really have not much information to guide us as to that, but the fact that all the power was in the hands of Laurence of Lindores. In St. Salvator's, the power of Athilmer as provost was checked by his two fellow theologians, and, in Kennedy's intention at least, by the students in theology too. The sowers of spiritual things in the Lord's field (\textit{in agro dominico}) would get their penny at the day's end from the best giver of all (\textit{ab ilio ... datorre optimo}); meantime at least from Kennedy (\textit{saltrem a nobis}) they would be given their place.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{St. Salvator}, p.76.
\item \textit{D. Phil. Thesis (1937) of Donald R. Watt} for Oxford University: "Scotsman at Universities between 1340 and 1410", vol.1, 31.
\item \textit{St. Salvator}, p.54.
\end{itemize}
Apart from these prebends in St. Salvator's, and the chaplainries which were occasionally given to theologians (e.g. to David Hardgate, monk of Newbattle, originally of Cologne and Glasgow), the bishop had next to no cathedral prebends at his disposal on account of his chapter of regular canons. He therefore obtained from Nicholas V permission to revoke the union of secular benefices to religious houses where the union had not yet taken effect, in order that they might be used for the upkeep of theologians and other students. The result of this was the creation of the chancellorship of St. Andrews, for the Cologne bachelor of theology, Alan Cant, secular master of the hospital of Augustinian canons at Soutra, resigned his mastership and so appears to have become first chancellor: although his predecessor, Thomas Lauder, is said to have been chancellor too. There is a hint that Kennedy meant to go further, for David Kay is described as "our" on the 20th June, 1456. Kennedy's original intention may have been to constitute a separate secular chapter. An undated act of the bishop's, probably the 1st September 1451, mentions

379 See next Chapter; described as Cistercian of Newbattle in 1455 (A.F.A., f.40r) and as chaplain of St. Salvator's in 1483 (St. Salvator's "B", F.33r); he must therefore, have been released from the cloister.
380 C.P.R., x, 176.
381 There was no chancellor before. Earlier chancellors in the twelfth century were cancellarii episcopi, of St. Andrews, pp 126-7.
382 Ibid., x, 599; Myln, Vitae, p. 21 (Edin., 1823: Bonnayne Club), merely describes Lauder as master of Soutra and, Soltre, p. 57 seq., ascribes the transfer of Soltre to Cant. Perhaps Cant acquired the necessary authority from Nicholas V.
383 St. Salvator's "B", f.13 v. "Our dean", i.e. not just the rural dean of Fife.
the chancellor as "newly created" and decrees that in future the secular canons of his cathedral, the archdeacons of St. Andrews and Lothian and the chancellor, must on installation take oath to the prior and convent to respect the rights of the Augustinian canons there, and arrange for the bishop, prior and the secular signatories to contribute to the choir and altar. Bishop Kennedy owed too much to the regular chapter to be able to break off completely, apart from the intrinsic difficulty of such an operation.

The Pedagogy

The first attempt to form a united pedagogy in 1430 failed. The idea of a faculty pedagogy was a matter of fact something of a contradiction: pedagogies were really no more than halls, under the remote control of the faculty certainly, but in the immediate control of a principal who often made a good thing out of them. Pedagogies for rich students were attached to some Parisian colleges, but not always under control of the college master, and, when they were, the master was a "grand master", as for instance at the College Cardinal Lemoine where the Bishop of Moray's bursars were for a time; or

384 *St. Andrews*, p. 425, "in officiis caritatis illis primo loco tenemur obnoxii a quibus beneficia malora noscimus receptae".

sometimes the procedure was reversed and the college attached itself to a pedagogy, as did Standonck's college at Louvain to the pedagogy of the Porc, a quite separate institution in no way subject to the college discipline. In some such way Lindores' pedagogy of 1430 may have attached itself to St. John's college.

It is not so surprising therefore that the idea of a united pedagogy did not catch everybody's imagination. On the 29th January 1454, the bishop proposed the re-establishment of one, with the tacit proviso that it need only last for five years, by which time the independent pedagogies might imagine themselves rallying from the shock of the new foundations at St. Salvator's and Glasgow. The principal chosen was John de Atholia, who was perhaps in Kennedy's estimation more likely than Thomas Ramsay and Alexander Methven, former assistants of Lindores, to keep the peace in the faculty. He was a Cologne man, a St. Andrews bachelor of 1439 who entered Cologne in 1441, was licensed there in 1443 and thereafter studied for five years in theology, partly at Cologne and partly at St. Andrews, to which he returned in 1448. He was a much younger man than Ramsay and Methven, yet qualified sufficiently in a higher

386. Reusena, *Documents relatifs a l'histoire de l'Univ. de Louvain*, iv, 3 seq; for Porc, 77 seq.
faculty to command the respect of his staff. He was also a regent in Athilmer's house from about 1449. He appears to have died by 1456 for his name disappears from the record. He is not mentioned as choosing books on the 2nd October, 1456, when the regents were John Lok and Adam Sinclair.

By 1460, the five-year period was up. Feelings between regents were so embittered, that the desirability of the usual faculty feast on St. John's day was in question. The discussion was interrupted by the arrival of Ninian, bishop of Galloway, William, prior of St. Andrews and vicar general in Kennedy's absence abroad, Gilbert, abbot of Soulseat, and John Thome, rector of Inverarity, Kennedy's chamberlain. The prior addressed the faculty, pointing out that the disunion in it was caused by Kennedy's absence, and that Thomas Logie, his associate as vicar general, had appealed to him to do something about it. Logie, as a St. Salvator's dignitary, may have had an axe to grind in favour of the single pedagogy idea. A black picture was painted of the consequences of several pedagogies: the scholars ran wild, the faculty was seriously weakened and even the university

388 A.F.A., f. 32 v. of. f. 38v.
389 A.F.A., f. 42 v. Atholla probably died before April, C.P.R., xi, 278.
390 A.F.A., f. 48r.
391 He was not spokesman, as stated in Kennedy, p. 293, note 2.
itself suffered damage. What happened in the past was beginning to happen again: scholars were out in the streets night and day, doing nothing, playing games, attending shows. Why after all should they fear their masters? They could always get a transfer when threatened with punishment.

One of the regents, undaunted by the prior's partisanship would not budge from his plan to start a new pedagogy. Adam Sinclair had been active carrying favour with the students by appealing for graces on their behalf and got up to let the faculty know his mind before it went further. Since the dean, John Lok, was in the minds of the prelates partly responsible for this sad situation, they asked him to stand down, and the faculty called on a survivor of the Lindores regime to take over the meeting, Thomas Ramsey. The formality of taking the votes of each master was gone through, but when Ramsey took the chair the single pedagogy plan was assured. The Rector, curiously silent in these proceedings, was one of 22 masters in favour, while Athslmer and Guthrie made a point of voting by proxy, and the single pedagogy was to be set up after Pentecost.

On the Thursday after Pentecost (5th June), the faculty

\[392^2\text{A.F.A. \textit{ff.} 430, 459.}\]
Adam Sinclair had started his lone campaign for an independent pedagogy, appealing to the first faculty decision of 1454 in favour of a five-year plan. He had found some rebellious young men to support him. They ate as before in the Pedagogy hall, but they had a school and sleeping quarters outside it, presumably in a house hired by Sinclair. The pedagogy proper was now in the hands of Lok, as it may have been since 1456. The Rector, Walter Stewart, as archdeacon and ex officio conservator, was present, and Lok took advantage of his presence to appeal to him to issue letters conservatorial against the offenders. The faculty as a gesture of peace elected Lok and Sinclair as co-regents in the united pedagogy, apparently with Lok in charge, but if Sinclair was unwilling to remain with Lok as before, two others were to replace him.

In the absence of the prelates, seventeen masters could still be found wholeheartedly in favour of the idea and of Lok as principal regent; about this time he had taken his mastership and was professing theology. One master favoured John Armourer, two John Dolace (including Dolace himself).

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393 A.F.A., F.49r.
394 First mentioned as professor on the 28th January, 1461, A.F.A., f.50v, but took his master's degree between 14th January 1459 and 12th February, A.F.A. ff.46v, 47r.
Another considered with Adam Sinclair that the five-year period was up and Sinclair himself simply said, "I want my freedom to do as I please." All the dissentients thought Sinclair had a right to hold on to his students; after all in the Pedagogy before they left it, they could have had either him or Lok.\textsuperscript{395} Sinclair's pedagogy presumably collapsed when he went to Cologne. Anyway in 1463 the united pedagogy was in charge of Lok and Abernethy\textsuperscript{396}; the reference in 1478 to "the Pedagogy and also the other places of the said faculty" (apart from St. Salvator's)\textsuperscript{397} suggests that, if any tentatives like Sinclair's did continue, they were only tolerated on the basis of attending the Pedagogy as the official school. By the 5th December, 1471, attendance was compulsory for all rich students (who were not already at St. Salvator's), not only by their presence at the faculty school there, but as having dormitory accommodation and a common table there too\textsuperscript{398}. Even the poor, who presumably resided outside, performed academic acts in the Pedagogy\textsuperscript{399}.

\textsuperscript{395} A.F.A., f. 49v.
\textsuperscript{396} Ibid., f.52r. Sinclair entered Cologne in January, 1461. Matrikel, 1,659. Next year he was a bachelor in theology, which he had presumably begun to study at St. Andrews.
\textsuperscript{397} Ibid., f.77 r.
\textsuperscript{398} Ibid., f.67r. of. at St. Salvator's collegialiter vivere et infra septa compiere et dormire. (St. Salvator, p.76).
\textsuperscript{399} A.F.A., f.44 r.
The election of the principal, however, soon ceased to be a faculty concern and it is only incidentally that he is named in its records.

**Lok versus Athilmer**

Up till he took his master's degree in theology, Lok's relations with Athilmer and St. Salvator's were good. They acted together in claiming the arts mace for the theologians in 1457. However on the 13th November, 1460, Lok complained that Athilmer had seduced some students away from him as principal of the Pedagogy, and Athilmer similarly regarding Lok: or rather the news of these complaints reached the faculty's ear. On the 22nd the dean ordered Lok to return Athilmer's students, and Lok, having explained his position, agreed, provided that the dean should dispose of them in accordance with faculty regulations. All the members, according to seniority, agreed that this was fair, except Athilmer, who, however, did not openly contest the point. The dean, however, then required Athilmer to restore the three students to Lok and then the dean could with his assessors look into the reasons for moving, and if they were good reasons, or if the students had a certificate licensing them to transfer from the house of which they were members, they would be at liberty to go back to Athilmer. Athilmer complained, however, that the dean's procedure was wrong and that he personally had

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400 A.F.A., f.44 r.
not been asked his opinion regarding the decree of restoration. The dean, Alexander Scrymgeour, replied that this was merely because Athilmer was one of the parties to the quarrel and ordered the bedellus to call back those leaving congregation, commanding Athilmer to stay for the voting. Athilmer, however, stalked out, leaving the dean high and dry. Scrymgeour then took instrument, personally, in the absence of a notary, regarding Athilmer's disobedience.

On the face of it, Athilmer's conduct seems inexcusable, especially if enticement was proved. But it must be remembered that by the bull of 1458 the scholars on the St. Salvator's foundation were subject to their provost and to nobody else. Lok's scholars were not in the same position. Moreover, any non-foundationers at St. Salvator's were equally bound by the regulations. Feeling rose high in the university. In January 1461 the dean complained of students carrying warlike weapons in public with a view to attacking their opponents. He had sent Logie and Ogilvie to reason with Athilmer without success. Twice summoned by the bedellus to appear in general congregation he refused. However, the faculty professed regard for Athilmer's position: he would forfeit the students' respect by appearing in answer to a summons.

401. The faculty bedellus, Henry Forsyth, was present, but was not apparently a notary.
They therefore appointed a committee, (consisting of Lok and Ramsay, but also of Ogilvie and others) to advise the dean before he sentenced Athilmer. This seems to have been a way of shelving the matter. At least, in 1462, Athilmer was back in place among the dean's assessors. While the dean could point to the 1450 majority decision that, even before bachelorship, all scholars must obey him in things licit and honourable, enticement might not be too easy to prove. As regards the internal management of St. Salvator's, Athilmer as provost was supreme, and there can be no question that his attitude was, as far as his college statutes went, technically correct.

Lok had the misfortune to fall foul of another great man, John Ireland, as yet a student in St. Andrews, and destined to be a leading philosopher in the camp opposed to Athilmer's.

The Growth of St. Salvator's

Cant has shown that the building of St. Salvator's, begun in 1450, suffered some interruption towards 1454; perhaps, we may suggest, as at Glasgow, in part from the Douglas troubles in the country. It can be seen from the plan in Cant's book (p. 100) that the main site on which building

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404 Ibid., f. 33r.
405 John Ireland and 'The Meroure of Wyssdom', art. by J.H.Burns in Innes Review, vi, 77 seq.
406 Kennedy, p.292.
407 St. Salvator, p.96.
was done was acquired mostly in 1450. It has been suggested that the block between Butts Wynd and the College Tower may have been occupied from the start, or at least the building this block replaced. The latter suggestion is probable: the replaced block could then be identified with the "pedagogy of master John Athilmer" mentioned in January, 1454. Indeed it may be that the present block went up in 1454, when the five-year union of pedagogies was decided on under one of Athilmer's subordinates, John de Atholla, the bishop's nominee. Moreover, Thomas Ramsay's pedagogy is last mentioned in that same month. Ramsay must have moved out about this time, or perhaps he remained for a short time in the "lower school" in a private capacity, and it may be that Archibald Whitelaw's complaint of the same month referred to the fact that Ramsay had already converted it to his own use, and the bishop's appointment of Atholla may have been a tactful move to disturb Ramsay. However, Ramsay apparently was not to be disturbed without himself creating a disturbance. He had already been at odds with Athilmer early in 1450 over the transfer of a determinant, Patrick Buttergask, from his house to Athilmer's. At Athilmer's request, in August, 1456, master

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408 Ibid., p. 82
409 A.F.A., F.39r. And the "house" of Athilmer mentioned in January, 1450, Ibid., F.39r.
411 Kennedy, p. 289, note.
412 Ibid., p. 290, note.
David Balfour (possibly senior regent under Ramsay) was required by the faculty to warn Ramsay to restore certain great beams of which he had been given custody by Laurence of Lindores, former master of St. John's, and which had been left in the college kitchen. Ramsay evidently still resided in the university, because he continued to act as dean's assessor, but not again as a principal in the arts faculty.

Another less obvious blow in the cause of St. Salvator's was the query put by Athilmer in March 1454. He wished the faculty's advice on a point of precedence. Should their order in congregation follow their order in licence, regardless of when they took their insignia as masters? This innocent-seeming enquiry is self-explanatory when the names of Athilmer's students given on the 29th January, 1454, are compared with the list of licentiates of the same year. Apart from two poor students, Taverner and Dundee, all Athilmer's men are masters.

It appears, as we saw, that from October 1456 the single pedagogy was under Lok and Sinclair, the latter apparently another of Athilmer's men. He was debtor for him at any rate at the start of his master's career. The question arises: Was there any arts teaching at St. Salvator's in this

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413 A.F.A., f. 42v. The debate was referred to deputies in December. Ibid., F.43r.
414 A.F.A., f. 39r.
415 Ibid.; E.Rec. p. 32.
period? Up till near the time of Kennedy's death it seems highly doubtful. At least the regents there are not recorded as choosing their books at the beginning of the academic year, as by statute they were bound to do. It is just possible that the first Athilmer house had been demolished only to find that funds had run out, and that building was considerably slowed down, as Cant suggested. In the archives there is a letter from James II under the great seal, dated the 25th August, 1455, acknowledging the payment of £2000 12s 1d received from Kennedy, of which £1000 had been received from Athilmer, Logie and Ogilvie, provost and canons of St. Salvator's and the rest from other lieges as accounted for to the exchequer. Was this a forced loan to the king out of the building fund? There are mysterious references in 1463 to payments for the fabric of St. Salvator's college, clearly, however, meant for Trinity College, Edinburgh. Payments made in 1461 were small sums from the Queen Mother towards drinksilver for the St. Salvator's masons, but the later payments would only be explicable if the masters of works at Trinity College transferred themselves to St. Andrews, a somewhat unlikely contingency.

417 St. Salvator, p. 96.
418 S A E 22. In Appendix, D.
420 Exch. Rolls, vili, 61.
The magnificent church of St. Salvator was finished by the 5th October, 1460, before which date it was dedicated. In this year the famous Katherine bell was cast. In that year too Ogilvie, a canon of St. Salvator's, was appointed quadriplinitorius, but refused. The dean (Lok) thought the act ought not to fall into abeyance, and called the senior masters and others to the college of St. Salvator's, which points to another building there besides the church, unless the chapter house was used. In 1462 the number of determinants was doubled and thenceforward the increase is fairly consistent. In 1464 two poor students from St. Salvator's are recorded among the determinants. Perhaps the regents of St. Salvator's did not as yet think it incumbent on them to appear with the Pedagogy regents to choose books. It is not till 1467 that, as we shall see, they make a sudden swoop to claim their regency rights and it is only from 1472 that it becomes clear that the bachelor act is taking place in the college as well as in the Pedagogy.

The buildings are amply described elsewhere. They consisted of the church with cloister court, provost's lodging, Great Hall with Common School underneath, library, charter-room,

421 In November, Athilmer is called "provost of the church of St. Salvator."
422 St. Salvator, p. 141
423 A.F.A, f. 49v.
425 Ibid., p. 41
426 Ibid., p. 52.
427 St. Salvator, pp. 81, seq. An "altarag of St. Nicol" may not indicate a separate altar, but a statue at an existing one; it is mentioned in Balcarres MS, vii, f. 116r. For other altars, St. Salvator, p. 106.
kitchen, brewhouse, latrines and individual chaplains' houses. The Hall court, it has been thought, had no building on its north side, but the Little Hall, implied by the Great Hall, was evidently there. An act of 1564/5 took place in scola maior collegii nostri: the little school can be identified with the "new school of the theologians inside the college of St. Salvator," mentioned in 1541. This latter is evidently the "new school" of St. Salvator's mentioned in 1544. There was a complaint in 1534 of lack of use of the major hall and a bursar's account was rendered in the "lesser hall of the college of St. Salvator" in 1556. This is not to say, however, that this Little Hall and School go back to Kennedy's time. The "counsel house" mentioned in 1560 may be the chapter-house or even a room in one of the halls.

The inferior nature of the later buildings is dwelt on by Cant. There it is pointed out that Pius II issued a bull in December, 1460, granting a plenary indulgence for ten years to all visiting the church on the feast of the apparition of St.

428 Ibid., p. 98.
429 SAE 3, in St. Salvator's writs.
430 SAE 14.
431 Spens. Protocol Bk., f. 5v.
432 See excerpts from St. Salvator's visitation in Appendix D.
433 Bursar's Bk., f. 42v. This Little Hall had residential quarters in the early 17th century, Kinloch, Reliquiae Antiquae Scotiae, p. 90.
434 Kirk Session Records of St. Andrews, i, 23.
Michael (8th May). No doubt funds were urgently needed, and two-thirds of the proceeds were to go to the college and one-third to the crusade against the Turks, then threatening that Adriatic coast where the legend situated the apparition. Richard Wylie on the 13th December, 1461, as procurator for Kennedy, obliged himself on behalf of Kennedy, the provost and two senior masters, that the chest for receiving this money would be placed in the church under two locks, the St. Salvator's dignitaries retaining one key and the collector the other. 355 florins of the camera and 25 soldi were handed over by the bankers to the pope in December, 1463, on behalf of the crusade. Further revenue does not appear to be recorded.

Royal interest in St. Salvator's can hardly be doubted. One of its masters, Archibald Whitelaw, an Albertist it would seem like Athilmer, became secretary to James III. He it was who was chosen by Mary of Gueldres in the delicate task of negotiating the suppression of the chancellorship in favour of Trinity college. The bishop seems to have resisted

435 St. Salvator, p. 96. The apparition is said to have occurred at Monte Gargano in southern Italy in 495; St. Michael was a principal patron of the college. Ibid., p.10 note.
436 Theiner, Vetera Monumenta, p. 428.
437 Scot. Bap., p.326
438 Ibid., p.230
439 Kennedy, pp.335-7.
440 Kennedy, p.239; Turnbull, plate 2, facing p.54.
441 Exch. Rolls, vii, 59
at first, because the purpose of the chancellorship had been to nourish advanced scholars. Alan Cant, for instance, was a theologian of Cologne, who, in 1456 presented the Magna Moralia and other works to the faculty library (a book instantly borrowed by Athilmer). James II presented John Tyrie, bachelor in decreets, as chancellor to Kennedy, who instituted him, but it is doubtful if Tyrie resided. He proved amenable to the Queen’s desires and the final suppression by the papal commissioner, Andrew de Durisdeer, took place in Linlithgow in 1462. Perhaps the original move in these proceedings was the Queen’s request for the services of the dean of arts, John de Campo, in 1459.

We have no reason to doubt that the chancellor was meant to take over the traditional oversight of scholastic duties from the archdeacon. The archdeacon resumed charge after the suppression, for on the 12th May, 1464, William Richardson claimed to have been granted life-appointment, as master of grammar-school by the archdeacon, at the instance of David, Earl of Crawford, yet only the dean and faculty could actually admit him. This is

442 Keussen, Matrikal, i, 364.
443 A.F.A., f. 43v.
444 Soltra, pp. 57 seq. On the 1st April, Kennedy’s consent was given in writing.
445 A.F.A., f. 47r.
446 Meldenstone uses the traditional term scholasticus for these chancellors, Codiale, p. 34.
447 A.F.A., f. 54v.
Interesting as showing that at this date the grammar-school was in university control, as in other university centres. What followed is best considered here. In 1467 this master, William Richardson, complained of the dispersal of the grammar school to the priory and asked the faculty to approach the prior for the return of these scholars to Richardson's school. Hannay believed that the prior was starting a rival school but it is hard to believe that there was not always a novitiate school there. Whether Richardson was dissatisfied with the non-committal reply or not, he was most abusive, and cited him by letters of the conservator of privileges, the Bishop of Brechin, published in the parish and cathedral churches. What happened in consequence is not clear, but the faculty appears to have decided that there would be one public school in the new schools and nowhere else.

**Discipline.**

The university was a very live body at this time, full of teachers of distinction and conviction, and of students destined to make their

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448 Ibid., f. 57v.
449 Statutes, pp. 34-5
450 The word after "public" is partly cut off.
mark, including two future archbishops of St. Andrews and John Ireland himself. James III's visits to St. Andrews made it an important recruiting ground for the royal service. He intervened personally in May 1464 to ask that the faculty dispense bachelors in cameris till Corpus Christi so that they might be licensed on the previous Saturday, the vigil of Trinity.\textsuperscript{452}

The row between Adam Sinclair and Alexander Scrymgeour is obscure. In 1459 Scrymgeous libelled Sinclair in a notice exhibited on the gate of the new school, and Sinclair, as quodlibetarius, felt himself entitled to faculty action on his behalf. Scrymgeous denied that he aimed his libel at the faculty and swore he penned it in a fit of passion. The bishop of Galloway, Ninian Spott, who was in disgrace for some mysterious reason, entered the congregation and the apology of Scrymgeous had to be postponed till next day, but obviously the faculty was disinclined to view his offence seriously.\textsuperscript{452}

Generally, as has been shown by Mrs. Dunlop, Kennedy's arrival unruffled the ruffled feelings. But the university could oppose its chancellor. It even went the length of supplicating Nicholas V in

\textsuperscript{451} A.F.A., f. 54v.  
\textsuperscript{452} Ibid., f. 47v.
1450 against the action of the bishop in depriving George Gardiner of the abbey of Scone, which Kennedy himself claimed, and, even after amicable agreement, keeping him under sentence of excommunication. Gardiner was a member of the university and a canon of Scone, probably in the theological faculty. He is not recorded in the arts lists.

Faculty and University.

On 22nd April 1457 we learn incidentally that Athilmer was Rector. This is important because it explains why he was never re-elected and shows that it was not probably he who touched off the great quarrel between university and faculty.

At a meeting on October 3rd the dean complained that there were statutes entered in the new university book which partly attacked the faculty liberties and suggested that something should be done either by appointing deputies or taking a vote. Athilmer was present and asked for the loan of a faculty book but only on promise to return it, so

453 C.P.R., x, 499 seq.
454 A.F.A., f. 44r. Election was probably annual by this time and at the end of February. On the 4th March, 1465, the dean, William Forbes, resigned office because he had just been elected Rector. A.F.A., f. 55r.
that nothing was done. Probably he was not called to the congregation of five days later. The two offending statutes were firstly that all faculty statutes required university confirmation and secondly that the faculty bedellius should give priority to the Rector in his service and not to the faculty that paid him. A notary, Robert Menteith was called to witness that the faculty confirmed its own statutes. Légie, senior canon of St. Salvator's, was among the majority approving, only Lok and Scrymgeous disagreeing. Both of these may have been Rector's deputies of the time.

Theology

The opening of St. Salvator's must have given a new impetus to theology. Some theologians have already appeared incidentally in the narrative. Once we learn that Athilimer was dean, in 1448. He along with John Beaton, dean of the law faculty, were so busy in January 1449 with their own faculties and other complicated business that they were unable to act as assessors in the arts faculty. The theologians had always been associated with the artists since the St. John's days, but the mace was denied to Lok in case he annexed it for his faculty of theology in 1457 for which Athilimer claimed it.

455 University Statutes Ms. Title 3, constitutions 11 and 18.
456 Ogilvie abs. ibid.
457 A.F.A., f. 32r. Beaton was I.U.D. (Ibid.)
458 A.F.A., f. 44r. In 1450 possibly or some other date when Thomas Logie was Rector (St. Salvator, p. 53) it was decided to hold the ethics lecture on Aristotle's ethics, economics and politics in the school of theology or arts faculty on almost all Sundays and feasts throughout the year. Univ. St. tutes, Title 3, constitution 3.
Most of the *quadripartiti* were likely to be at least students in theology, probably bachelors, and the theologians shared the act in the Pedagogy even after a separate school of theology was set up in St. Salvator's. Richard Guthrie was appointed in 1457; he was a professor of theology next year. James Ogilvie was eligible in 1460, and, on his refusal, Thomas Brown, another theologian, accepted. Lok was elected in 1458 on the eve of his licence. Alexander Turner, a bachelor *sententiarius*, was elected in 1466. No doubt others may still be identified. We can hardly doubt, for instance, that Henry Crichton, monk of Dunfermline, and Colin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel, examiner in arts in 1464, were students in the higher faculties.

**Law.**

A dean of the faculty of decrees, Beaton, has already been mentioned. John Feldew was dean in 1457, when he with Andrew Morison, licentiate, and Andrew Young, bachelor, sought unsuccessfully to persuade the arts faculty to allow them a window in the extension to their school that overlooked the

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459 A.F.A., ff. 44v, 45v.
460 Ibid., f. 46v; in 1456 Brown was a formed bachelor in theology, C.P.R., xt, 34.
461 Ibid., f. 46v.
faculty land. John Athilmer, junior, who also lived beside the school of decreets obtained permission more easily. He was of course a student in that faculty.

A few St Andrews graduates in arts are known to be graduates in canon law. As to the study of civil law, the attractions of public life for a highly qualified civil lawyer, must have been too tantalising to keep him in St Andrews.

Of those hitherto named, Andrew Morison is recorded as a bachelor and later as licentiate in both laws.

463 A.P.A., f. 44r.
464 Ibid., f. 43v.
465 Same, ii, 98 describe him as bachelor of decreets.
466 They are listed here, not as an index to members in the faculty, but to show that its existence was fairly continuous:

John Ochiltree, B.C.L., det. arts, 1442
Robert Menteith, B.C.L., lic.arts, 1446
George Monypenny, B.C.L., lic.arts, 1454
David Romany, B.C.L., det. arts, 1450
Janet Fyfe, B.C.L., lic.arts, 1462

It is probably that most remained at the bachelor stage.

E.Rece., pp. 22, 25, 32, 38, 39. Their law qualifications are to be found in: C.P.R., ix 498; A.P.A., f. 49r; Salter, p. 73; Adv. Ms. 15.1.13, p. 69; Solter, p. 73.

467 Adv. Ms. 15.1.13, p. 69; North Berwick, p. 33.
In spite of the turbulence of this period, and Kennedy's own college was the mainspring of most of it, this was clearly a flourishing time for the university. All faculties were in action, the multiplicity of halls gave way to a semi-collegiate Pedagogy, peace had been made between university and citizens, the influence of the north European universities, especially Cologne, replaced the preponderant French influences, the quodlibetarius was introduced perhaps by French inspiration, men of outstanding mental power were attracted to university work in Scotland. When Kennedy died on the 24th May 1465 an invigorating and pacifying influence was lost, but St Andrews had established itself and the threat of extinction was over.

PATRICK GRAHAM, CHANCELLOR, 1465-1478

Graham is described by the sixteenth century chronicler, John Law, as a man outstanding for his gifts of mind and body. He was a son of Robert Graham of Fintry whose gift to St. Salvator's was ratified under the great seal in June 1465. He

468 Perhaps through the influence of Kennedy's relative at Paris as indicated in Innes Rev., iii, 68. But Glasgow's lead had to be followed.
469 S.H.R., xxxvi, 196
470 Kerlies and Kennay, Archbishops of St Andrews, i, 78
471 R.M.S., ii, no. 833.
had the advantage of being Kennedy's nephew, when, as bishop of Brechin, he was promoted to St. Andrews in November 1465. He was a student of St. Andrews and a former dean of the arts faculty.

The Crisis of St. Salvator's

Up to Kennedy's death there is no sign that the staff of St. Salvator's college had to lecture in the Pedagogy or rather there is no sign that the senior members of the college complied with such a requirement. Suddenly in October 1467 three professors of theology, Athilmer, Lok and Guthrie chose their arts courses at a faculty meeting: a similar procedure being followed also in 1468. Can such a desire to comply with the technicalities be due to a mere university edict or was the chancellor in any way involved? The answer may well be that he was, or that he was acting through the Rector, John Lok, the Pedagogy principal, continuously Rector since 1463 with one year's exception.

Some such provocation would explain the petition of 1468 by St. Salvator's for exemption from university control in the granting of degrees. The real trouble

472 Archbishops, i, 25.
473 Statutes, pp. 29-30.
474 A.F.A., ff. 57 v, 61r.
475 St. Salvator, p. 34; Evidence, iii, 273; Theiner, Vetera Monumenta, p. 460.
came from the faculty of arts, and although the petition asked, as a college outstanding in all Scotland, for authority to teach and examine its own members in theology also, we have no reason to believe that the college of St. John survived till this date, and in any event Athilmer would still be dean of the faculty of theology. The bull was issued on the 25th February, 1469, but already before its receipt in St. Andrews the fat was in the fire.

Four days before the bull was issued to Athilmer at the curia, a quarrel flared up over the appointment of examiners. Two masters from the college, Logie and Thomas Liston, rose to object to the appointment of Gavin Wach, maintaining that John Armourer had more votes. However, before the faculty discussion could be opened, Donald Ross pointed out that Armourer was excommunicate and had no vote and ought not even to be there. The reason for Armourer's excommunication we do not know; but evidently Lok, the Rector, was the excommunicator.

The dean, Alexander Pennicuik, seemed to the St. Salvator's contingent to be anything but an impartial judge. They complained to Bishop Graham, maintaining that the dean had decided against the wishes of the majority. This affronted

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476 *St. Salvator*, p 34; *Evidence*, iii, 273; *Theiner*, *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 460

477 Wach stated that Armourer was excommunicate by five or six letters of the official, Rector and their executors. *A.F.A.*, f. 61v.
the dean's dignity and he called upon the faculty to delegate a deputy to investigate the allegation and Walter Stewart, the archdeacon (and ex officio conservator), was appointed. The turn taken by this congregation was so offensive to the St. Salvator's group that twelve of them and "some others" are recorded as walking out of the meeting. Through the bedellus, Pennicuik ordered them to return under the statutory penalties including perjury, and in their absence took instruments from several notaries public. Other masters who were absent at the time were asked to ratify the dean's decision as a majority one.478

After receipt of the papal bull, St. Salvator's became more self-righteous. In May, two students, James Oliphant and James Sinclair, attacked the Rector, dean and other masters lay and (which aggravated the offence) cleric, in the public street. The faculty decided somewhat mildly that a recurrence would lead to expulsion. Moreover, ignoring the bull, the faculty still claimed the power to deny their promotion.

The first real test came when the March examinations were due. Then Athilmer was back. He and four regents of the college (Henry Kirkcaldy, John Lochmalony, William Richardson junior, and James Scott) were accused of withdrawing some of

478 A.P.A., f.62r.
that year's determinante* to their college in defiance of faculty statutes observed from the university's beginning. On this excuse the dean, Gilbert Kennedy, rector of Arbuthnot, proposed that the masters should be publicly inhibited from acting as examiners and the scholars from submitting themselves to examination by them. This injunction they defied and James Olyphant, a determinant, menaced the dean with arms, a sword and a long knife, flaunting in the roadway the previous faculty conclusion against himself.\footnote{479}

The dean resigned office temporarily as an injured party. The faculty appointed Robert Panter, who got the faculty bedellius and two notaries to take the votes of masters. There must have been nobody present from St. Salvator's, for the decision that there had been a breach of the statutes was unanimous. However, the faculty, in its mildness, and perhaps unsure of the complete righteousness of its cause, postponed declaration of the sentence for three more days. If no apology was forthcoming, the dean would expel and, if the offenders became contumacious, he would proceed to further penalties: especially in view of the St. Salvator's privilege, under which the dean's expulsion might mean nothing. Thirty three signatures followed this conclusion.

\footnote{479}{A.F.A., f 64r.}
Three days later three "triers" (examiners) were elected, one of whom may have been a college examiner. However, certain schedules were due for presentation by college students who did not come; if they did, Andrew Ramsey (not one of the offending group) was to be an additional "trier". Since they did not come, however, the faculty elected John Dolece (a Pedagogy regent) and the dean was given power to receive them. Meantime the dean complained that certain people, obviously from St. Salvator's, had disturbed his privacy and that of the other Pedagogy inhabitants, by an invasion of bows and arrows, and other invasive arms, causing wounds in some cases. The faculty decided on expulsion and they were to be declared perjurers if no amends were made within a fortnight: obviously expulsion still did not mean much, especially as Athilmer quite patently was winking at all this misbehaviour. When the stewards for the faculty feast were due for election on the 2nd April, the dean reopened the question of expulsion. But neither could the stewards for this feast of concord be elected nor was the faculty very willing that the dean should proceed with expulsion and postponed it for another week. The adjournment lasted till the 9th April, and by this time Graham had been approached. He requested a further adjournment of two more days. Meantime the faculty ordered the offenders to appear to hear their expulsion publicly notified. On the 11th the stewards were at last elected and Andrew
Stewart, provost of Lincluden, the King's half-brother, supplicated for the discontinuance of Oliphant's expulsion. Oliphant personally extended his right hand and took oath to adhere to the decree of certain non-suspect members of the faculty. On the 12th St. Salvator's personnel, the provost, four masters and fifteen students (two of whom later apologised) were expelled, but obviously there was no longer unity in that college. The provost of Lincluden was now dean, with Gilbert Kennedy as substitute; no St. Salvator's members seem to figure among the assessors. One of the principal St. Salvator's dignitaries, an assessor of 1469, James Ogilvie, had retired to Glasgow some time after the 25th October, 1470, as we shall see. He automatically lost his canonry (Dunino), but we do not know if there had been an arrangement with Athilmer or Graham, or whether he was disgruntled with Athilmer or Graham. It may be significant that Thomas Luthirdale (Lauderdale), Graham's official, abandoned St. Andrews in like manner.

The matter went as far as a provincial council of the Scottish Church at Perth to which it was referred. The decision was said to have been made by Graham, as conservator of the privileges of the Scottish Church, in the presence of Thomas Lauder, bishop of Dunkeld, and others. The date was the 17th July, 1470, and the

480 A.F.A., ff. 63r - 64v.
481 H.A.U.G.,ii,73. He seems to have been succeeded as official by David Kay: Wemyss, ii,96; Registrum Evidentiарum Ms., f.72r.
agreement was that Lok as Rector would withdraw and annul his process of suspension against Athilmer, Logie, Kirkcaldy and their associates (Ogilvie is not mentioned) and restore them to their pristine state by delivery to them of letters declaratory. To this Lok agreed. For their part Athilmer and Logie agreed that the bull impetrated at Rome by Athilmer, the last time he was there, was against the privileges, constitutions and statutes of the university and so renounced it for themselves and their successors. Other witnesses were William, prior of St. Andrews, John, abbot of Scone, and Walter, prior of Lochleven, a phalanx of regular canons, not perhaps too sorry to see the college put in its place.

On the 23rd February of the next year (the Saturday before Ash Wednesday) it was clear that Athilmer was going to proceed with his own vocations to the Lenten examination (probably not vocations to licence properly so called). The dean had approached him, begging him to postpone them till he got the faculty's advice, but Athilmer replied with a simple refusal, whereupon the dean ordered him under the threat of expulsion and perjury to desist, and in the presence of Logie, other masters and students took a notarial instrument thereupon. Henry Kirkcaldy, the St. Salvator's regent, led a group of students to the vocations with a specially elected bedellus, Thomas Makclanochan. The dean got wind of this and congregated some masters in the Pedagogy schools and as

482 Archbishops, i.57, Registrum Eotientarium Ms., f.70 verso.
- 72 verso. This notarial copy was drawn up by Duncan Zalulok, notary, at the request of the Rector and dean.
483 A.F.A., f.63r. This day was known as Egg Saturday. These "vocations" were probably a circuit made by the examining of the regents and other masters for identification and approval.
they sat there someone came in to invite them to follow the bogus bedellus. The dean then placed himself in front of the bedellus "in order to catch the aforesaid bedellus and not to attack or hurt anyone, as he declared on his conscience." A majority in congregation (thirty two masters) decided that there had been a punishable offence but asked for postponement till the 4th March. Logie declared on his conscience that he knew nothing of all these doings.

The 4th March was the Monday after the first Sunday in Lent and therefore the statutory day for electing the examiners and receiving the entrants, but it was again postponed till the 18th, as was the expulsion of Athilmer and his adherents. Meantime the king had been approached. Athilmer, junior, was clerk registrar and perhaps used his offices. James III wrote to the faculty requesting that the election of the "triers" be adjourned till after the 19th April. The faculty succumbed to the king's wishes, but the bachelors presented were admitted without further ado. Hannay thought that the word temptatus written after the names of determinants in 1471-2 and other years was significant of the need of a separate faculty test because of the existence of St. Salvator's: but it may merely mean that the tests were spread over such a long period because of late admission that it was necessary to note them to ensure payment of examination dues. On the 20th April,

484 _A.P.S._, ii, 93
485 _A.F.A._, f.65v.
486 _E. Reca._, pp.51-3; _Statutes_, p.41.
some alleged that an arrangement had been come to, but this the college masters could not produce, and Gilbert Kennedy, the vice-dean, took instruments from Master David Monipenny. However, as a gesture of reconciliation two regents were nominated, the Rector, Lok (the Pedagogy principal) and Athilmer (provost of St. Salvator's). If Lok did not wish to be reconciled, Dolace was to take his place, and some preferred Andrew Ramsay to Athilmer. Two external examiners were also chosen. Concord had been re-established.

Athilmer, with Bunch from Glasgow, was among those present in Parliament on the 6th May, 1471.\(^{487}\)

This important parliament was directed against Graham, who had tried to make himself commissor of Pittenweem and abbot of Paisley by negotiation at Rome.\(^{488}\) It legislated against the purchase of abbeys and benefices there, forbade unions of existing benefices to bishoprics, abbeys and priories, but made exception for lords who wished to purchase benefices for unions to secular colleges already founded or about to be founded.\(^{489}\) It can hardly be doubted that Bunch and Athilmer influenced this formulation.

The licentiate's list of 1471 includes some of the rebellious elements.\(^{490}\) But in November the clouds

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\(^{487}\) A.P.S., ii, 93.
\(^{488}\) Archbishops, i. 30 seq.
\(^{489}\) A.P.S., ii, 99, c. 4.
\(^{490}\) E.Recs., pp. 30-1. The offending bedellus was licensed in 1472; Ibid., p. 52. A.F.A., ff. 67r; 68v.
appeared to gather again. The vice-dean (in the absence of Andrew Stewart, provost of Lincluden) called a congregation to elect the new dean. David Montgomery, immediately on election, got the congregation to agree that no master could perform vocations to any act without the student's burse having been first paid. Moreover the faculty bursar was to place this money in the common chest immediately on its receipt, under the custody of the dean, the senior master in the faculty and the bursar. The dean's deputies included Athilmer senior and Logle, who presumably agreed to this arrangement. The "appointment" between the college and the faculty probably involved the recognition of the Pedagogy as the common school and at the same time recognised the teaching in St. Salvator's. The degree-conferring powers claimed by the college were recognised only as regards determination, for in 1472 we have the first sign that the faculty recognised the separate determination there. St Andrews had perhaps not reached the position of Louvain where the only courses taken in the faculty schools were rhetoric and morals, but Athilmer was drawing on the continental pattern of his campaign.

The recognition of the lectures in St. Salvator's can be inferred from the conclusions of the 5th December, 1471.

491 Ibid., pp. 52-3.
492 Reusens, *Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, iv.3.
While these require the observance of the ancient form of reading the text and mention the questions raised regarding the text in the vicus deputed by the faculty, the very recognition that the faculty has power to select the venue, in addition to the elaborate regulation of the courses and the insistence on the presentation of the students' lecture-notes to the dean, all suggest that St. Salvator's has in fact been deputed as a suitable vicus for lectures, although there are grounds for Hannay's belief that the Pedagogy was here reasserting its claim.\(^{493}\) If there was one deputed school or lecture-hall, it would have been fairly easy for the faculty to ensure that no scholar should pay regents for the reading of the text except for voluntary contributions, and that regents should not accept rich students to their lectures \(^{(ad \ doctrinam)}\) unless they both slept and ate at the common table in the Pedagogy or St. Salvator's.\(^ {494}\) The faculty claimed to be interpreting the statutes faithfully here, but it is obvious that these latter only envisaged one school. In December, 1473, deputies were appointed to remake the ancient conclusions regarding regents and scholars. At the same time it was laid down that dictation was to be the method of lecturing, so that all could be taken down at the pace of the student's pen. One wonders if the appearance of printed texts

\(^{493}\) Statutes, p.32. He is right as regards "general responsions".
\(^{494}\) A.F.A., F.67r.
was making itself felt. The statutes were to be read by a master to both students and regents to ensure their observance.

The crisis was not yet over. On the 26th February, 1473, Graham delivered another blow, by annuling the exemption of St. Salvator's from the newly created archbishop. He had already proved himself the wolf envisaged by Kennedy who would invade the college goods. By his will Kennedy had left certain movable goods and money gifts to the college. Graham maintained that they had been wrongfully alienated, while the executors of Kennedy maintained that the will was perfectly legal and that the property was personal. On the 22nd March, 1470, John Myrton, official of Dunkeld, supported the executors and forced Graham to pay costs, also £942. 4s. 10d, which appears to be the money due to St. Salvator's.

By striking now at the exemption, Graham struck at the prestige of the college. As late as the 1st September, 1469, for instance, Robert Keith, as rector of Keith, had his rectory made a prebend of St. Salvator's. In this way the son of the Earl Marshal escaped the bishop's jurisdiction. Perhaps when he permitted this union the latter already foresaw the day when he could nullify its beneficial effects.

495 Ibid., F.72r.
496 St. Salvator, pp. 35-6.
497 St. Salvator, p. 79.
498 Archbishops, i, 35-6.
499 St. Salvator's Book "B", f. 6r.
Athilmer did not long survive these events. By the 3rd November, 1474, James Ogilvie, his successor, was in office.

James Ogilvie, Provost of St. Salvator's

The appointment of Ogilvie as a canon by Kennedy illustrates well how Kennedy was able to make friends of his enemies, whereas Graham made enemies of his friends. For Ogilvie was Kennedy's rival for the see of St. Andrews, being the nominee of the Council of Basle, appointed by Felix V, anti-pope, on the 26th July. 1440, being then a priest, master of arts and bachelor in theology. He was also of high birth by both parents (ex utroque parentum de baronum genere), perhaps as Baxter suggests one of the Ogilvies of Inverquhart. His bachelorship in arts is recorded in 1429. At the latest therefore his date of birth must have been early in 1414; he would have reached the statutory age for the mastership by 1434, in which year he incepted at Cologne. As vicar of Markinch he was present in St. Andrews in 1435. When his appointment to St. Andrews was confirmed by Felix he wrote to

500 A.F.A., f. 720v.
501 Copiale, p. 302 seq.
502 Ibid., p. 495.
503 That is in 1428-9, as is clear from the fact that they were received by Forester, dean of the faculty, only elected on the 3rd February 1428-9. A.F.A., ff. 8r – 9r.
504 Keussen, Matrikel, 335.
the lords, doctors, masters and other members of St. Andrews university, urging them to speak out on his behalf and the Council's, to resist Pope Eugenius in his high-handed attempt to transfer the Council and hinting that thereby they might increase the university's privileges. He was also at Louvain as a teacher in 1446 and in Vienna, where he was incorporated in the Saxon Nation as M.A., S.T.B., between April and October, 1450. He first appears at St. Andrews in February, 1454, as a regent examiner in arts. He was in St. Salvator's as a canon at least by the 25th August, 1455. This canonry was Dunino.

As a bachelor in theology, he qualified for election as quodlibetarius, to which post he was elected in his absence in 1461. He was frequently an auditor and a dean's assessor, and was dean of the arts faculty in 1465. His main work in the faculty was probably in teaching and he is recorded as presiding regent several times in the acts of St. Salvator's students.

We have no hint of his philosophical position. No doubt, like Athilmer, he was a follower of the via antiqua. In former

506 See ibid., p. 141 seq.
507 Ibid., p. 494; Die Matrikel der Universität Wien. (Graz:Köln, 1954), i, 279 (Publikationen des Institutes für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. VI Reihe).
508 SAE 22 (St. Salvator's writs).
509 That is, he was rector, not vicar, on the 3rd November, not the 13th (Coitale, p. 496). See A.F.A., f. 50v.
510 Kennedy, p. 267 note. He was elected dean in March, his predecessor having been made rector (A.F.A., f. 55v).
511 E.g. Bursar's Book, ff. 4v, 7r.
days, he writes, justice and truth ruled, when fathers of good life obtained the highest posts in the Church. He is concerned about the quality of his writing, ne prolixior is stilli fastidium aures delicatas pulset. Like Archibald Whitelaw, he has been brought up to write Latin well. He is also a scholastic thinker, and he quotes the Aristotelian causes (efficient, material, formal and final) to demonstrate the power of the Council over the pope. He undoubtedly stands for the introduction of conciliar theology to St. Andrews, like his friend, Thomas Livingstone, presumably picking up his conciliarist views abroad. It is highly unlikely, however, that he was a nominalist, as John Ireland, who held similar theories was. It would be over simple to think of everybody, even in a small Scottish university, as either nominalist or realist, or that all conciliarists were convertible as such with nominalists.

Ogilvie was given collation as provost by the ordinary, Graham. He may have been recalled from Glasgow on the death of Thomas Logie; he presided over determinants there in late 1472 and Logie was dead by the 8th November, 1473. It is not clear

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512 Coniale, p. 204.
513 An Albertist from Scotland who upheld the supremacy of the council at Cologne was a certain John de Scotia, later a Dominican. Lohr, G.M., Die Theologischen Disputationen und Promotionen an der Universitat Koln in ausgabenden Jahrhundert, pp.28,53,54. Probably John Hoy (B.M. Reichert, Regitrum literarum Perianq, Lundelli et Caleant, p.50). There was a John Prod, Dominican from "Ercht" (Edinburgh) at Heidelberg. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland, vii, 46)
when he took his licence in theology, to qualify him to succeed Logie. He was certainly provost by July of next year.

Alas, his tenure of office was short. He was no longer provost by the 8th December, 1476. By December 1479 he had obtained a pension from St. Salvator’s of £20 Scots. He may have resigned it at Rome. We are completely in the dark as to the reasons for the resignation. It is one of the many mysteries in the masterful episcopate of Patrick Graham.

John Lok

This is the man of mystery in the university at this time. How did he engineer his appointment to St. Salvator’s in 1476? It is possible that nobody was qualified, although John Liston was a licentiate in October, 1475. Who took over the rule of the Pedagogy from him? If he was twenty when he graduated in arts in 1447 he must have become provost at the age of 49. He acquired the rectory of Finhaven, Brechin diocese, before October, 1464, when he appealed from Lutherdale, official of St. Andrews, to Graham. Perhaps he had powerful lay patrons. At any rate he got the assent of the earl of Crawford to Finhaven becoming a canonry of Brechin in 1474.

515 C.P.R., viii, 366; Scot.Ben., p.185
517 Piersars’ Rs., f.7v.
518 Brechin, ii, 204.
519 Ibid., 1, 196.
He had an obscure quarrel with the Dominican prior of St. Andrews over a tenement in South Street which belonged to him.

Lok was university Rector almost continuously from 1463 till his death. Apart from the Ireland incident, it is probable that he was an indulgent and popular regent. It is more open to doubt whether he had the mental calibre of an Athilmer, an Ogilvie or a Richard Guthrie; he was, however, a master in theology, and in 1474 was chosen to procure books for the faculty. In 1475 when Robert Keith managed to snatch the rectorship for a brief period, it was decided to remove the vote from students so that only the worthier members of the university might be elected. He mentions differences that existed, useless shouting at elective congregations and the necessity for peace among members. Only doctors, masters and bachelors in all faculties, religious fathers and priests, were to vote. The result was to ensure Lok's continuance in office, whether this was the intention or not.

On the 7th December, 1477, he obtained papal permission to hold other benefices with his provostship. He

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520 Conolly, M.A., Fifiana, p.120; some subsequent deeds dated 1482 and 1483 refer not to the present John Lok but to an heir (Ibid., p.121).
521 A.F.A. ff.53v - 77v. William Forbes was Rector in 1465, Andrew Stewart in 1472 (E.Reca., p.191) and Robert Keith in 1475 (A.F.A. f. 73v).
522 A.F.A., f.72v.
523 Acta Rectorum, i,3.
524 MS. Univ.Statutes, Title 5, const.3.
525 C.P.R., xiii.620.
evidently succeeded David Kay as archdiocesan official, but whether he was official at the time of the Graham crisis is by no means clear. Kay seems, like Lutherdale, to have resigned.

George Buchanan in his history of a century later puts all Graham's troubles down to William Scheves, designated archdeacon of St. Andrews by James III. "When he was not received to that office by the bishop, he took counsel with John Lok, then university Rector, enemy of Patrick, and set all the machinery in motion to get rid of him. The Rector, enjoying papal privilege, by which he was exempt from Patrick's jurisdiction, forbade him to say mass." Graham, went on Buchanan, so scorned Lok's excommunication that he ignored it entirely.

Whether Lok took the prominent part in Graham's deposition that Buchanan makes out is impossible now to determine. As provost of St. Salvator's, he was certainly exempt from his jurisdiction although Graham had attempted to quash the exemption. If it could be shown that Lok was official as well as Rector the case might be stronger, but

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526 He was official in 1478, P.R.S.S., xli, 316–7; C.R.H. Chs. iii, no. 422.
Kay was official in 1471 (Remugas ii, 96) and he appears in university records after his demission.
527 "... communicato consilio cum Ioanne Locco tum scholarum publicorum rectore at Patricio inimico,"
528 Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia (Aberdeen, 1772 edn.), lib. XII, cap. XXXIV.
there is no reason to believe he was in 1476. If Graham acted as legate a latere without due authority, as has been suggested, he may have attempted to interfere with Lok's exemption. The king, chapter, clergy, university and people of the city and province are represented as complaining. At the enquiry constituted by papal authority, the Cologne judge, John Huseman, was dean of St. Petriclus, Soest, and no doubt disposed to sympathise with the provost; but he had earlier acted as co-mandatory with Graham and his instructions commended him to conduct the judicial enquiry in the most disinterested way.

Under Lok's regime a new volume of the Rector's book was started and possibly the old one lost. He acted as vice-chancellor in 1478, and he died in office as Rector about the 10th May, 1479.

Medicine

In August 1469, a certain Andrew de Garleis, doctor of medicine was received at Glasgow university. One who is obviously the same person, Andrew Gorlech, M.A., doctor of medicine, applied shortly after for reception to the arts

529 Herkless and Hanney, Archbishops, i, 51-2.
530 Ibid., i, 60
531 C.P.R., xiii, 226; Ibid., xi, 507
532 Scottish History Society Miscellany, iii, 171-3.
533 A.F.A., f. 77v.
534 Aota Rectorum, i, 5.
faculty in St. Andrews. In his absence it was agreed to receive him if he could show by seal, letter, testimony or oath that he had an arts degree and this in spite of testimonial letters from the Queen. He took his great oath, after which he was received and dispensed payment. He can hardly be other than Andrew Alamani of Denmark, perpetual vicar of Kirkbean, master in medicine, physician to James III, mentioned in a papal letter of the 9th February, 1472. Perhaps he had hoped to combine some medical with arts teaching, or more probably, some medical practice with arts.

**Law and Theology**

We have no glimpses of the law faculty, except the pawning of the Decretals, Clementines, Raymund of Pennafort and the sext to the arts bursar. It is possible that both those who pledged and those who accepted the pledges were law students: that is Alexander Pennicuik, William Cowie, Alexander Bridie, and Henry Boyce. Robert Lennox, licensed in arts in 1468, is one of those later found as a bachelor of decreets.

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536 A.F.A., f.63r.
537 C.P.R., xiii, 303.
538 Richard Ramsay licensed in 1471 went to study medicine at Louvain next year. *E. Recs.,* p.50; *Hils, Matricule,* ii, 269
539 Bursar’s BK., f.7v.
540 E. Recs., p.46; Spire, p.73
A Manipulus curatorum was surrendered by Master William Young to the arts bursar.\textsuperscript{542} He undoubtedly qualified in theology, although the book can hardly be accounted a theology text-book. James Brown, S.T.B., later dean of Aberdeen, was licensed in arts probably in St. Salvator's, in 1475.\textsuperscript{543} He was a regent, evidently in St. Salvator's, in 1477.\textsuperscript{544} Hugh Spens was a St. Salvator's regent, and therefore a student in theology, in 1474, and probably a bachelor in 1475 when he was elected quodlibetarius.\textsuperscript{545}

On the whole the university flourished in spite of the mania or megalomania for which the archbishop was deprived. The king's interest is not very obvious in the acta, except for the St. Salvator's quarrel and the dispensation asked for Thomas Stewart to respond after St. Valentine in 1474.\textsuperscript{546} There was still a considerable drain abroad; in Kennedy's chancellorship at least 104 students went to Cologne and a similar exodus went on in Graham's time: large numbers also went to Louvain (some of these are migrants from Cologne, of course). Moreover, Paris had once again opened up for Scots students, while the odd Scot is found as far afield as Cracow.\textsuperscript{547} It is much to the credit of St. Andrews that this outflow scarcely seems to affect the numbers at home. On the other hand, it must be confessed...
that no more distinguished teachers, Albertist or otherwise, appear to be attracted to the Scots university. 548

WILLIAM SCHEVES: CHANCELLOR, 1478-1497

Scheves was a fellow-student of Graham's who, if we may trust Buchanan, went to study medicine at Louvain under Nicholas Spierinck, before returning to the Scottish court as physician; and while this earlier stay of his at Louvain cannot be proved, Buchanan's story has every plausibility. Jaspar Laet credits him with a mastery of the "four sciences"; presumably arts, medicine, theology and law. He was already coadjutor to Graham in 1476. 549

Town and Gown

The agreement drawn up during Kennedy's chancellorship had apparently proved satisfactory to both parties. We know very little about the assise of bread and ale in St. Andrews, except that John Mair was quite explicit: "bad beer in St. Andrews." 550

On the 16th November, 1484, the Rector, Robert Keith, announced that he had visited the "aldermen, bailies and consuls" for reform regarding the assise and for observance of the statutes. The city pointed to the impossibility of their

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548 A.F.A., F.58r; It is interesting to note the prevalence of some families in certain periods: James Brown we have already mentioned; George Brown, later Bishop of Dunkeld, was received after a career at Paris in 1465; and Walter Brown licensed in arts in 1477, is mentioned by Myln as a bachelor in theology and a student in canon law;

549 Archbishops, i,23-3.
550 Ibid., i,153.
551 Ibid., i, 28,note 3.
552 Innes Rev., ii,70 art. by J.H.Burns, "The Scotland of John Major."
carrying out their side of the bargain when students insisted on having ale for twelvepence against the city's regulations. The university concluded that any person buying ale at that price should pay a fine of two shillings to the common purse unless he informed on the vendor who had been guilty of under-charging.

Feeling between university and town could not have been uniformly good, especially when the university seemed to support the city's legal adversaries, as in October, 1488, in a dispute before the lords auditors regarding certain lands between the archdeacon and the provost. Then Meldrum, the official, Robert Keith, Hugh Spens, Liston, provost of St. Salvator's, and the Rector, Walter Drummond, all united to support the archdeacon against provost and prior.

On the 4th May, 1492, there was an agreement of even wider import alluded to. If there were any attacks or plots against any university member by any stranger or other person there was to be united action. The Rector, conservator, official or a depute appointed by the university in the Rector's absence would, on receipt of the news of the attack, order the regents to see to the ringing of the bells of both Pedagogy and College. The resident members would then gather

553 Acta Rectorum, i,11.
554 Acta Auditorum, p.118.
with weapons of defence along with any other externally resident members in the Rector's fort (vallum). The penalty for non-appearance would be suspension for priests and excommunication for laymen. In addition it was concluded that the provost of St. Andrews would reassemble the citizens to remind them of the contract (made in Kennedy's day) and so come to the university's assistance in the same fortification, and the university would distribute arms also to them on the provost's notification.555

A later undated statute of 1493 explicitly refers to the promise made in Kennedy's time to give help and counsel to the burgh. In the rectorship of Hugh Spens steps were taken to implement the promise. It was argued that the university ought to go to the help of the secular jurisdiction especially when the latter was attempting to increase and maintain the common good. It was decided to enforce observance therefore of all civic statutes regarding victuals, especially bread and ale, where they operated for the public good. Violators were to be fined two shillings as before, except that now the fine was doubled for each repetition. Each year when the statutes were promulgated certain inquisitors were to be appointed to examine

555 Acta Rectorum, i,25. (Appendix A).
lawbreakers: probably these were official assessors and not student reformers. If the member accused did not purge himself on oath he would be held guilty. This arrangement was not intended however to interfere with the jurisdiction of the assise of bread and ale, except in the case of negligence on the part of civic officials. (University Statutes, Title 5, Constitution 10, in Appendix E).

John Liston, Provost of St. Salvator's

Liston was a St. Andrews man; he determined there in 1456 and was licensed three years later. By 1475 he was a licentiate in theology, having been a canon of St. Salvator's from at least 1472, from which year he was also regularly dean's assessor. He would be rector of Kemback when he succeeded Lok as provost in 1479.

The bad feeling between Pedagogy and College was presumably mitigated by the succession of a Pedagogy principal, Lok, to the provostship: although it underlined the inferior economic status of the former principality that he left it. Liston was a St. Salvator's man pur sang, involved in the early quarrels.

555 E. Recs., pp. 35-7.
557 Bursars' Bk., f. 79v; St. Salvator's Book "B", f. 68v; A.F.A., f. 69v.
The story of Liston's quarrel with George Crichton, one of the four founded regents in St. Salvator's, is obscure. It would appear that Crichton refused to obey an order of Liston's on grounds which Liston refused to recognise, whereupon Crichton appealed to the Rector. Ignoring the appeal, Liston deprived Crichton of Office. The Rector, David Meldrum, canon of Dunkeld and Brechin, allowed Crichton's appeal and found that Liston had gone beyond his powers, declared Crichton's expulsion null and found Liston liable for costs. On the 14th October, 1484, Liston appeared in the new schools to apologise. At a previous meeting there he had been excommunicated for ignoring the Rector's judgment; now he confessed his guilt and asked the Rector's indulgence, promising for himself and his successors to obey the university Rectors as his ordinary judges and never to interfere with the execution of the Rectorial letters of citation, but rather to help in their execution. He was ordered to ask forgiveness of Rector and university on bended knees whereupon Meldrum absolved him.  

Mynin tells us that David Meldrum was a man of strong character; this is not hard to believe, just as it is easy to see that Liston was not of the same mettle as Athilmer.

558 Acta Rectorum, i, 9-10.
559 Rentale Dunkeldense, p. 325
However Liston had not given up. Mention is made in 1490 of the surreptitious acquisition by St. Salvator's of a papal rescript authorising exemption from the Rector's authority.

On the 2nd January a congregation was called, but was adjourned by the desire of Scheves till the 8th. The Rector, Walter Drummond, showed a signature (presumably of Scheves) revoking the St. Salvator's exemption. Liston maintained that he had been wronged by Drummond and several deputies from each nation were elected to look into the matter, twenty three in all, including Spens and Symson of St. Salvator's. On the 10th the conclusion was that, provided he took the counsel of deputies, the Rector had full authority and jurisdiction over the provost until the apostolic rescript could be produced. On the 13th at a further session in the archbishop's palace Liston's articles of complaint were read by Scheves and the deputies, and it was found that Liston's complaints had no foundation and he was required once again to apologise, and, in the presence of Scheves, make a promise not to repeat the offence. Liston himself incidentally was Rector in 1498 and 1501, although the election of a Rector from the College was a rare event.

Liston's patrons were, he tells us, Robert de Kinmonth, former vicar of Cupar, his uncle, and

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560 Acta Rectorum, i, 20.
561 E. Recs., pp. 198, 198.
David Kay, doctor of decrees. On his anniversary he left 40 loaves to the Observant Franciscans and 20 to the lepers of St. Nicholas' hospital. He founded a chaplainry of St. Katherine the Virgin "in the new chapel repaired by me of the collegiate church contiguous to the north side of the same." This chaplain was to be presented by the provost and chaplains and to be a bachelor in canon law and to read thrice weekly at least in canon law to all comers according to the law faculty statutes and at the direction of the provost and canons. The date of the foundation was the 12th November, 1500, five years before his death.

Franciscans and other Regulars

Bishop Kennedy is credited with bringing the Observant Franciscans to St. Andrews in the person of Friar Robert Keith. The sixteenth century chronicler, who is not always reliable in details, tells us that Keith was a professor of theology: he also names another lector, David Meldrum, and his half-brother, Archibald, who may have been related to the David Meldrum prominent at this time in university affairs. A friar,

562 St. Salvator's Bk. "B", f,f.79v. Kinmont was vicar of Cupar circa 1440, Dunfermline, p.300.
563 Ibid., f.81v.
564 Other references to Liston show him involved in several disputes regarding the patrimony of St. Salvator's including a long-drawn-out case before the lords auditors regarding Bilcomie lands. He gave two copes to the college and a panel painted by himself of St. Catherine. He went on an embassy to Copenhagen on behalf of James IV. Acta Auditorum, pp.124,150,157,163,163 and Neilson and Paton, Acts of the Lords of the Council in Civil Causes, pp.176,182; St. Salvator, pp.139,159.
565 Baxter, St. Andrews Univ. before the Reformation, p.11.
566 Possibly the Robert de Keth who studied theology at Cologne in 1439, Kessels, Matrikel, i.412. Kennedy, p.297.
566 Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, ii,130-1.
John Tennant, was incorporated in 1484, probably the Conventual Franciscan of Dundee of that name. Jerome Lindsay, qualified as a doctor of theology by the chronicler, was a St. Salvator's student who was licensed in arts in 1489. Another graduate of 1495, Andrew Cairns, is said to have been a doctor in canon law; while another graduate in arts, George Napier of Merchiston, can also be traced among the Observants as can Finlay Ramsey, incorporated in 1492, later a regent in St. Salvator's who became a friar. No doubt other names could be discovered. The fourteenth century campaign of Fitzralph against the friars was now going into reverse: learned men now welcomed them and joined their company. The arts records note that Master John LItstar was dispensed with his oath taken to the faculty (regarding lecture) because he had entered the order of the Brethren of the Observance.

Humanism

There can be no question but that the Renaissance made its influence felt in St. Andrews at this time. William Dunbar, the greatest of the Scottish poets, was a licentiate of 1479; while St. Salvator's had the

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567 E.Reca, p.181. He is at Dundee in 1482, Spalding Misc., ii,324 and as an Observant at Glasgow in 1519, Diocesan Registers,ii,486.
569 E.Reca., p.83; Scot.Grey Friars, ii,181,316 (the obituary here seems to confirm the chronicler), for Cairns. E.Reca.,p.61; R.M.S.,ii.no.3142, for Napier; E.Reca.p.190 and St. Salvator's Fr. "B",f.220v for Ramsey.
570 Two great reforming personalities in their respective orders were also students at St. Andrews at this time: John Adamson, the Dominican, and Alexander Myln, later abbot of Cambuskenneth; E.Reca., pp.82,87.
A.F.A., f.35v. According to the chronicle he was a lector in philosophy and theology.
translator of the *Aeneid*, Gavin Douglas, as a student in 1492. Chaucer was not the only influence on these men: Douglas quotes Lorenzo Valla and Boccaccio.

Scheves, according to Jasper Laet, worked for a mathematical revival in St Andrews and collected numerous volumes for the restoration of astronomy ("sidereal science"): one of these at least has survived, a work of Guido Bonatus. How these influences arrived in Scotland, except as mediated through Cologne and Louvain and Scots visitors to the Roman curia, is something of a problem. A prior of St Andrews of this period, William Cameron, had certainly been abroad a great deal, studying at Cologne, Bologna and Ferrara. While it might be maintained that Scots abroad were mainly benefice-hunting, nevertheless that need not be a full-time pursuit, even at the curia: some found time like Peter Davidson of Aberdeen to help in the foundation of the first Danish university at Copenhagen; one, Alan Lennox, was Rector at Bourges in 1480; John Nisbet, a student at Perugia, was recommended by James III to the curia; another, John Pleynamours, was professor of decrees at Ingoldstadt.

There was a new interest, as we shall see, in grammar at the university level, encouraged by the archdeacon, Alexander Inglis, who in 1496 presented to

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573 *Archbishops*,1,152-3.
574 *Decem Prætutus Astronomiae*, now in Edinburgh Univ.Library, Inc.40.
575 *Juridical Review*,xli,21 in article by Miss R.J.Mitchell, "Scottish Law Students in Italy in the later middle ages".
576 *Dunlop, Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century*,pp.13-19 (Historical Association; 1942); *Fournier*, *Statutes*, iii,433.
the library of the Pedagogy some books, including texts of Virgil, Ovid, Cicero and Seneca.  

Scotland, however, was not exactly at the crossroads of Europe. The Bishop of Dromore was in St. Andrews diocese in 1485. But it is not till 1495 and 1496 that we find some recognisably Irish names in the university rolls, whatever the explanation of their presence may have been. On the other hand Scots were not to be found at English universities except the odd wanderer, such as Alexander Cornwell, at Oxford in 1477, who later, it would appear, became a Franciscan, while John Mair, of course, was for a short time at God's House, Cambridge.

The Development of the Pedagogy

A development that has been overlooked is that of the Pedagogy, largely because in 1512 Alexander Stewart said that it was almost extinct and in ruins because of the failure of the foundation and the lack of lettered persons. But to all appearances it flourished before the fifteenth century ended, except that the teaching staff were not so well rewarded as at St. Salvator's.

In 1485 it is clear that new residential accommodation was being added: for Richard Slater was paid

577 Salmon and Bushnell, Henderson's Benefaction (St. Andrews; 1942), p.31.
578 Doudan, Bishops, p.33; E. Record, pp.194-5.
579 Boddan, Biographical Register, i,491; Spalding Miscellany. ii,324.
580 Evidenca, iii,356-7.
£8 for roofing the blocks of rooms. The bursar had in his possession a hundred unshaped stones, two squared beams, thirty five tables and four chalders of lime; the thirty five tables obviously being furniture not for the hall but for students' studies. This development was foreshadowed in 1484 when faculty deputies were appointed to investigate the maintenance of students at table, which reference by itself might point merely to the fall in the value of money: were it not that the legal advice of John Dryburgh was sought on a building to be newly started (funding) in the faculty. Hugh Spens, rector of Dunino, of St. Salvator's was dean, but concord seems to have reigned: the committee investigating the possibility of new building seems to be composed of men mostly with Pedagogy associations: David Monipenny, Robert Panter, an experienced builder on his own account, William Cubie and John Dolace. At an earlier period a stone dyke (fovea) was erected by the bursar around the faculty garden.

In 1493 David Monipenny, canon of Moray, made a gift of certain goods to the chaplain of the altar of St. Antony

581 Bursar's Ex., ff.11v-12r. "Insuoper facultios tenet o ratio oclater in ultrilibus pro lectura sametum... Et remanens in dominatio predicta summe scilicet centum labores deiformes, duo ligna quadrata, triginta quinque manae et quatuor caldrae calcis." He began to gather materials in April 1484, A.F.A., f.84v.
582 A.F.A., ff.35r. and v.
583 Ibid., f.78v.
in the parish church, the deans of faculty having a controlling interest. On the 5th May, 1494, Alexander Inglis, in the presence of Robert Keith, Rector, Liston, Simson and Spens of St. Salvator's and John Young, canon of Dunkeld, founded a chaplainry of St. John Baptist in the cathedral church, the presentation being in the archdeacon's hands, or failing him, in the Rector's, while the faculty bursar was to be responsible for the upkeep of the tenements associated with the foundation. The chaplain was to be a master of arts, regent in one of the faculties of grammar, philosophy, theology or canon law (or other university faculty). If civil law existed it apparently was conjoined to the faculty of decreets. Scheves and his chapter confirmed this deed on the 18th July. The altar is also called the altar of the Annunciation described as "in the aisle of the archdeacon": possibly there was a panel representing the Annunciation at the St. John Baptist altar. On the 29th April Inglis as archdeacon and conservator in the Rector's presence presented to the faculty the mortification and asked for its registration in the book of conclusions. On the 18th April, 1496, Thomas Inglis, abbot of Inchcolm, an executor of

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584 Evidence, iii, 350-3.
585 Evidence, iii, 352-4.
586 Where it is registered, A.F.A., ff. 110r-111v.
the late archdeacon, presented a box containing the charters relative to the foundation to the faculty. Inglis will probably have made other gifts for deputies were appointed by the faculty in May, 1497, to get stones and lime from the abbot as executor for building the chapel of St. John the Evangelist. The deputies drew up an indenture with the abbot whereby he gave them stones cut and uncut, with lime and cement in great quantity. On account of his liberality, the dean and his deputies promised that the faculty would keep his anniversary with sung Placebo and dirge on the day of death and a mass of Requiem in the parish church on the following morning, at the expense of the common purse. The chapel of St. John had perhaps become too small for a full faculty gathering; hence the service in Holy Trinity and the opening of rebuilding operations.

587 A.F.A., f.113r.
588 A.F.A., f.116r. If they ceased to celebrate the obit, they had to pay £10 to the abbot or his nearest heirs male, subjecting themselves in this to the Rector, conservator and the archbishop.
Civil War and the University

There is little indication that civil strife in any way affected the university. In 1480, on the 10th April, the Rector, William Blackadder, proposed that general processions be held for the state of the king, queen and kingdom, and for good weather (temperie seris) and peace: this, of course, was at the time when Albany and Mar were in disgrace. Patrick Simson and James Brown asked for commendatory letters, no doubt to James III. The nations took the decision regarding the processions after ripe consideration. They were to take place as often as the Rector thought desirable.589

The year of Sauchieburn did not affect matriculations, but the licentiates of that year were unplaced, which obviously means that the examinations were cut short590. Moreover on the 6th November as many as seven bachelors were allowed to respond together in vico and the second responsibility was dispensed for a payment of two shillings. Similar dispensations

589 Acta Rectorum, i, 7.
590 E. Recs., p. 73.
were rare, although recorded in 1489 and 1492.

University opinion as such was probably out of sympathy with the party which took up arms against the king, a point we shall return to later.

**Discipline**

To bind the disparate faculty elements into one, it was also decided in 1478 that the College would have its accustomed feast on the Epiphany in honour of St. Salvator, at which the Pedagogy "and other places of the said faculty", both masters and students, would attend the mass, vespers and procession as of old. Similarly the Pedagogy, founded in honour of St. John, would continue to celebrate that feast, which the College and "other places" would attend. The "other places" must mean to apply to future contingencies unless the grammar school is intended. The faculty began to take an active interest again in its grammar students for its own honour and utility. On the 3rd November it decided unanimously to raise the standard of Latinity: in future none of its own grammar students nor any other scholar could be received by a regent to the artists' schools unless his grammar qualifications were found adequate by an examining body consisting of four regents along with the dean and the

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591 *A.F.A.*, ff.100r, 106r.
592 *Ibid.*, f.112r.
master of the grammar school. This is the university grammar school—no doubt the "faculty" referred to shortly before.

Paris had given a lead on the question of perjury that it is surprising to find St Andrews not following sooner. It was in 1487 shortly after a Paris graduate was received to the faculty (Kenneth Sutherland, later a regent) that a committee was elected to change the pains of perjury to others: a few months passed and they drew up a statute which the faculty found acceptable, all the more so that these penalties were altered in favour of payment of fines. The faculty referred to the daring young men who acted as masters without incepting after licence. All candidates for licence had now to give caution that they would incept within sixty days of licence, with a graded system of fines for non-fulfilment. In 1496 these rules were made more stringent but the time was extended: candidates before admission were to bind themselves in the books of the Conservator (i.e. the archdeacon) to incept within 80 days; otherwise they were to pay the statutory fines along with the quota given to the bedellus. This threat was again ignored so that in November, 1497, the bursar was given authority to raise

593 Ibid., f.111r.
594 Ibid., f.108r.
595 Ibid., f.37v.
596 A.F.A., f.114r.
conservatorial letters warning that licentiates of that and the previous year should comply or pay the fines.\textsuperscript{597}

While there is no doubt that the faculty by all this regulation was endeavouring to keep up its standards, nevertheless its position with regard to post-graduate lectures on the text of Aristotle involved it in contradictions. When we find the faculty giving over its power to dispense in these cases to John Dolace, the bursar, as in 1489, we realise how much dispensation in this matter has become a matter of course\textsuperscript{598}. Even one who was only a distinguished master, like the archdeacon of Brechin, had similar powers of dispensation\textsuperscript{599}.

\textbf{Theology}

Qualified theologians are again to be found in this period and the faculty was probably flourishing, although evidence is very scattered. It is curious that, as far as we know, a distinguished Paris teacher like John Ireland never returned to his old university and it is a pity he did not succeed in holding the

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\textsuperscript{597}Ibid., f.117v. Cf.f.77v.
\textsuperscript{598}Ibid., f.102v.
\textsuperscript{599}Ibid., f.105v.
archdeaconry of St Andrews when he acquired it in 1485. It is also curious that distinguished theological teachers at Cologne chose to end their days there, such as Robert Stodart, an Albertist, Alexander Jackson, a Thomist, and Thomas Lyle, a Scotist.

As might have been imagined, the principal regent of the Pedagogy, apparently John Dolace, was a licentiate of theology by 1486. Robert Keith, rector of Dysart, licentiate in theology in 1490, was "magister noster" in 1494 when Rector of the university: a copy of Gerson has survived with his name. Robert Hindmarsh is to be identified with the subprior of St Andrews and professor of theology mentioned in a dated document; and also in a copy of Augustine's _De Trinitate_ now at St Andrews.

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600 Innes Rev., vi, 84-5.
601 Lohr, G., _Die theologischen Disputationen_, pp. 25, 30; Keussen, _Matrikal_, i, 570, 577, 637.
602 A.F.A., f. 96v. His views may perhaps be inferred from a copy of Scotus in his possession and now in St Andrews university library (said to have been donated by him to St. Leonard's, but this is, I think, the error of a 16th century librarian: the signature is in the hand of this Dolace).
603 Costale, pp. 213, 493, where Baxter erroneously identifies him with Robert Horshbruk and misquotes the date as June, 1470, for July, 1477. For the books cited see Innes Rep., ix, under the names of their respective owners.
John Young, licentiate in canon law, vicar of Dron, is a name very frequent in the records; he was dean of arts for instance in 1492. He later became commissary of the St Andrews official, and is described by Alexander Myln as exceedingly learned, an excellent textualist, a man of great courtesy and universally beloved. David Guthrie was a doctor in both laws, who graduated in St Andrews and appears to have resided there. Gavin Douglas himself according to Myln was a student of both theology and law, but of course he may have studied also at Paris. Others mentioned by Myln as versed in canon law are Walter Brown, William Ireland and John Pennicuik, some of whose knowledge may have been acquired in practice, but all of whom are certainly St. Andrews men. Simon Campion, bachelor of decreets in 1503, says that Mr. Duncan Zallowick was his master and instructer. David Abercromby and Alexander Moncrieff are other possible students in this faculty, although Myln’s epithet suggests rather “law practitioners.”

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608 Campion was licensed in arts in 1470. (E.Recs.,p.50)St.And.Charters No.175
609 Myln, Vitae, pp.1-2.
designated as licentiate in both laws, undoubtedly studied his civil law from 1501 mainly at Orleàns, a university to which civil lawyers from Scotland increasingly turned.

One of the difficulties in assessing the probabilities is that so many were accustomed to follow their studies in different universities. For instance, John Fresel, as dean of arts, asked that his lecture in canon law should entitle him to a dispensation in arts, and yet we find that previously he had studied decrees at Louvain. So whether he took his final degree at St. Andrews is quite uncertain. Two monks of Arbroath, John Fethy and John Dumbreck, were incorporated in 1491, although Fethy's licence to study only followed some years later; in 1496 Fethy was authorised to recover Arbroath copies of the Decreta and the Decretals from the executors of Alexander Inglis, archdeacon.

On the whole Scheves must be given credit for the healthy state of the university at this time. While it is odd that he made no attempt to provide for his own favourite study of medicine, we have Jasper

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610 Ibid., p. 2; *Scottish History Soc. Miscellany*, ii, 178-181. Robert Lorimer, licensed in arts in 1481, was also a bachelor in decrees. E.Recs., p. 65; G.R.H. Fraser. *Inventory*, i, no. 34.
611 A.P.A., f. 80r; *ills, Matrikel*, p. 269.
612 E.Recs., p. 198; *Arbroath*, ii, 297-300.
Laet's word for it that he attracted scholars in mathematics and astronomy. Louvain, where he himself studied theology in 1491, seemed to be the spiritual home of many Scots scholars of the time, although Cologne was also popular; at least one regent in arts came from there: Charles Fotheringham. But Paris was still a magnet, and there the first Scottish printed book was issued by James Liddell, a regent, in 1495. It was impossible for St Andrews to escape Parisian influence in the century of Pierre d'Ailly and Gerson; and we can see from the survivals of his library that Scheves read both that first great conciliarist and his pro-papal opponent, Torquemada. The Albert-Buridan quarrel had possibly sunk into the background; Cologne, according to the Manuale Scholarium, being still the European stronghold of Albert, but fertile also in Thomists like Peter Davidson, co-founder of Copenhagen, who died there in 1520.

613 Archives Royales, Fonds Univ. de Louvain (Brussels), no. 23.I.29v; a John Scheves of St. Andrews also studied there, f.17v. Keussen, Matrikel, ii, 90; A.F.A., f.102v. 
614 Edinburgh Bibliographical Soc. Transactions, iii, 75. 
JAMES STEWART: CHANCELLOR, 1497-1504.

In place of the learned commoner, William Scheves, who had been nearly edged out of office by a bishop of royal blood, Andrew Stewart, bishop of Moray (who when provost of Lincluden was university Rector) there succeeded to the see of St. Andrews James Stewart, also of royal lineage, against whom no objection could be offered on the score of lack of nobility. This move of James IV was as shrewd as it was scandalous, for the administrator of St. Andrews was only 19 on appointment, was not a priest and was never consecrated. Nevertheless it might well be thought that such an occupant of the university see would be well qualified to carry into effect the legislation of 1496 which required nobleman's and freeholder's sons to attend the schools of arts and law.

The Faculty of Arts.

There is little activity in the faculty at this time. On the 7th May, 1498, it was decided that the chaplains singing vespers and Mass for the feast of St. John should in future have four shillings in all, two from the faculty and two from the university purse. This may mean that the choir of the chapel of St. John had been extended in accordance with the Alexander Inglis bequest.

616 Archbishops, i, 104, 165; E. Rece., 180.
617 Archbishops, i, 195, 202.
618 A.P.S., i, 288.
On the 10th February, 1500, a large crowd attended congregation to hear an adverse judgment passed on licentiates who by the advice of their regents had violated the faculty regulations by incepting before eight in the morning. If the reason for this was, as one may suspect, the fear of contamination by plague, one has every sympathy with the regents concerned. However, the faculty insisted that no public act should be celebrated before eight under pain of expulsion, pointing out that the statutes which enforced this were ancient and were drafted with great moderation, and that they required the vocation to the act of a certain minimum number of masters to both school and hall. 620

The Plague.

The plague had already hit Edinburgh by November, 1498, when it was decided that all schools must "scail" and that landward children must return to their friends incontinent. The prohibition was repeated in 1499. 621 The numbers at St. Andrews were already affected, and indeed more than halved, in 1498, perhaps due to the fact that the town students were still in attendance, and in 1499 attendance sagged even more drastically and only three incorporations are recorded. 622 There was quite a recovery in 1500, with 32 fresh students from all parts, including a canon of Incheffray and what appear to be two Irish friars: but apart from one student,

620 A.F.A., f.120v. Among those recorded in the Bursar's Book as owing for lectures in 1502 is M. Anselm Robertson, whose licence is not otherwise recorded (f.15v).
621 Extracts from the Records of ..., Edinburgh, i, 75-6.
622 E. Recs., pp. 156-7
Alexander Lowson, who was allowed to determine in 1501 with the pitiful remnant of 1498 entrants, there is no immediate trace of these in the records. Patently the plague had struck St. Andrews with renewed vigour, driving away some like Robert Ireland, kinsman of Master William Ireland already mentioned, who went to Poitiers, became doctor of laws and ordinary reader there, the famous Ecossais decretal potens who taught Rabelais. Only two people matriculated in 1501, and none are recorded in the two following years. Yet as there were determinants listed in 1504 in the College at least we must assume that they were matriculated in 1502 or 1503 at the latest, perhaps in the latter year when conditions were still difficult: plainly the abnormal conditions had cleared by Lent of 1504 when it was decided that thereafter none would be admitted to examination unless the former statutes and constitutions were observed.

The plague was unquestionably much more virulent at St. Andrews than anywhere else. Moreover the College seems to have suffered less than the Pedagogy. On the 3rd November, 1501, a St. Salvator's man, Patrick Simson, was dean: he was rector of Dunino, the bachelor's prebend. As this was the statutory day for election of the new dean he went to the Pedagogy. Because however entry to the schools of arts could not be had, the masters present consented to their adjourning the

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623 Ibid., pp.197-8, 91.
624 Rentale Dunkeldensis, p.327; E.Recs., p.198; Boissonade, ed. Histoire de l'Univ. de Poitiers, pp.167-8. He could not therefore have gone to Poitiers c.149v6.
625 E.Recs., p.198.
626 Ibid., p.91; A.F.A., f.123v.
congregation to the College schools, where everybody was continued in office automatically.

**Thomas Ramsay.**

It has already been indicated how Thomas Ramsay succeeded to regency in the Pedagogy at the postulate's request. This is probably the best place to give some account of him, although he finished his career many years later at St. Salvator's.

In 1527 Mair described him as a "workshop" of useful doctrine", but as a rather eccentric and talkative person. While asking Peter Chaplain to greet him wholeheartedly on Mair's behalf, he jestingly suggests that he should ask him about his ten year old alternating fever, provided it does not upset his wide lectures on St. John. With Ramsay's kind favour Mair will, however, say one thing: Let Ramsay mark down that day on which he enjoys good health as a red-letter day and let him be twice as talkative and twice as restless then, saving up something for the next. On days good and bad he eats and drinks just the same and his room enjoys quiet no more than usual. He is about as silent as a dove and, like it, always on the move. Perhaps Ramsay's troubles against which Mair pokes such fun go back to the plague years.

The main defect of the Pedagogy as compared with the College was the absence of endowment for masters, who were bound to suffer disproportionately when there

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527 A.F.A., f.123r.
628 Major, History, p.440.
were no students and no fees to collect. The plague threw this aspect into greater relief. On the 27th May, 1501, Robert Wells, archdeacon, ordered seisin to be given to Ramsay of a tenement next to the Inglis one as chaplain of St. John the Evangelist at the Lady altar in the cathedral, a sum of £20 going annually to Ramsay and his successors in the Pedagogy as chaplains and ten marks to the support of a student doing the four year course in arts there. The regent was to reside personally in the Pedagogy as regent and teacher, presentation belonging to the archdeacon, falling whom, to the prior and convent. The archbishop and chapter endorsed this gift on the 3rd June.

It remained to apply some funds to the second regent in the Pedagogy and this appears to have happened also. A second chaplainry was founded by Andrew Stewart, bishop of Moray, on the 3rd September, 1501, a few weeks before his death. The chaplainry was that of St. Martin in the parish church of Holy Trinity, and the chaplain was to be a regent in act at the Pedagogy. John Spens, subchancellor of Moray, was to be patron, on whose death his brother, David Spens, would follow; after whom the Rector and dean. This David Spens was Rector almost continuously till 1516.

No doubt Ramsay, who appears to have been favoured by the Stewarts, acquired these new finances for the

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629 Evidence, i, 354-5. In the margin the date is wrongly given as the 7th May.
630 Ibid., i, 355: Holy Trinity, pp.90-1.
631 E.Rec., pp.199-212.
Pedagogy staff. Nevertheless it did not delay his removal in 1505 to St. Salvator's, in which he was rector of Kemback, that is licentiate in theology. By 1519 he had taken his doctorate, for he is described then as professor. He was buried in the choir of the college church.

Theology and Law

It is probable that the author of The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland studied at St. Andrews at this time. A William Stewart determined in the College in 1499. Stewart says of himself:

"Myself wes ane.
Studeit thairin the space of fourtene zeir,
In the Colledge, quhair that I did apply
Logic, phisieek and philisophy,
And theologie, that tyme as it micht be,
Suppois I brocht richt litill awa with me."

The last two lines perhaps refer to the obstacles created by the plague.

Thomas Ker, when about 36 in 1517, claimed through his procurator, to have read at St. Andrews for twelve years, to be an arts graduate, to be qualified in theology and be

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632 A.F.A., f.124v. His predecessor, Simson, may have died in the plague.
633 St. Salvator's Book "B", f.6v.
634 Ibid., f.230v.
635 E. Reca., p.89.
a bachelor in canon law. 637

James Stewart, archbishop, died in 1504 in January, before he had reached the canonical age for the episcopate, although his bulls of appointment would seem to have arrived. 638 Stewart can hardly be criticised for doing nothing for the university, as his tenure of office was not only short, but broken by one of the worst plagues in the town's history.

ALEXANDER STEWART: CHANCELLOR, 1504-1513

Alexander Stewart, the son of James IV and Marion Boyd, who had succeeded Robert Wells as archdeacon in 1502, was, after some delay, appointed archbishop: an appointment no less scandalous than that of his predecessor, as the indications are that the boy was little more than eleven. 639 His first tutor seems to have been a James Watson, the James Watson who studied at Louvain in the pedagogy of Lis in 1485, who was to have gone to St. Andrew's grave beside Naples in 1508 and to study for six years in Italy and who is the

Theiner, Vetera Monumenta, p.528; Ker was incorporated in 1496, when he would be fifteen. He is described as a bachelor in decrees in November, 1504, when he was elected as dean of the arts faculty. 
Archbishops, i, 214.
Ibid., i, 220-1.
alumnus of Louvain elected dean of arts in that same year at St. Andrews. His next tutor was that master of Latin, Patrick Penter, who was with Hector Boece and Erasmus at the college of Monteigu in Paris, and who as master of arts proceeded to Louvain in 1498. These influences were to be significant for later developments. John Mair was another fellow student of Penter's at Monteigu, and in Mair's commentary of 1509 published at Paris, there is incorporated a dialogue in which Peter Sandilends says of the archbishop that from his tender years he was educated by a select body of tutors and by preceptors well qualified in literature so that he had grown into a learned man especially in the Roman and Greek tongues and the laws.

James Lyne, Principal of Pedagogy

On the 3rd November, 1505, John Nairn was at first elected burser of the arts faculty, but had to yield the post to James Lyne, principal of the Pedagogy in succession to Thomas Ramsay. Lyne was perhaps the poor St. Salvator's student who graduated in 1479, and later the prebendary of Forgendenny (not to be confused with his namesake of Aberlady) and

640 Ibid., i, 221; Wills, Matricula, ii, p.496; R.S.S., i, no.1606; A.F.A., f.121r.
641 Boece, Vitae, p.88; E.H.R., xxxvii, 91.
642 Major, History, p.423.
644 E. Recce., pp.87-8.
bachelor in theology described by Myln. Myln also mentions that while Lyne was in the principalship, Bishop Brown of Dunkeld brought him to Dunkeld to preach.\footnote{645}

On the 5th December, 1508, Martin Balfour complained that the regents of the Pedagogy were most unwilling to respond to him as quodlibetarius and he asked the faculty if he was not doing the right thing in making sure of his responsals. The provost of St. Salvator's, Hugh Spens, tactfully interrupted to point out that the attitude of the Pedagogy regents was understandable in that the responsals in the previous year could not get an audience, and suggested that the best thing to do was to see that masters not appearing in quodlibets would not receive the distributions they were entitled to in other faculty acts. The deputies, who did not include Lyne, agreed, but as the congregation was not general the decision could not have statutory force.\footnote{646}

Lyne's interests were probably elsewhere in parish work and preaching, especially as Bishop Brown paid him a sizeable pension, although the bishop also maintained a student,

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{645}{Myln, Vitae, p.2; Rentele Dunkeldense, p.304. In 1508 Lyne is described as chaplain of the Wells chaplainry in the cathedral church, a fact which may show that this was held by the principal; (G.R.H., St. Andrews Charters, no.184.)}
  \item \footnote{646}{A.F.A., f.121v.}
\end{itemize}}
Robert Nisbet, in the Pedagogy. On the 5th October, 1509, Lyne resigned as bursar and no doubt by that time he had left to take over his Dunkeld canonry. In that year the number of determinants in the Pedagogy, which up to then compared well with those of St. Salvator's declined to three. A table will illustrate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>PEDAGOGY</th>
<th>COLLEGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1505</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1506</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1507</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1508</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table reinforces the suspicion that the main trouble with the Pedagogy was lack of stability at the top, due to the attraction of rewards in other fields, as compared with St. Salvator's whose teachers were well-endowed.

Royal Visit of 1508

On the 5th December, 1508, the dean, James Watson, by the deputies' advice, called a special congregation regarding a proposed visit of James IV and his queen about Christmas, the king having suggested that the faculty should celebrate his visit specially with games, illuminations and honourable apparel. A poet, John Carpenter, asked the lords of the faculty to favour him and commend him to the king, which they duly promised to do. The

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647 Rentale Dunkeldense, pp. 51, 304; 197, 205. E. Reca., pp. 94-5.
648 Bursar's Book, f. 17v.
649 The table is compiled from E. Reca., pp. 93-7.
650 A.F.A., f. 121v.
poet's purpose, no doubt, was to deliver a Latin ode suitable to the Christmas season; he had been rewarded by James IV on two earlier occasions, both in early January, in the years 1507 and 1508. There is every likelihood that he was a member of the faculty staff, occurring as he does in March, 1513, as one of the faculty stewards for the feast of St. John the Evangelist.

Watson, the dean, as one who for some years had had charge of the royal children in St. Andrews, wished also to cut a good figure before the king. He held a prebend in the chapel royal of St. Mary of the Rock, the major part of whose fruits were, he claimed, detained because its foundation had been lost. He therefore asked the deputies to put pressure on the provost, so that he could have the fruits increased to a fitting canonical portion. In face of this request, the deputies said nothing; their silence being interpreted as consent.

651 Trans. Accts., iii, 360; iv, 74.
653 Trans. Accts., ii, 450; iii, 133; iv, 89.
654 A.F.A., f.121v. Carpenter was received to the faculty on the 27th May, 1506.
In the same congregation the Rector, David Spens, raised the question of precedence during the royal visit. He was instructed to take first place, as Archbishop Stewart would be absent; but in the event of his presence, second place. At first vespers of Christmas, Forman, bishop of Maray, and Beaton, styled "bishop of the chapel royal" and royal treasurer, had usurped the place of Rector and dean. The deputies and Rector waited in church while they dispatched Watson to ask them politely to surrender their places as the Rector was arriving. Not unnaturally the bishops poured contumely on both university and Rector, so Watson inhibited them from sitting there under pain of perjury. Beaton took the lead and retired to the vestibule: Forman at first held on, but eventually followed suit. The Rector then took over, occupying the place of honour throughout all the Christmas festivals, Watson himself sitting in the next seat of honour in the presence of the king and queen and prelates.655

Is it not possible that at such times the king took the opportunity to consider university questions at a higher level than that of rectorial precedence?

655 A.F.A., ff.128v,129r.
John Ireland had maintained that his father's death was due to ignorance of true doctrine and the infection of Wyclif. In 1416 when the university of Paris condemned the doctrine of Jean Petit regarding the permissibility of tyrannicide, John Crannoch, as a bachelor of theology, had been one of those who condemned it. 656

As Ireland said, "halywrit ... schawis yet the infidelis and synnaris has just title to realmes", but if Wyclif's theory prevailed "it would beouble all realmes and police". 657 To encourage these academic expositions of "halywrit" was an elementary form of life insurance for James. Moreover, if the barons and small freeholders were still slow to comply with the 1496 act of Parliament, what was the harm in filling their place with his poorer subjects, whom Ireland himself with his vernacular treatises went out of his way to reach? Moreover, his favourite ecclesiastical advisers, the Friars Observant, would approve of such a course. It is not entirely conjectural to see in the mind of the king and his advisers a climate of thought favourable to the reception of the proposition concerning a college of poor clerks, students of arts and holy writ, from which he personally had much

656 Chartularium Univ. Par., iv, 322.
to gain and towards the establishment of which nothing to contribute.

The Transformation of the Pedagogy

In March, 1510, Prior Hepburn and Gavin Dunbar, archdeacon, were still thinking in terms of strengthening St. Salvator's; as vicars general they erected the church of Kinnell into a prebend, and this the archbishop confirmed in August. But meantime Archbishop Stewart had been studying law under Raffaele Reggio at Padua and rhetoric with Erasmus at Siena. The latter looked rather askance at his law studies, because of the quality of lawyerly Latin. Moreover in all quarters it was being hinted that the proper study of archbishops was theology: *reliquum est* (said Peter Sandilands) *theologie et altioribus studiis suo officio congruentibus se se accommodare*. At one time James had thought of getting "a well-tried theologian, an experienced Dominican" to act as Alexander's suffragan. But most important consideration of all was surely the introductory

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653 St. Salvator, p.30
659 Archbishops, i,248-9,262.
660 Major, History, p.429.
661 Mackie, Letters of James IV, p.17. This is taken to be John Adamson, but might equally well be David Anderson (Ibid., p.78).
letter of dedication by a brilliant young Paris theologian, John Mair, to his 1509 edition of his commentary on the fourth book of the Sentences. Here Mair tells Alexander that the work was partly printed on his account, so that he might be fired to take up theology as most suitable to an archbishop. True, Alexander might have been disposed to take offence at Mair's Latin, still that of the schoolmen. Mair acknowledges Alexander's "delicate ears," but says that theology has no need of highly-coloured terms; you cannot whiten marble. The letter was dated from Montaigu on the last day of 1508, but did not appear in print till late June of 1509. Its terms would flatter the young archbishop coming as it did from one "regenerated in the laver" of his diocese. It has been shown by J.H. Burns that Mair intended returning at this time, and that the poet, Gavin Douglas, in spite of his approval of the Dialectic of Lorenzo Valla, was enthusiastic for the return and persuaded James IV to grant him the treasurership of the Stirling chapel royal in December, 1509. It ought also to be

662 Major, History, pp. 419-20. The Paris theologians whom they call barbarians in their speech, Pico della Miranda was not ashamed to read and reread.
663 Innes Rev., v, 83.
noticed that the same Gavin Douglas was a witness as provost of St. Giles to the scheme for converting the Pedagogy into a college. Douglas also debated the theme of the debt of theology to both Greeks and barbarians in another of Mair's works in April, 1510, the month in which the scheme was laid.

On the 23rd April, 1510, Stewart entered the chapel of his cathedral and in chapter expounded to the prior, Gavin Dunbar, archdeacon, William Gund, subprior, and other canons how the Pedagogy from the failure of its foundation and lack of lettered men stood extinct and ruinous. He therefore by their advice and with their assent intended to endow it and erect it into a college, for God's praise, the faith's defence and the increase of men of ability. For this reason he annexed the church of St. Michael, Tarvet, to the Pedagogy, the existing rector, Sir John Pary, chaplain, having resigned and having the fruits for his lifetime. The Rector, Spens, and Gavin Douglas were among the witnesses.

If Mair, as I suggest, was to take command in the new college, the acting principal, Peter Chaplain, would have to go. This is precisely the

665 Evidence, iii, 356-7. Gund is given as Guthrie in this.
situation that we find. In October Chaplain was still uncertain whether he was going to remain in the university, and so he resigned the office of quodlibetarius. We know that Mair was finally persuaded to remain at Montaigu by the authorities there, but Chaplain's position must have been precarious for a time.

The plan might not seem equally acceptable to everybody. After all the St. Salvator's members all contributed to the Pedagogy as the common school, not in order to subsidise a rival college. On the 8th and 10th May the slumbering discords rose again to the surface when two special congregations had to be called. Apparently Peter Chaplain had made unspecified charges to the archbishop who had passed the complaint on to the Rector by word of mouth. The advice of Hugh Spens, provost of St. Salvator's, was taken, and it was found that students of both college and Pedagogy had been at fault. All students confessing to faults or convicted of them were to beg pardon in the presence of the Rector, dean and deputies on bended knees. Afterwards College students would be whipped in the College schools in full view of the dean, provost and regents by one of the St.

666 A.F.A., f.131r and v.
667 Ibid., ff.130v, 131r.
Salvator's regents. A similar punishment would be meted out in the Pedagogy to its offenders. To avoid a repetition in future, it was enacted that dean and provost would warn students staying there or coming there for lectures not to repeat the offence under pain of expulsion. Furthermore even verbal taunts were disallowed, the Rector along with the dean and provost imposing a suspension for one year, all hope of dispensation being ruled out. The students should live in common friendship as members of one house or university. Moreover, intrants involved in the present incident were to lose their promotion till the dean and faculty saw fit. In 1507 and 1509 there is a suggestion that groups were licensed separately in college and Pedagogy; there is no such suggestion in 1510.\(^668\) From 1504 there is evidently a university order of merit for intrants.\(^669\)

Peter Chaplain, Pedagogy Principal.

The above incident may well have caused the chancellor to shelve his project, while retaining the services of Chaplain. Chaplain himself was a College student who left the university after his

\(^668\) Ibid., and E. Reca., pp. 94, 96.
\(^669\) E. Reca., p. 102.
master's degree. He appears to have come back as a theological student, for he was *quodlibetarius* in 1508. He was probably appointed Pedagogy principal in 1509, for in October of that year he took over as bursar from Lyne. John Mair has an interesting reference to him. He says that Chaplain studied his lucubrations, including the logical works that others found repellent for their difficulty and subtlety, getting enjoyment out of the "thorny and horny questions", an enjoyment he combined with the study of other things worth knowing, including the sacred page. Mair, however, is writing this a decade and more later, and we cannot be sure if Chaplain would be such a fervent admirer of a man widely canvassed to replace him.

Chaplain was still principal in 1512, when, on the 7th June, a contract was drawn up between Andrew Arthur, citizen, and Sir John Henrisone, master of the fabric of the Pedagogy. The church of the Pedagogy was being extended east into the bounds of Arthur's tenement, and the choir wall could not be completed without demolition of part of the Arthur property. The building is here

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670 Ibid., pp. 86, 89.
672 Bursar’s Ms., f. 17v.
673 Major, History, p. 440.
called a "church" and is said to be "newly founded": no doubt, partly as a result of the Inglis foundation, but also under the archbishop's auspices. Martine connects his arms, built into the library before 1683, with his rebuilding of the chapel.

Chaplain's last account as faculty bursar was rendered on the 5th October, 1513. By the 3rd November he was rector of Dunino in St. Salvator's and no longer Pedagogy principal. The following comparative table will give an idea of the declining status of the Pedagogy; it is a table of determinants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pedagogy</th>
<th>College</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1511</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1512</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>1513</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A College of Poor Clerks: St. Leonard's

In Herkless and Hannay's College of St. Leonard Hannay categorically states of the 1503 statutes of the Paris college of Monteigu that "no one who had read them could possibly assert that our College was established on this model." The

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674 Reg. Evidentiarius, f. 61v; Martine, Reliquiae Divi Andreae, p. 238.
675 Burser's Th., f. 18r.
676 A.F.A., f. 195r.
677 E. Recs., pp. 99-102
678 St. Leonard, p. 84.
present writer is wholly convinced that this
observation is wide of the mark. In the first
place by the time of the St. Leonard foundation
the stringent poverty at Montaigu had been somewhat
relaxed. In the second place, there is no reason
whatever to believe that St. Leonard's was to be a
monastic college on Oxford lines as Hannay appears
to have thought. In the third place, he was
misled by the place given to rich fellows in the
statutes as he published them: a place they do
not have in the original statutes of whose existence
he was unaware. These do not even contemplate
ecclesiastics electing to be members of the college,
as Hannay imagined. In the fourth place Hepburn
was able to recruit John Annand from Montaigu to
take charge of the arts course, a matter I shall
presently discuss. In the fifth place, as at
Montaigu, St. Leonard's was more a recruiting ground
for the clergy, especially the regular clergy, than
a monastic college strictly so called. Like the
Congregation of Montaigu, it was subject to religious
obedience and called itself a "holy society" and a
"congregation". While Montaigu was under the
supervision of the adjacent Carthusian priory,

679 Godet, La Congrégation de Montaigu, pp. 62-3.
680 St. Leonard, p. 81.
681 Ibid., p. 89. The first rich student at St. Leonard's is
recorded in 1520 (L. Raga., p. 110).
682 St. Leonard, pp. 145, 155.
683 Godet, p. 48.
Leonard's was, as Boece says, an "appendix" of the priory of regular canons. But while that was so, it was an annexe outside the priory proper and not to be identified, as it has been, with the canons' own infirmary, which would be internal.\(^{684}\) Although attended by the priory novices, it was also intended for their like (aequales). As Stewart's charter of 1512 says, some only of them were intended "to become more apt to uphold and adorn our chief College of Saint Andrews in divine offices."\(^{685}\) Hannay read this to mean that either the archbishop or Hepburn was vaunting the claims of St. Leonard's against those of St. Salvator's, but, apart from the inherent improbability of the reading, it is clear that what Stewart is envisaging is the future admission of some to his cathedral chapter, which elsewhere is often called a "college", for reasons later to be explained.\(^{686}\) Finally, while it is true that poor students in a broader sense are to be found at St. Salvator's and King's in Aberdeen, St. Leonard's is the first college to take pride in its poverty and style itself regularly as a "college of poor clerks".

\(^{684}\) *St. Leonard*, p.23.  
John Annand, first Arts Regent

Among those canons of the cathedral chapter with whom both Hepburn and Stewart must have discussed their plans for a college would be John Annand, who, as "Wannand", is a witness to a priory document on the 3rd November, 1511, along with the subprior, Guthyne or Gund. 687

Annand tells us himself that he was the son of David Annand of Perse in Angus and Marion Guthrie, daughter of Master Alexander Guthrie of Kingoldrum, father of Sir David Guthrie, knight. 688 He was perhaps born in 1474, for he took his bachelorship at Paris in 1492-3, and was licensed in 1494 and incepted soon after. 689 Among his fellow-students was Hector Boece. From the Paris registers already cited we learn further that he was procurator of the German nation twice during the receivership of John Mair, that is to say in the period 1501-1502. But in the interim he had been back in St Andrews, and it is probable he was at least a cursor in theology when he, in October, 1496, was elected quodlibetarius at St Andrews where he also was a regent examiner in 1497; Mr. John Annand was still a witness in St Andrews in March, 1500. The

687 Pittock Brits, Transcript 73.
688 In a copy of Livy (Glas. Univ. Lib. En 7, y14).
689 Paris, Univ., Reg. 91, f.44v; Archives Nat., M2538,ff.136r. 142v, 143v.
Plague may have driven him back to Paris, where he apparently still was in 1505, in which year his Trilogus between himself, Dullaert of Ghent and Annand's pupil, John Forman, appeared in an edition of the logic of Mair.\(^{691}\) There can be no doubt that Annand was thoroughly familiar with Montaigu. Indeed a certificate was issued by Mair and others at Montaigu in 1513 certifying that a certain Nicolas Rumet had studied in arts "under Masters John Maiorisi and John Annond (sic), successively regents in the said college", and had later become a master in the college of Colvy. There is no reason to doubt that Annand also studied at Montaigu, perhaps in the pedagogy of the rich, but quite possibly as a member of the foundation, and like so many members of the Montaigu congregation had been attracted to the reformed Augustinian canons of Windsheim whom Standonck had attracted to St. Victor in Paris.

If any doubt were left that Annand could have been an influential member of the new college of St. Leonard it should be dispelled by Boece's own statement that "John of Annand conducted the first arts course in this college, a man whose

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\(^{691}\) Frist noted by J. H. Burns in *Innes Rev.*, v, 88

\(^{692}\) Paris, Univ. Archives, Reg. S0, f.xxi verso.

mind was ever acute and whose teaching was of a very high standard". Moreover speaking of Annand and Gund, he said that from a too modest estimate of their own powers they had not taken the final doctorate, but that no one would call them inferior to those that had. Mair himself adds later the detail that Gund and Annand were both Scotists (a philosophical tribe that Erasmus detested). "The monastic life," he says, "and knowledge render William Guynd and John Annand outstanding; they enrich their new surroundings (i.e. at St. Leonard's)...scarcely do they rest their active brains from the teaching of letters; week by week they expound the views of the Subtle Doctor... they try with great exertion to open up intricate signs of origin, common natures and formalities more difficult to comprehend than the ties of the Gordian knots..."

Annand was an admirer of Paris, and quotes the lines,

Nec studium tale, quamquam laudentur Athene
    Est visum in terris quale Sequana tuum.

When Dullaert objects that Athens was a torrent of sciences, Annand agrees, but compares it to the synagogue in its day; just as the latter made way for the Church, so Athens made way for Paris. "Here

695 Major, History, p. 440
the teaching of Athens", he says, "flows with Parisian increase. The sophisms of Zeno, the logic of the great Aristotle, the metaphysics of divine Plato: the Sorbonne and the philosophers of the rue du Foyer can contend with Athens."

His pupil, Formon, has no time for Zeno, especially as practised by some regents, "O good Jesus, how many of them would make you laugh who spend whole days on them?" Annand agrees that it is unwise to remain too long in those mazy rocks, but will not accept that the exercises are useless. One can hardly imagine Stewart, the pupil of Erasmus, agreeing on this point. But both in their ways were neo-Athenians.

Annand also was a champion of theology.

"The Church was well governed in the days of Augustine and Jerome before the canon law: the latter is an Agar stuffed with riches and despising Sara its mistress". The canonist knows many decretal letters by heart that he finds a radical difficulty in understanding. If he lived the years of Nestor he would lack the penetration of the theologian.

It seemed worth while retelling Annand's views at such length, if only as a sample of the kind of argument that may have moved the archbishop to fall in with the plans for St. Leonard's.

The Foundation of St. Leonard's College

Standonck's foundation of his Capettes at Beauvais did not come off, but was projected at first in a portion of the hospital of poor clerks there. Moreover, the revenues of a hospital were used at Aberdeen to found King's College. The hospital of St. Leonard appeared to be flourishing in 1511; its master, Thomas Kynnelr, is mentioned in November of that year, and in the year previous when David Meldrum, canon of Dunkeld, left 200 marks Scots for the upkeep of a poor man "in cellula prefati hospitalis que vocebitur cellula Magistri David Meldrum", he describes it as "newly erected". It seems pretty certain that here the almonry school was held.

If the hospital could be described as newly erected in 1510, it may have been that at first it

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697 Godet, La Congrégation de Montaigu, pp. 28-9.
698 St. Leonard, p. 18.
699 Ibid., p. 16.
700 In 1580 the song school was inside the abbey gates. St. Andrews Kirk Session Reg., i. 140. G.R.H., St. Andrews Chs., no. 191.
was intended to retain part of the hospital foundation. The example of St. Peter's hospital in Aberdeen shows that the apparent annihilation of a hospital did not always take place, even where there was papal authorisation. A late tradition tells us that there were seventeen poor men in St. Leonard's, yet Stewart's charter mentions only the poor women who gave little or no return in devotion or virtue, but were placed there because of old age. Moreover it is clear from a precept of Hepburn's that certain lands and tenements set in feu farm by Hepburn and his predecessors were excluded from the vicarage fruits given to the college. Even more decisive, however, is the fact that already on the 20th August, 1512, Stewart says that he erects and creates "as a College by our ordinary authority the Hospital and church of Saint Leonard joined thereto, newly built in a proper form at the expense of the Church of Saint Andrews and with money got by the Prior for the purpose ...". Hannay has noted that by this date the college already existed: already it had a Master Canon, chaplains and some poor scholars, but regents and other students were yet to be appointed. Is it not possible

702 *St. Leonard*, pp.17,137.
703 G.R.H. Charters, v,991.
704 *St. Leonard*, p.96.
that the new erection of the hospital and the new building of the church were in fact both an extension of something already existing, an almonry foundation part scholastic, part hospital? This would explain how before Stewart's foundation charter the college was already endowed "with charters and sasines". If the hospital continued in some form it would explain why, as Hannay guessed, all its properties did not go to the new college.

Another curious point is that "books of statutes" were also already in existence, and that, while it is clear that a university course is being attempted, the original statutes do mention a principal and masters, but never employ the word "regent". None of these early documents ever refers to a college of St. Leonard but always to "a college of poor clerks of the church of St. Andrews" or something similar, and, in the statutes even as revised it is described as "the college of St. Andrew apostle, situated near the church of St. Leonard". The revised statutes draw up an order of life for "poor scholars, priests and regents"; the originals refer to "poor scholars" alone.

705 St. Leonard, p.139.
706 Ibid., pp.138,145.
707 Originals in Appendix D.
this points to developments which may have been hastened by the advent of Annand to the community or the arrival of Stewart from Italy. In any event it is now quite simple to understand that in referring to "our principal college of St. Andrew" Stewart was merely contrasting the cathedral chapter with his college of poor clerks. However it was not long before the name of St. Leonard was given to the new foundation; on the 3rd November, 1515, "students of St. Leonard's" were dispensed to determine on the feast of St. Leonard in that year. This double dedication can also be traced in the history of the hospital, as others have pointed out.

Stewart's charter of August, 1512, provides for a Master and Director Principal, a canon of his chapter; four chaplains, two of whom only were to be regents, perhaps because, as Hannay suggests, only two were fit to teach at university standard, but also perhaps two might continue in an already existent grammar school; twenty scholars all instructed sufficiently in grammar subjects to be fit to study arts; and six students of theology, fitted therefor by a good arts training, whose regent was to be the

708 A.F.A., 139r.
709 St. Leonard, p. 9.
principal (sub principali magistro regendos).
Moreover, to continue the hospital tradition, they were to be maintained diligently, and especially if they fell ill to be tended with fatherly care and merciful kindness "as is contained in the statutes". There was no longer any question here of a secular master, such as Mair, ruling the college. The visitation that had proved so troublesome at St. Salvator's was not mentioned in either statutes or charter. There is no question of any law studies, on the model of King's. While St. Leonard's did not have the triple rule of the three senior canons that St. Salvator's had, it had two extra students of theology, and twenty poor clerks studying arts where St. Salvator's had six. The burden on the principal was heavier, especially if the students were at different stages, but there is no doubt that other canons helped out with the teaching, although none of them ever appeared before the faculty of arts to choose books. Moreover, there was no question of an elective power vested in the students, however advanced; the later statutes tell us that the principal is to be a canon, who is doctor, licentiate or bachelor in

theology, and both elected as well as nominated by the prior. The removal of both officers and scholars was reserved by Stewart's charter to the prior and convent, but the reform and enlargement of the statutes was reserved to Hepburn at his request meantime.

The Buildings

The hospital of St. Andrews existed as early as 1144. When the St. Leonard dedication was added is not known, but certainly by 1248, most probably as a result of re-foundation. The church first appears as a parish church 1413, it may be as the result of the removal of the Trinity church to the other end of the town. University meetings were held in St. Leonard's from the beginning, as already discussed. When the hospital was made over to the college the church was conjoined with it, and doubtless this was always so. It was newly constructed in a shape suited to its new purpose along with the other hospital buildings and occupied by its staff before August 1512. An altar of our Lady existed on the

\[711\text{ Ibid., p.168.}\]
\[712\text{ Ibid., p.139.}\]
\[713\text{ Ibid., pp.9-10.}\]
\[714\text{ Ibid., p.14.}\]
\[715\text{ Ibid., p.128.}\]
\[716\text{ Ibid.}\]
north of the nave, apparently from an early time, and an altar of St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene stood opposite it from 1498, and of course there was also the high altar served by the vicar. The four dedications may account for the four chaplains. The students were in choir from the college foundation, which would account for Hepburn's extension of the choir. While the church is described as "now collegiate" in 1537, this does not mean, as Hannay supposed, that this was a new state of affairs at that date: it obviously became collegiate as soon as the college was founded. The new statutes show that there were two rows of stalls on each side as far as the screen. Bells may first have been hung above the entrance, but a spireless tower was erected; however there may have been a wooden spire later removed, as the steeple boards required attention in 1545, were letting in rainwater in 1551 and required rapid repairs.

The church stood to the north of the college courtyard. There was a two-storey sacristy opening from the choir through a doorway in the north wall. A chapter-house is usually found in medieval hospitals.

717 Ibid., pp. 66, 96.
718 Ibid., p. 95.
719 Ibid., p. 115.
720 Ibid., pp. 201, 207.
but where this was is not evident. While there are
burials inside the church and to the south of it, the
college cemetery proper was to the north. The
cemetery wall ran east of the existing St. Leonard's
wynd, and south of the college-owned tenements facing
South Street.

The original hospital gate may have stood in
South Street at the head of the wynd leading down to
the college, which at that time was apparently a little
to the west of its present situation. Here there was
a hospice, directly north of the college hall, which
may have been used for the casual poor, but was set to
various tenants in the sixteenth century: *hospitium
anterius presati mostri tenementi ad boream.*

The college had free entry through this hospice foregate
with cartloads of stones, etc., the passage being
bounded on one side by the gutter and on the other by
the cemetery wall. Only one gate is mentioned in
the original statutes given in Appendix D. In 1550
the curate was to have a room near the foregate, that
is to surrender his south-facing room in the north

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723 Adv. Ms. 17.1.3, ff.172v,173r.
724 Registrum Coll. Divi Leonardi, p.76.
725 Adv. Ms. 17.1.3, f.47r.
building of the college occupied by him in 1544.\(^{726}\)

The gate that had to be closed in the evening was this outer gate, and here the janitor was.\(^{727}\) The inner gate would be a pend leading to the college.

Because of its opening on to the wynd this north building was later known as the Stone Transe. It stood west of the church and in alignment with it. Its length seems to have been about 70 feet and its internal breadth about 20 feet, in other words with measurements similar to the church. Its upper storey was residential,\(^ {728}\) doubtless the hospital warden's residence as adapted by Hepburn, and so containing six rooms for the chaplains and regents in 1544, as they were required to reside indoors.\(^ {729}\)

The ground floor had the Old School and the pend between it and the church is said to be "the gate between the church and the ancient school".\(^ {730}\) The first Master Canon (who may have been the old hospital master) and the chaplains already in position there in 1512 would occupy this north end of the courtyard; the extra accommodation for regents and priests still to be appointed (imponendos) may have been part of Hepburn's reconstruction.\(^ {731}\)

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\(^{726}\) St. Leonard, pp. 204, 218.

\(^{727}\) Ibid., p. 166.

\(^{728}\) Dickinson, Two Students at St. Andrews, p. lxxiv.

\(^{729}\) St. Leonard, pp. 169, 217.

\(^{730}\) Ibid., p. 198.

\(^{731}\) Ibid., pp. 128-9.
The original Hall was destroyed by fire in 1702, but its successor may have followed an earlier pattern, with its common school on the ground floor and the main or dining hall above.\textsuperscript{732} Here would be the "new school" mentioned in 1527 and "ye gryt schowill within ye college of sanctleonardis" of 1570.\textsuperscript{733} The earliest mention of the hall as such is in 1535, and it may be the building begun by Hepburn after his initial reconstruction as mentioned in 1522.\textsuperscript{734} The kitchen was adjacent, and the line of the hall was continued west by a wall mentioned in 1569.\textsuperscript{735} This is the common hall of 1545.\textsuperscript{736}

R. G. Cant, whose excellent essay on these buildings has already been cited, said that the south side of the college court contained originally a long row of ten self-contained little houses, each with a chamber and study-closet on the lower and upper floor. Each set of rooms was occupied by two students, forty students in all, the upper rooms being approached in pairs by five wooden staircases from the courtyard to the north. There would originally be only half of that number in which Hepburn was to place his twenty

\textsuperscript{732} Dickinson, \textit{Two Students}, p. Ixxiv.
\textsuperscript{733} G.R.H., Thomas Kane Protocol Bk., f. 5r; John Scott Protocol Bk., f. 95r.
\textsuperscript{734} Boece, \textit{Vita}, p. 87; St. Leonard's Writs, SL E9.
scholars; in fact they were already there in 1512 (impositos) and the fact that none of them determined till 1515 confirms the suggestion that they were still at the grammar stage. These small houses are exactly like the individual houses that were to be found in hospitals like Ewelme. This row of rooms was known as the Lower House, and it is quite clear that not only the Hoods (capuciati) or students of the Hepburn foundation but also other founded students (studentes de gremio loci) lived here in groups of two in studies or cells, the latter on the south side. These studies that looked away from the courtyard were probably the "outer studies", some of which were at times occupied by those not bursars at all but who did make use of common table. Hoods shared a bed only with their fellow Hoods. The outer rooms faced the garden, originally not walled in.

The famous St. Leonard's Well would stand in the mid-courtyard. Erasmus gives a feeling account of the drinking of icy-cold water from the defiled well at Montaigu. This well, characteristic of medieval hospitals, supplemented the allowance of ale which was rationed. At Montaigu it was a substitute for food.

737 Cant., art. cit., p. 22; St. Leonard, p. 129; E. Reca., p. 104
738 Clay, Medieval Hospitals, p. 120
739 St. Leonard, pp. 161, 199, 200.
740 Ibid., pp. 201-2
741 Ibid., p. 200
742 Ibid., p. 204.
743 Godet, la Congregation de Montaigu, p. 64
Enough has been said about these buildings to illustrate the fact that within a few months Hepburn was able to reconstruct his hospital and church to suit their new uses with what appears to have been the minimum of demolition. The western and eastern sides of the quadrangle may merely have contained the college wall. The provisor's cubicle was above the east gate leading to the priory precincts. 744

The Original Statutes.

The founder's statutes that have now been discovered and are printed in Appendix D concern only the poor scholars, and even as to them they appear to be incomplete: we should like to know for certain if Hepburn's Capuciani were based on Standonck's Capettes, and how theological students were distinguished from arts ones as regards dress. Yet there is no doubt that Hepburn legislated regarding dress, for Stewart's charter tells us so. 745 Moreover Chapters Five and Six of the revised statutes are completely absent from the originals, although we know that regulations regarding regents are alleged to exist in 1512. 746 Some of the

744 St. Leonard, p.219; Earlier we hear of the room of a canon being there, "in the room of the said Dompnus Michael inside the wall of the monastery of St Andrews above the east gate of St. Leonard's college." (Thomas Kane Prot. St., f.3r).
745 St. Leonard, p.139.
746 Ibid., p.139; cf. pp.163-173 with Appendix D.
untidiness is due to the adaptation of existing regulations for poor scholars to those who were now to study "in diverse faculties" at university level (that is, in arts and theology. Obviously there is no question of law).

Naturally only those regulations directly affecting the poor scholars themselves would be dictated to them: hence there are no regulations concerning the principal, the chaplains, the regents or even the theologians, who are qualified merely as "students" in James IV's confirmation, while the arts students are called "poor clerks". Allowing for some re-arrangement and even abbreviation, therefore, Stewart's description of the statutes can be made to tally with that given in Appendix D, especially as even that description has variants. The correspondences are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUTES</th>
<th>STEWART'S CHARTER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
<td>Divina servitio, Ceremonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
<td>Studia, Lecturae, Labores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
<td>Labores (bis), Habitus, Exercitia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5</td>
<td>Regulae, Mores, Vitae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6</td>
<td>Dum eos infirmari contigerit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

747 Ibid., p.137. In G.R.H., St Andrews Chs., no.213, the subprior and Annand are given as "professors of canon law". The original has "canons professed".

748 St. Leonard, p.144.

749 It is just possible that "regulae" here means rules for admission. In this case Chapter 1 is envisaged.
One thing mentioned in the charter not accounted for above is the quarterly account to be given by the principal to the prior, but this is omitted as not concerning the poor students.\footnote{750 St. Leonard, p.138.}

Hepburn may have had a copy of the Montaigu statutes before him as supplied by Annand: he says that he has compiled "a short order of life" on the advice and with the assent of his brethren.\footnote{751 Ibid., p.159}

At Montaigu the Carthusian prior had the first say as to admission and there was a period of postulancy. This appears also to have been the custom at St. Leonard’s, clarified in the revised statutes, where a double admission by the prior is mentioned.\footnote{752 Godet, Montaigu, p.185; St. Leonard, p.160} On the Friday after this postulancy, the postulant on bended knees begged the principal (never called \textit{pater pauperum}, as often in the Montaigu statutes) to admit him for the love of our Lord "to that holy society"; \textit{societas} here conforms to the terms \textit{familia} and \textit{communitas} used in the formulas for admission at Montaigu.\footnote{753 Godet, Montaigu, p.170} The principal then, along with the subprior and third prior, replacing the seniors at Montaigu, examined him diligently in grammar, to ensure that he had completed the first and second parts of Alexandre de Villedieu, or at least the greater part of the latter, was sufficiently instructed.
In Gregorian chant (Stewart prescribed also the Discant, if possible) and was able to write well (added in the revision). The examiners were also to enquire closely regarding his good life and sobriety of demeanour, as well as his poverty in things temporal; anyone stained with any secular infamy or crime was to be rejected. No doubt those who were already potential novices at the priory would be dealt with leniently. According to the Dictionary of National Biography, for instance, Winram and Alane (Alesius) could hardly have been in abject poverty: the former belonging to the Winrams of Kirkness in Fife and the latter descended from a burgess family in Edinburgh (atavi consules). Nevertheless the age of Winram at determination must have been at least 23, which suggests that but for St. Leonard's he would not have been able to afford a university career. The verbal similarities to requirements regarding poverty at Aberdeen and St. Mary's are not proof to the contrary unless it could be shown that these foundations owed nothing themselves to Montaigu. In any event neither of these went so far as to entitle themselves a College of Poor Clerks.

754 St. Leonard, p.138
755 Hannay was of the opinion that studiosissime inquirere used here of the applicant's poverty was too imprecise to infer genuine poverty; yet it is a good deal more precise than any term in the equivalent chapter of the Montaigu statutes. Ibid., p.148; Godet, Montaigu, pp.164 seq.
756 They determined in 1515, E. Recs., p.104.
757 He was born in 1492, D.N.B., s.v.
758 St. Leonard, p.85.
The postuland was then sent with his certificate to the prior, who admitted him. No prayer, payment or supplication of any religious or secular person was to be allowed to affect the choice, and, if several sought entry, he who made the best show in the examination as regards his knowledge and other requisites was to be given preference. Boece tells us that these foundationers were subject to religious obedience, and no doubt a promise of obedience was taken on reception as at Montaigu, where they had to vow the same obedience to the principal as a monk vowed in his profession.\(^\text{759}\) When rich students eventually entered the house, they were segregated strictly from the foundationers who lived by themselves in the lower House (even apart to some extent from bursars of other foundations).\(^\text{760}\) Moreover how similar is St. Leonard's relation to the university to that of Montaigu, which, according to Godet, was "a veritable convent, isolated from the rest of the university".\(^\text{761}\) Everything points to St. Leonard's being like Montaigu a congregation for recruitment of worthy clergy, unlikely to fall into vices associated with ease and wealth. Hepburn's

\(^{759}\) Ibid., p.88; Godet, Montaigu, p.167.
\(^{760}\) St. Leonard, pp.161, 200.
\(^{761}\) Godet, Montaigu, p.38.
foundation is perhaps significantly dated on the eve of the Purification (1st February): while Stewart's is on St. Philibert's day (20th August), the feast celebrated in Scots Augustinian houses (it would appear from the example of Holyrood), and again significantly perhaps: St. Philibert the Almoner founded the abbey of Jumièges; called "the Almoner", because of its charity to the poor, and the date was not inappropriate for the conversion and amplification of "the almonry of St. Leonard".

It was not possible because of the numbers to carry out the rather elaborate arrangement at Montaigu for divine office by four separate groups, nor were the students required to rise during the night for it. Originally however they had to rise at half past four in summer and half past five in winter and when the bell went for the first mass on feast-days they gathered in choir, hearing this Mass, while they recited the matins of our Lady and read other devotions; on non-feasts the high mass was at six, so that the little office was possibly omitted, as the mass had to be sung in Gregorian chant. Montaigu

762 Sales, Holyrood Ordinalia, p.19; see also "A Scottish Augustinian Penitary" by A.I. Doyle, Linnas Rep. viii, 63.
763 Acta Sanctorum, August, iv.66
had a similar habit of saying office during Mass except during the Confiteor and the elevation. At three
come vespers, sung in Gregorian chant, by the students
themselves it would seem often, as they were urged not
to cut their words or pass the time talking about vain
and irrelevant matters. At seven they omitted all
of compline except the Salve Regina, sung nightly
with a commemoration of Saints Andrew and Leonard.
Every Sunday they were to go in pairs and say a dirge
of nine lessons for founders and benefactors. As at
Montaigu they had to confess monthly, and in addition
before Easter, Pentecost, Christmas and the Assumption,
receiving communion afterwards. 765

The first morning lecture was public. After
that the masters of the different classes held them
at times fixed by them. Every day originally (later
thrice weekly) a lecture was held after lunch on grammar,
poetry or oratory (or, as later, one of the books of
Solomon), but not on Saturday, in order to free
students for disputations. At eleven and five (except
on feasts) the bell went for the rule, for punishment
of faults, perhaps reported by student deans as at

764 Godet, Montaigu, p.145.
765 Ibid., p.158. At Montaigu they received communion on every
solemn feast of our lady, moreover capucini only were obliged to
divine office (Ibid., p.147), an arrangement prevailing also, it
seems, at St Andrews.
Montaigne, or self-confessed. On Saturdays there were disputations at two. After supper on non-feasts there were the exercises known as "reparationes" (but especially, adds a later note, in summer and at the principal's discretion). Before the degree of master they went through the usual books, including the Ethics; the later substitute for this, a book of Solomon, was not entered by Hepburn, of whom Hannay was critical in this regard. Latin was to be spoken by all residents except the cook and his boy; "some faint idea of the jargon", says Hannay, "may be derived from a reading of the Visitations". Montaigne had a special chapter in its statutes De refrenanda lingua, requiring silence from suppertime and quiet speech during meals and study times. Similarly Hepburn requires a modified silence from the third stroke of the bell after Salve until next morning, while at other times they had to speak gently, not too much, and seriously as was becoming. There was to be a bible reading at common table, or readings from other books moral or historical. At Friday dinners the statutes were read. There is, however, considerable

766 Godet, Montaigne, p.159.
767 St. Leonard, p.21
768 Ibid., pp.118, n.2, 164, n.4.
769 Godet, Montaigne, p.160
difference between the St. Leonard's rules regarding food and those of Montaigu. At the latter there was no wine or flesh meat at all, although the habit grew of eating meat secretly. St. Leonard's is more humane; fish is reserved for abstinence days which were frequent, and those which were also fast days were specially regulated. Originally the allowance for the evening on fast days was thirty two ounces of bread between all twenty poor scholars; in the revision each was allowed four ounces. The fast day grace at Montaigu began with the versicle, Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, of which Knox had a lively recollection in later days. Possibly visits to St. Leonard's well were more frequent when the drink allowance was cut; it is curious that Knox should refer to it in its spiritual sense, just as Standonck referred to Montaigu congregation being led to a well of living water: ad puteum cui nomen viventis est et videntis.

770 Ibid., pp. 65-5
771 St. Leonard, p. 165, n.1. Incidentally, Henmay seems to have misconstrued the statutes somewhat; each student was not to receive three pints of drink, three courses of fish and broth, but four students were to divide that amount among them. "Singuli quatuor" is not a scribal error.
772 Knox, History, ed. Dickinson, i, 73. 773 Godet, Montaigu, p.145 note. Food was sometimes divided into thirty parts for the students at Montaigu, Ibid., p.154.
As at Montaigu poor students were assigned menial duties. Two students took turns at serving, one serving drink and the other fetching from the kitchen, both eating with the cook and student-reader at second table. On Saturdays four took turns at cleaning the college out, and there was a thorough-going spring cleaning before Easter and before Christmas. A student was to serve the priest sacrist in weekly turns, chanting the epistle at mass. The janitor of the outer gate was also a student, no doubt as at Montaigu thereby freed from kitchen duties. The students were not required to do their own laundering, nor their infirmary duties, which were performed by an old matron of at least fifty outside the college, precincts. Women were forbidden entry to the college proper.

Nobody could leave without special permission to visit the city, and he must have a companion and wear mantle and hood. For formal acts all went together to the Pedagogy, but in Lent only the bachelors awaiting confirmation went. In general processions all must appear. Later they were to have surplices, and there is considerable emphasis on surplices in the

774 Ibid., p. 160
775 Ibid. Other duties were added later at St. Leonard's.
later Visitations, all of which suggests that as at Montaigu they were originally treated like religious and did not have to wear them. Every week they want to the links in a master's company for sports, returning for vespers. Football and other dishonourable sports would be forbidden.

As at Montaigu, a weekly chapter was held, on Fridays, and absence from divine office was punishable. Notorious idlers were punished and after that expelled if their misbehaviour proved irremediable. The preliminary warning was to be given before the whole community, that is before theologians as well. Habitual absence from office meant irrevocable expulsion from the congregation (de congregatio). Calumniators, disturbers of the peace, those striking their neighbours, were given short shrift. Naturally the rules about leaving the college in company were often infringed, and some escaped from their companions outside. Thieves caught stealing things frequently were also expelled. Further categories of student offender are listed in the revised statutes.

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776 Godot, Montaigu, p.51; cf. St. Leonard, pp.200, 203
777 Godot, Ibid., p.158, but for arts students the day is left vague.
The matron who looked after the sick also acted as laundress and mender of clothes. If a student were at death's door all his fellows, or at least a majority, came to see him being anointed, unless his illness was contagious. At Montaigu the large numbers made this impossible, but students performed the duties of infirmarian, a procedure Richardson would have approved. The statutes conclude with regulations for the Masses and offices to be said by priests and students for the founder and other members.

Subsequently these statutes were altered, and the foundation was approved by Cardinal Beaton as legate, just as at an earlier date Standonck's statutes were confirmed by Cardinal d'Amboise as legate in France and for his houses in the Low Countries by Cardinal Péraud, legate in the Empire. Until 1545 therefore St. Leonard's lacked papal confirmation, in spite of the phrase "statutes ... strengthened by Apostolic confirmation," which appears to be mere formulary. However, the matter will be discussed further.

Royal confirmation was granted on the 23rd February, 1513, and it is to be noted that one of the

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778 Robertus Richardsonus, p.111.
779 Godet, Montaigu, p.133.
780 St. Leonard, p.195.
signatories is Patrick Panter, secretary, just as one of the signatories to the revised statutes is Alexander Mylin. These two, successively abbots of Cambuskenneth, had plans for sending their canons there to the abbey of St. Victor in Paris, which Hanney takes to mean a counter-proposal to Hepburn's. But in point of fact it is more possible that it is a parallel proposal. In any event Robert Richardson who went to St. Victor under this scheme had already studied at St. Leonard's, as had Robert Logie, who may have accompanied him there. Nor was St. Leonard's so exclusively made up of St. Andrews novices as has been thought, a point to be illustrated in the narrative. As against Herkless and Hanney, I suggest that the earlier view of Grant that St. Leonard's was a moderate version of Montaigu has much to commend it (as also Aeneas Mackay's that it was based on the house of poor clerks at Louvain - also a Standonck foundation). Who introduced the moderating influence we can only guess: Stewart may well have done so; and Hepburn himself, it ought to be remembered, was a fellow student of the poet, Dunbar. He was not a Standonck, nor was his "congregation" spread over several houses; but in the eyes of some of

781 Ibid., pp.144,157.
782 Ibid., p.82.
783 Cf. my note in Edin. Bibl. Soc. Trans., iii,53-4
784 St. Leonard, p.30; E.Recs., p.61
his younger contemporaries it was evidently something to have drunk of St. Leonard's well.

Stewart did not long survive his foundation of St. Leonard's. We get glimpses of an English friar in St. Andrews in 1506, perhaps a student, and in 1511-2 the king showed that he was prepared to patronise regulars who came from Ireland to the university; on Easter Monday, 1512, "four Yrland freris", students not in the matriculation roll, received a unicorn from him. But both king and archbishop died at Flodden and this type of entry disappears from the Treasurer's Accounts.

ANDREW FORMAN: CHANCELLOR, 1514-1521

After Flodden everybody wanted to have a hand in the appointment to St. Andrews. In the end Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray and archbishop of Bourges, candidate of France and a far-travelled ecclesiastical politician, obtained the undeviating support of Leo X. 785 As an inspirer of Flodden, however, Margaret, the widow of James IV, regarded him with distrust, favouring, after the death of Bishop Elphinstone, the poet Gavin Douglas. 786

785 Treas. Accts., iii, 70; iv, 180-1. Two Irish friars were, however, incorporated in 1500, E. Recs., p. 158
786 Archbishops, ii, 4-6, 80, 83. Law, the chronicler, says the canons elected Elphinstone, as we shall see.
787 Ibid., ii, 5, 102, 110.
Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, was the main rival candidate. The state of St. Andrews must have been chaotic, and a faculty of arts minute of St. Valentine's day, 1514, refers to the impossibility of completing responsions, because of wars and plagues in the city.\textsuperscript{788} Flodden year itself was a bad year: only eleven incorporations are on record. \textsuperscript{789} 1518 comes next, with only sixteen. Otherwise it cannot be denied that in respect of numbers the university was still healthy. When Archbishop Forman did gain the mastery over his rival Hepburn, he showed himself, in the words of Herkless and Hannay, "a vigorous master, determined to set his house in order." \textsuperscript{790}

In all this, university opinion must have been divided, with probably a majority at first favouring Hepburn, who had been accustomed as prior to act as a Rector's assessor (as in 1505 and 1510), and who was even one of the Intrant-electors in 1514.\textsuperscript{791} The priory indeed had grown influential in these elections, and this may have been the source of trouble during the Forman-Hepburn struggle. In 1517, for instance, the four intrants, one of whom was the subprior, disagreed, and new intrants, including Hugh Brown, another canon, elected George Fern, a relative of the Hepburns as well

\textsuperscript{788} A.F.A., f. 1367v.
\textsuperscript{789} E. Rex., pp. 209, 214.
\textsuperscript{790} Archbishops, ii, 200.
\textsuperscript{791} Acta Rectorum, i, 47, 52, 63.
as of Brown, bishop of Dunkeld. In 1518, the intrants, including Orme, abbot of Lindores, were again involved in disagreement and even "altercations", eventually electing Robert Schanwell, vicar of Kirkcaldy, uncle of the future Bishop Reid, and brother of the abbot of Coupar Angus. In 1519 the Albany nation could not bring itself to agree at all about the election of an intrant, so that Schanwell's casting vote was added to that of the three other intrants in favour of John Weddell, a former canon of Moray, and it may be a protégé of Forman.

David Melville, Pedagogy Principal

The earlier part of Melville's career at Paris and St. Andrews and Glasgow need not be dealt with here. Before his arrival, the Pedagogy does not appear to have had a principal, with results bad for discipline.

On the 10th February, 1516, three Pedagogy students Gavin Dunbar, William Sinclair and William Johnson and unnamed accomplices were involved in a complaint from the Rector, dean and citizens. It would

792 Ibid., i, 65: Rentale Dunkeldense, p.338: St. Salvator's BK. "B", f.11r.
793 Acta Rectorum, i. 65; Stuart, Records of Kinloss, p.49.
794 Acta Rectorum, i. 70; R.S.S., i, no. 2144. If the nation of Lothian favoured Hepburn its advocacy must have been somewhat weakened by the accession of three Formans to the Pedagogy in 1517, even if all three had gone on to the Lise pedagogy at Louvain in August, 1519, whence the Rector, Fern, himself had come; (E. Recs., p.213; Bruxelles, Archives, Fonds Univ. de Louvain, Liber Intitulatorum iii, ff.167v, 24gr.)
appear that they had supporters in the faculty.

Certain non-suspect persons were appointed to put an end to the trouble, three canons, regular, Gund the subprior, Alan Meldrum, vicar of Leuchars, and John Annand, and two seculars, John Maitland, subdean of Ross, and Walter Small, treasurer of Dunkeld.

On the 1st October, 1515, Peter Chaplain gave a silver chalice to the Pedagogy chapel on behalf of the theologians and artists. About this time the election of Rector's assessors once again took place there instead of in the Dominican church, which suggests that the alterations were now completed; in any event the latter church was about to undergo a transformation, as we shall see. Chaplains were no doubt still responsible for the Montrose obit. In 1519 we learn of the vacancy of a chaplainry here, Forman appointing Alexander Ayton to it in place of John Durie. Ayton was a distinguished scholar, first out of 148 in the 1510 examinations at Louvain.

Of Melville personally we know little. He was university promoter from the 17th March, 1517, and

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795 A.F.A., f.139r.
796 Ibid.
797 Acta Rectorum, i.68.
798 Archbishops, ii,242; Reusens, Promotions, p.69. Ayton came to St. Andrews in 1511 from the Liss Pedagogy and is found in the Pedagogy as regent of physics in 1514 at St. Andrews (E.Recs., p.207; A.F.A., f.137v). John Forrest, a non-regent member of the Pedagogy in 1516 had also been at Louvain two years previously. (E.U.R., xxvii,38; a reference to his arrival from Louvain is in the Bursar's Br., f.18v.)
seemed unwilling to take on other burdens. In 1519, for instance he turned down the office of quodlibetarius, nominating one of his own regents, Bannerman, who, turned it down no doubt because he did not wish to be imposed on, and he would not act as bursar. He was, however, dean of arts in 1520, being re-elected in November 1521. In the bursar's account for 1522 it is clear that Melville had left to go to Dunkeld, and Robert Bannerman rode to the chancellor at Dunfermline regarding Pedagogy business. No doubt the business was the appointment of a new principal.

The following figures are not altogether trustworthy, as there appears to be no determinable relationship between incorporations and recorded determinations. No determinations at all are recorded for 1521, but a few who had dealings with the bursar are recorded in his book.

1514 1515 1516 1517 1518 1519 1520
PED. 9 1 6 5 0 3 2
S. SAL. 15 7 5 10 3 9 3
S. LEON. - 14 0 7 0 12 6

It should also be noted that in 1516 a considerable number matriculated of whose degree there is no record.

800 Bursar's Bk., f. 20r.
801 Ibid., f. 19r.
One of these, James Wedderburn, studied in St. Leonard’s.

**Hugh Spens, Provost of St. Salvator’s**

This seems the proper place to discuss the career of Spens, whose association with the university was so long. John Mair has a touching tribute to him that seems worth quoting in full (written in 1527):

"Moreover you (i.e. Peter Chaplain) may greet in my behalf Hugh Spens, distributor of all good letters. For he is the venerable and ever-watchful prefect of your college of St. Salvator, a man of all hours, a hundred-eyed Argus, second to no mortal that I know in good nature and comradeship. This pleasantness of disposition prolongs the fatal thread of Atropos and makes him live long into old age. He is eighty years old without losing his faculties, and the storehouse of his memory is not as yet any emptier. Such giftedness is rarely come upon. The tendency to burning anger invokes by its hastiness the thread-spinning sisters and helps to break the thread of the inexorable Fates. In just one thing you might playfully say that he was supercilious: in boasting of his size he proclaimed that he was taller than John the Major. But indeed I am ashamed of my poor height. I am further removed from

802 E.Reca., pp. 102-110, 212; Calderwood, History, i, 141-3.
Og king of Basan and the giants than I am from the
pigmies: I have commended these thoughts to my
literary monuments at different times in fun. When
my Hugh converses with me I can be diverted by few.
Thus it is that his inborn urbanity and straightforward
conduct cast such a friendly reflection in my bosom that
until I say goodbye to human kind it will never on any
account be wiped out."

Spens must therefore have been born about
1447, which would make him twenty when he determined as
a poor student in 1467; there is no record of his
licence. As a member of the Fife nation he was active
at St. Andrews in 1474; he was presumably a theologian
at St. Salvator's when he acted as quodlibetarius in
1475. By May, 1486, he was both professor of
theology and doctor of decrees. When Liston died,
before the 3rd November, 1505, Spens became provost.
In that year he also became principal official of St.
Andrews as Lok had done before him.

The long association of Spens with the
university and St. Salvator's, as well as the attractive
qualities of his personality, had been an invaluable
asset. The strife with the Pedagogy was no longer
couraged by the provost, and the faculty of arts

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803 Major, History, p.440.
804 E.Rexa, p.45; Acta Rectorum, I.20; A.F.A., ff.71v.,73r.
805 A.F.A., f.86v. He probably succeeded to the prebend of
Dunino in St. Salvator's when Liston became provost in 1479;
he certainly held it early in the following year. He
succeeded to Kenlock after Henry Bair in 1489; (Ibid., f.102r;
St. Salvator's Br. "B", F.334.)
looked to him for a just assessment of difficult situations. As one whose memory went back to the stormy days of Athilmer and Lok, he knew the value of keeping the peace.

Mair in the letter cited above assures us a decade later that even then his faculties were unimpaired. Yet in 1517 he must have been seventy, although he still carried out the duties of a busy archdiocesan official as late as May of the previous year. By the following March John Weddell had succeeded as official. How are we to read this situation? It is perfectly possible that Spens found his dual office too exacting. Weddell as a licentiate in both laws was well equipped to take over. But there is more than that to it: In view of the troubles preceding rectorial elections, including Weddell’s, it could be that Spens and Weddell were ranged on opposite sides in the Hepburn-Forman clash. It is at least curious that David Spens, Rector continuously over the previous decade, should fail to be re-elected in 1517. But apart from the fact that it is fairly evident that university politics were

807 e.g. A.F.A., ff. 121v., 140r.
808 Ibid., ff. 140r.—v.
809 E.Rec., p. 214.
810 E.Rec., pp. 198-212.
affected by the ecclesiastical flux in which St. Andrews found itself, no firm conclusion can be drawn.

Visitations of St. Salvator's had been tightened up in Liston's time, with consent of the provost and canons. It was claimed that they took place at the end of the year, and that therefore the visitors could not ensure that their recommendations were observed. The Rector of the time was Liston, but his hand was probably forced by the procurators of nations, after whose deliberations he concluded that in future they would be in October. It must have been a sore point with the college that St. Leonard's was not subject at all to such irritating annual inquisitions: and that moreover the canons regular were so often prominent among the visitors, as in 1514 when the Alan Meldrum, vicar of Leuchars, was one.

Most of the college regents were naturally recruited from within. Even Thomas Ray of Perth, who began his studies at Louvain in 1509, finished them in the college, before his adoption as regent (his

811 Acta Rectorum, i. 37.
812 Ibid., i, 61.
licence, however, is not recorded): his teaching career was short and he appears to be the Franciscan Observant of that name. There is no doubt that St. Salvator's was a very stable institution, and the Pedagogy by contrast unstable; but the latter had the advantage of attracting (if not holding) young and vigorous teachers from universities abroad.

Spens of course did not die till 1534. On the 4th May of that year he founded two chaplainries of our Lady and the Holy Rood in the college, the former for a theological student and a choir chaplain in charge of a song school. The chaplain was to sing mass at the Lady aisle in the college cloister (an aisle built by Spens) assisted daily by youths trained in plainsong in the song school. Among his friends mentioned in this deed are Mair and, of an earlier generation, David Kay, doctor in decreets, under whom he seems to have gained his legal doctorate. He died on the 21st July. His recumbent figure, chalice in hand, is still to be seen in the west wall of the college church. The inscription is: "Here lies the venerable and distinguished man, our master Hugh Spens, as a theologian outstanding and expert in

814 St. Salvator's Hist. "E",97r-98r; St. Salvator,pp.25,26n.
both laws, who greatly enriched this place with his gifts."

**Dominican House of Studies**

A useful short study of the Friars Preachers in Scotland points to the establishment of this house of studies. In October, 1514, Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen died; his heart (viscera) was buried in the Dominican house in Edinburgh, his body being taken to King's. The provisions of his will are discussed in Chapter 3; but on the basis of them, the Dominicans received a legacy, which their provincial, John Adamson, decided to use in providing a Dominican study house in St. Andrews. John Hepburn and George Hepburn were also closely associated with the scheme. In Rome at the General Chapter of 1518 Adamson explained his scheme to the master general and to Leo X: how their house at St. Andrews was well-endowed and had a skilfully constructed dormitory and was a centre where friars might say day and night office and study theology, and that Cupar and St. Monance ought to be annexed to it, as the former was not the affluent burgh it had been, while St. Monance was a poor fishing town, where, however, he proposed to

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815 Historical Monuments Commission Report, xi, 245; fig. 406.
816 Reca. Scot. Church Hist. Soc., x, 125-139; the "remains" did not all go to Edinburgh, p. 130.
to leave two friars because of the presence of the 
body of St. Monan. The Duke of Albany approved, and 
the provincial chapter interposed its authority. By 
this time the Dominican prior of St. Andrews was a 
young Aberdeen-trained theologian called John Grierson, 
whose earlier career can be followed in Chapter 3.817

George Hepburn's scheme was for five or six 
thetical students and this the general chapter also 
approved; it was maintained by an annual-rent bought 
from Douglas of Lochleven in 1517 and required the 
usual suffrages. The Hepburn arms are still visible 
in the fragment of the Blackfriars chapel now standing.818

It has been assumed that certain Dominicans 
who became graduates of theology about 1525 were 
members of this house. That may well be, but one of 
them, John Macalpine (as a Reformer in Denmark the 
famous Dr. Machabæus) was a bachelor in theology of 
Cologne, with which Scottish Dominicans had a long-standing 
connection. Indeed one of the most amusing letters in 
the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum is alleged to be written 
by a Scottish friar, Benedictus de Scocia, c. 1516 to a 
Cologne master from the house at Stralsund. He

817 C.R.H., St. Andrews Chs., no. 215 
819 Recs. Scot. Ch. Hist. Soc., x, 132; he matriculated at Wittenberg 
as "a formed bachelor in theology of Cologne", C.E. Förestemann, 
Liber Decanorum Facultatis Theologicae Vitaebergensis, p. 33.
discourses humourlessly as to the comparative sanctity of Dominic and Thomas Aquinas with some anti-Reuchlin observations on the Jews and the unreliability of Jewish converts.\textsuperscript{820} It would not be hard to multiply evidence, but one or two examples must suffice, to show that Scots Dominicans continued to study abroad also. The general chapter assigned a Friar William Andreson, Scots friar, to Paris in 1515,\textsuperscript{821} and Friar James Crichton, who fled abroad about 1520, took his mastership in theology in Italy (it is uncertain whether at Bologna, Padua or Perugia).\textsuperscript{822} Crichton however studied arts at St. Andrews and was already a lector in theology from the Edinburgh house on his arrival in Italy. Moreover he seems to have been quite unlike Friar Benedict, being accused of consort ing with laymen and Jews.\textsuperscript{823}

On the other hand John Grierson probably would complete his theological studies in St. Andrews, as he was professor of theology there by 1526; as would Friar Alexander Campbell, mentioned as prior in the same deed.\textsuperscript{824} Friar James Hewat, a friend of James Wedderburn if not of Gavin Logie, can be identified

\textsuperscript{821} Reichert, \textit{Acta Cap. O.P.}, iv, 149.
\textsuperscript{822} Ibid., iv, 206; Heerseman-Planzer, \textit{Registra Minor}, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{823} Hay, \textit{Letters of James V}, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{824} O.R.H., St. Andrews, Chs., no. 237.
with the Friar James "Cheuvot", Scots bachelor in theology of 1525.\(^{825}\) The most probable conjecture is that some of these St. Leonard's theologians took advantage of the forty French crowns of the sun which Hepburn's brother had given for the Dominican foundation and attended the lectures for a time at least.

**St. Leonard's Well**

Problems of identification make it difficult to get a clear picture of what was happening at St. Leonard's. It was no doubt a nursery of Catholic reform as Hepburn meant it to be. Religious who were Augustinian canons are easily identifiable there: Robert Richardson, John Duncanson, Robert Logie, John Winram, Thomas Cunningham, to name a few.\(^{827}\) Others like John Birrell, who was later a Franciscan Observant, and Arthur Crawford, subprior of Newbattle, can be detected with fair certainty.\(^{828}\) But while not all of its personnel by any means went over to the Reformers, and with many of them the process was delayed for many years, yet there is no doubt that a climate of mind sympathetic to reform was nurtured there.

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\(^{826}\) G.R.H., *St. Andrews Chas.*, no.233.

\(^{827}\) All well known, except Cunningham, to be discussed later.

\(^{828}\) *St. Salvator's Rh. "E",* f.131v, a witness to the will of John Winchester, a fellow student (*E.Rec.,* p.216); Crawford as subprior, Fraser, *Scotts of Buccleuch*, iii, 420.
An unidentified Scot, from St. Andrews, John "Nutrisen", made his appearance at Wittemberg in 1519, but whether he assimilated Lutheran influences is unknown.\(^{829}\) Gilbert Winram, like John born in Lothian, appeared at Marburg with Patrick Hamilton in 1527, having presumably studied with his brother at St. Leonard's and graduating at St. Andrews in 1521 on the 18th May.\(^{830}\) He was just finishing his two years' lecture, therefore, when in the summer of 1523 John Mair and Patrick Hamilton were incorporated.\(^{831}\) Mair and Erasmus were two influences on him, as appears from his books.\(^{832}\) Abroad he was in touch with the ex-Franciscan, Francois Lambert, and he was also known to the ex-Dominican, Martin Bucer. A letter to Bucer sent in 1530 shows that Lambert and "his Gilbert Winram the Scot" were dead in Marburg.\(^{833}\) Though Gilbert's direct influence on Scotland may have been negligible, his influence through his brother, John, later subprior of St. Andrews, cannot be overlooked.

Alexander Alane (Melanchthon's Alexis) determined at St. Leonard's in 1515: he plainly acknowledges the influence of Patrick Hamilton, "I spoke with him, hoping to influence him to know his error. I was then attached to the doctrine of the

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\(^{830}\) Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p.90; *E.Recs.*, p.110.
\(^{831}\) *E.Recs.*, pp.218-9.
\(^{832}\) Copies published in the years 1519-22, in N.L. Scotland and St. Andrews Univ. Library.
\(^{833}\) Hassencamp, *Franciscus Lambert Von Avignon*, p.56
Sentences. But against my expectation it turned out that from his conversation I recognised my own error." 834 Another St. Leonard's convert was John Fyfe, usually identified with the John Faithus incorporated at Wittenberg in 1544, and the John Fidelis professor at Frankfort mentioned in Melanchthon's correspondence. 835

In the above letter of Melanchthon a "Linus noster qui natus est in gente Scotica" is mentioned, evidently the John Lyne who matriculated in Wittenberg in 1555. 836 There is no certainty that he was at St. Leonard's, however, as his matriculation appears to be among those of the Pedagogy. In any event he was a Scottish Franciscan for some years before joining the Reformers. 837

Alexander Young, First Principality

A thing that sharply separated St. Leonard's off from other colleges was the changing nature of its staffing arrangements, which had to be fitted in with the needs of the priory. Young was a St. Andrews student, of the Albany nation, and a

835 One would have expected rather Fethy. E.Recs.,p.112; Album Academiae Vitebergensis,i,213.
836 Corpus Reformatorum,viii,cols.315-6; Album Acad.,i,312.
837 E. Recs.,p.211; Knox, History,i,27. Another Pedagogy student, Alexander Seton, can plausibly be identified with the later Dominican prior of St. Andrews who joined the Reformers after the defection of England from Rome; E.Recs.,p.211, "nationis Albaniae"; another, "nationis Laudoniae" was at St. Salvator's (p.213). He was Dominican prior in 1530, G.R.H., St. Andrews Chs.,no.253.
student in St. Salvator's who on account of poverty was not licensed in 1496. We may take it that he was born about 1476, and was about forty when, as a canon regular of St. Andrews, he first appears as principal of St. Leonard's on the 20th April, 1517. His reading matter shows strong Franciscan philosophical influences. As he was in charge of the theologians it was presumably from him at least in part that young Alesius learnt his scholastic theology.

There is no doubt that the university found the St. Leonard's students awkward. In 1515 they wanted to determine on the feast of St. Leonard, although it was a university feast, which illustrates the symbolic value medieval men attached to such feasts. On the 14th October, 1516, at a meeting held in the room of Hugh Spens, the St. Leonard's regents are not mentioned in a scheme whereby two older regents from both St. Salvator's and the Pedagogy were with the dean to examine the students of every year to test the adequacy of their knowledge. This may have been because the faculty of arts was as yet nervous about extending such a scheme to the new college of the prior. However this meant that St. Leonard's regents

838 E.Reca.,pp.81,85,190.
839 St. Leonard's Writs,SL AG.
840 e.g. Bonaventure (St. Andrews Univ., pressmark, TypFL.B15.SP; Glasgow Univ., Eg7.al); Richard de Mediavilla (St. Andrews Univ., TypIV.B09.SR; two separate vols.)
were excluded from profitable faculty duties such as examining, and one of them, Gavin Logie on his own behalf supplicated that some of his co-regents be either nominated or elected. This took place in Lent, 1519, and is to be seen against the general background of John Hepburn's desire to exempt all his creatures from external control. The faculty postponed its decision for want of assessors. The St. Leonard's poor students considered themselves in a special category unlike those in St. Salvator's and the Pedagogy, for not only did they not pay the faculty burse on graduation, but they even refused to take the usual oaths, i.e. about paying when they came to a fatter fortune. Consulted about this, the dean decided on the 23rd March, 1521, that the poor students must take the latter oath and that the regent of the poor must fetch his poor students to the bursar and certify their poverty in his presence. After Forman's death, Hepburn was once again in a strong position as vicar general. He sent Patrick Hepburn, chantor of Ross, to the faculty to supplicate that St. Leonard's be represented among the examiners. The faculty now legislated unanimously that there be three college examiners and one non-regent elected annually by the whole faculty; and on this occasion

841 A.F.A., ff. 139r., 140r, 144v.
for St. Salvator's John Balfour, for the Pedagogy Thomas Fyfe and for St. Leonard's Andrew Kinninmond be elected. This was in February, 1523, during the vacancy of the see.\footnote{843}

Young can be traced as principal up till early 1531, about which time he succeeded James Wemyss as subprior.\footnote{844} As we shall see, Gavin Logie was also principal during part of this period; the explanation may be that he was acting principal as far as the arts faculty was concerned, it being no part of Young's duty as a religious to appear at faculty of arts congregations. He can be traced as subprior till 1535.\footnote{845} Winram who was then third prior succeeded him by the 10th November, 1537, as subprior.\footnote{846} He is described as a licentiate in theology in December 1541, but did not hold that degree on appointment as principal.\footnote{847}

In March, 1527, as principal and provisor, Young summoned all the inhabitants of college property to a meeting in the new school of St. Leonard's. His purpose was to warn them that before Whitsunday they must obtain new letters of five-yearly assedation from himself and the regents; which shows the college

\footnote{843} Ibid.,f.148r.
\footnote{844} Wemyss was subprior in February, Acta Rectorum, i, 39; Young at least by Feb., 1533, Ibid., i, 91.
\footnote{845} St. Leonard's Writs, SL 59.
\footnote{846} Acta Rectorum, i, 101; A.F.A., f.169r.
\footnote{847} St. Leonard, p. 221. See later for Young as S.T.B.
functioning separately from the priory in this respect. For this reason I cannot accept the statement that the college could not meet "chapterly" till after Cardinal Beaton's confirmation. The latter certainly endowed it with college honours and dignities, but only as part of the legal fiction that these did not exist until they had been conferred by apostolic authority.

**Discipline**

The faculty of arts was not exactly a haven of peace after Flodden. "Schisms and disorders between places" regarding the order of responsion are recorded in April, 1515. The feast of St. John in the previous year led to a decision the following day that plays and proclamations (pasquils?) should be examined in future by the dean on account of scurrilous and defamatory content. There were to be no special references to anybody, especially anything that was damaging to his good name, and regents should examine the plays in advance: obviously Forman and Hepburn had been the target of humour. To keep the students busy the Paris custom of reparations was to be adopted and students' rooms visited nightly.

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848 Thomas Ken Protocol, f.5r.
849 St. Leonard, pp.96,193. In January, 1531, Young as principal of the college of the poor and the regents and chaplains exchanged certain annual rents in St. Andrews with the Dominicans there, G.R.H., St. Andrews Charters, no.361.
regents were to be paid ten shillings yearly by their own students, as fixed by statute in 1510. They were to preside over their own graduations; and if the student desired otherwise he must compound with his regent. In May 1516 faculty quarrels had reached such a pitch that deputies were appointed to end them, including four canons regular (Gund, Meldrum, Livingstone, Annand), three senior canons from St. Salvator's, Bannerman from the Pedagogy and others. The Lenten responses of determinants, when contumelious words, provocative behaviour and keeping late nights were at their height, was a worrying time; if they were not in by nine, the faculty would postpone their promotion; meantime the students of 1517 who had ignored the monitorial letters were to be declared excommunicate.

Alexander Stewart had mentioned the decline in the spiritual attraction of St. Andrews after the age of pilgrimages to the shrines of St. Andrew and St. Rule had ceased. It could not compete with the secular capital, Edinburgh, but it was right that it should be an ecclesiastical capital in fact as well as in name. We have seen how more Dominicans were

850 A.F.A., f.137r.
851 Ibid., f.140r.
852 Ibid., 138v., 140v.
853 St. Leonard, p.137.
attracted there, and it apparently became in addition the seat of the provincial (at least in Grierson's period of office.) At a diocesan synod an ordinance was issued with a view to increasing the numbers of students in the university, that they might be better able to face heresy "by instruction in the holy law of the gospel". All abbots and priors in the diocese were given orders to send monks under penalty of a £20 fine if they failed: two each from the Austin canons of St. Andrews, Scone, Holyrood and Cambuskenneth, the Benedictine houses of Arbroath, Dunfermline and Lindores, and the Cistercian houses of Couper Angus and Newbattle; with one from Kelso, Dryburgh and Coldingham. How far this injunction was obeyed there is no means of judging. There are various routine documents giving licences to study and aimed at non-residents if not attending a university. In the Formulare we also have a document in which Forman grants a Frenchman a pension of £50 Scots for life, payable by his chamberlain, for his faithful and continuous service in leaving France at the archbishop's request, on condition that he reads in poetry or oratory in the university. The similarity

854 He appears in many St. Andrews charters.
855 Robertson, Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticae, i, page cclxxxiv.
856 Formulare, i,18,19,229. The erection of Forteviot into a prebend of St. Salvator's (ibid., i,189) was not the work of Forman.
857 Formulare, i,114-5.
of this Frenchman's initials J.C. to those of the poet, John Carpenter, already mentioned in this narrative, is really rather remarkable. The pension may in this event have been given to encourage him to stay (pro ulteriori continua lectura et doctrina). John Weddell, frequently Rector, was a law graduate from Paris.

Forman also contemplated a "settlement" of the foundation statutes of a Pedagogy chaplainry, when he appointed Alexander Ayton in January 1519; Ayton had not only to celebrate three times weekly but also to be present personally in the common disputations of the Pedagogy and give of his best to its common good.

On the 4th May the arts faculty showed that it did not take kindly to all forms of archiepiscopal intervention. Certain persons had gone straight to Forman with what they made out to be no small complaint, but which the faculty held to be exaggerated, annoyed that it had not gone through the hierarchy of power first, that is through regents, dean and Rector. In conformity with the university statute a fine of 40

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858 As cited in St. Leonard, p.163.
859 Paris, Archives, MM 1051, f.46r. In 1505 "veneris tertia aprillis fuit sigillata littera gradus magistri wadal diocesis sancti andree et etiam guilemi armour."
860 Archbishops, ii, 242.
shillings was to be imposed on appellants; moreover no case could be carried to the university and Rector without faculty consent.  

The hardening economic situation can be glimpsed in the decision of 1515 to raise the fee of the quodlibetarius to 40s., and the aftermath of plagues in the departure from office of successive bursars, John Strochan, David Dishington and John Gardner, without entering their accounts. Bannerman, who succeeded as bursar in 1518 was ordered to summon the two last by Rector's letters, and a space was left for the entries: actually Dishington eventually entered his. Bannerman did not find the duties attractive and refused re-appointment in 1522 when Thomas Fyfe was elected, Fyfe being also a Pedagogy professor of arts and regent in the theological faculty.  

The latter faculty was considerably strengthened on the 14th December 1521 by the incorporation of George Lockhart, provost of Crichton, elected Rector in the following year. Lockhart was a pupil of David Cranston at Montaigu, and besides teaching there, had also been regent in the college of Reims and

861 A.F.A., f.145r.  
862 Ibid., ff.136r., 138v., 139r., 141v; Bursar's Bk., ff. 18v. and 19r.  
the college de la Marche. He had issued several logical and physical works in Paris and in 1520 was prior of the Sorbonne and master in theology. He was a native of Ayr and belonged to the school of John Mair, who was then, of course, still principal at Glasgow. At St. Andrews he acted as assessor to the dean of arts from November 1523 till the same month in 1525. Of his activity in the theological faculty there appears to be no definite record.

**JAMES BEATON: CHANCELLOR, 1523-1539**

John Hepburn was ecclesiastically well-connected. He never got over his disappointment in not succeeding to the see as well as to the priory, and after Beaton's arrival was to prove pig-headed about his prioratial rights. Forman died in March, 1521, and Beaton was nominated in December. Clement VII provided Beaton in August and gave him the pallium in December of next year, but Hepburn was reluctant to hand over the castle of St. Andrews. However, as the prior died on the 25th January, 1526, he did not live

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866 Paris,Bibl. Nat.,Ms. Lat.5657a,f.35.
867 Innes Rev., i,149-152,gives bibliography. Before his death he left funds for an obit in the Sorbonne, and in 1549 two obits came up for discussion at a Sorbonne meeting, one "in the name of our master, M. George Loquart, on the day following the Sunday which is commonly called Quasimodo." Paris,Bibl. Nat.,Ms. Lat. 15441,p.92.
868 A.F.A. ff.149r.,151r.
869 Scots Peerage,ii,147; his brother was dean of Dunkeld and his nephew abbot of Arbroath.
870 Archbishops,iii,95-6.
long to plague Forman's successor: the chronicler of Fortingal describes him as "the good prior." 871

John Mair: First St. Andrews Period

It was inevitable that when Beaton was safely translated to St. Andrews John Mair should give up his principalship at Glasgow and follow him. If we may judge from the incorporations of 1522, Lockhart was teaching in St. Salvator's, none being recorded elsewhere that year: of many of these students there is unfortunately no further record, but one (George Cok) had transferred from St. Leonard's, and another (Andrew Johnson) from the Pedagogy. 872 Obviously the comparatively unknown Pedagogy masters could not stand up to this competing attraction. As has been said, "It is by no means clear what office Major came to St. Andrews to fill in 1523." The same writer goes on to say that it is difficult to see where else he could have lectured if not in the Pedagogy. 873 Yet from the date of his incorporation on the 9th June, 1523, until 1525, the majority of the incorporations of students is in St. Leonard's, although Pedagogy incorporations are also large in the latter year. 874 These students, however, were not just coming up to the university, but

871 Black Book of Taymouth, p.119.
873 Ibid., p. xxxix.
874 Ibid., pp.218-223.
were beginning their third year, as many of them can be traced among the determinants of 1525. George Buchanan himself was one of the Pedagogy students matriculating and determining in the same year, most of whom in my view began their first academic year in 1523, the year of Mair's arrival. It is true that Mair is never mentioned as principal of the Pedagogy in this period; it is equally true that nobody else is. Moreover two masters from Glasgow, John Douglas and Robert Fergushill (often given as Ferguson) arrived in the Pedagogy two weeks after Mair's own incorporation. The most probable explanation of the relatively high incorporation at St. Leonard's is that the old Pedagogy building was not able to cope with the inflow of students who came to hear John Mair, many of whom perhaps in addition were, if not poor, at least not over-affluent. Maitland Anderson surmised that he taught theology only, not arts, but Mair himself points out that in Scotland theologians taught both. Mair thoroughly approved of this. A theologian could not be confined to repetition of the Fathers and the Bible: "He is not denigrating patristic authorities, if he can say something more plainly than they can; and they

875 Ibid., pp.116,222. If, as J.H. Burns suggests, Buchanan matriculated in early 1526, a very probably suggestion, he would still enter in 1523 (Innes Rev.,v,94).
877 Innes Rev.,v,92; E.Rees,.p. xxxix-xl.
(i.e. later thinkers) deal with many matters which did not occur to them (i.e. the Fathers), just as when we are in our graves many things will occur to posterity. Has not Amerigo Vespucci in our own days discovered lands unknown to Ptolemy, Pliny and the rest of the cosmographers before these times? Why can this not happen in other things? Admittedly, he continues, one could overdo the introduction of philosophical questions in theology; as Varro says, they make the wine so watery that it tastes insipid, and other universities go in for this sort of thing more than we do at Paris. None the less Paris university did not acquire its great reputation by taking the edge out of the arguments in its disputations. 378

Of these first years in St. Andrews he has some recollections in the Octo Libri Physicorum published in 1526 at Paris. He has some incidental observations as to the behaviour of snow on the sands: "this I have experienced in St Andrews times without number." 379 He makes observations on the tide at Leith and St. Andrews. 380 "By twofold arguments," he says, "the citizens of St Andrews are able to foretell whether it will be good weather or stormy. The

378 In Quatrer Sententiarum, 1521, Paris, f.1, cols. C-D.
380 Ibid., col. D.
pothole (olla) of St. Nicholas resounding with a
deep noise (vasto cum murmure) foretells that a
tempest is imminent. That "pot" is a certain height
reached by the tide underneath the chapel founded to
St. Nicholas. It is customary to build a sacred
house in his honour in seaports. 881

This is not the place to estimate Mair's
contribution to international thought in the sixteenth
century. His works are so outwordly unattractive and
arid that it is only within recent years that
researchers have probed behind the forbidding facade.
Knox himself is a witness that his contemporaries
regarded him as an oracle. 882

Dr. Burns has shown that Mair left St Andrews
to go back to Paris in autumn, 1526, and he adds, "The
mental life of Scotland may well have seemed somewhat
narrow after a quarter of a century in the intellectual
capital of Europe." 883 In addition, he may have been
expecting a scheme of Archbishop Beaton's to come to
fruition sooner than it did.

The First Plan for St. Mary's
The Pedagogy in St Andrews was not supported
as were St. Leonard's and St. Salvator's; nor was it any

881 Ibid., sig.q vi, col.D.
883 Innes Rev., v,95.
longer an annexe of a college like many pedagogies abroad, at least not since St. John's had become defunct. In theory (and this may explain why for long periods it appears to have no principal regent), it was administered by the dean of the faculty of arts. It had also incorporated in its structure the old theological schools of St. John's, and adjacent were the law schools as well. No doubt these other faculties made themselves responsible for their own schools, but the main burden of Pedagogy maintenance fell on the arts faculty, which not only maintained its own schools in repair, but the halls large and small, the kitchen and gardens. The accounts of 1521-1526 show a new spurt of work going on: the bell over the hall taken down and mended, a window shut up in the lower school, kitchen utensils and tables fixed, the curtain wall round the chapel repaired, stairways and windows renewed and details attended to, such as a gate at the end of the hall to keep out pigeons. Quantities of lime and sand were in use and obviously the Pedagogy was being given a new face. All this was plainly a drain on the faculty purse, and yet, as I have already suggested, just because the colleges had been mulcted in the past for its support, they felt they should have a say in its future. Doubtless they did not feel like supporting another college besides their own

884 Bursar's Book, ff. 19v-22v, excerpts in Appendix A.
and hence would resist the Pedagogy's transformation into something independent of themselves.

This is part of the background to a meeting of the arts faculty held on the 8th April, 1525, at which special assessors were appointed to deal with the different supplications which the dean had received for decision or consideration by the faculty "touching the utility and honesty of the same." Assessors were the Rector, the provost and two senior canons of St. Salvator's, John Mair, George Lockhart, Fern, Chantor of Brechin, Gavin Logie, Bannerman of the Pedagogy, John Balfour, and all the regents of university and faculty. What were the deliberations about that are referred to in such general terms? Had Patrick Hamilton, who was received to the arts faculty a few months earlier (October), shown his hand as a Lutheran? Were the imports of Lutheran books under consideration, a matter discussed at the Scottish parliament in the following July, where reference is also made to the prohibition of disputation and discussion of Luther's opinions, except for their refutation, "and that be clerkis in the scullis olanerlie?" Such matters may well have been discussed. The fact, however, that

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885 A.F.A., f.151r.
886 A.F.A., f.150r.
887 A.P.S., ii, 295.
both faculty and university regents were on this council suggests something affecting them even more particularly. My own conjecture is that they had Beaton's plan for the conversion of the Pedagogy already on the table before them.

That not merely rehabilitation, but conversion, of the Pedagogy, was on the way is evident from the published records. It is true that some Pedagogy students are given as matriculands of 1527, but these all entered their bachelor year either then or in 1526, and it is highly doubtful that anyone began his studies in the Pedagogy after 1525, for the last group of licentiates is recorded in 1529.\textsuperscript{888} An odd Pedagogy student determined by himself in 1532, and two St. Mary's men are described anachronistically as Pedagogy students in 1554.\textsuperscript{890} From 1525 the Pedagogy received no more students, therefore. Since the published documents give no hint of St. Mary's college as yet, the problem seemed insoluble when by a fortunate chance the present writer came across a transcript of the original supplication for the foundation of St. Mary's in the Public Record Office in London.\textsuperscript{891} The supplication was granted by Clement VII

\textsuperscript{888} E.Recs., pp. 120, 223-4.
\textsuperscript{889} Ibid., p. 122.
\textsuperscript{890} Ibid., pp. 122, 152.
\textsuperscript{891} For which, see Appendix D.
on the 4th October, 1525 (the earliest date previously known being February, 1538), and it must have been drafted by Beaton some months before.

Assuming the accuracy of my conjecture that this was the subject of discussion in April, we can see better hopes of agreement than Alexander Stewart had in 1510. The two senior canons of St. Salvator's were former Pedagogy principals (Ramsay and Chaplain); Hugh Spens was a man of peace; Mair was evidently being groomed for the principalship of the proposed college, with Lockhart perhaps as subprincipal. Its recent history showed the impossibility of running an unendowed Pedagogy on traditional lines. But if it was to go, the faculties of theology and law must somehow be incorporated in the new structure; and the opportunity could also be taken to establish medicine permanently as had been done at Aberdeen. Indeed the founder's attention must have been increasingly directed to Aberdeen as the place where the university schools had been felicitously annexed to a college of theology and arts on the pattern of the original St. John's, but which nevertheless owed something to the model of Montaigu, from which both Mair and Lockhart had come.

892 Not 1537 as some have it (e.g. Archbishops, iii, 241); it was the fourth year of Paul III's pontificate.
If opposition to this idea were forthcoming, it could be expected from St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's. As we shall see there is some evidence that the dean in power, Martin Balfour, did not win everybody's suffrages, whatever the reason may have been.

Beaton's college was to be dedicated like King's to our Lady, under the title of the assumption, symbolising presumably the assumption of human knowledge into the higher realm of divine service. It was to benefit especially the poor of the city and diocese, but as a college of clerks and priests, saying mass and other divine offices according to statutes to be drawn up by the archbishop or those deputed by him, residing there in a favourable atmosphere and maintained by portions or burses. This left no doubt that the college was primarily clerical. Nevertheless laypeople could also study there, as at Aberdeen, but not it would seem as portionlists or busars. The subjects taught were to be theology, canon and civil law, physics, medicine and the other liberal disciplines. This more than absorbed all the Pedagogy schools; the ancient church of St. John was to be absorbed as well and given a dedication and collegiate standing (cum capella seu ecclesia sub invocacione predicta, sacrario et aliis locis). There was to be a collegiate table, but there was as yet no suggestion that benefices were to be annexed
to it. The original idea, may have been to finance it as Hepburn had financed St. Leonard's by annual-rents; but the words *de bonis sibi a deo collatis* might conceivably apply to benefices resigned in his hands, although future events suggest otherwise. The number of such students was still to be fixed.

What held up this plan? Not the pope certainly, who authorised absolution from censures for any moves Beaton had made without his authority, offered to appoint executors, to be aided if need be by the secular arm, and who wished to ensure the fullest probability that Beaton's scheme could be carried out. (*Et quod maior et acrior spes omnium et singulorum premissorum fieri possit*). The immediate cause was undoubtedly the fact that for many years the archbishop was out of favour in the kingdom. For reasons discussed by his biographers, Margaret seized Beaton and Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, and cast them into prison, from which they were not released till October 24th. 893 This happened before the date of the supplication. However, in 1526 the return of Angus, the old rival of Beaton's friend, Albany, and his growing ascendancy over James V, led to Beaton's downfall. According to one story, he

893 *Archbishops, iii, 119-121.*
fled into hiding disguised as a shepherd. In that year some of those, such as Mair and Lockhart, whom he might have envisaged as taking over his new college, decided to return to Paris. On his way through England Cardinal Wolsey offered Mair a post in his new college at Oxford, an offer he reluctantly rejected. Lockhart, similarly, was appointed by the bishop of Moray to take charge of the Scots bursars in Paris.

During all this time Beaton would have to maintain the regents of the Pedagogy out of his own funds until the college could be erected. At least there is no evidence of their being maintained out of faculty funds, yet throughout all this period they took part in the usual faculty duties as examiners, bursars and quodlibetarii.

The plague of 1529 gave another reason for postponement, as we shall see, and the archbishop was again placed under restraint in April, 1533, for alleged treason, a charge from which he ultimately cleared himself, but which showed the depth of the

\[894\] Ibid., iii, 153-164.

\[895\] Fines Rep., v, 95.

\[896\] Ibid., ii, 112-3, Aberdeen Univ. Rep., xxxvi, 179; it is not quite certain that there was no building in Paris for the Scots bursars; at least in the 16th century (1547) there is an aula scotorum (Paris, Bibl. Mat., Ms Lat. 9954, f. 77v)

\[897\] A.F.A., ff. 153r and seq. (i.e. 1530 on) They are described throughout as "regents."
bitterness between him and the king. If Beaton hoped for royal confirmation for his foundation, or even for further papal authority to annexe benefices to it, the times were still unpropitious, and the archbishop’s delay cannot wholly be put down to a mere spirit of procrastination.

**University Taxation**

Royal taxation of benefices for the wars against England and for the project of a College of Justice caused some disquiet in these years. Already Albany had ordered Hepburn as vicar general to discharge all university residents from tax in April 1522. This discharge appears to have been a matter of form, as also that given in November of 1525, when a useful list of university members was subjoined.

In 1532 there appears to be greater difficulty. On the 26th June, Master Alexander Balfour was sent by the university regarding exemption, and was told to produce evidence of exemption from taxation by James’s predecessors before the Lords of the Council by August 2nd and John Weddell, the Rector, was to draw up a list of clerks in actual

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898 Archbishops, iii, 224-32.
899 Evidence, iii, 180.
900 Ibid., iii, 180-1.
study. Next day the Lords recommended that the
students be discharged of tax, and the king's
letter of discharge followed two days later. The book they brought to the Council would be the
Register of University Evidents and Privileges
which was brought up to date in the rectorship of
James Strachan, and which is still in the
university archives.

Another discharge was given on the 28th
February, 1536, but again in 1538 it was necessary
for Master John Guthrie to represent the faculty
of arts, at the behest of the dean and John Mair
riding to Edinburgh to secure exemption. This
supplication was subscribed by my Lord Arbroath
(David Beaton) and divers others. The casual
attitude of James V roused considerable resentment
in the university and was hardly likely to
courage men of ability to reside. A very able
Rector, James Strachan, resigned for that reason in
1537: "And at the royal command the aforesaid
Rector went to the Roman court for the expedition
of the diplomata or bulls of the monastery of St
Andrews to James his rec sond son, and of those of

901 Evidence, iii, 182.
902 Ibid., Bursar's bk., f. 29v.
the church of Moray and the monastery of St. Michael of Scone to Patrick formerly its prior, and in these and other affairs he was drawn from the university and absent for eight months. And because the privileges and indults from the magnificent princes of the Scottish realm and the archbishops of St Andrews confirmed by apostolic authority, and granted and observed by them towards the residents, students or incorporated members in the same, who ought to be immune and free from all taxation, are not being observed, for that reason he refused and denied that he would perform the office of Rector.\textsuperscript{903}

\textbf{William Manderston, Doctor of Medicine}

It is probable that Manderston was recalled from Paris by Beaton to take up the post of mediciner. At any rate he was incorporated in the university, along with his brother, possibly in 1528.\textsuperscript{904} On the 1st May of that year in Paris the dean of the High Germans supplicated the German nation that somebody be appointed as Reformer in his place as he had gone home.\textsuperscript{905}

Manderston was chosen Rector at Paris in

\textsuperscript{903} In Appendix A, Acta Rectorum, ii, 8.
\textsuperscript{904} E.Reca., pp. 285-6.
\textsuperscript{905} Paris, Univ. Archives, Reg. 15, f. 149r.
December, 1525, and on him we can quote the high-flown remarks of the Low German procurator of the time: "Finally we went to the church of St. Julien, where there was elected D. William Manderston, whose eminent virtue and distinguished erudition in the disciplines of thought have saved the German nation from the stain and calumny of sterility... Notwithstanding, even on the third day, the lords deputies of all faculties gave the greatest thanks to the lords intrants in that they had chosen such a great man..." 906 Manderston was originally a pupil of David Cranston at Montaigu, was also regent there and also at Ste. Barbe. 907 At different times he is described as a master of arts, doctor of medicine and, in 1535, as a professor of theology. 908 His main interests were in ethical questions, but he also published several logical treatises as a member of the school of Mair. He describes Beaton, as well as Forman, as his Maecenas. We can safely attribute his return to him and not to accusations of plagiarism levelled by Jerome de Hangest, as Elie conjectured. 909

Whether Manderston lectured in medicine or

906 Ibid., f. 93r.
907 Paris, Univ. Archives, Reg. 90, f. xxxiii verso.
908 Innes Rev., i, 152-4.
gave the Ethics lectures, he is described as actually lecturing in 1536, and in 1538 got tax exemption as one who worked for the common good of the university. He was elected Rector at St Andrews in June, 1530, and on the 2nd December he was to visit all colleges, which were to see that copies of university statutes were in their possession.

Patrick Hamilton

The following entry appears in the Acta Rectoriae of the university of Paris:

"Dominus Patricius hammeliton sancti Andree diocesis Incepturus sub magistro Guillermo manderson Cuius bursa valet v solidi parisienses." This entry, overlooked by previous investigators, occurs in the Rectorate of Jean Le Sibre, from the 15th December, 1521, till the eve of the Annunciation (24th March), 1522. The other reference to a Patrick Hamilton in this record is to a noble of Glasgow diocese, and since the one in question was most probably born at Kincavel, the above entry is more correct. It shows Hamilton graduating under Manderston early in 1522.

910 Evidence, iii, 182.
911 Acta Rectorum, i, 87.
913 Ibid., f.29v.
From Manderston Hamilton would get his interest in logical presentation (very evident in Patrick's Places) and in questions regarding the relationship of faith and works. But he went beyond his teacher, and it may be as a result of his subsequent sojourn in Louvain adopted views similar to those of Erasmus. He was clearly a person of unusual gifts. Alesius said of him: "He recalled philosophy to its sources, Aristotle and Plato, setting aside and rejecting sophisms from the school. He composed a mass (as musicians call it) of nine voices in figured music in honour of the angels, upon the tenor or plainsong of the introit of the mass, Benedicant Dominum omnes angell elius. This music he caused to be sung in the metropolitan church of St Andrews, and he himself acted as precentor." 914

Both he and Mair were incorporated in the university on the same day, the 9th June, 1523, and shortly after (on the 3rd Oct., 1524) he was received to the arts faculty. 915 He had a love of disputation which caused him to be chosen for the opening theses at Marburg and no doubt his voice

914 Cited in Lorimer, Patrick Hamilton, p.233.
was heard in the public acts at St Andrews. His *Patrick's Places*, besides its hortatory passages, contains syllogisms in Barbara and the other logical figures. This latter document breathing evangelical earnestness, does not contain any of the heresies with which he was later accused. These included that the laws and canons of the Fathers and human decrees and constitutions were not to be obeyed; that the power of the keys and of ecclesiastical censure were worthy of contempt and no trust could be placed in the Church's sacraments, etc. These "Lutheran opinions" Beaton (in his citation addressed to the dean of Christianity of Linlithgow) accuses Hamilton of both preaching and disputing.

Hamilton would have heard of Lutheran opinions before he left Paris in 1522, living as did the rest of the Scots in the German nation. But he was apparently not influenced by them as yet. The new details given in an appendix about his Paris career make it probable that he came home before proceeding to Louvain. A Scottish

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917 The figures are given in *Foxe, Acts and Monuments*, iv, 564.
918 *Archbishops*, iii, 252-4.
919 In Appendix E.
act of Parliament forbade the trade in Lutheran books in July, 1525, and in 1527 most of the importation of Tyndale's bibles was said to be to St Andrews. But a more probable place of Lutheran influence would be Louvain, whence Marburg's first teacher of Hebrew, Sebastian Neuzen, had come, having attended the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain. In any event Hamilton and Gilbert Winram were both incorporated at Marburg in the same year as Neuzen, that is 1527.

Hamilton returned to St Andrews in early 1527, and in Lent an enquiry was made into his teaching, after which he was summoned by Beaton, but did not appear, fleeing abroad instead. Returning from Marburg in the autumn, he soon went back to St Andrews where he held disputations with the doctors in theology, who agreed that much required reform. Among those who engaged him in disputation and conference were the Dominican, Alexander Campbell, and the canon regular, Alexander Alane, the latter a former student of St. Leonard's.

920 A.P.S., ii, 295; Archbishops, iii, 174.
923 Archbishops, iii, 178 seq.
The final sentence was issued by Beaton on the last day of February, 1528, Hamilton being condemned to be handed over to the secular arm and burnt as a heretic in front of St. Salvator's college. The election of the Rector, which usually took place on that day, was postponed till the 3rd March.

Among those influenced were Gilbert Winram, through whom contacts with the ex-Franciscan, Lambert, and the ex-Dominican, Bucer, may have been made in Scotland; Lambert writing to Bucer in 1530 said, Salutat te Gilbertus meus carissimus, Scotus, tui studiosissimus. Winram and Lambert died that year of the plague, but an impression must have been formed in the mind of another Winram, still a canon regular in St Andrews. Alexander Alane, also a canon regular influenced by Hamilton, although he denied that he was a Lutheran, was arrested by the prior, Patrick Hepburn, after a Latin sermon in the synod of 1529 attacking clerical morals. Alane escaped abroad. He tells us he made use of John Fisher in his attacks on Luther, which won the favourable attention

925 Archbishops, iii, 185 seq.
926 E.Rece., p.225.
927 Herminjard, Correspondance des Reformateurs, ii, 244.
St. Salvator's: Problems of Jurisdiction

St. Salvator's did not cease to prosper with the addition particularly of non-scholastic chaplains which raised great problems of jurisdiction. In 1526, for instance, are recorded chaplainries founded in the parish church and the college church for Edward Stewart and John Beynston, bishops of Orkney, the latter bishop being buried in St. Salvator's. The patrons are said to be James Learmonth of Dairsie, provost of St. Andrews, and James Beynston; later we learn that Martin Myles is the chaplain in the parish church, and also, with Robert Marshall, as we shall see, in the college church.

There is no doubt that these additional chaplains were in need of regulation, and equally no doubt that they resisted the provost's authority. They tended to form themselves into a corporation within a corporation in a way that it is certain Kennedy never intended. Moreover,

the great age of Hugh Spens, the provost, may have incapacitated him from dealing with the problem.

In any event, on the 7th June 1533, in the presence of an energetic Rector, Alexander Sutherland, dean of Caithness, some statutes were drawn up with these choir-chaplains particularly in view. To these the two canons, Peter Chaplain, and Martin Balfour, also assented.

A few points from these statutes may be noted here. The provost is said to be head of the "congregation", and there were to be no private groupings subject to any other heads, nor were the chaplains to use any seal other than that of the college or the provost's personal seal. It is quite clear that the latter provision was evaded.930

Divine office was to be performed in a reverent and unhurried manner, and talking and other unfitting conduct were prohibited under fine. Suffrages were to be made for the founder and not for other people by reason of any contract made with anybody, which would seem to rule out suffrages for any additional founders. The meaning rather

930 See Appendix D for these Statutes. The chaplain's seal existed by 1528 (St. Salvator, p. 27, n. 2).
must be that all college members were to pray for their first founder as well as any additional founders, but not to take on extra mass obligations without the provost's licence. But since not all chaplains were able to do what their foundation required, they were to supply hebdomadars to carry out their duties for them and to act as deacons for the gospel. These duties were carried out evidently by college graduates, who could be fined for non-attendance in compliance with such requests, for fulfilling which they were paid.

Chaplains or other college members who arrogated rights to themselves to which they were not entitled by law or custom would be removed without further ado along with their possessions from the college.

The visitation of St. Salvator's by Sutherland, John Moir, Gavin Logie, Robert Caw and David Guild, was again aimed mainly against the chaplains, and this particular one, perhaps foreseeing litigation, has been recorded in the Rector's book. It took place on the 15th January following.931 The ostensible reason for the record is to serve as

931 See Appendix D, where excerpts are given.
a reminder to the Rectors at future visitations.

The visitors first direct their attention to the Great Hall, which was full of little holes like the dovecote (*quasi collumbare demembratam*), so that water got inside and penetrated the floor over the Great School and so descended into it. The dovecote with the bird-lime and other dirt was to be removed and the place cleaned up, as was also the east end of the cloister (apparently near the kitchen) of all meat and fish bones. The gate there was to have a lock. The tables of the Great Hall were rotting away for lack of use. No doubt it had been deserted originally because of the discomfort of eating there in winter. In future all commoners were to eat there from the 8th May till the 8th September.

Chaplains who spent a great deal of their time in choir were naturally inclined to talk, laugh and even quarrel in a way that scandalised visitors. In future they were to concentrate seriously on the psalms and hymns, and not use prayer-books or beads. No chaplain of the choir or nave, or youth, was to be granted admission in
future unless he understood music and behaved and dressed becomeingly. Every day there was to be a sung mass of our Lady at the Lady altar, to be attended by the chaplains and others who were bound to attendance by the foundation, under the penalties of suspension for priests and excommunication for laymen. There was to be a song school in future for teaching the founded choirboys, for two of whom the provost was to provide. The south door of the church was to be kept open and the north door shut, to keep out women from the college (as in the similar arrangement at St. Leonard's).

The provision of two boy clerks, who were in fact choirboys, is common in collegiate churches. The youths founded as such by the Keith, Forteviot and Kinnetles foundations (the last in 1514) were to my mind clerks rather than chaplains. There was, however, a bellman called David Bonar, who rang the bells and regulated the clock, and who may have had some authority over these junior clerks. In addition they would now

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932 E.g. at Crichton and Cullen, Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, p.176. At Crichton, which developed grammar and song schools, the boys were to "psallere in choro." (R.M.S., iv, no.2169).
933 St. Salvator, p.29 leaves the question open.
be subject to the master of the song school. This subjection to a dual authority is not uncommon. As already indicated, on the 4th May, 1534, Spens founded a chaplainry which provided for the master of the song school. The daily Lady mass was to be sung in Gregorian chant in the Lady aisle constructed in the cloister by Spens. The song school master sang it along with his scholars and others founded for the purpose, at least under the new arrangement; that the Lady mass preceded this arrangement is clear from its mention in the oldest St. Salvator's Inventory.

The chaplains, and the sacrist especially, were sharply criticised for their lack of care for the church furnishings. All chaplains were warned to remove their concubines within three days under penalty of expulsion, and two offenders are named: Thomas Cray is to remove White Maid and John Still to remove Agnes Scot.

The regents are less sharply criticised. They, as well as the provost and canons, were allowed to keep keys of the church's north door.

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234 E.g. at Restalrig they are under the song school master and the sacrist, Salirra, pp. 283-4.
235 St. Salvator's Book "B", ff. 97r-98v.
236 St. Salvator, p. 153.
Rainwater was damaging the sleeping accommodation of three regents. They had no wooden beds or seats, their windows were broken, the roofs suffered from decayed wood. The provost was to ensure that they kept attending the weekly disputation in arts and theology and the lectures of provost and canons. They were to carry out the nightly visitation of students' rooms and avoid over-familiarity. They were also to keep up their attendance at matins, mass and vespers on feast days. The sacrist, Master David Myles, was to light all candles in choir on the main double feasts, including the feast of St. Salvator (9th November), at Matins, high mass, first and second vespers, and on other major double feasts every second candle. Before singing the Magnificat at vespers and the Benedictus at lauds on Sundays and other feasts two tapers were to be lit and carried by candle-bearers in surplices assisting the duty chaplain for the week. Similar laws governed other big churches, for instance the parish church at Linlithgow.937

The library also was in bad repair. The books could easily be removed. The wooden benches

937 Ferguson, Ecclesla Antiqua, p.49, n.1.
were in bad trim (they probably went back to Kennedy's day). Alterations were necessary. The place should be cleaned out. Books were to be chained. A new register was to be prepared listing the books and press-marking them. The provost and canons were to do what they could to ensure that books left to the college by Thomas Ramsay (who died in 1530) were recovered from those detaining them and that other books lent out to outsiders be returned. In future one of the canons was to see that the books were kept in a safe and clean condition.

Some of the faults indicated are understandable. The regents get off lightly, and only two students are mentioned by name, Alexander Spens and John Inglis, who did not make use of their bed-closets in the cloister. Obviously, however, the main offenders were the chaplains, with or without choir obligations, whose standards of conduct were quite indefensible. How far they considered themselves subject to the provost

938 See Appendix A for extract from Ramsay's will.
rather than to their rector chori is uncertain. 939

This visitation roused some indignation, both among patrons and chaplains. James Learmont of Dairsie and James Beynston, the lay patrons of the chaplainries founded in the college by the bishops of Orkney, and Martin Myles and Robert Marshall, priests and chaplains, brought the case to Rome. The ground of their complaint was perhaps that their foundation did not require subjection to the provost in the way the visitation required. Their adversaries are given as the provost, the canons and the four arts regents, who brought the case before Sutherland as visitor and who gave a definitive sentence against them. The only point explicitly mentioned in the subsequent papal letter is the patron's right of control over the presentation of fit candidates as chaplains. Plainly the college thought it desirable to control these appointments, but the patrons had a strong legal case which their procurator in Rome was able to defend successfully. The death of Clement VII postponed the signature of the letter from August 24th till November 8th, by which time the procurator

939 Also their procurators St. Salvator, p. 27 n. The chaplains in the choir included those who were choir-chaplains strictly so called and stallars and chantry chaplains required by their foundations to assist in choir.
had decided that the supplication required rewording. Subsequent experience showed what obstacles these chaplains could place in the way of the provost's jurisdiction.

The problem could only be met by appointing regents or students to chaplainries. The undated foundation of Thomas Ramsay, canon of the college, recognised this. He provided for four regent chaplains, each to celebrate on different weekdays masses of requiem, of the Holy Spirit, of the five wounds and the name of Jesus. To maintain this foundation he gave a house built by him within the college bounds to the north. Ramsey was buried in the college church.

Another chaplainry was that of Master Robert Davidson, founded in 1527, but not operative at the time of the visitation. An ambitious foundation is that of Patrick Middleton, vicar of Auchtermuchty, and this included the

940 Vatican Archives, Minuta Brevium, 2138, reproduced in Appendix D.
941 Hair as provost later made an arrangement with Learmont in April, 1537, St. Salvator's Book "B", f.124r. Once again the four regents are involved in the agreement, viz. David Garden, Thomas Wemyss, George Spens and Alexander Dick.
942 St. Salvator's Br., "B", ff.101r, 220v.
943 Ibid., f.139r. Witnessed by 2 friars minor, Robert Hay and Andrew Martin.
provision of the surplus income from a chantry foundation towards the maintenance of a poor student in arts. This foundation was in 1528. 944 The chaplainries were a great source of enrichment to St. Salvator's and patrons were not lacking; from the point of view of choir service it was desirable to have permanence and lack of distracting duties, but from the educational angle there were many drawbacks as well as from the standpoint of college discipline.

Gavin Logie: Principal of St. Leonard's

Logie was one of the special assessors in the Sutherland visitation. In 1512 he was described as an inhabitant (incola) of St Andrews. 945 His incorporation in the university is recorded in 1509. He determined in the Pedagogy on the 26th November, 1510, and graduated in 1512. 946 He was a non-regent examiner in the arts faculty in 1514 and 1515, but shortly after became a regent in St. Leonard's. 947 The fact that he, who was not a canon regular, should have acted as principal of St. Leonard's was in contravention of the foundation. The probability is that he was acting principal, as Alexander Young

944 St. Salvator, pp. 25, 26, 141.
945 Registrum Evidentiarum Univ., f. 61v.
946 E.Raco, pp. 98, 100, 203.
947 A.F.A., ff. 137r., 138r., 14dr.
is mentioned as principal during part of Logie's period of office. It was inconvenient for a canon regular to attend meetings of the arts faculty and this may account for the arrangement. In the faculty records from 1523-26, in 1528, and from 1533-34 Logie is described as principal, although a canon regular, Thomas Cunningham, was, as we shall see, also principal in part of this period.

He undoubtedly at least studied theology for he was quodlibetarius in 1520, but there appears to be no record of a degree. By August, 1537, he was chaplain of the altar of St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene, unable to serve it any longer except by duty because of disease.

Knox describes him, saying, "Saint Leonard's College...by the labours of Master Gavin Logie, and the novices of the Abbey, by the Sub-prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity" after Patrick Hamilton's death. John Mair refers briefly to Logie and Robert Bannerman as vigilant preceptors in arts in 1528, praise he was unlikely to give to an open Lutheran. However Robert Logie (his brother?) was still a canon of Cambuskenneth

948 Ibid., ff.143r.,150v.,151v.,153r.,155v.,162r.,164r.
949 A.F.A., f.143r. The initials G.L. for a professor of theology in Formulae, ii,72, appear to stand for George Lochhart.
950 St. Leonard, p.55.
951 Knox, History, i,15.
952 Major, History, p.440.
at that time, and he undoubtedly later fled to England to join the Reformers. Perhaps this circumstance, like the circumstance of John Winram's relationship to Gilbert, softened his zeal against the Reformers. Two students of Logie in this period who later became Protestants were John and Robert Wedderburn of Dundee, the latter graduating in 1531. The John Fife incorporated in 1531 may have studied under Logie, and may be the Protestant professor at Frankfort who died in 1562.

It would be interesting to know if Logie was a partisan of the via antiqua. Robert Richardson, who had studied at St. Leonard's before going to Paris, seems to be a Thomist, in spite of his referring to John Mair as his preceptor, and his evident admiration at that date (1530) for the latter.

The question that rises in one's mind is this: Was Knox himself perhaps a pupil of Gavin Logie? New evidence has been offered that

953 Robertus Richardinus, p. 127; Aliens in England, p. 155, where he is described as a preacher since 1540, having gone there apparently from France.
954 St. Leonard, p. 56. Robert was vicar of Dundee from 1551–3, when he died. Maxwell, Old Dundee, pp. 38, 148.
955 St. Leonard, p. 56.
956 Ibid.; Robertus Richardinus, pp. 62 (Mair); 49, 68, 78, 85, 94, 96, 118, 138, 149 (Thomas Aquinas). The index by the editor, Coulton, gives no idea of the spread of these references.
suggests that Knox was ordained in April, 1536. If he studied at St. Leonard’s, for which he had at a later date considerable affection, it may have been about this time. He may of course be the John Knox who kept the priory register in early 1545, as has also been suggested. The university records, however, tell us nothing. Had he been licensed in arts, it is hard to see how his name could be omitted, as that would normally require the omission of three entries: incorporation, determination and licence. If, as Beza said, Knox studied under John Mair, that is not incompatible with studying under Logie at St. Leonard’s, at least in the period 1531-4. In the latter year Mair functioned as one of the visitors of St. Salvator’s which he could not have done had he been a member of that college. As to the Pedagogy, it was out of action as a separate institution, although it still had its staff and the arts faculty common schools. From the fact that a lone Pedagogy determinant of this

957 Innes Rev.,vi,42.
958 Ibid.,vi,63. A Thomas Knox also worked as a scribe. Cf. St.Leadon,p.185; Rentals Sancti Andreæ,p.143.
period is licensed with a number of students mainly belonging to St. Leonard's, it is possible to conclude that whatever Pedagogy teaching was done was done there. Acts common to all colleges would still take place in the common schools, which appear to have been interfered with as little as possible in Beaton's reconstruction, being continuously used for arts faculty meetings until 1542 when meetings began to be "within the bounds of the Pedagogy or College of our Lady." However, when all is said, Knox's education at St Andrews is still a matter of conjecture.

During Logie's period of office, it is possible to trace additional names of future reformers at St. Leonard's. John Rough, later a Dominican and eventually a Protestant martyr in England, was there in 1524. Henry Durham, among those who attacked the friaries in Dundee in 1543, was a student there from 1529. Walter Spalding, incorporated as "Gualterus Spalatinus Scotus" at

959 E.Recs., pp.xl-xli,128. However, J. M. Anderson did not apparently notice that some St. Salvator's students are in this list of licentiates.
961 E.Recs., p.230; Scot.Ch.Hist.Soc.Recs.,x,125 seq., curiously does not mention Rough but see D.N.B.
962 Maxwell, Old Dundee, p.395; E.Recs.,p.287.
Wittenberg in 1544, also came from St. Leonard’s; as did John Beveridge, later a Dominican, burnt for heresy in 1539. There appear to be a number of future Newbattle monks there in 1524-1525: for instance, Robert Murray, Thomas Reid, Robert Spittall, John Harvey and Thomas Guild. This may have been due the presence of a pensioner of Newbattle in the university. But it does go to show that St. Leonard’s helped to people the religious houses in accordance with its founder’s purpose.

On the 15th February, 1524, the arts faculty made a decision that concerned St. Leonard’s. This was a unanimous conclusion, to avoid bad feeling between colleges, that there should be annual circulation in the appointment of the fourth non-regent examiner. In that year he would be from the first faculty foundation, the Pedagogy, in the next from the second, St. Salvador’s, and in the third year from the last foundation, St. Leonard’s. In 1532 the regents of St. Leonard’s applied to the

963 Peeratemon, Album, i, 213; E.Recs., p. 127.
967 A.F.A., f. 149v.
faculty for the transfer of the opening faculty congregation on the 2nd October to another day, as that was the day of dedication of the "temple of the college of St. Leonard." This was agreed, and henceforward the opening congregation was to take place on the last day of September, following Michaelmas.\footnote{968}

Gavin Logie's name is not found after August, 1537, and he probably died within the eighteen months following, for up till the 10th February, 1539, the St. John and Mary Magdalene chaplainry was served by his deputy, George Logie.\footnote{969}

John Mair, Provost of St. Salvator's: Period 1

On returning to Paris, Mair had found himself caught up in some great issues of the time. The attack by the Paris theologians on Erasmus involved him, at least as their deputy for the examination of the Erasmian commentary on St. Matthew, and he was in the faculty when the question of Henry VIII's divorce was raised.\footnote{970} It is significant, however, that he does not appear to have shared the personal animus of Bede against Erasmus, whom he probably knew in his student days at Montaigu. Moreover, as has been indicated by others, Mair was doing something to adopt himself

\footnote{968} A.F.A.,f.160r.  
\footnote{969} St. Leonard, p.55.  
\footnote{970} Inner Rev.,v,96-7; Paris,Bibl.Nat.,Ms Lat.1782,f.210v.
to the new age, by removing the subtleties from his logical commentaries, by writing a commentary on the Ethics in a much more classical style and by producing commentaries on the four gospels rather than on the Sentences. On the 19th June, 1529 a meeting of the theological faculty approved his gospel commentary. His last Paris edition was a revision of his commentary on the first book of the Sentences, issued on the 1st September, 1530. On the 1st August, 1530, he was dean of the theological faculty, and having reached this pinnacle had no further Parisian ambitions.

By the 3rd November, 1531, he was back in St Andrews and assessor to the dean of the faculty of arts. On the 4th November, 1533, he was designated as vicar of Dunlop and successor of the Prefect of St. Salvator's, which may mean merely that he was provost-designate and not necessarily that he was coadjutor to Spens. He clearly admired St. Salvator's and illustrated the virtue of "magnificence" in kings and bishops with the magnificent "houses" in

971 Innes Rep., v, 96.
972 Appendix E.
973 Innes Rep., i, 146.
974 Appendix E.
975 A.F.A., f, 159v.
976 Ibid., f, 162r.
gymnasia, such as Navarre at Paris, New College and Magdalene College at Oxford, the museum of St. Salvator in St Andrews and the college at Aberdeen; characteristically adding that it was not right to spend more in the building than in the edifying of the frail bark which was at the mercy of the waves, the student himself. St. Mary's, he probably felt, should go to a younger man. In any event he succeeded as provost of St. Salvator's on the death of Spens in July 1534.

On May 2nd, 1533, Mair, Annand, Manderston and the Rector, Sutherland, attended a meeting of the Lords of the Council. They brought a letter from the university signed by the dean of the faculty of theology (probably Spens, who would be too aged to go), dated the 25th April. The archbishop, James Beaton, was once more under restraint by James V, and the university wished to protest that prelates should not be proceeded against in this way without prior consultation with the universities. But James had armed himself with a papal letter authorising him to proceed against the archbishop on the advice of two prelates, a fact that nullified the

*Ethica Aristotelis* (Paris, 1530), f. 1x verso.
mission from St. Andrews.

Thomas Cunningham, Principal, St. Leonard's

The somewhat doubtful status of Gavin Logle as principal has already been mentioned in dealing with himself and Alexander Young.

Cunningham was incorporated in the university in 1516 and determined as a poor student in St. Leonard's in the following year. He is mentioned as a licentiate in theology in 1541. The first mention I have found of him as principal is on the 29th November, 1534, and this although Logle was still so designated on the 4th. Unlike Logle, he was a canon regular of the priory.

On the 8th June 1536 Peter Sandilands rector of Calder donated certain annual-rents in St. Andrews to maintain a poor student in the college. A contract was made with the prior, Cunningham as "director principal" and four regents to the effect that if the college fell away from the original statutes and ordinances the gift was to go to St. Salvator's to the upkeep of a student similar to the six founded students of Kennedy (i.e. the arts

979 E.Recs., pp. 107, 212.
980 St. Leonard, p. 222.
981 Ibid., p. 54; A.F.A., f. 164r.
982 Ibid., p. 222. Logle usually signs himself clerk or priest and M.A. He was a priest by June, 1522 (SL.J4).
students). The patronage was to be in the hands of the Sandilands family.

Gavin Logie is described as a regent on the 8th August, 1537, but he was plainly not then an acting regent. There the church of St. Leonard is described as "now collegiate", but that was because when the chaplainry concerned was founded by Walter Monypenny, prior of Lochleven, it was not collegiate (i.e. in 1498). The chaplain was to take a class (unam classem, quam sedem vocant, docebit). If he wished to act as hebdomadar like the other chaplains, regents and priests he was to have a place at table for ten merks, (dabitur mensa siue tabula). It was resigned by George Logie to John Scheill, previously a regent in St. Salvator’s. Another St. Salvator’s regent who was attracted to St. Leonard’s about this time was David Garden, but whether to avoid the attentions of the new provost or to obtain an altarage is not clear.

On the 30th April, 1539, Cunningham as principal was assessor for the Lothian nation, but by the 4th October Alexander Young was once more

984 St. Leonard, p.96; St. Leonard Writs, SL.B6.
985 St. Leonard Writs, SL.B7.
986 St. Leonard, p.40.
987 Acta Rectorum, ii, 9.
principal and acting as assessor in the arts faculty, as Cunningham himself had begun to do. Cunningham survived till at least 1546 and left £23 to the college. He also left some books, a few of which are still in the university library, including Pierre d'Ailly, Cicero and John Mair himself. Incorporations at St. Leonard's during his period of office are numerous, but the fact that the Pedagogy was unoccupied may have affected numbers.

St. Mary's: Further Developments

Enough has already been said to show that the delay in the foundation of St. Mary's was not wholly due to procrastination. It may be that there was more resistance than appears on the surface to the suggestion that the faculty Pedagogy be the site of an independent college, and that the archbishop's threat to transfer the college to another place in his diocese could do little to reconcile recalcitrants as long as he was in evident royal disfavour. But all the evidence suggests that the site was being cleared from at least 1529 when the last Pedagogy graduates are recorded. The opening entries in the

989 Liber Computorum D. Leonardi, f. 1v; SM.B15.5 (St. Mary's Write).
990 One of these (TypFP.B27.EM) was apparently brought by David Gordan from St. Salvator's.
991 Numbers are hard to fix for some years, especially 1539, but, for instance, in 1538 there were 29 new members. E.Rec., pp. 240-1.
992 E.Rec., p. 122 compared with the list of determinants for 1527 (p. 120).
St. Andrews Rental already record the expenditure of over £200 to the master of works of the New College in the period 1538-9.

It has previously been thought that there was only one Pedagogy master in this period. Certainly of the Pedagogy principal there is adequate evidence. Robert Bannerman, a Paris student in the days of Hector Bocce and Mair, is first mentioned as a university member in 1513. In the following year he was teaching the Summulae in the Pedagogy, and was quodlibetarius in 1515. His work as regent was not recognised with the honour of principaship till the return of Mair to France, but from the 3rd November, 1526, onwards he is so designated at various times. Sometimes certainly he is merely called regent, and in a deed of 1533 he acted in conjunction with Weddell, the Rector, and Balfour, the dean of faculty, who added their seals to the deed. Clearly the Pedagogy principal was not an independent agent like the principals of the colleges.

The first evidence that anything new might be afoot was a special committee appointed on the

993 Rentale Sancti Andræ, pp. 25, 38.
995 A.F.A., ff. 137r., 139r.
996 Ibid., f. 153r., 154r (the latter in 1534).
997 Fraser, Memorials of the Buris of Haddington, ii, 253. The "joyell hous" at St. Salvator's is here mentioned.
10th November, 1537, which produced new regulations for the conduct of quodlibets, but which may have considered a proposal of the archbishop to annexe certain churches to the new college. All the colleges were represented on it, including Winram and Annand from the priory as patrons of St. Leonard's, and Cunningham as its principal. In any event, on the resignations the two rectors, of Tennadice and Tyningham respectively, Paul III united these churches to St. Mary's on the 12th February, 1538. This bull may not be the foundation bull of St. Mary's as previously thought, but merely a bull of re-foundation. It repeats the tenor of the 1525 supplication apart from the proposed church appropriations. The church of Inchbrayock was also united to the college by James Beaton, but without papal authority, which was obtained by the cardinal in July, 1539. The actual institution of the college in these churches took place within a few weeks of the death of James Beaton, who issued letters of procuratory for the purpose on the 10th February, 1539.

To some of these deeds Alexander Galloway,

998 A.F.A., f. 168r.
999 Evidence, iii, 387.
1000 St. Mary's Writs (Appendix D).
1001 Ibid. Certain other lands of Muir Cambus, etc., and annuities were also bought by James Beaton and given to the college on the 8th.
canon of Aberdeen is a witness, and as has been pointed out by Cant, the model of Aberdeen is clearly being followed by James Beaton. Unfortunately there is evidence of some uncertainty on his part in documents issued within a few days of each other. These conflicting lists are placed here in parallel columns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal</th>
<th>David Gund S.T.B.</th>
<th>Robt. Bannerman, theologian.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-princ.</td>
<td>R. Bannerman</td>
<td>D. Gund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canonist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Thomas Kincracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>John Gledstanes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediciner</td>
<td>William Manderston</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regents and Students in Theology</td>
<td>Andrew Kinninmond</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Forhous</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walter Fethy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>William Young</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choir</td>
<td>John Young</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplains</td>
<td>Alex. Moncur</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Andrew Symmer</td>
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<td>George Roger</td>
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<td>John Smyth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>James Witte</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singers</td>
<td>George Moncrieff</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Scheves</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1002 Cant, Short History, p.109.
1003 St. Mary's Writs, Appendix D.
Andrew Bousy

Andrew Wilson

The second list can be taken as the more reliable, as in point of fact Bannerman actually became the principal and David Gund (or Guthynd) became dean of Fife. Some of the choir chaplains and singers were recruited from Holy Trinity. Although grammar is mentioned in the original supplication, a grammarian is not among those listed here. Why the mediciner should be in the list that omits the canonist and civilist is not evident, but the probability is that death had come upon the founder before he had completed his endowment, and he was uncertain how to make the best use of it.

The regents mentioned were not all from the Pedagogy. Gund had been a St. Salvator's regent and was already a bachelor of theology in 1523, after which he is not mentioned in the arts faculty. Kinninmond was a Pedagogy regent and had been quodlibetarius. Förhous was from Paris, where he was a bachelor along with George Buchanan. He was later in St. Salvator's. Young may have come from St. Leonard's or St.

1004 Rentale Sancti Andree, pp. 44 seq.
1005 Holy Trinity, pp. 62, 61.
1006 A.F.A., f.144r., 148r.
1007 Ibid., f.170r.
1008 Paris, Univ., Reg. 91, f.246r; E.Rece., p. 228.
Salvator's, but in any event does not appear to have acted. He became a castle official of the cardinals.

It has been maintained that Beaton had no intention of refounding the Pedagogy when he made his supplication to the pope and that he desired an entirely fresh institution. On the data available this was the only rational explanation, and while the Pedagogy was not as derelict as has been thought, nevertheless it is notable that the attempt to refurbish it, begun in the early twenties of the century, was abandoned in favour of a complete reconstruction. The discovery of the original supplication shows, however, that Beaton wanted his college within the university bounds from the start and "the church or chapel" referred to is clearly St. John's. King's College in Aberdeen was the logical model, having been a combination of the college of artists and theologians with external schools of canon and civil law and grammar, such as the Pedagogy and St. John's originally were meant to be, except of course that the Pedagogy was never strictly speaking a college at all and St. John's lacked the secure endowment of King's. Moreover, as Cant says, with the development of St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's,

1010 E.Reca., pp. 121.
1011 Rentale Sancti Andree, pp. 92, 155.
1012 Cant., Short History, p. 33.
St. Mary's could never be as was King's the centre of the whole university scheme, and in the 1525 supplication, by asking for the privilege of granting its own degrees, was cutting itself off more sharply from the university than St. Salvator's had been able to do, although it clearly wanted to remain the university centre in however altered a form, and was certainly a faculty of arts centre in a diminished sense too, for the faculty continued to meet there till the nineteenth century.

Archibald Hay's Proposal

There was one thing notably absent from James Beaton's plan for St. Mary's. This was a college of the three languages (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) on the model of the recent foundations at Louvain and Paris and at some of the newer universities. Beaton's nephew, who was at the college of Montaigu in Paris, issued an address to the archbishop in September, 1538, pro Collegii Erectione.

Hay was incorporated at Paris in the rectorial quarter beginning on the 16th December, 1530, but his licence under Richard Floridus is not recorded till 1536-1537. He was procurator of the German nation in January, 1539, being described by his

1013 Ibid., p. 34.
1015 Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms Lat. 9952, f. 119r; Ms Lat. 9953, f. 58r.
successor as most commendable for his life and character (vir tum vita tum moribus maxime probatus).  

Hay's book, which is in the form of a panegyric of Beaton, attacks Cornelius Agrippa for his cynical views. The latter had published a work in 1531 which attacked all studies except of the word of God. Here was an attack reminiscent of Robert Gardiner's of the previous century to which Laurence of Lindores took such violent exception. Hay thought Agrippa's attack the more dangerous as it sprang from learning and not from ignorance.

In his commentary issued later on the Erasmian Latin version of the Hecuba of Euripides (by which time Hay was in the College Duplessis) he mentions that when his uncle, James Beaton, died intestate, he suffered greatly, losing an annual allowance left by him. As a student still in Paris, Hay was presented by Beaton to the rectory of Melville in November, 1536.

Hay encouraged Beaton with his project, suggesting that the king would favour it (Praeterea maiestas Regia ... fauebit), a suggestion that was

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1016 Paris, Univ., Archives, Reg. 15, ff. 424r., 426r.
1017 Morley, Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, ii, 151-209. Not only scholastic authorities like Aristotle and Aquinas came under fire, but even the quarrelsome grammarians, Mancinelli and Valla, as well as the rhetoricians who would risk turning pagan rather than not be Ciceronian. Medicine and law too were criticised. The word of God needed no scholarship to reveal itself in the bible.
1018 Gardiner also attacked "pagan" subjects.
1019 Published Paris, 1543; p.2 seq., preface addressed to David Panter.
never realised. The following subjects were commended as worthy of a place in his college: grammar, poetry, rhetoric, history, philosophy, the mathematical quadrivium of arithmetic, musical theory, geometry and astronomy (nearly abandoned altogether in Scotland in those days), medicine, civil and canon law, and theology, which however is blind without the study of the biblical languages. It is noticeable that logic has been omitted from this programme, unless it is meant to be included under the blanket term "philosophy". It is in fact added in the second edition along with ethics and natural philosophy, when also Arabic and Chaldee are added as potential subjects of study. The most learned professors were to be invited and paid the most magnificent salaries. The sole name mentioned by Hay is that of John Douglas, noted for his probity of life and his erudition, who would be happy to see the final touch put to Beaton's project. Indeed Hay suggests (a little unreasonably as we have seen), that Beaton has been procrastinating, remarking that if the work were completed he would recall all the clergy to a more praiseworthy mode of living.

Beaton's own plan for the arts faculty harmonises more with the traditional plan of John Mair,

1021 Panegyricus, ff.15r-17r.
1022 Murison, Sir David Lindsay, p.195, note 3.
1023 Panegyricus (1538), ff.11v., 21r.
who in the 1530 edition of his Ethics proposes as a complete course for a boy, first the "trivial" subjects, grammar, rhetoric, logic and song (at least Gregorian); then if the boy wishes to be learned, arithmetic and geometry, as they do not demand experience of life or transcend the imagination. Later the boy should follow natural philosophy, which, although it does not much transcend the imagination, requires experience; then morals, which keep him from experiencing and thinking harmful things; and then, about 20, when the human mind is at its finest, metaphysics (or theosophia) in which it can persevere to the end, enjoying a foretaste of the heavenly home that is to come. While Beaton may have regarded his nephew's scheme with interest, he accepted only the more traditional items, while favouring Hay with his patronage. Yet Hay must have been disappointed at the opportunity missed.

Faculty of Arts
On the 19th March, 1524, shortly after the arrival of Mair and Lockhart from Paris, assessors were appointed to draw up new arts statutes in conjunction with the dean and have them ratified

1024 Ethica Aristotelis, f. xxix verso.
subsequently by the faculty. The ratification did not take place for a year, however. The statutes were then inscribed in a book. They have not survived.

The statutes referred to above as not having survived were probably identical with "the statutes of Master Martin Balfour, dean", from which a few extracts are given in the post-Reformation version, although at least one of these (regarding yearly examinations for all students) is of earlier date. Another statute of Balfour's period was passed on the 20th March, 1529, and ruled that since the archbishop could not properly exercise his duties as chancellor a suitable vice-chancellor would be appointed for the faculty of arts (as no doubt in other faculties, and in accordance with an arrangement already made by Beaton at Glasgow) who would be present at the examinations and be responsible for the placing of students in cases of discord. This whole paragraph is fortified with a text from Aristotle's *Ethics* pointing out that nobody can make a right judgment of matters regarding which he is ignorant, which, if intended to reflect on the chancellor, is no doubt a faculty insertion, although the decision is said to be by Beaton's consent.

1025 A.F.A., ff.149v.,151r.
Martin Balfour does not seem to have been universally popular as dean, probably because the other colleges thought the honours should go round. His election in 1525 was a majority affair, in the next two years unanimous, which somewhat undermines the significance of the unanimity. In 1530 he was unwilling to accept, and would not agree to the election of assessors at first. However objections did not crystallise till (as we shall see) a decade later.

Theology

Of lawyers we know little at this time, and of doctors only Manderston and Patrick Arbuthnot. About theology we are better informed, because of the incidence of heresy trials. For instance at the time of the Patrick Hamilton case we are informed that High Spens was "dean of divinity". Foxe lists other theologians, but only gives the degree of one other, Alexander Young, canon regular, who is given as a bachelor. Of one of these, Alexander Campbell, Knox tells us that though in his view corrupted by the world, he was a man of good wit and learning. At the sentence against James Hamilton of Kincavel in 1534,

1027 A.F.A., ff. 151r-158v.
1028 E.Recs., p. 228; for Scots studying medicine abroad, see Matricule de l'univ. de Médecine de Montpellier, pp. 17, 26, 36, 80.
1029 Foxe, Acts and Monuments, iv, 564.
1030 Knox, History, i, 12.
there are listed, besides Mair, Lockhart and Chaplain, Richard Bothwell and Thomas Hay, both professors of theology and canons of Glasgow. After the death of Spens Mair obviously became dean, and is mentioned as such. Through Grierson, provincial of the Dominicans, and John Bothwell, a warden of the Franciscans, friars were called before the Council and asked to ensure that their friars kept controversial matter out of their sermons and kept it for discussion in the schools. In his Vitae Episcoporum, printed in Paris in 1522, Boece lists a number of theologians at St. Andrews: besides some who were plainly dead at that date, he mentions Spens, Andrew Russell, Thomas Ramsay and Alan Meldrum as professors and William Gund and John Annand, who, although they renounced the mastership, were as licentiates in no way inferior to the professors. Russell was a Conventual Franciscan and Meldrum a canon regular. Monks are seldom so designated explicitly as such in the matriculation records. It is only an accidental reference that tells us, for instance, that the John Sandilands who is listed with John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, was a Paisley monk himself. Nine canons of St. Andrews

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1032 Evidence, iii, 132.
1034 Boece, Vitae, p. 35.
1035 Scrivenour Inventory, no. 167; Spalding Miscellany, ii, 327; A.F.A., f. 139r.
1036 St. Leonard's Writs, SL.LI (May, 1532). They were incorporated in 1539, E.Pecq., p. 226.
and two Irish friars were incorporated in 1525, in addition to another canon incorporated at St. Leonard's. Another Irish friar is listed in 1532 at St. Leonard's and two more are mentioned in 1534, apparently this time at St. Salvator's. In St. Salvator's were also incorporated in 1532 two monks of Coupar Angus, but on the whole St. Leonard's was favoured, as by Friar James Thomson (probably the Dominican) and John Turnbull, monk of Newbattle. Another Cistercian, this time from Balmerino, was at St. Salvator's.

The Plague

There was plague north of the Forth from at least October, 1529, till May, 1530, according to the Edinburgh records. There was no election of a dean in 1529 for this reason and again in 1538 it was delayed till the following February. Allowance was made for late arrival due to absence in time of pest in May, 1529, when all the money collected on the feast of St. John was paid over to the bedellus who lived on borrowed cash during the plague. Some of the apparent laxity in the faculty of arts may have been due to this. It is even possible that Beaton himself was a victim, as certainly his schemes for St. Mary's had been. The plague is mentioned in the records a few days before his death on February 14th, 1539.
DAVID BEATON: CHANCELLOR, 1539-1546.

David Beaton was provided as coadjutor in 1937, in which year also he became bishop of Mirepoix in France. He was also commendator of Arbroath. Before succeeding to St Andrews he was already a cardinal. From a chancellor loaded with such honours, the university might have felt entitled to expect something. Besides the new chancellor had himself spent many years in study, in 1509 in St Andrews, two years later in Glasgow, followed by ten more years in Paris interrupted by a spell at Orleans.

The new chancellor made a brisk start with the building of St. Mary's and the securing of its endowments. Apart from payments for masons, carters, a carpenter and visiting French masons from Falkland coming on a tour of inspection, the master of works, Sir Walter Mar, received the following sums:

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<td>1538-9</td>
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<td>1539-40</td>
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<td>1542</td>
<td>303</td>
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1042 Archbishops, iv, 3-4, 25-32.
The work slackened after that date, because, as Hannay noted, the master of works had to transfer his attention somewhat urgently to repairing the castle. Yet a great deal must have been achieved when foreign masons came to offer their advice presumably in the later stages. The new collegiate church was evidently far advanced by the time its altar of French marble arrived in 1541. Masons were still working on the site in 1544. The ancient "new schools" of the Pedagogy, in which the faculty of arts had been accustomed to meet, were no longer available in November, 1542, when the congregation took place "within the bounds of the Pedagogy or college of our Lady." It is probable that the schools were merely being adapted or perhaps extended. An unfortunate blank in the faculty records from 1544 till 1551 when meetings resume "in the new schools of the college of our Lady" closes that avenue of information. In the 1545 account the Pedagogy is still described as lying unoccupied in the hands of the cardinal. In 1547, however, there are said to be four bachelors in the Pedagogy, presumably students, therefore, in the third year of their course. What all this expense had accomplished is very much a matter of guesswork.

1043 Rentale Sancti Andreæ, pp.xxxvi, 83,92,107-8,121,137.
1044 Ibid., p.123.
1045 Ibid., p.197.
1047 Ibid., p.203.
1048 Rentale Sancti Andreæ, p.203.
1049 E. Recs., p.149, n.1.
St. Leonard's: New Statutes

The government of St. Leonard's was very much at the mercy of requirements in the priory. Alexander Young, who had left to become subprior for a time, returned as principal about 1540, Winram having replaced him as subprior. By the 8th June, 1544, John Annand had replaced him. Young's tombstone still lies in the church of St. Leonard, but the inscription is wasted away; he was certainly dead by 1550. In that year the college visitors ordered the principal to make a search for his clothes and books, some of which are still in the university library.

Annand set to work at once by drawing up some temporary statutes in the form of an exhortation merely, as they had as yet no binding force. These statutes, like the original founder's statutes were unknown to Herkless and Hannay, and are illuminating, and deserving of fairly full discussion.

The author of the statutes was Annand. This is made clear by a note of the anonymous transcriber of the Hepburn statutes and of the Exhortation: "Confirmation of the statutes of Sir John Annand" and again, "These founder's statutes may suffice. Therefore

1050 A.F.A., f.171r; Winram was subprior in 1537, Ibid., f.168r.
1051 Registrum Collegii D. Leonardi, p.253.
1052 St. Leonard, pp.205, 216.
1053 In Appendix D.
the scripture calls foolish not him whose foolishness
the mob can judge but him who appears to know a lot and
relies on his own views, abrogates old laws, substitutes
new laws, and then changes the new ones."

The Exhortation shows that the authorities
were anxious to strengthen the principal’s authority.
The regents were adjured to obey him as regents did in
other colleges, although they received the post of
regency in a different way, not from the principal alone.
He was head of the chapter. All college keys were to
be in his hands, except the church key which the curate
would retain.2055

A number of the statutes are aimed at the
provisor and sacrist, either of whom may have been
responsible for the disgruntled remarks already quoted.
The discovery of a fragmentary account of Thomas
Cunningham (parts of which are given in an appendix)
shows that in 1537 the principal was still giving a
quarterly account to the prior, as laid down by Hepburn.
And while the details such as the cost of the students’
table and the roofing of the famous St. Leonard’s well
might have been the principal’s more immediate concern
the church accounts and those regarding incoming and
outgoing grain were more properly the concern of the
sacrist and provisor.1056 It is doubtful if John Hepburn

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1054 From the prior in conjunction with the principal; St. Leonard
1055 Titles I–3
envisaged the appointment of a provisor; at any rate Young was his own provisor in 1527.\textsuperscript{1057} Clearly the burden on the principal was excessive. A common rental, the Exhortation repeats, is essential. The provisor is to render a quarterly rental, therefore, to the principal and regents and priests so that they may compare the college expenses with its resources.\textsuperscript{1058} Obviously the resources of the college are being strained. Already in the 1537 account there is talk of overexpenditure. More significant still, instead of 26 foundationers there are only nine (even if this was in the summer period after some have graduated and left and before the new enrolment, it is still a significant reduction).\textsuperscript{1059}

Only regents, the Exhortation complains, do schoolwork: but sacrist and provisor who do no schoolwork refuse to do church duties (as hebdomadars). For the sake of peace Annand was prepared to let this arrangement continue. Certainly the number of regents had increased to four, but their work had also grown in proportion. Nevertheless they would take their turn as hebdomadars along with provisor and sacrist,\textsuperscript{1060} reserving the principal feasts to the college principal. Regents of an earlier day had possessed altarages and that was all; but now the work had increased and stipends become lower in value. The habit had grown.

\textsuperscript{1057} C.R.H., Thomas Kane's Protocol Book, f.3r.
\textsuperscript{1058} Exhortation, titles 2 and 9.
\textsuperscript{1059} See Appendix D. The later statutes (\textit{St. Leonard}, p.170), speak of foundationers as over ten in number.
\textsuperscript{1060} Exhortation, titles 4-5.
up by 1537 of paying salaries. These are now fixed at £10 for the principal and ten marks for the priests (paid in twice-yearly installments). Those who took common lessons were to get more - some more than 30 marks, some at least 15. All were to live in common, both regents and priests, drinking the same drink, eating the same food, washing together, sitting together, rising together, sharing bed and board. The common good of the college, which is not an affair of wood and stones but of the human beings that inhabit it, must be the concern of all. 1062

As the sacrist had only the few parishioners of St. Leonard's to look after, in future he should be an old man, a retired regent from the schools of arts or theology. An annual visitation is also mentioned, another new feature which is not part of the Hepburn statutes. Indeed the first recorded one is that of 1544. 1062

If this Exhortation is compared with the revised statutes as printed by Herkless and Hannay most of these additional points will be found there incorporated. A prominent place is there given to the relationship of staff and principal and also to the arrangements for the commoners who are now such a feature of the college, and to their gaily coloured clothes which present such

1061 Appendix D. Exhortation, titles 6-8,10.
1062 Exhortation, title 9; St. Leonard, p.197.
a contrast to the sober attire of the bursars. These revised statutes are obviously those that were confirmed by the cardinal's charter of 1545, where the primitive foundation is mentioned as having statutes to the contrary of what the cardinal now confirmed. The reason for this confirmation is that the original statutes had lacked papal confirmation. When Alexander Young was principal, Patrick Hepburn, prior (later bishop of Moray), "moved in his conscience," had made a grant of £48 to which the provisor added two more, for the confirmation of the college muniments in Rome. James Strachan, Rector then, had taken the money, but as the cardinal had been able to confirm them himself in virtue of his legatine powers, Strachan returned the sum. 1065 Obviously Patrick Hepburn had made this grant as executor of the founder. Whether or not the college still hankered after papal confirmation after Beaton's charter, Strachan does not appear to have returned the money till 1555. 1066

John Mair versus Winchester

Mair as provost of St. Salvator's attempted to improve the quality of the chaplains of the choir, of whom the Balcomie chaplain was one.

1063 St. Leonard, p.171.
1064 Ibid., p.164.
1065 Liber Computorum Coll. Leonardi, f.30v.
1066 Ibid.
This was one of the chaplainries to which the earl of Cassills had presentation. He duly presented John Winchester, to whom Mair refused to give collation. He had a presentee of his own, Thomas Kynneīr, who was not in priest's orders. He asserted that Winchester's presentation was invalid, on grounds not named, but since Winchester was proceeded against in the Rector's court on the 15th June, 1540, on various charges, the main one being immorality (in principali causa veneris), it is not surprising that Winchester's appointment was considered undesirable by Mair. Again on the 26th February following the case as yet undecided was raised again, Winchester this time being the plaintiff. Mair emerged scatheless and Winchester had to pay expenses. However, the case came up again because Mair had failed to cause Kynneir to appear with his evidents for the chaplainry; the latter was to be cited and Mair to pay costs. 1067

After Balfour's term of office expired the case hung fire and James Strachan took up the case, proceeding to certain judicial acts without giving final sentence.

At this point the cardinal intervened. Kynneir then renounced his right and another appointment was made. The cardinal, however, decided that the

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1067 Major, History, pp. cxxix-cxxx, prints somewhat garbled versions of these cases.
Rector had no jurisdiction regarding benefices within his own diocese and promptly appointed commissioners to see that the alleged injustice to Winchester was rectified and Mair's own collation nullified. 1068

Mair was dean of the faculty of theology in 1541, and there is evidence that he and Peter Chaplain were given powers from Beaton to grant theological degrees. 1069 But he was ageing rapidly, and soon he required a coadjutor. Royal letters of appointment issued in 1544 were addressed to Chaplain as coadjutor. In August of the same year three St. Salvator's regents cited at the instance of Chaplain appeared before Mair asserting that the coadjutor had no competent right against them as long as Mair lived, which Chaplain was forced to acknowledge. The three took instruments in the new school of St. Salvator's. 1070

It can hardly be doubted that Mair must also have ceased to be quite so active in the theological faculty. The next recorded dean was John Grierson, the Dominican provincial, and he may well have begun to come more to the fore. 1071 No doubt there were many motives why Dominicans should be incorporated in the university in 1542 and 1544. 1072 They were being forced to desert their houses of study abroad, many of which

1068 Formulare, ii, 337-3.
1069 St. Leonard, p.221; Formulare, ii,104.
1070 David Spen's Protocol Er.,ff.4r-5r. (Edinburgh Univ., Laing Ms Div.ii,339).
1071 Document of 1553 re St. Salvator's cited in Appendix A.
1072 E. Recr., pp.248,250.
were now in Lutheran centres. But they seem to have kept to themselves even in St Andrews, where they had a house of studies. If their own provincial was now substituting at times for the dean, it would encourage them to matriculate.

**Refugees from England**

On the 21st January, 1540, two "honest persons" fleeing from England "out of regard for the Christian faith" were registered as members of the university. They were Richard Hilliard, doctor of theology, and Henry Breton, bachelor. A letter of James V commending Henry "Berton" to the cardinal of Capri is dated in March 1539, and states that he has been a year in Scotland, during which he did some preaching. This is curious as another letter from Cardinal Pole on the 18th June recommends Breton, a preacher, to James. Before Beaton left for France early in 1539 he gave a mandate for Breton's living expenses in St Andrews to be paid and payments continued till March, 1540.

Hilliard is better known. He had studied at Paris (as well as Oxford and Cambridge) and no doubt knew Mair there. He was received into St. Salvator's college, after a short stay with a St Andrews citizen.

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1073 Ibid., p.344; for Hilliard, see The Alumnus Chronicle of the Univ. of St Andrews, no.44, pp.3-10 (art. by J.N. Baxter).
1074 Hay, Letters of James V, p.368.
1075 Archivio Storico Lombardo, xcv, 340.
1076 Rentale Sancti Andree, pp.93,95.
1077 Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Ms Lat.9952,f.21v; Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, 1 (2),369.
and there Beaton paid his expenses. At one period of
of strain James V insisted that he should go into hiding,
which he did for a time at Monimail. He signed a
document along with other members of the theological
faculty in 1541.

The Cardinal and St. Mary's

Did the Cardinal intend to alter his predecessor's foundation in any way? That is implied by the phrase in one of his letters to Oliphant, his representatives at the Roman court: super nova
reformacione penes novum collegium, a phrase written in
November, 1539. However, the bull of Julius III, granted to the cardinal's successor in the see, Archbishop Hamilton, appears to imply that David Beaton merely ratified what James had done, except that he added the revenues of the church of Inchbrayock and some annual-rents in the regality of St Andrews, at the same time starting on the work of construction and furnishing. It goes on to say that "prevented by unripe death", David Beaton was unable to complete the foundation, yet still says that divine service was already begun, with lectures on grammar, rhetoric, poetry, music, arts, medicine, theology and canon and civil law, all of which Hamilton was at pains to continue. Except for

1078 Rente Sancti Andree, p.xxxvii.
1079 St. Leonard, p.222.
1081 Evidence, iii, 360-2.
the addition of rhetoric, poetry and music, there is no significant alteration in the James Beaton foundation, and it may be that the *nova reformacio* was concerned largely with increased endowment. There is just the possibility that the church of Inchbrayock was being annexed in view of an additional lecturer, and colour is added to this by the fact that it was granted to Hamilton of Millburn just after the cardinal's death, on the grounds that David Beaton had received it for building and founding a college "quhilk is yit unfoundit or ony persoun nominate thairto" and therefore the patronage had devolved to the queen till the college was founded and completed and persons lawfully nominated.

"The charters written anent the New College" by the chancery clerk, William Ogill, mentioned in 1539, appear all to have been concerned either with bringing to completion the work of James Beaton or with the additions to the endowment made by the cardinal. Moreover there is nothing in the royal confirmation of 1539 that suggests any significant change of purpose. There is one useful pointer, however, which shows the direction in which David Beaton's eyes were turned: the doctors of the new college were to enjoy the privileges of the colleges of St. Salvator in St Andrews and the Virgin

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1082 R.S.S., iii, no.1705
1083 Rentale Sancti Andreæ, p.94.
1084 R.M.S., iii, no.1932.
Mary at Aberdeen. They were also exonerated from taxation.

One reason for the slowness with which matters proceeded may still have been some resistance on the part of the faculty of arts, anxious not to lose its common school, on the part of St. Salvator's to the establishment of a rival and on the part of St. Leonard's to the setting up of yet another college enjoying ampler privileges than itself. This appears to be the reason why no St. Mary's regents were chosen on the 4th October, 1540, to form a committee to solve some unsolved problems: pro dirimendis quibusdam concernentibus aedem Facultatem in eadem dicto die propositis. Unfortunately we are left in the dark as to what was raised on that day that was found particularly objectionable. Similarly on the 3rd November, when Martin Balfour requested four regents of St. Salvator's and three of St. Leonard's to take part in the election of the dean they refused and walked out: two of them having been members of the previous committee. They did not have, the minute says, their "illicit desires." The last phrase could mean almost anything. It has been suggested that among these desires was that of removing Balfour from the position he had held so long as dean. That is likely, especially as he was about to graduate

1083 A.F.A., f.171r.
1086 Ibid., f.173r.
1087 St. Leonard, p.40.
as doctor in a higher faculty, theology, after which he was, by Paris custom, not entitled to act as dean (which incidentally explains why John Mair was never dean). If we suppose, however, that Balfour was not felt to be sufficiently active in fighting for the faculty's rights in the St. Mary's site, and that the issue was between the St. Mary's regents and the others, then the supposition can serve to illuminate the history of the faculty in this period. At least the opposition from St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's having withdrawn from the meeting, Balfour was unanimously elected, and accepted, personally unwilling as he was to re-accept office. Moreover he was re-elected in the following November, "on account of various motives motivating the said faculty," and again, unanimously in November, 1542: but there were still no St. Mary's men among the assessors, who had been continued since two years before.

After that there is no recorded election till 1551. It may be that some leaves have been removed from the record. It may equally well be that the succeeding deans did not have the record delivered over to them, because it had been sent off for safe-keeping during the civil and religious troubles in the town. However that may be, some deans have left their acts

1088 He graduated on the 17th Nov., 1541. Liber Officiale, p.141
1089 A.F.A., ff.171r-173r.
1090 Ibid., f.176r.
unrecorded: for instance, Thomas Wemyss, who signs a St. Mary's document in 1546 as "dean of the faculty of the university."\(^{1091}\) Walter Fethy is recorded as dean on various occasions between 1548 and 1551, sometimes as bursar and dean.\(^{1092}\) Wemyss was a regent in St. Salvator's and Fethy in St. Mary's: it is just possible that the faculty record was withheld from both of them, for it was only with the appointment of another Balfour as dean that the record was resumed. If the status of St. Mary's was the only issue, the appointment of Fethy as dean is explicable if the issue had been settled by that date, and indeed two of the rebels of an earlier date (Wilkie and Scheilli) were auditors to his accounts as dean and bursar.\(^{1093}\) The faculty merely met "within the Pedagogy bounds" for some years, but soon it was able to resume in the schools of St. Mary's.

### The Decline in Numbers

The following figures speak for themselves in illustration of the decline suffered by the university:

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Incorporations</th>
<th>Determinances</th>
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<td>1547</td>
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<td>15 (un-named)</td>
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\(^{1091}\) MB.13.no.5.
\(^{1092}\) C.R.H., St Andrews Chs.,no.299; Liber Officialia, p.106;
Bursar's Book, ff.39v-40r.
\(^{1093}\) Bursar's Bk.,loc.cit.
\(^{1094}\) Some of the incorporations of 1541 should perhaps be assigned to 1542. E.Rece.,pp.241-252,140-149, is followed here.
In spite of the fact that some entries have obviously not been made, the decline is clear and the situation was not reversed in the succeeding years. One curious fact is the omission of candidates from St. Mary's (except that in 1547 some determinants are said to come from the Pedagogy). Moreover, the only licences recorded in 1547 are all from St. Leonard's. Faculty friction is one cause undoubtedly of the slackness in keeping records; in 1544 the quodlibetarius from St. Salvator's was elected unanimously by all present, but some were obviously absent.

The Rector of the period, James Strachan, voiced the university's complaint. He was a man of some weight, having already been absent from the university for eight months by command of James V (ex iussu regio) in order to expedite the bulls of St. Andrews priory for the king's son and of the bishopric of Moray and abbey of Scone for Patrick Hepburn. He sent an exhortation to the Governor, Arran, pointing out that the university was nearly destitute of "rederris, tacherris and auditouris" and had almost perished and was not worthy to be called a university. The privilege of tax exemption was not being enjoyed any longer. "Cunnynge and litterate men" were more necessary now than ever with the spread of heresy among the common people. An appeal on similar lines was made to Beaton

1095 E.Rec., p.149.
1096 Ibid. Not a contemporary entry?
1097 Perhaps, however, merely late arrivals (it was the start of term). A.F.A.,f.175r.
and placed before him at a provincial council (It has been suggested, in 1546). It pointed out that the university was the main one in the kingdom, but was now desolate, partly because of torpor, wickedness and sheer ignorance (on the part, no doubt, of those who did not frequent it), but most of all because of neglect of the university's privileges. Beaton could, on his own, rectify this, because he far surpassed in authority, dignity and power all his episcopal predecessors in Scotland (being cardinal, and since January, 1544, legate a latere). All that is required is that its privileges should be observed. However, there is a lack of learned men in St Andrews; it is not only useful but essential to provide them. They must be men of more than average learning to act as public prelectors, especially in the cardinal's own new college, so that any beneficed man residing in the university would be sure to find teachers for whatever subject he wanted to study. "Without letters," it concludes, "religion cannot be handed on, the laws observed or the commonwealth remain stable."

The same points were put, but more forcibly, in the 1540 edition of the Panegyricus of Beaton, published in Paris by Archibald Hay. Hay alluded to the spread of heresies and strange opinions, schisms, rebellions, against the true dignity of the church, the contempt in which the clergy were held. Writers said

1098 E.Rece., pp.xx-xxi; Acta Rectorum, ii, 8.
1099 Acta Rectorum, ii, 33; see Appendix A. The news of Beaton's legation may have been delayed till March; Archbishops, 59, 142.
1100 Summarised conveniently in Murison, Sir David Lindsay, pp. 132 seq.
nothing about it, but the uneducated spoke out; against
the ambition, avarice, vengefulness, perjury, insolence,
perfidy, baseness, haughtiness, fickleness and craftiness
of the clergy. One distinguished cleric could boast
of never handling the New Testament in his life. Good
pastors must be trained to replace such people. In
his new college the cardinal should find teachers for
Latin, Greek and Hebrew (and Arabic and Chaldee if
possible); dialectic, moral and natural philosophy;
canon and civil law; medicine; arithmetic, geometry,
astronomy and music. This, of course, is similar to
the programme already presented by Hay to James Beaton,
and except for the "three tongues" was being followed
by the cardinal. If the dating of Strachan's appeal to
Beaton is correct, then Archibald Hay may be partly
responsible for it, as he was an assessor to the Rector
on March 1st, 1546. 1101 He had just returned from Paris,
where he was procurator of the German nation in April,
1544. 1102

The Rector's book and later the acts of the
dean are now couched in highly ornate Latin. The minute
recording Strachan's election in 1544 has been indicated
by J.M. Anderson, who refers to its "pompous phraseology". 1103
Similarly "pompous" is the 1545 congregation, referred
to as "celeberrimo studiosorum cetu habito in cenobil
diui andree maior ciue neoteric". 1104 Some students of the

1101 "Philosophia appendicae addictum, apud Colles Rectori", Acta
Rectorum, ii, 92.
1102 Paris, Univ.Archives, Reg.15, f. 483r.
1103 E.Rec., p.xiii.
1104 Acta Rectorum, ii, 29.
period did go elsewhere and become noted humanists: Henry Scrimgeour, later at Bourges, librarian to the Fuggers in Augsburg, a St. Salvator's student, first in the graduations of 1534; Duncan Macruder, later of Poitiers, whose graduation at St. Andrews is not recorded, but is certified by William Cranston and John Dempster to the German nation in Paris.

There appears to be no actual evidence that David Beaton neglected the university. From January, 1543, when he was imprisoned on undefined grounds by Governor Arran, life for him was one long warfare. Henry VIII was his implacable enemy, just as Beaton was the implacable enemy of heretics. Arran himself favoured preaching of an unorthodox cast in 1543, and Beaton actually suspected him of a project to hand over the abbeys to the English. Hertford's raids left the country in a state of panic; in October, 1544, the bursar records that he recompensed Alexander Dick and Thomas Myles for their custody of the two maces and the copes during the English war against the Scots. St. Andrews could not have appeared very attractive to students on account of its exposed situation. Students who matriculated went off later to Paris, or, as did Clement Little, to Louvain; or, like David Pady, to Grifflswald.

1105 See D.N.B. E.Records, p.132
1106 S.H.R.,xxi,83-4. He was a St. Leonard's student in Paris, Univ., Archives, Reg.15,f.541v.
1107 Archbishops,iv,120seq.
1108 Bursar's Book,f.34v. Appendix A.
1109 Liber Intitulatorum ,iv,f.202v; E.Records,p.250
1110 Friedlander, Matrikel,p.214; E.Records,p.246
It was probably the cardinal's wish that Hay should replace Bannerman as principal of St. Mary's. Hay had more or less suggested himself for the post. In his edition of the Hecuba of Euripides, issued in 1543 at Paris, he had hinted that his hopes were being dashed and that James Beaton's patronage of him was not being continued by his successor. He did come to St. Andrews nevertheless before David Beaton's death. Bannerman, now ageing, resigned his post to the vicars general, Winram and the prior of St. Andrews, and was a witness shortly after to Hay taking over as principal, along with Mair, Manderston, Balfour and others. The style of the document recording his induction is highly ornate: we are told that Hay himself delivered a highly ornate scholastic oration from the pulpit (suggestorium) of the college church. This was on the 17th July, 1546, Hay having had royal presentation shortly before.

Theology

A certain friar, William Airth, a "papist in his heart", according to Knox, attacked clerical, and especially episcopal, vices, in a sermon at Dundee: "Master John Mair, whose word was then held as an oracle in matters of religion," said his doctrine was defensible. He preached before Mair, Lockhart, Mylne of Cambuskenneth, Patrick Hepburn, and all the doctors and masters of the

1111 Morison, Sir David Lyndsay, p.195,n.3; Innes Review, iv, 14
1112 St. Mary's Writs, M.113.nos.3-5. See Appendix D.
1113 On the 29th June, B.S.S., iii, no.1738.
universities on the theme, "Verity is the strongest of all things". However he did not win the cardinal's approval and escaped to England, only to fall foul of Henry VIII. 1114 Mair's role in this affair was repeated in that of David Guild. Guild was then a "professor of the liberal arts" in St. Leonard's, and a bachelor in theology. At the quodlibet disputations on the feast of St. Thomas the apostle in the Pedagogy schools in 1541 he discussed the Trinity in a fashion that roused criticism. Mair was not present, but it came to his ears that Guild's argument was "Catholic, indeed most Catholic". Some thought otherwise, and through envy, said Mair, spread scandalous rumours about Guild, who went to him, as dean of the theological faculty. His anxiety of mind could be gathered from his sighs, emissis a corde, and Mair took up the defence. Guild's argument is too briefly summarised for the ground of objection to be clear. 1115 However, before the disputation he had made the usual protestation of his orthodox intentions in the theological schools and had repeated his arguments before the faculty summoned for the purpose by the common bedellus of the university "in the new school

1115 See Appendix A for some corrections to text as printed in St. Leonard,p.220 seq.
of the theologians within the college of St. Salvator”. There his name was cleared by the faculty, represented by the Rector, Thomas Barclay, whose degree is not given, Mair himself, Martin Balfour, Richard Hilliard, doctors in theology, Alexander Dick and Robert Anderson, bachelors, all secular priests; two observant Franciscans, John Tullidaff and John Paterson, qualified merely as preachers and theologians; and five Augustinian canons, John Winram, preacher and doctor and theologian, John Annand, licentiate, “for many years now a most faithful preacher of the word of God”, John Duncanson, Alexander Young, Thomas Cunningham, all licentiates. The Franciscans did not sign the document acquitting Guild, but presumably approved. It may be significant that no Dominican theologians were represented when Guild was finally cleared on the 31st December, 1541. Were they his accusers?

Other professors of theology mentioned about this time, doctors or licentiates, are Peter Chaplain, William Manderston, Hugh Brown, canon regular of St. Andrews, Walter, abbot of Glenluce, Thomas Hay, dean of Dunbar, and David Guthrie, third prior of St. Andrews. The cardinal himself contributed to the costs of Winram's doctorate in 1540. The address of a newly created doctor of theology given in an

1116 Acta Rectorum, ii, 29, 31-2.
1117 Rentale Sancti Andreae, p. 107.
appendix shows how plain it was to the theologians that a duty was laid upon those in high places to patronise sacred learning.\textsuperscript{1118}

Captain John Borthwick was convicted in 1540 of reading Oecolampadius, Melanchthon and Erasmus, while three witches were sentenced by Mair, Chapman and Balfour.\textsuperscript{1119} While James Beaton was still alive, however, on the platform from which heretics were condemned in Holyrood, Mair and his associates again cleared the name of a certain R. B. of W., condemned for Lutheranism by the Dominican, Alexander Lawson, Inquisitor.\textsuperscript{1120} Among those who suffered for heresy was John Beveridge, a former student of St. Leonard's, Dominican.\textsuperscript{1121} The outstanding case was, of course, that of George Wishart, a former student of Louvain,\textsuperscript{1122} where he may have learnt the Greek he is said to have taught in Montrose. Foxe's account gives a vivid picture of Wishram in the priory pulpit preaching on the theme of ignorance as the root cause of heresy, a theme met with in Strachan and Hay; of Master Peter Chaplain asserting that Wishart must have the devil in him and the similar sentiments of the Franciscan, John Scott.\textsuperscript{1123} It was a momentous day in the history of Scotland, for one of the partisans of Wishart was

\textsuperscript{1118} Given in Appendix E.
\textsuperscript{1119} Archbishops, iv, 70, 226; Formularia, ii, 175 seq., 225 seq.
\textsuperscript{1120} Formularia, ii, 72.
\textsuperscript{1121} E. Reg., p. 230 reads "Buerach", but Buerach" in Acta Rectorum, i, 90.
\textsuperscript{1122} My note in S.H.R., xxxii, 98-9.
\textsuperscript{1123} Knox, History, ed. Dickinson, ii, 233-245, 496; "Master Reiter, chaplain", seems to be a misreading by a scribe or printer of "Master Peter Chaplain".
John Knox, whose picture of the cardinal as a man of blood and of the theological faculty of St. Andrews as almost to a man inadequate to the occasion has remained indelibly printed on the Scottish mind.

Law

There is little information about law in the official acts of the arts faculty and the university: except that in one year, Patrick Scott and Walter Fethy, two of the Rector's assessors, were styled as lawyers (jurisperiti). Fortunately, the Formulare is available to correct the impression that law was at a standstill or that all the Scottish doctors of civil law were banished by Beaton, as was one who offered to help Henry VIII with his anti-Scottish plans.

One of the instruments in the Formulare records the graduation of a bachelor in civil law after the completion of six courses in "the new schools of the law" under R.C., doctor of laws. Another speaks of all the doctors of "the college of civil law" creating a licentiate in civil law. The cardinal himself created a doctor in both laws in virtue of a brief of Paul III. A certain doctor of decreets whose Christian name was David and who was also a canon of Glasgow, authorised to grant the doctorate in association with four or five other doctors in decreets. In another

1124 Acta Rectorum, ii, 23.
1125 Archbishops, iv, 79.
case R.G., doctor of decreets and canon of some unspecified cathedral church, is authorised to create a bachelor in decreets.\textsuperscript{1126} The owners of these initials I have so far failed to identify.

**Bursary Foundations**

The project of converting as many as possible of the serving chaplains of St. Salvator's college into chaplain-bursars was one dear to the heart of John Mair. On the 9th January, 1540, he joined with William Manderston, to found a chaplain burser in theology from certain annual-rents in St. Andrews and a chalder of barley from the barony of Earlshall. The chaplain had to live personally in college, say certain masses and study theology for twelve years.\textsuperscript{1127} The first chaplain was to be John Fowroiss, and the appointment of his successors devolved on the provost and canons, failing whom on the archbishop. The presentation to another such foundation, this time for a period of eight years' study in theology, and maintained out of lands in Walkergate, Cuper, and four marks of annual-rent from Earlshall, pertained to Bartholomew Manderston, failing whom to the provost and canons. The date of this was the 22nd June, 1541.\textsuperscript{1128}

Before his death Mair founded three more chaplain-bursars in theology to be maintained for

\textsuperscript{1126} *Formularia*, II, 308-315.
\textsuperscript{1127} *St. Salvator's Writs*, 571.
\textsuperscript{1128} *St.*, 73.
twelve years out of various annual-rents and payments in kind from the lands of Ardross, Remorgny, Wester Wemyss, etc. Manderston, besides in 1546 giving a grant to the body of chaplains, also on his deathbed in a moving document, founded a bursar in arts from the lands of Carslogy, with right of presentation to Bartholomew Manderston and his heirs, failing whom to the college.

Two bursars, one in the Pedagogy and another in St. Salvator's, were also founded by Henry White, dean of Brechin, who died about this time. These bursaries were in arts.

How to judge the work of David Beaton for his university is a perplexing problem. He only occupied the chancellorship for a few years, years of war and turmoil, and was murdered quite unexpectedly in May, 1546, a few months after the death of Wishart. The uncertainty of the times ("the dearness of the year and the fewness of scholars", as recorded by the bursar, may have been mutually interacting circumstances) appears to have led to a fall in numbers from which the university was slow to recover. Whether a cardinal who showed a better moral example or was less zealous in the persecution of heretics

\[1129\] SAA10 (confirmation in 1559 by Martin Balfour as executor).
\[1130\] ST44; the document referred to is in Appendix D and it refers to the bursaries in general terms, but the executors later carried out the arts foundation, for which see ST5.
\[1131\] St. Salvator's Book "B", f.109v-112r. Also, regarding the Pedagogy foundation, G.R.H.Charters,no.1419a. After the Reformation the patrons of these two burses transferred the patronage to the Moncreiff family: F.Moncreiff, etc., The Moncreiffes and the Moncreiffes, 1,364-5.
\[1132\] Bursar's Book, f.35r.
would have done more for the university, as he might well have done more for the country and the Church, is a question, however, that seems to call for only one answer.\footnote{The men with the best minds in the university were already old. Peter Chaplain was coadjutor to Mair, and by 1549 Mair and Martin Balfour were so old that they had to be represented at the provincial council by their procurators.} The men with the best minds in the university were already old. Peter Chaplain was coadjutor to Mair, and by 1549 Mair and Martin Balfour were so old that they had to be represented at the provincial council by their procurators.\footnote{Bannerman as head of St. Mary's was an old man in a rapidly changing world. Hay, who replaced him and had so many plans for change, was dead by the 20th September, 1547.} Is a question, however, that seems to call for only one answer.

\begin{quote}
JOHN HAMILTON: CHANCELLOR, 1549-1571
\end{quote}

Part only of Hamilton's chancellorship is studied here, for this study ends with the Reformation. Moreover he was late in arriving upon the scene, since, although he was provided in 1547, he was not in point of fact translated from Dunkeld to St. Andrews till 1549, during which time the see was governed by vicars general.\footnote{He was a student in St. Leonard's college in 1529 when still abbot of Paisley. From there he appears to have gone to France, possibly to Ave Marie.}

He was a student in St. Leonard's college in 1529 when still abbot of Paisley.\footnote{His only recorded interference in university business is when he asked the faculty of arts to dispense David Chapman, a determinant of 1539-40, to proceed to the mastership with the other intrants; Archbishops, v, 42, 51.} From there he appears to have gone to France, possibly to Ave Marie

\footnote{\textit{A.F.A.}, f.1709.}

\footnote{\textit{Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church}, p.57.}

\footnote{\textit{R.S.S., III.}, 2442, 2457, 2553-4. He was rector of Melville, Coisace and Aldhame.}

\footnote{Archbishops, v, 42, 51.}

\footnote{E. Rees, I, p.225.}
college in Paris, where his relative, John Hamilton, later abbot of Arbroath, studied at a later date. 1138 This was the gymnasium Marianum of Paris and like St. Leonard's it was within the enclosing wall of a monastery of Augustinian canons, Ste. Geneviève. 1139 We have no evidence that like his relative there he was in charge of such a pedagogue as Patrick Buchanan, brother of George, nor that he underwent the influence of Ramus, the famous enemy of Aristotle, who taught in Ave Maria college in 1544. 1140 He was certainly in Paris in the summer of 1542, but not in the following year. The reasons, apart from his relationship to Arran, which made him the bright hope of the Protestant party, are therefore still obscure. 1141 When he returned, however, he used his influence to sway Arran back to the cardinal's side. 1142 The disasters of the next few years, coming to a climax in the Scots defeat at Pinkie, required in the ecclesiastical head of the kingdom more energy and singlemindedness than Hamilton appeared to have.

Schemes of Reform

A pasquill is said to have circulated in St Andrews in 1551,

"Doctors of theology of fourscore of years,
And old jolly Lupays, the bald Grey friars,
They would be called Rabbi and Magister Noster;
And not to whom they say their Pater Noster." 1143

1138 Edinburgh Univ. Library, Laing Ms., Division iii, no. 321, f. 43r-v. Patrick Buchanan is "pedagogue dudit Sieur abbé d'arbroth demeurant a parise au college de l'aue maria."
1139 Gabriel, Student life in Ave Maria College, p. 235
1140 Ibid., p. 234. Laing Ms., iii, 321, f. 43v mentions "l'hostel dudit Mr patric balghanjan demeurant audit college de l'aue maria."
1141 Paisley Library Ms PC 1766, f. 57r.
1142 Archbishops, v, 12.
Young blood was certainly needed. John Mair, the greatest of them, was also the oldest, being about 84, Martin Balfour perhaps 72 and Peter Chaplain about 71, while John Winram himself was 69. The Grey friars were by comparison young; Friar Alexander Arbuckle, for example, a fellow-student of George Buchanan.

Archbishop Hamilton certainly showed himself active in the educational field. He called a Provincial Council in 1549 at which many of the university were present. University members, particularly theologians, had a part in his Catechism of 1552. He boasted to the pope that from the date of his arrival in the see he had procured divine service, and lectures in grammar, rhetoric, poetry, music, the arts, medicine, theology and both laws continuously and had tried to coax teachers from abroad to serve in the new college. Some came from elsewhere in Scotland; theologians like Alexander Anderson, John Watson and Andrew Elder from Aberdeen. Humanists like Edward Henryson at Bourges and John Rutherford at Bordeaux were being invited as early as 1553. A pension was being paid to Patrick Buchanan, the money was being spent at Poitiers, but probably on the education of his relatives. The brother of Patrick, the great George, was still under a cloud even even after his release from the Lisbon inquisition, but

1144 E.Recs.,p.222
1145 Patrick, Statutes, pp.86-88.
1146 Evidence, iii, 362
1147 E.Recs.,p.254. For Elder see Fasti Aberdonenses,p.264.
1148 Note from the archbishop to Gavin Hamilton, "Commandis me to agree with Masteris edward henrison and Johne Ruderfurde to be Regentis in his l(ordship's) college, 12 decembris 1553."
1149 Item val. is awnd for tny terms of poictre(sic)," Ibid., f.123v.
Hamilton paid at Rome for his absolution and he obtained a canonry in the Coutances diocese in 1550. One at least of his associates at Coimbra, where he had fallen foul of the Inquisition, was, as we shall see, to be attracted to St Andrews.

Refoundation of St. Mary's college

But in his 1553 plan for refounding St. Mary's Hamilton produced no such startling rationalisation of the whole university situation in the town as was proposed by Buchanan at the Reformation with his three separate colleges of humanity (so strikingly similar to the College of Arts at Coimbra), philosophy and divinity. Even that scheme proved too radical for the times. Hamilton's scheme did not give grammar and oratory the prominence of a separate college, and philosophy and divinity were, in accordance with tradition, kept together, a tradition that went back as far as the original college of St. John the Evangelist. What Hamilton wanted were places for theologians and he wished to attract the best theologians to St Andrews and to his college. The obvious model was St. Salvator's with its provost a professor of theology and two canons who were licentiate and bachelor; the canonist was added on the model of Aberdeen. Why did

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1150 Archbishops, p.78, n.1: Exposition France-Époque, no.329
1151 With its principal, public lecturer, six regents (George had the first class, Patrick the fourth.) Crochot-Travers, Étude sur Nicolas de Crochot, p.72
1152 Buchanan, Vernacular Writings, pp.6-14
he not refund his own college of St. Leonard? Apart from questions of endowment he may have felt a new break was needed, and the canons regular who were principals there were fairly advanced in years: in any event St. Mary's was threatened with collapse. But the strict requirements regarding the poverty of student bursars in arts recalls the St. Leonard's foundation. Moreover the principal of the new St. Mary's was, as we shall see, a former student of the college of Montagu, to whose example both St. Leonard's and Aberdeen owed much.

There is not the space to go into the new St. Mary's scheme in detail, but one or two points may be noticed. Cant notes the similarity of the choir arrangements with King's college; but there are dissimilarities too, for there is no provision in the 1554 disposition for boy singers. There was no overt provision for medicine or civil law, although Hamilton did donate works on these subjects to his college library. Nevertheless by Scottish standards the foundation was lavish: three theologians and a canonist at the summit of the college, eight theological students, three professors of philosophy, an orator, a grammarian, sixteen poor students in arts and three members of the

1153 Evidence, iii, 362 seq.
1154 St. Salvator, pp. 126-7.
1155 Innes Rev., ix, 40-2.
household staff: thirty six in all. Moreover, the stipend of £100 for the provost can be compared with the salary of the principal at St. Leonard's which was £10. It was bound to rouse some envy among other colleges.

**English Refugees**

There was a breath of the outside world in the addition of two Englishmen to the university staff. The first of these, Richard Marshall, Dominican prior of Newcastle, fled from England in 1536, being unwilling to relinquish papal supremacy. Along with his associate he was transferred to the Scottish province three years later. In order to live in college outside the Dominican house in St Andrews he had to have permission to be subjected to a diocesan bishop, in this instance to the bishop of Brechin, one of the university conservators; he obtained licence from the general chapter in 1547. However he was not formally matriculated till three years later.

Another even more distinguished accession was Richard Smith, who had clashed with both Cranmer and Peter Martyr when he was regius divinity professor at

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1156 *Evidence*, iii, 363; *St. Leonard*, p. 170.
1157 *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, x, no. 594.
1158 *Acta Capitularum Generalium O. P.*, iv, 283. He was a witness in Edinburgh in 1542, G.R.H., *Calendar of St Andrews Charters*, nos. 267, 290, and there described as professor of theology. He had been at Oxford in 1537, C.W.L., *Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, p. 157. His associate was probably Prior Henry Mason, E.Recs., pp. 250, 254 (spelt "Maxoun").
1160 E.Recs., p. 254
Oxford. A satisfactory chronology for his movements is not easily established, but to all appearances he fled to Scotland before January, 1550, whence, according to his opponent Martyr, he wrote to Cranmer offering to return. However, he does not appear as matriculating until July, 1551. By the following February he was public reader in the theological faculty and a member of St. Mary's, and was still professing theology in 1553. Whether he influenced the theology of Hamilton's catechism or not, he undoubtedly helped to bring the realities of current controversy into the faculty.

Provosts of St. Salvator's: 1550-3

In 1549 both John Mair and Martin Balfour were already stricken with infirmity. Mair's coadjutor was still in health, however, and it was he, Peter Chaplain, who first succeeded Mair in 1550. The date of Mair's death in that year is not known, but it does not appear to have been later than the 18th September. Whether it was advisable to promote as his successor so aged a person as Chaplain is highly dubious. In any event he only lived for a few months

1161 D.M.B.; Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, iii, 1378.
1162 E.Rece., p. 296; Strype, Memorials of Cranmer, iii, App., pp. 735-6.
1163 Acta Rectorum, ii, 44; he is a signatory to documents given in Appendix A.
1164 John Gau, Right Way to the Kingdom of Heaven, page xxiv.
1165 Patrick, Statutes, pp. 36-7.
1166 St. Salvator's Book "B", f. 126r.
more. He was buried in the college choir. In his will he left the college all his bigger books.\textsuperscript{1167} A few have survived.\textsuperscript{1168}

The new provost was Martin Balfour, another old man. His somewhat stormy tenure of office is discussed later. His mother was a sister of Provost Hugh Spens.\textsuperscript{1169} He was bachelor of canon law as well as doctor of theology.\textsuperscript{1170}

He is also interesting as a relative of the future Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, one of the Castilians whom Knox describes as being "brought up in Martin's opinion of the sacrament."\textsuperscript{1171} Knox is better because Balfour deserted the Protestant cause and returned to Scotland; as parson of the Snow kirk in Aberdeen he was executor to Martin's will on the 18th December, 1553.\textsuperscript{1172} Moreover, as sole surviving executor in 1573 he made arrangements for the foundation of the Martin Balfour bursary in theology in the college.\textsuperscript{1173}

Some light is thrown in this deed on the provost of St.

\textsuperscript{1167} Ibid., f.130r, printed in part in Appendix A. His executors were Alexander Anderson, Winram and John Scheilli. The date was the 6th Feb., 1551. The books were Nicholas of Lyra's bible, works in canon and civil law, on theology, history and problems of conscience. The smaller books went to his executors. He was clearly on the best of terms with the St Andrews Franciscans, the only clue we have to his philosophical and theological views.

\textsuperscript{1168} Innes Rev., ix, 82.

\textsuperscript{1169} St. Salvator's Bk., "B", f.99r.

\textsuperscript{1170} Libror Officialia Sancti Andreae, pp. 82, 141, whence we learn the date of his doctorate, taken while official of St. Andrews: 17th Nov., 1541.

\textsuperscript{1171} This has been taken to mean Luther's opinion, since Balfour and William Ramsay went from St Andrews to Wittenberg in 1544 (\textit{Eberstein}, \textit{Album Academiae}, i, 216); cf. Dickinson's \textit{Knox}, i, 93, and note. But his relationship to Martin Balfour was not known before.

\textsuperscript{1172} Knox, loc. cit.; St. Salvator's Bk., "B", f.128r.

\textsuperscript{1173} General Register House, Bell Brander Writs, no. 37.
Salvator's private life, for two grandsons, Hugh Bontaveron and Thomas Myles are mentioned; these two also witnessed the provost's will. Before his death the provost, who was to be buried in the college, also founded two rents in support of the choir chaplains.\textsuperscript{1174}

During Balfour's term of office the war between the college and the Rector flared up again, perhaps over appointments within the college. In July, 1551, arbiters were appointed. Of seven arbiters four were from St. Leonard's college (Winram, Law, Duncanson and Guild) and two others were lawyers (Rolland and Arthur); none appear to have been subjects of St. Mary's, of which the Rector was provost. They issued their decree on the 14th August to the effect that the Rector had power over the college especially in the second instance, and not only at visitation time; the minority view of Rolland being that his power stemmed from the oath taken at incorporation, from his visitation powers and from those matters in the college foundation reserved to the Rector.\textsuperscript{1175} On the 5th December following, the usual visitors were elected for the college visitation, including Winram and Friar Richard Marshall, but shortly afterwards the college appealed from the first decree to the conservator who delegated the decision to certain judges in Brechin. The bitterness

\textsuperscript{1174} Ibid., no.25.
\textsuperscript{1175} Acta Rectorum,ii,42. See Appendix A.
must have been accentuated by the fact that the Rectorship was now securely in the hands of the provost of St. Mary's and was to stay there for a considerable time to come. At last on the 26th January, 1553, both parties submitted themselves to the archbishop's will. A number of university notabilities was to help him in coming to a decision. The outcome was that Hamilton ruled that he as chancellor ought to be referred to both in the first and second instance regarding appointments to the three major college benefices when these were in dispute. The Rector's authority was confined to moral correction and scholastic matters and to those civil cases where the Rector's jurisdiction was appealed to, whether at visitation time or not.

Principals of St. Leonard's: Annand and Law

Annand probably remained principal until his death which occurred before Pentecost, 1549. Even in his advanced age he had been very active. The heretical preaching of John Rough, ex-Dominican, had been his target for long, Knox supporting Rough in writing, Annand alleging the authority of the Church, and eventually refusing to debate in answer to an open attack from the parish pulpit in St Andrews. Annand must have been about seventy when he died. Part of his

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1176 Liber Computorum Collegii Leonardi, f.5, cited in Appendix D.
1177 Dickinson's Knox, i, 83-4.
library has come down to us: it contains nothing contemporary, apart from a Livy incorporating fragments recently found in Germany.

John Law succeeded as principal. Like Annand he had been at Paris, but unlike him does not seem to have become a canon regular so early. He was from Glasgow diocese. He was incorporated with a group of canons regular in St Andrews university in 1525, and is described as a professor of theology in 1545. He was still alive in May, 1553, but must have died shortly after.

His unpublished manuscript chronicle is not without interest. His lists of men of learning do not appear to have been copied from other chronicles and are often revealing. Under 1521, for instance, he cites Cardinal Cajetan, Tartaret (the Parisian Scotist whom he may have known personally), John Mair, Fausto Andrelino and Martin Luther: the last "a sower of heresy in the opinion of many," which seems a mild observation for the times.

John Douglas, Provost of St. Mary's

John Douglas was the natural son of Douglas of Longnewton, yet he is constantly described as "cleric of Dunkeld diocese," no doubt because his initial

1178 *Episc.Rav.,* ix, 70-71.
1179 He was admitted bachelor towards the end of 1508 but did not leave Paris before 1510 (Paris, University Archives, Reg. 91, ff. 1180 E.Recs., p. 220; Acta Rectorum, ii, 29. 100, 109r.).
1181 Lib. Comp. Coll. Leonardi, f. 14r.
1182 Edinburgh Univ. Library, Ms. Dc. 7. 63, f. 143r.
training took place with Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld. It was probably as Arran's, and therefore as Hamilton's candidate, that he was presented to the principalship of St. Mary's on the 27th September, 1547. It is true that the see was technically vacant, which was the reason for the Governor's presentation, but there can be little doubt that Hamilton was the nominee: and would be consulted on all matters concerning the see. Douglas had been successively a graduate of Glasgow, a regent in St Andrews and a regent in the Paris colleges of Presles and Montaigu. While in Montaigu he visited Scotland briefly in 1537 and received some money from Archbishop Beaton in St Andrews. He was presumably professor of theology on his arrival at St Andrews, but does not appear to be so entitled in any surviving document. He was certainly bachelor in medicine, and it may have been envisaged that he should give some lectures in medicine for which there was no provision in Hamilton's 1554 foundation.

1183 R.S.S., v.1518. He was related to the Douglasses of Bonjeduard, also in Roxburghshire, Ibid., v.1240,1257. He is described as "clericus dioecesis Dunkeldensis" throughout the Paris records, e.g.Reg.91,f.242r.
1184 R.S.S., iii,2442,2457. He was collated by the vicars general on the 1st October (St. Mary's Writs,MB.15,6)
1185 Archbishops,v.28
1186 Paris,Univ.,Archives,Reg.15,f.119r,147r. He was dean of the Scots province of the German nation, Ibid.,f.394v.
1187 Rentale Sancti Andreae,p.96
1188 It is possible he finished his theology at St Andrews, and is identical with the formed bachelor cited in Statutes,p.134. He was not at the 1549 council.
1189 Paris, Univ., Archives,Reg.15,f.402r. The mediciner on the foundation originally was William Manderston, who died in 1549. See Appendix D, for his foundation of a bursary in St.Salvator's. Douglas is last found in Paris in Dec.,1543, but may have contemplated a return. Reg.15,f.478r; Holroyd,p.265.
Lacking as we do the records of the higher faculties, we have no great evidence of Douglas's impact on the university, except that James Melville refers to him as ambitious and easily swayed, but otherwise paints a flattering picture of him; he was Rector continuously from 1551, although it is far from being clear that he was always elected as such. It must have been due to him that some of his Parisian associates were invited to St. Andrews, and he probably had a hand in the 1554 Hamilton foundation of St. Mary's.

William Cranston, Provost, St. Salvator's, 1553-1559

Another former regent at the college of Presles succeeded in December, 1553, to the provostship of St. Mary's, and another Roxburghshire man, William Cranston of Crailing. No doubt the archbishop knew him in Paris as Douglas certainly did; and Buchanan cites his name as one of his friends. On his appointment to the provostship he had already occupied the second mastership (the prebend of Kemback) for two years, having been appointed over the head of the third master (the prebendary of Dunino), Alexander Anderson, the former subprincipal of King's college; Anderson returned to

1191 Paris, Univ., Archives, Reg. 15, f. 375r; on f. 377r, during his procuratorship he wrote, "Scotland Theudal Crealin, Spea mea Deus, In domino confido."
1192 Aitken, The Trial of George Buchanan, p. 27.
Aberdeen.\textsuperscript{1193} There may well have been rectorial interference in these appointments, as perhaps also in the appointments of Richard Marshall and Andrew Davidson to canonries in St. Salvator's. These appointments are mentioned first in 1554.\textsuperscript{1194}

Cranston would be just under forty on appointment.\textsuperscript{1195} All his student life had been spent in Paris. From December 1542 till Easter following he was Rector of the university, being then a regent in the college of Calvy, sometimes known as the "little Sorbonne." In August, 1546, he was received as probationer in the Sorbonne Itself, and, as will be discussed, he was appointed by Paul III to be principal at King's college, although confirmed as a fellow of the Sorbonne some months later, in July 1547.\textsuperscript{1196} He took his doctorate in theology about 1550 as Buchanan records.\textsuperscript{1197}

Before entering the Sorbonne Cranston published a small compendium of logic, of which an edition

\textsuperscript{1193} As rector of Dunino, Anderson witnessed Peter Chaplain's will, given in Appendix A; Balfour then occupied Kemback. Both Anderson and Cranston are recorded as matriculating in 1551, but Cranston, recorded already as rector of Kemback, must have done so some months after Anderson, E.Rec., p. 254.

\textsuperscript{1194} St. Salvator's Ek., "B", f. 129r. They probably held annexed churches not on the first foundation. Davidson we know held Kinn additives, Innes Rev., ix, 39, no. 4, Cuthbert Tunstall.

\textsuperscript{1195} He incepted in arts in 1533-4, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms Lat. 9952, f. 188v.

\textsuperscript{1196} Ms Lat. 9953, f. 183r; Ms Lat. 15441, pp. 55, 73.

\textsuperscript{1197} Athan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 27.
appeared in Paris in 1540 and another in 1545, the latter dedicated to Cardinal Beaton. Cranston, if originally a disciple in logic of John Mair, is in this compendium a very distant disciple indeed, the only contemporary authority he quotes being the humanist logician, Rudolph Agricola. He appears to be working from the Greek text, although only one Greek word is cited. This was one of the logic textbooks in use at St Andrews.

St. Leonard's College: Administrative Difficulties.

Additional light is shed on the administration of St. Leonard's at this time, by the chance survival of a few visitations concerning the regimes of principals Annand and Law, written in abominably careless Latin and unfortunately not continuing into the regime of the next principal.

The main difficulty was the management of chaplains. Not all chaplains were regents, and even those who were caused conflict because the statutes assumed the presence in the town of the prior who was responsible for their appointment along with the principal.

1198 Innes Rep., i, 155. The first was issued from the college of Bourgogne, the second "ex schola Becodiana".
1199 Edition of 1545, dli recto and verso, dli recto, etc.
1200 On all recto.
1201 In St. Leonard's in 1557 (Innes Rep., ix, 82.)
1202 St. Leonard, p. 122
1203 The prior was abroad studying. Paris, B.N., Ms Lat. 9479 is a dialogue regarding Peter Ramus, the anti-Aristotelian. A note by Nicolas Mancel who owned it attributes its authorship to a John Stewart, said to be a son of James V, and a student in 1551 at the college of Presles. The prior himself studied at "the college of praillis in parische." Hist. MSS., Comm. Reports, vi, 647.
One of the regents, John Scheill, refused to take his class and do his duty as hebdomadar. Winram, the subprior, was impotent in the prior's absence, and could only insist that the principal order him again, which Law did in November, 1551, threatening him with deprivation within a fortnight. Scheill certainly disappeared from the college as a regent, but whether he retained the chaplainry is less sure.

His may have been a token revolt, because of the privileged position of sacrist and provisor, neither of whom, as we saw earlier, was prepared to do choir duties although exempt from teaching. The sacrist, Mr. John Fyffe, who was curate also, had not taken his turn as hebdomadarius at mass and vespers; moreover, his room was far from the foregate where the parishioners calling at the college, no doubt at night when no janitor was on duty, could not be heard. However, it is quite clear from the accounts that the curate was not neglecting his duty as such, as Herkless appears to imply. Hannay is, however, justifiably scathing about the anomalies in jurisdiction, where the regent was subject to the principal qua regent, and to someone else qua chaplain.

The chaplain of the B.V.M. altar had no college duties

1204 St. Leonard, pp. 209-10; St. Leonard's writ, SL. S. T. I. Both he and David Garden, regents, were expelled in 1549, Lib. Comp. Coll. Leonardi, f. 50.
1205 St. Leonard, pp. 99-100, 203. Account in Appendix D.
1206 Ibid., 99.
1207 Ibid., pp. 125-6.
at all and made that the excuse for neglecting his chaplainry; his house had been burnt down that may have been an additional reason.

There is considerable damage by fire to college property partly due to the siege of 1546. The steeple of St. Salvator's suffered then. In addition, in the period between the cardinal's death and the surrender of the castle in 1547, Norman Leslie and his accomplices are said to have tyrannised the town, forcing Mair, Chaplain and Balfour to cede certain lands "be compilsoun, just feir and dreddour," and "burnyng...of the said college and utheris places, zeal haill streittis, sic as the Eistburne weynd." In such troubled times it is hardly surprising that internal clashes arise.

John Duncanson: Principal, St. Leonard's, 1553-1566

The new principal was at least fifty and had been a contemporary of Winram in his early studies at St. Leonard's. He is recorded as an alumnus of the Lothian nation in 1515, and as a licentiate in theology in 1541. His life is often prolonged by writers to 1600, but he died on the 20th December, 1566.

Duncanson's contribution to the college

1208 Ibid., pp.122,208.
1209 Lib. Comp. Coll. Leon., f.3r mentions the burning of his granary in Prior's Wynd.
1210 Knox, I.93
1211 Scottish Antiquary, xvi, 79-84.
1212 E.Reg., pp. 104-11; St. Leonard, p.221.
1213 G.R.H., John Scott Protocol Bk., f.2v.
building has not been noticed, although he made a legacy in 1566, inclusive of £100 for the new work of the college. The St. Leonard's accounts show that money was left for this by earlier donors, but the main work seems to have begun under Duncanson in 1553; it dragged on and an architect is first mentioned in 1566.

**St. Salvator's Appointment**

Simon Simson was made one of the foundation regents in arts in the college in June, 1552, about which time he entered the university. Simson was a doctor of theology of the Sorbonne. His orthodoxy may be surmised from the fact that he gave evidence at the Buchanan trial before the Portuguese inquisition. He is also mentioned by Richard Smith as one of his friends. When he took that first appointment in the college Alexander Anderson held Dunino, and, there may have been an understanding that Robert Anderson should succeed. However Simson succeeded and thereafter again obtained Kemback when Cranston became provost. The way seemed clear for Robert Anderson to rise to Dunino.

However, a rival for Dunino appeared in the person of David Guild, who left St. Leonard's first of all to go to St. Mary's towards the end of 1552, but

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1215 Lib.Comp.Coll.Leon,ff.22v,23r,25v. In Appendix D.
1216 Glasgow Univ.,Manderston Ms,f.23v. In App.D.
1218 Aitken, *Trial*,p.119; *Defensio Sacri Episcoporum*, verso of title page, in dedication to David Haliburton, provost of Methven.
who signs himself rector of Dunino in 1554. Moreover Guild was evidently accepted as such both in college and outside it. Why he should have been preferred is not made plain: possibly in the first instance because of his position as dean of the arts faculty. However, Robert Anderson litigated, and eventually in 1558 Hamilton intervened, ordering Anderson to resign, and satisfying him with a small pension.

John Rutherford

Guild's successor as dean of the arts faculty was John Rutherford, which meant that now both the rectorship and this post were in the hands of the men of St. Mary's, a position that could only be galling to St. Salvator's.

Rutherford is said to have been the son of a canon regular of Jedburgh and one of the Douglasses of Bonjedward, cousins of the provost of St. Mary's. In a letter prefaced to his book addressed to Hamilton in November 1555 he mentions that he had received his and Douglas's letters of invitation to teach in St. Mary's. He stated that his pupil Thomas Eyguem of Montaigne (brother of Montaigne the famous French essayist) had retired to the country estate because of plague in Bordeaux and that Rutherford had hoped for

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1221 Scotia Peerage,vii,371.
leisure to study medicine (Hippocrates and Galen) there, having successively taught in Coimbra, Paris and Bordeaux universities. He presumably went to Coimbra with the Buchanans, returning to Paris in 1551, and teaching there in Ste. Barbe two years later. He was procurator in the German nation in 1552 and quaestor in 1554. At Montaigne he received letters of Juan Gelida, principal of the college of Guyenne in Bordeaux, discussing college affairs in 1556, one of them wishing Rutherford well after his "bad luck."

Other Scots mentioned in these letters are the Buchanans and Ramsay, that is William Ramsay, who may have returned home with Rutherford, and who was also on the staff at Bordeaux.

In his book Rutherford states his debt to Nicolas de Grouchy, whose editions of Aristotle were based on the Greek. Rutherford uses Greek occasionally in his text, but of his ability in that language we have less indirect testimony. This is a pension of £50, with bed and board and other privileges, which was granted by Hamilton as founder and Douglas as provost of St. Mary's, on the 15th April, 1557.

Mentioning
that Rutherford started teaching philosophy in the college on the 1st November preceding, it requires him to take up new duties when that course finished; namely, to lecture for an hour each day publicly on the abstruser philosophical books and furthermore in Greek or Latin literature, in both of which they say he is expert. However, it is also required that he show the provost due honour and respect, as the professors of theology and law already do. The latter requirement is perhaps significant. James Melville has described Rutherford as envious and corrupt, a description that might be discounted as coming from an unfriendly source: but a similar objection was laid at his door in 1563, where Rutherford, by then provost of St. Salvator's, is accused of not consulting his colleagues, of flying into rages, of consorting with his noble pupils and keeping his regents in an inferior position. His corruption is perhaps shown by his annexation of funds to his own uses and keeping the students on short commons. Evidently his virtues were exclusively academic.

It had already been suggested by Hannay that the remarks of James Melville about Greek at St.

1229 Melville, Autobiography, p. 27.
1230 Nat. Lib. of Scotland, Balcarres Papers, vii, f. 99. The visitors were Douglas, Rector; Winram; Robert Hamilton; William Skene, licentiate in law; John Lawmorth. The regents at this time in St. Salvator's were William Ramsey and David Guild.
Andrews were taken too literally, and he quotes the fact that certain philosophical works at least of the Greeks were in use. He is certainly exaggerating when he claims in addition to saying that his uncle, Andrew Melville, had an exceptional understanding of the Greek text, that his masters did not: "quilk his maisters understud nocht."

**Arts Faculty Troubles**

This appointment of Rutherford led to further troubles in the arts faculty, in this respect no doubt reflecting the instability of these pre-Reformation years. After the disturbances following Cardinal Beaton’s death, things quietened down, and the bedellus, William Sanders, fetched the faculty hoods back from Monimail. In 1555 the bursar, a St. Salvator’s man, spent money against those detaining in their possession the books of the university, Rector and dean. We are left in the dark as to who these were: we know nothing as yet of rival deans or rival Rectors, and a reasonable conjecture is that these books were also in custody at Monimail or in the castle. Moreover, all the elections were accomplished.

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1231 Statutes, p. 59 and note 1.
1232 Autobiography, p. 39. For Greek books belonging to regents, see Innes Rep., ix, 137 (William Ramsey), 160 (Wilkie).
1233 Bursar’s Bk., f. 40r.
1234 Ibid., f. 42r in App. A.
In the statutory place, namely St. Mary's. However, even before Rutherford's appointment, there is a hint at a faculty audit of more serious trouble. Expenditure is disclosed for the purchase of a breastplate and steel bonnet for the bedellus. Plainly the bedellus was expecting trouble in convoking the colleges to faculty acts. Rutherford replaced Guild as dean and Kilpont replaced Myles as bursar on the 4th November, 1557, and real trouble began. For two offices were vacated, for some time traditionally held by St. Salvator's men, and now in the hands of St. Mary's and St. Leonard's.

Two regents refused to accede to the election (Guild and another St. Salvator's regent). Furthermore they would not hand over the dean's book or the bursar's accounts, on the grounds that it was customary to elect a priest. The other colleges referred the case to Douglas, the Rector, but Cranston, provost of St. Salvator's, supported his regents. It is odd to note that the three main parties to the quarrel, Rutherford, Douglas and Cranston all were born within striking distance of Jedburgh.

Cranston's argument was that Rutherford was

1235 Ibid., f.44r.
not a priest and was a regent in act; Rutherford maintained that the former was not a statutory requirement and that the second was false (obviously Cranston regarded Rutherford’s appointment as public lecturer in humanity as a regency, although it was a supernumerary appointment). The pro-Rutherford party asserted he was canonically elected; and the Rector with his assessors allowed it in spite of the objections raised. However, the case continued and on the 15th assessors from all parties were appointed to patch up the quarrel. Things were still pending, when on the 21st Rutherford ordered the bedellus to convolve to the examinations. Two days later he asked the St. Salvator’s teachers either to examine their own or to accompany him and the St. Mary’s regents to the examinations at St. Leonard’s, neither of which they were prepared to do. However by the following February two St. Salvator’s regents (Thomas Smeaton and Edmund Hay) were being nominated at least as examiners, although it was still impossible because of inter-college feeling to hold general responsions. The situation looked like being repeated in the next session, but in December of 1558

1237 Ibid., f.161r. These were the Rector, Winram, Cranston, Guthrie, third prior, Simson, Duncanson, Patrick Cockburn. Of these Cranston and Simson were from St. Salvator’s.

1238 Ibid., f.181v.
the Rector, Winram, Cranston and Duncanson were appointed to see that all regents kept the university statutes.\textsuperscript{1239} So that trouble continued to the eve of the Reformation.

**Law**

The course of this faculty at this period is particularly obscure. University members consisted of men like William Arthur of Kernis described as "most skilled in both laws," of Walter Fethy advocate, of James Rolland and David Ogilvie "advocates and well practised in both laws," but of their pupils nothing seems to be known.\textsuperscript{1240} A rival project in Edinburgh may have been the reason for the tardy appointment of a canonist to St. Mary's, when William Skene, licentiate in both laws, was appointed.\textsuperscript{1241}

Of course, as Hannay has pointed out, while there was theoretical instruction in the three universities, most of the big courts and big practitioners were to be found in Edinburgh, where parliament, the privy council, the college of Justice and the court of the busy official of Lothian were to be found.

\textsuperscript{1239} Ibid., f.182r. In the next election in 1558, Smaeton still withheld his support from Rutherford.

\textsuperscript{1240} Acta Rectorum, ii, 41, 44.

\textsuperscript{1241} E.Recs., p.254.
Furthermore there were many living on the fringes of the law whose training was largely by apprenticeship only. In this situation the queen had already intervened, by granting a pension of £100 (the canonist at St. Mary's only received 60 marks) to Alexander Syme in 1556, to lecture publicly in Edinburgh on the laws. Later that same year another royal pension of the same value was paid to Edward Henryson, whom Hamilton had tried in vain to coax to St. Andrews, to lecture in law and Greek. The initial lectures took place in the Magdalene chapel.

The master mind behind this plan was evidently Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, to whom Henryson had been commended by Giovanni Ferrari in 1555. By his will drawn up in 1558 he left 8,000 merks to the foundation of an Edinburgh college, with three schools, one for bairns in grammar, one for poetry and oratory, and one in canon and civil law, with rooms for regents, hall and other necessaries. The Reformation postponed the project, but part of the money was salvaged for Edinburgh University in 1583.

1243 R.S.S., iv, 3144, 3268. The pensions were paid, Treas. Accts., x, 354, 401. There is no evidence for a Royal College project.
1244 Where a pulpit was built for Syme; City of Edin., Old Accounts, i, 177.
1245 Pollen, Papal Negotiations, p. 416.
1246 Register of the Privy Council, ii, 528-9.
Theology

On the death of John Mair, the new dean of the theological faculty was John Grierson, Dominican provincial. As can be seen from his library remains, he was a learned man, well read in the Fathers, besides being a student of Cajetan and Erasmus. With him in command of the faculty it is not surprising to find another friar, Richard Marshall, prominent also, from 1551 on. On the eve of the Reformation Marshall still held the licentiate's post at St. Mary's. The third or bachelor's post may have been held by another Dominican, John Black, who held the second mastership ("usit to be possessit be ane theolog") at his death.

St. Leonard's appears to have had quite a revival as a theological centre. In 1550 David Guild or James Wilkie were ordered to read twice or thrice weekly on the bible or the Sentences, and next year Guild was actually commenting the epistle to the Ephesians. After the deaths of Law and Annand, Duncanson would be the main theologian at St. Leonard's, but others are found: Adam Heriot canon at St Andrews,

1247 Mentioned as such in 1553 (see Manderston Ms, cited in App. A) and in 1559 (Patrick, Statutes, p.163).
1249 Acta Rectorum, ii, 41, 44.
1250 R.M.S. p.759.
1251 Laing's Knox, ii, 594. Richard Smith was public reader in St. Mary's in 1553, Acta Rectorum, ii, 44).
1252 St. Leonard, p.203; Liber Comp. Coll. Leon., f.12r.
bachelor of theology, George Traill, licentiate, and Patrick Cockburn, reader in sacred letters. Cockburn had come to theology late and is said to have been professor of languages at Paris. Some account has already been given of theologians at St. Salvator's.

Some criticism of the faculty at this time is naturally to be found in Foxe and Knox, but exceptionally little about its personnel. It seems that a great hue and cry was raised against Richard Marshall (for saying that the Lord's Prayer should be said to God alone) by a St Andrews Franciscan called "Tottis". University preaching is often mentioned at this period, no doubt under the stimulus of heresy. Sermons by Winram and John Spittall were said to be "penned to offend no man." Marshall seems to have been a very effective preacher. But the heresy trials of Adam Wallace in 1550 and of the old man, Walter Mill, in 1558, won the faculty some odium.

The Reformation

On the 28th June 1559 the bursar of the arts


1254 E.g. in Acts and Monuments, v,pp.636 seq.
1255 Ibid.,v,641 seq. The sermon was given on 1st Nov.,1551. The name should obviously be Cottis (Patrick, Statutes,p.97.)

1256 Dickinson’s Knox,i,93
1257 Called "verbi dei preconem egregium" and "ecclesiasten insignem" in Acta Rectorum,ii,41,44.

1258 Foxe, loc.cit.
faculty held his audit. No regents were present from St. Salvator's, but the bedellus in the name of Thomas Smeaton of that college asked that the faculty funds be equally divided in three among the three colleges. The dean did not wish to innovate, and so the request was refused, and the money was divided among eight regents and the bedellus. The university was at a standstill for a time.

St. Leonard's seems to have conformed to a man. St. Mary's may have done likewise apart from the two Dominicans on the foundation: and Douglas had a share in drawing up the Reformers' Book of Discipline. Only in St. Salvator's is there evidence of organised resistance. Cranston and Simson were still in office there in April, 1559, but they were probably deposed. Cranston made arrangements for parcelling the college goods among various friends and chaplains, especially church valuables. One of these was Maitland of Lethington whom Buchanan accuses of receiving them, from, as he says the "haly Doctor Cranstoun." Cranston's reputation at home is mentioned by Knox in a letter to Calvin; people believed that he had once

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1259 Barsar's En., f.44v. The signatories are Rutherford as dean, Wilkie from St. Leonard's, Arbuthnot from St. Mary's and two Hamiltons from the same college.
1260 Laing's Knox, ii,128. As also Winram.
1261 St. Salvator's Writs, SE(1)4.5.
1262 Ibid., SAP9/2 in App.D: Vernacular Writings, p.44. An enquiry was held later into the disposition of these goods and his nephew freed from the charge of receiving them, Balcarres Papers(in Nat.Lib. of Scotland), ff.143r seq.
beaten Calvin in argument. He went to France and on returning to St. Andrews a few years later was threatened with excommunication by the Kirk Session unless he recanted his previous teaching in the parish pulpit on the sacrament. He died shortly afterwards. Simson also went to France and is found in Paris records continuously thereafter. One of the regents, Edmund Hay, joined the Jesuits. The overall picture, however, is of conformity to the Reformation.

Hamilton's plans for the defence of orthodoxy in the university, although more strenuous than is often imagined, did not in the end succeed. Although not found very much in the university picture, the real power in the city, especially once the Reformation had begun, and probably also when the decisive events of 1559-1560 were in preparation, was in the hands of the prior, the half-brother of Mary, Queen of Scots, and leading member of the Lords of Congregation. By his foundation, Hamilton had attempted to make further provision for the relatively poor student; and he tried to attract the nobility, who may have felt that up-to-date instruction was not available at home, but whose

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1263 Laing's Knox, p.134.
1264 St. Andrews Kirk Session Register, i,169-71. There are several references to his French visits, e.g. Calendar of Scottish Papers, i,560; and for his death, ibid., p.633.
1265 E.g. examining theological candidates at the Sorbonne, 1561, 15th April, Paris, Archives Nationales, MM 249, f.124v.
1266 Pollen, Papal Negotiations, p.479, where he is given as a bachelor.
habit of studying overseas or of not studying at all, was too ingrained. He also legislated for monks and others to study at St Andrews; and, apart from canons regular, some monks can undoubtedly be found there. Moreover, he gained royal protection for the university in 1555. His refoundation of St. Mary's college, in the buildings which his coat of arms can still be seen, broke for a time the monopoly of St. Salvator's, but exacerbated the mood of bitter college rivalry. Nevertheless, although there was no foundation as such for the "tongues" as at many other universities abroad, many of his appointments were enlightened, and although his hopes came crashing to the ground, he must be judged by what he attempted rather than, in the unstable circumstance of the times, by what he achieved.

1367 See Rutherford appointment in App.D. Some noblemen are recorded, e.g. E.Rece., p.257.
1368 Glenluce (E.Rece., p.256), Arbroath (pp.256, 261), Lindsurs (Festwater, p.256), Scone (Carnuth, p.256), Fulford (p.258), Coupar Angus (Moncur, p.259), Paisley (p.260), Balmerino (Yester, p.263), Dunfermline (Lib. Comp. Coll. Leonard, f.Ir).
1369 R.S.S., iv, 2937. Its previous privileges were also ratified.
Chapter 2

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

The possibility of another university centre in Scotland apart from St. Andrews had already been envisaged by James I in 1426, when he considered transferring that university to Perth. James II may still have had his father's scheme in mind when he gave his royal approval to the new proposal for a university at Glasgow. It would appeal to him as a way of contributing to the solution of urgent problems of State, many of which rose from the turbulence of an ill-educated and disloyal nobility, who yet were the traditional legal administrators—the Crawfords, the Livingstones, and, in the west of Scotland, the powerful earl of Douglas and his followers. Before long the highlands too were again to be a scene of trouble. There were advantages in the particularisation of university teaching. It meant the encouragement of learning in the immediate neighbourhood, the establishment of particular centres of learning. Against this consideration was the real danger that St. Andrews would be enfeebled, or that the numbers would be so small that the quality of teaching and learning in the new university would

1 Durkan, J. William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, p.57.
2 Ibid., p.48.
be seriously vitiated. The opinion of John Mair, a weighty one, seems to be that the disadvantages outweighed the advantages, but that the physical nature of Scotland made it inevitable.\(^3\) It is too a strange fact that the separatist movement was led by men who were notable in their time for their sagacious judgment, Bishops Turnbull, Elphinstone, and, although his scheme was only on paper, Reid. Like the State, the Church was faced with a pressing practical problem. The great schism had been healed, but disrespect for ecclesiastical authority and even traces of Lollard views lingered on, more particularly in the west. The impulse to reform had been given by the Council of Basle, in spite of the moral inadequacy of many who attended that council. The foundation of St. Andrews had furthermore undermined the privileged position of the bishopric of Glasgow.\(^4\) The new foundation would help to maintain Glasgow's prestige, which James had already attempted to do in 1450 by augmenting her trading privileges and increasing the personal standing of Turnbull.\(^5\) But the king's part in the scheme, though real, would be easy to overestimate. The bishop was a persuasive and influential personality, a servant of State and a

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3 Major, History of Greater Britain, p. 29.
4 Mackie, History, p. 6.
5 Mackie, History, pp. 6-7.
man of learning, who had been dean of arts at St. Andrews, associated with reform as well as a convinced champion of papal authority.

It remained to obtain the papal consent. Nicholas V could not be another Benedict XIII, grasping at any straw to advance his damaged authority. But his position was not unassailable, and James's petition received a ready hearing. In its general lines the bull of foundation issued on the 7th January, 1451, follows common form. Yet it undoubtedly incorporates in part the Scottish supplication, which was sponsored by James alone, and not by the bishop or the Three Estates. The usual reasons were advanced by the king for the foundation, but the pope claims to be impressed with the claims of Glasgow as an educational centre, not only for the town itself, but also for all Scotland and the neighbouring countries. In point of fact, it was not as rich in prosperous burghs as the eastern diocese; nor was the city a busy trading centre nor a leading Scottish burgh, nor indeed did it have a very populous immediate hinterland. The new university was to have faculties of theology, canon and civil law and arts or "any other lawful faculty", and no doubt this arrangement was exactly

6 A.F.A., f. 10r shows him as dean of arts at St. Andrews in 1430.
7  Manienta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis, i, 9-5. The introduction to the bull conforms with slight variations to the bull of Alexander VI for Aberdeen, and to the Indult of Boniface IX for Cologne. Bianco, Die Alte Universitat Koeln, Anlagen, p. 126.
in accordance with the king's petition. Its doctors, masters, readers and students were to enjoy the same privileges as those in the university of Bologna, but the power of the Rectors of Bologna was not to be invested in the Rector of Glasgow, but in the chancellors, in Bishop Turnbull and his successors "Rectors called chancellors". There is a curious absence of mention of Paris in the bull. It would be unusual if the Bologna model was suggested by Nicholas. It must be remembered that Turnbull was not a student at Paris, that he had studied in Italy, at Pavia, and would know something of Bologna too. There is the consideration also that Bologna was the model university for jurists, and, whatever may have eventually happened, Glasgow was destined by both king and bishop as a centre of legal study.

WILLIAM TURNBULL: CHANCELLOR 1451-1454

The bull of Nicholas V was not published in Glasgow until nearly six months later, on the 20th June. According to the Auchinleck Chronicle it "was

8 *Turnbull*, p.16.

9 The two main sources for the university's history in the Middle ages are the Ms "Annales Universitatis" or Liber Rectoris, and the "Annales Collegii Facultatis Artium" or Liber Decani. (Published with slight omissions in *M.A.U.G.*, iii,517). They have now disappeared. They were probably the accounts of the arts faculty bursar. It is probable that the early "Book of Conclusions" from which the first university and faculty acts seem to be taken, recorded congregations separately from matriculations. See later note.
proclamit at the croce of Glasqw, on the Trinite sonda the xx day of June. And on the morne, that was cryit
ane gret indulgence, gevin to Glasqw at the request of
thaim forsaid, be pap Nycholas, as it war the yer of
Grace, and with all indulgens that thei mycht haf in
Rome.\textsuperscript{10} Law, the other chronicler, also links the foun-
dation with the 1450 jubilee indulgence: "There came the
privileges of the university of Glasgow, with the fullest
indulgences given by Pope Nicholas at the request of the
king and William Trumbyl, bishop of the same."\textsuperscript{11} The
terms of the Holy Year indulgence were simple. An
offering of one quarter of the expense of the journey to
Rome was to be made on the high altar of the cathedral.
This was to be divided in three. A third was to go to
the repair and "general utility" of the cathedral.
In the light of the chroniclers' words it would seem in
view of the comparatively minor changes made to the
cathedral building in this episcopate, that much of the money
was to be appropriated in fact to the university of which
Turnbull and his successors were the "Rectors called
chancellors".

\textsuperscript{10} Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 16-17,45.
\textsuperscript{11} Scootorum Chronica Brevia, by John Law, O.S.A., f.128 v.
\textsuperscript{12} Glasgow, ii, 380-3. All who hoped to gain the indulgence had
other conditions to fulfil, including confession of their sins to one
of four confessors, Bishop Turnbull, the abbot of Melrose, Andrew
de Durisdeer and Robert de Essy or their deputies. Turnbull,
pp.30 and 33.
THE FIRST UNIVERSITY CONGREGATION

The first meeting of the university was the "general chapter" of the university held about the same time in the chapter house of the Dominicans in the High Street. It may have been on this occasion, or on the Trinity Sunday itself, that the homily, perhaps a sermon ad clericum, that forms the preface to the statutes of both the university and the faculty of arts was delivered. If so, the preacher pointed out that "to them in the cold, dark and more distant parts of the north" (distant alike from Rome and Bologna) had come down "the light, the wisdom which is the mother of all, surrounded on all sides by the splendours of the sciences and the virtues." The university was founded on a firm rock" at the time when a universal indulgence was granted to the church of Glasgow ... by the most holy lord pope Nicholas V and procured by the reverend father in Christ and lord, William Turnbull, bishop of the same church, with great labours and at much expense." The aim was that the first "shoots" of the university should begin

13 M.A.U.C., ii p.55

The university statutes were written into the Liber Rectoris in 1490. They were however drawn up in January 1483, and some were in existence already, probably in the "little paper book" into which they were at first entered before their transfer to the present vellum volume. The dating of the arts statutes is discussed elsewhere. The faculty version is apparently the earlier version of the sermon, and does not refer to the other magnificent privileges graciously and laudably granted by the most illustrious princes of the realm of Scotland and the distinguished pontiffs of the see of Glasgow of good memory". M.A.U.C., ii, 4. Other phrases in both versions show that some phrases have been translated to the past tense before entry into the "old paper book". See editor's note, M.A.U.C., ii, p.xi. The old paper book was probably compiled in 1438.
with clean and sound doctrine and pass it on to their successors, and by the remission of all their sins be made perfectly clean. He associates "the dawn of wisdom" with "the day of grace", the university foundation and the indulgence. "O day of wisdom", he exclaims, "O splendour of grace which with its brilliance sets bounds to the darkness of malice and ignorance. O lovable and unquenchable light which in this world we must drink in with innocent eyes until the everlasting noonday shall bring warmth and eternal refreshment to us."

At this congregation took place the first incorporations. They include only two names mentioned in the early records of the faculty of arts, the first dean of faculty and one student. The rest must have intended either to teach or to study in theology or law. In the theological faculty records, if they existed, we should be able to find details of the further careers of the Abbot of Kilwinning and two of his monks and of the Augustinian prior of Blantyre. In the same way, the

15 M.A.U.G., ii, 21-22, 4. I have paraphrased the last sentence, "O lumen amabile et inextinguibile puris interim hauriendum oculis donec plenororis meridies incaelescat." I have argued elsewhere that this is the work of Andrew of Durisdeer, but this cannot be regarded as certain (Turnbull, p.40).

16 William Elphinstone, senior, as dean, and Alexander Kersane, determinant of 1452, ibid., ii, 181.
records of the faculty of canon law would account for some of the other names. Of the forty names recorded between this date and the 17th August only three appear in the early records of the faculty of arts. In a way, as its future development showed, the foundation at Glasgow was complementary to that of St. Andrews, where the new school of St. Salvator was a school limited to theology and arts. Both Bishop Turnbull and James II particularly wanted a school of law, but, as the sermon abovequoted shows, it was believed that sound theology above all that was the answer of orthodoxy to the malice of Lollards, and the rebellious barons associated with them, against both Church and State: "happy the soul that fear incites to wisdom ... the fear of the Lord turns aside from the evil of unwise and opposes itself to the darkness".

17 To take some examples: Patrick Leitch, chancellor, graduated at St. Andrews and was a bachelor in decrees of Rome (E. Reca, p 4; Dunlop, Scottish Supplications to Rome, ii, 173); David Mairn studied arts and canon law at Paris (Auctarium, ii, col. 116; C.P.R., viii, 437); Simon Dalgleish was a bachelor in decrees (Scot. Reca., 35); William Gowan, a very old man, studied at Avignon (C.P.R., Pet., i, 579, 595); Gilbert Park was a bachelor in decrees (Turnbull, p.49); John Arrows was a doctor in decrees (C.P.R., x, 203); Robert de Essy, M.A., Lic. theol. (C.P.R., viii, 578; Keusem, Hatrikel, i, 312); Stephen Ker, M.A., B.C.L. (E. Reca, p.3; C.P.R., viii, 575); John Inwicks, B. Dec. (Glasgow, ii, 405). Some others are noted under their respective faculties.

18 Kennedy, pp. 276-7. This view is described as "special pleading" in Mackie, History, p.6, but perhaps this scepticism is mainly directed against the suggested consultation between Kennedy and Turnbull.

19 "Felix anima quam timor incitat ad sapientiam .... Timor Domini declinat a malo insipienie, tenebris se opposit." M.A.U.G., ii, 21, also ii, 4. I have already mentioned that Fitwolph's Sermo contra Armento was in the cathedral library; in it there is a remarkable meditation on the theme "Via, Veritas, Vita" (printed in Historisk Filologiske Meddelser, xxvi, art. by Hummerich, p.18 seq.)
Rector and Officials

The first mention of the Rector is on the 19th November, when a general congregation was held. He may have been appointed or elected in the first general congregation. On the 16th September, 1452, in the presence of the bishop, the first recorded election took place. The date is not the statutory one, and the election may well have been brought forward to suit Turnbull's convenience. The meeting was held, however, with the consent of the university, and for the first time members were divided into nations, four intrants from which met for consultations and re-elected David Cadzow. No procurators are mentioned, but it may be presumed that the intrants are given in order. These 'nations' were Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Albany and Rothesay. The procedure of the 1453 election is more clearly specified. It takes place on the statutory day, the feast of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, October 25th. The place is again the cathedral chapter house. The mode of election is via spiritus sancti. On this occasion the intrants agreed and publicly pronounced Thomas Cameron, canon of Glasgow, as the new Rector. The retiring Rector, Cadzow, as an adherent of Douglas and Hamilton, might

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20 This entry has been printed as "Magister David Cadzow rector universitatis subdecanus" (ibid., ii, 57). The title "subdecanus" clearly goes with the following name. (ibid., ii, 58).

21 In which case M. Thomas Cameron represents Clydesdale; M. John Arrous, Teviotdale; M. Gilbert Park, Albany; and D. Alexander Mcculene, Rothesay. But Park represents Clydesdale in 1453 (M.A.U.G. ii, 62). A procurator is mentioned quite incidentally then.
not have been popular at this time, but nevertheless his acts were duly ratified.

The Rector's position seems now to have been strengthened. This congregation was held to provide the university with the necessary symbols of its dignity. He now has a room in the university precincts. No deputies were appointed at the 1452 election, but they are appointed now, nine in all, including the dean of the arts faculty. The murder of William, Earl of Douglas, by the king had taken place on 22nd February, 1453, and on the 17th March Lord Hamilton ravaged the king's town of Stirling in revenge. The bishop supported King James, and 800 marks, part of the revenue of the Glasgow indulgences, were used to finance the royal campaign. In return £100 per year, and other unrecorded royal revenues, probably not easy to collect, were diverted to the bishop's hands. The king on the 20th April granted a charter of exemption to the university. This exempted all members from the usual taxes and services as long as they were not prelates - Rectors, deans of faculties, procurators of nations, regents, masters, bedelli, scribes, stationers, parchment-makers.

22 Turnbull, pp. 47-8.
and scholars. It follows word for word James I's charter to St. Andrews.

The moment was ripe for an approach to the bishop to regularise the Rector's position. He had made use of the university's funds, and no doubt was open to persuasion. The university met again on the 6th November. It decided on the making of a common seal. The design would include the figure of St. Kentigern, patron of the diocese, on his right a hand holding a book, and on his left a fish with a ring in its mouth, surrounded with the inscription, Sigillum commune universitatis Glasguensis. For the Rector's use there was to be a signet ad causas, with the fish and ring only, inscribed Signetum rectoris universitatis Glasguensis. A special rectorial habit was also envisaged, to be worn on certain important feasts. A common arca or chest with four locks, the keys to be kept by the four procurators of nations, was also decided on and in it were to be kept the secrets of the university. A decision regarding the action to be taken regarding the Rector's jurisdiction in cases referred to him seems

23 M.A.U.G., i, 6.

The seal described here is different from the earliest surviving seal (1581), which is much more elaborate. This has a mace in pale, in base a salmon to sinister embowed with a ring, above this an open book and motto round the top Via Veritas Vita; in the dexter flank two branches in saltire, a bird above, in the sinister flank a handbell. The legend begins at the dexter base. Stevenson and Wood, Scottish Heraldic Seals, i, 165.

Unfortunately not a single sealed document from pre-Reformation times survives. The motto is probably pre-Reformation, however, and the mace was embodied on the signet of 1483.
to have been postponed.24 It was however, decided to ensure the Rector's position in his rectorial court by sending him and Alexander Geddes, monk of Melrose, to the chancellor. They were to procure the sealing of the university's privileges as recognised by both bishop and chapter on the one side, and the city's provost and bailies on the other. The other two nations, Albany and Rothesay, supported the embassy and asked that their personal expenses be paid till their return. Whether the original document was in fact witnessed by the provost and bailies we do not know, nor has any book of town records survived from the period. But at Glasgow, on the 1st December following, the bishop and chapter granted the university's request.25 This grant is analysed in detail elsewhere; here it suffices to record that, in theory anyway, it establishes firmly the Rector's jurisdiction in cases affecting the university body.

Other officers were in existence also at this time. Deputies or assessors to meet every

24 This was the original third article at the October meeting. In the record of the November meeting the editor has altered "tertium" to "seconum", but this paragraph refers not only to the second article of the 6th November, but to the original third article of the 25th October.
25 M.A.D.C., i. 7-9. This is printed from a copy in the Liber Rectoris.
Thursday In the Rector's house at two in the afternoon are mentioned on 19th November 1451. A bedellus, John de Moffat, was incorporated on the opening day. The official incorporation of members of the staff of the faculty of arts took place on the 23rd September, before the statutory opening of the 19th October has been fixed. A receiver or bursar is not mentioned at this stage: and the four keys of the university archa or chest were at this time in the hands of the four procurators of the "nations" of Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Albany and Rothesay. The Rector and his assessors at their Thursday meetings had obviously drawn up some statutes and these were entered in a paper book. How far these were based on Bologna usage, as specified in the papal bull, we have no means of knowing.

The names of the four nations show that it was intended to draw students if possible from all over Scotland. From the beginning students from Glasgow diocese naturally predominated, however. Some are at the grammar school and this seems to be the meaning of "scolaris". Some are qualified, as one

26 M.A.U.G., ii, 57.
27 Ibid., ii, 55. The editor has been at pains to alter the position of certain entries. The entry for the 16th March 1451, (ibid., ii, 57), refers of course to March 1451-2, and should have been printed after the entry "Reginaldus monachus" (It is correctly placed in the Liber Rectoris, p. 30). Similarly the entry for 2 January 1452 (ii, 58; MS., pp. 30-1) is also out of place.

The list of incorporations in M.A.U.G., ii, 67, Patrick Houston to William Haliburton, is quite plainly misplaced. This list is discussed later.

28 In 1453, six from Glasgow, one each from Argyll, St. Andrews and Galloway. M.A.U.G., ii, 61-2.
would expect, as clerics. The exact whereabouts of the grammar school at this date is uncertain. It has been suggested that the "scholae canonum" referred to occasionally in the university records are to be identified with a school of the vicars choral, later known as the Old Pedagogy, in the Rottenrow on the south side. It can, however, be shown from fresh evidence that the house called the Old Pedagogy only came into the hands of the vicars choral in the fifteenth century; in 1410 it belonged to a Glasgow burgess and was sold by him to a vicar of the choir, who turned it over to the body of the vicars some time later to establish an obit which he had founded. Either he or the vicars rented it as a pedagogy to the regents until in February 1464 or 1476 they sold it to Gilbert Rerik, the archdeacon. In December 1478 it is described as "the tenement which was formerly called the Pedagogy." This is the first building connected with the university of which we have certain knowledge.

29 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 59. The first actual mention of the grammar school in records is on 2nd December, 1458 when some scholars appear as witnesses to a deed by the chancellor, "Georgio masona, leone Brady, Johanne burale, Patricio Caldwell, Roberto de caldwell, patricio wyisched, scolaribus tunc temporis scola grammatical is glasguensis". "Liber Ruber", f. 5 recto. (General Reg. House).

30 Mackie, History, p. 27, note 9.

31 "Tenementum... quod alias Petigogium vocabatur". Glasgow, ii, 437. In 1457 there was only a single pedagogy, and this may have been the Rottenrow one. M.A.U.C., ii, 191.
Traditionally, however, as has been pointed out afresh recently, the university has been associated with the High Street from the beginning. The Dominicans had a school within their precincts. This school may have been rented. In 1453 money was spent on its repair, but the phraseology suggests that, as far as the arts faculty went, the school was only used for general acts and not for class lectures, and the "repair" seemed to have consisted only in suitable furnishings, benches for the distinguished visitors and a chair for the presiding master. Nevertheless it is probable that formal university lectures were also delivered at the beginning in the High Street. It is not in itself improbable, at least in the years preceding 1460, the building which was later donated by Lord Hamilton. But Hamilton, as a Douglas adherent, was not continuously favourable to Bishop Turnbull, and therefore may not always have backed his schemes. The Dominicans had to agree to a reversion upon the tenement gifted to them, and it may have been occupied for a time

33 Mackie, History, p. 46.
34 Turnbull, p. 60. It was a school for the "liberal arts" and still existed as such in 1476, and apparently also in 1487 when all friars are to be present at an obit, "illis fratribus ... in lecture aut studio tempore celebracionis ... exceptis". L.C.N.D. p. 199)
after Turnbull's death by Gavin Hamilton in whose favour the reversion was executed. But we shall discuss this more fully later.

Actual payments of fees are not recorded in this period, but were presumably in accordance with statute, except that a group of religious incorporated at the beginning are recorded as not paying any, which was in contravention of statute (at any rate at a later date). The money payable by the king in return for his allowance from the jubilee indulgence ceased after Turnbull's death. Indeed his early death at Glasgow three years after the university's foundation damaged its immediate future in a way it is not now possible to calculate.

The Faculty of Theology.

No recorded proceedings of a faculty of theology have come down to us. It is impossible to say whether they existed, and without them we can only make a conjectural reconstruction of what may have existed. These acts were presumably in the hands of

36 M.A.H.G., i, 14. The reversion is dated the 1st February, 1454-5. On February 26th, the examination for mastership was opened "before the time laid down by the faculty (of arts) and this because of obviously great necessity and utility". Ibid., ii, 185. This was also true of the previous year. Ibid., ii, 183-4. The history of these buildings is discussed at length in Appendix B.

37 Ibid., ii, 35. The others have "soluit" after their names.

38 It was due to be paid for ten years. The payments from rents in Arran undoubtedly ceased, and the bishop's heirs and executors could not obtain these, nor does the King seem to have been more successful in eliciting them. Exch. Rolls, v, preface, and vi, 12.
the dean of the theological faculty at the Reformation, although there is never a mention of such a dignitary in the whole course of the university’s history; perhaps he was dispensed with, as he also appears to have been at Aberdeen.

What information we have comes from the statutes, the foundation bull and the Rector’s book. No particular weight can be attached to the reference in the statutes. The bull mentions four faculties explicitly — theology, canon law, civil law and arts, following no doubt the petition of Turnbull. We are left to fall back, as at St. Andrews (which has at least the faculty statutes, not in the original version it is true, but substantially identical), on the sparse indications in the Rector’s book. It would be rash on this evidence to postulate anything more than a very small theological faculty, or even to be quite certain that, in this attenuated and undistinguished form, it had an unbroken history.

In September 1451 at least three theologians were incorporated, two Cistercians, Alexander Geddes, licentiate in theology, monk of Melrose, and David Hardgate, bachelor, monk of Newbattle. Of these

39 Masters took oath that they would strive for peace and concord among the four faculties, and especially the faculty of theology (M.A.U.C., ii, 31). St. Andrews has an identical statute, except that “observabunt” replaces “procurabunt”.

40 M.A.U.C., ii, 57; Turnbull, p.36.
Hardgate shortly afterwards went to St. Andrews. Robert Essy was a licentiate. Duncan Bunch may not have been a bachelor in theology at this time, but was certainly so by 1471 and may have gained the degree at Glasgow. Geddes, Hardgate and Bunch were all at Cologne.

In 1453 we have the incorporation of Adam Cockburn, licensed in arts at St. Andrews in 1446 and a student of theology at Paris in 1452. His fellow student, John Crichton, canon of Glasgow, may likewise have studied theology. Both were received to the arts faculty and like the theologians at St. Andrews may have done some arts lecturing as well. In addition, there are several religious among the incorporated members.

**Law**

The bull also authorised the teaching of canon and civil law, and it may have been one of the four

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41 On the 4th December, 1452, "Dominus David Hardgate, monachus de Newbotyl" was owing money for a student in theology, Alexander Turner. It may be, however, that Hardgate taught theology before he went to Glasgow, and that he still owed for his former student. (A.F.A., f.37v).
42 M.A.U.G., ii, 58. As noted earlier.
43 C.P.R., xii, 379.
44 Keussen, Matrikel, i, 314, 445, 467.
45 M.A.U.G., ii, 61,182; Durli Recs., p.25; Chartularium, iv, 737. Among "curassores theologie" is "Mag. Adam Colibum" (sic).
At Glasgow the following religious are also recorded: 1451 - William Boyd, abbot of Kilwinning, John Spark and Robert White, monks; William Fressell, prior of Blantyre; Reginald, monk. 1452 - Friar John Blenk, Trinitarian of Failford. (M.A.U.G., ii, 55-62).
faculties mentioned in the university statutes we have just cited. Some "ancient statutes" concerning the faculty of canon law were in existence in 1490. Schools of canon law existed, as has already been said. A chaplainry connected with the readership was founded in 1463, and not transferred absolutely to the support of a regent in arts till 1522. On the other hand, as with theology, no faculty book survives, and, in view of the average annual incorporations into the university, it cannot be said to have been a flourishing school, although it is greatly to the credit of the men of those times that it was attempted at all.

As to the date on which teaching began we have to rely on the following entry as printed in the Maitland Club edition of the university muniments:

"Memorandum that on the 29th July, 1460, the venerable man Master David Cadzow, chanter of the church of Glasgow, and rector of the mother university, at nine o'clock in the morning in the chapter-house of the Friars Preachers, read to all the clerics and masters therein congregated, the title or rubric of the third book, that is "Of the life and good estate of clerics", and continued at the will of his hearers: and Master William de Levenax on the same day the rubric of the civil law in

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46 M.A.U.G., ii, 19. The phrase "common law" is mistakenly used by the editor in this connection (Ibid., ii, page v).
47 Muckle, History, p. 27.
the same chapter-house." 48

This crucial passage is surely somewhat surprising. It seems incredible, if Bishop Turnbull had meant his university to be a school of law, that effective teaching should have been postponed till 1460. The date rouses suspicion, even if it can be confirmed in the manuscript. It has to be borne in mind that the manuscript at this point is a transcript: a transcript made from an earlier manuscript or manuscripts, and made, not by a contemporary, but forty years after the earliest entries. Is it not possible that in reading 1460 the scribe has read "lx" for "ll"? (We have already noted similar carelessness at St. Andrews). Indeed is there any reason at all for believing that this opening lecture took place not in 1460, but on the 29th July, 1451, in the first year of the university's existence?

In the first place, as we have noted, several canon lawyers were unquestionably among those incorporated in June, July or August of that year. In the second place, few of the incorporated members for these opening months are traceable in the arts faculty. Thirdly, Cadezow was Rector, not only in 1460, but in 1451 also. Further, the place of meeting is not decisive, as we are told the initial incorporations also took place in the chapter-house of the Friars Preachers. 49

49 Ibid., ii, 55, 57.
Suspicion deepens when we find that the university members whom the printed record alleges as having been incorporated on that date in 1460 had all quite certainly graduated or left by then. One determined in 1451, four in 1452. Of the four the arts records tell us nothing and one was the bedellus. Pursuing our enquiry and re-examining the manuscript, we find that these incorporations are not entered with the other entries of 1451, and that they have been arbitrarily re-arranged by the editor. Indeed the entry should read not Item eodem die but Item eodem die xxiii. They belong in fact to the 23rd September, 1451, on which day several regents in arts were also incorporated, the record of their incorporation almost immediately preceding it in the manuscript. What entry is interpolated between? The Interpolation is nothing less than the record of the opening lectures in law cited above, entered here with the other 1451 entries and plainly belonging to the year 1451, but inserted as a memorandum because a little out of its place. The editor in his printed edition, misled by the undoubted reading 1460, has transposed the whole section to the year 1460 without further explanation.

There are just two other points that help to confirm the earlier date. If William de Levenex

50 Ibid., ii, 179, 181.
51 Ibid., ii, 37. (In the Ihr Liber Rectoris, pp. 29-30).
began a course of civil law in 1460 he is strangely absent from university records at that time. Indeed he is not found till he returns as Rector in 1473, thirteen years later. That consideration is of course not very decisive. On the other hand, he was among the first incorporations of 1451, described then simply as "bachelor", an unfinished or misinterpreted entry, unless we assume, either that he is the first licentiate in civil law in the university and had taken his licence there before July 1451, as he certainly had by 1453. In 1451 he is already described as Master William Levenex when a member of the university statutes committee, but that, of course, may refer to his mastership in arts and, in any event, bachelors in law were probably described occasionally as masters. The evidence is not decisive therefore for Levenex, but is certainly suggestive.

The other point is perhaps more conclusive. In the passage quoted Cadzow is described as Rector, and this description fits both dates. He is also described as "chanter" (doubtless also in the manuscript from which the 1490 scribe was copying). But in 1460 Cadzow was not chanter, having resigned the post because of old age some years before. In September 1452 in the university records he is still styled

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52 Ibid., ii, 80.
53 Ibid., ii, 56, 63, 62. He was described as Master when witnessing a charter of his sister, Isabel, duchess of Albany in 1446. Fraser, The Lennox, i, 269.
54 Ibid., xi, 49. In 1451 he is qualified as "subdean", but this qualification goes with the following name, Andrew de Durisdeer (Ibid., ii, 57), as is clear in the Ms.
"chanter". On his return to the university in 1459 he is Rector simply, but from 1460-1466 "canon of Glasgow", that is, occupant of the prebend of Durisdeer. References to him as "former chanter" after his death are quite understandable. The chanter of Glasgow from the time of Cadzow's resignation is Simon Dalgleish. Since then the memorandums is to be understood of a time when Cadzow was still chanter, it must precede 1460 in date, and 1451 is the date to which the other converging lines of evidence point.

James II's royal charter refers in general terms to law, but as it merely repeats James I's charter to St. Andrews it can hardly be used as proof. It expressed the hope that the university will produce "men of high purpose .. by whom .. the people of the Christian faith committed to us may be ruled by the rod of equity and justice .. squabbling quarrels may be settled and to each man be rendered what is his due.

Of these first matriculated students in the university two are later found as bachelors in canon law: Martin Wan, who studied in arts first, and John Reston. William Arthurlie, who was one of the arts

55. Ibid., ii, 60.
56. Ibid., ii, 69-72; i, 17; C.P.R., xii, 49. References to Dalgleish as chanter from 1456 onwards are common. (Sect. Hist. Soc. Misc., v, 44; Paisley, p. 344; Glasgow, ii, 415, etc.) He died in 1476 (Ibid., ii, 614.)
57. Ibid., i, 6.
58. For Wan, C.P.R., xiii, 280; for Reston, M.A.U.G., i, 28. Nicholas Graham, regent at Glasgow (Ibid., ii, 192) was a witness in 1465 in the court of the official of St. Andrews; Spalding Club Miscellany, v, 288.
regents, had become a doctor of decreets by 1465. The name of Robert Penven, incorporated in 1452, is found on a legal manuscript which later came into the hands of Bishop Elphinstone. John Yrnhoss and Quintin Weir are on record as bachelors in decreets; Robert Hamilton likewise.

In the face of this evidence, scanty and scattered as it is, it can hardly be doubted that Turnbull did have a project for a school of law at Glasgow, for which there is earlier evidence than of the school of arts of which our records are fortunately much fuller.

The Faculty of Arts

An imperfect list of Glasgow university principals with useful accounts of their careers was drawn up some years ago by Professor Cooper. To supplement this list is a necessary task if the history of the faculty is to be written. While the faculty deans are often more important for its history, at least for the recorded aspects of its history, it is more convenient to summarise the course of events with reference to the principals, who were in office longer anyway.

59. M.A.U.G., ii, 203; C.P.R., xi, 301.
62. C.P.R., x, 652; he was procurator for Lord Hamilton in the transfer of the High Street property to the university (M.A.U.G., i, 12).
63. S.R.R., xi, 252-263, art. "The Principals of the University of Glasgow before the Reformation."
There is not enough information to establish it as a fact, but it is quite likely that the first principal was Alexander Geddes, Cistercian monk of Melrose. Indeed one wonders if Turnbull's original idea may not have been a single pedagogy incorporating representatives of all faculties and presided over by a theologian, much as the St. Andrews Pedagogy had become about this time and not unlike King's College, Aberdeen. Alexander Geddes was, at any rate, incorporated with the rest of the arts staff on the 23rd September, 1451. This is the date of the incorporation, but as few arts students existed before that date, it may not be the date of actual entry into the university. Geddes, and not Bunch, was a member of the statutes committee which produced the original university statutes. He has place of honour on the 2nd November, among the three first regents in arts, although the solemn act of determination was presided over by Bunch. Not being an arts graduate, but having merely such knowledge of arts as fitted him to study theology, he had to obtain the faculty's permission to lecture formally on Aristotle, which supplication the faculty allowed "saving its privileges." He presided at the licence of Patrick Cunningham in 1452, but Bunch presided at his inception. The last mention of him is in November, 1453 and he probably lost the

64. H.A.U.C., ii, 57.
65. Ibid., ii, 58.
66. Ibid., ii, 179.
67. Ibid., ii, 180.
post or left the university at Turnbull's death.

Duncan Bunch: Principal, 1451?

Like Geddes, Bunch had studied at Cologne and in the bursa Laurentiana. He was a pupil there of a fine Latin scholar, Archibald Whitelaw, subsequently secretary of James III. He was originally a Perth man and Turnbull may have got to know him when he was bishop of Dunkeld. He was obviously one of the protégés of John Athilmer at St. Andrews, and like him an Albertist in philosophy. The ideas that fired Athilmer and inspired the foundation of St. Salvator's also fired the young Glasgow regent. Only a pioneer of vision, after the lavish beginnings, could have weathered the catastrophic years that followed.

Bunch's principal colleague as regent was William Arthurlie, who determined at St. Andrews in 1444 and was licensed there four years later. He was signatory to one of the St. Salvator's foundation documents in 1450, being then a priest. It has been suggested that he may have occupied a different pedagogy from Bunch. No doubt he was something of a rival to him, although any acute disharmony has evaded record. He evidently studied canon law while Bunch studied theology, and took his doctorate, presumably

68. Ibid., ii, 63.
71. St. Salvator, p. 60.
under Cadzow, about 1465. He was dean of the arts faculty four times.73

Up till January 1453 we have 27 matriculated members who can also be traced in the faculty, besides one bachelor incorporated from Paris in the same year.74 Out of 32 matriculations, however, between September 1453 and October 1454 there is not a single arts student, although four masters were received to the faculty.75 William ear! of Douglas, was murdered in February 1452 by the king. The Hamiltons were furious and probably withdrew their patronage from Turnbull’s schemes. Straws in the wind, indicating their initial patronage, may be the incorporation of his chaplain in 1451, and even of a Robert Hamilton on the 16th March 1452, the day before the angry Hamiltons laid waste the king's town of Stirling. Furthermore, the indulgence money which Turnbull set aside for the uses of his see was in the event given to the king to conduct his war.

73. He was rector of Hutton, vicar of Kilbirnie (in the presentation of Paisley abbey) and stallar of Bothwell (patron, Lord Hamilton). Ibid., ii.74,83,196,218,225. He was still alive in 1478 (ibid., ii,227). Cf. Paisley, pp. 313, 318.
74. Before Sept., 1451, 2 only (out of a considerable number); M.A.U.G., ii, 55-6; in Sept., 7 (out of 19), Ibid., ii,57,67 (the latter misplaced in printed edition); in March, 1452, 7 (out of 11), Ibid., ii, 57; in July 6 (out of 14), Ibid., ii,59; in Nov., 2 (ibid.,ii,58); in Jan., 1453, 3 (out of 12), Ibid., ii,59. George Crichton, bachelor of Paris was received in 1453 (ibid., ii, 183.
75. Ibid., ii, 183-4.
against the Douglas adherents. If the faculty already had use of the Hamilton property before the actual donation of 1460, then it is reasonable to deduce that the use of it may have been discontinued at some time in this period. 1453 was certainly a critical year for the faculty.

Difficulties were not eased by an outbreak of violent plague in 1455, and possibly by the fact that James II conducted a campaign against the Hamiltons in that year. On the 11th December, two bachelors humbly asked the faculty, out of fear of the plague and because they courted death by remaining, to remit the seven months further study that the licence required. Study had already ceased and all their work and expense might count for nothing, as the end of the plague might not come for a long time. Examiners were appointed, notwithstanding the ordinances and statutes of the faculty. It had already been necessary because of "great need and evident utility" to open the examination earlier in 1454 and 1455. Debts for renting the pedagogy were repaid in part in 1457.

76. Turnbull, p.43. John Mousfeld is Hamilton's chaplain (M.A.U.G., ii,56; C.P.R.,x,97). Robert Hamilton went on to St. Andrews (M.A.U.G.,ii,57; E.Recs.,p.34). There is, however, another Hamilton who later took a prominent part in the transfer of the Hamilton property to the university, incorporated in May, 1453 (Ibid.,ii,61).

77. M.A.U.G.,ii,187-8. The date given for the opening of the examination for licence, the morrow of St. John Baptist, was the date of the dean's election, which preceded the examination by a week (Ibid.,ii,184). For the king's campaign against Hamilton, see Dunlop, Kennedy, pp.154-5.

The Faculty Statutes.

The faculty book is less reliable for the years 1451 to 1477 (the 3rd July), as we have indicated. Up to that point it is a transcript of an earlier book. The records for the years 1510 till 1535 are missing and there is little to fill in the gaps in our information. This is the "Liber Decani".

The statutes book goes back to the very origins of the university and the faculty. It is either that which the faculty ordered Duncan Bunch to inscribe on parchment or else a faithful copy of it; if the former, its date goes back to July, 1452. The original statutes, prior to subsequently entered conclusions, are all in the same hand, and are certified at the end by his initials, "d.b."; which the editor has misread (not inappropriately) as "Deus benedicatur", instead of the more workaday "Duncan Bunch". The only statute that tells against this conclusion is Title One, where we are told that the mass of the Holy Spirit would be held "at the time or resumption of ordinary lectures on the first of October" and that ordinary lectures would last from the feast of St. Michael to the feast of St. Giles abbot exclusively, and that furthermore the mass would be held in the cathedral. But these

79. Ibid., ii, 179.
80. Ibid., ii, 37.
81. Ibid., ii, 22-3.
entries prove on examination to have been tampered with. The original entries can be re-established from the university statutes, from which we gather that the statutory date for ordinary lectures was originally the morrow of St. Luke (19th October) lasting till the vigil of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (13th September), and the original place of meeting for mass can be glimpsed faintly under the erasure in the Bunch manuscript - "the church of the Friars Preachers."

Not all congregations are recorded in the Liber Decani. Some were given permanence in the Statutes book. Certain faculty statutes are recorded in the excerpts from the ancient "Book of Conclusions", which may, like the Paris procurator's book, have incorporated university and faculty acts within the same covers.

It is clear from the muniments that statutory dates were observed: the first day of the ordinary was the morrow of St. Luke, when there was mass in the Dominican church, followed by a congregation in the same precincts and the senior master's opening disputation; the meeting for receiving determinants was on the 2nd November; for electing the dean on the 25th June; and for the examination for licence on the 2nd July.

82. Ibid., ii, 16-17.
83. Ibid., ii, 37-42.
84. Ibid., 17-19.
85. Ibid., ii, 25, 182; 26, 179 (sometimes there is a few days variation); 23, 27, 189 (the statutes give the 3rd July.)
The quodlibetarius was also elected on the 19th October, though his disputation actually took place in December. The regents also chose books then. After 1468 there is no record of the faculty congregation in the Dominican church, but like the rest of the arts congregations it was held in the lower chapter-house of the cathedral. Other illustrations could be cited confirming the view that the statutes we now have are the originals as drawn up by Duncan Bunch in 1452.

A faculty seal was decided on in 1455, and was used in 1457. It consisted of: Centre: a hand holding a book; Dexter: a salmon; Sinister: a bird; and bore the legend, "Seal of the faculty of arts of the university of Glasgow." No faculty deeds, apart from those registered in books have survived from pre-Reformation days, so that we have no sample of this seal. In 1452 a faculty cope was authorised, to be financed from the common purse, the cloth to be bought by the dean and John Young, vicar of Stobo. Cloth was expensive, and in 1453 suitable robes for determination were only required of rich students; the others had to have one decent set between them. Later each student at determination and Lenten responsions had to have a suitable set of his own or another's.

86. Meetings in the chapter-house are recorded in 1452 and 1455 (Ibid.,ii,37,188). Unfortunately not all inaugural meetings are recorded, but generally speaking after 1467, the morrow of St. Luke was abandoned.
87. Ibid.,ii,186.
88. Ibid.,ii,180.
89. Ibid.,ii,182-3.
There is a certain amount of information regarding faculty finance, not very complete. On the dean's appointment in 1451 he held the purse, containing £1 9s. Arthurlie may have followed as bursar, but his appointment is not recorded, though he made way on the statutory day in 1453 for the chancellor of the diocese.

The principal faculty dues were one noble from determinants, twelve shillings from licentiates and three from masters. Fees were charged for dispensation from the two years of lecture after licence. In 1453 the burse contained five nobles Scots and tenpence: in practice the fee of one noble was often reduced to ten shillings. Occasionally books were pledged. Cautions were frequently given for payment, and there were several bad debts. In 1452, Patrick Cunningham seems to be specially favoured, for he did not make the statutory payment for bachelorship, having been promoted in St. Andrews; while he was dispensed lecture on swearing to pay one mark before the next Glasgow market-day, for which he placed his hands in the bursar's in solemn oath. In 1453 the bedellus demanded the same fee as at St. Andrews. There was

90. Ibid., ii, 178.
91. Ibid., ii, 182.
92. Ibid., ii, 30. The manuscript reads, "Item quilibet intrane pro magisterio soluet burse facultatis xii solidos, bedello vii denarios."
93. Ibid. A Scots noble at this time seems to be worth 11s 4d.
94. Ibid., ii, 180-1, where "promotus in alma universitate" should read "promotus in alma universitate."
95. Ibid., ii, 183.
a fund for hoods and copes. There was also a fund for the common school (a charge of twelve pence on masters)\(^96\). A chest or "arche" for keeping the faculty monies was authorised only in 1463; it had three keys, held by the dean, the senior master and the bursar\(^97\). What money was spent and on what charges we for the most part do not know.

**The Beginning of Teaching**

In the Liber Decani a distinction is drawn between the actual beginnings of teaching (exordium) and the formal inauguration (formale inicium) of the faculty. The masters of the faculty met on an indefinite date in 1451, and elected William Elphinstone, senior, i.e. the bishop's father, graduate in arts of St. Andrews and in canon law of Louvain, as dean\(^98\). Some statutes already existed in November, but it was not till the 28th July following that the statutes committee had a body of statutes ready, and Duncan Bunch inscribed them in a parchment book, while his co-regent Arthurlie took instruments. The masters who confirmed these statutes are listed, doubtless all from the committee which drew them up, and representing between them the universities of St. Andrews, Louvain, Cologne and Paris\(^99\).

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\(^96\) Ibid., ii, 182.
\(^97\) Ibid., ii, 198. The accounts were audited, but not regularly. The signatures and attestations of the auditors are usually omitted in the printed version.
\(^98\) Ibid., ii, 178; Turnbull, p.11.
\(^99\) Turnbull, p.39.
There is no ground for believing that a faculty of medicine gained a foothold in medieval Glasgow. In 1469 Andrew de Garleis, doctor in medicine, was received to the bosom of the university. But, as shown already, he was at St. Andrews about the same time. Andrew de Durisdeer, as founder of the hospital of St. Nicholas, may have been interested in securing such a faculty, and an arts graduate of this period was in 1487 lecturing in medicine in Bologna. A matriculated student of 1469, William Wallace, was in 1478 physician to James III.

William Manderston neither studied nor taught medicine at Glasgow, although, as we saw, he did at St. Andrews. Andrew Borde, ex-Carthusian from London, claimed to be studying medicine there in the 16th century. Mark Jamieson had strong medical interests, but we do not know that he had any more formal qualification.

The general impression gained from this period is of a university starting off with a great flourish and stronger in the higher faculty of law than in arts, but suddenly suffering a great body blow soon after its first beginnings as a result of the civil turmoil in the west. It almost appeared as though it would never rally after the early death of its founder.

100 M.A.U.G., ii, 74.
101 Ibid., ii, 208; he graduated in 1468. Juridical Rev., xlix, 22.
102 M.A.U.G., ii, 75; Fraser, The Lennox, ii, 117. Both Baillie and Wallace were in the university at the same time as Garleis.
103 Mackie, History, p. 28.
104 College Courant, iv (7), 18.
ANDREW DE DURISDEER: CHANCELLOR 1455-1473.

Great things might have been expected of one who had been a close friend of Turnbull and a familiar of Estonteville. But there was in the beginning much local opposition to his appointment to the see. The Douglas party may before Turnbull’s death have become reconciled to him: but they may also have hoped when Turnbull died unexpectedly that someone more favourable to themselves might succeed. He did not expect to obtain peaceable possession of his diocese and events justified his expectations. It says something for Durisdeer’s diplomacy that the opposition was at last won over, and that they indeed took a big hand in the university’s development, leaving the bishop free for other designs close to his heart, the establishment of St. Nicholas Hospital, the erection of the vicars choral into a "college" and the establishment of a resident sub-chantor.

Only seven incorporations are recorded for the years 1454 and 1455; rectorial elections are not recorded for these years. In 1456, however, William Herries, whose presence in the university is not previously disclosed and who may have been invited specially, was elected. He was patently

105. Turnbull, p.53.
106. C.P.R., xi, 1-2.
107. Ibid., p.270.
108. Renwick-Lindsay, History of Glasgow, i, 225 seq. For the succentorship, C.P.R., xiii, 628.
109. M.A.U.G., ii, 324. Herries claimed to be related to the king and to James, earl of Douglas. He was dead by 1463 (C.P.R., xii, 281, 493).
a person of influence, acceptable to all parties, and who knew Turnbull as his dean of faculty at St. Andrews. His two years of office had a most bracing effect. He seems to have had the gift of eloquent persuasion, and we should like to know more precisely why the university was so notably grateful to him. One can only suspect that he had been able to solve the university's building problem at least temporarily. During his term of office three of the neighbouring Dominicans were incorporated, and also the greatest of all the early pupils of the university, the young William Elphinstone, then newly emerging from the grammar school. The poverty, war, plague and fewness of students in the previous years had drained the resources at least of the faculty of arts, but thanks to the perseverance of the regents, who paid the rent of the pedagogy out of their own pockets, the funds had grown and these expenses were temporarily met from the common purse. Moreover the future began to look brighter.

In 1458 Herries was succeeded by David Cadzow, another good choice. Nevertheless the next two years were not prosperous, for reasons the record does not make apparent. Cadzow was a friend, if not a close relative, of Lord Hamilton, had been at the council

110. Turnbull, p.54. A Hamilton and the brother of James II were incorporated on the same day.
111. The owner of the building later known as the Old Pedagogy was John Dalgleish. Two members of this family were incorporated under Herries.
113. This election is not recorded.
of Basle and was interested in education as a weapon of reform.\textsuperscript{114} He was appreciated by the university body, who elected him Rector repeatedly till the year of his death, most probably with the bishop's firm backing, although the bishop's hand is not openly evident, except that he confirmed the rectorial powers of jurisdiction and the rectorial precedence of all other prelates in July, 1461.\textsuperscript{115}

The new Rector undoubtedly deserved well of Durisdeer. In August 1449 he had acquired the chaplaincy of St. Thomas Martyr from Lord Hamilton, and this in some way came to the university.\textsuperscript{126} On the 6th January, 1460, Hamilton gave the High Street building as a college to the faculty of arts.\textsuperscript{117} No doubt it was part of this area that also provided the home for the school of canon law. The formal inauguration of lectures in canon and civil law, however, took place in the chapter-house of the Dominicans, just as the formal beginning of the university itself had taken place there.\textsuperscript{118} It was, moreover, by what purported to be their free resignation of some years previous that the house in High Street was again in Lord Hamilton's disposition.

\textsuperscript{114} Turnbull, p.42. Among the reasons given in 1455 for annexing the revenues of the parish of Glencarn to the chapter's common use was "universitatis Glasguensis augmentum" (Glasgow, ii, 404).
\textsuperscript{115} H.A.U.G., i, 16. The original of this document is lost, as of most of the early documents entered in the Liber Rectoris.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., i, 15.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., i, 19.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., ii, 67. As to the date of this inauguration, see later observations.
For the first time the question is raised as to the provision of a suitable mace. Two arts regents had been appointed to collect the funds for the mace, and immediately on the announcement of Cadzow's re-election in 1460 he gave twenty nobles to this fund. All faculties were further taxed for this purpose in 1465, two more collectors being appointed. This beautiful mace still exists, unfortunately somewhat tampered with in the 18th century. It is of silver, the crown partly gilt and ornamented with blue enamel. Its length is 4 feet 9½ inches. The crown is composed of a polygonal Gothic tower of three storeys, one storey being buttressed and with windows. On each wall surface of the lowest storey there is the half figure in relief of an angel, holding a coat of arms. The figures of saints with which it was ornamented were removed about 1590. It is one of the finest examples of a late Gothic mace. We do not know where the mace was made, but Paatz points to its likeness to the Erfurt one. It too would serve to enhance the rector's position. Besides the appointment of the bedellus, we learn of other appointments which may, however, have been simple replacements: in November 1463, Alexander Black is cook in the pedagogy, and in 1468 Robert

119. Ibid., ii, 68, 71.
Barbour, burgess, is sworn in as parchment-maker to the university. Andrew Garlies, a doctor of medicine, was incorporated on the 2nd August, 1469. It is not clear how long Cadzow himself continued to lecture in canon law, for in March 1463 he provided an annual rent to found a chaplaincy of the Blessed Virgin to support a reader in canon law "in the public schools". The collation of this chaplain was in the chancellor's hands, but the presentation belonged to the Rector and his four deputies.

There is still some fluidity in the university organisation. The pattern of Bologna had been set by the bull of foundation, but, after the death of Turnbull at least, there was some doubt about how this model was to be followed. An attempt may have been made to find out. Relatives of the bishop are found at Bologna: Mark Muirhead was Rector there in 1457-8, and Thomas studied rhetoric there. "The lords of the university", as the Rector and his assessors were called, advised the election of an advisory committee to join them in deliberating certain matters of importance. The committee was no doubt of an emergency nature, and had

121. M.A.U.G., ii, 70, 73.
122. Ibid., ii, 74.
123. Ibid., i, 17. The fuller form of this deed of appointment does not seem to have been drawn up. Cadzow's lectures are discussed later.
124. Mackie, History, p.9, and discussion there.
125. Information from Mrs. A.I. Dunlop. Also see her Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century, p.17. Mark took a degree in civil law, Juridical Review, xlii, 21.
not the permanence of the consiliarii at Bologna or the university council at Louvain. Four members were to be elected by each nation. In the event, nobody represented the Rothesay nation and only two the Albany nation. Thomas and Vedest Muirhead, both of whom had been studying at Louvain, were committee members.

At this period, the university seems to have opened on the day after St. Luke, 19th October, and to have closed on the 14th September. Robert Henryson, the poet, for instance was incorporated on the 10th September, just before the university closed for the annual vacation. At Bologne the 19th October was also opening date, but it seems to have been a date followed by several universities.

Cadzow died on the 7th January, 1468. His successor was Patrick Leich junior, who was Rector of the university of Paris in the previous year. He is

130. M.A.U.G., i, 20. Glasgow, ii, 614, says he died on the 19th August, 1467. No election is recorded for October of this year. But there was evidently some delay in his successor’s acceptance.
131. Patrick Leich senior, chancellor of the diocese, died before the 18th February, 1464 (M.A.U.G., ii, 199). Leich junior determined at Paris in 1459 and was licensed along with John Ireland in 1460 (Auctorium, ii, 981). He is probably the prebendary of Dunblane who is examining in Glasgow in 1462 and under whom William Elphinstone studied (M.A.U.G., ii, 196-7). He was procurator of the German nation at Paris and as such ratified the accounts of John Ireland receiver, 1453, and supported him in a disputed grant towards the costs of his bachelorship in theology. He was in Paris up till March 1467 and was back again in 1473, but only briefly. He was elected rector in October 1466 (Auctorium, ii, cols. 955, 956, 958; iii, 17, 39, 237) For a time he was clerk of the rolls and register to James III (R.M.S., ii, No. 1517 etc.).
described than as a "venerable man powerful in word and deed", and is stated to be a canon of Glasgow. He was friendly with the distinguished Scottish teacher at Paris, John Ireland.

Two of the arts regents followed in the rectorial office, and perhaps did not keep up the state that the post exacted. The procurators of the nations rather than the deputies of the Rector took matters into their own hands and laid down certain rules regarding dress. On ordinary days he was to wear a becoming dress, so that it might be obvious that he held higher office to those who saw him proceeding to church or passing through the town: at least to wear a hood furred at the shoulders, or one whose inside was sewn with taffeta, according to the practice of other universities. On Sundays and feasts which were minor doubles he must be accompanied by a reasonable following, wearing the ordinary rectorial dress and preceded by the bedellus carrying a white wooden wand. On major doubles he must wear a finer dress and be preceded by the silver mace. Here the authority of the procurators probably ended. The deputies added a rider, however, that according to custom elsewhere he must have precedence after the presiding prelate in all processions, sessions and councils, a right which Rectors of low rank might be tempted to forego.

132. As he is throughout the Glasgow record, except on this occasion when he is called provost of Bothwell.
133. M.A.U.G., ii, 75. Dr. Mackie reads "ferialibus diesbus" as "ordinary feast days", but what is meant are ordinary days, that is every day or feria that is not a lesser or greater double.
The College of Arts

Up to the present the university had on the High Street site certain buildings to the rear containing the common schools, whose history is difficult to decipher, but which were approached from the street probably by an alleyway; these common schools were probably at first common to both the university and the faculty of arts. In front of these was a tenement probably already rented from Lord Hamilton to be the site of a new pedagogy to replace the one one in the Rottenrow, and where, I suggest, the faculty was already preparing the site of its own common schools, doubtless in view of a promise by Lord Hamilton that the tenement would be theirs. The letter of gift dated at Glasgow on the 6th January, 1460, would in that event, therefore, be only the final ratification of this state of affairs.

It is a sign of reconciliation with the original founders that the terminology of James II's charter of privilege is echoed in the opening phrases. Hamilton and his wife, Euphemia Graham (widow of a Douglas) are the new founders. The gift is made to Duncan Bunch, described as principal regent not in the university or the pedagogy but "in the faculty of arts," for as long as he personally resides therein, or to the monitors and regents sufficiently instituted.

134. Ibid., i, 3-14.
by him (not by the chancellor, who, however, later instituted the principal himself.) The tenement is bounded by Thomas Arthurlie's on the north and the Dominican buildings on the south and is for the use of regents and students in the faculty of arts. It includes four acres of land beyond the Molendinar from which doubtless kitchen produce would come.

Each principal regent on appointment was obliged to take oath to the bishop to fulfil certain terms of the foundation. These are all of a purely religious nature, but nothing on the scale of the religious services at St. Salvator's or the later King's college, Aberdeen. Nor was there as yet any chapel or oratory as there had been in St. John's college, so that in the meantime the singing of the Ave Gloriosa was to be replaced by mere low-voiced recitation in the Blackfriars kirk. There was to be a common table with commemoration of the founders at grace. Regents who were priests had to commend their souls to the prayers of the congregation at the gospel, as had all priest students, who thereby were to expect special indulgence from their regents. The yearly anniversary was to be celebrated in the cathedral, all, priests, clerics and students being bound to certain masses and prayers. Finally each regent was obliged to give faithful advise to the founders and their descendants when asked. The original had Hamilton's seal.

The only financial returns were certain annual rents and the burgh ferme due to the bishop, which the
latter a week later remitted. The tenement was then handed over by Robert Hamilton, rector of Monyabroch, as procurator for the donor. Bunch received it in the faculty's name and took instrument.

The scribe who copied these documents into the Liber Decani also copied the friars' letter of reversion of five years previous to this, but it adds nothing to our knowledge, except that it describes the tenement as on "the north syde of the Freris Kyrk," which taken literally might mean that it was back from the street roughly on a line with the friars' west gable (which in the 17th century was in line with the east side of the outer quadrangle of the new university building, according to Slezer's sketch, which is the earliest, unfortunately, that we have). While in the body of Hamilton's deed of gift the building is described as a college, the headings provided by the scribe call it a pedagogy, which tends to confirm the suggestion that it is the rented pedagogy that Hamilton is now donating, or at least that it is absorbed in the new foundation.  

135. For Slezer's sketch, see, Mackie, History, facing p.96. In 1575 three tenements were described as "fornent the college," (W.A.U.C., i,53-8). If we take the western boundaries as equal to the frontage of the 1660 building, excluding the principal's house and gardens to the north, the original frontage would be about 140 ft. The 19th century frontage was considerably longer.

136. Lord Hamilton's charter of gift is on pp.102-3 of the Liber Decani, the conveyance on pp.104-7, with a second copy on pp.108-9, and the friars' reversion on p. 107. The charter is in the hand of David Gray and the date of entry about 1490.
With these documents the scribe has entered one concerning the chaplainry of St. Thomas Martyr, which raises the question whether this tenement was part of the original endowment of the chapel, as possessed by David Cadzow in 1449, but united shortly afterwards by Lord Hamilton to his collegiate church of Hamilton, although the union was never effective: it may have been on its behalf that the provost of Bothwell (another collegiate church in Hamilton patronage) claimed it from the friars in 1455. It may be that this and the neighbouring tenement of Sir Thomas Arthurlie were part of the endowment of the chaplainry in the chapel of St. Thomas, the rest of which included certain lands in Arthurlie. If this is so, Cadzow as chaplain of this chaplainry, was the power behind the Hamilton donation of 1460; and the chapel certainly belonged to the faculty in 1462. If Sir Thomas Arthurlie deputised for Cadzow in this chaplainry, he may for that reason have been allowed to retain part of the chaplainry endowment. The death of Arthurlie is not on record till 1475 and before then Cadzow had done "several notable and memorable deeds to the utility and exaltation of the said university and faculty of arts." The principal had to undertake an obligation to celebrate for Arthurlie's soul in connection with the latter's gift of the tenement immediately adjacent to the college of

137. [Footnote: M.a.c., i, 15; C.P.R., x, 75-6.]
138. [Footnote: M.a.c., ii, 39.]
139. [Footnote: Ibid., ii, 220; i, 20.]
arts and the services were to be performed by a priest regent in the chapel of St. Thomas.

**Arthurlie House**

Thomas Arthurlie's gift was made on the 24th February, 1467. Unfortunately we have not the original foundation, but we gather that the "priestly service mentioned and laid down in the said foundation" was to be performed during the donor's lifetime and after his death by William Arthurlie or his deputy. Sasine was given to William and not to the principal. Furthermore, he was to have the tenement during his lifetime, but after William's death it was to be placed at the disposal of the regents of the faculty, "and in other respects according to the tenor of his foundation." This gave William Arthurlie a privileged position in comparison with the principal regent. It is not surprising to find Bunch a few months later in June, taking on the responsibility for building a house on the south side of the faculty college. The faculty allowed him all its monies provided that they should be returned if he did not carry out his plan. The project was still under way in 1469. The site of this building is discussed in an appendix. Whether Bunch

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140. Ibid., ii, 255; 254. The latter should read, "Preterea quod advisantur super importaciones annui redditus quinque mercurum per Dominum de Hauilhe capelle Sancti Thome Mortiris debitorum et super debitis reformaciones et structure suisdam ac capellane quondam domini thome Arthurlie".
141. Ibid., ii, 18-19.
143. Ibid., ii, 204-5, 210.
House like Arthurlie's House became a regents' house or not is not clear.

**Duncan Bunch: Principal till 1474**

The whole of this part of the faculty's career is a record of relative prosperity. It now had assured accommodation, over four acres of land upon which to live (it was let out to tenants) and certain chaplainry rents in Arthurlie; it had no collegiate church, but the chapel of St. Thomas could be used for festive celebrations. Great credit is due to the persistence and determination of Bunch and his fellow-regents in the face of immense odds. After the departure of Geddes, the licentiate in theology, any scheme which Turnbull may have entertained for a college of theology and arts was unworkable, as Bunch as late as 1471 was only a bachelor in theology with Arthurlie already a doctor in decrees.

Relations between Bunch and his chief colleague were harmonious. The former was dean in 1467 when a non-regent master refused to return books belonging to Arthurlie, insulted him and appealed from Bunch's decision against him. The faculty took the line that the appeal was out of order, since the dean was head of the faculty and spoke in its name. It instructed the bedellus to warn the appellant to restore them, or appear the following Saturday to show reason for

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144. *Turnbull*, pp. 54 (n.7), 55.
retaining them. He doubtless did so, as he is found acting as non-regent examiner later.\textsuperscript{145} From St. Andrews the college recruited two regents, James Ogilvie and Alexander Wemyss, who are discussed later. After Cadzow's death in January 1468, Arthurlie may have taken over in the schools of canon law, to the readership he was formally presented a few years later.\textsuperscript{146}

Although there was no allowance in the Hamilton foundation for the annexation of benefices to the college, Bunch personally was well off, as in 1456 he held the vicarage of Wiston, in 1460 Dundonald, in 1468 the canony called the vicarage of Glasgow and later the prebend of Renfrew.\textsuperscript{147}

The last mention of him in the university is late in 1473. By October of 1474 John Brown was in office as regent, and he in time succeeded as principal. He went to the curia, where the pope granted him the deanery of Dunkeld in succession to Patrick Young. In June the procurator of William Bunch, abbot of Kilwinning, was "Duncan, archdeacon of Glasgow." This is undoubtedly Duncan Bunch. Before the letters of appointment were drawn up for the deanery of Dunkeld Bunch himself was

\textsuperscript{145} M.A.U.G., ii, 205-7. After the college of arts was founded, regents who were on the foundation were "ad infra"; non-regents not on the foundation "ad extra." Ibid., ii, 209.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., ii, 208-218; i, 20.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., i, 13; ii, 63, 159, 207, 209; C.P.R., xii, 283, 279, 741; Scot. Ben., p. 167.
\textsuperscript{148} M.A.U.G., ii, 218.
dead. He left several books to the faculty, all of them scholastic in character, some showing his Albertist affiliations and his discipleship of John Athilmer. He may have died in office, as is commonly believed.

Law

Gilbert Rerik, incorporated in 1456, had just returned from studying decreets at Rome. Robert Henryson, the poet, incorporated in 1462, was already a bachelor in decreets. Thomas Pyle, who determined in arts at Glasgow in 1458 was a bachelor of decreets some years later. William Elphinstone, later bishop of Aberdeen, went on to study canon law at Glasgow after taking his degree there in arts. One wonders

149 Scoot. Ben., p. 247; C.P.R., xii, 35, 40, 42, 376. He is not otherwise recorded as archdeacon, and if Rerik who was archdeacon in 1472 (M.A.U.G., ii, 79) had intended to resign it, the intention was never effective.

150 M.A.U.G., iii, 404-5. Bunch is only twice mentioned as principal in Hamilton's gift of the college and in the note of his donation to the library.

151 C.P.R., xi, 211; M.A.U.G., ii, 64.


153 C.P.R., xiii, 28.

154 Boece, Vitae, p. 61.
If around 1468 (After Cadzow's death) there may not have been a break in the teaching, or the teaching may not have been of the same quality, as some of the students went elsewhere. Other students were Robert Houston and James Knox (who later held the readership), masters of works for the school of canon law. Another was John Goldsmith, bachelor of decreets in 1472. That teaching was by no means exclusively in arts is proved by several things. Towards the purchase of a university mace collectors were appointed to tax matriculating members according to their "faculties". In 1468, a doctor of decreets

155 Elphinstone to Paris and Orleans (Ibid., pp. 62-3); Thomas and Vedast Muirhead went to Louvain, returning to Glasgow in 1470 (Wils, Matricule, ii, 158, 157; M.A.U.G., ii, 75). The earlier incorporations of both at Glasgow are omitted from the record, but Vedast was there in 1461 (C.F.P., xii, 119). Thomas became a licentiate in decreets (M.A.U.G., ii, 115).

156 M.A.U.G., ii, 95.
157 C.F.P., xiii, 627.
Thomas Lutherdale, may have replaced Cadzow who died that year, although Arthurlie may originally have done so.

Before his death Cadzow made provision for a readership. This is the foundation of a chaplainry of our Lady in the lower church of the cathedral, endowed with annual rents to the value of 12 merks, the chaplain to read in the morning in the public schools, that is the university common schools which, I suggest eventually took the name of "schools of canon law", because for a time theological teaching went in abeyance and civil law teaching was no more. The patron of the chaplainry or readership was the Rector in consultation with his four deputies.

The record in civil law is a good deal less clear. A succession of possible teachers can only be established as far as 1472. After Levenex, the original teacher in the faculty, Simon Dodds appears in 1465. Thomas Lutherdale mentioned above was qualified in laws as well as in decreets. Richard Cady, bechelor in both laws is found in 1472. As far as the evidence goes the teaching in canon law languished utterly after the death of Bishop Andrew de Durisdeer. A probable civil law student is Mark Muirhead who had a degree in civil law at Bologna,

having come from Glasgow. But we are dependent on external evidence for such information.

Theology

There appears to be fairly continuous teaching in theology as yet, if we may judge from the appearance of certain religious: the prior of Blantyre and three Dominicans in 1457; and two monks of Kilwinning in 1460 and 1468. In the latter year we have Alexander Wemyss, described as master of arts, but in later years as a bachelor in theology. There are others in 1469 and 1470: a prior and canon of Inchmahome; the prior of Lesmahagow; James Ogilvie, bachelor of theology, and John Muir, vicar general of the Scots Dominicans, likewise bachelor.

During these latter years of Bishop Andrew de Durisdeer the university in its own small way is flourishing. Its advancement seems to be much in the minds of its members, who could pool their experiences of several continental universities, Louvain, Bologna, Cologne, Rome, Orleans and Vienna, besides Paris itself. There is a whiff at least of the Italian Renaissance in the air, for instance when Rector William Glendinning in 1472 complains that "certain

162 Juridical Review, xlii, 21, where "Mowbray" should read "Muirhead", according to papal supplication (gages Mrs. Dunlop); M.A.U.G., ii, 59.
163 Ibid., ii, 65-6, 68, 73.
164 C.P.R., xiii, 613; M.A.U.G., ii, 73 (described merely as M.A.).
165 Ibid., ii, 75-78.
consuls of our supreme lord the king have stirred his serenity" to impose taxes on beneficed students. It was decided to send three orators to the parliament of 1472, and those who went were Rerik, the archdeacon, Elphinstone himself and Bunch. Bunch and Athilmer from St. Andrews were also present in parliament on 6th May 1471. The end result was that the home universities were to be encouraged at least to the extent that letters of tax exemption to Glasgow students were given under both the great and secret seals, and parliament repeated at length the warnings against the export of money abroad.\footnote{166}

In contrast, however, with St. Andrews, which was in a state of civil war practically, Glasgow was progressing in all faculties and peaceful. It is not surprising that the conservators of the older university seemed inclined to poach.\footnote{167} Whether the conservators, the Bishop of Dunblane, abbot of Paisley and dean of Glasgow, were appointed to Glasgow in 1456 we cannot at present say, but the king supported Glasgow's petition for them. Among those who came from St. Andrews was an important scholar and regent, James Ogilvie, who returned there soon as provost of the college of St. Salvator.\footnote{168} John Sinclair, later bishop of Caithness,

\footnote{166} A.P.S., ii,98; parliament also hindered projects for endowment by forbidding the annexation of benefices. M.A.U.G., i,25,26; ii,79.
\footnote{167} The chancellor sought papal protection from them. Dunlop, Kennedy, p.278, note 7.
\footnote{168} M.A.U.G., ii,78.
came from St. Andrews also, while Gavin Dunbar, later bishop of Aberdeen, began his course at Glasgow.\textsuperscript{169} The teaching troubles of St. Salvator's hardly encouraged the development of separate colleges as at St. Andrews, and the plan to make a college on a like scale of the Hamilton foundation was inhibited by insufficient endowment. It was not perhaps the ambitious foundation that Bishop Turnbull had planned, but it was at least a live, if very small, institution, active throughout in all its original faculties.

\textbf{John Laing: Chancellor 1474-1483}

Bishop Laing had been treasurer to James III. He was also appointed by the Franciscan pope, Sixtus IV. He was a man of scholarly interests, but perhaps because we know so little about him, he seems colourless and forceless in his tenure of office.

A few months after the new appointment, William Elphinstone was licensed in canon law.\textsuperscript{170} That same year he was elected Rector. The incorporations for his rectorate have been entered in conscientious detail. As one of the university's earliest students he reverted to some of its early practices. The recently appointed abbot of Newbattle, a Cistercian, was incorporated, and

\textsuperscript{169} \textit{Ibid., ii, 77.} Mistakenly printed "Eivinus de Dunbar" by the editor. "Gavinus" in the Liber Rectoris, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{170} \textit{Honorifice, strictly "with honour"; probably not the honorary conferment of the degree, as Elphinstone was fully qualified at Paris and Orleans."}
and with him a young Cistercian theologian from Cologne. John Young, vicar of Dron, later an important figure at St. Andrews, and David Luthirdale, a man of some classical interests, were other new recruits. With the death or departure of Duncan Bunch, for reasons we will discuss presently, Walter Bunch, Cistercian prior of Gadvan, was appointed. Elphinstone, with the consent of his advisers, presented Arthurlie to the readership in canon low founded by Cadzow and the chaplainry attached to it.

Elphinstone convened his deputies in matters concerning "the welfare, honour, liberty, privileges and statutes of the university." What survived from this discussion we do not know, and it must be remembered that these early pages of the record may have been edited by the later transcriber. One characteristic statute is however recorded. It was ordained under Elphinstone's presidency that in future, before proceeding to a rectorial election, there was to be a mass of the Holy Spirit on the altar in the cathedral chapter-house, every member to attend under pain of a two shilling fine, without dispensation, unless by the common consent of the whole university body.

That fairly lengthy periods of study were common at this period is evident from a document of 1474.

171. Turnbull, p.54. John Crichton, monk, was made abbot of Newbattle in 1474 (C.P.R.,xiii,331) and died less then five years later (Ibid.,656).
signed by the canons, certain notaries and the more distinguished members of the university.\footnote{173}

About this time an accident occurred which had far-reaching results. Robert Ross, a student, who determined in 1471, did not proceed to his licence. The reason was that while playing in the grounds of Hamilton's college of arts another student accidentally hit him on the left eye with a cabbage stalk (perhaps from a cabbage to be used as a football). A membrane formed over the pupil and blinded the eye, but left it otherwise undamaged. The result could have been disastrous to the student's future career as a cleric. The immediate result of this was grave parental displeasure. In May 1473 (or 1474) Sir John Ross of Hawkhead and the heirs of Sir Walter Stewart or Arthurlie proceeded to try and wrest the chapel of St. Thomas Martyr outside the city from the university's possession. Its value was 10 marks Scots or about 8 gold florins of the apostolic camera; this money being paid by them from property in Renfrewshire. They maintained that it was ruinous in walls and roof, that services were seldom held there, and that it should be united to the altar of St. Thomas Martyr in the parish church of

Renfrew, in which Ross had a family interest. A commission was given to the abbots of Paisley and Crossraguel to investigate, and to carry out the transfer on the death of the chaplain or his resignation.\textsuperscript{175}

The arrival of the commission must have been heavily delayed, for it was only in 1477, at the beginning of February, that the enquiry was held in Ayr. As the chaplaincy was the property of a regent in arts, the faculty of arts took an active interest, and sent the Rector, the dean of arts, William Arthurlie and the principal on horseback to defend its rights. The students would also have a lively interest in this mission, as the chapel in question had been from the time of David Cadzow associated with their annual feast on the day of the translation of St. Nicholas if it was not also their official college oratory.\textsuperscript{176} The outcome of the enquiry is not known. The mandatories may have referred the matter back to the bishop and his official. Ross immediately changed his ground, and wanted the matter taken out of the ecclesiastical courts. He and Stewart of Minto referred it to the lords of the council who forbade the bishop to interfere.\textsuperscript{177} In 1490 Ross was still adamant, but the university eventually won its point. The rector of Renfrew, Nicholas Ross, dean of

\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., 382. Only 5 marks Scots were however due to the faculty from Arthurlie lands, M.A.U.G., ii, 254.
\textsuperscript{176} Mackie, History, p.21. The date is not 1476, however.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., i, 27.
arts in 1479 and Rector of the University in 1484 and 1492, acted as mediator along with three other university envoys. The offended student returned to the university and was continuously associated with it from 1490 till 1505 when he was archpriest of Dunbar. As has been pointed out these chaplainries were often an unsatisfactory method of securing revenues, and the settled endowments of other universities would have provided a healthier and more stable foundation.

During this period the masters of the song school and grammar school were first incorporated. The purpose of these incorporations is not clear, possibly to give odd lessons to the students, although this, of course, is conjecture. A distinguished student who may well have profited from these lessons, and who taught in the university himself for a time, was the poet and friend of William Dunbar, Walter Kennedy. About this time, with the backing of the bishop, a member of the university staff, Thomas Forsyth, provided a friary in Glasgow for the Franciscans of the Observance. They

180. Mackie, History, p.21. The revenues of Arthurlie were unpaid from 1475 (in January 1482/3 they were lapsed for more than seven years M.A.U.G., ii,93). In 1483 £4 was paid from the university funds to the rector for repairing the altar and its ornaments (Ibid.,ii,96).
181. M.A.U.G., ii,86-7, in 1476 and 1477. Hugh Brown is the first master of the song school. Bishop Laing had appointed him to take over the work of the chanter, and the arrangement continued.
183. In 1479 according to R.M.S., ii,no.1434. The Greyfriars chronicle (16th c.) says 1472 (Bryce, Scottish Grey Friars, ii,176).
were never directly associated with the university as far as the extant records show, but they undoubtedly for a time at least exercised much indirect influence. They are said to have heard students' confessions, for instance, and one of the regents, James Pettigrew, later became their provincial. With Thomas Forsyth, junior, he was one of two student procurators of nations in 1482. 185

Whether the new kitchen was ready yet or not, an additional member of its staff was nominated in 1476, the steward and provisor, appropriately named John Cook. The distinguished Rector of 1481, Patrick Leich, junior, was presented with a well-furred red hood with ermine and minever on top and bottom. On behalf of the university, the bishop himself made the presentation. Unfortunately public life claimed the new Rector before the next election, but his locum tenens rendered him eloquent thanks in his absence. 187

The bishop may have been in his last illness when some very useful committee work was set afoot by the rector of 1482-3, John Brown, who may, however, have been elected for this purpose. Arts regents elected Rector often made extremely practical use of their

184. M.A.U.G., ii, 88 etc. He was provincial in 1512, Bain and Rogers, Diocesan Registers, ii, 435.
186. Ibid., ii, 35.
187. Ibid., ii, 90-1.
tenure of office, although it was not advisable to elect them frequently as the Rector was an office of some state. It is possible that the articles he proposed were to be decided on rapidly before the advent of a new bishop.

The first and most important of Brown's articles concerned the editing of the statutes in permanent form. The Rector suggested himself as the chief editor. The fact that very few statutes appeared to exist is recorded; but this may refer to the fact that they were not formally entered in a statute book. Such statutes as were entered were in the form of a "paper minute" or in "a certain little paper book", then in the Rector's possession. The Rector headed a council of extraordinary deputies, four from each nation (three only, however, from Rothesay) who would with him represent the whole university body. The great majority of these deputies, including the Rector himself, had experience of Glasgow alone, and some were foundation members: St. Andrews, Cologne, Louvain and Bologna were also represented, however. It was this council that drew up the new statutes and renewed the old ones, ordering their transcription into a more permanent parchment record in authentic form and under certain titles and rubrics, as was usual. These parchment copies were to be transcribed at the university's expense and distributed by the bursar to the officials concerned.

188. M.A.U.G., ii, 93-97. The copy available to us is entered in the Liber Rectoris, dated 1490.
What was uppermost in their minds was the consolidation of the Rector's jurisdiction. This, Brown complained, had fallen into disuse to the university's detriment. Before this general congregation of all members the deputies issued a warning that the university's privileges were to be kept in future, and that the Rector was to have jurisdiction over all causes coming under his cognisance in future and that nobody was to be so rash as to dare to litigate before another judge under pain of transgression of these privileges then publicly notified. If, however, the Rector's jurisdiction was to be exercised as often as it ought to be, a new small seal ad causas was necessary, as the great seal could not fittingly be used in every case. The university was prepared to pay for a smaller seal, on which a mace would be carved, the seal to be inscribed "Seal of the university of Glasgow ad causas". The original eighth article of Brown was next considered, as logically related to these others. It queried the authority of the rural dean to summon university members who were priests. But this troublesome matter was shelved for the time being. The first appointment of a promoter (the university prosecutor) at this congregation is significant.

Another of Brown's complaints was about the lack of repairs to the schools of canon law "by which the whole university is served." The inference was that the university should pay for their repair, but instead the promoter was to exact a levy from graduates in that
faculty who owed money. Two masters of works were elected to carry out the repairs, Mr. Robert Houston, prebendary of Luss, and Mr. James Knox. As the evidences for the chaplainry founded by Cadzow for the reader in canon law were not properly drawn up, it was decided to have that done at the university expense and have them entered, along with other evidences, in the public archives of the city.\textsuperscript{189} In this period also, as we shall see, the arts faculty embarked on a new scheme of rebuilding.

As regards funds, the non-payment to the regent chaplain of St. Thomas Martyr by John Ross of Hawkhead was mentioned, and Nicholas Ross was to join the mission to him. Meantime the university was proceeding with the repair of the chapel.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these important decisions was that the ambiguity of the Rector's position in the wording of the foundation bull was now being cleared up. The promoter's appointment pointed to the existence of the Rector's jurisdiction as a matter of course from now on. The timing of these decisions, made in the see's vacancy, suggests also that the grant by Andrew de Durisdeer which allowed university members an alternative choice in the court of the official, had not been effective enough. One wonders indeed if the editing of the book of conclusions

\textsuperscript{189} These public records survive in part at St. Andrews, but not in Glasgow.
and of "the old paper book" was altogether in the interests of replacing a temporary by a permanent record, and whether the buttressing of the Rector's jurisdiction was not a more pressing consideration.

Walter Bunch: Principal, 1475-1478

When Duncan Bunch left for the curia he may have set up his Cistercian relative as locumtenens; or the latter may have obtained papal provision to the principalship. Whatever happened, it is fairly certain that Bishop Laing did not make the appointment. His incorporation is recorded in 1475, and he is described as prior of Gadvan (a cell of Balmerino) and a formed bachelor in theology.²⁹⁰

Walter Bunch is never recorded as taking part in the work of the arts faculty, and it can be assumed that he devoted his time to studying theology, for a few years after his departure he is recorded as licentiate.²⁹² Perhaps Elphinstone or whoever appointed him hoped to revive the licence in theology as a requirement for the principal, and transform the college of arts into a college of theology and arts like King's in Aberdeen. In any event all the work in the arts faculty was done by John Brown and the licence to lecture in arts formerly given to the previous Cistercian was not renewed for Walter Bunch.

²⁹⁰ M.A.U.G., ii, 83; Coupac Ancus, ii, 57.  
²⁹¹ C.P.R., xiii, 135. He can perhaps be identified with "d. Weit. de Scotia, reg., theol., "at Cologne in 1453; Matrikel, i, 568.
It was to the dean and not to the principal that in 1475 all persons owning faculty lands in Dovehill were to show their right and title. As for the Arthurlie lands, they were now either in the faculty's possession or about to become so, for the notarial documents were ordered to be entered among the muniments. Brown and not Bunch accompanied the party that rode to Ayr in 1477 to defend the university's rights in the dispute regarding the St. Thomas chaplainry. Bunch's status in the university was obviously precarious, and Brown may have gone as acting principal. Some students who had gone to St. Andrews returned. A former procurator of the German nation in Paris and co-regent there with John Ireland, John Whiteford, was also received: he later joined the Observant Franciscans.

The unusual circumstances of the principalship led to anomalies. Three bachelors, one a newly created one, were received in 1474 a month before the statutory date: they did not receive their insignia, however, till the next June. James Lindsay presented himself for licence having read some books and made two responses in vico: the faculty dispensed him of the latter but not of the former requirement, on payment of a half merk.

193. Ibid., ii, 222.
194. Michael Fleming and David Logan. Fleming supplicated humbly to be received (Ibid., ii, 214, 221; E. Recs., pp. 55, 181).
197. Ibid., ii, 222. After "fiende" should read "antequam ingredieretur temptamen, soluta tamen prius dimidia marca." (Liber Decani, p. 49).
The faculty was not happy about the arrangement "lest from this softness and leniency and lack of fulness of study the faculty be made ridiculous and suffer shipwreck in the future." The date of licence was postponed, Brown acting as vice-chancellor although the chancellor was present, perhaps to enhance Brown's authority. Brown up till then was sole regent, but in July 1477 John Goldsmith, a more senior master acted as regent. Once again they lacked the third responsion, but in addition had not overtaken all the books, including the seven books of the metaphysics and the "Sphere." The faculty postponed admission till they had heard the former and decreed that they were to hear the "Sphere" before the examination opened. Other examples could be cited from this period.

Brown was bursar as well and was either too junior to command authority or too busy, so that the faculty was obliged to replace him by a senior. The faculty building is briefly mentioned, where Brown spent a small sum on the college of arts. But more important was the decision to make a parchment record for all faculty acts; this was carried out in 1477 after which date all acts can be taken as more or less contemporary.

More regents appear, and Brown's period as faculty maid-of-all-work comes to a close.

198. Ibid., ii, 222-4, and Liber Decani, pp.52-3, for omissions in printed version.
199. Ibid., ii, 224, 226 (in Liber Decani, pp. 54-5 are fuller versions, with the attestations of the auditors). Ibid., ii, 220 (how far the earlier entries have been edited is a matter for speculation).
The most notable student of the period was Walter Kennedy, the poet, who determined under Brown in 1476.

In all faculty activity Walter Bunch had no part. He was finally banished from the principalship, for on the 25th June, 1478, after consideration, the faculty expelled him as being unfit to govern the college of arts and ruled that he was no longer to be accepted as regent. No doubt he left the university at once, for a few years after he applied as prior of Dunbog or Gadvan for the abbacy of Balmerino.

**John Brown: Principal, 1480-1483.**

Brown was a native of Irvine, who determined in 1470 and was not licensed for another three years, a delay doubtless due to age. Despite his youth he was the sole regent for a time. He could hardly have commanded respect as acting principal, having only the minimum qualifications, his arts degree, and no experience whatever.

The bishop appeared to favour him, and Gray and Goldsmith, his seniors, were overlooked, although in 1478, on the deposition of Walter Bunch, the care of the college was given to Goldsmith and John Doby jointly by the faculty. At this time Brown was a bachelor of

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200. Ibid., ii, 222.
201. Ibid., ii, 226.
202. C.P.R., xii, 135; Scot. Bar., p. 85.
204. Goldsmith and Doby were still in charge in 1490 (Ibid., i, 27). It is not correct to say that "for seven years . . . they tried to do without a Principal. " (S.H.R., xi, 255).
decreets and obtained the prebend of Kirkbean in Lincluden. Later he was frustrated in an attempt to become archdeacon of Teviotdale, but did become canon of Glasgow, and was now in a position to become principal which he did in October, 1480. The dean and faculty ratified his letters of appointment granted by the chancellor; the seals were "conceded", perhaps more grudgingly by the faculty than by the bishop. In 1481 he was given a hint that he was not to be an honorary principal of the Walter Bunch type. He was also authorised to appoint his own regents.

There are many evidences of weak finance, and a strenuous financial effort was made in 1480. There was the running sore of the unpaid annual from the St. Thomas chaplainry; the recovery of debts, including those owed by relatives of the founder; the renewal of the wardrobe; and most important of all, the account of money handed in for the "reform" of the college. The nature of these structural alterations we are left to guess, but a complete overhaul of the original buildings was intended. Had Lord Hamilton, who died in the previous year left something for the purpose? It was doubtful if what was already in the faculty's purse would suffice. The bursar was to put money

206. Ibid., ii, 235. In this year "as having charge of the college of arts, he accepts the burden of lecturing in person for the coming year and in the person of those appointed by him in the faculty of arts in the usual form." Liber Decani, p.53.
freely at the disposal of the dean and deputies (not the principal as it was a faculty matter) who were to give letters of acquittance under the faculty seal. Part of the sum owed by the retiring guardian of the faculty wardrobe was in the hands of the promoter "in the said faculty", but this may be the university promoter, one of whose functions was to collect faculty debts. It may be that this was the first university promoter "according to the form of the new statutes."

There are many cases still of neglect in the preparation of students. Over-youthful examiners could hardly help faculty prestige: David Cunningham graduated in 1478 and was examining a few months; Laurence Purdy graduated in Paris in 1478 and in 1479 was examining in Glasgow; John Glen presided over a determination when his master's honours were fresh upon him; while Walter Leslie graduated in Paris in the summer and was examining in Glasgow in November.

In October 1481, the dean drew attention to the obligation of singing the Ave Gloriosa for the late Lord Hamilton, which Brown for himself and the student promised to fulfil. Similarly he promised to pay a chaplain to pray for the donor of Arthurlie House. The opening of ordinary lectures was on the 2nd October.

207. Ibid., ii, 233-5.
208. Ibid., ii, 9-10; 234.
209. Ibid., ii, 96. The bedellius was authorised to fine absentees from mass and congregation. (Ibid., ii, 237).
210. M.A.U.C., ii, 228-30, 238; Aquitanum, iii, cols. 343, 357-6, 500.
In accordance with the altered statutes. The extent of the faculty wardrobe is glimpsed in 1479 when Doby, the new guardian, received from his predecessor one red and four blue hoods and one cope. Brown’s election as Rector in 1482 appears to be a compromise, for we are told the electors “condescended” to elect him. He died shortly after the 3rd July, 1483, and left some books to the pedagogy. The main faculty business was the concern, however, of the deans of faculty, whose watchfulness over standards is especially noticeable at this period.

Law

The principal as we saw was a student in law, as was Richard Robertson. Elphinstone was licensed with honour (honore) in 1474. Later that same year he presented William Arthurlie to the readership, but he is not heard of after 1478, after which the faculty slumped badly. The evidents for the readership were not raised in authentic form which might not have mattered in Durlisdeer’s time. Moreover from this time we hear much of the repair of the school.

212. Ibid., ii, 229. Liber Decani, p. 62 mentions the quinque capuccia federata quatuor videlicet bladei coloris et unum rubei coloris at

cum ilia habet capponem federatom.
213. Ibid., ii, 91.
214. Ibid., it, 239; iii, 405-6.
215. C.P.R., iii, 564; W.A.U.G., ii, 81.
216. Ibid., ii, 83.
217. Ibid., ii, 94; 93, 95, 107.
Theology

In 1474 Elphinstone, as Rector, gave a fresh spurt to theological studies, and may Cistercians appear to be about: besides the principal, Walter Bunch, there were John Crichton, the new abbot of Newbattle, and Peter Sluthman, one of his monks who had studied theology at Cologne. A secular cleric is John Young, vicar of Dron, prominent afterwards at St. Andrews. A canon regular from Dryburgh is also found in the university. In 1482-3 there are some incorporated who are not styled students in arts and who may have studied in the higher faculties.

The general impression of this period is one of decline even in the arts faculty. Whatever the virtues of Bishop Laing, he does not appear to have been successful in holding his university at the level at which his predecessor had left it.

ROBERT BLACKADDER: CHANCELLOR, 1483-1508

It has been said of Blackadder that he had no deep interest in things scholastic as far as the evidence goes. He was, however, former procurator

218 Ibid., ii, 82-3; Turnbull, p. 54.
219 M.A.G., ii, 56.
220 Ibid., ii, 92.
of the German nation at Paris, and had also, when bishop of Aberdeen, studied at Louvain. He was associated with the negotiations for the appointment of the Albertist, Richard Guthrie, to the abbey of Arbroath, and, probably for reasons not immediately concerned with education, offered the rectory of Lasswade, which he held, as a prebend for a doctor or a licentiate in canon and civil law at St. Salvator's College. He was an ambitious man, however, both for himself and his see, a clever man evidently, but without the farsightedness or fineness of fibre of his contemporary, Elphinstone of Aberdeen. In the early stages of his chancellorship, the principals of the pedagogy were too frequently changed, and while the building later known as the Hall or Fore Hall was largely rebuilt at this time, the equally important work of endowing in a permanent fashion the masters and students with more ample funds was postponed till it was too late.

When Blackadder was appointed, the elect of the chapter had been George Carmichael, whose appointment was apparently opposed by the pope for political reasons, as an adherent of Albany. The university may have received Blackadder with a bad grace: they certainly proceeded to elect his rival's relative,

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223 Art. cit.,p.65. Representing the chapter at the papal court was George Brown, later Bishop of Dunkeld.
William Carmichael, vicar of Symington, as Rector, a "noble man of great discretion". Two Elphinstones, relatives of Blackadder's successor at Aberdeen, were appointed rectorial deputies. Furthermore Carmichael had some extraordinary expenses in the university business, to the payment of which the fines of absentees from congregation were to contribute. Did the university contribute to the expenses of the rival of Blackadder? It would even seem that the university was ready to re-elect William Carmichael in 1484, had not he "supplicated and eloquently persuaded" them not to do so. As it was they took the practical step of electing Nicholas Ross, who a few months later helped to persuade Sir John Ross of Hawkhead to pay the rent owed to the arts faculty.

As has been explained elsewhere, the claims on the university funds were limited, and for that reason they may seem surprisingly small; but they were also mismanaged. The university had taken on, in spite of itself, the repair of the schools of canon law, repairs which went on from 1484 to 1487. Discord in the faculty of arts, where George Crichton was deposed from the principalship, led to difficulty in collecting fees at the statutory time. The account of John Glen

225 Ibid., ii, 97. There was no money in hand. The new bursar was to pay Carmichael out of his first receipts.
226 Ibid., ii, 98.
227 Ibid., ii, 107. One bursar, John Hutchinson, disclaimed certain receipts from promotions. Unfortunately the full account is not given, but the auditors were content with a small conscience payment.
of 1491 does not appear to have been rendered, but there was a small surplus delivered by Patrick Coventry, bursar, for the years 1492 to 1496. Yet there is evidence that the auditors were still seeking satisfaction from his predecessors.\(^{228}\) Again, Coventry did not hand over the whole of his receipts to Archibald Calderwood, his successor, who at the date of the next account was £1 2s 10d. short, without having paid the mark owing to the rector for putting a new gable window in the schools of canon law. The truth is perhaps that all the officials spent their own money on the common good; hence the ease with which acquittances were given when their accounts failed to balance.

The new gable window might be necessary because the school was being partitioned in two or because of new building shutting out the light from the old windows. The Blackfriars were building on their west front since 1487, but this was on the other side of their church.\(^{230}\) The new Fore Hall and kitchen would also create lighting problems. When in 1507 Patrick Coventry was solemnly created bachelor of theology, this took place in "our greater schools"\(^{231}\), which may well have been in the schools of canon law, by which

228 Liber Rectoris, p.77. After "de claro xxxix solidi" in M.A.U.G. ii,112, should read "quemuidem comptum dicti rector et auditorum huiusmodi comptum manibus suis subscriptorum. Insuper dictus dominus rector et auditorum superscripti exonerant Magistrum Thoman fowrth de xlvii e iiiid a debitio per auidem tempore Magistri Johannis Goldsmuth ex eo quod produxit quietandum dicti Magistri Johannis Goldsmuth rectoris pro tempore". Signatures of the auditors follow.


230 Ibid., i, 198-202. A mason was incorporated in 1493, Ibid., ii,110.

231 Ibid., ii,121.
the records inform us, the whole university was served. The example of Aberdeen inspired all these efforts. The rivalry was serious, though friendly. The thoroughgoing efforts there to provide instruction in all the higher faculties and at the same time to provide facilities for grammar and music at the university level were imitated often from the more half-hearted endeavours of Glasgow: or perhaps the Glasgow endeavours seem half-hearted, less from lack of will on the part of the university authorities, and more from lack of substantial endowment on the part of the archbishop. From 1497 the university records vaunt the city's new metropolitan dignity and there is even a reference to "the metropolitan university". The archbishop had, however, other commitments: Blackadder's aisle in the cathedral and the Renaissance-inspired rood screen among them.

An attempt in 1494 by David Dun, a regent in the university, to teach grammar there, was prohibited by the chancellor, who claimed that from time immemorial he had the responsibility for the grammar school. To revert to the arrangement whereby the grammar school master taught also in the university was probably impracticable.

232 Patrick Elphinstone was Rector in 1493. Some Aberdeenians were incorporated, one in 1493, two in 1501. Ibid., i, 114, 117. The phrase "in capitule ecclesie metropolitana Glasgowense" begins to be used. Ibid., ii, 112. "Apud Universitatem metropolitanae Glasgowense" (R.U.S., ii, No. 8029).

233 H.A.U.G. i, 37. Turnbull, p. 37. A few months earlier the grammar schoolmaster's living was increased by the addition of the chaplainry of St. Ninian, Glasgow, ii, 488. (This increase had the chancellor's consent; the document bears his seal).
although it may later have been done. Eventually the archbishop bypassed the claims of the chancellor and in 1501 made Cuthbert Simson chaplain of St. Nicholas altar in the hospital of that name "for the instruction of the youth in grammar daily in the same Pedagogy of Glasgow." Simson was a student in Paris at the time of Hector Boece, Erasmus and David Lowis.

The attraction of the rising new school of Scots nominalists at Paris drew a few students from the Glasgow area. One of them wrote to Blackadder in 1506, in answer to a letter of the archbishop, dedicating his questions on the Posterior Analytics to him in language of some elegance. "We are accustomed to see", says David Cranston, "many whom idleness and negligence overcame, as soon as fortune favoured them with more welcome arms, at the height of worldly dignity and with the arrival of worldly wealth. We are all fired by some spark of genius within us to learn what is knowable. It is far more incumbent on those, who are taken for demigods and models held up for our approval on earth, to have engaged in this struggle for knowledge."
The university suffered badly from a plague at the turn of the century. Under some Rectors incorporations had been few. A particularly active Rector was Principal Goldsmith who in 1490 gained the university's assent for some important articles. He invoked the statute whereby every deed and statute concerning the university should be entered in the Book of Conclusions, and he had the present parchment Rector's book compiled, another paper book being kept for lawsuits. Charters were also to be entered in this book: some are, but irregularly, and as in the St. Andrews book of "Evidences", some important ones are probably omitted. The other articles have a familiar ring, and show that in a small university the Rector's authority was limited. The power of the university, however, depended on its expansion, but that at this stage of development was under the control of the archbishop-chancellor.

Legal advice was to be taken regarding privileges as set out in charters and the letters of erection and regarding the Rector's jurisdiction. As new efforts at royal taxation of beneficed men were

237 M.A.L.E., ii, 278.
238 Especially David Cunningham.
239 Ibid., ii, 104-5.
expected, it was decided to forestall them with a
supplication for the maintenance of their exemption.
Since moreover the rural dean of Rutherglen had power
to summon members, who were thus prevented from
further advance and continuance of studies, the
chancellor was to be asked to grant exemption from all
rural deans of Glasgow archdiocese. Previously the
common seal had been in the Rector's possession; now
it was decided to place it in the university chest,
and permit its use only when the Rector, in general
congregation or in conjunction with his deputies,
approved. As the practice had lapsed of the bedellus
preceding the Rector to church with a white mace,
accompanied by a good-sized following, the statute
concerning it was to be integrated into the body of
university statutes and dispensation allowed for.
Consideration having been given to alterations to copes,
hoods and the silver mace, it was concluded that these
alterations be made at the expense of a levy on all
members. In arts the regents who held chaplainries
were to be compelled to keep their foundations, and
the university was to try to obtain a judgment compelling
Sir John Ross to pay his rent to the chaplainry of St.
Thomas. Bursars' accounts, neglected for the past six
years, were to be audited. The university concluded by
dispensing the Rector at his own request from full
observance of the university's laws. 240

240 Some accounts are given. Ibid., II, 106 seq.
The Principals

There were five principals during this quarter of a century, which contrasts with, for instance, King's college, where there were four in a half century. Even when they were all men of some distinction as they were, there could not be the same continuity of policy as in places more permanently endowed.

Walter Leslie: 1433–5

Leslie was a young man, son of Sir William Leslie of Balquholin. After studying in Glasgow, he went to Paris, where he was a fellow-student of James Liddell, the nominalist. He incepted there in 1482, in which year he was received to the faculty at Glasgow.

In November, 1484, the dean's deputies acted as auditors of the previous principal's account as received from his executors. Unfortunately no sums of money are mentioned, although receipts included cash from the university bursar also. The meeting in the following May was more informative. Then Leslie as bursar and principal asked the faculty to accept a certain sum received for the repair of the stonecutter. The money was given by Dominus John Smyth, who as we

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241 Ibid., 89, 230, 233; Actarium, cols. 432–3, 466, 500. The reference in col. 433 must be to Walter Forster not Leslie.
242 M.A.U.C., ii, 242. After "facultas" read "deliberavit etiam facultas penes summan pecunia quod ipsae magister consularst decanum facultatis quod in eo aequo agendum et quod eius preceptum permplorerit; quod etiam se facturum prorsus magister Walterus. Acta erant hoc die triginta die mensis maii anno quo supra." (Liber Decani, p. 30).
shall see later was also associated in this with the archdeacon. There are two or three different possibilities here. The first is that during the overhaul of their own High Street site the regents and students were being temporarily accommodated in the Old Pedagogy building which the archdeacon had mortified to the vicars choral for St. Michael's chaplainry, and that Smyth was their procurator. 243 Another is that they were being accommodated by their neighbours on either side in the High Street: once again the archdeacon as patron of another house of the chaplainry to the north of Arthurlie House, and the prior of the Blackfriars whose name in 1478 was John Smyth, styled "Frater dominus", but who at this time was David Craig. 244 Another is some sort of quid pro quo that the records take for granted. The faculty agreed that Leslie should take up the matter with the dean and agree to Smyth's requirements. The new bursar incidentally was the chaplain of St. Michael, David Gray. 245 Leslie's tenure of office was short. At the same congregation he told the faculty to look out for a new principal as he found it too heavy a burden. They asked him to postpone his resignation, and he freely

244 L.C.W.D., pp.190,194-201; Glasgow, ii, 437-8
245 Glasgow, ii, 462; M.A.U.C., ii, 248. Gray did not receive his cope as chaplain till 1495 and may not have been instituted till then (Glasgow, ii, 462), so that Smyth may have preceded him as chaplain.
promised to stay till Whitsunday. He left in July. A man of mature years and high qualifications could find more profitable and less arduous employment. He was frustrated in 1485 in obtaining a canonry of Glasgow, but in 1486 was vicar of Perth. His academic career was not quite over, and it was probably to study law that he went in 1494 to St. Andrews. His gifts lay in advocacy; Myln celebrates his "wisdom and eloquence." 249

George Crichton: 1485-8

George Crichton first appears as a regent in the rectorial period beginning October, 1484. He had come from St. Andrews where he had quarrelled with the provost of St. Salvator's, a quarrel as we saw which was settled in his favour. He can safely be equated with the Crichton senior who was at St. Andrews with William Dunbar, the poet, and with the son of David Crichton, of the Cranstons of Cranston Riddell, who became bishop of Dunkeld.

For a time John Goldsmith was temporary principal, but on the statutory opening date Crichton's

\[\text{246 Ibid., ii, 242, where "liberaliter" should read "libenter."} \]
\[\text{247 Protocol Ec. of James Young, i, no. 13; Cartularium Glasguense (Mitchell Library), ii, 166.} \]
\[\text{248 E. Reca., p. 192} \]
\[\text{249 Rentals Dunkeldensis, p. 326; Acts of the Lords of the Council in Public Affairs, ad indices; He founded a service in honour of Sts. Mungo and Thenew at St. Nicholas, Aberdeen (St. Nicholas, ii, 341) and died at Dunkeld in 1522. (The Black Book of Taymouth, p. 117).} \]
\[\text{250 H.A.U.C., ii, 19.} \]
\[\text{251 E. Reca., pp. 61-2; Dowden, Bishops, p. 37; S.H.R., xi, 256.} \]
appointment by the chancellor and faculty confirmation were ready. Another St Andrews man was also appointed as regent. The latter was a non-regent in 1487, probably because he wished to continue with his theological studies. He was replaced by Patrick Coventry, a future principal.

The bursar was instructed in 1485 to pay the principal some extraordinary moneys because of the need for overhaul of the houses of the pedagogy, no doubt Arthurlie and Bunch houses, which were not watertight and therefore needed urgent attention before winter. The principal made an outlay on the "riggin stains."

Numbers had taken an upward climb as the result of these appointments and the faculty seemed in good fettle. Dispensations from lectura were now, however, a matter of course (many are recorded in the Liber Decani in the hand of David Gray); also there are more early admissions to examinations and various other anomalies that appear to reflect the rebuilding taking place.

Sometime in the period between February of 1488 and the same month next year Coventry went off to

252 M.A.U.C., ii, 243-4; William Young, S.T.B., E.Rexo, p. 59
253 M.A.U.C., ii, 100. A professor of theology was incorporated this year.
254 Ibid., ii, 244, 246. The Rector took part in the visitation prior to the repairs.
255 Ibid., ii, 246, 249, etc.
St Andrews. In the meantime Crichton had been in trouble, either for neglect of his office or for some cause we can only conjecture; possibly he had spoken rashly in public disputation in this year of James III's downfall. At an arts congregation in July a letter from the chancellor was read, notifying the faculty that he had removed Crichton from the rule and exercise of the principalship. The chancellor also ordered the faculty to elect in his place a fit and learned man. Crichton continued for a short time as regent and Coventry was soon recalled from St. Andrews. The deposed regent is the butt of criticism as the bishop who is said to have averred that he knew neither the Old Testament nor the New, but only his "porteous" and pontifical.

John Goldsmith: 1488-90

Goldsmith was elected when he was dean of faculty; he was therefore their choice and not the archbishop's. He was an oldish man. For a brief space, as we have noted, he was principal in 1485. He acquired the vicarages of Eastwood and Cathcart.

Financially the faculty was comparatively

256 E.Ross., p.186
257 M.A.U.C., ii, 250-1.
258 S.H.B., xi, 288; Dowian, Bishops, pp.37-9. In 1500 he was abbot of Holyrood; from 1515 to 1538 keeper of the privy seal; in 1526 he became bishop of Dunkeld, and in 1543 was an octogenarian at least when he died.
259 Incorporated in 1465, licensed under Alexander Ngayes in 1469, and was bachelor of decrees by 1479; S.H.B., xi, 288 M.A.U.C., ii, 71, 212-3; C.P.R., xii, 627
260 Ibid., M.A.U.C., ii, 37.
flourishing, with a surplus of over £16, in spite of the fact that Crichton, who was expected to return, had not paid up some monies. Leslie, the former principal, did come back to a congregation regarding his debt of over £6 and took his great oath that it was part of the sum given him by Smyth for the repair of the stonercutter and that Smyth wanted it back. The faculty thought that Smyth and the archdeacon might be willing to let the money be used for the pedagogy. The matter was again referred to David Gray, the chaplain of the chaplainry founded by the archdeacon for the vicars choral.

Goldsmith retired, clearly of his own will, from the principalship, and during his rectorship of 1490 had the Liber Rectoris drawn up in its present form. He made his will on the 4th April, 1507. His heir was Alexander Menteith, prior of Restennet, and some items of university interest in his will are a gown of russet and a short one of black.

John Doby: 1490-8

He was another senior man. He seems to be

261 Ibid., ii, 252; Liber Decani, p. 95.
262 Y.A.U.C. ii, 251; Liber Decani, p. 93. "Qui magister Walterus cum magnno iuramento interviensiis asseruit illam summam debere de pecunia sibi deliberata per dominum Smyth ut caeret in congregacione tertio Anno dominii etc. Iuxyto Quam summam exigisse voluit dictus dominus Johannes Smyth ab eodem magistro Waltero," After "pedagogii" read "cum consilio dicti Archidiaconi super cuius summa expositione."
263 See earlier note.
264 Diocesan Registers, ii, 173-4. He was commissary of Glasgow, Ibid., ii, 138.
the Cologne graduate of that name. If so, at one time he had charge of the grammar school of Peebles. As we saw he was co-principal with Goldsmith for a time.

At the outset in 1490 the faculty had an important dean, somewhat reluctantly elected, who took office only at the faculty's urgent request. It was decided to elect a notary, David Gray, to copy legibly every conclusion, constitution, dispensation and other writings concerning itself. This cannot refer to the statutes book which has come down to us, and is not in the hand of Gray; nor to the Liber Decani, begun many years earlier, in 1477. Possibly a new statutes book was not in fact authorised, and it was decided merely to get Gray to enter deeds and dispensations in the existing Liber Decani, which he certainly has done. The notary was to have an annual fee.

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265 In 1464, having studied under Severinus de Monata and Cornelius de Breda (Keussen, Matrikel, i, 637). A John Dobie was at Paris somewhat later (Auctorium, iii, cols. 196, 237.)

266 Charters of Peebles, i, 155.

267 In 1482 he was rector of Kirkpatrick Fleming (Curtullarium Glasguense, ii, 110).

268 Liber Decani, p. 57 supplements M.A.U.G., ii, 253-5. A 17th century inventory lists "three books in folio concerning the chapter of Glasgow given in by James Balfour in 1625" and a quarto book called "Statuta capituli ecclesiae glasguensis." In a cabinet were two old faculty books of parchment in folio (i.e. the Liber Decani and perhaps the Liber Rectoris which is not a faculty book); another old faculty book in quarto (statutes); another book of parchment in folio (post-Reformation); another in paper; a rental book; two books of accounts; the quaestor's book (which may have been bound as at St Andrews with the older accounts). Glasgow University, Archives, Drawer C5(d). The James Balfour was the Balfour of Tarrie in Angus who returned the Rector's book in 1625.
An expert and hardworking promoter was to be elected to act as faculty procurator in all lawsuits, and to be paid a salary. Archibald Crawford was chosen. Absentees from a previous congregation cited thereto by the bedellus had their offence remitted. The promoter was to receive all faculty goods and debts (inclusive of books and robes). But certain masters and others whose names were given had their debts from *lectura* dispensed. Obviously this had become such a formality that the dispensation fees caused resentment.

The laird of Hawkhead was still being pursued for rents from the Arthurlie lands. The chapel of St. Thomas Martyr was to be repaired at faculty costs and if the laird did not pay up he was to be prosecuted. The faculty owed money to Coventry for the inner buildings of Arthurlie House, of which Coventry, as junior regent, would be in charge. He promised to spend more on roof and other repairs as far as he could afford.

During the rectorial periods 1490-1494 there were 41 Incorporations, 20 bachelors, 18 licentiates. If we equate the number of arts students with the number who reach the bachelorship, over the period we should arrive at about 20 students in college at any definite

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time; if practically all who matriculated studied arts there might be thirty or forty.

Rich students caused difficulties. Coventry refused to present Alexander Stewart, son of the earl of Lennox, for licence. Influence was immediately brought to bear on the university and two days after the admission of his fellows a great number of masters met in the cathedral at St. Martin's altar, where the faculty humiliated itself by receiving him, although on his own admission he was not qualified. However, to save its face it threatened any master bringing such pressure or soliciting others to bring it with a stiff fine in future. Even so Stewart was to continue in college till Christmas, and indeed they did not receive their insignia till then. Some of these young men threw money about freely in their promotion feasts. Alexander Erskine, son of a laird, had huge expenses in his bachelor's act, a glorious occasion remarks the scribe a little reminiscently.

By this time Michaelmas was preferred to St. Luke for the statutory opening of session, and so the actual opening followed the morrow of Michaelmas, the 1st October, feast of St. Remy. From 1490 ordinary lectures were to open then and last till the 1st

270 Ibid., ii, 104-111 (not counting a mason incorporated); Ibid., ii, 253, seq.
271 Ibid., ii, 260; Liber Deconii, pp. 100-1.
272 Ibid., ii, 266; see extract from Liber Deconii (App. B).
September (St. Giles); although one student was dispensed to begin his lecture much later.

On the day on which the regents normally chose their books, the 1st October, in 1497, it was decided to add to the treatises of Peter of Spain, which were already read ordinarily, the treatise on the suppositions. Lectures would only cease on the morrow of a double feast insofar as ordinary lectures were concerned; otherwise students would have to attend such ordinary lectures as the regents decided upon. 273

The dean of 1497-8, Thomas Forsyth, brought some welcome stringency to the post. On the 3rd July, 1498, he pointed out that it was ridiculous to draw up statutes and not keep them; there ought to be a statute for keeping statutes. He urged a new policy of severity towards those who did not continue reading after licence. Work on the repair of the New Hall was held up for lack of money; it was no use beginning a thing if you were not going to finish it. As a result of the importunity of suppliants dispensations and infractions of the statutes were a regular occurrence: masters who disobeyed the dean’s warning should be dealt with immediately. The fifth point referred to a contract with Michael Waghorn, who had begun some work for the faculty and left it, no doubt because the money

273 Liber Decani, p.100 (Appendix B).
was not forthcoming quickly enough. Waghorn was a skilled carpenter who was commissioned to do some elaborate work on the cathedral stalls. The promoter could not be expected to fight the faculty’s battles at his own expense; his salary should be considered.

In 1495 we hear of a former dean deserving well of the faculty as regards the building of the college of arts. He had spent money on the kitchen which was left unfinished by the stonemason, Alexander Fleming. In connection with the details of contractors for the building, a new book of accounts (a special building account?) is referred to.

Space forbids the citation of any more items from this lively period, except for the little item that the new faculty hoods of blue, a colour peculiar to Glasgow, are again mentioned. Undoubtedly the bracing effort of the new foundation at Aberdeen was being felt at Glasgow. Doby was a very active regent throughout his period of office, was Rector once, and at various times bursar and vice-dean, though Coventry was usually vice-chancellor. It cannot be said that much new blood was infused into the faculty, but Walter Stewart, a former student, returned from Paris to serve in the faculty; Patrick Elphinstone, a Cologne graduate,

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275 M.A.U.C., ii, 269; see Liber Decani, p. 120 (App. B). The change of policy adopted at this meeting is reflected in the notes by Gray in the Liber Decani recording payments for dispensations from licence. Patrick Graham, son of the earl of Montrose, paid the statutory sum of a noble (M.A.U.C., ii, 268).  
276 Ibid., ii, 256  
was dean in 1491. Doby probably died before November, 1498, when David Dun was now regent. He left ten marks to the faculty in his will. 279

Patrick Coventry: 1498-1509

Coventry, as we have seen, was a very experienced regent by the time of his appointment as principal. He was a graduate on arrival, doubtless of some foreign university. 280 From the fact that he belonged to the Albany nation, we can deduce that he came from north of the Forth. At the time of his appointment he was vicar of Glencairn, which he became about 1493. 281

A problem of these years are the blanks in the record, as also at St Andrews. There was plague in 1501, and when the faculty met for the opening of the academic year it was dispersed and there were no lectures for most of that year. 282 In 1504 and 1505 there is no record even of a dean.

There is some careless book-keeping, however. An indication is the mention of Andrew Erskine, first as a bachelor in 1502, and again in 1506 as having completed the two-year post-inception period. But

278 Ibid., ii, 268, 271. He was licensed in 1494 at Paris (Paris, Archives Nationales, Reg.HE526, ff.193r,142v)
279 Ibid., ii, 272-3.
280 Ibid., ii, 100.
281 Ibid., ii, 109, etc. 110.
282 Ibid., ii, 278.
neither licence nor inception is recorded for him or his fellows; moreover William Manderston's licence, not otherwise on record, is among those entered here.

William Stewart, former dean of faculty, left money in his will to buy a silver cup for the faculty, to which Coventry contributed an additional mark. This cup, weighing seven ounces, became a permanent possession. Although the faculty repaid Coventry, its funds were tight, and the Rector was present at two audits, no doubt because the university purse was expected to help. The promoter was told to collect debts anyhow, quovismodo.

Coventry was obviously a talented administrator had these years been more propitious. John Spreull is described as "secondary regent" in July, 1499; perhaps this was a kind of subprincipalship. Coventry's last appearance in the university is in November 1509. He died before April 12th, 1526, when his successor as dean of Restalrig is mentioned.

283 Ibid., ii, 282. Liber Decani, pp. 135, 137.
284 Ibid., ii, 276. After propria read, "Ego patricius cowynthre fateor me recepisse unam tasseam septem unciorum ad usum, utilitatem et commodum facultatis arctum studii glaschwensis teste manu propria." (Lib. Decani, p. 131). In 1506 Archibald Calderwood, vicar of Cadder, for the great labours and services done by him to the college of arts arranged for certain masses by the regents. In return he granted an annual rent, four silver spoons and a mazer. (Ibid., i, 43-4).
285 Ibid., ii, 280-1.
286 Ibid., ii, 274.
Theology.

In 1484 William Young was admitted as a bachelor of theology. About the same time Robert Kennedy, vicar of Penpont and a Premonstratension canon, may have studied theology. But the most important thing affecting the theology faculty in this period was the donation of a building to the Dominicans in return for the Rector's right to appoint one of their number as chaplain. 288 The plan obviously was that such a chaplain being a religious qualified in theology should take over the main burden of lecturing in the faculty. The foundation was approved by the provincial chapter in June and later that same year a Dominican professor and his bachelor appear in the university: David Craig and a Friar Denis, bachelor confirmatus. With them was incorporated Patrick Coventry, who by 1491 was a bachelor biblicus. He was confirmed as bachelor by William Cadzow, professor of theology, in 1507, having completed in the university the lectures and disputationes requisite "according to the custom and use of our university." 290 Cadzow's incorporation is not mentioned, and it is likely that he was brought specially for the occasion. It is

289 M.A.U.G., i, 23 seq.
290 Mackie, History, pp. 25-6; M.A.U.G., ii, 100, 105, 120; at some date after this Coventry took his licence (Glasgow Prots., ed. Renwick iv, no. 1121.)
still obvious that a competent president must have been present at Coventry's disputations.

Law

John Goldsmith, Rector in 1490, himself a graduate of the Glasgow law faculty, advocated that the chaplain be compelled to read according to the tenor of David Cadzow foundation. Patrick Coventry was also a bachelor in decrees. James Knox was chaplain of the Cadzow foundation in 1498, and we have already mentioned the new window in its school in 1502. William Gibson, incorporated in 1503, studied canon law here, and there may be others of whom we have no record.

The exact date of Knox's demission or death is not known, but after that the revenue from the chaplainry was not considered attractive enough, and in August, 1513, the chaplainry was already in the hands of an unfit person. So it remained till its transfer to the arts faculty in 1522. We have no reason to believe that the faculty was ever revived, although men who were accomplished lawyers occasionally held official posts in the university.

In 1505, the year in which Elphinstone made

292 Soltra, p. 282.
294 Soltra, p. 1; Formula, ii, 164; M.A.U.G., ii, 118.
295 Ibid., ii, 126. Knox was alive in 1512; Fraser, The Doulos Book, iii, 207.
his final endowment of King's College, Aberdeen, Glasgow seemed about to enter a new season of prosperity. Next year the chancellor decided to provide a permanent endowment. It was to consist of the vicarages of Cadder, Stobto, Linton, Kilbirnie and the rectory of Garvauld. The object was to encourage the superior faculties and to enlarge the subjects taught and possibly to recruit some learned man as teachers. 296 The chapter agreed on the 8th June, but papal authority was still required. By the 26th June of the following year, at the wish of the subdean Roland Blackadder, the matter was raised in the general Whitsunday chapter. The consent of Archibald Calderwood for the vicarage of Cadder was obtained, after his death or when otherwise vacant, and the chapter again authorised the annexation, papal confirmation being as yet not forthcoming. 297 The final annexation took place on the 5th February 1508. 298 Unfortunately, however, that very year the archbishop died during a voyage from Venice to the Holy Land. Papal authorisation was never obtained, and a necessary step in the advancement of the university was not taken.

None of these benefices was, in fact received, not even Cadder. The vicar of the latter was friendly,

296 *Ad utilitatem cleri et doctrinam variam et uberiorum et doctorum virorum inibi fovendam*. Diocesan Registers, ii,132. M.A.U.C., i,42. (Transcripts differ slightly). Patrick Coventry, Principal, was rector of Garvauld. 297 Diocesan Registers, ii,198-9. 298 Ibid., ii,252; M.A.U.C., i,43
and had done much service on the behalf of the faculty of arts. For this they were to say office of the dead on the 3rd November, with Mass on the 4th, for his soul. In recompense he gave what became known as the Regent's Annual, to be paid out of his tenement facing the college. His benefice, however, did not yet come the way of the university. James Blackadder had a papal appointment to it. Moreover, John Colquhoun was appointed by the new archbishop to the vicarage of Stobo, although at first he seemed in some doubt of holding it. The new chancellor had no intention of carrying out Blackadder's wishes, and the more likely students left Glasgow for elsewhere: Alexander Livingstone, for instance, to St. Andrews, where he was regent, and William Manderston to Paris, where he became an outstanding pupil of David Cranston.

James Beaton I: Chancellor 1508-1522

James Beaton had been royal treasurer before coming to Glasgow, and over his whole career he can be described as an able administrator. At the beginning

299 It consisted of 8s. to pay for a collation. A further 2d was paid for the bell-ringer. 2d. was also to be paid to the Dean of Arts for supervising the foundation. M.A.U.G., i, 43-46. He confirmed his gift after Blackadder's death, on the 27th November, 1509, in the pedagogy.

300 Diocesan Registers, ii, 341-493.

301 Livingstone went to St. Salvator's, where he determined in 1505 (Early Records, 92); Thomas McLellan and Roger Mainsies determined in the Pedagogy in 1505 (ibid.). William Manderston was incorporated twice at Glasgow, in 1503 and 1505 (M.A.U.G., ii, 118-120). He determined under Coventry in 1506. He took his licence, though not recorded among licentiates. On the 10th August, 1508, the bursar was exonerated "de omnibus per eum receptis funiclo sect in acte (sic) licencia Mills, william manderston xsi. quam sciam H. Jacobum Nos auditores predicti exoneramus". (M.A.U.G., ii, 304 and Liber Decani p.197). M. S. and M. S., Archbishops of St. Andrews, iii, 11.

This volume is entirely dedicated to an account of him.
of his rule, however, Glasgow university suffered badly, and in the event irredeemably, from his neglect.
Although a St. Andrews student himself, he took Glasgow seriously enough to persuade his famous nephew David, later cardinal, to study there, as also another close relative, Andrew Durie, later bishop of Galloway.

The arts faculty, however, had five successive principals in fourteen years; the faculty of canon law was abandoned; and it was only towards the end of his chancellorship that the faculty of theology took a new lease of life. War and plague added to the damage done.

Although postulated at the King's request by the chapter they were slow to accept him. There may have been friction also with the university. On Easter Sunday, however, of 1509, the bulls of appointment directed to the Rector of the university were accepted by him in the chapter-house in the name of the university and the Glasgow chapter. How far the quarrel was continued can be seen in the next important university meeting of the 19th June.

There is a familiar ring about the proposals put to this congregation by the Rector, and on which deputies from all the nations took decisions.

303 M.A.U.G., ii, 125, 128.
304 Archbishops, iii, 21-4. Diocesan Registers, ii, 295, 305
305 Diocesan Registers, ii, 278.
306 M.A.U.G., ii, 121-3. On the 8th July, 1512, the archbishop confirmed the privileges of the chapter, Diocesan Registers, ii, 454.
Inevitably the first concerned the Rector's jurisdiction, which he alleged had once more fallen into disuse. The decision, aimed at the official and possibly the chancellor, was that the Rector was sole judge in all cases affecting university members, and that any master or member citing another before any judge other than the Rector, vice-Rector and deputies was to be expelled from the university.

The earlier decision to make a small university seal ad causas was reaffirmed; possibly it had been lost through disuse.

The rural dean was still a thorn in the flesh. Their priest-members ought no longer to be dragged before his chapter against their will, as this contravened the privileges granted by Bishop Turnbull. The rural dean in question was undoubtedly dean of Rutherglen. As he was a former master of the university, sworn to observe its privileges, it was decided to call him before the Rector and his deputies and warn him to cease transgressing the university's privileges. 307

The chaplainry of St. Michael founded by John Reston and of which the Rector and his council

307 In 1511 he was Archibald Laing, who graduated at Glasgow in 1491. Dioceaean Registers ii, 419. M.A.U.G., ii, 238. The solution of the problem may have been hastened by the fact that in 1514 the dean of arts was rural dean of Kyle. M.A.U.G., ii, 128. Laing had influence in high places and was dispensed from his obligation of two years' lectura out of respect for the King (ii, 234.)
were patrons had for a long time been vacant by the death of John Gibson, and their right of presentation was endangered by procrastination. It was resolved to remedy this bad administration by citation of all interested persons.

The deputies went more warily regarding the next proposal of Reid, which would have given him precedence over the vicars general in all public acts and processions during the archbishop's absence. They decided to consult Beaton first before committing themselves to anything so drastic. The whole meeting was designed, less to advance the university as such, than the particular personal interests of Martin Reid.

Incorporations had begun to fall in Blackadder's time, but the situation appears worse than it was because of negligent record-keeping. The distraction of the great national disaster at Flodden may have encouraged this negligence, but already from November 1509 there are no faculty of arts records for another quarter of a century. The book can scarcely have been in the hands of the retiring dean, who was still there when the new dean took over. But it is

308 John Gibson, junior, held it in 1507. *Diocesan Registers*, ii, 284.

309 McTavish, Crichton, Maxwell and Wallace who determined in 1508 (M.A.U.G., ii, 285) fall to be recorded in 1509. Laurence Scott who determined in 1509 (ii, 286) is not recorded in 1507, under which date should also be entered Robert Houston, William Livingstone, David Calderwood and Michael Hutchinson who determined in 1509 (ii, 286), but were not incorporated till 1510 (ii, 124).

310 M.A.U.G., ii, 126. James Neilson was the new dean. Hamilton may have taken the book away because it was filled up. The last 1509 entries are written on a page which was obviously in contact with a binding (if the book was bound) or at least soiled by handling (if it was unbound).
almost certain that he had mislaid it, for he was Robert Hamilton, and it was only under another dean named Hamilton that it came into use again. The book at any rate was not available in 1518 to record the election of a new dean of arts which was entered instead in the university book. Other details about the arts faculty can be gleaned from the university book in this period, but records of all graduations are lost. They may have been temporarily recorded on a paper, or even a parchment, record now lost.

The loss was not immediately very significant, as the university for the present was nothing more than a faculty of arts anyway. Further study had evidently lapsed. In 1512 the vicar of Maybole was cited by the regent, John Spreull, commissary of the chancellor, for non-residence either in his vicarage or at the university for the sake of study. It is in this period too that the peculiar phrase "dean of the faculty of the said university" comes into use, which points to the virtual identity of university and faculty.

311 Iibid., ii,139.
312 On p.151 of the Liber Decani we learn that "Anno domini 1518 creati sunt magistri Robertus maxwell, Patricius melvin". This Patrick Melville is not otherwise recorded.
313 Diocesan Registers,ii,452. Mathew Stewart, vicar of Maybole, returned to the university, and held university offices from 1519. M.A.U.C., ii,136. He was one of the deputies consulted in 1509 (ii,122). Spreull himself was in trouble in 1509 for not presenting to the chapter his dispensation to study bearing the archiepiscopal signet thereupon. Diocesan Registers,ii,314.
314 M.A.U.C., ii,134.
On the 4th August 1513 the periodical inquest was made into the revenue from the chaplainries. St. Michael's was easily disposed of: the occupant was useless to the university, and it was therefore declared vacant. The chaplainry of the Blessed Virgin Mary required a suitable candidate. The funds of this chaplainry were no longer sufficient to maintain a reader in canon law, still less attract one from what otherwise was a lucrative profession. Nor was there a suitable candidate then in the university. It was therefore concluded that the best procedure was to appoint an interim chaplain to perform the suffrages for the founder and to collect the rents of the foundation. The onus of finding a suitable candidate, who could carry out the lectures also, was left not only on the Rector but, significantly, on Archbishop Beaton as well.

Under these conditions a contract was arranged with a certain Andrew Smyth, a somewhat turbulent character. He was to receive five marks for himself as chaplain and pay the rest to the university bursar. In the meantime, however, Smyth fell foul of Patrick Graham, the Rector. Sometime in June or July 1514, a certain Ellen Hannay alleged through her procurator

315 The last mention of its previous possessor, James Knox, is in 1504 (Ibid., ii, 119).
that Smyth had plundered a brass cauldron from her lodging. The Rector, sitting in judgment in the aisle of St. Michael in the cathedral, ordered him to restore it. The complainer was, it would seem, Smyth's mother and with him co-executor of his father's will. In January 1514 she revoked the contract between them, and this in the Drygate lodging of the dean of arts, James Neilson. Smyth, however, appearing before the Rector, appealed, and offered to defend his appeal and give judicial notice of it within a specified time. His procurator, Sir George Cameron, appeared again in the aisle of St. Michael on the 1st August, asserting before Graham that the last day of July was assigned to him by the Rector as the day of diet, but that the Rector was not present on that day. This assertion was probably not true, and the Rector refused letters of appeal.

On Thursday the 18th June 1517, Graham, as Rector, and the new principal called for an account from Smyth, he not having rendered it for the past three years. He owed £1 17s personally from his receipts, but money was also owed which he had not managed to collect, up to the sum of £2 10s 8s, including a rent that came from a hospice situated next to the grammar school. It was obvious from this account that the readership of

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317 Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, nos. 80, 81,117; Diocesan Registers, ii,450,508.
318 M.A.U.G., ii, 130-1. The total adds up to £2. 11s, including Is 6d of the payment of which he is relieved.
canon law could not be maintained on the income from the chaplainry, and the previous arrangement with Smyth was renewed, except that this time he is said to be paying five marks to "the university and faculty of Glasgow". The way was now being prepared for the complete abandonment of canon law.

Unfortunately there is no satisfactory account by the bursar in this period. In the faculty book there is a memo regarding an account of 1512, but this must have been entered at a later date: the flyleaf in question may have come from the other book. It merely informs us, however, that on the 25th October, 1512, Thomas Leiss, the university bursar, had £1 4s in his possession, which he would deliver to James Houston, new bursar: at the date of the memo he had not yet delivered it. We have no indication as to what money was spent or on what purposes, but it was evident that finance was a problem, and that the university and the faculty of arts were becoming identical terms.

In these circumstances the faculty was determined to stand on its dignity. As at St. Andrews, the custom had arisen of arts students, not only seeking dispensation from two years' further reading in arts after their licence, but leaving without proceeding to the solemn act of the mastership. The Rector and

319 Liber Decani, flyleaf 1, verso.
the dean of faculty jointly called a general congregation in the upper chapter house on the 10th December, 1517. They alleged that some licentiates were arrogating the title of master to themselves by virtue of their licence. It was proposed that anybody who entitled a licentiate master would be fined 2s, to be paid to the faculty; anyone calling himself such, or usurping the title in writing or dictating it to a scribe should similarly pay 20s. each time. This act was to be notified in the schools during the creation of licentiates by the president, who was not to infringe it himself. The proposal was consented to by the faculty on the same day and publicly notified before the meeting closed.321

Following what I have suggested in the first chapter was the lead given by Alexander Stewart, archbishop of St Andrews, Beaton, in one of the great Imaginative acts of which he was capable, invited the great Scots scholar, John Mair, over from Paris to be principal. The plague of 1515 was now over and the initial difficulties of Beaton with the widowed queen Margaret and the pro-English party.322

There was need of a new bedellus in 1519, when, at the general congregation convened to elect one, the Rector, Robert Maxwell, later bishop of Orkney.

321 *Ibid.*, ii, 132. The position of the faculty was also emphasised by the fact that the dean was vice-Rector on the 25th June, 1518, and again from November till the election of the new Rector (*Ibid.*, ii, 132, 134).

donated a mace, silvered on top, bottom and centre, to be carried by the bedellus before the Rector on Sundays and lesser feasts; the heavier mace being reserved for greater feasts.\textsuperscript{323} This smaller mace has not survived.

The success of Glasgow must have been watched with jealous eyes from St Andrews. At length the conservator of that university descended on one of its members, Andrew Smyth. Peter Aldiston executed a summons upon him in the house of David Kinghorn, monk of Crossraguel, a Glasgow student.\textsuperscript{324} Summoned before the Rector, Aldiston denied all knowledge of either the author or the nature of the letters of citation, but his plea was not accepted and he was forced to apologise, head uncovered, to Smyth and Kinghorn. The conservator was not held to be a competent judge, as the archbishopric of Glasgow was exempt from St Andrews. It was further decreed that no university member should presume to serve such letters in future under pain of expulsion.\textsuperscript{325}

To finance the English wars, the Governor had imposed a tax on all benefices up to an eighth of their revenues, from which tax the university claimed exemption: at their own expense, the Rector and principal went to Edinburgh and Beaton confirmed the ensuing letters of exemption with letters bearing his own signet and

\textsuperscript{323} Ibid., ii, 137.
\textsuperscript{324} Robert Aldiston was at St Andrews (E.Recs., p.198). Smyth was the Glasgow university scribe (M.A.U.G., ii, 190).
\textsuperscript{325} Ibid., ii, 141.
signature directed to the rural deans. Few beneficed men were actually resident in 1522 as far as the lists go. The Rector proposed that the exemption should be published yearly in congregation. 326

Thomas Coutts: Principal, 1510-1514

The Coutts appointment showed that the chancellor was from the start prepared to infuse new blood into the university. On the 7th October, 1510, Thomas Coutts, newly instituted as principal, joined the university. 327 At the time of his appointment he would be in his forties; he was born in Aberdeen and had studied at Louvain and Paris, where he was a fellow student of Hector Boece. 328 It is possible that he had done a period of regency at King's before coming to Glasgow.

Unfortunately for this principalship we have no information. The faculty record (the Liber Decani) is a blank for this period, from 1510 till 1534. We do not even know the names of the regents, and although we have the initials of two they are not identifiable. In 1512 Coutts was procurator, deputy and intrant, doubtless as the sole representative of the Albany nation. 330 By October, 1514, he was no longer principal, although he acted as intrant two years later. 331 The

326 Ibid., i, 47; ii, 144. More complete text in Evidence, ii, where "confirmationis", however, should read "confirmatoris."
328 Brussels, Archives, Liber Intitulatorum, iii, f. 11r; Paris, Archives Nationales, Reg. H2588, ff. 135r, 142v.
329 See formulary for licence (Appendix B).
331 Ibid., ii, 128-9.
explanation undoubtedly was that he was too useful otherwise to the archbishop.

**David Melville: Principal, 1514-1517**

In the rectorial period beginning on the 25th October, 1513, David Melville was incorporated as a regent. He was probably a Fife man. He also had come from Paris, where he was a graduate when the Scottish nominalist school was at the height of its reputation under its leader, John Mair.

In October 1514 he is recorded as principal. Although there is no further mention of him he seems to have stayed on till 1517 during the plague period.

In 1517 he went to become principal the Pedagogy in St Andrews. Nothing is known of the faculty's history during his period of office in Glasgow.

**David Abercromby: Principal, 1517-18**

The new principal, like Melville, had studied in St. Salvator's college, and his career can be followed as examiner, provisor for the feast of St. John Evangelist, quodlibetariensis, teacher of the Summulae

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332 He became in turn rector of Hutton, commissary of Glasgow, official first of Glasgow then of Lothian, vicar of Cargill, keeper of the royal signet, rector of Spott and canan of the Chapel Royal; Dies., Reg., i, 445; Prot. Pr. of Cupin Res., nos. 96, 410; Liber Officijlia Sancti Andreae, pp. 30, 30; Acts of the Lords in Public Affairs, pp. 314, 281; R.S.S., ii, 499

333 From St Andrews (E. Recs., pp. 95, 199), where he was a member of the Albany nation.

334 He was a bachelor at Paris in the receivership of Gavin Dunbar and incepted a year later; Paris, Univ., Archives, Reg. 31, ff. 116r., 127r.

335 M.A.U.C., ii, 123.
in the college up till 1516.  

He came to Glasgow in June of the following year as principal and took part as deputy and intrant in the rectorial election. In October 1518 he is merely styled "regent of the pedagogy", but it is likely that he was no longer principal. Other mentions of him include the description "regent of the college" in 1520.

Nothing is known of this short period except that two students' names are recorded in the manuscript as having received their master's insignia. Neither of these is otherwise recorded. It is in any event most improbable that the faculty could have flourished under such a bewildering succession of principals, no doubt good scholars, but in office for too short a time to make any impression.

John Mair: Principal, 1518-1522

The next principal, John Mair, or Major, as he is usually called, was one of the great Scotsmen of the sixteenth century. About his life we have a lot of information: only salient points can be noticed here.

He was born at Gieghornie, near Haddington,
and was destined for the priesthood, but almost gave up under the harsh discipline of his Haddington teacher. It is possible that he went first to St Andrews university, but the first certain fact about his higher education is that he entered the college of Godshouse in Cambridge in 1490. There he seems to have remained a year. Godshouse was a college for the training of grammar masters, and its head was a certain John Syclyng, but Mair seems to have studied under John Thorn, "the ornament of Cambridge university." From England he went to Paris, studying first under Jean Bouillache at the college of Ste. Barbe; his teacher later became regent of grammar in the college of Navarre.

He then began to study theology under Jean Standonck, the famous principal of the college of Montaigu. He never spoke of him without awe, and boasted of having lived "in the shadow of so great a man." Inspired by a school of able logicians including Thomas Bricot, a Frenchman, and Jeronimo Pardo, a Spaniard, he himself became an outstanding teacher almost from the first. His lectures, beginning with the Exponibilla in 1499, were eagerly sought after by the Paris printers. This began an incessant work of publication and editing.

342 Lloyd, Early History of Christ's College, pp. 37, 215.
343 Innes Rev., v, 98-9, where we learn that another colleague was Louis Ber, later a theologian at Basle.
344 Major, History, p. 430. "Magni anim estimati atque estimo sub umbra tallis et tanto viri quiescere."
345 Archives d'Hist. Doctrinale et Litteraire du Moyen Age, xiii, 203 seq.
which lasted for thirty more years. His career at Montaigu we cannot follow in detail here; there he taught both arts and theology after taking his doctorate in 1506. His commentaries on the Sentences were considered by his contemporaries to be the liveliest, most profound and most up-to-date. In 1518, when he received his invitation to Glasgow, he had published at least 46 separate editions in philosophy and theology.

He was a middle-aged man in his fifties, small in stature, "major only in name," as he jokingly said. Within a month he issued his commentary on St. Matthew's gospel from "the academy of Glasgow," to which he hoped to bring some of the ideals of the Athenian academy.

His dedication is composed in the fulsome style of the contemporary epistolary models, and no doubt reflects Mair's sincere admiration for Beaton, a prudent archbishop in his see and a watchful chancellor of the realm. But the letter also preaches to him a little of his duties in the intellectual sphere, in the manner of David Crenston's earlier letter to Blackadder. Those

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347 Innes Rev.,1,120 seq. gives a bibliography.
348 A portrait of sorts is given, Ibid.,v,93.
349 J.H. Burns, "New Light on John Major" in Innes Review, v,90, says this dedication was dated on the 22nd December. It was "10 Cal. Decembris", however. Major, History of Greater Britain, p.436.
350 For what the evidence is worth, it may be noted that Mair's name (in the form "maioris") is entered in the same ink as the entries of the 3rd November while the rest of the incorporations are entered in a much lighter ink, but all in Nicholas Wotherspoon's hand. The archbishop, who was presented to the temporality of Kilwinning in 1516 (R.S.S., i, no.2725), must in turn have presented Mair to the vicarage of Dunlop (which belonged to that abbey).
who are high priests, says Malr, ought to guard the sacred books as the ancient Egyptians did theirs, all the more as they are the archetypes and models which other mortals must follow. Not for nothing did the world's Archetype lay down that the divine mysteries be handled only by those who already loved wisdom: the Jewish seers and the Essenes were as devoted to it as to their priestly calling. But Beaton has already all the Pauline virtues, and if he has his responsibilities as leader, Malr has his as a son of the Church.

"Epaminondas seeing an army leaderless said, 'I see a headless monster.' Likewise this our little edition would go on to the stage without the dress for the part and headless, without your patronage and blessing."

It would be natural to expect that Malr would bring some of Standonck's ideals to Glasgow. But we have only indirect information as to his activities, at least as far as the arts faculty goes. He is described as principal regent "of the college and pedagogy" and as "professor of theology." The latter aspect can be examined later. What light can be shed on the former?

In the first place, and especially after Flodden, there was no hope of obtaining the annexations of church revenues needed to establish a college on the scale of

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350 Major, *History*, pp. 435-6, reprinted from his commentary on St. Matthew. His Greek studies are reflected in the use of "prothomiste" for "high priests" and "acephala" for headless.
Montalagu in Paris. Already the tendency of the university was to become a college of theologians and artists exclusively. But Mair would support the liquidation of the faculty of law and a more economic use of funds. In June, 1522, he was present when auditors were appointed to investigate the readership's revenues. Finally in July, James Lindsay, regent in arts, was accorded them, not to teach law, but to teach arts daily in the pedagogy. This was a majority decision only; it is probable that Mair's views are strictly relevant.

Even in 1530, when his views on jurists had somewhat mellowed, he remarks that the magnanimous man would rather study mathematics than law: law brings in more money, but mathematics has an inner excellence. In the 1521 edition of his commentary on the fourth book of the Sentences, he is even more specific. The ordaining bishop does not ask the ordinand if he knows both laws but if he knows both testaments, and it is in homage to these that he takes off his mitre. The Church flourished more when theologians governed it. Now it had come into the hands of the canonists, and "how it is governed, everybody knows." 353

Mair's reputation attracted many new students, forty three of them, the largest annual inflow since

352 Ethico Aristotelis,f.Ixiii verso. These lectures were given at Glasgow before 1530. "Citius scholasticus magnummos mathematicas curat artos quam iura libratione."
353 In Quattuor Sententiarum (1521),f.cclxxvi C.
Turnbull's time. The accommodation problem would be acute. Naturally there was enticement from St Andrews. Some notable future regents were also among the matriculands of this remarkable year. The fewer matriculands in 1519 perhaps resulted from pressure on space, but in 1521 thirty four were admitted. By modern standards these figures are laughable, but they meant something at the time. There may too have been a limit to the possibilities of absorption of what were mainly - from the fact that they migrated to St. Leonard’s - poor students. But this is not certain:

St. Leonard's, as we saw, was itself inspired by Montaigu and when Mair went to St Andrews overflow students may, as suggested in the previous chapter, have lived there. The principal meantime at Glasgow, who must have been very busy, managed to write his history of Scotland then; at this time he appears as a man of infinite energy.

Another point worth noting, in view of the place occupied by grammar instruction at the university level in Mair's own upbringing, at Cambridge, and possibly also under Bouillache at Paris (he retained for him considerable respect as two of his dedications bear

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The following later left for St. Andrews: David Coventry, pauper, St. Leonard's, 1523 (ibid.,113); John Still, St. Leonard's, 1519 (ibid.,215); William Hepburn, St. Leonard's, 1520 (ibid.,216); Henry Forres, St. Leonard's, 1523 (ibid.,118).


356 M.A.U.C., ii, 136-140. Of these William Henderson may have been at St. Leonard’s in 1520 (E.Reca.,p.110) and William Barclay was in the Pedagogy in 1526 (ibid.,118).

357 Yet he never mentions St. Leonard's in his works. His observations, however, are generally with regard to endowment as in History, pp.28-9.
witness), is that we first find the master of Glasgow grammar school active in the university councils during Mair's principalship, for in 1521 the schoolmaster was bursar. However if he or Cuthbert Simson gave lectures to the students, it would be preparatory merely to the arts course proper. 358

Finance was a continual worry during these developments. In 1522 they were still ingathering the fruits of the canon law readership. All university and faculty bursars were to render accounts. Arthurlie House needed reconstruction beyond the powers of the common purse. The Rector proposed that it should be let to a rich man who would pay a rent and repair it, but this proposal was for a time shelved. Forman of St Andrews had died and Beaton would succeed him; the university hoped for much from Beaton's successor. 359

The absence of Mair in Paris in 1521 would draw away some numbers as would the earthquake that took place that year in Glasgow, Paisley and district, which struck at six in the morning and set the Blackfriars spire on fire, leaving not a single place unaffected. It is likely to have been this act of God rather than accumulated neglect that caused Arthurlie House to be in so parlous a state. 360 This would also account for the

358 Innes Rep., v, 98; Major, History, pages xxxi, 480; M.A.U.G., ii, 139.
360 Innes Rep., v, 92. It is not clear that the spire was affected by the earthquake.
absence of students from the east of Scotland. 362

Some details of Mair's work at Glasgow are to be found in a letter to John Spreull and William Gibson, appearing in 1526 in the Octo Libri Physicorum (in the short commentary on the Metaphysics). 362 There he writes "You both once professed arts with renown in the museum of Glasgow, at that time enthusiastically explaining the Daedalian twists of dialectic; now, however, that you are older, you despise these tricks and wiles, following St. Paul's teaching that it becomes those of riper years to put aside the things of a child. Poring anxiously over the divine word, you did not scorn to hear me, cold lecturer that I was, analysing the books of the Sentences. At your behest moreover we expounded the books of the Ethics from beginning to end with our commentary." This is the commentary he printed in 1530. The class he took for physics he also took at an earlier stage for logic, which shows the system of regenting in force. 363 He also mentions his disputations. 364

He was back in Glasgow in October 1521, and seems to be there throughout 1522, but in early 1523 he was in Paris once more. 365 He left it for St Andrews

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361 H.A.U.G. ii,167. In 1522 there was no intrant for Albany nation. John Kerlot and James Hoeman (ibid.,ii,147-5) appear as poor students at the St Andrews Pedagogy in 1526, while Adam Kinghorn went to St. Leonard's (E.Rece.,pp.221-2).

362 H.A.U.G. v,92-100.

363 Octo Libri Physicorum, sigs.cii A,iii C. That these physical questions were read at Glasgow is clear from the reference to "tomulum sancti Cantigerni" (sig.gii A).

364 Ibid., sig. f,iii A.

and it is there that the rest of his career may be followed. 

Theology

Of the two theologians to whom Mair wrote the letter we have been considering, Gibson alone is on record as such. It was doubtless under Mair's arrangement that Friar Robert Lyle summoned John Adamson, professor of theology, of Aberdeen originally, and Dominican provincial, to preside at his fourth principium on the Sentences. Lyle later took his licence, and may as licentiate have occupied the Dominican chaplainry in the Rector's presentation, which we suggested was for theology. Other students from religious orders were monks of Kilwinning and Crossraguel. Incidentally Lyle's principium on Book 4 was in the Dominican chapter-house.

In spite of the renewed spurt of action on Mair's arrival, the impression is that the university had somehow contracted. To have imitated Aberdeen, which Mair calls a "noble college", would have necessitated fat endowments, which he hints Glasgow could well afford. The archbishop had repaired the Clyde bridge, augmented cathedral altarages and added to his castle. Perhaps

366 Spire, p.1; Formulare, ii, 164.
367 Mac. E., ii, 193, 140. He was licentiate and prior of Glasgow in 1540, Adv. Me, Nutton (Shires), ix, 13.
368 Ibid., i, 136, 139.
370 Archbishops, ill, 30.
It was too soon after Flodden to attempt much more.

**Gavin Dunbar: Chancellor, 1524-1547**

John Mair did not wait for Dunbar, who was not appointed till 1524. Dunbar was a lawyer, and Mair had spoken unsympathetically of them; doubtless he did not think the newcomer would be friendly to his schemes.

Some years later, Mair dedicated to him his commentary on St. Luke. The Lutheran revolt had mellowed his views on canonists, and Dunbar had perhaps surprised him. It could now be said of him what Aristotle said of Pittacos of Mitylene, "Your behaviour when in office reveals what sort of man you are." Dunbar and he had both studied in the same Parisian academy and while there both had held posts of authority; Dunbar had corrected and prepared editions of Mair's works. He then left Paris to become a doctor in both laws at the gymnasium of Angers, to the admiring applause of all in that museum of learning. To have deserted arts for law was, of course, to ignore Mair's advice, but a tactful silence covers this point. He does say that while some careerists took up law to serve their own ends, "greeting it from the threshold merely," like the dog in Egypt drinking a few anxious drops out of the Nile for fear of crocodiles. Not so, Dunbar; he, rather,

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372 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Bk. V, section 1. The reference should be to Bias, not Pittacos.
like Bliias in Virgil, drank up the nectar of pontifical and Caesarean law, not like Dido with the tip of her lips, but out of the fulness of an appreciative heart.

This letter was worth paraphrasing at length, firstly because it gives us some biographical facts that have been overlooked about Dunbar. It also shows that by 1529 at least Mair had a high opinion of his learning, an opinion shared by good judges, like Alexander Ingoldstadt. The university had therefore good reason to be hopeful about its new chancellor.

There is already something ominous about the articles put forward by James Stewart, Rector, in the university congregation of December, 1522. Congregations had come to be purely formal affairs where rectorial decisions were rubber-stamped. Not surprisingly they were ceasing to muster members, who

373 Virgil, Aenidae, Bk.i, 1.739-9. Mair is one of the first in Scotland to use the Greek terms for university (academy, gymnasium, museum). The reference to the dog drinking out of the Nile recurs curiously in a letter of Johann Eck to Joachim Vadianus, rector at Vienna, just prior to a reference by Eck to Mair. "Sed haec, ut conis e Nile obiter Dilaria foci, quod pro cursu estaticus maxa quilibet facilitar indicare paterit, Consilium maxum Quinque pro C. quod vestri Theologi notierunt, gustore, nisi ad Parthiusum Leuceticiam,ibi hodie quies at docetissimi coproborunt. Iohannes Maior. Theologorum tam vel erit magno vel alter post primum, disputatius nuper de Iuramento. In materia ut proba nosti, ut potissime lice consulatum. Ite enim sihi arrogant." The letter was sent by Eck from Ingoldstadt on March 18th, 1517. Epistolae Questions etc. BACKGROUND Verona, ed. Goldast, Frankfurt, 1517, pp.144-5.

374 "He does not appear to have gone abroad." (Essen, Gavin Dunbar, p.9).


376 M.A.U.C., ii,141-3
were contemptuous of the threats of fines. As Stewart's fourth article complained, it seemed as if the Rector and the dean of arts were elected to be ridiculed rather than obeyed.

The first article concerned insignia, and licentiates who paid no heed to the Rector's monitorial letters. They were now to be obliged to become masters within a mere eight days after licence, and give security to the provisor (or otherwise to the Rector, dean or deputies) that they would before they could be licensed.

The regents were evidently restive under government that had lost some of its old authority. At least one regent must lead a sufficient number of students to church for Sunday mass. A roll-call was necessary both on leaving and returning to college.

The students had little of the early medieval freedom. The Rector is legislating for a college, not for a university. To encourage study and virtue, the customary scrutiny was to be carried out by regents immediately the college gates shut, the names of absentees being noted and the "usual animadversion" employed.

For the first few years the university seems to carry on with the impetus it had recently gained. There was, however, no procurator for the Albany nation
In the 1525 election. A notable member was John Bellenden, the historian, incorporated 1526, and some Irish students appear in 1527, whose names are not easily deciphered. The old problem of the clash of jurisdictions between the university promoter and the rural dean of Rutherglen was solved by making the latter promoter.

A congregation of the arts faculty was called in June, 1532, curiously not by the dean's authority alone, but also by the authority of the Rector, Adam Colquhoun. Many appeared at this congregation, we are told.

No student of the college of whatever faculty or status was to carry a sword or dagger or any other invasive arms either inside or outside the building. If it was necessary to carry them on special business, this business must be approved by the regents, and the penalty for disobedience was confiscation of the weapon and expulsion. This statute is interesting in that it shows that students from other faculties lived in the college. The Rector who made these rules also had quite an armoury inclusive of a two-handed sword similar to that, doubtless, that Knox carried before

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377 Ibid., ii, 150-1.
378 Ibid., ii, 153-3: Cormac Turnlewe, Duncan McThenoch (McKenna?), Cognatius Ochayll, Duncan O'Donnell and Nicholas Ogalquhoir (O'Gallagher?).
379 Ibid., ii, 166.
380 Ibid., ii, 40. The reason for the big attendance is that the meeting was obviously a continuation of the university meeting at which the Dominican prior and 13 more were incorporated (Ibid., ii, 157).
Wishart.

No student after the bell for silence, before the regents came for roll-call, was to be caught outside his room unless he had leave. Otherwise he should be punished with his breeches down. On the third offence he might be expelled.

A studium should be founded and fed on filial fear and good morals. It was thought rash and irreverent to get in the way of Rector or regents in the streets by night or day. Students might not even play any lawful game without permission. Nor were they to roam the streets without licence from their preceptors. No wonder it has been said, "By 1532 the Faculty is plainly legislating for a Pedagogy which is very like a boys' school." 382

Not all students slept in college, but those who did so might not bring to bed and board any servant, cousin or relation who was not versed in Latin. The penalty was the expulsion of the servant and it might be of his master.

The privileges of students on feastdays were drastically cut. If the regents chose to have lectures, either in the morning or afternoon of any day, feastday or otherwise, students must be present throughout. If

381 Warrack, Domestic Life in Scotland, pp.37 seq.
382 Mackie, History, p.32.
in this or similar requirements they were disobedient to their preceptors, expulsion would follow. This was another blow at student privileges.

All students must gather in a fixed place for the supreme sacrifice and vespers (the earlier regulations referred to mass only). The bell would ring for this, and they must be properly dressed according to their estate. Afterwards they would receive ordinary or extraordinary lectures as the regents decided. A roll-call would be taken and absentees punished.

This army camp regime was imposed by a Rector who appreciated the good things of life for himself. His personal morals were not above cavil. His own ordinary dress was a doublet of velvet lined with scarlet, his sports were hunting and archery, and he kept expensive pets like a parrot, a hind and a crane. In fact one can almost fit him into one of those Flemish paintings of the Renaissance.

Rectorial Elections

There was every indication that the rectorial election was becoming a formality. Colquhoun was Rector from 1529 till 1532, James Houston from 1533 till 1541, John Bellenden from 1542 till 1545. Nor were these long

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383Narrack, Domestic Life, loc. cit. His books, besides two courses of the law with commentaries, theology and other sciences, consisted of two shelves of "librell bukis."
periods of office periods of diligent attention to university business such as might have excused them in an earlier time. The dignity of elections were lost when two intrants alone could take part as in 1529, or when a bachelor of arts was both intrant and deputy as in 1537; and when the habit of electing an intrant for a nation someone not of that particular nation began to be regularised. 384 It is significant that the name of the nation which intrants and deputies represent begins to be omitted.

In 1536 Andrew Borde, ex-Carthusian from London, was in the university. On the 1st April he wrote to his patron, Thomas Cromwell: "I am now in Skotland, in a lytle Vnyuersyte or study named Glasco, wher I study and practyse Physyk." Commenting on this, Dr. Mackie says, "there is no record that the teaching he did was inside the University. He must have been an 'extra-mural' instructor." 385 The term "extra-mural" might apply to the studium, yet Borde says he is in that; but it is unusual to find "university" used in the sense of an actual walled building at this date - it is a corporation of masters and scholars, and that is how the term is used by Dunbar himself in the phrase

384 M.A.U.G., ii, 155 (where there are said to be three intrants, though none are named for Clydesdale and Albany); 163. Two students from St. Leonard's were incorporated in 1537 (Archibald Douglas and Patrick Ballantyne, E. Rec., p. 289.)
385 Mackie, History, p. 28.
"the college of the university of masters and scholars" which we shall meet presently. His name is not found certainly among incorporations for 1535-6, for which rectorial year none are recorded, but that in this instance may be due to bad record-keeping merely. If there were medical lectures for a time, however, it no doubt was a very brief time.

Rectorial record-keeping is obviously at fault to some extent. In some years lack of matriculands is understandable: in 1523 the vacancy of the see may have had some effect; in 1528 there were no matriculations at St. Andrews either (the three names entered are repeated the following year); in 1545 there was not even an election because of plague; in 1547 there none in St. Andrews either. Yet in 1540, where the Rector records no matriculands, there must have been at least the eight who were bachelors of arts in 1542, and similarly in 1541 at least the seven bachelors of 1543. Unfortunately for certain other blank years the faculty book does not help, for between 1510 and 1535 it too is a blank.

There is still the odd hiatus between 1542 and 1544 in both records to explain, the explanation of which is, I suggest, that Dunbar had started a scheme of reconstruction of the buildings which went on fitfully.

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387 M.A.U.C., ii, 165-6, 293-4.
388 Ibid., ii, 285-6.
for some years and explains the phrases of 1563, "Forsamekile as within the citie of Glesgw ane College and Vniversitie was devisit...Of the quhilk College ane parte of the sculis and chalmeris being biggit the rest alsweill dwellingis as provisione for the pouir bursouris and maisteris to teche ceissit..."

Dunbar's Foundation

In 1537 on the day of the Assumption Dunbar at last began to meditate a college as rival to the projected Beaton foundation of St. Mary of the Assumption in St Andrews. The moving spirit may have been the dean of the chapter, George Lockhart, professor of theology, who was in a position to be fully informed about the St Andrews schemes. As far as one can understand the scheme, it was intended to be a new foundation not of a mere college of arts but of a university college for all faculties: collegium universitatis magistrorum et scholarium. It was to be endowed in the way that Blackadder had earlier planned, with the vicarages of Erskine, Cadder and Monkland, and with Colmonell to which the dean and chapter had collation. Burses were already

389 Ibid., ii, 265-8, 295 seq. (although elections of Rector and deans continued). Ibid., i, 67.
390 M.A.W.G., i, 493-5. A contemporary text for this foundation occurs in some 16th century transcripts from Cuthbert Simon's protocols in the National Library of Scotland, Riddell Collection, f.19, which correctly reads "Irskin" for the meaningless "Jershin."
In existence, somewhat tenuous doubtless in value, but this new foundation would provide for alimenta and sustentatio. The Cadzow chaplainry and the two chaplainries of St. Michael (founded by Reston and Lees) were re-annexed to this foundation (although the prebendary of Ayr dissented as regards his chaplainry of St. Michael). On this foundation the Rector and not the principal or the dean took instruments.

If, as we may reasonably believe, Dunbar intended to bring this plan to fruition, some otherwise inexplicable hiatuses in the record can then be explained.

**James Lindsay: Principal, 1523-1527**

Not very much is known of Mair's successor. He is first heard of as "professor of arts" in October, 1519. His previous history is unknown, but he may have belonged to the family of the Lindsays of Dunrod; he certainly was a member of the Clydesdale nation. In May of 1522 he is mentioned as "secondary regent" and chaplain of the Cadzow chaplainry.

The first overt mention of him as principal is on October 25th, 1526, when he was intrant in the rectorial election. During his rectorship he received a payment from the university purse, but the next payment

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391 The Lees foundation was made in March, 1530, the Reston foundation in June, 1431. (M.A.U.G., i, 23 seq., 49 seq.)
was made to his successor. Apart from the mention of him in the letter of Mair prefixed to a section of the *Octo Libri Physicorum*, he is not otherwise found in the university.

**Alexander Logan: Senior Regent, 1527-1538**

There is no definite indication that Logan was principal at all. The office may have lapsed, but as faculty records are only available for the last three years of Logan's term of regency, it would be rash to be too positive. The phraseology "dean of the university" already noted is paralleled by the phrase "regent of the university." The payments mentioned above suggest not only university subvention but university absorption of the college of arts.

He is to be distinguished from his namesake, the rector of Restalrig, also associated with the university. He was a student of Mair's, being incorporated in 1518, and had finished his studies by 1525 when he was regent in the pedagogy and held other university posts, being deputy of the dean in 1537. His seniority to his fellow-regent, Alexander Hamilton, is indicated by the fact that his name precedes his in

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393 *Ibid.*, ii, 155 (this payment may be in connection with the chaplainry of St. Mary, £2 of which had to go to the university bursar, *ibid.*, ii, 146). Lindsay was a witness in Glasgow in 1536 and had royal presentation to the vicarage of Dunlop in 1548, as also had a subsequent principal. He became vicar of Cambuslang and is given as curator of John Lindsay of Greenless. (*Renwick, Protocols*, iv, no. 1235; i, 196. *R.S.S.*, iii, no. 2353; iv, 534.


the signatures of the accounts. The system of "regenting" may not still be prevailing, because most of the bachelors presented for licence by him in 1537 were students at an earlier stage under Hamilton. He was still in the university in 1538.

Alexander Hamilton: Senior Regent, 1539-1547

This Alexander Hamilton is the suppliant who on the 27th March, 1526, asked to be received at Paris as a licentiatus and graduate of Glasgow (in solemni studio universitatis glasquensis in scotia): he returned at once to Glasgow, where he had already been incorporated in 1518. He held various offices and was intrant for his own nation of Clydesdale in 1531. He may have succeeded to the Cadzow chaplainry on Logan’s death. In February, 1539-40 a new regent, John Houston, presided at the graduation of masters.

The habit of holding faculty congregations at the Lady altar in the lower kirk had now developed. The chaplainry founded at this altar was Hamilton’s, as at his death he left money received from the

\[\text{397 \ of \ 1529 \ and \ 1529 \ (Liber Decani, pp.106,109).} \]
\[\text{398 \ Ibid., ii, 287-9.} \]
\[\text{399 \ Ibid., ii, 290.} \]
\[\text{400 \ Paris, Univ., Archives, Reg.15,f.39v; Reg.91,f.235r. of M.A.U.G.} \]
\[\text{401 \ Ibid., ii, 156-7; 286-295.} \]
\[\text{402 \ Logan was “chaplain” and notary in 1529 (R.M.S., iii, no.1619).} \]
\[\text{403 \ M.A.U.G., ii,251. The "xxxiv" should read xxxix.”} \]
\[\text{404 \ Ibid., 287 seq.} \]
offerings to buy a chasuble for it. To John Hamilton, who followed as regent he left his second-best gown as well as books. Mr. Robert Laing, evidently the steward of the pedagogy, and his wife, were to have his house for three years.

To the pedagogy he left £8 due to it from William Hamilton, a former dean of faculty. Two other debts received by him had been spent on the repair of the pedagogy, which shows that the pedagogy was being reconstructed rather than replaced. The will adds: "Moreover, if it should happen that I die before the return of my bulls from Rome, my executors will exact from Mr. John Thornton 252 crowns of the sun, of which sum 100 crowns are to be spent in the construction of the place of the pedagogy of Glasgow. The rest is to be divided among my brothers and the sons of Sir William, my brother," etc.

From the testament above it can be seen that Hamilton died in 1547. 406

Theology

This faculty is evidently in the hands of the Dominican chaplain, although it is noteworthy that this chaplainry was not re-incorporated under Gavin Dunbar's refoundation. Two more Dominicans were

405 Ibid., ii, 286. References to Hamilton's earlier payments as bursar to the repair of the pedagogy, omitted in M.A.U.G., are in Liber Decani, p. 163.
406 The Testament is given in Appendix B.
Incorporated in 1530, Alexander Barclay, prior, and John McDowell, subprior. Both were bachelors in theology. George Crichton, their prior in 1532, was also incorporated.

Shortly afterwards McDowell fled to England where he joined the Reformation cause.

Apart from the divisions caused by the spread of new religious ideas, Scotland also suffered from acute civil divisions. After the catastrophe of Solway Moss in 1542, and the rise to power of the Regent Arran on the death of James V, Scotland was in a highly disturbed state, especially as the earls of Lennox and Glencairn in the west had allied themselves with England against the Governor, as did many local lairds such as Houston and Buchanan; Dunbar himself was thought to have been as sympathetic to it as his position would allow. In March, 1544, the archiepiscopal castle was besieged; about the same time Lennox held Dumbarton castle and it was not till May that Glencairn was defeated by Arran in the battle of the Gallowmuir near Glasgow. According to Leslie "the hoill citie was spulyeit" and only the pleading of Lord Boyd saved the city from being burnt down entirely. Whether the university suffered or not, one regent, a Hamilton, gained the Stable Green

409 Kemrick-Lindsay, History of Glasgow, i, 369; R.S.S. iii, no. 1758.
as a result of Lennox's escheat. 410

In 1546 the university elected Walter Beaton as Rector, doubtless as a gesture of sympathy for the murdered cardinal, although Dunbar and he had often been at odds. 411 The latter himself did not long survive, dying in April, 1547. Buchanan has a flattering epigram recording a table conversation of Dunbar's, in which those present were uncertain whether the school and come into the hall or the hall into the school. 412 Reading over Mair's letter of 1529 in the light of later events one is tempted to see a prophetic irony. The careerists, he says, are like pirates, "greedy for the strange goods of merchants borne in frail craft, not for the intellectual treasures against which neither fortune nor the desire for booty can prevail. Cicero praised Bias, one of the seven wise men of Greece, who said, "All my goods I carry about me". 413 Was Mair nearer the truth than Buchanan? Did Dunbar spend so much time on his own political advancement as chancellor of the realm to have no time for the goods of the mind which are in the last resort the only valuable ones in our possession? We have suggested that he may in fact have started on the reconstruction of the university according to his plan. But otherwise, as far as attracting the best men to

410 Ibid., ii, no. 1401.
412 Cited in Bannock, Gairn Dunbar, p. 100.
413 Major, History, pp. 444-5 (the quotation is from Cicero, Paradoxa, par. 41).
teach there, and as far as his personal interest in it may be gauged from the records, we must confess to disappointment that such a learned head has done so little for learning.

JAMES BEATON II: CHANCELLOR, 1552-1560.

The evil situation of the university was not mitigated by the long vacancy that followed the death of Dunbar. At first it looked as though a relative of the Governor would succeed; then Alexander Gordon, a brother of the earl of Huntly was appointed, resigning, however, in March, 1550, when James Beaton had papal provision; but he was not consecrated till August 1552 and may not have been back in his seat till that winter.

The incorporations for these years tell a sorry tale:

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For 1559 there are no records at all, while from 1555 the arts faculty records cease. Two of the students who took their bachelor's degree in December 1551 were forced to go to St Andrews where they became masters two years later. After the archbishop's arrival events

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415 M.A.U.C., ii, 169-177; 298. Cunningham and Gibson, the two students, brought certificates from the university authorities and from "him who taught them" in Glasgow. Cunningham was a regent and Gibson an examiner at Glasgow in 1553 (Ibid., ii, 299); E. Rees, pp. 150-1.
took a healthier turn, and, apart from the unstable condition of the country, there may have been little accommodation to spare in a university under partial reconstruction.

The Rector till 1552 was still Walter Beaton, whose choice may have reflected the university's choice for the see. Beaton, who had been a law student at Orleans, deputed his vice-Rector, giving him power to hear, cognosce and terminate all cases and pleas of members with the necessary clauses as set out more fully in the legal formula of Speculator.

James Beaton was the cardinal's nephew. He went to study in Paris and was still there at the time of his postulation. Besides receiving tuition from the humanist, Giovanni Ferreri, whose lifelong friend he became, it is likely that he studied at the college of Cambrai, where he and some of the other nephews of the cardinal are still found in early 1552. There is further evidence in the letters of Ferreri already cited that he was a man of some intellectual interests and contemporary outlook, although out of sympathy with the Reformaion.

We have already mentioned the provisions of the will of Alexander Hamilton for the reconstruction

416 M.A.U.C., ii, 168-172.
417 Liber Rectoris, p. 121. Speculator was Durandus, author of the Speculum Judicale.
418 Aitken, Trial of Buchanen, p. 63; Campardon and Tuetey, Institutions du Chateau de Paris, no. 4169.
of the pedagogy, and since he was dead at the date of the inventory, it would appear that the money should have come to hand. If so, this points to a large scheme of reconstructions, or partial reconstruction, especially as in July, 1552, Mr. Gilbert Kennedy claims to have spent large sums on the same object, in view of which a tack of the vicarage of Colmonell (Annexed under the Dunbar foundation) was made. This arrangement was ended in January, 1558, when the vicarage was demitted to the principal, who was to put it to the common use of the masters and regents. There is quite a crop of exemptions from taxation beginning in 1547 and ending ten years later. David Gibson, whose name appears in many of these transactions was connected with the university continuously till 1556.

Healthy changes of Rector are more frequent in this period. In 1552 a member of the College of Justice was incorporated specially to be elected Rector. John Colquhoun, rector of Stobo, had a two-year spell. Next year Archibald Beaton, chanter of Aberdeen, was

419 M.A.U.G., i, 56; Mackie, History, p. 47 (where the author is sceptical about Kennedy’s gifts). David Gibson was presented to the vicarage in 1552 (R.S.S., iii, no. 1640).
420 M.A.U.G., i, 62; scholars are not mentioned in this subsidy.
421 Ibid., i, 54-51.
422 Ibid., ii, 177.
specially incorporated, and, obviously at the archbishop's suggestion, since the election date was put forward at his request, elected. 423 Other scholarly men about the university were William Baillie, later president of the College of Justice, and Archibald Crawford, who was familiar with Hebrew and Greek, as his library shows. 424 In bringing men of distinction to the university Beaton was following the policy of his predecessor of the same name. Among the incorporated members are several sons of the nobility and one Irishman.

John Houston: Principal, 1547-1556

The only reference to Houston's status as principal occurs in an endorsement to a letter asking for tax remission, impetrated by him among others. 425 He was active in university and faculty from 1539, having already studied in the university. 426 In 1537 he was a chaplain in Glasgow. He was still active in the university at the Reformation, and still regent in 1555 when he chose books at the opening of the new

423 Ibid., ii, 172-4.
424 College Courtant, iv, 21-3.
425 M.A.U.C., ii, 176. Cornelius Ardochardye (O'Docherty?).
426 Ibid., i, 59.
427 Ibid., ii, 158, 164, 287.
428 E.C.N.D., p. 101. He was vicar of Rutherglen in 1546 (M.A.U.C., ii, 179); of Dunlop, in succession to Principal Lindsay (R.S.S., iii, no. 2767); canon of the vicarage of Glasgow in 1547, in succession to John Sprall (Fraser, Montgomerie, ii, 162). Cooper exaggerates in saying that he was a confirmed pluralist, nor was he founder of the collegiate church of our lady and St. Anne (S.H.R., xi, 262); the founder was James Houston.
John Davidson: Principal, 1556–(1560)

Davidson was actually principal till 1574, but we are here only concerned with him up till the Reformation. Davidson was born about 1520 at Fola, Aberdeenshire, the eldest son of William Davidson, and Elizabeth Galloway, his wife. Since he was already a master of arts in May, 1543, he must have begun his studies before 1540; he is described as a student in 1542.

After taking his degree at King's College he became a regent and student in theology. As such he was presented to the vicarage of Alness in Ross. He left King's for France in September 1549. His object was to continue there his theological studies and in his theological treatise published by the Wodrow Society he refers to his long-standing friendship in Paris with Quintin Kennedy, the Catholic apologist. There can be little doubt, as we shall see, that he knew the humanist, Giovanni Ferreri, who may have recommended him to Beaton; he held a benefice in Glasgow diocese for a time, but had to yield it in 1552.

His first arrival in Glasgow was in October, 1556.

429 M.A.U.C., ii,177; Liber Decani, p.149
430 Protocol Ec. of John Cristigone, nos. 326,344,360
431 R.S.S., iii, no.402
432 Fasti Abd., p.264
433 R.S.S., iv, no.1850. As vicar of Migg he witnessed a deed of Bishop Gordon of Aberdeen in Paris (Wodrow Miscellany, 1,177).
Davidson was a man of the new times and had learnt oriental tongues at Paris as well as Greek, which he quotes in his treatise of 1563. His appointment was therefore an act of deliberate policy on the part of the chancellor.

The last recorded item in the faculty book, the Liber Decani, mentions the admission of the bachelors presented by Robert Cunningham, regent, to be examined by himself and Houston, the principal. This is in 1555, probably November, and it is the last pre-Reformation entry. John Laing was dean as he had been for the past three years. His successor was John Houston, whom Davidson replaced as principal. It is likely that the present record was not handed over by Laing or at least if it was (the Statutes were) then it was already almost full and the time seemed ripe to start a new book. Davidson made use of the statutes book which had also been in Houston's hands, and although a few deeds concerning the university's patrimony were entered in both books by Davidson and in the Liber Decani after Davidson's replacement by Melville, yet it still appears that the book was temporarily lost or temporarily out of use.

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434 K.A.U.G., ii, 175
435 Scotox Hist., i, 243-4; Innes Rev., ix, 89
436 K.A.U.G., ii, 229
437 Ibid., ii, 61
438 On f. 21r of the Statutes Book is the signature, "Johannes houstoone vicarius de Dunlop."
The Liber Rectoris was removed by the last Rector, James Balfour, treasurer of Glasgow, as we shall see. If the Liber Decani was not replaced by Davidson it is hard to see why there are no post-Reformation congregations entered in it.

Because Davidson mentions the fact that he gave the Archbishop Quintin Kennedy's treatise in favour of orthodoxy, because of "the auld Parisiane kyndness that was betuix us," it has been assumed that his conversion to the Reformation was slow. The fact is that he joined them almost immediately in 1559. We know from a letter of Ferreri to Beaton, written in September 1559 from Paris, deploiring Davidson's "foolish choice" that Ferreri could hardly credit Davidson's action, adding "if he had been so far confirmed in our ancient faith as at first he wished to appear, he would not have left the Catholic church with so few qualms and turned to the Congregation." No doubt writers are right to think that by joining the Reformers Davidson had kept the university afloat, although there does not appear to be any evidence for Cooper's statement that he made it once more a flourishing school of letters.

439 *Tigern Ffaga*, iv, 257
440 Given in Appendix B.
441 *N.R.*, xi, 283-4.
On the other hand, he was able to carry on, and another regent, Robert Hamilton, is on record from 1562 till 1565. 442

Theology

Davidson was doubtless meant to be head of the theological faculty as well, although in a charter of the Reformation period the Dominican prior and subprior are mentioned as "otherwise of Glasgow university." 443 Of these, Andrew Leich and John Law, Law later received a pension from the university, but the pension was connected with some chaplainries which fell into the university’s hands. John Hunter, a previous prior, is recorded abroad as a theologian, but there is no evidence for the appearance of any of these in the admittedly imperfect records. 444 Nevertheless it would be to follow their courses that in 1559 monks were summoned from Melrose and Jedburgh. 445

Under Beaton the university was beginning to recover some of its lost dignity. The presence of lawyers suggests that given time he might have revived the teaching of law. He had the Dovehill lands measured and finding that the tenants had been...
poaching on the lands given for the common table by Lord Hamilton referred the matter to the burgh. But whatever hopes he had were to be unrealised.
The Rector, James Balfour, then treasurer, later dean, of Glasgow, removed the mace, which was later restored, having followed the chancellor in exile to Paris. He also removed the Rector's book, restored by James Balfour of Tarrie in 1625.

446 E.A.S., i, 67.
447 Ibid., iii, 317, 323.
448 The last leaf of the Liber Rectoris has the note:
"This buik is delylitrit be me Je. Balfour of tarrie in anno 1625,"


Chapter 3

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE: CHANCELLOR, 1495-1514

"This year there died", wrote the chronicler Lew of Elphinstone's death, "William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen and founder of its college and restorer of its university; who was in the chapter of St. Andrews elected archbishop of the same, the man most outstanding in prudence and counsel in his day. In the court of King James IV he was reckoned as another Nicholas of Cusa" (velut alter cuse habebatur).1

William Elphinstone's academic career, as his biographer tells us, had been spent at Glasgow, Paris and Orleans.2 He became bishop-elect of Ross in 1481, the nominee of James III, although never consecrated till five or six years later.3 It was not for another few years that he was sufficiently established in his diocese to turn his mind to a university foundation; and it took yet another decade after that for him as the university's "restorer" to set in motion his collegiate foundation within it.

The actual supplication was made on behalf of the new king, James IV: and, oddly enough, dated

1 Edinburgh Univ.Lib., Ms Dc.7.63,f.139r.
2 Boece, Pitshe, pp. 61-3.
by the date four days before the date of the bull
of Alexander VI, although, apart from the absence of
the formal preamble, in pretty much the same terms
as the bull.4 The king is therefore active as
co-founder of the new university.

How did bishop and king justify the erection
of yet a third university? The petition is
diplomatically silent on the number of universities
already in existence, but reminds the pope that the
country has two metropolitan sees and many other high
church dignities. It was in the interest of good
government both of Church and State that there should
be a university at Old Aberdeen, near as it was to
regions of the north and north-east where lived savage
and illiterate men, cut off by firth and highland from
centres of higher learning, and often served by
priests unfit to administer the sacraments, let alone
preach; moreover Aberdeen was a centre suitable for
the usual reasons for a university town, where, if a
university were established in all the faculties and
privileged as were Paris and Bologna, such men would
be able to attend. Laymen are specifically mentioned
as well as churchmen. The pope, granting James's

4 Ibid., p. 221.
petition as an obedient son of the holy see, appointed the bishop chancellor, and authorised two councillors of the king to share with the Rector and university members the power of drawing up statutes. This latter qualification is interesting, but we do not know who these councillors may have been.

Did the university remain a paper university for a year or two more? It is certainly odd that Elphinstone should have delayed the publication of the bull for two more years, although the mandate for execution to himself, the bishop of Dunblane and the abbot of Cambuskenneth accompanied it: at any rate it had to wait till February 25th, 1497, for promulgation in his cathedral. Certain phrases in the bull suggest that a centre of higher learning was already under way in the same fashion as it existed in St. Andrews before the arrival of its foundation bull. If so, it only existed in the higher faculties, as its first arts regent, as we shall see, was in Paris at the date of the bull. Lacking as we do both Rector’s and dean’s book we have to rely on external sources: Alexander Galloway, one of the first graduates, is mentioned as such in 1499?

The original school, like the Old Pedagogy

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5 Eales, King’s College Chapel, Aberdeen, pp. 136-145 (text with a translation by Dr Gordon Donaldson). Hereafter this work is simply cited as Eales.
6 Pusti, Aberdeenense, pp. 6-9.
7 Boece, Vitae p. 32; he had done some preliminary study at St. Andrews in 1493, E.Rac., p. 191. He is mentioned as M.A. in June, 1499, E.S.S., i, 397.
at Glasgow, was perhaps first in the Chanonry, which was entered by various ports and divided off by walls from the rest of Old Aberdeen. What then is meant by the phrase "apud universitatem Aberdonensem" which first occurs in 1498? Obviously here the word is not used in its usual meaning of university corporation. A special university town had been created with a market place of its own, and to serve it the parish of St. Mary of the Snows assigned to this "new town" of Old Aberdeen, carved out between Seaton and the college bounds at St. Peter's hospital. The parish was to be served by a vicar, William Strachan, who in 1500 is referred to as "vicar of the university of Aberdeen". The reason for this was that, with the consent of dean and chapter, the bishop had in 1499 formally united the vicarage to his university, making the vicar a graduate (at least a bachelor) in canon law and reader in the university. This Snow prebend, as it was called, has been much misunderstood, and several errors are current about its purpose, which we hope to advert to later. Meantime it suffices to note that Strachan was in the meantime dispensed from this arrangement, probably as not being yet a bachelor. By arrangement with the dean, Strachan,

8 Simpson, Quatercentenary of Hector Boece, pp.18-19.
9 Brechin, ii, 147; Aberdeen, i, 364, 365 (the last being, "in universitate Aberdonensi in mansione theseribit (sic) elususam". Cf. also Fasti Abd., p.40 where various lands in the area are specified.
10 Aberdeen, i, 346.
11 Fasti Abd., p.29.
a student, became vicar perpetual of the university, with a right to collect the garbal tithes of the new parish, and in 1503, again with the dean's consent, Elphinstone made Strachan rector, with the right to receive personal tithes from the new college with Easter dues from scholars and the university.12

Thereafter the vicar designated himself rector and it was as such that he accepted delivery of two great bells donated to the Snow kirk by St. Machar's, the mother church, in the same year.13

No doubt the gunpowder for blasting operations and the carts and wheelbarrows sent to Elphinstone in 1497-8 were as much for the Snow kirk as for the college.14

The Emergence of the College Idea

While it is certain that the college did not exist from the beginning, it is likely that from the outset Elphinstone envisaged an endowed institution.15 But whether that was so or not, there can be no doubt that those in a position to advise him were prejudiced in favour of the idea. His two principal lecturers were both from St. Salvator's college and one was a former provost. We can hardly doubt Boece's word for it (in spite of the slip where he calls St. Andrews

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12 Ibid., p.30; Aberdeen Ecclesiastical Soc., Transactions, i, 1st Year, 21.
13 Fusti Abd., p.47. In 1508 he founded an anniversary in New Aberdeen, St. Nicholas, ii, 203, and is not known to have survived longer; perhaps he is the grammar schoolmaster of New Aberdeen mentioned as dead in 1509 (Simpson, Don Record, p.7).
14 Holyburton, Legat..pp.183-4.
15 Rait, The Universities of Aberdeen, pp.29-30; also in Aberdeen Univ., Rep., xx, 100-111.
an archbishopric, which at that date it was not) that
Ogilvie was the former candidate of the Council of
Basle for the see of St. Andrews, for after all
Ogilvie welcomed him to Aberdeen on his arrival.16 He
was therefore as we have already shown an ex-provost
of the college of St. Salvator. Admittedly this
means that he was at least eighty one at the date of
the bull, but it was not unusual (witness John Mair
among others) for professors of theology to function
at that age. He could not, however, have survived
Boece's arrival by many years, but he was certainly
in a position to advise on the foundation.

The other St. Salvator's man was David
Guthrie, professor of civil and canon law, a graduate
of the college and of Cologne and later a dean of the
arts faculty at St. Andrews.17 If there is much in
the idea of King's college that recalls Bishop
Kennedy's foundation, these two influential members
of the young university may well deserve the credit
for the fact.

The first hint of a collegiate foundation
comes in 1497 when there is mention in a royal
charter of a collegiate church yet to be founded, of
a papal commission thereupon, and of one lecturer in

16 Boece, Vita, p. 87. Baxter disputes the identification, but
he has confused two James Ogilvies, the second of them a
professor not of theology but of law (ibid., p. 91) who also, as
he points out, was a canon of Aberdeen, but who was a student
of Aberdeen first and who died in Paris in 1513 (Copiale, pp. 496-7).
17 Determined in St. Salvator's in 1474 (cf. E. Roca, pp. 50, 59);
"nobilis et magne scientia", is dean of the faculty in 1486
(A.F.A., f. 87r).
five faculties (theology, decrees, imperial and civil law, medicine, arts), six students and six priest chaplains: a modest forerunner of King's. The first mention of the name appears to be in 1499 and later in 1500 it is described precisely as in honour of "the blessed virgin Mary in her Nativity". But it is evident that the name King's college began soon to rival and eventually to replace the more formal designation.

The fact that the college was to include a staff of chaplains made it easier to acquire the necessary endowments from those who wished the prayers of its members. The first big endowment was the acquisition by papal authority of all the revenues of the hospital of St. Germain north of the Forth. This brought with it the churches already appropriated to the hospital: Aberluthnot in St. Andrews diocese, Abergeirn and Glenmulick in the bishop's own diocese. The excuse given by the king for this annexation was that for years there had been no hospital services available at the hospital and that the master was unable to recover the funds. How true this might be there is no means of knowing, but it is a fact that the bishop of Bethlehem had at one time endeavoured to

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18 Festi Abd., p.14.
19 Ibid., p.31.
20 Kit, The Universities, p.33.
21 Festi Abd., p.9.
unite the hospital to his episcopal table, since it was a Bethle-heimite foundation. It may have been to prevent the revenues going abroad that the king had taken this step. However, the master of the hospital did well out of it, obtaining the prebend of Cruden in exchange as well as the vicarage of Banff. Moreover, hospital services were not wholly extinguished, the revenues from south of the Forth being assigned to the upkeep of one religious and three poor men in it. Quite probably the revenues were now to be put to more efficient use, as with the similar annexation of a hospital to St. Leonard's college. The annexation of the church of Slains on the king's authority is less defensible and it met with the opposition of the earl of Buchan, the lay patron. However in due course to satisfy for the bishop's groans and vigils (lugubrationibus et vigilibus) it too was united.

The king also led the way in the donation of annual rents with his gift of certain revenues in Banffshire. A burgess of Aberdeen followed suit in 1500; Duncan Shearer, prebendary of Clatt, in 152; Adam Hepburn of Craigs in 1503 (it is interesting to find the

\[\text{Fasts., pp.11-25; C.P.P., vilii, 488, 587}\]

\[\text{Fasts., pp.17-18}\]

\[\text{Ibid., p.24; some were assigned to three poor students in the college}\]

\[\text{Ibid., pp.26-29. The king's brother also assented to the appropriation of Aberluthnot which was in his diocese of St. Andrews (Ibid., p.15); but a bull of 1500 shows that there was episcopal as well as lay resistance to these annexations (Ibid., pp.33-36). In 1505 a claimant to the revenues of Aberluthnot had to be bought off with the donation of the St. Mary Magdalene chaplainry in St. Nicholas church (Ibid., pp.50-1)}\]

\[\text{Fasts., p.25. These payments can be traced in the Exchequer Rolls xi, 65, 126; in the latter in 1498, the bishop gives receipt as chancellor.}\]
prior of St. Andrews, future founder of St. Leonard’s witnessing this deed); Andrew Elphinstone of Selms in the following year; while the bishop himself bought various annual rents. 27

Facing the front and beside the west door of King’s college chapel an inscription reads: Per serenissimum illustriissimum et invictissimum J. IV. R. quarto nonas Aprilis anno millesimo et quingentesimo hoc insigne collegium latomi inceperunt edificare. 28 The “unconquered” king had been conquered at Flodden before the work on the college ended. Dr. Silver was paid to the masons, wrights and barrowmen on October 26th that year and again in October three years later. 29 How much of the college was finished in 1505 is hard to say; probably the chapel, the school on the east side of the court with the common hall above and the principal’s quarters on the west. The “Dunbaria tecta” on the south are usually attributed to that bishop, but he may have re-roofed an earlier building? 30 In fact it is hard to see where Elphinstone could have accommodated his theologians and arts students if not in this quarter, possibly in an older building adapted. The story is that Hector Boece would not allow Bishop Dunbar to put his coat of arms on that building and therefore

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27 Facit Abi., pp.31,40-3,45,49-5,45,51
28 Huit, The Universities, p.234.
29 Aenar. secta., ii,124,463. The roof was leaded in 1506 by an Englishman, Facit Abi., page 101i
30 Ker, Donatianae, p.11, “Hinc Elphinstoniana, aut hinc jac Dunbaria tecta Fraseriana sonent...”
Dunbar made a rough job of it, "whereupon the masters of the college have begun to repair it" (that is about 1725). The more likely explanation is that Dunbar did not start on a completely new building but on one that Elphinstone had temporarily adapted. Even as it was in 1542 it gives the impression of being fitted out rather for Elphinstone's first than for his second foundation. Apart from the principal's quarters, there were two rooms named after constellations (Corona and Hercules), five after planets (Jove, Saturn, the Moon, Mercury and Venus) and eight after signs of the Zodiac (Ram, Bull, Twins, Cancer, Lion, Virgin, Scales, Scorpion). If we except the Scorpion, which was the old library, we have accommodation in the last group for the 13 students in arts, in the planet group for the five founded theologicans and in the constellation group for the subprincipal and possibly the dean of the faculty of arts or the Rector, only one of whom could reside in the college. Admittedly this is somewhat conjectural, but it would be most unmedieval if the symbols above these rooms had no reference to the realities inside.

Since it is clear that at the time of Orem and Ker there was no Dunbar coat of arms on these southern buildings of the college quadrangle, their ascription to

31 Orem, Canonry, p. 175
32 Eales, pp. 25-29, 171. The explanation of Rait that Bishop Elphinstone left precisely 42 vestments for the 42 founded personnel ignores the fact that some of these are priests' vestments and that 20 are said to be for boys (Rait, The Universities, p. 40, drawing on Boece, Vita, p. 56, where Rait leaves 28 vestments unaccounted for).
33 The subprincipal at the date of the inventory (Anderson) was not living in Corona; perhaps he wanted to be as far from Principal Bisset as possible. But later subprincipals lived there (Eales, pp. 26-2; the subprincipals' furnishings in Cancer were perhaps moved there by Anderson).
him is likely to rest on oral tradition or their reading of Boece. The Album Amicorum of 1640 is vague as to the part played by both bishops. Gordon of Rothiemay merely says that Dunbar finished the college twelve years after it was begun, which would, of course, mean that Elphinstone had finished it. Ker is quite precise; Elphinstone built the church, the tower, the upper and lower halls and all college buildings except those on the south and the external menses, to which Dunbar brought the finishing touch.

All these authorities are likely to be interpreting Boece rather widely. Boece says that Elphinstone finished and leaded the roofs of almost all the "Houses" (aedes pene omnes), having already spoken of his beginning but not finishing the separate single houses for the external teachers (aedes singulae coni. inceptae......a collegio secreteae). Boece as usual is a bit ambiguous, but the careful reading gives no authority for the views of Ker and Orem. The tradition reported by the latter about Boece's objection to Dunbar's coat of arms on the southern end of the quadrangle is

34 Phati Abi., p.533
35 Description of Both Towns, p.25
36 Ker, Donalda, p.15, "Aulas quoque duae, alteram inferiorem, alteram superiorem...reliquasque omnes Collegii aedes praeper eae quae sunt aerae latus australe exstruendas curavit...Eas mansiones, ut et Collegii latus australe, consumavit Dunbarus. Dunbaria hae tecta renovari coeperunt An.1707. "Father Hay is also cited in favour of this view, Aberdeen i, page 1v.
37 Boece, Vitae, p.96.
much more likely to represent the real facts: namely that Elphinstone hastily built or readapted an existing building which Dunbar was forced to overhaul.

Besides the gift of buildings Elphinstone also gave many remarkable furnishings which have been fully described in Eeles, King's College Chapel. About 1501 James IV contributed part of the customs of salmon for the inbring of bells and other ornaments of the new university.

Hector Boece

Why did Elphinstone invite Boece to Aberdeen? It is not realised that there was a relative of the bishop, Adam Elphinstone, studying with Boece at Paris. He may have been asked to broach the subject of the new university with Boece, and he too may have sent on a copy of Erasmus's De casa natalitiae Jesu containing the latter's prefatory letter to Boece. But, as we shall see, there were other Aberdonians of distinction at Paris then who might also have received invitations from Elphinstone. Elphinstone was a reader of Lorenzo Valla, and perhaps Boece, with his ability to cite Virgil, Lucan, Ovid and the contemporary neo-classicist, the Carmelite, Spagnuoli (Mentuenus), in his "litigious correspondence" (litigatrices epistole) which he kept writing to Erasmus (scribriis atque rescribriis) to get

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38 Especially from a liturgical angle. A few unimportant items were missed by Eeles, which he himself noted in Scottish Notes and Queries, series 2, iii, pp.11-12.
39 Exch. Rolls, xi, 376.
Erasmus to publish his Latin verse, appealed to Elphinstone more than a simple dialectician would.

Boece was a Dundee boy, the son of Alexander Boys, burgess there, who adopted the Latinised form Boethius (Anglicised as Boece), after the late Latin author of that name. He studied at Dundee grammar school before making for Paris and the college of Montaigu. This was the college to which he continued to refer in honourable terms as "the religious college" of Montaigu, even when writing to Erasmus, its denigrator. He was proud of having known its principal whose example did more good than the theories of all the others in Paris. In his college were many men of fine intellect, and of these he cites a few: Pierre Roland, his own teacher of dialectic; Petrus Syrus (Pierre le Sirier?), the theologian; Johane Gaissier, canonist who wrote commentaries on the Decretals; and Erasmus of Rotterdam, "the glory and ornament of our age".

With Boece at Montaigu were quite a few Scots. These included: Patrick Panter, whom he describes as both sagacious and learned, later secretary to James IV, and whose correspondence on the king's behalf is written in highly polished Latin; Walter Ogilvie, whose rhetorical flow, as described by Boece, is amply borne out by his fulsome oration addressed about the time of the marriage

41 Erasmus, Opus Epistolarum, i, 155,157; Erasmus cites authors with whom Boece would be familiar.
42 Simpson, Quartercentenary of Hector Boece, pp.7-8
43 Boece, Vitae, p.38; Erasmus, Opus Epistolarum, vii, 399
44 Boece, Vitae, p.38
45 Mackie, Letters of James IV, p.xxviii.
of the Thistle and the Rose to the bride's father, Henry VII; George Dundas, whose close familiarity, not only with Latin but with Greek he also celebrates, later became a Knight of St. John; and John Mair, whose writings (he does not mention his history) were turned like shining torches to illuminate the truths of Christianity.

But there were others, whom Boece might have mentioned: James Liddell, Aberdonian, a logician, and the first Scot to print a book; and John Hervy, who was Rector, and who later as rector of Benholm gave brevies to the college church. These it would seem Elphinstone did not invite.

When did Boece arrive in Aberdeen?  There is a formulary epistle of Erasmus which refers to the founding of a new university, which it has been thought might refer to Aberdeen. The existing Paris records show that he was there in the accounting period 1492-3 in the latter half of which he took his B.A., and in the period 1493-4 in the latter half of which he was licensed and incepted in arts. Moreover, before the first account, and during the period (November, 1495) when Erasmus is thought to have printed his De casa, he was elected as procurator.

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46 Adv. Ms 23.2.24, signed on f.1r, "Servulus deuctissimus guaterus ogilby cum humillima commendaciones. Ogilvie in a copy of Lorenzo Valla's Iliad describes himself as "Utriusque fortune contemptor non instrenus, bonorum omnium ac doctorum cultor amantissimus." (The inscription is in the hand of the Advocates' Ms. Cf. Innes Reg., 12, Plate vili, facing p.37).
47 Boece, Vita, p.68-9
48 Note by William Beattie in Edinburgh Bibliographical Soc. Transactions, iii,75-7; Eales, p.42
and continued once in office. After graduation he began to teach philosophy in Montaigu. If Aberdeen university in any form existed in 1495, Boece could not have been present. In fact he is not found in Scotland till 1497.

The natural meaning of his phraseology where he describes his arrival, is that when he came he was welcomed warmly by some of the canons whom he names, and that these were already teaching theology and law. But there could have been no arts teaching until he came, for he came to lay the foundations and to teach the arts; laying the foundations here having reference to the foundations of the higher studies in theology and law, and not to inaugurating the university. He could not have been principal at this time; for one thing he was barely qualified yet, as he notes himself, and for another he was the only regent in arts at this time and not the principal. If he does later often speak of himself as first principal or primarius, he is thinking of King's College, which as yet was not in being.

49 Referred to by P.S. Allen, in Erasmus, Opus Epistolorum, i, 155.
50 See Appendix C.
51 Protocol Ed. of James Young, iv, 969; on 9th Nov.
52 Boece, Vitae, pp. 89-90
53 Ibid., p. 83, "qui ejus fundamenta facerem", a phrase used again in the letter to Erasmus of 1528, is also used of the Aberdeen regent, John Vaus, by the Paris printer Josse Bade, "quo fundamento falciter jacto." Leopold Delisle, L'Imprimeur Parisien, Josse Bade, et le Professeur Ecossois, Jean Vaus, p. 4. Grammar and the liberal arts generally were considered the basis of the higher studies. After his arts course in Paris, Boece considered himself "vix primus literarum rudimentis imbutus." (Vitae, p. 89).
54 See previous note; in Elphinstone's 1497 scheme there was to be only one regent in arts (Fasti Abi., p. 14).
Theology

When Boece arrived in Aberdeen some teaching in theology was already in progress. The first teacher was James Ogilvie, a doctor in theology. If Boece's statements about him are in any way correct, and I feel that they must be accepted, he would be well over eighty when Boece came. He says that he was a canon of Aberdeen: and that can be verified. He says that he was at the council of Basle: and, if so, he was undoubtedly the former provost of St. Salvator's of the same name. He had experience, therefore, as we have shown, of three continental universities: Cologne, Louvain and Vienna. Moreover, if so, he was a fellow-student at St. Andrews of Elphinstone's father, and would have known the old College of St. John of Laurence of Lindores. And he would have taught arts at Glasgow when Bishop Elphinstone himself was official of that see and dean of the arts faculty. If we grant all this, and there seems no compelling reason why we should not, granted the inherent attractiveness of the idea, then it is quite certain that he could not have lived long after Boece's arrival. In 1506 Elphinstone obtained a papal indulg for granting theological and other degrees on his own authority.

55 Boece, Vitae, p.89
56 In 1483 and 1493 (Aberdeen, i,315,333).
57 E. Reca., p.10
58 M. A. U. G., ii, 215
because of the expense of fetching doctors to Aberdeen from other universities for the final degrees. 59

Another member of the faculty was the dean of the chapter, James Brown, "learned in sacred letters" but a bachelor only in theology. 60 He had been a poor student at St. Salvator's and was regent there in 1477. 61 One wonders if he was a relative of Bishop Brown of Dunkeld, a benefactor of King's, who donated a silver chalice and a cope of green cloth of gold to the college chapel. 62 Another secular cleric was David Menzies, a bachelor also and a worthy preacher; not only learned, says Boece, but grave and virtuous. 63 One not mentioned by Boece was the licentiate, James Aikenhead, so described in 1497. He had previously been a graduate and regent in St. Andrews. 64

Among religious were two Carmelites of Perth, "Musch and Pareis" who, before leaving Perth in 1512 to study in Aberdeen, were given a parting gift by Bishop Brown. 65

But above all Boece is warm in praise of John Adamson, later Dominican provincial; and justly so, since not only did he introduce the Dominican reform into Scotland which evoked such fierce reactions from the tradespeople of Aberdeen, doubtless because a reformed

59 Pasti Abd., p.67 seq.
60 Boece, Vitae, p.90; Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society Transactions, i, 1st year, p.21
61 E. Rega., p.57; A.F.A., f.75r.
62 Eales, pp.8.10.
63 Boece, Vitae, p.92. For his S.T.B. in 1514, St. Nicholas, p.152
64 Pasti Abd., p.19. He was quodlibatorius in St. Andrews (A.F.A., f.85r).
65 Rentale Dunkeldense, p.227
house would buy less, but also because the existing provincial prior was being removed, but in addition had gone on foot to the Rome general chapter and was nearly the chapter's choice as master general. Adamson was the first to take his doctorate in theology at Aberdeen, where he is cited as professor of theology in 1510. Among others who succeeded Adamson were Friar John Grierson, later as we saw dean of theology at St Andrews; Robert Lile, bachelor of Aberdeen, but who completed his studies at Glasgow; and Alexander Hall. A Dominican who appears to have had an endowment of lands to support his studies was Friar David Symson.

John Adamson's lectures at Aberdeen are celebrated also by Giovanni Ferreri. "This outstanding doctor of scholastic theology," as he calls him, was no doubt a follower of Cajetan whose reform he was appointed to carry out in Scotland. He taught

66 Mackie, Letters of James IV, no. 348; M.H. Laurent, "Leon X et la province Dominicaine d'Ecosse," in Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, xiii, pp. 149-161, which bears out what Boece says (Vitae, pp. 92-3).
67 Anderson, Aberdeen Friars, p. 68; he was prior in 1502, Ibid., p. 61.
68 The lectures of Grierson, Andrew Niverwech (Macneill?), and Robert Lile were approved by the Genoa general chapter of 1513 which Adamson attended (Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, v, 310, art. by Th. Kaeppler.) "Aulicus" is translated "Courtney" by Moir in Vitae.
69 Festi Abd., p. 45.
two Cistercian monks of Kinloss, who, after their promotion, were recalled to teach in their abbey: James Pont and Walter Hetton. This conjunction of Cistercians and Dominicans in the theological faculty is reminiscent of what Elphinstone must have found in his younger days at Glasgow.

Boece is silent about his own theological studies. There is a passing mention of him as a bachelor in sacred letters in April, 1506. He says that he and William Hay (primarios viros aberdonensis generalis studii) followed the lectures of Erasmus in "the religious college of Montaigu." But this could not have been for long. He presumably went on to study at Aberdeen under Ogilvie and doubtless later under Adamson. To his theological outlook we have one pointer: where he calls Thomas Aquinas the "prince" of theologians and says there has been nobody since to compare with him. William Hay's

70 Kinloss, p.39. There is a great deal about Scots and the reform of Adamson in Meerseman-Planzer, Magistrorum ac Procuratorum Generalium Registra Literarum and in Meyer, Registram Literarum F.Th. de Vio Cajetani.
71 Parchment Cartulary, pp.94-6.
72 Erasmus, Opus Epistolarum, vii, 399.
theological studies were probably quite separate, as he chose in his lectures to comment on Marsilius of Inghen, as we will discover later.

**Law**

Something will be said presently about the status of civil law in Elphinstone's foundation. Meantime it suffices to say that, besides its mention in the papal bull of foundation, where also the privileges of Bologna are asked for, it is included in the 1497 foundation, where Orleans is given as the model.74 There the doctor or licentiate or bachelor is styled "reader, regent in the same faculty."

From the beginning he had a reader who was both doctor in civil and in canon law. This was David Guthrie.75 He is found in some early university documents, described as canon of Aberdeen, rector of Aberdour and provost of Guthrie. Boece tells us that Guthrie was of noble birth and had outstanding mental gifts, besides considerable eloquence both in lecturing and in advocacy.76 He does not seem to have outlasted the university's first years. There is a manuscript of Ovid's Metamorphoses of his in the

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74 *Bibliotheca Elders.*, pp. 423.
university library.

With him probably as bachelors, were two other canons, both "learned in pontifical law." They were Thomas Strachan and Alexander Vaus. The latter is repeatedly confused with John Vaus and is credited with being the first to teach the Latin class in the university. But the phrase qui primus Aberdoniae scholarem eExit prefecturam refers to the grammar school of Old Aberdeen of which he must previously have been schoolmaster, as his colleague Strachen was schoolmaster in New Aberdeen.

It should be pointed out here that there is considerable confusion in Anderson's Officers and Graduates of King's College in the lists of canonists and civilists, owing to a misunderstanding of the nature of the appropriation of the Snow prebend in the university. The vicar of the Snow kirk (he had not yet been made rector) was to be a graduate in canon law, at least a bachelor, and to read in the faculty; the then vicar, later rector, William Strachen, being dispensed for the present, no doubt because he had not completed his studies in law. However, the evidence shows that he never completed

77 Aberdeen Univ. Library, Ms 165.
78 Seece, Vitae, p.90, where Moir mistranslates. Strachen was schoolmaster in New Aberdeen in 1479; Simpson, Uni. Record, p.6.
79 Fasti Aberdonianae, p.29; Officers and Graduates, pp.29, 31.
them, for in the first foundation of King's the rectory of Snow was to be held by the grammarian, Strachan may have held. However, after Strachan's death it was possible to transfer the prebend back to its original purpose, which was what in fact was done. It was quite correct, therefore, for the editor of Fasti Aberdonenses to list John Lindsay, Henry Spittal, Alexander Lawson and Arthur Boece as canonists.

Among the students graduating from the university was James Ogilvie, professor of civil law, and who is to be distinguished from the professor of theology of the same name, who so far from being a graduate of the university was lecturing there when Boece arrived. He was a son of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Boyne, and it is not till 1509 that he had royal nomination for any benefice vacant or about to vacate in the kingdom. He died in 1518 in Paris.

80 Eeles, pp.159-161;209. Strachan was dean in 1509 when he is mentioned as burgh schoolmaster, Bon Record, p.7 (where the editor wrongly proposes to read Thomas for William); he founded an anniversary in the parish church; St. Nicholas, ii, 266.
81 Eeles, p.209. This all raises the further question of the date of Elphinstone's second foundation.
82 Fasti Ab., p.1xxx. These lists are otherwise quite unsatisfactory as Anderson pointed out.
83 Boece, Vitae, p.91.
84 Taylor, The Ogilvies of Boyne, pp.6-7; R.S.S., i, no.1973; Aberdeen, ii, 207.
Henry Spittal, a relative of the bishop, taught arts with Boece for a while before taking up higher studies. In 1513 he was first reader in canon law, that is he was canonist, and licentiate in the laws and held the rectory of Snow by virtue of the second foundation. But he was not the first to hold the prebend, for he was preceded by John Lindsay, a licentiate in canon law, who died before the appointment of Spittal; he therefore was probably first canonist in King's under the second foundation. There is no question of Arthur Boece, Hector's brother, being first canonist at all, in spite of statements in the seventeenth century to the contrary. In 1506 he and his brother William were mere vicars choral in the cathedral.

These lecturers had no mere theoretical acquaintance with the law; Lindsay was a procurator at times in the sheriff court, and also for the abbot of Kinloss in the Roman court. Before his studies at Aberdeen he had been in the Pedagogy at St. Andrews. Spittal is recorded as clerk of cocket in Aberdeen.

Spittal and Ogilvie were groomed for the
succession by completing their studies at Orleans, just as we found Glasgow students completing theirs at Bologna. They are both found at Orleans in 1508, while Arthur Boece followed on two years later and was still there in 1512.

The Foundation of King's College

There are three foundations of King's College to discuss: the first project of 1497; the first proper foundation of 1505; and the second foundation of uncertain date within Elphinstone's lifetime only committed to paper and papally ratified in the chancellorship of Bishop Dunbar.

The first project can be dealt with briefly. It proposed the following arrangement of teachers and taught:

1 Theologian
1 Canonist
1 Civilist
1 Mediciner
1 Regent in Arts
6 Students
6 Priest Chaplains

It will be noted from this that there were almost as many founded teachers as students, and that the faculty of arts, which had swallowed up the

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90 Scottish History Soc. Miscellany, ii, 81-2, 102.
others, particularly at Glasgow, is relatively unimportant; nor is there any mention whatever of a principal. Moreover, right from the start, there is provision for chaplains on the foundation to provide fitting service in the collegiate church. This is in May, 1497, when as yet Boece may not have arrived, although by then he would have received the gifts and promises he speaks of.

Elphinstone had the problem of fitting offices that were essentially held by laymen into his collegiate scheme for a house of clerics. Laymen as masters and doctors were envisaged in the bull of foundation of Alexander VI. Yet a petition of James IV to the same pope later pointed out that there were very few married men in Scotland who carried their studies beyond the first stage in letters, and therefore he asked that permission to study civil law should be granted to clerics and priests, and even to Cistercians, who as we have seen were in the university, and even to bishops and archbishops. This indult may have been the reason for the studies of the bishop of Orkney, Edward Stewart, in the university, at which time he dedicated the collegiate church.

But Elphinstone was firmly convinced that

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91 Fasti Abd., pp. 11-15; Vitae, p. 38.
92 Elesa, p. 141.
93 Fasti Abd., pp. 36-8. The indult was refused for mendicants.
94 Boece, Vitae, p. 38. It has been suggested that the dedication took place in 1509.
clerics and ministers of God had been set aside in perpetuity for a special purpose; and he had no desire to see them involved in worldly business or mixing too much with laymen. He therefore planned that they should all eat and sleep under the one roof; but that those officers, who like the mediciner, were laymen would not be required to say mass. Yet even in this first foundation there is provision for the canonist, mediciner, civilist or legist, and the grammarian (the last only because he was holder of the Snow kirk and had cure of souls) that they should have external manses. In other words what we really have is a college for theologians and artists similar to St. Salvator's or even St. John's, but making provision outside its walls for those likely to be involved in distracting business.

A tabulated comparison of the two foundations will make the proposed set-up clearer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Foundation</th>
<th>2nd Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal: A Theologian</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canonist</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilist</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediciner</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subprincipal: Regent in Arts</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammarian</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Theologian Students (1 a Regent in Arts)</td>
<td>6 Theologians (Some are Regents)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 Eales, pp. 157, 161, 167.
1st Foundation (contd.)
13 Arts Students
8 Priest Prebendaries
(Students in any faculties)
4 Choirboys

2nd Foundation (contd.)
13 Arts Students
6 Choirboys
1 Bachelor or Student in Civil Law
1 Bachelor or Student in Canon Law

It will be immediately observed that the main lines of the second foundation are to be found in the first: the enclosed college of St. Mary in Nativitate, reserved for the artists and theologians, headed by a principal who is a theologian, preferably a doctor or licentiate, assisted by a subprincipal with authority over the theologians, although initially he is only referred to as teaching in arts, with which the external teachers and students have a connection more or less tenuous, and as far as the mediciner goes, with no provision at all for medical students, none of whom are listed by Boece among the alumni. 96

Moreover the prebendaries and choir boys are bound tightly into the foundation by the requirement of study. Even the choirboys attend the

96 Eales, pp. 159 seq., 199 seq.
song school conducted by the prebendary who is cantor, while in the second foundation two are maintained at grammar. But all who study are also bound to definite religious duties. Certainly there are vast differences between this college and the "religious college of Montaigu", especially in regard to the number of students on the foundation and the arduous nature of their duties. But the spirit, somewhat tempered by Elphinstone's humanity, is there, although of course King's never considered itself as in any way a religious congregation, although religious were to be very much at home there. The arts students are not being asked, as later at St. Mary's College in St. Andrews, to undertake the duties of novices in religious houses (et reliqua munera, a novitiis religiosorum exhiberi solita, obibunt). Nor is there the same novitiate-like rule we found at St. Leonard's, whose resemblance to Montaigu, apart from much weaker endowment, is much more marked. But it was still true that students could not leave the precincts without leave from their regent and that when they did they would be recognised by their hoods: the bursars in arts by their round hoods, the bachelors in theology by short hoods and the regents

97 Ibid., pp.177, 231.
98 Evidence, iii, 364. There is a reference to the ringing of bells at the Sanctus till the elevation in the mass, ut mos religiosorum virorum ubique existit. (Eales, p.218).
and students in theology, canon and civil law, by their long pointed hoods. Moreover there were to be no holidays throughout the year whatever. 99

Rait has made the point how much King's was to be a teaching college for the endowment rather of teachers than of students, and this is even more marked in the 1497 project for a college than later. 100

He has also noted that the long course in which the theologians were involved meant that they were relatively free to act as regents in arts. There certainly does not seem to be any question of further lectura for two subsequent years for arts students who have become masters. They are to study for three and a half years and then be replaced. 102 This solved a painful problem which is recurrent in the records of Glasgow and St. Andrews. On the other hand, the course in theology was being drastically curtailed at Aberdeen, doubtless to put it within the reach of as many clerics as possible. At Paris theologians took fourteen years to study for the doctorate. Here at Aberdeen the course for bachelorship was a mere three years (later it appears to be four), while in 1538 Bishop Stewart had to get papal permission to lengthen the six year course for the doctorate. 103

99 Eeles, pp.245,253.
100 Aberdeen Univ.Rev.,xx,106.
101 Ibid.
102 Eeles, p.163.
103 Ibid., p.213; Fasti Abd., pp.109;269. Eeles, p.163 gives seven years (first foundation).
A feature of the second foundation as contrasted with the first is that rhetoric and poetry are now considered too important to be entrusted to a mere theological student acting as a monitor; after all they are the basic studies of those who wish to be eloquent advocates, and so committed now to the grammarian. The latter has lost all but a tiny portion of his right to the fruits of the Snow kirk, the prebend of which is restored to the canonist. He is, however, confirmed in his right to an external manse nevertheless.

A further feature is the subsidy granted to students in civil and canon law. It must have become obvious by this time that court business was liable to take the doctors away for long or short periods and therefore there was need to subsidise students to replace them, although the theological students were strictly forbidden to act as advocates and procurators. Originally the canonist was obliged to read daily in his cope according to the form and custom of the first regent in canon law at Paris, and the civilist likewise as at Orleans and to act as tutor (tutelam habeat) and read daily the Institutes of Justinian. The requirements for the latter are much less specific in the second foundation, while the duties of the

104 Sales, pp. 161, 211.
105 Ibid., p. 243; nor could they study laws or medicine.
students to read the Institutes "in the manner of bachelors" (that is, with less commentary than doctors) is much more specific.\footnote{106} Moreover, it is recognised that the canonist will not always be able to serve his prebend of Snow kirk, for the service of which he must keep a vicar pensioner.\footnote{107}

Within the college itself the resemblance to St. Salvator's is striking, although not just as notable as in the Hamilton refoundation of St. Mary's. The subprincipal is rather like the licentiate on the Kennedy foundation, except that the latter had no arts teaching to do, and the former is in an inferior place in regard to the other external doctors. There is nobody with the permanence of the bachelor at St. Salvator's; the theological students at King's are all required to be bachelors within three years, but they are removable at the end of six.\footnote{108} The idea of using the theological students as regents is also found at St. Salvator's, where two out of the four were to be so appointed by the provost, licentiate and bachelor; whereas at King's the principal and subprincipal did so.\footnote{109} Moreover the odd number of thirteen for the student body

\footnote{106 \textit{Ibid.}, pp.169, 209, 213}
\footnote{107 \textit{Ibid.}, p.209}
\footnote{108 \textit{Eales}, pp.163 (seven years in the first foundation)}
\footnote{109 \textit{St. Salvator}, p.72; \textit{Eales}, p.247}
in arts is reminiscent of St. Salvator’s where the number was chosen to represent Christ and his apostles. However, King’s is a bigger and more inclusive foundation, and we are not surprised to learn that its collegiate church was bigger too.

But above all the resemblance is that both were radically colleges of artists and theologians, governed by theologians, and both have to subserve the interests of education and worship.

One is tempted, of course, to try to read the college plan into the very beginnings of the university; and to see Elphinstone’s promises to Boece as promises of the principalship of the future college; all that is very remote from the 1497 project, where the regent in arts occupies a very lowly place. William Hay only came later to Boece, they having passed their boyhood together in Dundee (although Hay is “of St. Andrews diocese” in the Paris records) and studied arts together at Paris. It is not clear if Alexander Hay and Henry Spittal assisted Boece before the arrival of Hay, but Alexander was the first regent to graduate from the new university. However as Hay too began to take his bachelorship in theology, the prospect must have opened up of giving both himself and Boece a leading place in the projected college. Moreover, here was a college, unlike St.

110 St. Salvator, p.71
111 Simpson, Tribute to William Kelly, p.53
112 Boece, Vitae, 88-91
113 Fasti Abd., p.46; Hay was bachelor and actually studying in 1504.
St. Salvator's, which was to be for the present at least the only college in the university, to be the centre of the university, and round which even the teaching that went on in external manses was to circulate; like the College of St. John as it was projected except that there the external pedagogies refused for years to come to heel. It is probable that the plague that afflicted the other universities in 1500 gave Elphinstone pause for thought.\textsuperscript{115} We have Boece's word for it that it was only when the first lectures had proved so successful, that the chancellor turned to the idea of his college.\textsuperscript{116}

As to the teaching of medicine, the recurrence of plagues must have underlined the need for that. James IV here took the initiative in 1497 by providing a livelihood for the mediciner out of certain lands in Banffshire.\textsuperscript{117} But Boece says that there were many university alumni in theology and both laws and many more in arts, but not a word about medicine. It was laid down that he was teach in his manse like the doctors of medicine in Paris.\textsuperscript{119} However, those suffering from contagious diseases apparently did not have his attention, although his salary was paid.\textsuperscript{120} He is

\textsuperscript{114} St. Salvator, p.32
\textsuperscript{115} Universal plague, the possibility of lectures ceasing and even the college failing are all provided for in the Shearer foundation of 1503 (St. Nicholas, i, 64 seq. is a better text than Fusti Abd., p.40 seq.)
\textsuperscript{116} Boece, Vitae, pp.93-4
\textsuperscript{117} Fusti Abd., p.12
\textsuperscript{118} Vitae, p.90
\textsuperscript{119} Eales, p.211
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., p.247
probably the James Cumming, who in 1506 had his custom on wool remitted. But apart from his successor's appointment, we know nothing of him. 121

The outside world had very little say in the running of the college; the Rector, dean of faculty, and occasionally a cathedral official might act as a visitor or presenter to burses. Even the procurators of nations had a say. But there was nothing like the plan in Hamilton's St. Mary's for the subprior of St. Andrews, the Dominican and Franciscan provincials or priors and wardens in their absence, and others, to act both as presenters and visitors. 122 The danger of such a closed corporation was that it might become too cozy or too afflicted by internal dissensions; it needed the friendly presidency of a Hector Bocce to keep it from both extremes.

However the university had preceded the college and there is a Rector on record from 1498: the first one being Andrew Lyell, the treasurer of the diocese. 123 There are obviously Rector's assessor's. But the dean of the arts faculty may have died a natural death as he does not appear in the second foundation. The only one mentioned at any time is Duncan Shearer, perhaps the first

121 Exch. Rolls, xi, 65-6; Officers and Graduates, p.35
122 Bailey, pp.239 seq. Evidence, iii,365. The idea may have been borrowed from Paris, where for instance the Dominican prior and the abbot of Ste.Genevieve had a say as governors of Ave Maria college (Gabriel, Student Life in Ave Maria College, pp.117 seq.).
123 Anderson, Officers and Graduates, p.6
and the last.\textsuperscript{124} But, having neither a Rector's nor a dean's book, it is not easy to be too positive, though it is not easy to see that a dean would have had any function. It is at least curious that he is not cited in the second foundation, which was obviously in force long before Dunbar's confirmation, as Boece draws on it for his \textit{Vitae} of 1522.\textsuperscript{125}

\textbf{Elphinstone's Will}

In his 1505 charter of foundation, Elphinstone had expressly reserved to himself the power to add to or subtract from his first foundation. Some charters were drawn up, but not in final form, when the bishop finally died. There also was the gnawing anxiety of his heirs that his will might be disallowed because of his illegitimate birth. Moreover in the chaotic times immediately following Flodden, many abuses were possible.

On the 27th September, 1514, therefore, there were presented before the Lords of the Council two documents: one of these, his letters of legitimation under the great seal giving him full power to dispose of his goods; the other a testimonial of Alexander Spittal, the late bishop's scribe, bearing that in his hospice at Dunfermline before his death, the bishop had bequeathed all his gold and silver in coin and in vessels, his money

\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Fasti Abd.}, p.39; for Rector, \textit{Ecles.}, pp.171,149

\textsuperscript{125} He gives seven choirboys for six, fourteen students for thirteen (and the translator obscures matters by making them subject to the grammarian) and he qualifies all the students in higher faculties (subprincipal included) as ten bachelors, which might have been what happened in practice, namely that theologians were often already bachelors on reception to burses. (\textit{Vitae}, pp.95-96)
in Scotland and Flanders and his books to the building of the Dee bridge still unfinished, and to the new college at Aberdeen, and also to priests, religious and poor friends to pray for his soul and celebrate masses. This Alexander Spittal and a witness to the will, Robert Elphinstone, rector of Kincardine, were also present in 1529 when the second foundation was first published.

Just exactly how much went to the college is not clear. A later scribe alleged that the money was mishandled and that the will given before notary and witnesses left all to the college and the bridge of Dee at the discretion of those distributing and receiving the money, and for that reason disagreed with the gift to Friar John Adamson of considerable sums for the building of a convent of their order "within the university of St. Andrews," and to the Franciscans of Aberdeen to buy them a tenement and yard.

Two of the executors appear to have been John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, and Thomas Myrton, archdeacon of Aberdeen, and there seems no reason to doubt that they acted in accordance with the bishop's mind in making these foundations for masses, especially as the

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126 Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, pp. 28-29
127 Eales, pp. 263, 254
128 Aberdeen, ii, 310. Scribe's observation on p. 311
bishop's heart was buried in the Edinburgh Dominican house.\textsuperscript{129} Hepburn is associated with a gift of Adam Hepburn of Craigs to King's College and there is no doubt that his own foundation of St. Leonard's was viewed by Boece and no doubt Elphinstone also with a friendly eye.\textsuperscript{130} Both founders draw on the inspiration of Montaigne in their different ways.

Elphinstone, of course, was taken north for burial and laid before the high altar in his collegiate church.\textsuperscript{131} A "noble college," John Mair, sparing of praise as he was, admitted it to be.\textsuperscript{132} Professor Dickinson has pointed out Elphinstone's share in the legal reforms carried out in the years before Sauchieburn and how the magnates resisted the efforts of the king's council to reform the judiciary. The Education Act also of 1496 was an attempt at least on paper, traditionally believed to be inspired by Elphinstone, to train the nobility to act more justly within their

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., ii, 310, 312. Adamson had himself studied at King's as had also some of the signatories to the final mass obligation confirmed in the Scottish provincial chapter (ibid., ii, 312). The Franciscan obituary for Aberdeen also records receiving sums from Myrton for a similar purpose (Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, ii, 324, in facsimile).
\textsuperscript{130} Fasti Abd., p. 45 (Hepburn of Craigs gave his lands of Berryhill for a theological student's support, at a time when they were in the hands of an Aberdeen Dominican, no doubt for the same purpose. For Boece on John Hepburn, see Vitae, p. 37)
\textsuperscript{131} Boece, Vitae, p. 121.
\textsuperscript{132} Major, History, p. 28.
Furthermore, just as James IV had begun to discover that there was no possibility of just dealing without a professional judiciary, so Elphinstone was aware that there was no stable university system without salaried teachers employed on a permanent basis. He saw that the nobility had to be trained and a well-endowed "noble college" was the best way of attracting them. He also saw that the clergy would have to be trained in seclusion to some extent from lay influence, and that the relatively poor, whose families would be inconvenienced in greater or less degree by paying for their education, were the best raw material for that end. For he was also a profoundly religious man for whom the service of his neighbour stemmed always from his service of God.

ALEXANDER GORDON: CHANCELLOR, 1515-18

In the national chaos succeeding Flodden the greater nobility came into their own, and the greatest in the north, the earl of Huntley, forced the hands of the reluctant chapter to elect Alexander Gordon, on the plea that in such unsafe times it would be better to have one of his relatives in the see. His other rivals, Robert Forman, who had rendered some unrecorded services to the university members, and James Ogilvie, former

133 Aberdeen Univ. Rep., xxxiv, 350-1.
134 For Fosse's version, Vitas, pp.113-3.
professor of civil law, gave up their claims. However, Gordon was seized with a hot fever shortly afterwards and reigned as an invalid; while the very existence of the new university was imperilled by the plague that also afflicted Glasgow and St Andrews.  

Proceedings were taken against the depositaries of Elphinstone's funds, doubtless by the university and the executors; the bridge of Dee plans and the plans for the external manses (aedum quoque in vicinia condiciperatorum) were however, held up, and even Elphinstone's burying place before the altar at King's was left unadorned except by carpets.  

In 1516 by virtue of a commission under the secret seal given by the Regent Albany, Alexander Lawson, a graduate in arts of St Andrews, but then a bachelor in decreets, was presented to succeed Spittal as rector of Snow kirk and therefore as canonist. Lawson, who had experience as an arbiter in the sheriff court and as scribe of the consistorial court, left to join the reformed Dominicans under John Adamson. Boece mentions him as occupying a place of honour at Elphinstone's funeral. Occupants of the Magdalene chaplainry in this period and therefore bachelors of civil law under
the second foundation were Mr. John Cumming and Mr. Thomas Clerk. In these documents Boece is called principal of the "pontifical" college of Aberdeen, a phraseology which occurs rarely, but for which there may have been some reason in the reduced stature of the king during the royal minority. 139

It is interesting also to see that Alexander Myln held the first post of bachelor in civil law for the support of whom the chaplainry of Thomas Spens, bishop of Aberdeen, a chaplainry founded in St. Machar's itself, existed. 140 But he could not have held it for long as he was within a few years to succeed Patrick Panter as abbot of Cambuskenneth. 141 These appointments all go to show that the second foundation was in working order already.

This was a trying time for the new foundation. It is interesting to see Alexander Galloway and Boece associated in giving receipts for the college at this period. 142 Galloway had been a particular friend of Elphistone's, and was probably as a master of works with the building of King's College as he was with the

139 St. Nicholas, ii, 307-309; Parchment Chartulary, pp. 145-6, gives Clerk's appointment in June, 1516.
140 Fasti Abd., p. 75.
141 About 1520; he had had a good deal of legal experience at Dunkeld (Rentale Dunkeldense, p. xx; Mackie, Letters of James IV, p. xxii).
142 Exch. Rolls, xiv, 210, 314.
Dee bridge and the Eden bridge in St Andrews. He may have been one of the executors. He is mentioned as Rector twice in the year 1516.

GAVIN DUNBAR: CHANCELLOR, 1518-1532

Writers on Aberdeen university have been so misled by the paean of praise given by Boece to Gavin Dunbar as somewhat to exaggerate his work for the university. There is no doubt that his was a welcome appointment and that his advent was thoroughly relished, Elphinstone himself had hoped for Dunbar as his successor. Why? He was not a model it would appear of all the virtues; he is alleged to have had a daughter. In this he is like Prior Hepburn, after whose daughter Elizabeth the bell at St. Leonard's appears to have been named. He is not mentioned as studying under Elphinstone, for he is only on record as a student in the Pedagogy at St Andrews. He is said by Boece to have studied in arts and to be well read in canon law. It has passed unnoticed that Dunbar spent a short time at

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143 Simpson, Tribute to William Kelly, includes a fine article on Galloway. For his work on Guard Bridge, Rentale Sancti Andrews, p. 94.
144 And Official of the see, Officers and Graduates, p. 7; Parchment Chartulary, p. 143 (on 5th June, 1516).
145 Boece, Vita, pp. 115 seq.
146 Dickinson's Knox, i, 19; Formulare, i, 105; Historical Monuments Commission Reports, 11th Rpt., p. 245.
147 Rec., pp. 54, 55; he may have studied canon law at St Andrews too.
148 Mistranslated by Mair in Vita, p. 115, as "skilled ... in the laws bearing on the duties of a bishop."
Glasgow before proceeding to St Andrews, and that university.\textsuperscript{149} He therefore understood as well as Elphinstone the dire situation of an unendowed institution.

Boece has given a memorable picture of Dunbar's reception in Aberdeen, to a diocese "almost foundering in the waves," and of the speech of the university orator given in his welcome.\textsuperscript{150} As soon, said he, as they received news of his appointment they called a general congregation of thanksgiving; though assuredly also, we must believe, to discuss what representations should be made to him. Elphinstone, he went on, in calling it King's College, had been characteristically self-effacing. But now Dunbar would be their Rector (moderatorem delectum) and they hoped he would bring to completion the neighbouring manses, vicinarum aedium ad scholasticorum usum consummationi consulas (it must be remembered that there was to be teaching in the manses as well as in the college proper).\textsuperscript{151} It was to bring learning to his

\textsuperscript{149} He was incorporated at Glasgow in 1470. (\textit{M.A.D.G.,} ii, 77, where "Elvinus" should read "Guinus" as in the Ms Liber Rectoris).

\textsuperscript{150} Boece, \textit{Vitae,} pp. 116 seq.

\textsuperscript{151} Orem and others have interpreted this as meaning that the houses in the neighbourhood were the houses of residence of the college proper, but the phraseology "in the neighbourhood" suggests much more exactly the external manses. He did, however, grant that the principal's chambers were already in existence. (Orem, \textit{Chanony,} p. 182).
diocese that the bishop had founded it, and they hoped that what death had prevented the first bishop perfecting the new bishop would finish off. Dunbar replied briefly but warmly that they should not imagine they had gained another bishop at all but one who would be after Elphinstone the college's second founder. The university oration did not say in so many words that the college was the bishop's responsibility as much as the king's. Yet the use throughout of pontifex for bishop suggests strongly that by the collegium pontificale already referred to Boece meant not so much "papal college" as "bishop's college," although of course in a sense it was both. The next day Dunbar visited the college and its living quarters (singulas ejus aedes), examining the sacred vessels and furnishings, and within a few days decided to complete the manses in its neighbourhood.

Hector Boece: Principal, 1505-1536

The duties of the principal were manifold. He was responsible for the good government and good name of the college; to ensure that the precincts and rooms were kept tidy; to give moral instruction; to punish offenders either personally or by deputy; to allot rooms with the advice of the subprincipal and

152 Neque arbitrentur se alium pontificem adoptos, si non quod episcopum Wilhelmm secundum collegio conditor aeat futuras. (Boece, Vitas, p.121).
regents; to act as regent daily in philosophy and arts; to read in theology each lecturing day in his doctoral habit and with the same state as in the university of Paris; and to preach the word of God in the vernacular six times yearly. For this he received, not a benefice, as at St. Salvator's, but a salary, fixed at 40 merks. 153

Boece violated the very first requirement for the principalship in that he was not a doctor of theology. By 1519 he was recorded as a licentiate. 154 In order to receive his doctorate he went to Paris in 1526, and in September of that year is found supplicating the German nation there for a regency. 155 He did not delay, but returned to Aberdeen, where in 1528 the Town Council agreed to offer him a tun of wine if he was willing to wait for the arrival at the port of a new wine cargo, or alternatively £20 for doctoral bonnets, whichever he preferred. 156

One reason for going to Paris was to oversee the printing of his history of Scotland by the Paris

153 Eales, pp. 207-9.
154 Phati Abd., p. 76; Parchment Chortulary, p. 151; records him as licentiate in 1523.
155 Suppliuerunt praterea...dominus manderston...dominus hector bower...dominus robertus hayoos pro re entia et scholias (Paris, Univ., Reg. 15, f. 100).
156 Extracts from Exch. Rolls, i, p. 121. In 1527 William Hay gave receipts to the exchequer, in 1528 Boece (Exch. Rolls, x, 371, 450).
printer, Josse Bade. This work is quite uncritical, meant rather to be glorification of Scotland as Livy’s was a glorification of ancient Rome, and as such it succeeded.\textsuperscript{157} James V was flattered and voted him a pension of £50 annually, "for his service, labour, and the honour done to us and our kingdom in the printing of his chronicles."\textsuperscript{158} John Mair’s history, being altogether more critical, had evoked no such honour. Boece’s history became particularly popular in the translation by Bellenden, the translator also of Livy.

Bade had also printed Boece’s \textit{Lives} of the Aberdeen bishops in 1522, a useful work for the bishops with whom he was contemporary, and a volume of logic (\textit{Explicatio quorundam vocabularum}) of which only one copy can now be traced. The latter work has a few passing references to Aberdeen in the text.

Having a person of Boece’s stature in charge for so long must have been a good thing for King’s. He was on terms of friendship with Giovanni Ferreri, who, writing from Kinloss in 1534, congratulates the bishop of Aberdeen on his university and its contemporary fame, commenting on the elegance also of Boece’s

\textsuperscript{157} Simpson, Hector. \textit{Boece}, contains an evaluation of his veracity by J.B. Black (pp.30 seq.).

\textsuperscript{158} For all these works, see Kellan Johnstone, \textit{Bibliographia Abderdonensis}, I.
historical writing. Likewise in his *Auditum Visu Praestare* Boece was again praised, along with Arthur, his brother, William Hay, James Vane (Wawane), Robert Gray, John Vaus and the studious and politic rector of Kinkell, Alexander Galloway. He was highly respected at Kinloss and called in to give medical treatment when Abbot Chrystall was dying.\(^{159}\)

From his earliest days he had the warmest respect for Erasmus, whom he first knew as a young Augustinian canon at Paris. An emissary from Denmark, Hans Bogbinder, visited the university in 1528, and was delighted to find not only that the Paraphrases of Erasmus were in the students' hands, but that the principal and subprincipal had once heard him lecture. In May, 1528, at a time when Erasmus's works were under fire from the Paris theologians, Boece went out of his way to write him an enthusiastic letter asking for a catalogue of his many works and assuring him of the devotion of King's College men to his person.\(^{160}\)

This was typical of Boece's loyalty, which can

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159 Simpson, Hector *Boece*, pp. 25-6, has some good comments.
also be seen in the presence in Aberdeen of his brothers, Arthur and William. 
Aberdeen in its turn was not ungrateful to one who had increased its reputation, and in 1505 the town consented to his holding the St. Nicholas chaplainry in the parish church. He was forbidden by the foundation of the college to hold a benefice in St. Machar's itself, but he also held the rectory of Tyrie and the vicarage of Tullynessle.

It was Boece's friendly spirit that dominated the university in its first crucial years. Moreover, he was known to the students as the friend of humanists: Erasmus, Ferreri and Florence Wilson. King's College owed him a great debt when he died in the year 1536, leaving it various gifts: an altar of St. Catherine of Alexandria to be built by his executors, adorned with a painting of Sts. Catherine and Barbara and a frontal with his arms as well as other gifts of minor importance.

**John Vaus: Grammarian**
As has been indicated already Vaus is not to be confused with the Alexander Vaus, canon of Aberdeen, who was in the university when Boece arrived. He was

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161 William is mentioned in 1524 (*Prot. Book of Sir John Cristiaena, nos. 36, 36a,*
162 St. Nicholas, ii, 344.
163 R.M.S., ii, no. 3821; *Cristiaena,* no. 71.
164 Cf. my note in *Innes Rev.,* iv, 12.
165 Bales, pp. 14, 23; *R.S.S.,* ii, 2192.
himself a student of the university. From Aberdeen he went to Paris where he finished his studies, and there also his association with David Lewis (to whom Josse Bade dedicated his edition of the grammar of Sulpizio) as well as with other Aberdeen authors, such as James Liddell, must have led him to bring enthusiastic news of the possibilities of the printing to Aberdeen. His various grammars are fully recorded in *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*.

He may have succeeded William Strachan as holder of the grammarian's post, but the first mention of him at Aberdeen as teacher appears in 1516. Rait has maintained that he was a regent in arts, that is that he taught the philosophical subjects of the curriculum. While it often happened that the grammar schoolmaster taught a little preliminary logic, he did not teach the arts students proper. His duties are clearly specified in a later document: he is to be expert in grammar, poetry and rhetoric and to have charge of those who are studying these subjects and teach them. The regent in question was not Vaus but a theological student who was maintained free of charge for that reason. In addition,

166 *Aberdeen Book of Sainves*, ii, f. 78r, "willi die Junii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quarto...personaliter constitutus Johannes Vaus studens pro tempore universitatis aberdonensis ac vicarius de alinas (sic) Rossensi dioecesis."
168 Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 45.
169 *The Universities of Aberdeen*, pp. 72-3.
170 *Histori Abi.*, p. 109; in addition to which Vaus taught in his manse or perhaps in the little grammar school found at a later date outside the precincts.
in the first foundation, a theologian also took charge of rhetoric and poetry. Latin and French are mentioned as languages known in the college.

The "fine letters", as Leopold Delisle calls them, exchanged between Vaus and Josse Bade, the Parisian printer, and the Aberdeen students, are illuminating in many ways. Bade's letter to the studious philosophers at Aberdeen in discussing Vaus's journey from Scotland mentions that he was a man long known to him (vir antiqua observantia et amicitiae nobis conjunctissimus); while Vaus's letter reminds them that he had always used Bade's grammars in his dictates.

Bade points out that being a new university they have little to do with old-fashioned trifles. Writing in 1522, Vaus claims to have taught them for many years. His journey to France was unpleasant; he appears to have lost his baggage; and we gather from a countryman of his, Robert Gray, that he was shipwrecked and landed at Dieppe. Gray salutes Paris as the fountain of science and the new Athens, in this echoing other writers of the time. But most interesting of all he points out the reason why Vaus chose to comment on Alexandre de Villideieu, whom many were beginning to consider old-fashioned compared with

171 Eales, p.161, 163
172 Ibid., p.253.
173 Delisle, L'Imprimeur Parisien Josse Bade et le Professeur Ecossais, Jean Vaus, p.3.
Sulpizio, Perotti, Aldo and Torrentino: for he points out that it is not so much what their teachers want that matters, as what the boys are attracted by and used to. However, the remains of Vaus's library show that he was well read in contemporary grammarians. Incidentally Vaus calls himself artium bonarum professor, grammar and rhetoric being two of the liberal arts.

Vaus was still alive in 1538 when he signed a college charter to Sir Walter Ogilvie of Dunlugus. To the college chapel he left a picture of the crucified Christ which hung above the organ loft.

**Medicine**

The writer of the epistle in Vaus's book, Robert Gray, was in 1523 a formed bachelor in medicine when appointed as mediciner in view of the death of James Cummings. He had just come to Paris and was in the college of Boncourt. He evidently remained to finish his doctorate, and when he went on to Orleans about 1525 he was described as a doctor of medicine and bachelor in canon law. Thereafter he returned to Aberdeen and was still there in 1549.

**Law**

We know little of this faculty that is reliable. Arthur Boece was canonist in June, 1521, and held the

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175 Parchment Chartulary, p.141.
176 *Edles*, p.21
177 Parchment Chartulary, p.139.
179 *Posti Abd.*, pp.118, 239.
Snow prebend, no doubt in succession to Alexander Lawson. From a papal inquiry in 1517, when he attempted to become abbot of Arbroath, we gather that he was then 32, and so was probably born in 1485. It is most unlikely that a young man of twenty could in 1505 have been first canonist, as a seventeenth century note averred. At the time of the inquiry he was a master of arts and licentiate in civil law; two years later he went to St. Andrews and must have taken there the doctorate in civil law that his brother Hector credits him with. He appears later to have become civilist for in 1532 he was replaced as such by Thomas Senes. He was still alive in February, 1534.

Arthur Boece was a generous benefactor to the college chapel; his gifts included a printed missal to the St. Catherine altar. For the classroom he gave seven spheres.

Abuses are now to be noted among the holders of law prebends. The man appointed to the chaplainry of St. Mary Magdalene for a civil lawyer still held it over forty years later. There is another college prebend of Auchindoir, mentioned in the second foundation, whose purpose is obscure, occupied in turn

180  Aberdeen, i, 387; Theiner, Vetere Monumenta, p. 525.
181  Officers and Graduates, p. 29.
182  E. Reece, P. 214; Boece, Vitae, p. 91.
183  R.S.S., ii, 1131.
184  Aberdeen Skaines, iv, f. 103r.
185  Eales, p. 14, 29.
186  Hector Myrton (Fasti Abd., pp. 75, 127).
by Thomas Myrton, Alexander Kyd, Alexander Spittal, 
Thomas Curror and John Sinclair.

The final settling of the university's future and tying up of the many loose ends left by the founder was probably put off till all its members were properly qualified in accordance with the foundation. Even in Bishop Dunbar's time the college lacked public documents. Dunbar, who was now a septuagenarian, seems to have taken a keen interest. It would be largely owing to his interest that the college received royal protection and ratification of earlier royal gifts in 1528, and in the previous year a rescript of Clement VII authorised Dunbar and his fellow mandatories to ratify the second Elphinstonian foundation after due investigation. Dunbar seems to have done the job thoroughly and finally in 1531 Elphinstone's additions to his foundation were safeguarded. In this way he carried out his initial promise that he would be second founder of this collegium pontificale, as it is once more called. He also built the neighbouring manses and completed the first founder's work in that respect too.

WILLIAM STEWART: CHANCELLOR, 1533-1545

From the time of Bishop Dunbar on we have neither the aid afforded by Boece's Lives nor any notable public

187 Bales, p.227; R.S.S., ii,17;400;532;2633.
188 Eubel, Hierarchia, iii,91.
189 Bales, pp.144-265.
190 Ibid., p.253.
documents to guide us in detailing the university's history. We must, therefore, be content with very little information, and little of that which is strikingly new.

**William Hay: Principal, 1536-1542?**

Boece fortunately has given us an account of Hay. He came from Paris some time after Boece was already settled in Aberdeen. Both were natives of Angus, both had been schooled in Dundee. His personal devotion to Boece led him to take up teaching with him, and after a time he grew to like it.

As subprincipal he delivered some theological lectures based on Marsilius of Inghen, which were copied out by his personal scribe, a Carmelite, William Shewan. Hay's own commentary shows him very familiar with the canonists and with contemporary anti-Lutheran apologists like Eck. But, although Alexander Galloway wrote from Aberdeen to the Louvain faculty of theology describing the death for heresy of Patrick Hamilton at St. Andrews, lacking names of matriculated students, we have no idea how Aberdeen was affected. The impression is that it was unaffected, but that is a mere unsupported impression.

It is interesting, in view of Boece's letter to

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191 Boece, *Vitae*, p.90.
192 Aberdeen Ms 239, for the use of a transcript of which I am indebted to the Rev. John Barry.
Erasmus, to find Hay owning a copy of the latter's Paraphrases.

Theophilus Stewart

He was the grammarian who succeeded Vaus, whom he followed to Paris in 1530, having already been one of the bursars at King's College. He is recorded as grammarian in 1539. It was during his occupancy of the office that James V visited Aberdeen and the students are said by Lesley to have made orations in "Greke, Latine and uther languages." This is less surprising when we remember that their teacher was a fairly recent graduate of Paris, who may even have been expert in Hebrew as he owned a copy of Reuchlin's De arte cabbalistica.

His statutes and rules for the university grammar school are well-known and have been much discussed, especially the famous passage where all are asked to speak Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Irish, but not Scots, at least with those who have been at school long enough to know Latin. All these rules of 1553 are written in Renaissance Latin with here and there some transliterations from the Greek (nomophylaces, for instance). There are other indications, for instance

194 Innes Rep., ix, p.113.
195 Ibid., ix, 78, no.13. See Appendix C.
196 History, p.159.
197 Innes Rep., ix, 151.
198 Simpson, Don Record, pp.98-100.
the inventories in the episcopal register and the obit of Alexander Galloway in the Aberdeen Franciscan obituary, that Latin of a neo-classical turn was taught there.

Stewart survived the Reformation and, as we shall see, is not recorded as one of the regents deposed for non-conformity in 1569.

In the higher faculties there is nothing to record except that John Sinclair, later president of the College of Justice, is recorded as rector of Snow and therefore as canonist in 1537 when he was incorporated at St. Salvator's college: he was then a licentiate in both laws. He also had been at Paris where he went in 1528. The names of several theological students are recorded in 1542, one of whom, John Watson, later went to St. Andrews for a short time.

Bishop Stewart is remembered for the building which he erected on the south wall of the college chapel to act as a library, jewel house and chapter-house. This was in use in 1542, and by then the old library (elsewhere biblotheca means study) was used as a store. He also, according to Orem, began to build the chaplain's chambers in more roomy quarters than those allocated by Elphinstone.
WILLIAM GORDON: CHANCELLOR, 1546-(1560)

William Gordon was again the candidate for the bishopric sponsored by the powerful neighbouring earl of Huntley. On his appointment to the see in 1546 he is described as a professor in both laws.

John Bisset: Principal, 1542-1565

About the principalship of John Bisset many contradictory things have been said, and certainly his habit of resigning from time to time must have been somewhat confusing even to his colleagues and contemporaries.

He is recorded as grammar schoolmaster in New Aberdeen at various times from 1519 till 1531. During the same period, in 1516 and in 1523, he is found as regent and as procurator for the new mediciner, Robert Gray.

The fact that he resigned at Rome has been taken by some writers to mean that he was appointed there; but there is no necessary connection. In February, 1547 he resigned so that William Cranston might take office and seven years later that Alexander Anderson might do so. Neither of these resignations were effective, and in both 1553 and 1558 he is still recorded as principal. His testament (unfortunately no longer extant) was registered with the Edinburgh Commissariat under the date, the 29th May, 1565, when he is still

205 Dubel, Hierarchia, iii, 91.
206 St. Nicholas, 1, 153, 171; he had been replaced in 1539, Don Record, pp. 9-10.
207 Anderson, Officers and Graduates, p. 50; Parchment Chartulary, p. 139.
208 Pasti Abd., pp. 120-1, 123.
209 Aberdeen Baines, x, f. 63r; O.R.H. Calendar of Charters, viii, no. 1767.
described as "principall of the college of Aberdein." He presumably therefore died about that time.

His principallship is memorable for a remarkable visitation of the college headed by the Rector, Alexander Galloway. Galloway had been a great confidant of Elphinstone. As recently as 1544, although advanced in age, he had been received to the licence in canon law at Paris.

The visitation shows a considerable declension in the good estate of the college; due, it must be, to Bisset's negligence. Funds were being mismanaged; students in the higher faculties were neglecting to receive sacred orders; the law students were inattentive to their manses and their chaplainries; the regents were charging graduation and other fees, not only from rich students, but from bursars as well. Bursars were being received who were not, as Elphinstone had intended, really poor (mera pauperes). Evidently the principal did not exercise or did not command authority.

One supposes that Bisset's trouble was either physical or mental, sufficiently disabling at least to make his resignation desirable. It says little for the chancellor's vigilance that he continued in office.

210 *Edinburgh Commissariat Record: Register of Testamenta*, I, 27.
212 *Posti, Abd.*, pp. 259 sqq.
Alexander Anderson: Acting Principal

Anderson is recorded as subprincipal in 1538, and Bisset appears to have over-reached him in obtaining the principalship. In 1554, as we saw, he was appointed by Rome on Bisset's resignation, but two years later he was still subprincipal and acting principal (officio primarius). In 1559 as subprincipal and canon of Aberdeen he was one of the members of the chapter who wrote to Bishop Gordon admonishing him for his neglect in the oversight of his diocese and for his attachment to a certain gentlewoman in his household.

He is recorded as principal in February, 1559, and in March, 1563, but this means merely acting principal as in March 1563 and again in August 1564 he is subprincipal and vice-principal. But Bisset must have died within a few months of the latter date.

When Alexander Anderson attended the convention of the Scots nobility at Edinburgh in January 1561 to defend the mass, he is described by Knox as subprincipal and by Lesley as principal. These divergencies are fully explicable in the light of the facts recorded here.

Little is known of King's College during his principalship. One or two officers can be identified.

213 Anderson, Officers and Graduates, p. 39.
214 Parchment Chartulary, p. 137.
216 R.M.S., V, no. 861; Dusti Abd., p. 127.
217 Dickinson's Knox, i, 353-3; Lesley, Historia, p. 293.
Nicholas Hay was civilist in 1556. Another lawyer, who studied theology for a time as well, is William Skene, later the canonist of that name at St. Mary's college, St. Andrews. James Balfour was rector of Snow and therefore canonist in 1553. Lesley, the historian of Scotland, succeeded him.

When the Reformation came, Alexander Anderson is said to have defended the college against the Mearns mob who came to despoil it. He refused to conform to the Reformation and he and his fellow regents were deposed from office: the regents' names are given in contradictory forms: Andrew Anderson or Galloway, Gilbert or Duncan Norrie, and Thomas Owsten (that is, Ogston).

There are conflicting accounts of Anderson: Lesley, who was present at the 1561 conference, is favourable, Knox, one of his antagonists at it, unfavourable. The outcome of the conference was that Anderson and his fellows were warded in Edinburgh for a long time. He was warded again in 1573 when he was instructed to give his confession of faith, doubtless when he asked to be restored to his principalship, for on the 3rd July, 1569, Alexander Arbuthnot was appointed principal because of the

218 Parchment Chartulary, p. 127.
219 Fasti A.D., pp. 264, 271-2; E. Bov., p. 264.
220 St. Salvator's Book "B", f. 123r, where he is so described as executor of Martin Ralfe.
221 Anderson, Officers and Graduates, p. 29.
222 Bait, The Universities, p. 99; Anderson, Officers and Graduates, p. 25.
223 Acts of the General Assemblies, i, 141; Officers and Graduates, p. 52.
224 Bait, The Universities, pp. 9607.
deposition of the late principal, subprincipal and regents for what were described as weighty and sufficient causes. When he died in 1578 he was still excommunicate.

He is said to have alienated revenues and records in order to preserve them from the Reformers. A King's College book now in Glasgow university library is inscribed, "The new King's College of Aberdeen will possess this after the death of M. Alexander Anderson."

Bishop Gordon can hardly be rated as one of the university's foremost chancellors on the evidence before us. He did secure, however, the protection of Huntley for the see and university, and this, combined with the royal protection of November, 1562, helped the regents to resist conformity for some time. But in these years the college must have faced many difficulties. Rents were hard to collect; in one instance we hear of ten years of arrears to be made up. Randolph in a letter to Cecil mentions it as a small college with 15 or 16 scholars, but he is speaking

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225 Register of the Privy Council, ii, 238; R.S.S., xxxviii, f. 69r.
226 For the latter reference I am indebted to Dr. Gordon Donaldson.
227 Steadfast Miscellany, ii, 44.
228 Inns Reg., ix, 67.
229 Thani Abd., p. 125. Gordon was himself something of a student.
229 Ibid., p. 126.
from hearsay. Without matriculation records it is impossible to say how the college flourished, although a number of graduates are recorded in Aberdeen books of sasines who certainly did not study at St. Andrews or Glasgow and may be presumed in many instances to have studied locally. Elphinstone had done so much for his college that, short of founding a rival one in the city, there was little left for his successors to do: and it was only the desire to start a more Protestant institution that prompted the Earl Marischal to found the college that was named after him.

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230 Calendar of Scottish Papers, i, 649. Benefices appear to have been lavished on Anderson. At various times he was vicar of Kinkell (Collections, Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, i, 373); rector of Forvie, R.S.S., iv, 514; rector of Tyrie, Ibid., iv, 3290; rector of Methlick, Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, iii, 36; rector of Mortlach, Ibid., iii, 255, 381; R.H.S., v, 247. But many of these benefices were disputed.
Bursar's Book

(This is a faculty of arts book and the binding is lettered Faculty Register. The first account is that of Robert Penter, dated 1 Dec., 1456. The book remained in use in post-Reformation times till 1853. A few excerpts only are printed here).

f. 2r.

Compotum anni lvii

Compotum magistri roberl pantri bursarii communis facultatis arcium universitatis sanctiandree factum apud sanctum andream primo die mensis decembris anno domini mecc lvi coram magistro petricio graham decano dicte facultatis, magistro Thoma logy, magistro Johanne Balfour, magistro Johanne lyown, magistro Johanne logan et magistro david monypenny assessoribus ad hoc per facultatem deputatis, omnibus computatis et allocatis, remanent in deposito in manibus dicti computantis tres libre in pecunia numerate et pinignoribus (sic)

Sequuntur debita contingentia in eodem anno et non soluta.

In primis per magistrum hugonem de douglas allibi (sic) graduatum, hic ad facultatem receptum, pro bursa xv s

Item per magistrum Willelmum forbes similiter graduatum et receptum pro bursa xv s

Item per magistrum Wolterum lindesay ex dicta causa xv s

Ego Matheus blair fateor me debere ex composizione facultati arcium et bursario eiusdem soluendum ad festum pentecostes proxime futurum xlii s
Item magister patricius graham debet $x_1 s$
Item rector de lastakilk (sic) debet $xxx s$

Account of Dec. 12th, 1464.

Bursar, Robert Panter, has in deposit "octoginta
ligna pro fabrica noue domus ad valorem desem (sic)
librerum et in lapidibus viii li. vii s. v d. et pro
fabrica cum fenestra xxl s."

Computum magistri Roberti panthre bursarii facultatis
arciun factum in porua aula petagogii ultimo die octobris
anno etc. septuagesimo quinto de omnibus receptis usque
ad diem presentis computi, in quoquidem computo idem
onerat in xxxiii libris et viii denariis, de quoquidem
summa defalcantur computanti pro fabrica coquine,
reformacione scole et camine aule, ac etiam pro uno novo
capucio federato xxviiii libre et computans debet vi li
pro qua summa respondebit decano et facultati in certis
libris impignoratis computanti pro quatuor lib. v s. et
ix d. Et de prefata summa magister henricus Wer obligatur
computanti in xvii s pro bursis et aliis debitis magistri
andreæ dalouqhy et in x s. et vi d. pro bursis et aliis
thome spens, pro quo est debitor magister patricius
symson una cum magistro deuid monypenny ut ipse asserit.
Et de x s. debitis dicto computanti per magistrum thomam
pottar et dominum laurentium howburn pro magistro thome
stewart et v s. bedello in feodo suo computatis, et de v
s. pro magistro Johanne digwall debitor eius magister
malconus (sic) rollok et de vii s. et vi d. debitis per
hugonem tullo licentiatus (sic) in artibus, debitor eius
magister Johannes chammer et de x s. pro feodo computantis.
Etiam debentur computanti, omnibus computatis et allocatis
ut prefatum est xxx s. et i d. Corem magistro Roberto
ketht tunc rectore universitatis, magistro Johanne doless
tunc decano, magistro Johanne lyston licentiatu theologie,
magistriis dauid monypenny, alexandro pennycuk, patricio
symson, thome pottar et willelmo cube bursario dicte
facultatis cum multis aliiis. Isti sunt libri de quibus
super sit mencio, viz. libri decretalium et clementinarum
in manibus magistri alexandri pennycuk, vicarii de
kynquhownquhar, impignorati facultati pro triginta
solidis

Qui quidem computator tempore suo de communibus expensis
facultatis fabricare fecit magnam aulum facultatis arcium
et coquinam eiusdem; reparavit etiam scolam interius
cum tabulis, sedelibus, vitris, ambone, cum omnibus mensis
aule, cappis, capuciis et aliiis diversis ornamentis aule
et scole, laudanter et honeste ad utilitatem et honorem
dicte facultatis

Sequuntur nomina debencium eiusdem anni pro lectura

Magister gauinus dunbare pro lectura
debitor magister (illegible)

Magister Willelmus zong
debitor magister eius magister alexander zong

Item manipulus curatorum pro quibus satisfecit magister
noster Johannes lok de x s. magistro willelmo cube bursario
sequentis anni
Item unum breviarium per Magistrum Willelum Cowe impignoratum facultati pro xxvi s.

Item sextus liber decretalium deliberatus decano anni etc. septuagesimi sexti viz. magistro Johanni logane v s et lx d

Item magister Andreas Murysone habet unum reymundum pro x solidis facultati impignoratum per magistrum andream bryde

Item unum sextum pro lecture magistri henrici boyss de summa x s.

f.8r.

Computum magistri Willelmi cubic bursarii facultatis orciun factum in perue aula pedagogii tercio die mensis decembris anno etc. septuagesimo octauo de omnibus receptis usque ad diem presentis computi, exceptis determinantibus dicti anni, in quoquidem computo computans oneret se de xii lib. et vii s.

Expense dicti computantis. In primis allocantur xxxvi s. de debitis anni precedentis et xxvi pro picture sancti Johannis evangelistae. Item pro tabulis tribus et calce ad fabricam loci remanentibus in (manu omitted) computantis et pro feodo suo xxvi s. Item in alius expensis et necessariis illi lib. et xvii s. expensarum eiusdem vii lib. xvii s. et sic debentur de claro facultati

Sequuntur nomina debentium dicti (anni omitted) pro lecture

Dominus Richardus strathaquyn
Henricus lewynstone
Willelmus atkyynson
David gardyn
Jacobus strathaquyn
Compotum magistri thome carstariis bursaril facultatis arcium factum in parva aula pedagogii vi die mensis decembris anni etc. octuagesimi quarti, coram magistris Roberto ketht tunc rectore, hugone spens tunc decano facultatis arcium, Johanne listone preposito collegii sancti saluatoris, dailid monypenny, roberto panthere, johanne doless, patricio symson. In quoquidem compoto computans oneret se de xv lib. et viii s., determinantibus non computatis dicti anni.

Expense dicti computantiis extendunt se ad viginti unum librum ix s. iii d. et sic debentur computanti ultiam summam oneracionis vi lib. xi s. et liiid et idem computans habet in deposito centum sexaginta lapides de quibus preparantur duodecim luminaria viginti celdrorum calcis, sexaginta lingna, tres magnas tabulas ad utilitatem facultatis, et idem computans solvet bedello unam marcam et collectioni iii s. ad bonum compotum, et sic debentur computanti in universo vii lib. vii s. et vii d.

Sequuntur nomine debitium pro lecture dicti anni.

Magister Nicholaus hwe fide media obligatus
Magister Michael Loich obligatus xxti s.
Magister Walerus drummond beneficiatus fourti s.
Magister thomas retre
Magister dailid mailwyn debitor eius thomas scot
Magister thomas cummyng debitor pro eo duncanus magye
Magister thomas esplen
Magister Willelmus abhircrumme
Magister Jacobus strathaqwwen
Magister Johannes fentone
(Sample of paid accounts entered separately from the ordinary receipts as recorded in the annual audit)

f.36r.

Nomine soluencium anni lvii

In primis magister Robertus manteth soluet finaliter v s.
Item magister Robertus Skeyn soluit finaliter xx s.
Item magister Johannes Bonar soluit finaliter xx s.
de his receptor computauit primo decembris anni lvii
(i.e. the date of the 1457 audit)

Nomine soluencium anni lviii

In primis magister Alexander skrymgeour soluit xx s.
Item magister Georgius monypenny soluit finaliter xx s.
Item magister Willelmus Blaer soluit finaliter xx s.
Item rector de lastaykyl soluit finaliter xxx s.
Item magister Willelmus Bully soluyt (sic) finaliter xx s. in libro

Item magister Alexander de peniculke rector elusdem soluit in decretalibus et clementinis xxx s.
Item magister Jacobus Murray soluit in uno libro uocato manipulus curatorum xx s.
Item magister Johannes cristison pro lectura xs.
Item magister andreas boyde xs. et finaliter
Item magister patricius cwyngham x s.
Item magister Robertus forestare xx s. et finaliter

f.36v

Among "nomina soluentium anni lxvii" is "magister patricius grame episcopus sanctandree xi s."

f.37v-38r.

In the year 1484 a great number of payments are recorded "decano existente magistro nostro h. spens".
Item magister hugo martyn quoddam lignum ad structuram loci pro lectura cum ilis. illid.
Sequuntur nomina soluentium pro lecturis anni etc.
octuagesimi quinti

Item magister Ricardus lawson xx s.
Item magister edwardus cunnyngham xiiis. end lliiid.
Item cum magistro Johanne carstaries gratis
Item magister Willelmus lowry archidiaconus brechinensis

f.19r.
Compotum magistri thome fyff bursarli facultatis
artium universitatis sanctiandree de anno domini millesimo v° vicesimo primo incipiens a quarto die mensis novembris
factum vero per eundem in pedagogio die xxv mensis octobris millesimo v° xxiiiiii in presentia magistri martini
balfour prefate facultatis decani, magistri nostri
magistri petri capellani canonici collegli sancti
saluatoris, magistri georgii ferne precentor is brechin-
ensis, magistri Roberti bannerman regentis pedagogii et
magistri gawini logye regentis collegii sancti leonardi

Oneracio eiusdem

In primis onerat se dictus computans cum tribus libris
et xii s. receptis a magistri roberti bannerman olim
dicte facultatis bursario Item a determinantibus illo
anno in pedagogio viz. Willelmo meldrum et alexandro
symsonex xv s. Item de collegio sancti salvatoris a
Jacobo edmestone determinante vii s. vi d. Item de
collegio sancti leonardi a Willelmo kar determinante
vii s. vi d. Item a qualibet istorum in die cinerum pro
admissione ad lapidem pro capis 3 s Summa totalis xii s.
Item pro licentia henrici scot superuenientis vii s. vi d. Item die quo idem recepit birretum suum pro capis v s. Item de padagogio a Willemo arthur intrante pro dispensacione tertii vici v s. Item de padagogio a Johanne X petullo intrante pro tertio vico v s. Item de collegio sancti salvatoris a Willemo halkarstone et Johanne meffen pro dispensacione tertie responsionis in vico x s. Item a dictis Willemo arthur et Johanne petullo in actu licentie xv s. Item pro dispensacione omnium intrancium illo anno x s. Item a prefato Willemo halkarstone et Johanne meffen in actu licentie xv s. Item a Willemo arthur die quo recepit birretum suum v s. Item a dominis david mylis, Johanne balfour et Jacobo rowland in die birretacionis xii s.

Summa totalis oneracionis x lib. III s vi d.

Sequitur exoneracio eiusdem (f.19v)

In primis dictus bursarius exonerat se de xl s. datis magistro david mowss dicti anni quodlibetario pro sua quota. Item pro collacione dicti quodlibetarii xv s. vi d. Item choristis ecclesie parochialis pro exequils henrici wardlaw quondam archiepiscopi (sic) sanctiandree et magistri alexandri ingliss quondam archidiaconi eiusdem xii s. Item eisdem choristis pro celebracione uesperarum et misse in die sancti johannis evangeliste ante portam latinem ii s. Item pro tribus quartis vini clareti cum una pincta in festo sancti johannis vii s.
Item pro firme burgali loci xii s. Item pro deposicione campane super aulam pendentis, eiusdem correctione et erectione iii i. iii i d. Item Jacobo trailli pro calcex iii i. Item pro deubus duodenis arenarum xvi d. Item pro cribratura dicti calcis viii 3 d. Item Johanni tegulatori pro reparacione camerarum capelle et aule xxvi s. v d. Item pro nouis seris et cleuibus ad easdem pro correctione antiquarum serarum pro clauis ad diversa corrigenda et pro multis allis minutis viii s. Item pro feodo meo x s.

Summa totalis exoneracionis hulus anni viii lib. xiii i 3d

Et summe oneracionis excedit summam exoneracionis xlix s. vi d. pro quibus respondebit ipse computans facultati

f. 19v.

Compotum prefati bursarii de anno domini millesimo quingentesimo uicesimo secundo factum per eundem burserium eodem die quo supra Et coram eiusdem auditoribus incipiens ut supra

Oneracio eiusdem

In primis dictus computans onerat se de xxii i s. perceptis a Roberto patersone, domino alexandro dunbar et georgio ruwen determinantibus in collegio sancti saluatoris Item a Johanne cokburne determinante in collegio sancti leonardi vii s. vi d. Item a Kentigerno monypanye et alane lawsone determinantibus in pedagogio
xv s. Item a quolibet istorum sex determinanciurn in
die cinerum pro admissione ad lapidem iii s. Summa
totalis xviii s. Item a willelmo arthur in die sue
birretacionis v s. Item a georgio hoppar Rectore de
duns pro sue licentia et dispensacione xxvi s. viii d.
Item de collegio sancti salvatoris a jacobob edmestone et
domo alexandro dunbar pro dispensacione tercie responsionis
in vico x s. Item de pedagogio a Willelmo meldrum pro
tercio vico v s. Item de collegio sancti leonardi a
willelmo kar pro tercio vico v s. Item (a) dictis
domo alexandro dunbar et jacobob edmestone in actu
licentiae xv s. Item a willelmo meldrume et alexandro
symsonae de pedagogio in actu licentiae xv s. Item pro
dispensacione omnium intrantium illo anno xvi s. Item
a dictis domino alexandro dunbar et jacobob edmeston in
die birretacionis x s. Item de pede prioris compoti
onerat se xlix s. vi d.

Summa totalis oneracionis xi lib. ii d.
Sequitur exoneracione eiusdem

(f. 20r)

In primis dictus computans exonerat se de xi s.
deliberatis magistro alexandro aytone illius anni quodlibetario. Item pro collectione dicti quodlibetariai xiii s.
xix d. Item Johanni Jak tegulatori pro reparacione capelle
aule camerarum et coquina xxv s. Item for sawyn of
lawyths xxxii d. Item uni vitrario pro reparacione
fenestrarum scole aule et camerarum viii s. x d. Item
pro clavis toto illo anno III s. IIII d. Item choristis ecclesie parochialis pro exequils wardlaw et Ingliss XII s. Item eisdem choristis pro celebratione vesperarum et missae in die sancti Johannis II s. Item in festo eisdem ex mandato domini decani facultatis loco vini deficiens pro duabus lagenis salie IIII s. Item ex mandato dominorum rectoris et decani eodem die histrionibus II s. Item uni iuveni transeunti ad dunkelli ad magistrum david molwyn pro quibusdam instrumentis ad locum spectantibus IIII s. Item magistro Roberto bannerman equitenti ad dunfermling pro negotiis loci penes cancellarium expedientibus pro suis expensis IX s. Item pro equis sibi illo tempore VI s. Item pro cacle Jacobo triaIII illo anno VI s. X d. Item pro duabus duodenis arenarum XVIII d. Item pro cribrature dicti calcis VII d. Item pro uno sedili ad aulam XLI I s. Item uni fabro stannario pro mutatione trium novorum parapsidum cum antiquis II s. Item pro firma loci XII d. Item pro sex lile rawctharis expositis IIII s. VIIII d. Item pro serrature unius asseris et alterius ligni ad componendum unam fenestram in aula XV d. Item for fair knawpattis pro dicta fenestra fienda dvi d. Item pro compositione eiusdem fenestre VII s. Item pro ferramentis eiusdem IIII s. Item pro erectione unius ostii in fine aule ne columbe haberent introitum XIII I d. Item pro reparacione gradus aule cum nouis mensulis VIII d. Item for une deili ad faciendam mansam pro coquo in coquina IIII s. II d. Item uni fabro
lignario pro factura eiusdem xvi d. Item pro seris et aliis multis minutis necessariis circa locum xv s. x d. Item pro feodo meo x s.

Summa totalis exoneracionis ix lib. xvii s. viii d. Et summa oneracionis excedit exoneracionis in xxii s. vii d.

f. 21r.

Comptum magistri thome fynne bursaril facultatis artium factum septimo novembris anno domini millesimo uigesimo quarto coram magistro martino balfour decano facultatis artium, Magistris nostris Johanne maiore georgio lokkart petro capellano magistris artium Roberto bannerman et gawyno logye de omnibus receptis et expositis per eundem a die xxv° octobris anni etc v° vigesimi tertii usque ad diem date computi.

Oneratio eiusdem

In primis onerat se in pede prioris computi xv s. i d. Item cum vii s. vi d. per eum receptis a Johanne syncler in collegio sancti saluatoris Item ab henrico syncler Roberto erskyne Alexandro levintoone determinantis in collegio sancti leonardi xxii s. vi d. Item a magistro martino balfour decano facultatis arciun de resta sex librarum per eum receptorum a magistro david dischetooun (sic) xxiiii s. ii d. Item a david meffane determinante in collegio sancti saluatoris vii s. vi d. Item a Jacobo skrymageour determinante eodem vii s. vi d. Item a patricio richartson determinante in eodem vii s. vi d.
Item a quolibet istorum septem determinantibus pro admissione ad lapidem iii s. Summa totalis xxi s.
Item ab henrico henrison pro admissione ad lapidem iii s.
Item ab henrico henrison petro strang et domino dawid couentre de collegio sancti leonardi pro tercia
responconce in vicis xv s. Item de collegio sancti
salutoris a dawid touris willelmo touris Andrea Johnsoun
Alexandro garden Eduardo bruiss dawid bonare Johanne
sincler pro tercia reponseone in vicis xxxv s. Item de
lawid touris in actu licentie xv s. Item pro eorum
dispensacione vi s. Item ab henrico henrison et petro
strang et pro eorum dispensacione xxi s. Item ab Andrea
Johnsone et dawid bonare in eodem actu et pro
dispensacione ipsorum xxi s. Item a dawid cowintre in
actu licentie et licentie et pro eius dispensacione x s.
vi d. Item a Johanne sincler in actu licentie et pro
eius dispensacione x s. vi d. Item a dawid touris
Willelmo touris Andrea Johnsoun dawid bonare et Johanne
sinclere in die birretacionis x s. Item ab henrico
henrison et petro strang die birretacionis x s. Item
ab Alexandro gardin die birretacionis v s. Item pro
dispensacione henrici sincler xi s. Item ab Alexandro
creichton determinante in collegio sancti leonardi vii s.
vi d.

Summa totalis oneracionis xviii lib. xviii s. iii d.
Exoneration excerpts:

Quodlibetarius f fee 40 s. (Mr. John Balfour) 12 s. for the collation

... Item pro reparacione unius foraminis in coquina xxii d. Item pro correctione gradus camer ae mee xx d. Item pro correctione panni in aula super mensam pendentis. Et pro reparacione sedilie magne mense v d. Et pro membrana ad scribendum nova statuta in libro statutorum posita xii d. Item pro inscriptione eorumdem viii d. Et pro mutatione unius paraps idis antique cum tribus nouis ex mandato decani facultatis v s. iii d. Item pro correctione unius ferramenti ostii gradus magistri nostri iii d. Item pro compositione jane in fine inferioris orti pro eiusdem ferramentis clavis et pro cera (=sera) ad eendem viii s. ... Item Jacobo treili pro duabus celdris calcis xvii s. viii d. Item uni homini ad preparandum domum pro huiusmodi calce locanda et pro cribriatura eiusdem xvii d. ... Item pro quatuor duodenis arenarum ad calcem ii s. Item pro vino in die sancti Johannis iii s. viii d. Item Johanni Jak pro reparacione camerarum capelle sc ole coquine domus eutriorum (sic) et aule xlvi s. viii d. Item pro emendacione lie barmkin capelle viii d. Item pro aqueductu ad calcem viii d. Item pro emendacione et erectione pulucrium lapidum in sc ole inferiori xxx d. Item pro correctione unius ostiorum domus necessitatis
viii d. ... Item pro obstructura unius fenestrae et allis minutis in scola inferiori xxviii d. Item pro clauis ad januam superioris orti vii d. Item pro uno ligamine ferreo ad ostium coquine et pro correctione alterius xii d. Item pro correctione fenestrarum sole x s. vi d. Item pro una sera ad portam anteriorem xxii d. Item pro una cappa ad facultatem v lib. viii s.

... Et summa oneracionis excedit summam exoneracionis lvi s. ii d. pro quibus computans respondebit unacum nouo bursario futuro computo de qua summa defalidata est prefato computanti vii s. vi d. donec commoda solucio huliusmodi summe habita fuerit ab pittillok de eadem f.22r.

Compotum bursarII facultatis arciun m. roberti fergushill factum coram decano eiusdem m. martino balfor vacario de monymeil magistro nostro petro capellano rectore de denneno Magistris roberto bannerman gawino logy Jacobo Chaplane johanne dowglas auditoribus hulismodi compoti xxix° die mensis octobris de omnibus receptis et expositis per eundem a dle xxvto octobris Anni etc 25 usque ad dle date compoti

Oneracio eiusdem

In primis idem computans onerat se in calce prioris compoti facti per magistrum thomam fif in 24 s. cum 4 d. receptis a dicto magistro thoma Item a determinantibus. pro bursa facultatis in pedagogio Jacobo strang Valterto
guild thoma mc calzone Johanne hwme patricio myrtleun
Alexandro hwme dawide myrtleone patricio cokburn dawid
borthwik roberto kyncregy Alexandro arbukill thoma wr
Johanne Lawson florentino auchmoutty Joanne browne
alexandro prynguil Thome browne Johanne cokburne sex
libras et quindem solidos Item e quolibet istorum
pro admissione ad lapidem iii s. dempto florentino
auchmoutty qui interea fato cessit Item ab alexandro
creighton determinante in sancto leonardo iii s. pro
admissione ad lapidem Summa totalis precedentium 10 lib.
13 s. 4 d. Item ab intrantibus pro tertia responsione
in vicis In primis a Jacobo strang in pedagogio v s.
Item a dawide meffan et patritio rychartsone in collegio
saluatoris 10 s. Item a roberto erskyne et alexandro
lewyntone in collegio diui leonardi x s. Item a Jacobo
scrimgeour pro responsonibus in 2° et 3° vicis x s.
Item a jacobo strang pro bursa et dispensatione in actu
licentie x s. 6 d. Item a dawide meffane pro eisdem 10 s.
et 6 d. Item a patricio rychartsone x s. 6 d. Item a
roberto erskyne x s. et 6 d. Item ab alexandro Lewyntone
x s. sex d. Item a Jacobo scrymgeour x s. et 6 d. Item
a roberto erskyne patricio rychartsone et alexandro lewyntone
die birretacionis xv s.
Summa ista secunda
fif lib. threteine s.
Summa operationis xvi li. vi s. iii d.
(f.22v.) Exoneration eiusdem

Item imprimis dictus computans exonerat se de 40 s. datis M. Johanni douglas in dicto anno quodlibetario
Item pro correctione trium patellorum et unius olei II s. 4 d. Item pro correctione craticule xliii s. Item pro positione craticule xliii s. Item pro positione panni supra tabulam in aula et eiusdem mundatione 4 d. (sic) vi d. Item pro correctione 4 dollorum ad saliendes carnes iiii s. iiii d. Item pro reparatione foraminis in aule parte anteriori cum reparatione portionis gradus orientalis aule lapidibus existentibus pro tegulario vi s. iiiii d. Item pro reparatione laris aule et ductione luti ad 1d xii d. Pro sera et claeve ad ostium in solario magistri nostri a(lexand)ri xxvi d. Item pro correctione clauium serarum in sacello iii d. Item hortulano pro equatione telluris in Ianua et mundatione eiusdem vi d. Item pro duebus patellis et appositione de bullis xii s. Item pro sera ad domum inferiorem in orto et ostii eiusdem 8 d. Item pro doliolo ad importandum aquam xii d. Item pro correctione sere ad ostium magistri Roberti bannerman et appositione de ly stapyl viii d. pro suppositione sere supra ostium aule ii d. Item choristis pro obsequulis vardlaw xii s. Pro noua fenestra vitrea magistri nostri xxx d. Item pro cantatione sacrifici in die Sancti Johannis ii s. choristis Item eodem die ii s. bria vini vite Item pro correctione vinculum ferorum
ad summam tabulam et compositione duorum de novo
xxxiii d. Item pro conglutinatione unius portionis
ad eandem tabulam vii d. Item pro correctione sere
ostii magistri nostri iii d. Item pro suppositione
lapidum ad parietes viii d. Item xx s. ad reparandum p
parietes inferiores ex omnium concussu in schola Item
pro reparatione cubiculi magistri Johannis douglas exterius
interiusque et mundatione parietum secelli 4 s. 8 d.
Item pro reparatione unius potti 4 d. Item pro duobus
duodenis rauchterls xiii s. pro eorum latione et scribe
(sic) 7 d. Item pro correctione sere popine cum claua
eiusdem vi d. Item pro correctione vinculorum ad
ostium dispense ii d. Item pro firma loci xii d. Item
pro duobus lathrungis 4 d. Item vi d. pro clavis
Item pro divisione duorum lignorum et applicatione iii d.
Item pro clauce et correctione serarum ad ostium sellarli
(sic) xiii d. Item 2 d. pro suppositione ostii in orto
et reparatione parietis Item 40 s. tegulatorio in erris
(sic earnest money?) Item pro impositione ferrorum
ostii nostri cum plumbō lili d. Item pro oppositione
tellaris et luti in cubiculi magistri Johannis douglas
x d. Item pro collacione compoti v s. Item pro laboribus
bursario x s.

Summa exonerations xii li. ilii s.

Sic summa operationis excedit summam exonerations
in lili lib. xxviii d. de quauidem summa respondebit
computans exceptis xiii s. ix d. pro quibus habet
responde re decanus antedictus M. Martinus balfour
f. 24v.

Compotum venerabillis viri magistri Johannis todryk
bursarli facultatis arciun universitatis sancti andree
factum coram his auditoribus videlicet magistro martino
balfour decano facultatis arciun et vicario de monymel,
Magistro nostro petro chaplan rectoris de denneno
Magistro alexandro balfour vicario de kylmane Magistro
gawino logy (vicario de l..... cancelled) Magistro
roberto bannerman Magistro Johanne spaldyne regentibus
de omnibus receptis et expositis per eundem a penultimo
octobris anni xxviii usque ad diem date compoti

Oneratio eiusdem

Item onerat dictus computans in receptis per eum de
annis domini 1528 et 1529 et de pede prioris compoti ad
diem date presentis compoti xxxix li. xix s. vi d.

Exoneratio eiusdem

Item idem exonerat se in expositis super pedagoglium
et ellis communibus expensis per dictum tempus xix li.
vi s. vi d. In quo quidem compoto predicti auditores
decreuerunt ne in futurum aliquid bursarius dicte
facultatis aliquid exponat quod est notabile absque
auisemento decani facultatis et precipue certe fossarum
reparaciones quamdiu emolumenta ortorum pedagogli
veniunt in privatos usus privatarum pemonarum

Martinus balfour decanus facultatis
suprescriptus manu propria
Petrus chaplan rector de dennenow
alexander belfour vicarius de Kilmany
Robertus bannerman manu propria
gowinus logye
Johannes Spaldyng

(In different hand:) Compotum bedelli de annis domini
eetc. 28 et 29 de omnibus receptis per idem tempus pro
cappis factum Anno 30 penultimo die octobris coram decano
et auditoribus ut supra

Item onerat se in receptis et de pede prioris compoti
vi li.

Exoneracio eiusdem

Item in expositis per eum circa capucia et reparacionem
eorundem xl s. Et sic oneracio excedit oneracionem in
quattuor libris. Et quia propter pestem antea contingentem
depauperatus erat in custodiendo se et familiam a pestis
contagio decanus et predicti auditores sunt contenti

illem summan quattuor librorum sibi remittere hoc anno
pro omni alla exactione usque ad presentem diem per eum
exigenda seu requirendo a facultate

f.25r. (From Todrik's Account 28th Oct., 1531)

... Compotum bedelli eodem anno de receptis summa
xxxix s. quam summam ne bedellus in futurum sibi appropriet
decreuerunt prefati auditores ut prefatum summam det
bursario pro tempore infra hinc et nativitatem domini et
totidem recipiet a bursario ab hinc usque ad festum
epiphanie
Compotum venerabiliis viri magistri Johannis todryg bursarii facultatis artium de omnibus per eum receptis a die xxvill° octobris in anno domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo (sic) quarto usque in diem presentis temporis viz. xxvill° octobris in anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quinto (sic tricesimo quinto) factum coram decano prefate facultatis artium et suis assessoribus

Oneratio dicti bursarii

Item in primis idem componens se onerat de xxii sol. et vi d. pro determinantibus (determinantium in text) de collegio sancti leonardi viz. gilberti erwyne willelmi fresell et roberti mercer. Item de collegio sancti salvatoriis pro determinatiis (sic) xxvii s. vi d. viz. georgii cant duncani bredwod thome Johannes inness david rowill Item a supradictis tribus de collegio sancti leonardi pro responsionibus in quadragesima ix s. Item a prefatis graduatis de collegio sancti salvatoriis viz. georgio cant et allis xv s. Item pro tertia responsione in vico de collegio sancti salvatoriis viz. a alexandro hepburne henrico skrimger martino gib domino roberto kar patricio dogless georgio kar alexander forrois Johanne sandelandis roberto mungumry et Johanne abercrummy I s. Item de collegio sancti leonardi xx s. viz. adame dunbar roberto graym willelmo hepburn roberto mercer dispenseione de collegio sancti salvatoriis IIII II. IIII s. viz. alexandro hepburne
henrico skrimgeour roberto car patricio dogless georgeo kar alexandro foross Johanne sandelandis et a Johanne abircrummy (in margine: Memorandum de roberto mungumry soluente x s. vi d.) Item a tribus de collegio diui leonardi xx s. viz. a roberto graym et willelmo hepburne Summa huius xiii li. ix s. vi d. Item ex pede prioris compoti restantis in manibus predicti bursarii xi li. vi s.

Summa totalis oneracionis xxiii lii. xv s. illi d.

Sequitur exoneracio eiusdem

Item in primis idem compotans exonerat se in collacione quodlibetarlii in pane vino et fructibus cum allis xiii lii s. Item quodlibetario pro labore suo xi s. Item uni nuncio ad Edinburgum xxviii d. Item pro pila pedali vi d. Item pro ix ulnis panni nigrì vii li. xv s. Item pro vii ulnis pennule (?) cum dimidio xxvi s. illi d. Item pro factura et correctione — (word illegible) x s. Item pro correctione parietis et capelle et fenestrarum istius scolle (sic) illi s. Item pro exequiis magistrorum alexandri Inglis et roberti wellis xii s. Item magistro thome wemyss nomine magistri nostri petri capellani xv s. Item pro ducentis tegulis xx s. Item pro turribus introductoribus xvi d. Item pro una celdra calcis xiii s. illi d. Item turribus arena iii s. vi d. (f.27r)

Item pro lustis lini s. Item pro missa sancti Johannis lii s. Item pro firma burgali xii d. Item pro
Integra correctione totius loci xvi s. Item bursario pro stipendio suo x s. Item pro collacione auditorum compoti v s.

Summa totalis exoneracionis xviiii li. iii d.

Et summa oneracionis excedit summam exoneracionis vii li. xvi s. id. Memorandum restant in manibus magistri nostri petri capellani recepta pro caputilis vi li. vi s. (Margin: Memorandum de pecuniis receptis pro caputilis per magistrum nostrum petrum capellanum)

Item memorandum in manibus bidelli xii caputia pro quibus respondebit ipse bedellus facultati

Quem bedellum decani et sui assessores de omnibus pecuniis facultati pertinentibus actenus (sic) per eum intromissis presentes exoneramus

On f. 28v. the Discharge mentions:

... Item pro pila pedalii viii d. ... Item pro correctione scolae cubiculorum regentium pethagogii xxl s. viii d.
...

Item pro correctione librorum sancti Anthonii xilli s.

f.29r. From 30th Oct. as above to Jan 30th 1539. Et differebatur propter pestem (Account of Thomas Brady rendered then)

On f.29v. in Discharge ... Item magistro thome Wemis quodlibetario pro laboribus subin vigelia (sic) sancti thome apostoli xi s. Item magistro Johanni gwwthre ex mandato decani facultatis et magistri Johannis maioris
equitanti ad edynburgum pro releuacione taxe beneficiatorum
universitatis Sanctiandree xl s. Item magistro Willelmo
kynnynmont uni Regentium egrotanti ex mandato magistri
martini balfour decani facultatis et assessoribus xx s.

Comptum bedelli facultatis artium in dicto anno pro
capuciis

Idem onerat se de receptis a licentiatis dicti anni
xxxix s. Item idem onerat se de pede prioris compoti in
xli s.

Summa oneracionis
iii li. xix s. de qua summa facultas dedit bedello
predicto xxxix s. sic bedellus est debens facultati in
quadraginta solidis.

f.34v.

Computum magistri waiteri fethlie bursarii facultatis
artium universitatis Sanctiandree factum in cubiculo
venerabilis et egregii viri magisti nostri martini balfour
sacrarum literarum professoris et lornis pontificii
bacularii de dennenoch Rectoris officialis sanctiandree
principalis decani artium facultatis predicte die
penultimo die (sic) mensis octobris anno domini jm v
xlilii coran hiis testibus Magistris thoma wemyss decano
Christianitatis de fyff Johanne schild dauid gardyn
petritio bard Alexander murray

Oneratio eiusdem
Item Imprimis Idem computans onerat se in pede prioris computi viii lib. xiii s. Item a Johanne petcarne unico determinante in collegio Sancti Salvatoris vii s. vi d.

Item a georgio lunde et Jacobo tempilli determinantis in collegio diui leonardi

Item a quolibet istorum trium in quadragesima pro cappis ili s. Summa eius ix s.

Item ab intrantibus in die licentie in collegio sancti leonardi et ab intrantibus in collegio diui Salvatoris in toto quinque extendentes (ad omitted) v lib. ili s. vi d.

Item a Jacobo ogyluye licentiato priius nihil soluenti bursario pro compositione xxii s.

Summa totalis operationis xv lib. ix s. x d.

(f.35r) Exoneratio eiusdem bursarii

Item in primis exonerat se domino quodlibetario viz. magistro dauidi gardyn

Item pro collatione domini quodlibetarii xxix s.

viii d.

Item pro correctione Aule georgio mouet et eius servuo quatuor diebus et similiter Jacobo herwy et eius servuo allis quatuor diebus pro correctione eiusdem necnon solii prefate Aule cubiculi magistri Andreae kynninmont et allis mynwtils xxx s. ili d.

Item pro exequiis episcopi Wartlaw (sic) et Inglis
archideaconi (sic)xii s.

Item pro celebratione misse et vesperarum beati
Johannis euqngeniste ii s.

Item magistro andree kynninmont ex mandato decani xl s.

Item pro salario bursarii    x s.

Item pro collacione presentis computi ix s. viii d.

Item magistris alexandro dik et thome milis pro
custodie duarum virgarum et duarum caparum et expensis
et laboribus tempore belli (cancelled intrusionis) anglorum
contra scottos unum .... (illegible) pertinen. xv s.

Summa totalis exoneracionis ix li. ix s. vii d.

Et sic summa operationis excedit summam exonerationis
(In) vii. lib. ii d. pro quibus computans respondebit
facultati de clero

Memorandum quod Auditores computi cum concessu decani
dederunt summam xlv s. unacum tribus solidis existentibus
viz. xlv s. in manibus dicti bursarii et iii s.
predictis in manibus magistri volteri balfour receptis
pro usu capliciorum intransium (sic) et sic integre
restat in manibus dicti bursarii per eundem receptis
pro usu huliusmodi capisuorum (sic) tempore licentie
supralendarium ultimi (sic) intrantie pietate motus
dictus decanus cum assessoribus propter caritatem anni
et paucitatem scolasticorum (?eidem remisit)

Martinus balfour decanus facultatis artium suprascriptus
manu propria
M·thomes wemyss decanus christianitatis de fyff manu
sua subscripsit
M Joannes Scheyll manu propria
M david gerdyne manu propria

(f. 42v.)
Compotum Magistri thome Mylis bursarii a vigesimo secundo
octobris Anni 1555 usque ad vigesimum primum diem
octobris in anno quinqueagesimo sexto factum in minori
aula collegii Sancti saluatoris coram venerabili viro
Magistro daulide guild decano facultatis artium
Sanctiandree Magistris et preceptoribus Edmundo hay
lacoabo Wilky niniano dalzall gulielmo clerk auditoribus
ad hoc munus a facultate electis

In primis dictus quaestor onerat se de summa vii
librarum de resta prioris computi facti in predicta aula
vigesimo secundo octobris in anno 1555 a quo tempore
fatetur se recepisse a Ionne Jhonstone xvi s. iii d. (ab)
adamo Jhonstone xvi s. iii d. a Ioanne lermont xvi s.
iii d. a donaldo dischintone xvi s. iii d. a Joanne
hamnil xili d. a roberto hamilton xvi s. iii d. a
Jacobo melveili xvi s. iii d. a roberto carnegy xvi s.
iiii d. a Jacobo hammlitone xvi s. iii d. a roberto
hammlitone xvi s. iii d. a thoma crage xvi s. iii d.
qui omnes predicti sunt bacchalaurei
Item a Jacobo boyd xxix s. iii d. ab archybaldo cuming xxix s. iii d. a dauide dischyntone xxix s. iii d. a Joanne hammil xxix s. iii d. a gullelmo crychtone iii s. ab alexandro colvill xxix s. iii d. a Joanne dougless xxix s. iii d. a roberto carnegy xxix s. iii d. ab hugone douglass iii s. a dauide culless iii s. ab alexandro spens iii s. a Joanne menteht iii s. a roberto colvill iii s. a Joanne maknair iii s.

Summa Oneracionis xxix s. lib. viii s. (perhaps altered to vi s.) tam de omnibus nunc hoc anno receptis quam de resta sui ultimi computi

(f.43r.) Sequitur exoneratio eiusdem bursarli

Item in primis exonerat (se) de duodecim solidis datis capellanis templi parochialis pro exequils episcopi Warlaw (sic) et Inglis

Item de tribus solidis datis Andree cellar custodi templi cenobii

Item de quinque libris et octo solidis datis pro nous cappa

Item de xl solidis datis pro cista

Item de sedecim denariis pro reparacione capparum et caputiorum

Item de xx solidis pro stipendio suo huius Anni

Item de xx solidis datis bedello ex dono gratuito facultatis
Item de octo libris datis domino Rectori ratione officii qui quidem dominus rector reliquum stipendii illi debentis universitati condonavit

Item de xi solidis pro expensis factis in mirenda (sic) domino dicano (sic) et auditoribuse computi

Summa huius exonerazioneis xx lib. iii s. iii d.

Et summa operationis excedit summam exonerationis in ix lib. xx d. de (qua omitted) quidem summa restant in manibus Joannis et adami Jhonstonis Sex solidi non soluti bursario

M. dauid guild decanus facultatis
M. Jacobus Wylke
M. Edmundus hay Regens collegii Sancti salvatoris
M. guillemus clerk regens collegii leonardini
M. Ninianus dalzell regens collegii Mariani

(f.43v) (Account of Myles, bursarlii universitatis, in presence of the Dean, Edmund Hay, James Wilkie, John Rutherford and Thomas Drummond, magistris et preceptoribus, but not of the Rector). (Oct.26,1557)

(f.44r)... III lib. datis pro lorica pedelli

Item in ferreo pileo eadem pedello

Item pro stipendio rectoris magistro alexandro balfour vili lib. (cancelled)

Item pro Insegni (sic) universitatis et compositione eiusdem xxxviii s. viii d.

Item pro reparacione capperum et cappitiorum (sic) vi s.
(30)

Item 10 martii pro vino in electione rectoris xi s.

Item Andree cellow (sic) pro reparacione sedis in templo cenobii iii s.

... Item pro mirenda (sic) auditoribus computi xli s.

Item bidello ex dono gratuito auditorum (universitatis cancelled) xli s.

(f.44r)

Computum Magistri Jacobi kynpont Quaestoris universitatis Sancti Andrei a vicesimo tercio novembribus in anno millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo Usque ad decimum sextum Novembribus in anno millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo octavo factum in cubiculo Magistri Joannis ruyirfurde decani facultatis prescrite Universitatis situato infra collegium mariannum Coram honorando viro Magistro Joanne Ruyirfurde decano facultatis prescripte Jacobo wilkie (space left for names) magistris et preceptoribus eiusdem universitatis Ad hoc munus auditoribus a facultate electis

Imprimis dictus queestor onerat se cum sex libris de resta prioris compoti a Rectore acceptis insuper fatetur se a determinantibus eodem anno hanc que sequitur summam recepisse Utpote ab henrico thorntonoun xiii s. iiiid. ab Jacobo thomsoun xiii s. iiiid. A georgio Scot xiii s. iiiid. a thoma monorgoun xiii iiiid. a
(31)

gulielmo campbell xiii s. iii d. a georgio boswell xiii s. iii d. a Roberto abircrumby xiii s. iii d. a andrea kynningmont xiii s. iii d. a Roberto douglas xiii s. iii d. a alexandro campbell xiii s. iii d. a thoma lummisden xiii s. iii d. a roberto kar xiii s. iii d. a alano geddy xiii s. iii d. a thoma hammyltoun xiii s. iii d. a Jacobo hammyltoun xiii s. iii d.

A duncano Campbell xiii s. iii d. a donaldo Carswell xiii s. iii d. A Joanne hammyltoun xiii s. iii d. A Joanne hammyltoun xiii s. iii d. A patricio hammyltoun xiii s. iii d. Insuper a gulielmo mortoun intrante fatetur se recepisse codem anno xxvi s. viii d. a roberto scrymageour xxvi s. iii d. a Iachlano me clane xxvi s. viii d. A archibaldo hammyltoun xxvi s. viii d.

Summa operationis xxvili librarum
Exoneratio elusdem quaestorls
Inprimis onerat se de xx s. pro vino in die electionis rectoris

Item de xii s. collatls pro exequiis Wardlaw et Inglis capellantis ecclesie parochialis

Item pro stipendio suo xx s.

Item pro merende auditoribus elusdem compoti xi s. (In Douglas's hand:)

Item exonerat se de quatuor lib. numeratis domino Rectori pro stipendio suo anni presentis Et idem rector sua liberalitate remisit facultati summam viginti mercarum
(32)

eidem debitem pro annis preteritis 1558

Joannes douglas Rector sua manu

Item bidello ex dono Gratuito decani at auditorum

xi s. Atque ita summa operationis excedit summam

exonerationis in tredecim lib. octo solidis

Joannes Ruderfurd dicenus

M Jacobus Wylke

Alexender Arbuthnot

Thomas Smetoun

Mr Adam foulis

(f.44v)

(Account of James Kynpon)

Die 28 mensis Junii anno 1559

Conuocata facultate artium in edibus gymasii

mariani facultas presente Decano decrevit suprascriptum

questorem thesaurum publicum per Regentes actu equabiliter

distributurum. Et ita decanus ex communibus eorum

suffraglis conclusit librumque recionis predicti questoris

singulorum syngraphis subscribendum in eiusdem perpetuum

testimonium censuit. Quo die bedellus nomine Magistri

thome smetoun petlit in tres partes per tria gymasia

equabiliter distribui dictum thesaurum cui tota facultas

unanimiter contradixit Eodem quoque die dominus Rector nihil

innouari, predictamque distributionem more predicto

minime futuram, susit. Cui etiam facultas reluctata

est, inexistensibus ibidem infrascriptis preceptoribus.

Exoneratio questoris

Quo die omnibus supputatis thesaurus
publicus extendebat ad triginta sex libras illis. Ex qua summa exonerat se prefatus questor triginta duabus libris octo preceptoribus et bedello distributis

Item viginti solidis pro suo stipendio Et ita summa operacionis excedit summam exoneracionis tribus libris et tribus solidis

Joannes Ruderfurde decanus facultatis
M. Jacobus Wylke
Alexander Arbuthnot manu propria
Robertus hammerloun
Archibaldus hammerlone
EXCERPTS FROM THE "ACTA RECTORUM" OF ST ANDREWS
St Andrews Univ., Archives.


(In 15th c. hand on flyleaf at beginning)
De divisione universitatis per quatuor nationes

Item statutum et ordinatum fuerat sub magistro Laurentio quondam rectore primo quod amodo essent quatuor nationes ita diuise quod ex parte boriali aequre de forth sint due nationes et ex parte australi eiusdem alie due nationes quorum unam faciet totus archidiaconatus laudonie incipiendo a streuelyn versus occidens unacum quibusdam vallibus videlicet twedale eskdale lawderdale et le merse usque ad marchias versus oriens: aliam vero nationem totum residuum episcopatus glasguensis seclusus vallibus prenominatis et totus episcopatus galwidie etiam le lewynax ex parte australi de forth

Item conclusum fuit et decretum sub olim magistro Jacobo scrimzour Rectore xv quod omnes nati de valle thewidual essent de natione britannie cum in divisione nationum ubi supra non habeatur mencio de illa ubi certe valles nominatim deputantur pro alia natione

p.1
Acta venerabilis et magne scientie viri Magistri Johannis lok in sacra theologla professoris ac alme universitatis Sanctiandree Rectoris Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo.

Congregacione tente in Refectorio monasterii Sanctiandree ultimo die mensis ffebruarii Anno quo supra per Magistrum Johannem lok Rectorem suprascriptum pro electione futuri Rectoris proposuit idem Rector nacionibus electionem intranction prout moris est et reelectus erat in Rectorem dicte universitatis pro anno futuro et solito iuramento per eum prestito acceptavit in se onus officii Et uiue vocis oraculo idem Rector citauit singula supposta interesse congregationi in crastino tenende in ecclesia beati leonardi pro assessoribus et consilieris sibi dandis ad dirigendum eum in negotiis concernentibus universitatem pro anno futuro.
(David Meldrum, canon of the cathedral churches of Dunkeld and Brechin, official of St. Andrews, was elected on the 29th Feb., 1483/4, in the refectory of the monastery. Next day at St. Leonard's the following deputies were appointed: John Liston, provost of St. Salvator's, David Monipenny, canon of Moray, Henry Weir, rector of Kemback, Hugh Spens, rector of Dunino, Robert Panter, rector of Methil, William Blair, vicar of Crail, John Doles, John Young, vicar of Dron, along with the procurators of nations)

14th October, congregation "in nouis scolis artium".

venerabilis vir magnus Johannes Listone prepositus ecclesie collegiate Sancti Salvatoris per dictum Rectorem excommunicatus propter ipsius inobediensiam et manifestam contumaciem alias contra ipsum dominum Rectorem in quaedam sua cessione (sic) in dictis nouis scolis artium tena per eundem prepositum, perpetratum personaliter, comparat et se conspectui dicti domini Rectoris presentavit et suum reatum humiliter recognoscens, beneficium absolucionis a dicto excommunicationis sententia sibi indulgeri instancius postulavit, offering se stare mandatis ecclesie, et ipsius domini Rectoris, pro ipsius inobediencia et contumacia predictis, Et quia ecclesia redempti gremium non claudit, ipse dictus Rector corporale iuramentum a dicto preposito de stando mandatis ecclesie et suis, tectis sacrosanctis dei evangeliis, recepit. In culis iuramentis virtute eldem preposito inyinxit ut ipse inanetea sibi et suis successoribus universitatis Sancti Andrei Rectoribus tamquam ipsius prepositi iudicibus ordinariis obediret, Et quod in executione suarum literarum necnon suorum successorum nullum impedimentum per se vel per alios quoscumque publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quouis quesito colore, faceret seu fieri procuraret, sed eorum executioni assisteret. Insuper idem dominus Rector eldem preposito inyinxit pro commissis per eundem, contumaciis et inobediencis, ut ipse prepositus flexis genibus ventum et indulgentiam ab universitate unacum ab ipso domino Rector humiliter postularet. Quibus
per eundem prepositum factis ipse dominus Rector pro se et nomine universitatis huiusmodi inobediencia contemptum dicto preposito pure et simpliciter remisit, et eundem ad ecclesie sancte et universitatis gremium recepit, munus absolutionis eide graciose impendendo.

p.10

Sequentia tenor sententie late pro parte magistri georgii crychtone unius quatuor regencium in collegio sancti saluatoris contra magistrum Johannem liston prepositum eiusdem per magistrum david meldrum alme universitatis Sancti andree pro tempore rectorem.

Cristi nomine invocato Nos david meldrum ecclesiarum cathedralium dunkeldensis et brechinensis canonicus ac Rector alme universitatis sanctiandree ludexque cause et partibus infrascriptis pro tribunali sedentes in quadem causq appellacionis per venerabilem virum magistrum georgeum crechtone actorem ab una contra et adversus venerabilem virum magistrum Johannem listoun ecclesie collegiato sancti saluatoris prepositum reum parte ab altera coram nobis iudicialiter ventilata cognoscentes, auditis prius partium predictorum peticione, responzione, allegacionibus, testiumque depositionibus, ecclesiisque iuribus hincinde prppositis, per nos visis, auditis, intellectis, rimatis et ad plenum discussis, luxta ea que vidimus, audiiimus et concepimus, iuris peritorum communicato consilio et secuto, Quibus fidelem fieri fecimus relacionem in eadem solum deum pre oculis habentes, eiusque nomine Sanctissimo primitus invocato, per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitum quam ferimus in his scriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus prefatum dominum prepositum in repulsione excepcionis recusacionis proposito per magistrum georgeum crechtoun contra ipsum prepositum, ipsum magistrum georgeum lesisse, grauasse ac ordinem iuris in illa parte minime serausse, dictumque
magistrum georgeum ab huiusmodi grauamine bene et iuste appellasse. Et propertea omnia et singula per ipsum prepositum post huiusmodi appellacionem a grauamine interposita, attemptata seu perlata, videlicet quandam pretensam sentenciam super amouacione ipsius magistri georgii a dicto collegio de iure nulla, et omnia inde secuta irrita, nulla et inaulida pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, dictumque prepositum in expensis in lite factis et fiendis condemnum debere, atque condemnamus, prefatarum tamen expensarum taxacione nostro judicio impoeterum reservata. Lecta, lata et in scriptis redacta fuit hec nostra sententia diffinitiva in ecclesia beati leonardi infra ciuitatem sancti andree die decimotercio mensis Augusti Anno domini millesimo ccccccccmo lxxxiiii presentibus ibidem magistri et dominis Johanne zhoung, michaelis narn, Johanne bonar, vicarlis de drone, Rankelore et cruford lindesay, Roberto Iorymer, Johanne dulathi et thome jacson cum diversis aliis. Datum sub sigillo officil nostri Rectoris antedicti sub anno, mense, die ...

(1490: Deputies from nations appointed in St. Salvator's quarrel)

Congregacione universitatis tenta in ecclesia beati leonardi secundo die mensis Januarii Anno domini millesimo octuagesimo nono ex auisamento deputatorum Que congregacio continuata erat ad octauum diei eiusdem mensis ad supplicationem domini Archiepiscopae propter certas et racionabiles causes et illa die octauo tenta Dominus Rector universitatis antedictae ostendebat unam signaturam continentem revocationem exempcionis collegii sancti salvatoris a dicto domino Rectore, qua signaturae lecta prepositus dicti collegii asservavit quod fuit iniuratus per dictum dominum Rectorem prout ipse ostenderet in quibusdam articulis. In qua congregacione dati erant aliqui deputati per singules naciones ad auisandum de dicta signatura et de supplicatione dicti prepositi quorum nomina sequuntur in hyff Episcopus brechinensis, Magister hugo spens, Magister dauid key, Magister andreas martyn, magister Robertus panter, magister Johannes bonar, magister Johannes
doless in anguis magister hugo doglass, magister david meldrum, magister david monypenny (cancelled), magister robertus keith, magister willielmus mowat, magister jacobus quhit in britannia magister william lauder, magister johnnes admirndstown, magister willielmus blair, magister johnnes zong, magister robertus lenoux in laudonla magister robertus henmerss, magister willielmus laurencii, magister michael narn, magister johnnes brady, magister patricius symson

Die decimo mensis Januarii anno quo supra per Rectorem et suprascriptos deputatos universitatis Sanctiandree conclusum erat quod dictus dominus Rector gauderet et gaudesat omnius et singulis privilegiis universitatis concernentibus superioritatem et jurisdictionem collegii sancti salvatoris et sua jurisdictione libere perutatur donec et quousque rescriptum apostolicum minime surrepticiun impetrandum dicto domino Rectori ostendatur et universitati, prouiso quod rector aulsetur cum deputatis universitatis

(In the sequel on the 13th January in the palace of the archbishop, the articles of the provost were read in the archbishop's presence, the university deputies being also present. It was found that the provost had wrongly complained against the Rector and the provost acknowledged that he was sorry to have done so, sought pardon in the archbishop's presence and promised not to do the like again.)

1,25
(1492: warlike preparations)

Congregacione universitatis Sanctiandree tente in ecclesia beati leonardi quarto die mensis maii Anno domini etc. nonagesimo secundo in qua congregacione conclusum fuit quod si futuris temporibus insultus aut insidi contra quoddcumque suppositum universitatis ponatur per quemcumque extraneum vel alium, ad mandatum Rectoris, conservatoris, officialis vel ab universitate in absentia Rectoris deputati, nuncio insinuante pulsabuntur campane pedagogil et collegii imperantibus regentibus ad colligendum
supposita inibi commorentia cum armis diffenisuis (sic) ac etiam alie universitatis supposita occursura in vallum Rectoris et suppositi insidiati, monicione premissa sub pena suspensionis in presbiteros et excommunicationis in laicos Insuper conclusum fuit quod prepositus ciuitatis de novo convocatis ciuitibus insinuabit contractum et assistat unicum ciuitibus universitati, predicta forma collecte, unicum armis quibus universitas, preposito ciuitatis insinuante, auxilium forma prefeta ministrebit.
Acta Rectorum, 11, 33.

Dato in concilio provinciali per R(ectorem) nomine universitatis.

Reuerendissimo in christo patri ac domino d. David miseracione divina sacrosancte Romane ecclesie et Sancti Stephani in Celio monte presbitero Cardinali Sanctiandree archiepiscopo, totius Regni Scotiae primati, legato nato ac per universum regnum eiusdem apostolice Sedis legato de latere ac cathedralis ecclesie merapicensis in galia (sic) administratori generali, necnon monasterii de aberbrothok commendatorio perpetuo, in omnium salvatore salus.

Cognito illo incredibili tui animi favore, Sanctissime presull (sic), in omnes quotquot ad virtutes bonasue literas aspirant, Nos omnes et singull huluse universitatis tue cultores imo verius supplices tuu oratores, Rector, decanus, ceterique magistri ac supposte omnia hanc tuam universitatem incotientia obnixe precantur, ut nunc tandem propitiis oculis tuae prudentiae que maxima est prosperiat hanc universitatem, huluse regni precipuam, nomine et dignitate primam, unicam tue paternitatis filiam et nostrorum omnium matrem, iam pene nescio quo infortunio desolatum (sic) contemptam ac omni ex parte in sese prope modum difficientem (sic), partim torpare et ignauia, partim ceca ignorantia, partim, imo maxime omnium, concessis per beatissimum popam ac varios scorum reges privilegiis iam nunc ruptis ac nullatenus observatis. Hinc ille torpor docentium, hinc ista ignauia et raritas auditorum, hinc extrema urbis tue pestis et defectio totius universitatis. Solutis igitur legibus et non servatis privilegiis non potest non deficere universitas, ubi pro preclara doctrina, pro assiduo litterarum exercitio, pro privilegiis pie observatis, ceca ignorantia, ignauis torpor et insolens privilegiorum contemptus inoluerunt. Verumtamen tua unius opera, O Reuerendissime, speramus omnes omnia restituui facile posse, quippe quum universos quotquot in scoto fuerunt antehac episcopos auctoritate, dignitate et potentia longe superas; nimirum, ut ferunt, servatis solis
proinde atque prius privilegiis, procul dubio floresceret il terum ut solet universitas. His enim privilegiis constans et perpetua docentium assiduitas, his frequens auditorum numerus, his denique virtutes et bone literae omnes contineri ac foueri credentur denique (sic).

(p. 34) Quas ob res humillime, pio, sancteque obsecramus omnes huiusce universitatis tue cultores antedicti, ne diutius patiaris, O sanctissime presul, privilegia universitatis tue violari, labefactari aut corrupi. Sed potius ob immortalitatem tui nominis hanc universitatem iam nunc languentem et laborantem, pro virili iuues, instaures, et ad prestinum (sic) usque statum restitutas bonis literis, virtutibus ac privilegiis multis retro seculis concessis, nunc etiam magnificenter tue paternitatis auctoritate renovatis et amplificatis, similiter(?) statutis dicte universitatis rationalibus iam olim factis ac etiam factis ac etiam faciendis pro utilitate rei publice eadem auctoritate confirmatis, statutis itidem synodalibus executioni mandatis etiam pro huiusce universitatis tue utilitate. Ceterum viris literatis in urbe deficientibus de bonis literis pene silentium est, quinimmam literatis deficientibus non potest non difficere omnes bone literae (sic). Ideoque arbitramur apprime esse utile, ipso maxime omnium necessarium, prouiderit quosdam viros literatos melorem in modum eruditos, publicos prelectores, qui legent et continue doceant, presertim in tuo ipsius Collegio novo, ne quis benefici aut donatus aut allius quispam frequentam universitatem careat alicu vel literarum interpretatione vel assiduo exercitio earundem. Quod quidem sine literis non possunt ulle tradi religiones (sic), retineri leges, nec stare rei publice. Proinde super his omnibus et singulis gratiosum tue dominationis responsum, quin potius assensum, humillime rogamus, precamus, obsecramus.
SETTLEMENT BETWEEN RECTOR AND PROVOST OF ST. SALVATOR'S AT PROVINCIAL COUNCIL: 1470

St Andrews, Univ. Archives, Registrum Evidentiorum et Priuliegiorum Universitatis Sanctiandree

(This volume is largely composed of material copied by two notaries, John Guthrie, St Andrews diocese, and William Hunter, Glasgow diocese, in rectorship of James Strachan, rector of Fettercairn)

f. 70v

Decretum patricii episcopi S. in consilio provinciali
inter R, Prepositum et canonicos Collegii super
absolutione eorundem et renunciatione elusdem bulle
eiis concess eulns tenor sequitur

Universis Sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentes
literas inspecturis visuris pariter et audituris Nos
patricius dei et apostolice sedis gratia Episcopus
sancitandree ac conservator praenlegiorum ecclesie
Scottiante Salutem (f. 71r) in omnium salvatoire Nouerltis
quod nuper in consilio generali clerii Scottish ultimo
tento die et loco inferius designatis in nostra
presencia ac Reverendi in christo patris et domini thome
eadem gratia episcopi dunkeldensii aliorum praetorum
minorum abbatum et priorum et diversorum clericorum
et notariorum testiumque subscriptorum inibi existentium
congregatorum inter venerabiles circumspectos eximique
sciencie viros videlicet dominos et magistros Johanne
lok in sacra theologia professorem almeque universitatis
sanctiandree rectorem ab una et Johanne athilmer sacre
theologie professorem prepositumque ecclesie collegiate
Sancti salvatoris infra ciuitatem sanctiandree ac thomam
logy sacre theologie licenciatum canonicum dicte ecclesie
colleigate nomine et ex parte eorundem et ceterorum
canonicorum dicte ecclesie collegiate pro bono pacis et
concordie inter dictas partes hincinde ac universe alia
et singula supposita dicte universitatis habendo fouendo et continuando, mediante liuramento per quamlibet partem predictam singillatim prestaite, appunctatum et concordatum extitit, modo et forma subsequente, videlicet quod dictus dominus Rector retractaret revocaret casseret annullaret et irritaret illum processum suum suspensionis excommunicationis aggravacionis et reaggravacionis contra et aduersus dictos magistros Johanne Thomam (f.71v) et henricum Kirkaldy necnon diversos alios in suis opinionibus assistentibus alias fulminatum, quem processum in omnibus et per omnia in presenciarum revocavit retractavit casserit annullavit et Irritavit Necnon huiusmodi processus retractationis revocacionis cassacionis et irrticationis literas declaratorias sub auctentice scriptura, predictis magistris Johanni et thome, pro eorum et suorum assistencium in hac parte fana in pristinum statum restituendo et restauranda deliberaret. Et quod publicarentur huiusmodi litera declaratorie ubi quando et quociens opus fuerit dictus dominus rector planaria confessus est et consensit (sic) Et ex altera parte dicti magistri Johannes et thomas nomine suo et confratrum suorum canonicerum dictae ecclesiae collegiae firmaiter promiserunt pure et simpliciter renunciare illi bulle apostolicae alias impetrates et leuante per magistrum achilmer dictae ecclesiae collegiae prepositum ultima vice qua curia romana statit contra preulegia statuta et consuetudines universitatis Sanctiandree qualitercumque Necnon tanori (et) effectul elusdem penitus et omnino renunciarunt in quorum omnium et singulorum fidel et testimonium praeissorum presentes literas suae presens publicum instrumentum, dictum (f. 72r) apunctuamentum inter prefatas partes in se continentes, exinde fieri et per scribam dicti consilli notarium publicum transscribendum mandaouis Necnon sigilli nostri rotundi ac sigillorum quorundem prelatorum inibi existencium jussimus et fecimus appensionibus communirii Datum et actum apud burgum de perth in loco fratrum predicatorem in consilio antedicto inibi tento die decimo septimo mensis Julii
Anno domini millesimo quadrincentesimo septuagesimo
indicatione tercia pontificatus Sanctissimi in christo
patris et dominus nostri domini Pauli divina prouidencia
pape secundi Anno sexto hora quasi quinta post meridiem
vel eocirca Presentibus ibidem venerabilibus in christo
petribus ac circumseptis viris et dominis et magistris
Willelmo permissione divina priore ecclesie cathedralis
Sanctiandre, Johanne eadem permissione abbete de Scone,
Waltero priore lacus de lewyn, Magistris hugone dowglace
canonico ebirdonensi, dawid kay decretorum doctore
official Sanctiandre principal, Jacobo lewingtone
precentore dunkeldensi, dawid meldrum officiali
dunkeldensi, henrico boys officiali
dunblanensi, Johanne
chrechtone rectore de kynnouile, Jacobo dowglace
canonico ecclesie collegiate de dalkeht (sic), et henrico
barre rectore de colass, notariis publicis, testibus ad
premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

(The notary Duncan Zalulok, priest St Andrews
dioceze, imperial notary, drew up notarial copy at
request of Rector and dean of faculty of arts. Original
had seals of Conservator, prior and others).
TESTAMENT OF THOMAS RAMSAY, CANON OF ST. SALVATOR'S S.1530
St Andrews Univ., Archives, St. Salvator's Book "B".
(The excerpts refer mainly to books)

f.220v
Ramsay was rector of Kemback. He is to be buried in the college choir. His executors: James Wemis, subprior of St Andrews, Martin Balfour, vicar of Monimail, David Ramsey, his half brother, vicar of Aberdour and Hugh Spens. The inventory was made on the 1st Nov., 1530, "coram religiosis patribus fratre andrea carnis minorum fratrum gardiano, fratre finlaiclo Ramsay, magistro david gardyne, magistro Johanne lawmounth, domino Willelmo davidson capellano..."

f.221r
Item ordino libros meos distribuendum loco (sic) fratum minorum et predicatorum secundum quod habetur in libro computorum Item ordino quod libri pertinebant abbati insule missarum deliberateur eadem loco, videlicet decretum in uno volumine, decretales in uno volumine, Sextus et clementine in uno volumine Item regiam malestatem Item abbas super libros decretalium excepta parte secunda quam partem dominus gray in eodem loco habet Item repertorium abbatis in uno volumine Item ordino quod libri olim pertinentes domino Johanni fethe deliberateur monasterio de arbroeht (sic) Item legenda aurea deliberateur eadem... Item lego secundam togam magistro david gardyne unicum breuiarii secundum usum sarum ... Item lego fratribus minoribus x lib. una cum certis libris Item lego predicatoribus xli s. cum certis libris nominatis in libro computorum
PETER CHAPLAIN, PROVOST OF ST. SALVATOR’S: TESTAMENT

St. Salvator’s Book "B", ff. 130r-v

St Andrews University, Archives.

The date of the inventory is the 6th February, 1551. The testament was confirmed by a succeeding provost, Martin Balfour, and registered by another, William Cranston. The executors were Alexander Anderson, rector of Dunino, John Winram, subprior, and John Scheill, chaplain. Chaplain wished to be buried "in choro dictie collegiate ecclesie." Some excerpts mainly referring to academic costume and books are here quoted. The witnesses included Martin Balfour and two Franciscans, Friars James Winchester, guardian, and James Peebles, vicar, of their house in St Andrews.

(\textit{f.} 130v) Item do et lego omnes libros meos maiores, videlicet ly lyaris, in biblia lyra, in iure tomi ciuilli quam canonico, theologica, historica et in materia conscientia, communitati dicti collegii Sancti Salvatoris ponendos in publica bibliotheca eiusdem collegii. Item do et lego minora volumina librorum meorum dispositioni executorum meorum nisi ascripta. Item do et lego usum quorumcumque librorum meorum predictis executoribus meis cyrographo desuper preposito et canonice dicti collegii de restituendo dictos libros communitati predicte facto usu alias non.

(\textit{f.} 130r) ...unam togam skarleti cum capittio (sic) doctorali precium eiusdem xx lib. Item unam togam de panno nigro perisensi pannulatam cum ly dammes precium eiusdem xii lib. Item unam togam subrubebam pannulatam cum ly fawmartis precium vii lib. xiii s. iii d. Item unam togam de Inglis Russat pannulatam cum Nigris Pellibus quinis precium vi lib. xiii s. iii d. Item unam nigram
tagam breuem de panno gallicano precium lili s. lili d...
duo tabalia (sic) siue mantilla duo capitia rubea item
unum birretum nigrum..uam magnum cistam unamque
cathedram
(The provisor of the college, Mr. Alexander Mair, and
the cantor, Henry Small, are mentioned, also a debt
"in propina die sancti malrubii patroni quhiltis lili lib."
(f.130v) Item lego meam togam skarleti fratribus
minoribus sanctiandree..item lego Willelmo Mackysoun
nepoti ex fratre meo xxx lib... Item lego unam togam
panni parisiensis cum rubro caputio magistro alexandro
andersone uni executori (sic) meorum".
David Guild: Accusation of Heresy, 1541

St Andrews University, Archives.

SAE 14 (Vellum original)

(As this document is partly quoted in St. Leonard, p. 220 seq., it is only cited in part here, except in one section where the transcript given was not satisfactory).

Universis Sancte matris ecclesie filiis hoc presens scriptum visuris vel audituris, Joannes maior philosophus etque thelogus, prefectus collegii sancti salvatoris apud sanctum andream, decanusque sacre facultatis theologice, in omnium seruatore salutem. Nobis quidem liberalium artium professor, magister david guild, regens collegii diui leonardi, in diuinis literis bacchelaureus, suam edmodum greui cum lamentatione, non sine animi anxietate et emissis a corde suspiris, petitionem monstravuit, Quod licet alias in quadlibeticis (ut moris est) discipilionibus profesto diui Thome apostoli ante natalem salvatoris nostri, hora consua ante meridem Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo primo in scholis pedagogii ut ex more quotennis (sic) fieri solet nouissime habitis, non sua curiositate, sed dominorum decani facultatis artium ec sui magistri principalis collegii diui leonardi, domini Alexandri zowng, in sacris literis licentiat, aliorumque suorum superiorum suasu ac mandato, in presentia cetus theologalis, ac coram magistro Martino balfour, facultatis iuris ceserei et pontificii bacchelaureo peritissimo, collegii sancti salvatoris canonic, officiali sancti andree principali, et actuum quadlibeticorum tunc responsonis tempore presidente et defensores circumspectissimo, inter arguendum palam responderit huic obiecte propositioni, 'deus genuit alium deum,' ad hunc sensum quod deus pater genuit aliam personam in diuinis (nempe filium), que persona fillii est deus, Quietiam sua protestatione preua in Scholis theologorum communiter fieri consueta publice in omne eventum solenniter facta, Quod sue
intentionis non erat a vero fidei tramite siue ecclesie constitutionibus in aliquo deuiae, nec aliter quam ex catholice universalis ecclesie statutis licuit aut dicere aut tenere, prout determinando protestatus est, Itaque magister david antedictus se in omnibus (ut ad nostras deuenit aures) catholicum respondendo ostendit, ymo et catholicissimum. Nichilominus nonnulli ipsum determinantis emuli, non ad hominis pietatem et mentem, nec ad catholicum dicendi modum, attendentes, sed ut appareat et presumitur ex mera malevolentia incenderunt, suscitarunt, ac spargi fecerunt, et quantum in eis est (licet clanculum, subdole et latenter) disseminant, et spargunt ac spargi faciunt, murmur non modicum et scandalum intolerabile contra et aduersus magistrum david prefatum (quamuis nihil mali meritum), quasi inter respondendum minus recte de unitate essentie et trinitate personarum in divinis sensleset, Quorum peruerse falseque imaginationi ac impietatis simulationi non solum obuiare, sed et hominis boni innocentiam defendere, eiusque praecipam famam ab omni obsfuscatione, quantum cum deo poteramus preseruare cupientes, ne veritas obnubiletur satagens, Quoniam pium atque meritorium fore et divina voluntati consonum esse, non solum piorum innocentiam defendere, sed et inuidorum ac maleolorum hominum rabiem obtundere, existimantes, si testimonium fidele perhibeamus veritati, potissimum ubi veritatis occultatio graumen, detrimentum et preludicium generare valeat innocenti, Ad maleolorum obtundendam rabiem, et furtivos obtructantium evitandos morsus, facultatem theologicam dicte universitatis Sanctiandree et hos presentim insignes excellentes dignissimosque viros, inprimis venerabilem et egregium magistrum Thomam barclay alme universitatis sanctiandree ac etiam de nauay rectorem, omnibus charissimum, Magistrum nostrum magistrum Martinum balfour, officiale Sancltiandree principalem, in utriusque iuris scientia bacchalaureum, in sacris literis doctorem et theologum, de monymeill vicarium ac denanno rectorem, ab omnibus dilectum, dominum Johannem vynrahame, celeberrimi cenobii sanctiandree suprriorem insignem, predicatorem, doctorem
et theologum et de dow vicarium vigilantissimum, dominum Alexandrum zoung, regularem canonicum cenobili Sanctiandree, in sacris literis licentiatum, ac principallem collegii diui leonardi, dominum Joannem annand, regularem canonicum, in sacris literis licentiatum, multis iam annis fidelissimum divini verbi predicatorem, dominum Johannem dunkansoun, regularem canonicum, in sacris literis licentiatum, dominum Thomam cunyngame, regularem canonicum, in sacris literis licentiatum, magistrum nostrum magistrum Richardum helzierd, fidelem divinorum misterorum interpretam insignem, theologum doctorem anglium, ffratrem Joannem thellidaff, predicatorem et theologum, gardianum conuentus fratrum minorum apud sanctum andream, ffratrem Joannem patersoun, predicatorem et theologum, vicarium eiusdem conuentus apud sanctum andream, magistrum Robertum andersoun, in sacris literis bacchalaureum, magistrum Alexandrum dix, in sacris literis bacchalaureum, Ac alios complures congregationem theologalem dicte universitatis referentes et representantes, ad certos diem locum et horam videlicet infrascriptos, per universitatis bidellum communem (ut moris est), instantem dicto magistro duiid, convocari fectum et conuenire, ad effectum subnotatum, Quibus congregatis ac iuxta suos gradus, qualitates et dignitates sedentibus et silentio vacantibus, prenominatus magister duiid, cum illis (quibus decuit) reverentia et honore in medio lare stans, detecto capite, contra dictam sui nominis obfuscationem, cum omni humilitate sic est exorsus, dignissimi ac prestantissimi domini mei, quod... (as in St. Leonard, p. 222, except)

Quum inter respondendum dilui hanc objectam propositionem 'deus genuit alium deum', negando aliuetatem in divina essentia sue in deo, sed dixi respondendum quod Deus pater genuit aliam personam in divinis (nempe filium) que persona filli est deus, itaque denotetur alietas persone et nullo modo dietatis aut divina essentie, subiungendo distinctionem inter signa alietatis, dicens alietatis in masculino aut femineo genere communiter designant alietatem persone, ut alia sit persona patris,
alia filii, alia spiritus sancti, et rursus hic eadem
signa in neutro genere designant alletatem essentie....
Interea ut proclare hominis sapientis fame consuleremus
 necnon ut de cetero obrectantium ora clauderemus...
(and as in St. Leonard, pp. 222-3, down to "recipiatis.")

Then,

Quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium
premissorum has nostras litteras testimoniales (Nostra
manu scriptura roboratis una cum subscriptionibus
manualibus domini rectoris, aliorumque virorum insignium,
qui presenti congregationi inter fuerunt) appossione
iussimus communiti, prefato magistro dauid gild in mea
et predictorum omnium presentia super eisdem instrumentum
ac instrumentum petente et exigente, a notarilis publicis
Magistro Roberto auchmothy, Magistro Joanne browne, qui
dum hoc agerentur inter fuerunt. Acta erant hie in nova
theologorum schola intra collegium sancti salvatoris
Apud Sanctum andream ultimo die mensis decembris horas
inter octauam et nonam ante meridiem, presentibus ibidem
venerabilibus magistris Joanne balfour, Thoma hyll, Thoma
zowng, Patricio bard, Thoma Wemys, dauid gaw, hugone
bontaueron, cum diversis aliis testibus ad premisa
vocatis pariter et rogatis.

magister iohannes mair decanus facultatis theologie et
prefectus collegii sancti Salvatoris
Thomas barclay rector universitatis sancti andree manu sua
Martinus balfour officialis sanctiandree manu sua
Johannes Wynram Supprior Sanctiandree
Allexander (sic) zwny canonicus Sancti andree manu propria
Rychardus hylerdus theologae professor fatetur sic
audiuisse prefatum magistrum dauidem catholice declarantem
hanc propositionem 'deus genuit alium deum' coram
facultate theologica
Johannes duncansoun canonicus sanctiandree cenobi manu
propria
Thomas Cunyngeyn cenobii sanctiandree manu propria
robertus andersone in sacris litteris bacchularius manu
propria ad hac premissa

Subscriptions of notaries. John Mair's seal (in good
condition).
Exemplar decreti pretensi inter rectorem universitatis Sancti andree et prefectum ac canonicos collegii Sancti salvatoris lati.

Apud civitatem Sancti andree die xxviii Januarii anno domini jai vs liido nos Joannes miseratione divina Sancti andree archiepiscopus, regni Scotiae primas et legatus natus, monasterii a pealeto abbass ac Sancte sedis apostolice Sanctissimi D.N. pape cum potestate a latere legatus, Arbitrator et amicabilis compositor inter venerabilem virum magistrum Joannem douglas rectorem universitatis nostre Sancti andree nonnullosque magistros, membros et supposita dicte universitatis eidem rectori adhaerentes, Ac magistros nostros martimum balfour, prepositum collegii Sancti salvatoris, villelbum cranston de cambak ac Symonem simson de dynneno respectue rectores, eiusdem ecclesiae canonicos, ab uma et altera partibus, cum consensu maioris et senioris partis magistrorum ac suppositorum hincinde alterutri prefatarum partium respectivae assistentium et fauentium, Unacum certis Reverendis venerabilibusque presbiteris et dominis illustribus vestrisque prudentibus, Tom in sacra theologa quam in utroque lure graduatis subscriptis, quos libuit nobis ad hunc effectum dirimendi controversias in consilium asciscere, communiterque per eosdem electis pro extinctione omnium controversiarum inter easdem partes existentium et dependentium, tam vigore appellatus ipsorum prepositi et suorum coloegarum superscriptorum, Coram quibusdam iudicibus delegatis infra diocesan brechensem per commissionem sedis apostolice dependentis, quam ratione decreti arbitralis de et super superioritatem et jurisdictionem ipsius domini rectoris in dictum collegium eiusque canonicos et personas inter prefatos partes lati, vigore eiusdem compromissi hincinde inter ipsos facti, in quosdam arbitratores et amicabilis compositores (verso) de data xiii mensis Augusti anno domini jai vs I primo, Quibus appellanti et decreto prefate partes hincinde in
uberiori forma renuntierunt Ac ipsarum huiusmodi contrauersiarum tam primam quam secundam instantiam nobis nostroque arbitrio cum consilio nostrorum assessorum subscriptorum retulerunt, prout in ipso compromisso desuper coram nobis in publice totius universitatis conventione confecto et per Nos acceptato, per quod ipsos prefatas partes juratas de communis dictarum partium consensu ad dictas lites dirimendae plenius continetur. Auditis per nos utriusque partis rationibus, allegationibus, iuribus et probationibus, hincinde factis coram nobis, intellectis et ad plenum discisis, luxta ea que videmus, decernimus et declaramus, dicto domino rectori durante suo huiusmodi officio, suisque successoribus dicte universitatis rectoribus, ipsosque prefatos Magistros nostros et suas (sic) collegas de presenti tam in reverentialibus, honore, reverentia, observantia et preeminentia rectori dicte universitatis prestandis, secundum tenorem statutorum et laudabilis consortudinis huius aëneae universitatis observatiss, esse et debere subjectos, quam in omnibus et aliis singulis contrauerstis, causis et querelis contra eosdem per quasquumque personas existentes supposita dicte universitatis motis seu mouendis, Sic quod dictus dominus rector et sui respectivae successores potuit desuper cognoscere et determinare ad instantiam quarumcumque personarum, suppositorum dicte universitatis, in eosdem querelantium et supplicantium pro reparatione grauamque iniurierium seu graumunum judicialiter siue extra per eosdem seu eorumdem aliquem alias illatorum seu imposrerum ferendorum (f.21r.) Tam in causis correctionum morum et rerum scolasticarum litiumque ciuillium, prout visum fuerit ipsis suppositis officium ipsius rectoris implorare (sic) quam ratione allorum quarumcunque causarum supposita dicte universitatis concernentium, tam tempore visitationis quam extra, exceptis causis, litibus, seu contrauerstis motis seu mouendis per quasquumque penes collationes, demissiones et donationes trium principalium beneficiorum et canonicatum dicti collegii, si quas contigerit forsae de presenti pendere aut etiam imposrerum fiendas,
Quarumquidem litium et controversiarum penes tria illarum (sic) beneficia dicti collegii principalia per quoscumque mouendarum contra prefatos magistros nostros seu eorumdem quemlibet, cognitionem, decisionem et determinationem perpetuis futuris temporibus utriusque partium ad nos tamquam dominum cancellarum dicte universitatis, nostrosque successores Sanctiandree archiepiscopos, dicte universitatis cancellarios, prout in fundatione dicti collegii ceuetur, redire ac referri immediate debere, pro se et suis successoribus tam in primo quam in secunda instantiis consentiunt ac proficentur. Prout tamen quod per hoc nullum fiat prejudicium lurribus et superioritati ipsius domini rectoris in fundatione dicti collegii Sancti saluatoris contentis, secundum tenorem eiusmod temporibus visitationis eiusdem. Quodquidem decretum dicte partes de expressis eorum assensibus et confessionibus approberunt, ratificorunt et omologarunt (sic). Icirco prefatus Reuerendissimus consilio dictorum assessorum presens decretum in perpetuum rei memoriam in libris communibus dicte universitatis inserendum (f.21v.) et registrandum decreuit Ac in testimonium universallum et singulorum priorissorum et in signum consensus superscriptorum presens decretum manu sua ac suorum assessorum subscriptorum Etiam cirographo aliearum partium principali inscribendo causuit. Coram his testibus magistro Niniano monpenny decano Rossensi, Alexandre forrest.

Joannes Archiepiscopus Sanctiandree  
Jacobus commendatorius Sanctiandree  
georgius commendatorius de dunfermling  
frater Joannes greirson provincialis  
predicatorum  
Joannes vyrem suprior Sanctiandree  
Richardus smitheus professor theologie  
david haliburton prefectus de Methuen  
Andrews pensionarius de Inchemahome  
Magister david guil  
M.villelmus Cranston rector a kembak  
pro se et magistro martino balfour prefecto  
dicti collegii  
Symen simasoun Rector de dynnenocht  
Magister Joannes douglas Rector universitatis  
Joannes Spittole officialis Sanctiandree  
principalis
f. 22r.
Sequitur tenor compromissi super quo latum prescriptum decretum per Reverendissimum et suos assessores in eodem nominatos.

Die xxvi to mensis Januarii anno domini jai vc I secundo indictione xix pontificatus Sanctissimi in christo patris et domini nostri domini Julii divina providentia pape tertii anno tertio in mel notorii publici et testium infrascriptorum presentiis personali

constitutxi venerabiles et egregii viri magistri Johannes douglas collegii nostre domine in pedagogio Sancti andree fundati et erecti principalis ac universitatis Sanctiandree rector, martinus balchour saecare theologice professor, de quitiis rector ac collegii diui saluatoris Sanctiandree prepositus, villemus cranston saecare theologice professor, de kembk rector, de seyton prepositus, ac Symon sinson etiam saecare theologice professor, rector de dynnenocht et collegii nostri diui saluatoris predicti canonici, respective ab una et altera partibus, die data presentis instrumenti, hincinde unanimi consensu et assensu totius saecalorum et senioris partis universitatis Sanctiandree et membrorum eiusdem, submisserunt eipsos respective judicio, consilio et cognitioni reverendissimi in christo patris et domini Joannis miseratione divina Sanctiandree archiepiscopi, regni Scottie primatis et cum potestate legati de latere, monasterii de pauleto glasguensis (f. 22v.) diocesis abbatia, universitatisque predictae cancellarii, ac illorum doctorum, prudentium et proboorum virorum quos licebit dicto Reverendissimo domino Archiepiscopo ad sequentia facienda sibi associare, pro extinctione omnium et singularum controversiarum inter predictum rectorem, prepositum et canonicos de presenti existentium, tam ratione eipsdem decreti arbitralis per prefatum rectorem et ipsos canonicos lati quam vigore appellatus ipsorum prepositi et canoniciorum ab eisdem interpositi corum certis judicibus delegatis nunc in ciuitate brechinensi dependentis, quibusquisidem decreto et appellotioni cum annexis, conjunctis et dependentibus prescripti rector et prepositus ac canonici partes respective hincinde
renuntiarunt, prout tenore presentium quilibet eorum renuntiavit et renuntiavit Ac dictus dominus rector contentus est quod Reuerendissimus ipse si visum fuerit, de viribus decerti arbitralis et omnibus inde sequitis et sequituris simpliciter cognoscat. Quibus sic peractis et factis, statim Reuerendissimus dominus Archilepiscopus, universitatis predictae cancellarius, nominavit et associavit Reuerendos dominos venerablesquæ et egregios viros, Jacobum prioratus Monasterii Sanctiandree commendatarium, georgium commendatarium de dunfermling commendatarium (sic), Joannem de coldingham commendatarium, fratrem Joannem greson sacre theologie professorem, priorum provincialium ordinis fratrum predicatorem per regnum scotie ac facultatis (f.23r.) theologie universitatis Sancti andree deaconum, Joannem wynram sacre theologie professorem, vicarium de dow et monasterii Sanctiandree suprriorem, M. Joannem spittal officicem Sanctiandree principalem, rectorem de claith ac collegiate ecclesie beate marie de campis proper edinburgum prepositum, collegii Justitie suprmi D.N. Regis et a consiliis dominum, M. dauid haliburton prepositum de Methuen, Richardum Smytheum sacre theologie professorem, dominum Andrew ballone priorem de Inchemahomo, M. Dauid guild sacre theologie Bachalaureum, sibi assisores penes extinctionem litium et decisionum contrariarum inter dictas partes ut supra debatabilium.

Qui vero dominus Archilepiscopus unacum assessoribus predictis, in et super se onus decidunt et lites extinguendi in premissis acceptarunt, assignans Idem Reuerendissimus viue vocis oraculo partibus ipsis presentibus ad conveniendum super premissis in palatio suo infra ciuitatem Sanctiandree hora pomeridiana diei presentis, prefixit illis (annuente deo) ad promulgandum (?) decreatum intra diem date presentium et diei dominicam immediate sequentem. Cuiquidem decrete siue laudo arbitrali per Reuerendissimum ipsum proferendo iururunt partes predicte hincinde stare, tactis scripturis sacrosanctis. De et super quibus omnibus et singulis ipse partes hincinde petierunt instruments publica unum vel piuero sibi confici. Acta erant hæc hora intermedia ad undecimam ante meridiem, coram his testibus, Magistriis et dominis hugone bonteueron, Johanne balfour, valterro smeton, jacobo dowy et alexandro kynninmonth testibus rogatis.
EXCERPTS FROM UNPUBLISHED RECORDS
regarding
GLASGOW UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS
(a)

(1) Ms Liber Decani
7 Aug. 1492
After "archangelii" (M.A.U.G., ii, 260)

(p. III of Ms) Item in hoc computo et eodem
allocacione deliberavit idem Johannes dicto collegio
unum caminum ferreum iii parapsides stanneas et vii
discos eiusdem metalli ii mappas et ii manutergia Item
idem Johannes deliberavit dicto collegio bona
infracripta eidem pertinencia viz tres pipas a hoghed ii
borellis in le lader Item in coquina ii ollas i pan a
caldron and a cruk Item in Braslatorio i led and in
panotaria unum almarilolum

c. 1 Nov. 1496
After "circa edificium nove coquine" (M.A.U.G., ii, 269)

(p. 120 of Ms) tam de bonis receptis a domino
archidiacono glasguensi quam de tribus libris receptis
ab archibaldo craufurd bursario moderno approbarunt et
eundem M. Joannem de hufusmodi summis exonerarunt in
cuius testimonium dicti decanus et auditores se suis
propriis manibus subscripterunt Salua tamen condicione
store cum alexandro flamyn super complemento dicte coquine
quod decanus et facultas intendit prosequi coram domino
officiali et domino rectore universitatis
Ego Thomas forsyth decanus facultatis hufusmodi
computo inter si testi manu propria

17 Mar., 1522-3

(2nd flyleaf) xvii martii Anno millesimo
quingentesimo xxii deliuaret be wellem to master James yir
gudis undirwrittin imprimis iii silver spyns one brass
basyn iii pottis ii old pannis one caldroun viii discis
Item ix plaitis of ye quhilkis ii ar small i chargeour x
trunschoris twa yrne chynmais ii rakis ii spetis lnn ladil
a tayngis i pare of pot bowlis i mortare i pestel i gyrdyl
ane half galone stop i pynt stop of chad (?) i half bare
(1) iii old chandlaris i old dornyk bord clat ii new
towelis of dornyk twa new bordclatis and one ald of lynyn
item ii new towelles of lynyn g salt fat i rostin irne
one almory item willelmus is oblist to deliuer qployt
item schot of pewyer togidder wit ye pypis barellis and
hogsheids as ye bil of compt beris

2 Jul. 1535

(p.2 of Ms) Inventorium domiciliorum et utensilium
pedagogii glasguensis de quibus oneratur provisor
Willelmus Layng factum corem venerabili viro Magistro
Willelmo hammiltoun decano facultatis et auditoribus
computi deputatis die 2° mensis Julii anno domini millesimo
quingentesimo xxxvto

Inprimis una tassia argentea ponderis nouem unclarum
aut circiter in custodia magistri alexandri logane item in
manibus dicti provisoris quattour candelabra ennea item una
olla duerum quartarum item duo camini unus pro aula et alius
pro coquina item una peluis ennea item unus cacabus
item unum circulatum ly girdil item una olla ennea
continencie sex quartarum et ultra item una olla ennea
continencie quinque pintarum item una patella ennea via
quartarum item duo patelle una continencie duarum quartarum
altera trium item nouem parapsides stannee cum quinque
discis stanneis ly luggit et duobus discis circularibus xi
scissoris stanneis ly truncheolis item unum mortarium
enneum ly mortar cum tusorio ennea item unum pendulum
ferreum ly cruk item unum cOLUM ferreum ly irne ladil unam
fuscinum ly elcruk item unum par ly pot bowlis item duo
ly spettis maius et minus item ly rakkis item unum ly almory
item una pipe lignea item duo ly hogheidis items duo
coclearia argentea item unum salsarium stanneum item una
quarta stannea item una amphora stannea duarum quartarum
item forcips item ly garid ennea trium s. item in ly napy
duo mappes confecte anno immediate precedente continentes
unaqueque quinque ulnas de ly bertane kenwiss Item noua de
ly doornik Item una mappas antiqua pro studentibus Item duo
manuteria ly smal claith cum duobus ly seruiettis
Et premissa acta erant coram prescripto decano regentibus
loci et Magistris david bruyce et Nicolae Witherspone
(Like similar records at St Andrews these later accounts are often illuminating regarding the medieval buildings)

1605
(p.22)
To James elphinstoun glaslinwright for four fut of glass to ye windo at ye burdheid in ye laich hall and for mending mr. ard. hammitounis chalmer windo xiii x. iii d.

(p. 24) ff for one snek to ye hall dur iii d.

1606
(p. 33) Item for two stapills to ye feirzet of ye college
(p. 54) laying of two flairis in ye college

1607
(p.62)
The xxvi of october 1607 for foure knapell to mak out ye caiss windois in ye auld hall xxviii s.

(p. 63)
for casting ye two laich chalmeris in ye bek hall...
for xxix fut of glas to ye chalmer windois in ye heich bek hall...
...bed in ye chalmer of ye auld hall

(p. 64)
1607-8
...poynting one storme windo in ye heich chalmir of ye auld hall...
...threttene fut of rigging stone to put on ye two storme windois of ye heich bek chalmeris

1608-9
(p.81)
ye north chalmir dur of ye auld hall...thrie windois of ye foirscooleis
..xxxiiii losanis of glass to ye heich foirhall...
1609-10
(p. 98)
xliii losanis in ye foir hall windois
1610-1611
(p. 98)
To william sympsoun for nyne grit fir glastris to be
gerrounis and lath to ye long stoir in the Innerclois at
iliii li. xiii x. iiili d. ye pece
xlii li.
ffor leiding yame to ye college being nyne draught...
xxvii s.

(1611-2
(p. 108)
..ye desk in ye commoun scoole
..ye bak windo of ane leich chalmir in ye college..
1614
(p. 124)
..ye battis in ye hall deiss
..for sawing fyve grit fir geistis in drachtis to be
rachtaris to ye pannalling of ye hall twentie scoir futtis
(p. 125)
..bandis to ye saittis in ye deiss of ye hall
1617
(p. 147)
ffor tua hundir half hundir plenthour naill to ye dur
in ye auld scooleis
xxv s.

1619
(p. 173) ye inner zet in ye college..
..stanis to ye new biggit zet on ye north syde
of ye college

(Clerk's Press Ms II2 is partly printed in M.A.U.G., illi, 481 seq., but a study of the Ms produces little that
illuminates the medieval buildings)

(3) National Library of Scotland, Advocates Ms. 9a.1.8

(This MS contains transcripts by General Hutton of
various deeds relating to the vicars choral formerly in
the possession of Glasgow University, some of which are
(61)

printed in Liber Collegii Nostre Domine

p. 69 An instrument of sale to Walter de Achynroth of tenement of land in the Deanside between the tenement of John de Dalgless vicar of Dreghorn in west and that of John de Hawick vicar of Kilmaurs on the east (i.e. on the north side of the Rottenrow), dated 4 March, 1446-7. Endorsed "Instrumentum vendicionis tenementi de Ratonraw per aliciam wellys willelmo arthuri" (Arthurlie was one of the original regents) and "Symon de dalgles".

Glasgow University Archives: Blackhouse Inventory pp. 52-5

This contains an inventory of some lost writs connected with the chaplainry of St Michael founded by the archdeacon, Gilbert Rerick, partly printed by Glasgow, 11,457. The tenement of John Dalgleish was for a time the old Pedagogy in the Rottenrow.

(p. 53) ..Item Instrument upon a few Right by the viccars of the Queer in favours of the said Gilbert de Rerick of a Tenement built in part by Sir John de Dalgless And Gifted by him to the said Viccers Lying on the South side of the Rottenraw betwixt the Tenement of Sir John Reston Viccar of Carmonock upon the East, and the Tenement of John Brown Presbiter and Viccar of the Queer upon the West for the yearly ffew duty of ffive Merks Scots at Whitsonday and Mertinmas Dated 8 Ffeberwary 1463...

Inventory no. 176

Item Register of Severall wryts belonging to the Chaplanrie of St Michael viz, Imprimis ffoundation of the said Chaplanrie of St Michael by Sir Gilbert Rerick Archdecan of Glasgow with consent of the Bishop Dean and Chapter and of the Viccers in the Queer To which he Mortifies a Tenement on the Southside of the Rottonraw which was otherways called the Colldege (sic) there Lying and Bounded with another Waist Tenement Lying upon the Westside of the said Petagoge and another Tenement Lying directly before the entry of the Subdean of Glasgow...
Inventory no. 376
(Tenement of St Mungo's Chaplainry adjacent to the Pedagogy)

Charter of tenement containing 2 great chambers and 3 little, 5 shops with a little yard at the back of the tenement being in part ruinous, lying between the pedagogy of Glasgow on the north and the kirkyard of the preaching friars on the south and High Street on the west with the little meadow belonging to the friars on the east.

Disposed by Sir David Kirkland, chaplain of St. Mungo in the lower church of Glasgow, with consent of John Blackadder of Tulliallan patron and James (Beaton) archbishop of John Martine citizen of Glasgow and Janet Mirk his spouse. Annual rent to friars, yearly payment to Kirkland and to spend £40 Scots on repairs within 2 years, 19 July 1557. Sasine 23 July. (Paraphrased).

(4) Glasgow Univ. Archives: "Inventare of the wreets and evidents pertaining to the universitie of Glasgow. Made anno 1655".

P.28
"ffoundatioune of the chaplainrie of St. Mungo withiye Leich Kirk of Glasgow at ye patronage of the Laird of Tulliallane dait Last Octob: 1499"

Other deeds inventoried show that Martin disposed of it to Mr Adam Wallace on the 24 Dec., 1560, Wallace to James Fleming in 1613, and Fleming to Archbishop Spottiswood in 1615.

p.86
Some important Glasgow writs and documents formerly in the university's keeping have evidently been lost, e.g. "ane book containing copies of wreets and others givine by Henrie Sinclair deane of Glasgow" "ane book of instruments and notes excepted out of a prothogell of Mr Cuthbert Simsouns scribe of the chapter of Glasgow" (Probably in The Nat. Lib. of Scotland, Riddell Mss).
"An inventor of evident and wreats concerning the kirk and chapter of Glasgow"

"Liber statutorum Capituli et ecclesiae metropolitanae Glasguensis"

p. 87

"Another wreat book containing Statuta capituli glasguensis"

(5) Glasgow University Archives: Drawer F 5

"We James be ye mercy of god archbishop of Glasgow Maister Andro hay rectoure Mr dauid conynghome dean of facultie with ye rest of ye Maisteris of ye univerisitie of Glasgw and George Elphinstoune Archibald Iyoune and James flemyng baillies in name of ye towne of glasgw all in one voce hes concludit and dois be thir presentis conclude That the houssis quhilkis sumtyme wer collit ye vicaris chalmeris and now pertinis to ye univerisitie lyand on ye north syde of ye hie kirk of Glasgw salbe tene downe the sclaittis timmer stants and haill materiall thairof to ye behuif and weill of the said univerisitie and pedagog of ye samyng And that of ye first and redeast sclaittis thairof thair salbe ten thousand laid in to ye pedagog for ye reparatieoun thairof And the rest to be sauld and disponit to ye reparatieoun of ye said kirk And the payment thairof to be deleyuerit by ye byeirs immediatlie efter ye recept of ye said to Thomas lenox collectoure to ye pedagog quha sall rander his compt of the sawyng and of the haill rest of materiallis of ye houssis foirsaid

In witnes of ye quhilk oure commoun consent conclusioni and ordinarie abouewrrttin we haif subscriuit thir presentis with our handis At glasgw ye 23 day of Julii ixxiiii zonis

J Glasgw
A hay
M Dauid Conyngam
george elphynstoune"
There are of course no remains of these buildings. They were completely superseded in the period 1630-1660. There are no plans or written descriptions of them. We are forced to garner what information we can from incidental references, especially in the Liber Decani. But the later mentions of buildings in the period 1575-1582 and in the sources, printed and manuscript, up to 1630 (about which time serious rebuilding began) are useful and can be used as a check.

If we take first the medieval references, we find we have to account for and locate an early school of arts in the Blackfriars precincts, an Old Pedagogy in the Rottenrow, a school of canon law, the college of arts of Lord Hamilton in the High Street, Arthurlie's House, the New Hall and the "back place" and various kitchen buildings, larder, brewhouse, etc.

We can be quite certain that no new building occurred between 1560 and 1582. We can be less positive about the period 1582-1630, but our sources are fairly full for the period 1600-1630, and from them we can gather that there were no additions to the earlier buildings, except the bellhouse (which replaced an older one) and the principal's house, which was a pretty thorough adaptation of an old medieval tenement on the site, a tenement attached to the chaplainry of St. Mungo in 1490 (Documents: a4, a5, in this appendix).

It will be more convenient to work back from the later to the earlier terminology for these buildings. It will also be necessary to distinguish what can be known for certain about them from what, though probable, is conjecture.

The Old Pedagogy was in the Rottenrow. It was a building on the south side of the street, owned originally by John Dalgleish, who acquired it in 1410 (L.C.N.D..
p.237. It was rebuilt in part by Dalgleish. The date on which he gifted it to the vicars choral is not known, but it was part of a more general gift before May, 1467; *Glasgow*, ii, 414). It must have been rented from him or the vicars choral by the faculty of arts about 1451. Some time before the 8th February, 1463-4, it had probably been given up by the faculty, for the archdeacon then gifted it to the vicars choral once more. (This is the date given in the Blackhouse Inventory, as extracted in Appendix B. The original document cannot now be traced but the endorsement is printed in *Glasgow*, ii, 457, giving the same date, but an entirely different year, viz. 1475-6). By 1487 it is a tenement which "previously was called the Pedagogy". It had no further connection with the university, in 1524 belonging to James Houston and in 1550 to James Laing. (*L.C.N.D.*, pp. 260-1; Renwick, *Glasgow Protocols*, i, no. 21).

There was another old pedagogy in the High Street. This or part of it was in 1575 known as the *Laich Hall*. It stood lower down in the slope from the street back to the Molendinar. It was bounded by a garden on the north and east called the old pedagogy or college yard, which supplied the kitchen. (In 1535 the steward only made himself responsible for two fireplaces, one in the kitchen and one in the hall, but this is only an inventory of kitchen furnishings and the hall is clearly the dining hall. Document:al). Parallel with this garden, between it and the burn, was the college yard proper, north of which was the "Ala", an alleyway from the burn to the street, and not an aula, as has been thought. That it was the oldest building on the site is shown by the fact that it was surrounded by the old pedagogy yard. The suggestion that it was the lower part of the main forehall does not tally with such facts as we know.

When we try to identify the *Laich Hall* more precisely we are thrown back on conjecture. It might be the school within the priory precincts mentioned in 1453;
this is likely to have been the priory's own school, where Friar Robertson gave his lectures in 1476 (Turnbull, p. 60), and the faculty furnishings of that date need not disprove that. On the whole, it is more likely that this was not part of the founded buildings of the priory, but a tenement apart from the strictly conventual buildings, over which the friars had some title of superiority. Such were the two tenements of Robert Forester in front of their west gable, adjacent to the university group, but bounded on the east by the friars' cemetery and Meadow Yard, and from 1499 attached to the Blackadder chapelry of St. Mungo. This chapelry was founded by Forester's heir, Sir Thomas Brown, and was supported out of his tenements "south of the university or pedagogy" and "north of the place of the Friars Preachers". (Turnbull, p. 60; L.C. N.D.. pp. 190-1 - for Forester's tenement directly in front of the Dominican church - and pp. 183-4 - for the distinction between founded buildings and other holdings. For the St. Mungo chapelry foundation, see Origines Parochiales, 1, 499; also in Appendix: a4). The Leich Hall is obviously part of the friars' lands as received by them from the Hamiltons prior to 1455 and returned to the Hamiltons then. It did come back somehow to the university, and is the "back place" whose tiles required repair in 1496 (H.A. U.G., ii, 216). Two low chambers of the back hall were plastered in 1607 and the room windows of the high back hall repaired (Documents: a2). This shows that the Leich Hall had two storeys, and this would be in accordance with the usual plan where one storey was used for schools and the other for a hall. There are also references to an auld hall (Ibid), which is the same building, it would seem. If so, it was exactly to the north of the Blackfriars kirk.

As suggested, this building contained the original common schools, and therefore quite possibly the "commone skulls" of 1582 (Liber Decani, p. 169, "three cultis of rufing aklyand in ye commone skulls"). According to the endowment of the readership in canon law of 1463, the
lectures were to be given in the "public schools". These schools were ruinous in 1483, but they were repaired, especially in the roofs at the university's expense as they served the whole university body (M.A.U.G., i, 17; ii, 93, 95, 107). Here also may have been "the greater schools" of 1507, perhaps the same as the "Lang Skuille" of 1582. (Ibid., ii, 121; iii, 518). The fact that the schools of canon law needed a new gable window suggests the partitioning of a long room into two sections, and this would take place in 1502 (Ibid., ii, 121). The new evidence cited in Appendix B would, therefore, seem to rule out the identification of the Laich Hall with the Hamilton building gifted in 1460, and therefore modifies what I have written to that extent (cf. my note in S.H.R., xxxiv, 145-6). These are the old schools of 1617. (Documents: a2).

From 1458 to 1464 the work of building the Pedagogy and its actual edifices finds mention in the faculty records (M.A.U.G., ii, 192-200). This again may have been largely reconstruction, probably of a building originally rented from Lord Hamilton and then given outright by him. Hence the persistence of the term Pedagogy as the name for the Hamilton college of arts. In the seventeenth century this building was not flush with the street, for when the old forework of the university is mentioned as having been demolished, there is only left "the high Hall and Arthurlie, very good houses all newly dressed at great charge. This year and the next the College will lie open" (Baillie, Letters and Journals, iii, 432). When Hamilton gifted his college the gift was received in the forefront (in fronte anteriori) of the tenement gifted (M.A.U.G., i, 13) from its position it is sometimes known in the 17th cent. as the High Forehall or the High Foreschools, containing as it would both schools and hall. It is, I suggest, identical with the structure that underwent a drastic overhaul in Bishop Letting's and Archbishop Blackadder's time. Already in 1480 we hear the proposal to make structural alterations: in 1498 this work of repair of "the new hall of the pedagogy", which had been started and abandoned, was resumed. (Clearly the college hall, Ibid., ii, 232, 272; a mason was incorporated in 1493, Ibid., ii, 272). This was a big building, perhaps altered again by Gavin Dunbar; 400 feet of wood was used in panelling it in 1614. The schools
were most probably under the hall, and there were some rooms used as studies; scattered over the whole group of buildings there were in 1582, 25 or so studies and then and in 1614, 26 beds (accommodating doubtless two to a bed). (Ibid., iii, 518, 523). Unlike the schools in the Laich Hall which were university schools these were faculty schools of the college of arts.

We have yet another arts building to account for the building of Duncan Bunch which was to be to the south of the college of arts. This may originally have been intended as a regents' or principal's house, and if it was beside or behind the Forehall, it would have been on or near the site of the later principal's house. On the whole it is most likely that it was the residential quarter of the college of arts.

Grammar school pupils were taken for a time at least. This is implied by the power given to Bunch to institute monitors as well as regents in the Hamilton college. (M.A.U.G., 1,10).

The kitchen quarters were near the Leich Hall, in the neighbourhood of which, as we saw, was the kitchen vegetable garden, and this would be an attachment from the beginning. The first pedagogy cook is mentioned in 1463. A larder, brewhouse, nepery and almery are mentioned in medieval times. (Ibid., ii,70,280; Appendix B, Documents: a1).

There was a porter's lodge by the foregate in 1582. (Ibid., ii,518). A wall may have encompassed some of the outer and most of the inner quadrangles. It is mentioned in 1490. (Ibid., ii,256). As to this Inner Close it is first mentioned in 1610-11, but apart from the Leich Hall and kitchen in its west quarter, we have no information. (Documents: a2). One quarter of it was ruinous some decades later. (M.A.U.G., 1,169).
Of these buildings Arthurlie's house is, because of its name, easiest to identify. The gift was notified in 1467 as accommodation for regents, but may not have been effective till 1475 or 1478. (Ibid., i, 18). It was repaired in 1490 and, I suggest, badly damaged in the earth tremor of 1521 referred to in the text. It may then have passed into the hands of Lindsay of Dunrod, who owned it in 1562. (Renwick, Glasgow Protocols, iii, no. 683; v, no. 1500). In 1564 it was recovered from him (M.A.U.G., i, 91, 157), and was one of the last buildings to fall before the rebuilding zeal of the mid-seventeenth century. It had two storeys, and was north of the Hamilton lands extending from the High Street to the Melendinar burn. Its first occupant was William Arthurlie, regent, who previously occupied a house near the Old Pedagogy on the opposite side of Rottenrow. (Appendix B: Documents: 23).
OPENING OF LECTURES, BOOKS, ETC.
(c)

Glasgow University, Archives, Liber Decani.

pp. 100-101.
Meeting of 20th Oct., 1490

Item in eadem congregacione ordinavit facultas quod singulis annis tempore resumpcionis leccionum ordinariorum, que fiet futuris temporibus in festo Sancti Remigii, fiat missa de spiritu sancto secundum formam primi statuti contenti in libro statutorum. Et durabuntur lecciones ordinarie a dicto festo usque ad festum Sancti Egidii abbatis exclusive. Insuper in eadem congregacione ad instantiam et requestam venerabilis viri magistri Nicholai Ross prebendarii de Renfrew dispensatum fuit cum Willelmo ker licentiato in artibus de non inchoando lecturam usque ad proximum festum Sancti andree apostoli.

p. 122 (M.A.U.G., 11, 271) 1497
After Willelmu swane pauper read
Congregacione facultatis arcium tente in inferiori ecclesia glasguensi die prima mensis octobris anno quo supra pro resumpcione leccionum ordinariorum in qua congregacione facultas concensit (sic) quod liber suppositionum cum allis libris ordinarie legatur pro forma et eciam in eadem congregacione conclusum fuit quod cessacio a lectura in casterno duplicis festi se extendit ad lecturam formalem et ordinarium sic quod studentes illis diebus vacare tenetur omnibus leccionibus extraordinarios ad placitum regentium.

p. 123
Insuper in eadem congregacione facultas dispensauit cum M. Roberto Heriot canonico glasguensi pro lectura per biennium ex eo quod idem M. Robertus proposuit se transferre ad studium ultra partes marinas solvendo tamen idem M. Robertus unam marcam bursario facultatis
pro huiusmodi dispensacione et hoc infra xl dies.

Propertea facultas dispensavit cum M. Jacobo neylsone
similiter pro lectura per biennium solvendo tamem
Idem M. Jacobus bursario facultatis vi s. vili d.
pro huiusmodi dispensacione et hoc infra xv dies.

Ac eciam in eadem congregacione ex deliberacione et
conclusione omnium magistrorum facultatis conclusum
fuit quod statutum penes non legentes per biennium
futuris temporibus observetur et execucio demandetur,
et summa debita pro dicta dispensacione exigatur et
ad reparacionem loci pedagogii applicatur. Denum
facultas gracie profuit dispensavit cum venerabili viro
M. dauldci cunynghame penes congregaciones generales
et summas debitas per eundem, attento suo magno
officio officiatus glasguensis et labores in eodem;
dummodo tamen occurrunt ardua negotia in facultate
dabit suam presenciam cum privatus (periuratus?)
fuerit.

Congregacione facultatis arcium tenta in inferiori
ecclesia glasguensi apud altare nicolai anno quo
supra proxima die legibili post festum omnium
Sanctorum luxta formam statutorum, presentati fuerunt
per Regentes studentes infra scripti videlicet
Robertus forstar, dauld douglas Jacobus colquhome,
Willelmus hammiltone, Johannes hammiltone, Robertus
barre et Johannes blak Admissi per facultatem ad
examen pro gradu bachallariatus et requisita
habentes usque ad scientiam pro quorum examine electi
erant quatuor temptatores, duo videlicet Regentes,
M. Johannes doby et M. patricius covinhre, et duo
non regentes videlicet M. thomas leyss et M. Johannes
scot junior, qui huiusmodi onus in se acceptarunt
luxta solitam consuetudinem.

Anno suprascripto processerunt ad gradum bachallariatus
sub magistro patricio covinhre bachallarii infra scripti
videlicet

Robertus forstar
dauid douglas
Jacobus colquhome
Willelmus Hammiltone
Johannes hammiltone
Robertus barre
et Johannes Blak
Anno quo supra receptit insignia magistralia Alexander Erskin filius domini Erskin sub magistro Patricio Coventre qui magnum convivium suis sumptibus solus celebravit.

Alexander de Erskin filius domini Erskin cum eo dispensatum est pro lectura ad biennium.

Eodem anno reciperunt insignia magistralia sub magistro Patricio Coventre bachallerii infrascripti.

Robertus Hammyltone cum eo dispensatum est pro lectura ad biennium.

Matheus Mongumry soluit facultati vi s. viii d. Robertus Ellem cum eo dispensatum est pro lectura ad biennium.

Eodem eodem anno reciperunt insignia magistralia sub magistro Patricio Coventre magistri infrascripti

Robertus Colquhone
Cristoferus Boyd
Robertus Restoune cum eo dispensatum est pro lectura ad biennium et (soluit) v s. facultati.

Dominus Willelmus Swane pauper cum eo dispensatum pro lectura ad biennium.

(1498)

Congregacione facultatis tenta in inferiori capitolo ecclesie glasguensi in crestito beati Johannis baptiste anno domini etc. lxxxviii continuatus fuit in decanum facultatis magister Thomas Forsyth canonicus Rossensis ac eiam in eadem congregacione electi erant quatuor deputati videlicet magistri Johannes Doby, patricius Coventre, archibaldus Crawfurde et Ninianus Dalgless.

Insuper continuatus erat in eadem congregacione in bursarium facultatis prefatus magister archibaldus Crawfurde.
FORMULARY FOR LICENCE IN ARTS: 1514.

Edinburgh Univ. Library, Laing Ms, Div. iii, 322.
p.123.

Commissio ad actum licencie in artibus

Jacobus miseratione divina glasguensis Archiepiscopus
dilectis clericis nostris magistris N.S. et C.D.
universitatis nostre Regentibus salutem cum benedictione
divina Quia ex Relatione vestra concipimus nonnullos
bachalarios in Artibus ad gradum licencie ascendere
volentes, quemquid gradum licencie conferre ad nos
tanquam ad cancellarium dicte universitatis pertinere
dinoscitur Quia nos variis et arduis prepediti negotii
predicto actui interesse non valemus vobis igitur et
vestrum cullibet conjunctum et divisim predictum actum
celebrare gradumque licencie conferre nostram per
presentes concedimus potestatem, facultatem perpetam et
auctoritatem. Datum sub nostra subscriptione manuall
Apud glasgw die ultimo mensis juli anno domini vc
quingentesimo xiiii.
BEGINNING OF ACADEMIC SESSION

Glasgow Univ., Archives: Liber Decani
p.139 (corresponding to M.A.U.G., ii,286)

Congregacione generali facultatis artium studii
glasguensis tenta et celebrata in ecclesia metropolitana
glasguensi per venerabilem virum Magistrum (sic)
hamyltoune decanum facultatis die primo mensis octobris
anno domini millesimo quingentesimo xxxv pro inchoatione
noui ordinarii in quaquadem congregagatione comparuerunt
domini regentes videlicet Magistri alexander
hamyltoun et Alexander logane qui de consensu dicti
decani et magistrorum qui inibì effuerunt libros per
eosdem anno futuro lecturos elegerunt et nominarunt
Qui etiam dominus eosdem regentes ad huiusmodi in
scolis publice legendos admiserunt.

Nicolaus Witherspoune notarius scriba universitatis
proprìa manu scripsit.
p.143 (corresponding to M.A.U.G., ii,292)

After elegerunt
Inchoatìo noui ordinarìi

Congregacione generali facultatis artium studii
glasguensis tenta et celebrata in inferiori ecclesia
glasguensi apud altere intemerate viginis merie
citacione previa in valuis metropolitana ecclesie
predicte die primo mensis octobris anno domini
millesimo quingentesimo quadragesiimo per venerabilem
virum Magistrum Robertum colquhoune rectorem de dunbar
decanum facultatis huiusmodi nouum ordinarium
inchoarunt et libros legendos pro anno futuro elegerunt.

Similar entries for the years 1542,1543,1551, 1554,
1555, have been omitted in the printed version.
GLASGOW UNIVERSITY: TESTAMENT OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
REGENT OF THE PEDAGOGY, 30 AUGUST, 1547.

National Library of Scotland: Riddell Collection, no. 44.

(f)

Inuentarium omnium bonorum quondam magistri
Alexandri hamiltoni regentis pedagogi glasguensis
factum apud glasgwn penultimo augusti anno domini
jmv c quadragesimo septimo coram magistro Johanne
hamiltoni, quintino hamiltoni, Jacobo hamiltoni et
magistro divese Robeone commissario de hamiltoni
notorio publico. Item fatetur se habere in pecunia
numerata centum sexaginta libras, utensilia in
hamiltoni videlicet quinque lectos pluviales valoris
decem marcarum Alium lectum lie noped bed valoris x s.
decem paria lincinnina valoris iii li. duo bona
aulea valoris trium li. duas cistas valoris xx s.
unam mgnam cistam in penu valoris xv s. duo paria
lodicum valoris xx s. duas vestes hibernicas alteram
albam alteram versicolorem valoris xx s. septem
mantilla de donnik valoris x s. unam mappam lineam
valoris vi s. duas mappas grandiores valoris viii s.
vosa stationa valoris xxx s. unum sessorum (sic)
ergentium valoris marcarum item novem coclearia
argentea valoris xi marcarum in hospitio decani unam
mensam cum duobus subselliis valoris xx s. unum lie
langsadilbed valoris xvi s. unum candelabrum in loco
decani valoris viii s. vestimenta libros et alia
superlectilia exigu a ad valorem xx lib. Item
superlectilia in domo superiori in hamiltoni ubi
habitat Willelmus nasmyth valoris octo lib.

Debita sibi debentia
Item Ricardus symson debet tres lib. parochiani
de hamiltoni et dalserf debent pro restis de croppa
anni etc. xlvii centum quadraginta marcas et pro
restis annorum xl, xli, xlii, xliii, xlvii, ad
valorem x lib. Item parochiani de hamiltoni et
dalserf tenentur mihi persoluerue pretium fori octodecim
celrarum farine de croppa anni etc. xlvit quorum
valor ultra persolua de novo extendit ad ducentas
(76)

marcus. magister Robertus lang xx lib. mutuo concessas. dominus david hamiltones xxx s. katherina watsone in kilbryde quatuor marcas vi s. et viii d. katherina nasmyth relictæ quondam Willelmæ miller xvi libras x s. pro precio x bollarum ordel et xvii lib. liii s. (f.16r) pro precio ... (torn) bollarum farine Valterus Spence in Arthurlie ... (torn) duas marcas vi s. viii d. Robertus Bracanrig in Arthurlie pro dicto ... (torn) vi ... (torn) relictæ thome bracanrig pro terminus preteritis x s. Item sponsæ magistri Roberti layng v lib. liii s. vi d. pro pretio quatuor bollarum trium firlotarum farine. Item alia debita mihi debentur a variis ut habentur in libris compotorum meorum circiter xx lib. Item Abbas de Kilwynnyng xx lib. mutuo ei concessas et xx lib. pro annua pensione de Dalry.

Debita aliiis debentia
In primis Magistro Roberto layng pro Tabula quintino ob octauo Julii 1547 usque ad penultimum augusti lti s. Item dicto magistro Roberto pro Tabula domini Willelmæ Wilkyne a Sabbato xvi Julii anni xlvi usque ad penultimum Augusti xlii s. Item pro mea Tabula et magistri Johannis hamiltonæ a primo Augusti anni etc. xlvi usque ad penultimum Augusti Quinquaginta sex s. Item pro Tabula domini Willelmæ Wylykyne a penultimo Augusti usque ad festum sancti martini liii lib. xiii s. Item domino Jacobo nasmyth xvii aureos iusti ponderis Jonete hamiltonæ filie fratris xx Marces Jacobo hamiltonæ filio domini Willelmæ fratris xlti lib. Johanni hamiltonæ domini Willelmæ xlti lib. Willelmo hamiltonæ filio domini Willelmæ xltæ lib. magistro Joanni hamiltonæ xx marcas. quintino hamiltonæ unum craterem argenteum cum cooperculo lie goblet of siluer with ane coueryng et anglicana grocia ad valorem vi lib. et quinque nobiles aureos de rosa. Item in feste sancti martini domino Willelmæ Wilkyne pro suo seruitio lliior marcas. Item domino Willelmo flemyng pro calce xiii s. lili d. Item loco pedagogi pro debitibus magistri Willelmi hamiltonæ octo lib. monete. Omnia alia debita loco pedagogi receptæ a me exposui pro reparacione eiusdem etc. aliquid de dicto octo libris. Item domino Marco Jamesone pro oblationibus altaris
beate marie virginis per me receptis et pro casula altari emenda xxvi lib. monete. Item executoribus domini david Robertone iii lib. illi s. Item magistro Joanni Ray pro annuo redditu sacelli sancti Arungilli(?) xiii s. illi d. Item executoribus decani circiter octoginta lib.

Cota xii lib. recepta per dominum Joannem mun xx novembris.

Legatio
Ego magister Alexander hamiltone sanus mente et corpore condò testamentum meum in hunc modum sequentem Inprimis do et lego animam meam deo omnipotenti, eius filio unigenito Jhesu Christo domino nostro, sanctoque spiritui, interemate virginis Marie, totique celestium cetui, Corpus meum sepellendum prope sepulchrum patris in ecclesia de hamiltone si commodo fieri poterit, aloquin alibi prope altare diue virginis ubi decedere ab hac instabili vita contigerit. Item lego decem libros distribuendas inter pauperes parochianos de hamiltone. Item in die mee funeracionis pro celebracione exequiarum et alii funeribus xx marcas, capellánis de hamiltone x marcas ad orandum pro anima mea. pauperibus mendicis in die (f.16v) ...(torn) xi s. fratribus minoribus glasguensibus iiiii marcas. fratribus predicatoribus iii marcas. Item volo quod capellani collegii de hamiltone singulis annis imperpetuum habeant xiii s. illi d. de tenemento meo in hamiltone nunc inhabito per robertum walkar et bessetam nasspyth olim sponsam quondam willemi litster ad celebrandum exequias videlicet placebo et dirige cum missa in crastino de Requie annuatem in die mee funeracionis. Eciam volo quod dicti capellani collegii de hamiltone leuent de predicto tenemento xiii s. illi d. ad celebrandum suffragia mortuorum placebo dirige cum missa in crastino de Requie pro animabus patris et matris mee et dominii Willemi hamiltone fratri mei et hoc annuatem in xxvi Augusti (sic) et pecunia distributur (sic) inter proles cum et quando contigerit dictam bessetam vivere executores mee persoluant dictas duas marcas monete annuatem capellánis de hamiltone.
Item lego domino Jacobo nasmyth capellano in hamiltone x marcas. Unicuique filie thome hamiltone in hamiltone innupte x marcas. Arturho hamiltone lii lib. Olivero hamiltone eius fratri lii lib. Remitto domino Michaeli fratri omnia debita que michi debet. Similiter remitto dauidi fratri omnia debita que michi debentur pro eodem. Lego domino Michaeli fratri x lib. lectum pluuialem meliorem post lectum heredis cum suis ornamentis unum computorium. lego dauidi fratri xx marcas unum lectum pluuialem cum ornamentis. Magistro Joanni hamiltone meliorem togam post togam heredis cum ornamentis suis, libros singulos in hamiltone ad distribuendum inter ipsum et suosfratres sic quod ipse pro tempore suo habeat usus (sic) eorundem. Jonete hamiltone filie domini Willelmi xx† lib. Item lego quintino hamiltone utensilia domus superioris in hamiltone quam inhabitat Willelms Nasmyth, unum lectum pluuialem cum ornamentis. Item magistro dauidi Robesone x marcas. Volo quod magister Robertus lang persoluat x marcas monete Jonete smalum sorori sue uxoris de debitis que mihi debet, et tabula mea et magistri Joannis hamiltone, quintini et domini willelmi wylkyne, computata sic et soluta ad diem date presentium, nec ulterius exigatur a dicto magistro Roberto nec a conluge sua pro farrina (sic). Volo quod magister Robertus layng et eius sponsa habeant domum meam quam inhabitat pro spacio quatuor annorum futurorum libere persoluvendo tamen annuum xiii s. vicaris chori glasguensis et iii s. domino Archibaldo dickyne pro sacello sancte marie virginis. lapsis dictis quattuor annis lego meos fauorem et benevolentiam dicte domus quintino hamiltone filio domini Willelmi fratri. Et hos constituo meos executores, dominum Michaelem hamiltone meum fratrem vicarim de Mernys, Magistrum Johannem hamiltone, quintinum hamiltone et dominum Jacobum Nasmyth capellanum in hamiltone. Et si contingat eum Michaelem mori ante me vel circiter idem tempus constituo dauid hamiltone meum frotrem unum executorum meorum et non alias. Et etiam lego dicto dauid in eo casu omnia relictæ domino Michaeli. Qui executores prescripti disponent de rebus
antedictis secundum formam prescriptam et residuum omnium bonorum meorum, debitis et legatis persolutis, lego distribuendum inter pauperes honestos amicos prout volunt reddere coram summo iudice. Item lego dictis domino Michaeli et quintino benevolentiam ad assedationem decanatus glasguensis et uno illorum deficientem per mortem relinquo medietatem dicte assedationis dauidi hamiltonae meo fratri. Et si contingat me mori ante reductionem bullarum meorum a Roma executores mei exigant a magistro Joanne thornton ducentas quinquaginta duas coronas de sole de qua summa exponantur centum corone in constructione loci pedagogi glasguensis. Residuum inter fratres meos et filios domini Willelmi fratriis et filios bessete hamiltonae uxoris Joannis hamiltonae in NeIland. Relinquo meam togam griseam domino Michaeli. Notum sit executoribus meis et omnibus aliiis me habere in custodia sexcentas libras et ultra in mea theca ferrea cuius clavis custodiam habet dominus Willelmus wilkyne que theca reconditur sub ligneo meo lecto in cubiculo meo in hamiltonae, quam pecuniam decanus glasguensis habuit in custodia a Reuerendissimo in christo patre gauino Archiepiscopo pro cappis aureis emendis et aliiis ornamentis ecclesie. Summa et numerus aureorum in dicta theca habetur inscripta portiuncule papiri infra eandem.
LETTER OF GIOVANNI FERRERI
TO
BEATON, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW:
EXCERPT REGARDING JOHN DAVIDSON

Blairs Archives, Letters, I.L.3 (now in Colomba House, Drummond Place, Edinburgh).

The first part of the letter discusses curial matters, and is dated, "Parisiiis. Septemb. 1559."

...Scripseram iam hanc epistolam ad te, cum ad nos uenit 26 Septembris Joannes Lewiston, qui tuas ad me pertulit. In quibus multa adinueni graulisima et cum summo periculo coniunctissima. Sed forfiter audendum est pro summa omnium, hoc est, uera religione Jesu Christi et catholica, contra Satanaicas huius etatis sectoriorum opiniones. Deus optimus maximus tibi et tui similibus non decret in causa sua, sed animos vestrors preparabit ad victoriam. Quod autem insipiente designauit magister Joannes Davidson olim tuus, nunquam eram crediturus cuium, nisi tute ad me de hoc ipso scrisisses. Sed quando ita evenit preter omnium nostrum expectationem, Deo sic permittente tale at minus moleste tibi ferendum est. Nam si fuisset in pietate nostra ueteri tam bene confirmatus quantum uideri primum cupiebat, non tam stolide ad Ecclesiam catholica dissectionem fecisset et ad Congregationem (uerius dixeris dissectionem) quam isti uestri male sani et furiosi vocant, se applicasset. Quid enim audent nomen Ecclesie Sancte proprium, hoc est, uera Congregationis et unionis, sibi tribuere, dissipati isti tenebriones, cum scriptum sit, Qui non colligit mecum dispersit? Quo nam potest esse huiusmodi Congregation, que omnem populi Dei tranquillitatem iam sustulit, humanas uero leges prorsus contemnit, divinas quoque turbulentissime conculcat? His igitur tantis malis quis unquam poterit remedium ullum iustum applicere, nisi ferro et flammea uincere? Quod quidem breui (ut auguror), permittente Deo optimo maximo, consequetur. De bibliis autem nostris in tribus Linguis, quod ad me scribis

(80)
royotus, nihil est quod obsit, si tu tamen iusseris. Uerum puto res melius transigetur, si ego hac re una non exuar que est mihi mea uita charior, et alteri uiro optimo nostrique amantissimo de allis huiusmodi Bibliis prospiciatur alicunda, hic etiam nostre si uelot opera. Ante tres uero menses Trivultius Cardinalis Legatus a Latere Summi Pontificis tunc in Galliis, voluit mihi pro meliis Bibliis scuta IO annumerare. Sed ego omnino quodcumque precum eo nomine de illo recusavi. Paulo post idem Cardinalis a quodam Bibliopole scutis 17 huiusmodi Bibliae me presente redemit. Quod si uelot Dominus Decanus sumptus facere, observabo diligenter si quo modo possim Biblia atusmodi in gratiam illius reperire. Sic illi melius (nisi omnino fallor) et mihi quoque in hac parte fuerit prospectum, quando uterque nostrum uidelicet de amata et suo potietur.

Rursus Uale, 26 Septembris 1559.

R. R. Clientulus,
Jo. ferrerius
Pedemontanus. (Autograph)

Endorsed

Reuerendissimo in Christo patri domino Jacobo Betoum Archiepsico Glasquensi, patrono suo singulari in Scotia.
HECTOR BOECE IN PARIS

(a)

(Among the names of bachelors created after the first account had been rendered, in the accounting period, 1492-3, beginning on September 20th and ending in the following September):

f.137v "hector boetii diocesis brictionensis cuius bursa valet s.7 3 lib. 15 s.

(For accounting period Sept. 1493-Sept. 1494)

Post primum compotum..(Licentiates)
Hector boetii diocesis brictionensis cuius bursa valet s.4 1 lib.

f.143v
(Incipients) Hector boetii diocesis brictionensis cuius bursa valet s.4 1 lib.

Paris, Univ., Archives: Reg. 91.
(In receivership of John Makculloch of Ross diocese, elected on the 20th Sept., 1495)

f.7v Sequuntur miseriae ante primum compotum...
In electione et continuatione magistri hectoris boy (sic) in procuratorem 8 sol. par.

WILLIAM HAY

H2588,f.136r (Bachelors before First Account)
Willelmus haye diocesis Sancti Andree

f.143r
(Licensed in arts with Boece)

f.143v
Incepted with Boece.
JOHN VAUS AT PARIS

(b)

Paris, Univ., Archives: Reg.91.

f.156v
(Sept. 1504-Sept 1505, after first account)
Electio petri cesari post computum primum magistri casperdi curatoris

Sequuntur nominia baccalauriorum qui post compotum receptoris venerunt et soluerunt bursas suas.

Alius receptus Johannes vaus dyocesis Rosensis
(sic) culus bursa valet vii s. III Lib. x s.

f.70v
(Sept.1505-Sept.1506 among receipts after the first account)

Dominus Johannes Waus dyocesis albirondensis (sic,
then altered to rossensis) culus bursa valet vii s.
I lib. xv s.

THEOPHILUS STEWART

Paris, Univ., Archives: Reg.15.

f.182v
(Pridie idus martii 1529-30)
Supplicuit etiam Teophilus (sic) Steward dyocesis rossensis ut tanquam in artibus baccalaurius recipetur. Annuit natio si a dominis examinatoribus idonius (sic) inuentus fuerit.

f.183r
(Bachelor) Dominus Theophilus Steward dyocesis rossensis culus bursa valet 4 s per.
(Licensed also)

f183r
(Recorded as incepting).
Ms Lat.9952,f.78r and Reg.91,f257v add nothing material.
LETTERS UNDER THE GREAT SEAL OF JAMES II

(a)

(On paper; fragment of great seal)
St. Andrews Univ. Archives

St. Salvator's Writs, SAE 22

Jacobus dei gratia rex scotorum uniuersis et singulis ligitis et subditis nostris ad quorum notitias presentes littere peruenient salutem. Sciatis nos recipisse ac plenarie habuisse a reverendo in cristo patre Jacabo episcopo Sanctiandrei consanguineo nostro carissimo summam duorum millium quatuor librarum, duodecim solidorum et unius denarii usuales monete regni nostri, de qua quidem summa recepta erant per eundem venerandum in cristo patrem a magistris Johanne Athilmere, Thoma logy et Jacobo agilby, preposito et canoniciis collegii sancti salvatoris infra ciuitatem sanctiandrei, milie libere in nostros usus nunc exposite, et residuum totalis summe supradictae receptum fuit a diversis aliis viris ligitis sicuti in compoto dicti reverendi in cristo patris per ipsum corem auditoribusc scaccarii nostri apud Edinburgh reddito plenius continetur. De qua vero summe duorum millium quatuor librarum duodecim solidorum et unius denarii supradictae tenemus nos bene contentos, pacatos et plenarie persolutos, et dictum Reverendum in cristo patrem, suas heredes, successores, executoras et assignatos pro nobis et successoribus nostris quitos inde clamamus imperpetuum tenore presentium literarum. Datum sub magno sigillo nostro apud Edinburgh, vicesimo quinto die mensis Augusti Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto Et Regni nostri decimo nono.

James R
HEPBURN'S STATUTES FOR ST. LEONARD'S COLLEGE

(These statutes are the original statutes of Prior Hepburn for St. Leonard's College. They were part of the Ms collection of Principal Lee, and differ in some respects from the 1544 version published in Herkless and Hannay, *The College of St. Leonard*, pp. 145-159).

STATUTA NOSTRI FUNDATORIS

Omnia autem inquit apostolus honeste et secundum ordinem fiant in vobis. Hiis apostoli dei verbis christifideles instruuntur ordinatem vivendi normam debere tenere. Cui tametsi omnibus generaliter dixit esse, cognoscimus tamen pre ceteris convenire videntur hiis qui in tenebra ac pubera etate consistunt, quibus idcirco ordo quidam ac regularis vite modus tradendus est, ne etas immaturior et ob id suapte natura ad flagicium prona sese per insolentiam precipitem agat. Cui sententia ysaia propheta ostipulatur dicens, suscentur agni iuxta ordinem suum: per agnos haud dubie iuntores quoque intelligens, quibus ordo ita constitutundus est, ut per ordinatam utriusque vite directionem, assiduo non tam carnali quam spirituali pabulo pascentur. quocirca nos lohannes hepbrne, prior sancti andree iuxta doctram divi petri apostoli, qui et in actibus apostolorum legitur incipiens exponebet illis ordinem, de consilio et assensu fratrum nostrorum brevem quendam vite ordinem pauperibus scolasticis collegii (fo.lv) divi andree apostoli iuxta ecclesiam sancti leonardi situati collegimus: quem hic inferius descriptum inviolabiliter ab omnibus volumus observari.
DE MODO RECIPIENDI (i.e. Chapter I)

Statulmus et ordinamus quod volens in nostro pauperum collegio recipi ferius sexta ad magistrum collegii principalem accedat, petendo genibus flexis ob amorem domini nostri ihesu christi ad illam sanctam admitti societatem: qui una cum supprio et tercio priore ipsum in grammatica diligenter examinans, de vite etiam honestate morumque gravitate, necnon rerum temporalium paupertate studiocissime (sic) inquirat: si ipsum in grammaticalibus tritum invenerit primam scilicet, et secundam partes, vel saltem magnum portionem secunde partis complevisse, nullaque infamia secularis seu criminem irretitum, rebus temporalibus inopem, morum gravitate preditum, cantuque gregoriano sufficienter instructum, cum cyrographo eius et duorum predictorum manibus subscriptis ad dominum priorem eundem benigne transmittatur.
Nullus a domino priore admittatur nisi prius a predictis examinatus fuerit et ad ipsum missus. Nec aliquis ad ipsum ab eis dirigatur, nisi in grammaticalibus et aliis circumstantiis suprascriptis repertus fuerit (f. 2r.) idoneus et sufficiens, prout ipsi examinatores divinam ultionem vitare voluerint. Nullus prece, pretio, seu cuiuscumque persone religioso vel secularis supplicatione aut instantia, nisi alius sufficiens et idoneus existat, recipiatur sub pena maledictionis eternae: immo si plures se extulerunt, illi qui rigore examinis in scientia et aliis requisitis judicatur prestantior, omnibus aliis simpliciter preferatur. Nullus citra xv etatis sue annum et ultra xxim recipiatur.
DE DIVINO OFFICIO (i.e. Chapter 2)

Qualibet septimana assignetur suscitantor, qui a paschate usque ad exaltationem sancte crucis hora intermedia suscitet ad quintam: ab exaltatione autem usque ad pascha hora intermedia ad sextam. Signo itaque compone facto, convenientes ad chorum, primam missam audiendo, officium matutinale beate virginis aliaque devocionalia devotissime legant. Hora nona in diebus festivis pro summa missa pulsetur, quam cantu gregoriano devote tractimque content: hora tertia pro vespensis pulsetur, quas similiter cantu gregoriano, devote, non syncopando, nec vano aut impertinentia colloquendo persoluent. Hora septima pro salve pulsetur, quad una cum commemoratione sancti andree (fo.2v) necnon beati leonardi omnes alsa voce cantabunt. Item omni dominica dicant dirige ex lectionum pro benefactoribus fundatoribus et suis et hoc bini et bini. Insper qualibet mense confiteantur: et in festis nativitatis domini, pasche, pentecostes, ac assumptionis gloriosae virginis, omnes sacratissime eucharistiae sacramentum, confessione sacramentali premisse, devotissime recipiant.

DE MOODO INTERIUS CONVERSANDI

(i.e. Chapter 3)

Volumus lectionem de mane singulis ferialibus diebus hora septima legi, ad quam omnes studentes indifferentere conveniant. Preterea (sic) singulé sedes tempore per eorundem sedium magistros deputato propria habeant lectiones. Item singulis diebus post prandium in grammatica, poesi seu arte oratoria secundum magistrorum dispositionem lectio competens habeatur, preterquam in subito(sic) ut liberius illo die disputationibus vacet. Forro in undecima et quinta horis singulis ferialibus diebus pro regulo pulsetur. Similiter sabbatavis diebus hora secunda pro disputationibus solenniter pulsetur. Post cenam
autem singulis ferialibus diebus reparationes
fiant. Volumus quod antequam ad magisterii
gradum procedant, logicam, physicam, philosophiam,
metaphysicam et ethicorum libros addiscant.
Volumus autem omnes indifferenter
latine(Fo.3r.)loqui. Et ut locutionis vulgaris
eisdem subtrahatur occasio, volumus neminem in illo
loco preter cucum et eius parvulum remanere:
nisi latine loquendo, se alia studentibus
conformare voluerit. Assuescant autem ubilibet
mensuete et honeste loqui. A triplici autem
ictu campane post salve usque ad suspicitionem de
mane, ad evitandum aliorum inquietaetionem, nemo
nisi submissa voce loquatur. Ulterior quilibet
(die?) circa octavan horam, singuli studentium
quattuor uncas panis habeant. Pro prandio autem
pulsetur hora intermedia ad duodecimam, in quo
quilibet octo uncas panis et copinam potus
competentis habeant. In cena vero, pro qua hora
intermedia ad sextam pulsabitur, eadem que in
prandio sit panis et potus mensura. Diebus
itaque carnium in cena vero brodio carnium
particulis immissis cum competentibus earum feculo
vescantur, potagio seu oleribus cum carnium feculo
sempre in prandio reficiantur. In diebus autem
piscium in prandio olere habeant et tam in prandio
quam in cena duobus feculis piscium recreentur.
Leiuniorum vero diebus singuli duodecim panis
uncias habeant; nec non singuli quatuor, tres
punctas potus cum tribus feculis piscium ac
potagio habeant. Leiunio ecclesie ab his qui
vigesimalm primum etatis sue annum attigerint,
inviolebiliiter serventur. Luniore autem usque
deceum octavam attigerint(Fo. 3v.) annum nolumus
leiunio ostingere preterquam in vigiliis
nativitatis domini, pasche, pentecostes,
assumptionis glorie virginis, omnium sanctorum
ac sancti andree apostoli et quadragesime sextis feris. Iili autem qui xviii annum attingunt superaddant in quadragesima feriam quartam. De sero in diebus ieiuniorum pro collatione singuli habeant copinam potus cum xxxii uncis panis inter omnes dividendis. In aliis vigiliiis seu quadragesime diebus habeant unum ferculum piscium cum pane et potu extra ieiunum consuetis. In mensa communitatis lectio sacre scripture seu alterius materiæ moralis seu historialis continue habeatur, exceptis feris sextis in prandio, quibus volumus ista nostra statuta legi. Duo autem studentium alternatis vicibus servient in communitate, qui una cum lectore et coquo in 2a mensa comedant. Insuper volumus singulis sabbatiuis diebus totum locum per quatuor studentes sibi invicem succedentes scopari seu mundari; necnon fenestras seu vitrailia celaturas alteria ac parietes ab aranearum telis et aliis secibus per annum studentium sullicitum laborem bis in anno, scilicet ante nativitatem domini et pascha purgari. Item assignetur unus sacerdotum vir devotus et maturus, sacrista principalis, qui ecclesie ac parochianorum curam gerat; sub quo singulis septimanis singuli studentium subserviant; et ad missam epistolam cantent. Item octava hora de sero tam in hyeme quam estate a magistro principali seu ab aliquo per ipsum deputato camere diligenter visitentur.

DE MODO EXTERIUS EXEUNDI (Chapter 4)

Ordinamus quod ianitor assignetur unusquisque studentium ebdonatim, qui portam hora quinta in estate aperiat et in septima claudat: in yeme vero aperiatur hora sexta, eademque hora de sero claudatur. Claves autem clausa portæ de sero magistro principali tradat, repetendo eisdem propter apertionem de mane. Nullum autem extraneum

DE CORRECTIONE DELINQUENTIUM (Chapter 5)

Statuimus quod singulis sextis feriis pro corrigendis excessibus capitulum tenatur, in quo omnium defectus et negligentie debite puniantur. Item volumus notabiliter ociosos acriter puniri. Si quis sic punitus se non correxerit, in presentia
totius communitatis sub pena expulsionis semel et
secundo moneatur: si autem bina vice taliter
admonitus se non correxerit, de loco
irrequeouocabiliter expellatur. Si quis a divino
officio se subtraxerit, debite puniatur: si autem
aliquis consuetudinarie abfuerit et bina vice
admonitus et sub pena expulsionis se emendare
noluerit, de congregatione irrevocabiliter
expellatur. Insuper exiens portam sine licentia,
vel a socio aut sociis extra locum se sequestrans,
si post secundam sibi factam in speciali
monitionem se non correxerit, a loco perpetue
removeatur. Preterea calumniator, pacis
perturbator, aut sociorum percussor, si post
secundam factam in speciali monitionem sub pena
expulsionis se non correxerit, de loco symplcitier
removeatur. Pro eiusmodi autem culpis semel
commissis secundum magistrorum discretionem debite
puniatur. Porro si quis rem notabilem furtive
subtraxerit, seu minus notabilem frequenter
abstulerit et de hoc convictus fuerit, de loco
expellatur. Postremo de loco symplcitier
expellatur.

(fo.4v.)

DE INFIRMIS ET DEFUNCTORUM SUFFRAGIIS (Chapter 6)

Languidi quamdiu in linguore perstiterint ab
oneribus communitatis supportentur, ymmo secundum
magistrorum discretionem in esculentis et
poculantis ac allis solatiis caritative tractentur.
Si autem contingat aliquem infirmitate graviter
laborare in camera extra locum utensilibus et
allis munita necessariis, per quandam matronam
etate ad minus quinquagenarium, pudicitia ornatam,
opinione seu fama illibatam, benign et
charitative custodiatur. Predicta autem matrona
nullam familiam nisi predictis conditionibus
predictam secum aliquatinus habitare permittat.
Vestimenta autem linea totius loci a predicta
matrona nedum laventur et si opus fuerit resercentur. Quando vero aliquis ad mortem appropinquat, nisi infirmitas fuerit contagiosa, omnes alii vocentur eius exitum deo devotis orationibus protecturis: vel salem magna pars illuc vadat secundum magistri discretionem, tempore et alii circumstantiis per eum debite pensatis: eodem etiam tempore infirmus sacra unctione muniatur. Si autem contingat aliquem ex hac luce discedere, cantetur pro eo missa de requie: private autem a quolibet sacerdote una missa, et a singulis sociis derige novem lectionum. In obitu domini iohannis hepbwrne (fo.5r.) prioris moderni, derige ix lectionum et missa de Requie solenniter cantentur. Singuli autem sacerdotes in privato dicant octo missas, singuli vero clericorum quater derige ix lectionum. In anniversario domini prioris imperpetuum una missa de mortuis et derige ix lectionum ab omnibus solenniter decententur: a singulis autem sacerdotibus una missa dicatur et a singulis clericis derige ix lectionum: ut ipsorum precibus et suffragiis adiutus, celorum regnum optinere valeat, quo ipsum perductum qui precioso sanguine suo nos redemit, Iesus christus dominus noster, qui est super omnia deus benedictus in seculo.

Flyleaf at beginning:

Confirmacio statutorum domini Johannis annand

Omnia hec statuta de nouo edita in singulis suis punctis Nos Jacobus commendatarius prioratus sanctiandree et alexander myll ratificamus et confirmamus, et a cunctis dicti collegli membri iniolabiliter et respectiue (donec nos aliter duxerimus disponendum) observari volumus.
Added at foot of 4 verso: Item obloquentes aut nimicantes clam vel palam alicui regentium penitus e collegio ejiciuntur.

Added at end: Hec fundatoris statuta sufficient. Ideo stultum vocat scripture, non illum cuius stultitiam iudicare vulgus potest, sed eum qui valde sapere videtur, et suis consiliis mirifice favet, betteres leges abrogat, substituit noves, et novas subinde mutat. (In 16th century hand).
(This supplication, hitherto unknown, I first noted in a Public Record Office transcript in PRO/31/10/17. At the date of the transcript it was in Vatican Archives, Reg. Supp.1864; these have been renumbered and it is now in Reg.Supp. 1870, for which information and for arranging for a photostat copy I am indebted to Dr.Leslie Macfarlane, who was so kind as to investigate the present location on my behalf).

Date of concession: 4th October, 1525.

Beatissime pater. Cum deoata creatura euestra
Jacobus archiepiscopus Sancti Andree, totius regni Scotie primas et apostolice sedis legatus, pro
deore sue Civitatidis Sancti Andree et augentlo
universitatis studii generalis dicte Civitatis,
necon commoditate singularum presertim pauperum
civitatis predicte et illius diocesis (Ms. dotis)
clericorum et presbiterorum bonarum artium et
litterarum exercicio vacare volentium cupiat,
ad omnipotentis dei gloriam et beate marie
virginis ac omnium sanctorum veneracione, unum
collegium clericorum et presbiterorum cum Capella
seu ecclesiae sub invocatione assumptionis beate
marie virginis, in quo aliiquod doctores magistri
et experti in sacrum Theologiam, necnon lura tam
canonica quam ciuilla et phisicam, medicinam et
alias liberales disciplinas publice legant
interpretent (sic) et doceant et alli scolares
qui disciplinarum huiusmodi studio vacent,
tam clericl quam presbiteri, qui etiam in dicta ecclesla missas et alia divina officia secundum providam institutionem super hoc per ipsum Archlepscopum seu ab eo deputandum vel deputandum vel deputandos faciendum teneantur celebrare, resideant et confoueantur et inibi portiones, bursas nuncupandas, pro alimentis eorum habeant de bonis sibi a deo collatis erigere et instituere, si ad hoc sanctitatis vestra et sedis apostolice sibi licentia suffragetur. Suppliucat humiIiter sanctitatem vestram dictus Jacobus Archlepscopus, quatenus eius pio desiderio in hac parte fevorabiliter annuentum, sibi infra septe dicte universitas in aliquo tamen decenti et idoneo ad id per ipsum Archlepscopum seu ab eo eligendum loco, unum collegium clercorum et presbiterorum cum capella seu ecclesla sub invocatlones predicta, sacrario et alius locis etiam oportunls, pro alliquibus doctoribus seu magistris vel licentiatls qui ibidem grammaticam, logicam, theologiam, iura, physicam, aliasque disciplinas huiusmodi publice legant, interpretentur et doceant; necnon scolaribus seu studentibus, qui inibi usque ad certum tempus super statutum et non ultra resideant, et studio disciplinarum huiusmodi insistant, et eorum singuli clerici aut presbiteri sint, ac in dicta ecclesla missas et alia divina officia debeant celebrare luxta providam institutionem per dictum Archlepscopum aut ab eo deputandum huiusmodi desuper faciendum; necnon mensam collegialarem et certum numerum portionum, bursarum nuncupandarum, quarum collatio seu concessio et omnimoda dispositio ad ipsum Jacobum et per ipsum nominandunm seu nominandos pertineat, pro alimentis et sustentatione doctorum magistrorum licentiatorum et scolarum huiusmodi, erigendi et instituendi; necnon regentibus et alius superioribus dicti collegii pro tempore
existentibus illos quos in dicto collegio per tempus debitum studuisse ac scientia et moribus idoneos esse repererint in theologiae ac utroque iurium huiusmodi et alia quacumque lícita faculitate ad baccalariátus, licentiatum, doctoratum et magisterii gradus, servata alias forma Concilii Viennensis, iuxta dictae universitatis consuetudinem promouendi et ipsorum graduum solita insignia eis exhibendi; quodque ipsi sic promoti, in iuribus et facultatibus predictis, legere, disputare eaque interpretāti et quoscumque alios gradus seu gradibus suis conuenientes actus exercere ac allis omnibus et singulis privilegiis, gratiis, favoribus, prerogatiuis et indultis quibus alii in prefata universitate iuxta illius constitutiones et mores ad gradus predictos promoti de iure vel consuetudine in genere utuntur, potiuntur et gaudent, ac uti, potiri et gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum uti, potiri et gaudere possint et debeant in omnibus et per omnia, ac si gradus predictos in ipsa universitate iuxta easdem consuetudines et mores suscepsissent, indulgendi ac auctoritate concedendi; et pro felici incremento ac salubri direc·tione ac conservatione dicti collegii, illiusque bonorum et rerum ac iurium, tam temporalium quam spiritualium, quacumque statuta et ordinationes rationabilia et sacris canonibus non contraria faciendi et edendi et revocandi, mutandi, corrigendi et super illorum observatione quascumque penas imponendi, eo ipso, apostolica auctoritate et infra eorum dispositionem iudicari etc. debere etc. sublata etc. irritum quoque etc. decernendi, omniaque et singula alia in premissis et circa ea necessaria faciendi et exequendi, plenam et liberam facultatem et auctoritatem concedere, ac universis et singulis clericis, presbiteris, religiosis et
personis etiam quecumque decanatus, Archidiaconatus, Cantories, personatus et alia beneficia ecclesiastica tam secularia quam cuibus suis ordinis regularis pro tempore obtinentibus, in dicto collegio studerevolentibus, necnon tam eis quam quibus suis allis seculariibus et laicis in dicto collegio litterarum studio pro tempore insistentibus, ut omnibus et singulis privilegiis, indulgentiis, libertatibus, immunitatibus quibusuis, studiorum generalium universitatibus illarumque personis concessis et quibus de iure vel consuetudine ac alias quomodolibet utuntur, potiuntur et gaudent, ac uti, potiri et gaudere libere et licite valeant, indulgere dignemini de gratia speciali, non obstantibus felicis recordationis honorii pape tertii supradictis et aliiis apostolicis, necnon in provincialibus et synodalibus conciliiis editis, generalibus et specialibus, constitutionibus et ordinationibus, necnon iuramento corroboratis statulis, et consuetudinibus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque cum clausulis oportunis. Fiat ut petitur J.

Et cum absolutione a censuris ad effectum etc. Et de concessione et indultis de et pro omnibus et singulis ac modo et forma premissis, que hic pro singulariter repetitis habeantur in forma gratiosa. Et cum deputatione executorum sub censuris ecclesiasticis et pecuniaris penis eorum arbitrio imponendis, invocato si opus fuerit auxilio brachii secularis. Et quod maior et acrior spes omnium et singularum premissorum et circa ea necessariorum fieri possit. Et de erectione sine prejudicio fiat J.

Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum Quarto Nonis Octobris Anno Secundo.

V. Signinus.
STATUTES OF ST. SALVATOR'S: HUGH SPENS (1533).

(d)


Segueutur statuta aliqua facta pro manutencia boni regiminus divini officii et bonorum morum in collegio sancti saluatoris penes capellanos et choristas eiusdem.

Septimo Junii Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo tercio in presencia venerabilis et egregii viri magistri allexandri suderland decani katedralis pro tunc rectoris universitatis sancti andree subsequentia condita erat statuta per venerabilem egregiumque virum magistrum nostrum hugonem spens prefectum collegii sancti saluatoris in sacris litteris et pontificio iure doctorem, in loco capilarii eiusdem publicata, accedente suorum canonicerum consensu, videlicet magistri nostri petri chavelan rectoris de kembok et magistri martini balfour rectoris de denenow aliorumque interesse habentium.

1. In primis quod omnes canonici magistri capellani et iuvenes in dicto collegio fundati seu in posterum fundandi, cum in habitu continget eis intrere aut exire dicti collegii chorom, inclinationes faciant debitas, primo principali altari, demum prefecto in suo stallo cum habitu.

2. Item quod divina laudes per singulas horas non cursim et festinanter, sed tractim, decenter et reuerenter ab omnibus persoluatrum, serventque gruitatem, ceterasque ceremonias debitas et consuetas, uti locus et officium exigat, non insimul aut cum alis consabulantes vel colloquantes, neque quicquid quod divinum officium impedire potest exercentes, sub pena per prefectum texende.

3. Item cum nemini liceat falcem suam mittere in alienam messam, usurpando sibi competere quod iuri non conuenit, statuimus ut nulli capellani aut queuis alia supposita dicti collegii quouis modo presument aliqua attemptare aut in aliquo se intrmittere, ultra id quod de iure aut consuetudine eills aut eorum predecessorebus competebat.
Quod si aliquis in oppositum huius decerneret, eundem
decernimus amovendum a sua capellania, aliis
quibuscumque ab eo possessis in dicto collegio, sine
mora aut aliquo strepitu iudici. 

4. Item cum sacri canones suos fundatores a debitis
suffragiis fraudentes animorum necatores recte decernant,
eum debitum aliis quibus non astringuntur percipiendoe
aut communicando, statulimus propter legem et dicti collegii
subditi ac membra nulli alteri a suo fundatore applicant
ratione cujuscumque mercedes (aut omitted) conventionis,
nisi prius petita et obtenta facultate a prefecto dicti
collegii, et si quid in oppositum huius per aliquem aut
aliquis factum fuerit, nostra auctoritate ordinaria per
presentes decernimus irritum et inane.

5. Cum non debit in eadem congregacione inconsulto elus
capite diversa esse convulsionis suis privatis capitis
insinitiae, ideo statulimus, strictaque percipiendos mandamus,
ne aliqui in dito collegio privatis utantur convulsiculis,
presentim in praeludicium iurisdictionis prefecti aut in
dispensandum bone policie et recti regimen dicti collegii,
nec in suis contractibus communisatem concernentibus alio
utantur sigillo quam communi eiusdem collegii vel privat
prefect; et si secus fecerint pro non facto, tamquam
irritum et inane decernimus et habere volumus.

In dicto collegio promotii.

6. Item cum non omnes sic reperiantur idonei, potentes
facere quod debent, obnoxii se (?) tamen facere quod
possunt, statulimus propter legem et capellani in dicto
collegio minus experti in his que tenentur ex tenore
fundacionis peragere, aliorum magis expertorum ministerter
et curas in ebdomadariis et dyaconis pro evangeliis decantandis
supleant et supportent. Itaque si aliqua talis per alios
fuerit requisitus nolens eorum suplere vices, mulcteturut
absens pro tali hora.

7. Item cum oleum peccatorum capite presertim
delinquencium non debet impinguare sed potius ad usus
pios debet applicari, propter legem statulimus omnes peccantium
in dicto collegio penas per sacratam eiusdem recipi, et
ipsas receptas secundum discrecionem prefecti ad pios
usus in eodem collegio applicari.
VISITATION OF ST. SALVATOR'S: 1534

St. Andrews University, Archives

Acta Rectorum, i, 95-9.

(These excerpts are from the visitation of the college of St. Salvator, undertaken by the Rector, Alexander Sutherland, dean of Caithness, and his special assessors, John Mair, Gavin Logie, Robert Car and David Guild, on the 15th January, 1534).

p.95

Cum memoria hominum habilitis sit et varia, semper pronae ad malum, proptererea in hac presenti visitacione nullum scriptum seu copiam visitacionis ultime facte habere potuius, unde informaremus si exessas, defectus et ordinaciones precedentium annorum reformarentur et obseruentur, culus negligentia ignoratur, igitur visum est domino rectori supradicto et suis assessoribus expedire, ut de cetero pro opportuno pruideret remedio, proptererea dominus rector statuit et ordinavit ut scriptum in futurum omni anno in duplici forma redigatur sic quod unum preposito deliberetur et aliud apud rectorem et suum successorem permaneat unde sequens visitator melius et facilis deprehendere possit, si anni precedentis defectus et ordinationes ad debitum deducantur effectum, et quod prepositus eiusmodi visitacionis scriptum sibi per visitatorem collectum secundo visitatori cum conquiretur eum et prefatum collegium visitare reellere et cum effecctu presentet et tribuat.

Interea intelligens dominus rector et sui assessorum maiorem aulam dicti collegii multum defectuosam, et iam quasi collumbare (sic) demembratam, in maximum loci et maioris scola detrimentum, sic quod stillicidia infra aulam in tanta quantitate decurrentia penetrant solium eiusdem et in scolam pervenerunt et descendunt, igitur statuit et ordinavit prefatus dominus rector quod prepositus collegii, quam cito et commode potest dictos defectus et alios maxime necessarios, reformare faciat, collumbare, stercora et alia vilia et immunda
exinde deportentur et exter gentur, ad quod faciendum exhortatur humiliter et monet, et similiter purgetur claustrum ex parte orientali de ossibus carnium et piscium et aliorum villium eiusdem, et faciat serare hostium (sic) et emendare,

(In red) Non dispenset dominus rector cum sequentibus, ob amorem beatissima virginis marie et materis Ihesu christi frangendo fundacionem eiusdem.

Demum dictus dominus rector cum consensu assessorum mandat et monet (sic hole in Ms) prepositum dicti collegii ut de cetero in dicto collegio habeatur scola cantus pro informacione et instruccione iuvenum choristarum fundatorum, et quod omne die sit una missa cum nota de beata virgine ad altare eiusdem et quod dictus prepositus faciat monere capellanos et alios interesse habentes ad id faciendum ex tenore fundationis sub pena suspensionis a diuinis in presbiteros et eexcumunicationis in laicos, in tres dies post publicationem eiusdem, et quod de cetero nullus admittatur capellanus, chorista vel iuvenis in dicto choro nisi sit doctus musicus et honestus in moribus et habitu secundum tenorem fundationis et erectionis, et quod tempore diuinorum honestorum se habeant capellani, non insimul confabulantes, aut iuribus vel oraculis utentes, aut ... (illegible) et risus in graue scandalum populi, et iurgia inter se habentes, sed psallentes et hymnos alacriter domino modulantes, servando gravitatem quam locum et officium exigunt.

Et providet dominus prefectus pro duobus iuvenibus et cantoribus...sicut videbatur sibi et canoniciis expediens, et quod aperiatur hostium (sic) australe ecclesie et seratur ostium boreale eiusdem ne ingreditur mulieres et alie suspecte persone, et quilibet trium magistrorum principalium et quatuor regentium habeat clauem per se eiusdem hostii borealis.

(In red) Habeat dominus rector pro tempore oculum ad ista sequentia reformanda.

(p.96)
Insuper comperimus quod ornamenta ecclesie a
choristis indecenter utuntur, et male sacrista luvari facit albas, amictus, lintheamina omnium altarium infra dictum collegium et corporalia in quibus Immolatus corpus domini nostri Ihesu christi, quod horrendum est christianis videre. Item lintheamina summi altaris sunt rupta, insufficientia et ex vetustate quasi consumpta, exceptis tribus lintheaminibus uno de ly dornek et duobus de ly lyning clayth. Item albe de ly rede stand off veluot sunt rupte cum singulis. Item albe de ly brownin veluot cum amictis (sic) et singulis. Similiter sunt reformandae et lauandae, et similiter ex vetustate consumpta Item albe de ly quhyte clayth off gold et amictis (sic) sunt reformandae (sic). Item unum ly stand de ly quhyte demass caret una alba cum singulis. Item tres albe de ly veluot blauii coloris cum amictis (sic) et singulis sunt omnino rupte et lacerate et quasi ex vetustate consumpta. Item unum ly stand de ly blak veluot datum pro obsequulis fundatoris est quasi consumptum et indiget reformacione in albis et singulis amictis et allis necessarlis. Item albe de ly brown dowbill voirsat blak and blew cum amictis et singulis sunt reformandae cum duodecim albis et amictis quotidians usubis (sic) assignatis et deputatis.

Item desinit (sic) coopertorea imaginum summi altaris, immo ex vetustate consumpta, et omnia coopertorea allorum altarium consernentia (sic) ad quadragesimam, ut petet intuentibus, propterea mandat dominus rector quod omni anno in futurum emantur solum albe bone et sufficientis panni lini ulque ad reformacionem alborum predictorum (sic) et ornamentorum predictorum per magistrum fabrice loci sicut voluerit secundo visitatori respondere.

(In red)
Faciat dominus rector iste sequentia implere attento quod sacrista habet vigenti (sic) libras monete Scotia male dispositas.

Preterea mandat dominus rector cum consensu assessorum suorum quod prepositus faciat hortari sacristam videlicet magistrum dawid myllis, monendo eum ut exactam diligentiam habeat circa lotionem et custodiam eornundam, et quod predictus sacrista illuminari faciat omnes candelas in choro in
principalibus duplicibus festis, videlicet natiuitatis dominice, epehanie (sic), pasche, ascensionis domini, pentecostes, corporis christi, assumptionis beate virginis, dedicationis ecclesiae, omnium sanctorum et in festo sancti saluatoris in cuius honore dedicata est ecclesia dicti collegii, in maioribus horis dictorum festorum, videlicet in primis vespers, in matutinis, summa missa et in secundis vespers, non faciendo differentiam inter primas et secundas vesperas; in maioribus non principalibus et duplicibus servatur antiquae consuetudine, hoc est demittendo unam et aliam illuminando. Et etiam in inceptione psalmarum magnificat et benedictus dominus deus israel, in diebus dominicis, festiuis et duplicibus, accenduntur duo ceri (sic) cum ceroferariis assistentibus hebdomadario (Ms. abdomadario) pro tempore in superpellicibus honestis et decet, et quod prefatus sacrista omni anno faciat compitum (sic) de receptis per cum preparatum et ... (hole in Ms) pro huiusmodi luminaribus, vino, pane et cera inueniendis et inuentis, et quod reficientur capita siue alie maioris scolo ac ecclesie per dictum sacristam cum ly herden clothy sic scilicet quod magister fabricce pro tempore emat vel amere faciat in festo sancti monani certas ulnas ad hoc faciendum et reformandum.

(In red)
Faciet similiter ista reformari.

Preterea in eadem visitacione comparimus nonnullos defectus reformandos infra ecclesiam quam extra, videlicet pluit in chore lucta sedem rectoris et in diversis aliis locis ecclesie; pluit etiam in cubilibus trium regentium, videlicet magistri johannis scheyll, magistri johannis foras et magistri thome wesmis, non sunt lecti lignii nec sedelia, fenestrae fractae sunt et tectus predictorum cubicularum minantur ruinam ex vetustate lignorum, et pauca (sunt) luminaria et fenestrae; tergentur parietes capituli bis in anno et similiter purgentur calices argentae et deaurati de putredine in circulis. Item in quoquina (sic) deficient vasa enea et stagnae (sic), Item craticula insufficiens cum ly rap (rope of the bell?).

(p. 97)
Item librarium male reparatur, libri in eodem incaute custodiuntur, sedelia linea ex vetustate
rumpuntur. Idcirco prefatus dominus rector statuit et ordinavit quod prepositus faciat reformare predictos defectus cum omni alteracione atque faciat reformare et purgare predictum librarium et effigere catenas ferreas pro securiori custodia librarium ne aliqui supernominatos libros incathenatos surripere seu auferre valeant et quod conficiatur novum regestrum in librario numerum librarium et ordinem continens. Insuper Idem dominus rector mandat et ordinat quod prepositus et canonici faciant exactam diligentiam pro introductione librorum magistri thome ramsay legatorum dicto collegio, ut sequantur detentores eorum prout de iure decet, eosdem introducunt et alios libros accommodatos extra locum reducant et reportent et in librario affingant, et custodia librarum in futurum uni canonicerum assignet ut ille cum diligentia pro librarum utilitate et conservatione mundae et honeste conservaret.

(Faciant regentes servare ista.

Item in presenti visitacione informantur quod quatuor regentes, pretextu fundacionis et statutorum loci ad quorum observationem tempore receptionis sunt eorumdem iuramento astricti, disputationes theologales et artium omnia septimana observare tenentur et lecturis magistrorum videlicet prepositi et canonicerum cum contigerit eos aut eorum aliquos...(illegible), et studentium in infra camerarum...studio visitare, ac matutinis, vesperis, missis, festis diebus interesse, ipsi tamen inmemores sui iuramenti premissa negligunt, nec ut debent et tenentur perimplere, propter eorum dominus rector providere ut prefati defectus reformarentur, in futurum ordinat et mandat quod prepositus dictos regentes et eorum quemlibet ad observationem fundationis loci compellat, penes et in eisdem contentas contra delinquentes et inobedientes, executionem demandando realiter et cum effectu, precipiendo insuper eosdem propter eorum honorem et studentium profectum et utilitatem ut nimiam familiaritatem et vulgarem comitationem cum studentibus de cetero evitent. Et quod alexander spens et iohannes inglis iaceant et pernoctent in cubilibus in clausura sibi prius assignatis.

Faciat dominus rector servare statuta desuper confecta. (In red).
Item visum nobis est et ratione consonum quod omnes maiores et minores de choro, chorum intrantes et exeuntes, inclinationes faciunt debitias, primo summo altari, postea prefecto existenti in stallo et in habitu suo, pena taxanda et impenenda per prefectum prepositum. Et quod david bonar regulet orologium et pulset campanas temporibus debitis et alia societate quae incumbunt ex officio suo infra ecclesiis, sub pena imponendis per prefectum prepositum et in eius absentia per presidentem pro tempore.

Interea intelligens dominus rector et sui assessores omnes mensas maioris aula putruefactas et multum defectuosas ex dissuetudine et absentia magistrorum et aliorum infra collegium commorantium et edentium, igitur statuit et ordinat dictus dominus Rector quod magistri et ali illud lodi commensales de cetero comedant in dicta maior aula futuris temporibus, videlecet ub octava die mail eungulis annis usque ad nativitatem beate virginis inclusive, et hoc propter honestatem et decoram dicti collegii.

(This document is rather long for full citation. Other points adduced in the Visitation:
The fruits of Kilmany, formes of houses and cubicles in the college bounds and annual-rents which produce a surplus are to be used for the common good.
Kilmany is to be set in feu. The college cubicles are to be leased or rented.
Let there be a master of works to see to repairs.
To receive formes of cubicles held by Robert Davidson, now dead. His foundation for a chaplainry in the said college to be carried out. The executors of Thomas Ramsey have intermitted with his goods.
All chaplains in choir or out of it are to be warned under pains contained in the foundation to remove their concubines within three days, especially Dominus Thomas Cray "ad remouendum suum, videlecet quhyt maide ab omni loco suspacto et similiter dominum johannem still ad remouendum suam, videlecet agnetem scot".
Three Masses are tabled for the soul of James Kennedy daily at the high altar of the college).
Clemens Papa VII (altered to Paulus III)

Dilicti Filii salutem et apostolicam Benedictionem.


Rome, Vatican Archives, Minuta Brevium, 2188.

A. Gratia deel.

In another hand: Rescribatur quia fere nouam Supplicationem.
EXCERPTS FROM QUARTERLY ACCOUNTS OF ST. LEONARD'S COLLEGE CIRCA 1536-7

(Fragments of accounts which have been used as endpapers in binding a book).

Edinburgh University Library, Laing Ms. 406, Div. I.

Possibly the account rendered on the 1st August, 1536. The church account makes it clear that it is the May-August period.

Et idem computans onerat se cum iiii libris pro tabulo Roberti Dynnestone per tempus compoti Et cum iiii libris pro Jacobo Sandelandis per idem tempus Et cum iiii libris pro Willelmo Hepburne Et cum iiii libris pro Johanne Cokburne Et cum iiii libris x solidis pro magistro Willelmo Hepburne infra idem tempus Et cum xxxiii solidis iiii denariis pro domino Alexander Young vicario d' Dow per mensem infra tempus compoti Et cum i solidis pro domino Nicholao Wykzesone vicario ecclesie sancti Cutberti per septem septimanas infra tempus compoti Et cum iiii libris pro Johanne lesly in secunda tabula per tempus compoti Et cum iiii libris pro thoma Dowglass Et cum iiii libris pro Francisco Bodwell Et cum iiii libris pro Jacobo Wyschert Et cum iiii libris pro thoma Ogilwy Et cum lv solidis lv denariis pro Roberto Hammyltone infra tempus compoti Et cum xxx solidis pro aleandro fouler per septem septimanas infra tempus compoti Et cum xxx solidis pro petro Sandelandis per septem septimanas infra tempus compoti.

Summa huius particule xlv libre viiis viliid

Compotum ecclesie

Oneratio
Et idem computans onerat se cum v solidis viiiii denariis in oblationibus dierum dominicalium per tempus compoti et cum iii solidis liii denariis in oblationibus communicantium in die penthecostes
Et cum II solidis VI denariis in oblata libris
nuptiarum per idem tempus

Summa huius particule XI solidi III denarii
f.6v (Of uncertain date. Thomas Bryde was licensed
in 1536).

(Oneratio argenti) .....tabula magistri thome bryde
infra tempus compoti Et cum III libris pro tabula
francisci bodwell Et cum III libris pro gevino
dunbar Et cum III libris pro thome (sic) ogylwy in
secunda tabula per tempus compoti Et cum III libris
pro Johanne barcle Et cum III libris pro willelmo
lawder Et cum III libris pro thome (sic) dowglass Et
cum III libris pro Johanne ogylwy Et cum III libris
pro thome (sic) hammyllone Et cum XI solidis pro
roberto cwnyngame per duos menses infra tempus
compoti

Summa huius particule xxxix libri

Oneratio ecclesie

Et idem computans onerat se cum XVI solidis
vIII denariis in oblazione libris infra tempus compoti ut petet

Summa totalis operationis je LVII libri vIII denarii

Expense eiusdem

In primis eidem computant llo allocatur pro
superexpositis in suo ultimo compote ut petet in
pede eiusdem Summa XXXII libri XV s i d Et eidem
allocatur pro cornibus bouinis ouinis caponibus
pullis piscibus recentibus ouis butiro caso
croquo (sic) pipe sale pro magistris domino thome
(sic) cwnyngame gevino logye thome (sic) fyff Willelmo
kyninmonth dawid guld bernardo zulle georgio logye
andrea bust pro nouem studentibus de fundatione
thome zounge ortholano crumme lathom Johanne
vatsone coque turnor lixa sic numerus viuentium
de fundatione extanditur ad vigente (sic) unam
personas Sic totus numerus cum supradictis
duodecem personis in operatione nominatis ut
ibidem patet extenditur ad triginta tres
personas per tempus compoti ut patet in libro
dieterum collegii particulariter examinato
super compoto xlvii libre xxii denarii Et eadem
pro vigente(sic) duobus salmonibus cum dimidio
emptis ad larderium varii precii lvi solidi iv
denarii Et pro nouem celdris et duobus bigis
carbonum precium celdre vigente(sic) quatuor
solidi Summa xi libre viii s Et pro ducitura
eorundem bigaris ciuitatis xix solidi et
mulieribus ingerentibus dictos carbones xvi
denarii

Summa huius particule illix xili
libre xix denarii

(Expense pro feudis) magistrorum et
seruitorum loci (Deest)
f.2v (Account from 4th February - beginning
of May 1537).

(Compotum de termino crucis in anno xxxvii
(The feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross
is on May 3rd)

(Compotum domini) thome cwnyngame canonici
regularis monasterii (sanctiandree et) magistri
principalis collegii peuperum diui leonardi
(redditum) Reuerendæ in christo patri ac domino
domino patricio permissione (diuina priori)
eiusdem monasterii de omnibus receptis et
expensis..... in anno domini millesimo
quingentesimo trigesimo septimo......mail
inclusiue a quarto februarii exclusive in
anno (trigesimo sexto?) (Et s)ic computat
pro uno quartario anni tantum

Oneratio eiusdem

(Et idem comput)ans onerat se cum iiiii libris
pro tabula Johannis coburn.....per tempus compoti
Et cum xlviii solidis pro tabula magistri.....
per septem eobdomades infra tempus compoti Et cum
xlviii solidis....(magist)ri Willelmi hepburne
per septem ebdomades infra tempus.....pro tabula magistri thome bryde infra tempus compoti.....(pro) tabula domini roberti dynnesteone Et cum iii libris......(fruncisci bodwell in secunda tabula per tempus compoti Et.....(pro) tabula alexandri foullar per sex ebdomades infra (tempus compoti)...iii libris pro tabula Johannis barcla Et cum iii libris... ....(wille)Iimi lawder Et cum iii libris pro tabula gevini (dunbar)...cum xi solidis pro tabula thome dowglass per duos....compoti Et cum iii libris pro thome ogylwy....magistro roberto hammyltoune per mensem infra tempus compoti....pro tabula magistri Jacobi Wyschat per septem (septimanas)....compoti Et xiiii solidis pro Johanne ogylwy per.....tempus compoti

Summa huius particule xxxvii libre
vili solidi

Compotum ecclesie

(Compotans) onerat se cum v solidis in oblationibus candelarum in die.....Et cum iii solidis in oblationibus dierum dominicalium ......vili denariis in die parascheves et cum xi solidis pro oblationibus.....Et cum lvi solidis in fensaneis(sic)pascellibus

Summa huius particule iii libre xvi
solidi xi denerii

f.2v

(Perhaps from the same account as the preceding)

Exp(ense circa) fabricam loci

Et eidem computanti allocantur pro lap (idibus emp)tis ab alexandro creill infra tempus compoti viii libre Et eidem pro operariis.....lapides a platea in hortum collegii vii solidi iv denarii Et eidem pro (reparatione?) magne cratis roberto gylcryst xxvii solidi vii denarii Et el dem pro t) ectura(or vectura) rote super fontem Johanni
bwgis et factura setule dicte fontis iiiii solidi
Et eidem roberto gylcryst pro correctione
farramentorum (sic) dicte setule ii solidi...
dressen knyff culine iiii solidi iiiii denarii Et
pro xxxix ulnis panni linei....et tobella(?)
aule Summa xxxiii s iiiii d Et eidem com(pu)tanti
pro paruis materialibus emptis ad diversa opera
loci videlicet lie gyrtstyng) ..deyss ad
ligandum cepes(i.e. sepes) in horto in rastris
horto pro stipendio nunciorum in neg(otiis loc)i
et allis rebus particularibus (?) spectantibus ad
locum ut paetet in libris fabrice loc(i).... Summa
xx solidi ix denarii
Summa huius particule xii libre xviii solidi
Ex(pense circ)a ecclesiam

Et eidem computanti allocatur pro .... in
missis intra tempus compoti viliii solidi iiiii
denarii Et pro lotione vestimentorum ecclesiae....
Et pro quaterna papiri pro tabulis studentium
scribendis viliii denarii Et p(ro..ul)niss ly
hairclet pro altaribus ecclesie iiiii solidi
Summa huius xiii s v d
EXCERPTS FROM ST. MARY'S WRITS

(While many of the originals still exist, and are deposited in various boxes, it has been found more convenient here to refer to the Transcripts, which are reliable in all but small details).

St. Andrews Univ., Archives.

M.B.I.P.4

Instrument of institution of the parish church of Tynningham. 25th Feb., 1539.

Dominus Walter Mar and M. Walter Fethy, procurators of the principal, masters, regents, students, chaplains and students of the college under the invocation of the Assumption of the B.V.M. in the city of St. Andrews in the place formerly called the pedagogy and founded by James, archbishop, lately dead, and erected or to be erected by David, modern archbishop, presenting certain apostolic letters, dated at Tusculum, on the ides of February, 1537 (i.e. 1538), and subscribed by D. Gabriel Vignodus at Rome in March, 1538, and precept of institution of the parish church of Tynningham by David, archbishop, dated the 23rd February, 1539, at Edinburgh, by reason of the union, etc., of the above church to the aforesaid college, and apostolic letters conceded thereupon, which letters of procuratory they also presented to D. Thomas Stewart, chaplain, who received them with due reverence and published them. The latter are issued by David, archbishop and primate, legatus natus, administrator of the cathedral church of Mirepoix, commendator of Arbroath, to the deans of Christianity of Haddington, Angus, the Mearns, etc. relating the incorporation of the churches of Tynningham, Inchbriock and Tannadice to the college by James, archbishop, and ordering that the college procurators as above be invested with corporeal possession (of date 23rd Feb.). Notary at Tynningham is John Brown, M.A., priest St. Andrews diocese.
M.Bl.Pl.8

Instrument of institution upon a bull of Paul III, dated 12th Feb., 1538, in favour of John Hay of the life-rent of Tyningham, by Cardinal Beaton in March 1539.

M.Bl.Pl.5

Instrument of Institution of Mar and Fethy as procurators in the parish church of Tannadice, on the 23rd March, 1539, on letters of the cardinal. Notary is John Brown.

M.Bl.Fl.lO

Compulsory letters withdrawing the right of John Hay to the life-rent of Tyningham, by Marcellus de Crescentiis, auditor of causes of the apostolic palace. 27th Dec., 1542.

Endorsed: "Presentatum et acceptatum per Magistros nostros Johannem Wynram suppriorem et Johannem Mair die XXIII aprilis anno 1539 per magistrum hugonem Wischart procuratorem universalem Reuerendissimi domini cardinalis sancti andree archiepiscopi."

M.Bl.Bl.11

Copy of supplication for union of Inchbriock.

Union of Inchbriock not completed in James Beaton's lifetime, only Tannadice and Tyningham. It is a perpetual vicarage, value not more than £60 sterling. "Fiet ut petitur. 5 Kal. Aug. Anno Quinto."

M.Bl.Fl.17

Letters of procuratory to Mar and Fethy to take possession of the churches of Tyningham and Tannadice, united to St. Mary's by Paul III, and of Inchbriock, united by authority of the archbishop; granted by James Beaton on the 10th Feb., 1539.

The members are "nuper...ericti et instituti in capella siue sacello diui Johannis evangeliste intra vetustum locum pedagogium communiter nuncupatum, ubi et in terris siue tenementis illi adiacentibus idem collegium nostro domine est ulterior extruendum, reparandum et excolendum ad effectum infrascriptum". Their names are "Magister David guthin sacrarum literarum bachalarius principalis et magister robertus banerman subprincipalis, Magister Willelmus mandertoun, rector de gogar, in medicinis doctor,
Magistri Andreas Kynimmonth Johannes Forest Walterus Sethy et Williamus Young artium regentes et in theologiam studentes, domini Johannes Young, Alexander Moncur, Andreas Symmer, Georgius Roger, Johannes Smyth, et Jacobus Witte, capellani choristae, et Georgius Moncreiff, Thomas Scheues, Andreas Bousy, et Andreas Wilsoun, cantores, per dictum... Jacobum archiepiscopum... nominati... capitulariter congregati.

"Acta erant hic in capella sancti Johannis evangelistae intra dictum pedagogium..."

Presentibus ibidem egregio viro magistro Alexandro Galloway, canonico aberdonensi, discretis viris magistris Johanne Burnett et Alexandro Makistoun notariis, ac dominis Johanne Winchester et archibaldo blytht...

Notarial certification by Andrew Oliphant and George Cok, "Artium professor."

M. 815. No. 1 (in Box 8)

On the 7th February, 1538/9, Archbishop Beaton appears before a notary, "summovere cupiens ut asservit illud collegium de assumptione beate Marie intra civitatem suam Sanctiandre per eundem dominum Archiepiscopum alias tam apostolica quam etiam ordinaria auctoritatibus respectuque erectum fundatum et dotatum in augmentationem divini cultus et pro incremento scientiarum liberalium in ibi habendo, congrue sublimari et in statu debito atque perfecto luxta tenorem et continentiam carte fundationis desuper habita et confecta iam perfici, consummari et summa cum diligentia componi; Idcirco ha referas subscriptiones personae in eodem collegio seu collegii loco predicto instituere, nominare, eligere, assumere, assignare, deputare; et ex animo declaravit ad effectum ut asservit inchoandis, manutenendi perpetuitatem et permanentiam eiusdem loci et personarum in ibi perpetuis temporibus subsistentium; Necnon ad intrandum, nanscendendum et obtinendum nomine ecclesie ac pro se et suis successoribus predicti collegii communiter possessionem seu quosque et institutionem, cum illius
patrimonio rite eidem constituto, annexo et applicato ex fructibus quarumdem ecclesiarum et terrarum in carta fundationis predicti collegii latius specifieratum. Et idem Reuerendissimus pater...nominevit, elegit, assumpsit, instituit, assignauit, deputauit et solemniter investire curauit imprimit Magistrum Robertum bannerman pro theoloce et primario dicto collegio de assumptione beate marie Et pro subprincipal Magistrum David guynd, pro canonista Magistrum thomam kyncragy, pro ciuillista Magistrum Johnnem gledstanis, Item pro regentibus artium et studentibus in theologia magistros Andream kyninmond, Johannem forhous, Wilhelmum zoung et Walterum fethy, Item pro cantoribus et choristis Dominos Alexandrums moncur, Andream symmer, Johannem zoung jniorem, Georgium roger, Jacobum witty, presbiteros, Quibusquidem persona predictis auctoritatem, potestatemque et liberam et plenam facultatem commisit ac contulit, nec non mandatum speciale per expressum eisdem tradit ut ipsi preuia missa de spiritu sancto solemniter celebret et decantata capitulum inibi representarentur ac super republica et evidentite utilitatem huiusmodi collegii interim tractarentur nee non procuratores generaes et factores ..communiter elegentur et ordinentur.. Acta erant in palatio dicti archiepiscopi apud ciuitatem suam Sanctiandree horam circiter undecimam ante meridiem sub anno mense die indictione et pontificatu quibus supra Presentibus ibidem circumspectis et discretis viris magistris Johanne spens officiali Sanctiandree principali, henrico lumisden canerario Sanctiandree, Andrea oliphant, Gilberto makmath, presbiteris, notariis publicis, Alano lowmonth, Wilhalmo skyrling et diversis aliis...

Notary was George Cok, M.A.
M.Bl5.no.2

Mandate of Archbishop Beaton to take possession of annexed churches. At castle of St. Andrews. Witnesses are Alexander Galloway, rector of Kinkell, and Andrew Oliphant, vicar of Innertig. George Cok, notary. 9th Feb., 1538/9.

M.Bl5.no.3

Instrument of regisnation of the office of principal by Robert Bannerman. 13th July, 1546. "...personaliter constitutus venerabilis et perdoctus vir Magister Robertus bannerman primarius Collegii de assumptione beate Marie...coram celeberrimo viro religioso Johanne Wynram, sacre theologie professore, metropolitane ecclesie Sanctiandree..suppriore et eiusdem sede vacante vicario generali unacum venerabili in christo patre et domino Jacobo permissione diuina commendatario perpetuus prioratus huiusmodi ecclesie...et motu proprio ac certa sua scientia propalauit, exposuit et declarauit quod nunc superueniente senio et corporis sui debilitate, quibus se minus ydoneum sentit ad predicti collegii primatum et regimen amplius gerendum, Necnon certis aliis causis rationabilibus ut asseruit animum suum mouentibus, huiusmodi primatum..libere pure et simpliciter dimittere ex animo sine aliqua retentione decreuit..per birreti sui traditionem ut moris est in manibus predicti venerabilis patris vicarii generalis..dimisit, necnon omni iuri et iuris titulo..renunciauit, ac pro perpetuo exinde cessit, sic, quod de alio ..famoso iuniori et magis ydoneo primario... mediante legitima presentatione desuper...est obtenta suo obtinenda..Cuisque .. renunciationem..prefatus dominus suprior vicarius generalis manueliter acceptauit et huiusmodi primatum ..vacantem esse denunciauit. De et super quibus..magister Robertus bannerman a me notario publico sibi fieri petit instrumentum...In monasterio sancti andree horam circiter secundam post
Collation of the principalship to Archibald Hay, Clerk of St. Andrews diocese, at the queen's presentation. Instrument addressed by prior and Winram to the president of the chapter of St. Mary's, the Rector, dean of faculty and rest of Doctors, regents, students, clerics and other ecclesiastical persons in the city and diocese. Collation by imposition of Winram's ring on his finger. 13th Jul., 1546. Witnesses as above, Dick now described as "de collegio nostri servatoris capellano."

Collation by imposition of Winram's ring on his finger. 13th Jul., 1546.

Witnesses as above.

Collation of the principality to Archibald Hay, Clerk of St. Andrews diocese, at the queen's presentation. Instrument addressed by prior and Winram to the president of the chapter of St. Mary's, the Rector, dean of faculty and rest of Doctors, regents, students, clerics and other ecclesiastical persons in the city and diocese. Collation by imposition of Winram's ring on his finger. 13th Jul., 1546. Witnesses as above, Dick now described as "de collegio nostri servatoris capellano."

Notary, George Cok.

Institution of Archibald Hay as principal, 17th Jul., 1546. Hay "comparuit coram magno altari in choro ecclesie collegiate predicti collegii inibi preperato et prout decret domini vestimentis ac rebus altaribus (?) decorato, ubi primum fusi plis precibus deo omnipotenti et beate Marie" the letters of the prior and subprior were read and Hay presented them to M. Walter Fethy, president of the chapter, who instituted and inducted him. "Deinde ipsum dominum primarum in eminentiori loco, stallo videlicet dicti chori, locoque capituli eiusdem, manualiter induxit ac sedere fecit. Tandem ad scolam et aulam huliusmodi collegii eundem dominum primarium predictum perdixit ac inibi ipsum debite collocauit...nemine opponente aut contradicente... Prefatus dominus primarius in suggestorio seu supremo loco domus predicte constitutus et collatus, ornatissimam scolasticam orationem literis bonis et virtutibus persuasivam publice consedentibus quam plurimis ibidem
dictum actum decorantibus fecit et propalauit.
De et super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis prefatus Magister Archibaldus hay dominus primarius huiusmodi collegii antedicti a me notario publico petiti instrumentum. Acta erant hec in collegio predicto ut supra...presentibus ibidem venerabilibus in christo patribus Johanne commendatario, de coldingham, Johanne Wynram sacre theologie professore...magistris nostris Johanne maiore collegii sancti salvatoris preposito, Martino balfour eiusdem collegii canonico, sacrarum literarum professoribus, Magistris thomo wemys deucano facultatis universitatis Sanctiandree, Wilhelmo manderstoun rector ecclesie de gogar, doctore medico, Roberto bannerman predicti nouti collegii perprius primario, Thoma barclay rector ecclesie de Neway, Roberto makinair, Jacobo rolland, ecclesiarum cathedralium dunkeldensis et dunbianensis respective canonicos, Dominis Johanne Law, Johanne Duncanson, Thoma Cunyngham, henrico echlyn, Sanctiandree canonicos regularibus et cum multis aliis clericis et leicis.

George Cok, notary.

M.B15.no.6

Collation to principalship of John Douglas, priest, Dunkeld diocese, by the prior and vicar general, in the see's vacancy and on the queen's presentation. Under the vicar general's seal, Ratho, 1st Oct., 1547. Thomas Manderston, vicar of Tyningham, publishes it there, 25th March, 1548; M. Alex. Carnegie, curate of Inchbroyock, announces it there, 30th Oct., 1547; David Clerk, a curate of Tannadice, publishes it, 29th Apr., 1548.

In Box 8.

Presentation and collation of M. Archibald Hamilton to regency and chaplaincy within the church, "Perprius nuncupatam beati Johannis evangeliiste pedagogii Sanctiandree nunc vero nuncupatam Beate

In Box 8.

Presentation to Douglas as principal of Archibald Hamilton to be third Master by demission of Mr. Robert Hamilton. Archibald then held the post of orator, and had completed three philosophy courses." Nichilominus donec in facultate theologica ordo aliquis stabilitus fuerit et iuuentus, studiiis philosophiciis et humanioribus exculta literis, ad hec graviore studio conformationi reddatur, ut philosophie abstrusiores partes vel humaniores literas (ut e re iuventutis instruende maxime videbitur), singulis diebus nisi quibus concio habetur, ad populum interpretetur, cum eo durante voluntate nostra dispensamus." The dispensation is from lecturing on sacred scriptures and their common places to which the third master is held. At Hamilton, June 16th, 1569. Witnesses include Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, Master Alexander Forrest, rector of Logie, and George Cok, vicar of Perth.

M.815. no.9

M.B16.no.1
Mortification of 800 marks for 2 bursaries, one in New College, the other in St. Salvator's, by Henry White, dean of Brechin. His executors are Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney; Stephen Culross, treasurer of Orkney.

M.B16.no.10
Donation of vicarage of Eglisgreg to Patrick Cockburn, by Archbishop Hamilton, on death of John Spittal. Linlithgow, 3rd April, 1553.

M.E.1
TEMPORARY STATUTES OF ST. LEONARD'S COLLEGE,

ST. ANDREWS. c. 1543

(1)

(Like the Founder's Statutes these are preserved In what appear to be the flyleaves of a book. They are now kept with the 1544 statutes. They are evidently the composition of Principal John Annand prior to that date).

f. 7r.

Exhortatio ordinem interius conversandi decentem complectens gratia mutue charitatis conservandae

PRIMUS TITULUS

Omnia honeste et secundum ordinem fiant in nobis. Imprimis igitur primario collegii diui Leonardi dabitur honor cum reverentia (ut deceat) ab omnibus regentibus sacerdotibus ac studentibus eiusmodem. Cui semper eam etiam obedientiam prestabunt omnes et regentes et sacerdotes quam aliorum collegiorum regni scotiae regentes ac sacerdotes suo principali præstant aut prestare tenetur, tametsi regentie beneficium alias donentur.

SECUNDUS TITULUS

De communl rentali procurando et providendo

Prefatus primarius caput capituli in collegio diui leonardi omnes quattuor regentes cum sacrista ac procuratore eiusmodem membra conferant quater in anno prefati collegii cum suo rentali quod est omnium commune bonum, ut per quod subsistent omnia et exercentur, tam in spiritualibus officiis quam corporalius, quo uno stante, stabunt omnia, quo deficiente deficient, necesse est. Quas obres sumopere (sic) a nobis omnibus procurandum ac providendum est commune illud rentale. Quod autem ignotum est nullo modo prouideri potest. Necesse est igitur a nobis omnibus cognosci quod debet ab omnibus prouideri. His eerte nemo obviabit quin omnia totius collegii bona communique in suum particulare commodum aut iam trahit aut porro trahere intendit. iam cuius facile intelliget ab omnibus quorum interest et regentibus et sacerdotibus cognoscendum (f. 7v)
esse commune illud rentale et prouidendum. Eciamsi id pro tempore quidam suo ipsorum vitio neglexerunt lucta prouerbiun, Nullius rei abusus tollit substantiam. Vitam igitur a nobis tollere videntur qui cognitionem nostri rentalis (unde omnes vivere debemus) a nobis tollunt, totius tandem fundationis dolesam intentantes subuersionem.

TERTIUS TITULUS

De quibusdam communibus et ministris et clauibus prouidendum

Prouideatur insuper ne ulle claues porticerum portorumve communium habeantur aut custodian tur ab ullo alio quem primario, prater unam clauem templi curato permissa. Proinde nulla communia loci, nec officia, nec mense ministerio (clamantibus id statuvis fundatoris, quibus omnia nostra oportet esse conformes) exercentur, nisi ab his qui sunt de gremio loci. Nec minus indifferenter omnes omne turpe lucrum causaunt omnemque cum studentibus familiaritatem nimiam lucta prouerbiun, Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum.

QUARTUS TITULUS

Consueta regentes servare sese offerunt, sacrista cum prouisore renuunt et recusant

Consenserunt semper regentes et consentiunt omnia onera scolae exercere que solo et nihil preterea antecessores regentes exercueru. Rursus negant sacrista et prouisor solo officio templi exequi, quae tamen omnia priores sacrist ac prouisores cum primario exercebant et semper exercere solent. Hoc enim non est obscurum si quis rem expeditat, utra utra preferatur part. Veruntamen solo mutue charitatis conciliande causa, ne sancta officia templi dispereant ipsi regentes ulteriore, suis commodis particularibus (f. 8r) commune bonum preferentes, patiuntur interim officia scolae cum officiis sacriste ac prouisoriis permisceri, ac permixa ab omnibus prefati collegii membris ex equo participari, reddendo unicuique ex communitate secundum suum laborem.

QUINTUS TITULUS

De officiis templi exercendia

Lacto igitur fundamento et officiis templi imprimis omnes quatuor regentes qui sint sacerdotes
sacrista principalis ac prouisor communis cantabunt singuli suam missam hebdomadariam in turno suo vicissim, etiam cum vesperis et salue servatulis honoris causa principalibus festis primario preter hebdomadariam.

SEXTUS TITULUS

De officiis schola exorcendis a solis regentibus

Ultra officium templi regentibus tam commune cum reliquis peculiariter et per se in scholis artium quod et quos libros de toto philosophie corpore docerent, statuta fundatoris satis ostendunt. Studentes itidem qui fundantur aliunde satis sua statuta perstringunt. Qui vero discendi causa superuenerint, primo omnium querant regnum dei et Iustitiam eius, interea convenientes ad chorum illic suas devotiones legant conformiter fundatis, ac ita versentur in scholis ut totus cultus ac integer corporis habitus ad scholasticum decorum componantur. Quicidem perpetuo regentes docent suos discipulos ad eum modum quo regentes sui predecessores (sic) docere sunt soliti luxta celeberrima illa fundatoris simul et universitatis nostre statuta, modo plus, modo minus, modo soplius et modo rarius, secundum captum studentium, semper suas lectiones suo auditorio quam possunt aptissime accommodanties. Regantur preterea et si opus fuerit etiam castigentur (f. 5v) studentes indifferenter omnes ipsius primarli providentia, correctique etiam regentibus per omnia decenter obtemperabunt; incorrigibiles autem penitus e collegio exulabunt. Communes lectiones (si que sunt) quanto solent stipendio docentur, quas qui interpretati sunt, alter plures quam triginta, alter ut minimum quindecim recepturunt marcas.

SEPTIMUS TITULUS

De communi omnium victu ac ordine in aula convivendi

Omnès prefate fundacionis et regentes et sacerdotes (uti a sua fundationis initio solent) in communi uluant, ex eodem potu, ex eodem pane, ex eodem fercolo, ex eodem caso cum bellarlis pariter vescantur, una itidem lauent, una sedeant, una surgant, singuli participanties tabulam simul et cubiculum cum pertinentilis in communitate,
senioribus semper deferendo honorem et electionem studentes, ne sua aliquatanus fraudentur valetudine solita, quippe modica et solum ventibus equal(i)as singulis sextis fereis lecta videntur commonstrare statuta.

OCTAVUS TITULUS

De privatia singulorum stipendiis

Primarius prefati collegii annuatim tollet ex communitate suo stipendio decem libras. Singuli autem ex aliis secretoibus decem marcas suis stipendiis annuatim etiam tollant, quinque silicet in festo penthecostes et quinque in festo diei martini. Regentes tamen qui nos precesserunt quotquot erant sacerdotes altaragiae habentes gaulsi sunt pacifice integris altaragiaequantacumque fuerint pro suis solum stipendiis. A seculis igitur non est auditum supra antecessores omnes laboribus (f. 9r) adeo auctis stipendio ite minuit....(Three words erased)

NONUS TITULUS

De quibusdam sacriste ac provisoris peculleribus officiis

Exhortamus in domino Jesu christo cum multe et graues semper sint regentium laboris, non solum in scholis artium sed etiam theologorum, vacante igitur sacriste officio, semper regentium aliquis uel senectute vel laborum nimistate aliquatanus deficiens eligatur in sacriste officium cum leuius sit et melius, qui tunc parochianis nostris paucis ministrae sacramentae, omnia templi vestimenta servabit munde et incorrupta, redendo singulis annis rationem primario quoties requisitus fuerit de omnibus et singulis ad sacriste officium pertinentibus. Quinetiam vacante provisoris officio dum capax eligatur similiter unus regentium ad provisoris officium et funktionem exercendam accomodatissimus utroque, etiam et sacriste et provisorae sufficientem inveniente cautionem pro omnibus quibus intromittunt bonis prefati collegii primario et eiusdem capitulo. Ideoque in omnem eventum, maioris certitudinis causa, singulis noctibus reddet
communis proul sor rationem diarium primario prefat| collegii. Ceterum ne aliena ex parte falletur aut
deficiat communitas, reddet idem proul sor quatuor
temperibus anni diiusi per equales portiones rationem
plenum et integrum tolius sue operationis toti
regentium atque sacerdotum numero, unecum primario
congregate. Et si quid superexcrecens fuerit (f. 9v)
scribatur et in scriptis reservetur una cum registro
totius rentalis universique tolius collegii evidentiis
etiam registratis cum inventario quodam omnium locali
um ac ornamementorum ecclesiæ, omnium librorum communi
num, omnium utensilium ac domicilium tolius dicti collegii
fundationis. Nam cetera (ut conjectura ducentur) que
opus sunt, omnia expresse continet statuta, preter
annuum visitationem rerum communium cum capite et
membri.

DECIMUS TITULUS

De iuramento singulorum prestanto ad commune
bonum procurandum

Omnes prefate persone ex equo iurabunt procurare
pro virili ac promouere commune bonum nostri tolius
collegii, quod non lignorum est aut lapidum, sed potius
hominum inhabitantium. Quomobrem in his omnibus (ut
certe palam est cernere) nullum omnino particulare
commodum nobis paraemus, sed solum commune bonum
totius collegii ac fundationis procurandum conservandum
in suo robore solito, referente (f. 10r) Salustio omne
imperium facile his artibus retinetur quibus initio
partum est; illis igitur artibus uti consuetis nostrum
omnia est consilium, quem quidem ad id etiam prestantum
rogeti sumus et requisiti. Ideoque labores muito
(MS has solito) longe greuiiores ac multo plures quam
noster antecessores hoc tempore subimus, solum ut mutum
ac consuetem fouamum charitatem etque concordiam in
domino Jesu christo, ita tamem nos velut murala ciuitas
alter alterius onera portantes legem christi
adimplebimus.

Hec dictante conscientia scripsimus, omnes iuramento
stricti ad procurandum commune bonum. Nostrum igitur
ludicium quaeecumque aqui bonique consulatis rogamus
obsecramusque.
WILLIAM MANDERSTON, DOCTOR IN MEDICINE: BURSARY

FOUNDATIONS IN ST. SALVATOR'S: 1549


f.119v (given as f.1119v)

Vicesimo primo maii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo

xl nono Indictione septima et pauli tertii pontificatus

anno xvto

Quo die magister willielmus manderstoun doctor in medecinis aeger licet in corpore sanus tamen in mente

animoque sue saluti consulens et deum suum toto pectoris

anhelitu affirmans anhelansque quotenus ipsius dei

patris omnipotentis cultus efficacius venerabilliusque

a Christifidelibus digna et laudabiliter exequiatur

omnibus melioribus etc. omnes et singulas fundationes

ab eoprefundates et fundandas et in laudem et honoram

ipsius dei patris omnipotentis et omnium sanctorum

quas cantat sancta mater ecclesia erectas et erigendas

per eum aut suos executores casu quo minus illi percussum

fuerit per mortis articulum, omnia dum in humanis debite

exequi et perimplere approbavit et affirravit et

irreucabiliter ratificauit imperpetuum, et precipue

quasdam bollas et chelras victualum in quadam

obligatione in fine sue fundationis sponsitaias

approbando, etiam dictam suam obligationem penes summam

pecuniarum in eadem contentam solvendum per se, heredes

suos, executores et assessores, casu quo ipse aut

ipsorum aliquis ullo modo deuentiant aut deuener

presumant contra dictas fundationes seu ipsarum

quaslibet seu contra aliquem partem aut articulum dicte

obligationis quibuscumque temporibus futuris

extendentibus, omnia et singula fecit premissa in

amplissimo modo obligationis et approbationis si necesse

Super quibus peclit magister Johannes forres nepos

ipsius magistri willielmi nomine suo instrumentum

presentibus henrico kempt de tamieston domino, Jacobo

vyan, dauide mercer et Johanne valcar capellanis et

notario publico (sic) et dauide durty cum diversis allis
(Ibid.) Primo Junii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo
xl nono

Quo die magister Willelmus manderstoun exoneravit
honorablem virum henricum de thomastoun de sua
obligatione continente in se summam...(blank) Ita quod
dictus henricus sustinuit magistrum Joannem forres et
georgium manderston suos nepotes in eorum mensis ad anni
spatium post decessum ipsius magistri...(torn and faint)
super quibus petit henricus instrumentum presentibus
dauid auchmouty et dauid...(incomplete and faint) f.121r
decimo septimo Junii anno domini millesimo
quingentesimo xl nono Indictione septima et pauli tertii
pontificatus anno xvto

Quo die Magister Joannes fourrois confessus est et
confitetur et consentit quod fructus et prouentus
tricentarum librarum legatarum per quondam venerabilem
virum magistrum doctorem in medicinis proveniat georgio
manderstoun et...(blank) filiis bartholomei manderstoun
fratris dicti quondam willelmi doctoris in medicinis et
aliis suis filiis dummodo ad hoc idonei fuerint Et quod
idem bartolomeus et heredes sui erunt patrones ad
presentandum (eos) qui presentandi fuerint idonei ad
dictam fundacionem fundandam in collegio fundato intra
ciuitatem sanctiandre Super quibus dictus bartolomeus
peciit instrumentum in sacello beate katherine virginis
opud cuprum (hora) septime ante meridiam presentibus
henrico kemp domino de tamieston, magistro Joanne
manderston vicario de gogar et thoma flesheor cum diversis
aliis
EXCERPTS FROM ANNUAL ACCOUNTS OF ST. LEONARD'S COLLEGE CIRCA 1550

(k)

St. Andrews Univ., Archives, "Liber Computorum Collegii Leonardi". (Begins with first account as below, ends 1590. Paper text with vellum cover containing bull of Clement VII to James Baldovin, 1530).

f. Ir.

Compotum Magistrum Joannis Lawmonth provisoris
Magistri principalis Regentium et studentium collegii diui leonardi intra ciuitatem sanctiandres situati factum secundo die mensis novembris Anno domini mvc Imo de omnibus suis receptis et restis tam in terrarum firmis quam annuis redditibus de terminis sancti martini anno xlix et pentecostes v° Im° Ac etiam de canis et victualibus venditis et pro commensalibus ac aliis casualitatibus tam in pecunia quam victualibus ac decimis de croppa xlix et de eorum dispositione Ac redditum Reuerendo domino Jacobo commendatorio monasterii sanctiandree per dominum Joannem law primarium dicti collegii Coram auditoribus dominis Joanne Wynrame Suppriore daulde Guthre tercio priore Joanne duncanson et Magistro Alano lawmouth camerarii monasterii sanctiandree

Oneratio Argenti (In margin: firma terrarum)
In primis Computans onerat se cum octuaginta quinque libris decem solidis ex terrarum firmis tam infra partes de fyff quam extra de terminis sancti martini v° xlix° et pentecostes anno Imo receptis in Rentali lxxxv lib. x s. Et cum quadraginta quatuor libris sex solidis et sex denaris ex annuis redditibus dicto collegio diui leonardi spectantibus (In margin: Annui redditus) tam infra partes de fyff quam extra de dictis terminis ut patet in Rentali xliii lib. vii s. vi d. (In margin: Cane) Et cum viginti duobus solidis ex cana de blabo pro anno integro compoti xxii s.

Summa huius oneracionis j° xxx lib. xviii s. vi d.
Oneratio pecunie commensalium (\textit{in margin}: Casualitates ii \textsuperscript{c} lxxii lii \textsuperscript{xx} lib. ii d.)

Item Computens onerat se cum ducentibus actuaginta
libris duobus denariis receptis per computantem a
diversis personis commensalibus in dicto collegio
per tempus compoti ut patet inferius specific
nominatis videlicet Episcopo Cathenensi cum
seruitoribus, M. Joanne Spittell officiiali sanctlandres
principalii, preposito de bothanis cum seruitore,
vicario Sanctlandree cum portione, duobus monachis
de dunfermeling, M. Jacobo temple, M. thome congiltoun,
Andrea Wemys, Jacobo kyrkaldy, Jacobo grahame,
Jacobo Rowll, Jacobo andersone, domino de haltoun
cum seruitore iuuene et Jacobo beynstoun cum aliis
superuenientibus ut patet in libro dietarum eiusdem
collegii ostendo super computum \textit{c} lxxxiii lii
\textit{d}.

Summá huius oneracionis patet \textit{c} lxxxiii lii
\textit{d}.

(f. lv)

Oneraciopecunie legate ad fabricam loci
Item computens onerat se cum viginti libriss
receptis ab executoribus Magistri Joannis Weddell
Rectoris de flisk disponendis in fabrica loci
xx lii lib. Et cum viginti tribus libriss legatis per
dominum thomam cwnynghame quondam Magistrum
principallem huius collegii similiter ad fabricam
loci xxiii lii lib.

Summd huius oneracionis xliii lii lib.

Summd totalis pecunie precedentis lxxiii \textit{lvi} lii
\textit{lib}.

xviii s. vili d.

Oneratio frumenti
In primis computans onerat se cum una celdra quinque
bollis tribus frilotis una pecca dimedia pecca
(sic) et bina parte pecce frumenti de resta sui ultimi
compoti ut patet in pede eiusdem i c. v.b. iii f.

13 (sic) p. 2 partes.
Summa Reste patet i c. v b. iii f. 13 p. 2 partes.

Oneratio frumenti Rentalis
Item computans onerat se cum duodecim bullis frumenti
Ex firmis et decimis de Nether Kenlowye croppe anni
xlix ut patet in Rentali xii b. frumenti Et cum
una celdra frumenti pro firma duorum molendinorum
de kenlowye consueta solui A primo novembris anno
xli ad ultimum octobris anno lm ut patet in Rentali
i c. frumenti Et cum una celdra frumenti pro firma
molendini de pwtye cum sex acriis eidem pertinentibus
ut patet in Rentali i c. frumenti

Summa hulus oneracionis prout in rentalii
ii c. xii b. frumenti

Summa totalis frumenti unacum Resta
iiii c. i b. iii f. 13 p. 2 partes tantum

Oneratio ordei
Item computans onerat se cum duabus celdris
quatuordecim bullis tribus ordei de Resta sui ultimi
compotii ut patet in pede eiusdem ii c. xiii b. iii f.
ordei

Summa hulus Reste patet
ii c. xiii b. iii f. ordei tantum

(f. 2r)

Oneratio ordei prout in Rentalii
Item Computans onerat se cum una celdra duabus
bullis ordei ex firmis et decimis de Nether Kenlowy
dicte croppe i c. x b. ordei Et cum una celdra ordei
ex firmis et decimis de fawssyde dicte croppe i.c.
ordei Et cum sex bullis ordei ex decimis de pwtye
dicte croppe vi b. ordei Et cum nouem celdris nouem
bullis duabus firlotis et duabus peccls ordei ex
firmis et decimis omnium acrarum de Rathelpy
Molendini videlicet crag myll et lie hauch cum septem
croftis ut patet in Rentali ix c. ix b. ii f. ii p. ordei

Summa hulus oneracionis xiii c. xi b. ii f.
ii p. ordei

Summa totalis ordei cum Resta
xvi c. x b. i f. ii p. ordei
Oneratio farine
Idem computans onerat se cum una celda octo bollis dimedia pecca farine de Resta sui ultimi compoti ut patet in pede eiusdem i c. viii b. 3(sic)p. farine

Oneratio farine prout in Rentali
Item computans onerat se cum duabus celdris duabus bollis farine Ex firmis et decimis de over Kenlowy croppe anni xlix ut patet in Rentali ii c. ii b. farine Et cum tribus celdris decem bollis ex firmis et decimis de Nether Kenlowy de dicta croppe ut patet in Rentali iii c. x b. Et cum duabus celdris ex firmis et decimis de sawsyd dicta croppe ii c. Et cum duabus bollis ex decimis de ptyye dicta croppe xii b. farine

Summa huius oneracionis viii c. viii b. farine
Summa totalis oneracionis farine unacum Resta x c. 3 p. farine

(f. 2v)

Expense frumenti
Inprimis Computans allocatur in duabus celdris decem bollis frumenti pro expensis Magistri principalis Regentium commensalium et allorum superuenientium de primo novembris inclusive anno xlix° Ad secundum Novembris exclusive anno Imo videlicet in panibus pastis et pastellis et lie fagis in solennitate Diui Leonardi infra dictum tempus videlicet in anno xlix° ut patet in libro dietarum dicti collegii particulariter examinato super compotum ii c. x b. frumenti

Summa harum Expensarum ii c. x b. frumenti
Et sic Restis super computantem i c. vii b. iii f. i 3p. 2 partes frumenti

Expense ordei
Eidem allocatur computanti in decem celdris septem bollis duabus firlotis duabus peccis ordei in mille quadringintis (sic) septuaginta lagenis ceruisie pro expensis Magistri principalis Regentium Commensalium Studentium et allorum superuenientium per dictum
tempus compoti ut patet in libro dietarum particulariter examinato super compotum x c. vii b. ii f. ii p. ordei capiendo pro qualibet bolla pro lagena ii quartis. Et eidem allocatur in decem bollis una fritola tribus peccis bina parte pecc ordei pro factura ac calce dicti ordei allocante pro qualibet bolla una pecca. Extendens ad x b. i f. iii p. 2 partes pece ordei. Et eidem in quinque bollis duabus fritolis duabus peccis ordei pro quadraginta quinque lagenis consuetas propinari conuentut in festo diui Leonardi et in octaua die eiusdem infra tempus (f. 3r) compoti v b. ii f. ii p. ordei. Et eidem in duabus bollis duabus fritolis ordei pro viginti lagenis in festo Natalis domini infra dictum tempus ii b. ii f. ordei. Et eidem in octo bollis ordei ad usum culine et caponibus et gallis pastis in anno integro compoti viii bollis ordei.

Summa harum Expensarum xii c. ii b. iii p. 2 partes pece ordei

Venditio ordei
Eidem allocatur computanti in duabus celbris quinque bollis duabus fritolis ordei venditis per computantem infra tempus compoti pro quinquaginta octo libris sex solidis sex denariis varii preclii De quibus xii bollis de croppa anni xlviii precium bollle xxvili s. inde pecunia xvi lib. xvi s. Et i c. precium bollle xxx s. de croppa anni xlix inde pecunia xxiii lib. Et ix b. ii f. de eadem croppa precium bollle xxxvili s. inde pecunia xxvili lib. x s. vi d. Pecunia totius lvili lib. vi s. vi d. (In margin: Restis lvili lib. vi s. vi d.) Cum qua onerabitur Computans in compote argentii Et sic exonerandus est de ii c. v b. ii f. ordei. Et eidem in una bolla ordei pro calce unius celdre ordei sic vendite i b. ordei

Summa ordei venditi cum calce ii c. vi b. ii f. ordei

Summa totalis expenserum unacum ordeo vendito xliii c. viii b. ii f. iii p. 2 partes pece ordei
Et sic Restis super computantem ii c. i b. ii f. ii p. 3 d(?) partes pece ordei
Expense farine

Eidem allocatur computanti in tribus celdris octo bollis farine auenate pro expensis studentium operariorum et aliorum super -(f.3v) uenientium infra dictum tempus compoti ut patet per librum dieterum examinantum super compotum iii c. viii b. farine
Et eidem in septem bollis datis pro lentibus ad usum culine pro Anno integro compoti vii b. Et eidem in una bolla consueta dari annuatim Eufemie traill latrici loci pro suis laboribus in augmentazione sui feodi i b. Et eidem in una bolla concesse villelmo custodi granarii nostri pro suis laboribus in anno integro compoti i b. farine
Et eidem in una bolla soluta patricia ogilvy sergedando loci pro suis laboribus in anno integro i b. Et pro lie Inlaikis in granarilis in anno integro iii b. ii f. ii p. farine

Summa harum expensarum

III c. v b. ii f. ii p. farine

Venditio farine

Eidem allocatur computanti in quinque celdris septem bollis farine venditis per computantem infra tempus compoti pro centum septemdecim libris septemdecim solidis decem denarilis varii precii De quibus i c. v b. de croppe anni xlviii precium bolle xx s. inde pecunia xxi lib. Et ii c. i b. ii f. de croppa anni xlix precium bolle xxvi s viii d inde pecunie xlii lib. xiii s. iii d. Et x b. iii f. precium bolle xxxii s. inde pecunia xvii lib. iii s. Et ix b. iii f. croppa anni lxxx precium bolle xxxx s. inde pecunie xliii lib. xii s. vi d. Et xii b. precium bolle xxxvii s. inde pecunia xxx lib. viii s. Pecunia totius jx xvii lib xvii s. x d.

(Repeated in margin) Cum qua onerabitur computans in compoto pecunie. Et sic exonerandus est de v c. vii b. farine
Summa farine vendite patet v c.
vii b. tantum

Summa totalis ventita patet v c.
vii b. tantum

Summa totalis expenserum farine cum
farina vendita et lie Inlaikis ix c.
xii b. ii f. ii p. farine

Et sic restis super computantem
iii b. i f. ii3 p. farine

(f.4r)

Oneratio totius pecunie tam in terrarum
firmis canis et annuis redditibus commensalibus
et allis casualitatibus ac pro victualibus venditis
(in margin: firme terrarum annui redditus
et cane)

In primis Computans onerat se cum centum triginta
libris octo denariis de terrarum firmis et annuis
redditibus de terminis sancti martini anno xlix
et penthecostes anno Imo Ac etiam de canis de croppa
anni xlix tam infra partes de fyff quam extra dicto
collegio diui leonardi spectantibus in anno integro
compti ut patet supra specifice et in Rentali
particulariter examinato supercomptum jcexxx lib.
viii s. vi d. Et cum ducentis octuaginta tribus
libris duobus denariis pro commensalibus (in margin:
Commensales) in anno integro compti up patet
specifice in libro dietarum fic lxxxiii lib. ii d.
Et cum quadraginta tribus libris receptis ex legatia
Rectoris de flisk et domini thome cwningham ad
fabricam lci infra tempus compoti xliii lib.
(in margin: Legatia xlllii lib.) Et cum quinquaginta
octo libris sex solidis sex denariis per venditionem
duarum celdrarum quinque bollarum duarum firlotarum
ordei venditarum (in margin: ordeum venditum) infra
tempus compoti ut patet supra in compoto ordei lviii
lib. vii s. vi d. Et cum centum septuaginta tribus
libris septemdecim solidis decem denariis per
venditionem quinque celdrarum et septem bollarum
farine venditarum infra tempus compoti ut patet
supra in compoto farine jc xvii lib. xvii s. d.
Summa totalis pecuniae tam in terrarum firmis canis annulisredditibus commensali bus et allis casualitatibus ac victualibus venditis de terminis et anno supra specificatis vjc xxxii lib. xiii s.

(f. 4v)

Expense et Exoneratio Argentii

In primis computanti allocatur in quatuor libris quinque solidis de suis superexpositis (in margin: superexposita) in suo ultimo compoto ut patet in pede eiusdem iiiii lib. v s. Et eodem allocatur in trecentis octaginta duabus libris octodecim solidis quinque denariis et obulo pro expensis Magistri principalis Regentium Commensalium Studenti um suorum servorum et operariorum loci (in margin: prousor) ac alliorum superuenientium a primo die novembres anno lix° (sic for xlixo) ad secundum die eiusdem mensis exclusis anno lmo ut patet per librum dietarum dicti collegii particulariter examinatum super compotum iii° lxxxii lib. xviii s. v d. ob. Et eodem allocatur in centum sexaginta una libris tresdecim solidis undecim denariis (in margin: fabrica loci) expositis ad usum fabricae loci infra dictum tempus compoti ut patet in particulari libro computantis videlicet die wee buk particubriter examinato super compotum jc lxii lib. xiii s. xii d. Et eodem in triginta tribus solidis quatuor denariis soluti Magistro petantiarum monasterii Sanctiandree (in margin: petantie) annui redditus consueti solui eodem de tenemento vicarii de luchris annuatim in terminis sancti martini anno lix° (sic) et penthecostes anno lmo xxxiiii s. iiiii d. Et eodem in duobus solidis solutis eodem de tenemento in argyle in dictis terminis ii s. Et eodem in quatuordecim solidis duobus denariis (in margin: Magister fabric) solutis Magistro fabricae monasterii sanctiandree in dictis terminis ex diversis tenementis xiii s. ii d. Et eodem in septemdecim solidis solutis priorisse de hadingtoue in compositione decimarum garballium de fawssyde croppe anni xlix xvii s. (in margin: priorisse hadington) Et eodem in quindecim solidis consuetis solui choristis ecclesie trinitatis ex tenementis occupatis per Relictam
(138)

Robertus bonis in dictis terminis xv s. Et eadem in triginta uno solidis solutis capellano altaris sancti Bartholomei consuetis solui annuatim in dictis terminis de dicto tenemento xxxxi s. Et eadem in octo solidis quattuor denariis consuetis annuatim solui capellano altaris sancte margarete de tenemento fundato per dominum thomam prestoune in dictis terminis viii s. iii d. Et eadem in quattuor solidis solutis (f.5r) capellano altaris sancti (0)laui in collegio sancti salvatoris consuetis solui in dictis terminis de tenementis in aryle iii s. (in margin: annui redditus) Et eadem in octo solidis consuetis solui capellano sancti Niniani in dictis terminis de horreo loci viii s. Et eadem in quattuor solidis consuetis solui capellano altaris sancti petri de tenementis in aryle in dictis terminis iii s. Et eadem in duobus solidis solutis capellano altaris beate Marie Virginis in ecclesia parochiali in dictis terminis de ii fundatis tenementis in aryle ii s. Et eadem in tribus libris sex solidis octo denariis defalcatis (in margin: tenementa vasta et combusta) computanti ex horreo loci assedato archibaldo Muir hoc anno A nativitate domini anno xlix° ad festum pentecostes anno lmo pro xl. s. quod prius erat combustum et nondum integraliter reediticatum. Et quia computans oneratur cum v lib. vi s. viii d. pro farina dicti horrei secundum formam Rentalis ideo hic venit exonerandus de ili lib. vi s. viii d. Et eadem in quattuor libris defalcatis ex tenemento domini decani dunkeldensis ex domo superiori occidentali quia vasta et non locata hoc anno iii lib. Et eadem in octo solidis annui redditus de tenemento quondam Jacobi thomson in uenella prioris quia vastum et combustum viii s. Et eadem in tresdecim solidis quattuor denariis de horreo domini andree archibald ratione que supra xiii s. iii d. (in margin: libri, quaterniones) Et eadem in viginti solidis pro papiro libris et quaternionibus ac aliis necessariis pro compotis
et Rentalibus loci sancti leonardi in anno
integro compoti XX s. Et eodem in quatuordecim
solidis concessis diversis tabellionibus et
baiulis (in margin: tabelliones et baiuli) in
negotii loci versus edinburgh panycwck et ad alia
diversa loca missis infra tempus compoti xiiii s.

Summa huius exonerationis v xl xv lib. xviiii
s. ii d. ob.

Feode Magistri principalis Regentium et
servitorum loci (in margin: Magister principalis)

Eodem allocatur computanti in decem libris
solutis domino Joanno law Magistro principali loci
in suo feodo de terminis sancti Martini anno
xlii et pentecostes anno Ima x lib. (f. 5v)
Et eodem in sex libris tresdecim solidis quatuor
donariis solutis Magistro gwild Regenti (in margin:
M dauid guild) in suo feodo de dictis terminis
vi lib. xiii s. iii d. Et eodem in sex libris
tresdecim solidis quatuor deneriis datis ex Mandato
domini commendatorii supprioris et Magistri principalis
Magistris Joanni child et david gardyne olim
Regentibus (in margin:child et gardyne) de termino
sancti martini anno xliii ex destructione quae
exonerati et expulsi fuerant ad dictum terminum
vi lib. xiii s. iii d. Et eodem in sex libris
tresdecim solidis quatuor deneriis in feodo
Magistri Joannis Lawmounth (in margin: Lawmont
provisor) provisoris loci de dictis terminis vi
lib. xiii s. iii d. Et eodem in sex libris tresdecim
solidis quatuor deneriis solutis Magistro Jacobo
Wilke (in margin: Wilke) Regenti loci in suo feodo
de dictis terminis vi lib. xiii s. iii d. Et eodem
in quadraginta solidis in feodo thome luggat
coci loci (in margin: coquus loci) in suo feodo
ad terminum predictum xi s. Et in quadraginta
solidis in feodo Mathei king hortularii loci (in
margin: hortularius) in dictis terminis xi s. Et
eodem in quinquaginta tribus solidis quatuor deneriis
solutis Eufemie traill lotrici vestium loci
(in margin: Lotrix loci) pro suo feodo in anno de dictis terminis IIII s. IIII d. Et eodem in triginta sex solidis duobus servitoribus sub coquo in culina seuentibus (in margin: lixe coquine) pro eorum feodo in anno integro compoti xxxvi s.

Summa huius Exonerationis xlv lib. ii s. viii d.

Summa totalis exoneracionis argenti vixi lib. x d. ob.

Et sic Restis super computantem xxi lib. xii s. I d. ob. tantum

(f. 6r)

Compotum Magistri Joannis fyffe curati et sacriste loci et collegii diui leonardi factum ut supra

Oneratio

In primis computans onerat se cum viginti quatuor solidis ex sex Agnis decimalibus venditis infra tempus compoti videlicet de anno Imo preclum pecie IIII s. Summa xxiiiIII s. Et cum viginti quatuor solidis pro xii libris lene decimalis de dicto anno vendite tenentibus xxIIIII s. Et cum quadraginta solidis ex financis paschalibus dicti anni xI s. Et cum quinquaginta uno solidis quinque denariis in oblationibus diversarum solamnitatum totius anni compoti. Necnon in oblationibus et cera funeralibus per dictum tempus ut patet in particulari compoto earendem ostensu super compotum li s. v d. Et cum tribus solidis uno denario de resta sui ultimi compoti (in margin: Resta ultimi compoti) ut patet in pede elusdem

Summa huius oneracionis vii lib. IIII s. VI d.

Expense elusdem

In primis computantl allocatur in tribus libris cere
(In margin: cer) emptis infra tempus compoti
ili lib. vi s. Et eidem in sexdecim solidis
pro una petra candelarum ecclesiarum de cep[i (sic)]
xxvi s. (In margin: candele ecclesiarum) Et in
quadraginta uno solidis duobus denarlis pro vino
exposito per tempus compoti videlicet in anno
integro (in margin: vinum) in missa et communione
parochianorum xii s. ii d. Et eidem in octo
solidis pro una lagena olei expositis infra tempus
compoti viii s. Et eidem in octodecim pro vi
lignis tedarum xviii d. Et eidem in duobus
solidis pro lichnis et sarpis (sic) emptis ad
usum ecclesie in anno integro ii s. Et eidem in
septem solidis pro lotione vestium ecclesiarum
in anno integro vii s. Et eidem in octo denarlis
pro scopis emptis ad purgandum ecclesiam in anno
integro xviii d. Et in octodecim denarlis pro
purgatione lampadarum (sic) et candelabrorum
eneororum in anno integro compoti xviii d. Et in
tribus solidis solutis pro fenestratis (reading
doubtful) ad panes missales et hostias pro
communione (f. 6v) parochianorum conficiendis in
anno integro compoti ii s.

Summa harum expensarum vii lib. ix s. viii d.
Et sic superexposuit computans vii s. ii d.

Dependentia de terminis sancti martini anno
xlix et pentecostes anno lmo

In primis per Johannem gray ex tenemento suo
x s. Item de tenemento nostro in hadingtoune locato
heredibus M. Johannis hepburne xvii s. Item de
terris de kethlok xi lib. vi s. viii d.

Summa dependentium ho anno lmo de terminis
supra specificatis xii lib. xiii s. viii d.

Compotum caponum et pultrium
In primis computans onerat se cum viginti
quattor caponibus ex Molendino de pwy de croppa
anni xlix ut potet in Rentali et assesdations desuper
facta xxiii capones  Et cum octodecim pultreis
ex Nether Kenlowy de dicte croppe xviii pultreis
Et cum octodecim pultreis de over Kenlowy eiusdem
croppe xviii pultreis  Et cum octodecim pultreis
de fawssyde dicte croppe xviii pultreis

Summa caponum xxiii et exponitur eque
Summa pultrium liiii et exponitur eque

(signed) Joannes Wynram Supprior
Sanctiandree
Joannes duncanson canonicus
Alanus Lawmounth
Willelmus Wilsoun canonicus
similiter ad premissa subscripsit

Account of Lawmonth made 1st Nov., 1551,
audited on the 18th May 1553.

(f. 11v) Fees: 10 lib. to John Law, Principal
6 lib. to David Guild, regent

(f. 12r) .. Et eodem (computanti) in tribus
libris sex solidis octo denariis solutis dicto
Magistro deuid ex Mandato domini Joannis Wynram
Supprioris monasterii sanctiandree et dicti Magistri
Joannis principalis pro communi lectura in epistolam
pauli ad Ephesios ..

6 lib. 13 s. 4 d. to M. Jas. Wilke regent
The account shows a surplus of 45 lib. and is signed
by Winram, Duncanson and Wilson.

(f. 14r)
Account made 1st Nov., 1552, audited as above.

(f. 17v)
Fees: 10 lib. to Law, principal (for year ending
Pentecost 1552)
3 lib. 6 s. 8 d. to Guild regent (..et
posthac videlicet circa festum sanctiandree
accessit ad novum Collegium Marianum)

6 lib. 13 s. 4 d. to Wilkie

(f.18r) Surplus of 67 lib. Auditors included David Guthrie, terce prior.

(f.20r)
Account made 1st Nov., 1553, at which date John Duncanson is principal.

(f.20v)
Received from commensole, 351 lib.

(f.22v)
Et eadem (computantil) in duabus bollis concessis Alexandro fairfull et Willelmo stewynsone latomis in lie bountels pro edificatione noue domus et aliiis laboribus loci (ad) predictum tempus compoti ii bollae (farine) Et eadem in una bolla concessa Matheo king pro suis laboribus circa nouum domum factis i bollae

(f.23r) Et eadem allocatur in centum sexaginta tribus libris quinque solidis octo denariis expositis per computantem infra tempus compotii ad usum fabricae loci et reparationem tenementorum eiusdem intra cuitatem et in lignis, asseribus, ferro, plombo et aliiis materialibus emptis infra dictum tempus compoti

jc lxiii v s. viii d.

(f.24r) Fees: Duncanson, principal (10 lib.) James Wilkie (6 lib. 13 s. 4 d.)

.. Et eadem (computantil) in quatuor libris datis ex Mandato primarii Magistro Roberto maxwell et Willelmo clerk nouis Regentibus constitutis in recompensatione suorum laborum pro lectura et doctrina iii lib.

Surplus 77 lib.
Account made 1st Nov., 1554.
(verso) 384 lib. 3 s. 4 d. from commensales.

Oneratio frumenti...cum nouem bollis duabus sirlotis tribus peccis frumenti provenientibus ex mille viginti tribus panibus ex portione domini Joannis law cum quo frumento hectenus computans non est oneratus
(verso)...Et in una celdra (ordei) quatuor decim bollis ordei pertinentibus ex portione domini Joannis law ante obitum eiusdem in quo ordeo hectenus computans non est oneratus

(f.28v) Fees:
Duncanson (10 lib.)
Wilkie regent (8 lib. 3 s. 4 d.)

William Clerk (6 lib. 13 s. 4 d.)
Robert Maxwell (as above)

Surplus: 39 lib. 13 s. 4 d. and obolus.

(f.30r) Account made 31st Oct., 1555.

(f.30v)
Oneratio argenti Restantis in manibus computantis ante obitum quondam domini Joannis annand olim Magistri principalis eiusdem collegii

Item computans onerat se cum centum una libris septemdecim solidis ex quadam Resta ex portione quondam domini alexandri zoung olim primarii dicti collegii
Restante computata inter dominum Joannem Wynname suppriorem et visitatorem eiusdem collegii et dominum Joannem annand primarium pro tempore jc i lib. xvii s. Et cum quinquaginta libris olim directis per dominum Alexandrum zoung Rome per manus Magistri Jacobi strathachyne pro confirmatione Munimentorum loci Sedhuiusmodi confirmatio expedita fuit domi per Reuerendissimum
dominum cardinalem Et sic Magister Jacobus
strathachyne redeliberuit computanti huiusmodi
summam quinquaginta librarum Ex qua etiam summa
Episcopus moraviensis motus ex sua conscientia
concessit xlviii libras Et computans addidit
eodem tempore x l s. faciendo in integro quinquaginta
libras Et quia computans recept ut supra integram
summam ideo venit onerandus cum l lib.

Summa huius operationis patet j c li lib. xvii s.
tantum
Received from commensales 395 lib. 18 s. 1 d.

(f.33r) fabrica loci 38 lib.
Fees: Duncanson (10 lib)
    Wilkie (6 lib. 8 s. 4 d.)
    Clerk(3 lib. 6 s. 8 d., plus 5 lib.
        19 s. 4 d.)

for period ending Pentecost 1555 from tenement of
the vicar of Leuchers, 5 lib. 19 s. 4 d.)
M. Jas. Pont from Pentecost—Martinmas
1555, 40 s.
.. Et eidem (computanti) in tribus libris sex
solidis octo denariis datis per Mandatum Magistri
principalis Magistro Joanni fyffe curato loci pro
bono servitio preterito per eum facto et propter
quasdem urgentes necessitates sibi presentialiter
occurrentes iii lib. vi s. viii d.

(f.14v)
    Item pro M. Joanne dischingtonene xiii lib.pro
tabula ipsius

(f.35r) Surplus of 37 lib. 19 s. 7 d.
(f. 41r)
    Account made 31st Oct., 1557
(verso) from commensales 583 lib. 9 s.
(f.45v) William Clerk is chaplain and regent
    New regent David Collace gets full year's
fee
(f.46r)
Account made 31st October, 1558

(f.49r)
fabrica loci ix lib. xiii s. viii d.
(in clauibus, seris, lignis, aseribus et allis materialibus necessariis et in stipendio operario rum)

Eidem in quatuor libris decem solidis solutis pro una nova toga pellite seu foderata emptae de Mandato principalis magistri M.Joannis syffe curato dicti collegii infra tempus compoti citra annuum stipendium eiusdem iiiii lib. x s.

(f.50r) Remissum per primarium et de Mandato eiusdem domino de Monthquhane ex tabula Roberti balfour eius fillii infra tempus compoti xlvii s. viii d.

(f.51r) James Pont is regent and chaplain of the B.V.M. altar in the college

(f.52r)
Account made 31st Oct., 1559. Duncanson is now described as Master not Dominus.

Commensales paid 3l3 lib. ii s 2 d.
Fees are similar. New regent is M.John Kello

(f.77v)
1564 account. Payment to M.Robert Boyd, master of the grammar school, 6 lib. 13 s. 4 d.

(f.83r)
Accountant is M.John Scott, 21st September, 1566. Mention of new college house and David Coling architect.
RECTOR VERSUS ST. SALVATOR'S: 1551

St. Andrews University, Archives.

Acta Rectorum, ii, 42.

Nonis decembris anno domini 1551 hora nona convocata fuit florentissima Sanctiandree universitas in Nouis Scholis Collegii Marianis pro electione assessorum qui una cum domino Rectora vestitament (sic) fanatissimum diui Saluatoris gymnasium ubi ad hanc provinciam obeundam defecti fuerunt venerabiles et circumspecti viri magistri nostri Joannes Wynram Genobii Sanctiandree Subprior, Richardus Martialis verbi dei ecclesiastes insignis, Magister patricius myrtoun thesaurarius aberdonensis, et magister dauld guild secre theologie bacchalarius.

Compromissum in forma sub note et subscriptione notarii infrascripti.

In dei Nomine Amen. Per hoc presens publicum nostrum instrumentum cunctis pateat euidenter quod Anne incarnacionis dominice millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo mensis vero Julii die sexto indictione nona pontificatus Sanctissimii in christo patris et domini nostri Julii divina providentia pape tertii anno secundo, in mei notarii publici et testium infrascriptorum presentia personaliter constituti venerabiles et egregie personae Magister Joannes dowglass Collegii nostre domine sub vocabulo assumptionis in pedagogio Sanctiandree fundati principalis, almeque universitatis Sanctiandree rector, Ac Magister noster martinus balfour secrete theologie professor, rector de quylltis ac collegiate eclese diui Saluatoris intra ciuitatem Sanctiandree prepositus, in conspectu totius universitatis ad hoc congregate, pro decisiom questionis de iurisdictione rectoris in collegium diui Saluatoris, elegerunt personas sequentes ad finiendum litem siue questionem huiusmodi videlicet dominos Joannem Wynrame secrete theologie professaorem ac monasterii Sanctiandree subpriorem, Joannem Law
eiusdem monasterii canonicum ac collegii diui
leonardi primarum, Joannem duncansoun dicti
monasterii canonicum, Magistros patricium myretoun
archidioconum aberdonensis, Jacobum rolland vicarium
de glammess, willeum arthour de kernis ac dauidem
guyld sacre theologae baccalaureum, Que persone
acceptabunt, ut arbitrares saltem amicables
compositores per dictas partes communiter electos,
onus disserendi in premiis (p. 43) Et finient intra
hinc et festum petri ad vincula proxime futurum, Sic
quod maior pars dictarum personarum in ferendo
decretum praecellaat, Cum potestate si opus fuerit
eisdem personis sic electis prorogandi ad quatuordecem
dies ultra dictum festum. Et si contingat aliquem
ex predictis personis electis absentem fore vel non
acceptarem duarum partes communiter electos, electa
personae predicte possint eligere aliam in absentis vel non
acceptantis locum, conveniuntque veneris proxime
futurum in noua scolis cenobii Sanctiandree in
claustro eisdem de consensu dictorum rectoris et
prepositi Super quibus omnibus et singulis dicti
dominus rector et prepositus a me notario publico
infrascripto instrumento publico unum et plura confici
petierunt. Acta erant huc in noua scola australi
collegii nostre domine in pedagogio predicto quartam
circiter horam pomeridianam sub anno mense die
indictione et pontificatus quibus supra. Presentibus
ibidem magistro Jacobo Broune rectore de kirknewtoun,
Joanne Balfour vicario de quylts, Willelmo vicario de
terlane et Joanne fiffe curato parochialis ecclesie
diui leonardi intra ciuitatem Sanctiandree, testibus
ad premiis vocatis pariterque rogatis.

Et ego dawid Spens, Sanctiandree dioecesis clericus,
publicus...notarius...(etc.)

Sequitur tenor decreti personarum predictarum.

Die de cimoquarto mensis Augusti Anno domini
millesexta quingentesima quinquagésimo primo Indictione
nona pontificatus Julii tertii anno secundo Nos Joannes
wynreme vicarius de dow ac Supprior Canobii Sanctiandree,
magister willelmus arthour de kernis, domini Joannes law primarius collegii diui leonardi, Joannes doncansoun eiusdem cenobii canonicus, et magister david guylid, arbitratores siue amicabiles compositores inter venerabilem virum magistrum Joannam dowglass, rectorem elme universitatis Sanctiandree ac magistrum nostrum martinum balfour, prefectum collegii Sancti Salvatoris intra dictum universitatem fundati, ab una et altera partibus, ab eisdem communiter electi penes contentionem et controversiam inter eos versa de superioritate et jurisdictione ipsius domini rectoris in dictum collegium, eiusque personas et causas, Auditis prius per nos utriusque partis rationibus probationibus et hincinde allegationibus, luxta eaque vidimus et percipimus, visis etiam antiquis controversiis inter rectores universitatis predicte et prefectos dicti collegii per grauisissimos illius etatis viros latiis, Invenimus et comperimus dominum rectorem universitatis predicte habuisse et habere debere potissimum in secunda instantiae jurisdictionem in prefectum et alias in dicto collegio fundatas personas, non solum in tempore visitationis dicti collegii, sed etiam extra tempus visitationis eiusdem. Et ita factum fuisse et adhuc fieri debere per hoc nostrum decretum decernimus, proviso tamen quod in questionibus et rebus multum dubius dominus rector utatur consilio suorum assessorum. Latum in cenobio predicto die predicto, Attestantibus nostris manuilibus subscriptionibus Et coram his testibus magistris Willemo Scott, ricardo Jacsoun et roberto aickman. Sequuntur tenores subscriptionum de quibus supra fit mentio, Joannes wynram Supprior Scantiondree, magister willelmus arthour, Joannes law canonicus sanctiandree. Magister Jacobus rolland decernit pro parte sua quod dominus rector est iudex competens ratione iuramenti prestiito tempore incorporationis et die visitationis et in alius secundum tenorem fundationis dicti collegii dicto rectori reservatis, rolland. Joannes doncansoun manu prorsa Magister david guylid etc.
ST. SALVATOR'S: ADMISSION OF REGENTS

Glasgow University Library.
Manderston Ms. (BE6.b11)

f.23v.

Ego Symon Simsoun artium Magister fui receptus eram (sic) ad locum unius quatuor magistrorum fundatorum secundum tenorem collegii Sancti saluatoris fundationis Apud Sanctumandream accedente consensu Magistri nostri Cranstoun canonici dicti collegii Apud dictum collegium 24 Junii anno domini Millesimo (quingentesimo omitted) quinquagesimo secundo.

Symson subscripsit.

23 septembris 1553 ego M. Robertus andersoun receptus fui ad locum unius quatuor magistrorum et regentium collegii Sancti saluatoris et promisi seruaturum fundationem eiusdem iaste Manu propria.

Robertus andersoun Manu sua.

Concordat presens receptio prefati M. Roberti andersoun cum suo originali, excerpta de quodam libro adnotationum divi saluatoris ciuitatis Sanctiandree collegii testante hoc meo cyrographo,

   g. makesoun notarius publicus manu sua subscripsit.

f.24r.

Ye zer of god Jai ve fifte and thre zeris.

I M. Symond symson cannah of Sanct saluatoris college within ye citie of Sanctandrews grantis yet ye xxiii day of september last bipast at vi houris afternone or yairby M. Robert andersoun was ressaullt regent and ane of ye foure maisteris de nouo vi zeris, quhom maisteris martyne balfour provest of ye said college, williame cranston and channonis of ye samyn has chesyn to teche Logik and philosophy yairin be yis vrit subscrivivit with my hand at ye said college ye said
XXIII day of September before you, witness George Wilson
and our self anno quo supra.

Symson.

Concordat presens admission cum suo originali in
omnibus per me notarium subscriptum.

G. makesoun Notarius publicus manu sua scripsit.
JOHN RUTHERFORD APPOINTMENT: 15th APRIL, 1557

National Library of Scotland: Adv. Ms 17.1.3

f. 37r

(Of the second series. There is a first series foliated separately).

Pentio (sic) magistri Joannis Rutherfurde

Cunctis hoc presens scriptum intuentibus et audituris, Joannes miseratione divina Sanctiandree archiepiscopus, totius regni Scottie primas, legetus natus, a pasleto (sic) monasterio abbas, Sanctissimi domini nostri et apostolice sedis cum potestate et facultate legati a latere ad illustriissimam et Serenissimam principem mariam Scotorum Reginam eiusque regnum et dominia illi subjecta nuncius specialiter deputatus, collegii scolasticorum et presbiterorum intra ciuitatem Sanctiandree in loco alias pedagogium nuncupato sub nomine seu invocatione delpare virginis in assumptione erecti fundator et dotator, et Johannes douglasius eiusdem collegii primarius seu propositus universitatis Sanctiandree in presentia et a colless parrochiali ecclesie rector, in omnium seruatore Salutem. Sciat vestra universitas quod nos cupientes et summopere desiderantes primum in laudem et gloriam omnipotentis dei, deinde nostri collegii felix et ausplicatum incrementum, prosperosque successus et bonarum artium propagationem et totius reipublice et Sanctiandree academie utilitatem et decorum, ut in eo habeantur et illustres ac nobiles viri, probique homines, virtutum et cognitionis cupidii, qui liberos, nepotes et proinquos suos ad exterar nationes literarum et disciplinarum gratie emittere solent, ingentibus sumptibus et magnae rerum suarum lectura et emissione pecuniarum regni huius detrimento, presentem leuamen impositorum sentiant, Johannem Rutherfurde, virum fame et nomine insignem, singulari probitate et doctrina preditum et in philosophia humaniorumque tam grecarum quam latinarum literarum peritum et exercitatum, quas apud gellos, lusitanos et acquitanos in celeberrimis academis, in quibus honeste
et liberaliter vixit, magnae cum sua estimatione et commodo, publice est professus, nostris precibus et pollicitationibus ad huius nostri collegii subsidium et ornamentum, totiusque reipublice commodum, in patris lares, externorum hominum conditionibus anteptis, reusoceamus. Quibus premisis ipsum Johannem ultra et supra magistrorum Regentium docentium et legentium numerum, in erectionis et limitationis et specificationis ipsius collegii executione, in magistrum supernumerarium in nostro collegio antedicto, ad secundum subuocato legendum, docendum et faciendum, aggregatum decreuemus. Igitur de consensu, assensu et matura deliberatione Magistrorum regentium bursariorum studentium aliorumque loci gremii membrrorum, cetum et communitatem eiusdem collegii facientium, ad hoc in nostris scholis, debite precedente insinuatione requisitorum et congregatorum; Necnon de totius huius alme universitatis voto, consensu et assensu, prefatum Johannem Rutherford, pro toto tempore vitae sue numero nostrorum regentium, sequentia subitu-rum, unanimiter aggregauimus et adnumerauimus, et huius scripti tenore aggregamus et adnumeramus, ipsum ad hec astringendo, videlicet quod hoc philosophico cursu, quem primo novembris Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto est ingressus, in corpore et obsohlo (sic), singulis diebus quibus in gymnasio legi solet, in abstrusionibus, maximeque necessariis philosophiae libris interpretandis, horam unam publice insumat alteriusque (sic) in arte dicendi et humanioribus literis vel grexis vel latinis, prout commune iuuentutis et nostri gymnesii commodum et honestatem legitime pro suo munere procuret, ac gymnasiarche, sicut theologiae et iuris professores prestare solent et ex funductione prestatre debent, debitem reverentiam et obsequium exhibeat. Pro cuius quidem Johannis Rutherford munere et officio, ultra et preter suam tabulam et quotidianum victum in primis sedibus cum theologiae et iuris professoribus, ac unum cubiculum decens et aptum in collegio, famulique sui cum aliis theologorum et iuris professorum familis liberam et absque quacumque tabule vel cubiculi solutione nutritionem, Summam quinquaginta librarum sotitorum pro toto tempore vitae sue, ex convictu et communibus redditibus dicti collegii, per principalem seu prepositum collegii et eius factores
annuatim ad duos anni terminos videlicet primum mensis novembris et primum maii, per equales medias portiones eidem Johanni Rutherfurde, quandiu in collegio prestiterit, constituimus et assignamus, et nos ad illam summam soluendum quoad vixerit in predictis terminis, nostrumque collegium, eius prouentus et redivus (sic) ad id astringimus, et in uberrimam et certissimam, omni freude et dolo sublatis, contractus et conventionis formam, obligamus. In cuius rei fidelem et testimonium sigilla nostra et singrapha unacum sigillis collegii et universitatis presentibus his literis sunt appensa Apud ciuitatem nostram Sanctiandree decimoquinto mensis aprilis Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, consecrationis nostre anno undecimo, ac ad regni primatialem translationis sedem anno octavo Ad maiorem etiam premissorum corroborationem accessit consensus capituli Sanctiandree, testante eorum sigillo communi presentibus affixo.
Pensio Magistri Roberti andersoune

Johannes...(ie.Archbishop Hamilton)...Noviteris nos pills et iustis motuis, nempe ad amputandas et sedandas lites et controversias nunc vertentes seu occurrentes inter partes infrascriptas oratores nostros collitigantes, videlicet magistros dauidem guyld et Robertum andersone in sacris literis bacchalaurius, super iure, titulo, proprietate et possessione canonicatus et prebende collegiate ecclesie sancti Salvatoris ciuitatis nostre sanctiandree, rectorie de dunennocht communiter nuncupate, tercio magistro huiusmodi collegii perpetue annexate et legitime spectantis, et pro finali concordia desuper habenda et manutenenda inter easdem partes de cetero ab hinc et in futurum, et maxime intuitu cessionis et renunciacions iuris, litis et cause predictarum, per dictum magistrum Robertum andersone simpliciter siende et habende ut inde dictus magister dauid modernus possessor huiusmodi beneficii ecclesiastici predicti...libere et pacifice gaudereet possidere possit et valeat absque ulteriori strepitu...ex parte dicti magistri roberti andersone seu per quemcumque eillum...neconon ut eo melius pax et tranquillitas universalter apud ceteros eusdem collegii incorporatos, studentes et subditos iuxta tenorem fundacionis eusdem loci debite vigeat, amplieturque et manuteneatur, ibidem accedentibus etiam ad hoc expressis consensu et assensu capituli ecclesie nostre sanctiandree sedisse...prefato magistro roberto andersone quoad uixerit unam annuam pensionem videlicet summam viginti quatuor marcarum usualis monete regni scotie singulis annis stbi persoluenam et leuandam, realiter etcum effectu ad festum penthecostes et sancti martini in yeme per equales medias portiones.
de patrimonio ecclesia nostre predicte Sanctiandre ex integra firma nostra emploteatica (sic) omnium et singularum terrarum de darsy...nunc occupatarum per prouidum virum patricium leirmonth feudatarium, vassallum nostrum...Tenendum igitur et habendum ac annuatim levandum et percipiendum...quoad vixerit aut soltem quousque sibi de aliquo beneficio ecclesiasticco equivalenti aut plus valido mediis nostris aut successorum nostrorum...prouideatur...

Apud edinburgum die xix°mensis Maii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo octavo, consecracionis nostre xi° et ad regni primicialem sedem translationis nostre anno ix°.
ST. SALVATOR'S GOODS CIRCA 1559

St Andrews Univ., Archives: St. Salvator's Writs, SAP3/1.

(Inserted in St. Salvator's Book "A", beside an inventory made for M. Thomas Myles, sacrist, by M. Alexander Dick, former sacrist, "cum quibus ipse ut sacrista post loci combustionem intromisit." The inclusion of Simon Simson's name dates it post-1551, for Simson was incorporated in 1552)

Endorsed: The geir of St. Saluatoris laid for kep in the Castell of Sanctandrois (late 16th c endorsement?)

Memorandum

Inprinis apud C(larissimum) V(irim)


Item ten chandellaris sex grit and foure small. The halie wattare fatt with ye styk. Twa sensouris. Ane shipe with ye spone all siluer. Tua packattis of ye best kaipis and vestimentis in manibus prepositi. And uyer tua paccatis of ye best capis and vestimentis in manibus E(piscopi) d(e) M(oravia?).

Apud M. T(homam) M(yles) tua of ye vorst
chalices with sanct apollones towcht. Ane litill chene yat held ye litill cors fuyt fast. And for all ye rest of ye broiken siluer verk in manibus M(agistri) N(ostri) S(imon) S(imson) Added probably when Simson left the land in 1560 nunc in manibus magistri thome mylis.

Apud alexandrum v(al)car tua greyne veluous cappis And tua reid crammassy cappis with ane broune worsat stand for ye halie dayis preiist deiken and subdeiken with ye albis.

Apud Adam gyb sewen arrous warkis, tua halie vattar fattis, ane singill stand of fustiane, tua towalis, four buykis of ye queir and iii altar stanis.

Apud margaret kene tua grit braisyne chandelaris, tua bellis, ane pair of braisyne sensouris. Ane frontall with ane pendikill.

Apud da(uid) my(lis) sex chandelaris of brass. The starne of brass with vii or viii crouetis.

Apud Joannem Vat byschop James kennedeis best wand with ye seyll and ye cheynze.

Apud dominum rect(orem) ye uyer tua wandis. And ye hwiddis and cappis apud bidellum.

Apud caterinam Tomson ten towallis, four albis with uyer samll towallis.

Apud kyr(cal)di et d. vemes tua grit breddis of ye crucifix and ye halie spreit.

Apud dominum Joannem still ane bred of ye crucifix and ane altar stane of blak marable apud Joannem zong.


Item ye maist part of ye buiks of ye queir, with ye bred of brass and ye cussyng lay befoir prouest
laid within ye meikill kyst in ye prouestis stabill within ye yard.

Apud dominum thomam vemes missale summi altaris. And with doctor prat tua gaddis of yrne.

Item in palacio Reverendissimi frontellis with pendikillis albis parablis (?) belitis servuettis vestmentis singill and dowbill schowldaris iiiii peces. Ten cussyngis and xv arrass verkis, xiii arrass werkis by yome selfis and tua with paccatis.

Item And all ye treyng wark yat be lengis to ye kyrk and queir is within ye college.

Item mutuatum granetario palacii one singill stand of quhyt fustiane, one altar stane with tua towals. Item sex sacryne bellis.

SAP 3/2 is a similar inventory.

.....Imprimis xv pece of Tapestri yat hang in ye scolis

Item x scussionis of weluot for ye scolis

Item thre pece of Tapestrie clayth of gold for ye scolis.
National Library of Scotland: Dalcarras Papers (Ms), vii.

This is evidently an earlier Ms of the theological statutes than that published by Hannay in Statutes, pp. 112-135. Some variant readings are recorded below.

Hannay, p. 112, lines 3-4 (of text)... vigesimo Ms., f. 1r... trigesimo

Hannay, p. 113, line 6... iam condita Ms., f. 1r... pro tempore existentia cancelled iam condita added

Hannay, p. 114, line 12... exhortativa Ms., f. Iv... expressiva altered in margin to exhortativa

Hannay, p. 114, 3rd line from bottom... respondentes Ms., f. Iv... respondentis

Hannay, p. 115, 2nd line from bottom... formati cursorii Ms., f. 2r... cursorii altered to formati

Hannay, p. 116, 1st line... formati cursorii Ms., f. 2r... formati altered to cursorii

Hannay, p. 116, line 4... ante Ms., f. 2v... autem

Hannay, p. 116, line 2 from bottom... informati Ms., f. 2v... non formati and before in decisione is Item in margin

Hannay, p. 118, Title 5, line 3... quatuor Ms., f. 2v... quatuor altered to tres

Hannay, p. 119, italicised passage, and rest to "ordinarian" Ms., f. 3r... Et hoc principio facto vocabitut currans (seu?) bacchaleareus cursorius donec compleuerit principium in libros prophetales, quo facto vocabitut bacchaleareus formatus and added in margin
et facto principio super novum christi testamentum vocabitur baccellarius (sic) confirmatus continuing in text completo autem hoc primo principio in pentateuco astringetur bacchaleareus legere ordinarie

Hanney, p.120, lines 20-24..hoc tantum to protrahatur
Ms.,f.3r..this clause in margin only

Hanney, p.122, line 9..quatuor
Ms.,f.3v..quince altered to quatuor

Hanney, p.123, line 3 from bottom..denarios
Ms.,f.4r..after denarios inserts Et facturus principium in libros prophetales similiter soluet bedello medium marcam, facultati nobile, universitati quinque solidos, rectori trigenta (sic) denarios.

(f.4v) Licentiatus soluet bedello ad signetum cancellarii quinque solidos et eidem in licentia decim (sic) solidos, facultati nouem nobilia, universitati quinque solidos, rectori triginta denarios. Et magistrandus soluere tenebitur bedello tria nobilia vel saltem aliquod decens vestimentum, suo magistro qui sibi presidet decim (sic) nobilia vel eundem decentibus vestimentis ornabit. Soluet etiam facultati nouem nobilia, universitati quinque solidos, rectori triginta denarios.

Hanney, p.125, Title 10, line 2..quatuor
Ms.,f.5r..quatuor altered to tres

Hanney, p.127, line 10...cappis ut moris est
Ms.,f.5v..cappis instar studii parisiensis with ut moris est added above

Hanney, pp.128-9..magistri non expendent ultra summam viginti librarum.
Ms.,f.6r..magisterii non expendent ultra tria millia grossorum turonentium (sic)
Richard Guthrie: Books Left at Arbroath, 1473

Aberdeen University Library, Ms 105.
Signed on f.3v, "liber magistri Richardi guthre."

f.139v.

Libri(?) magistri Ricardi guthre quos reliquit
in abbatia de abberbrothoc...1473

primo postilla super lucam alberti/Item primum scriptum
eiusdem...epistolam petri et in eodem libro summa
alberti super tres epistolos (canonic) es/Item postilla
eiusdem super lucam/Item boicius de disciplina
scolarum/...Item Augustinus de doctrine cristiana/Item
liber diversorum sermonum et notabilium/Item postilla
super libros sapiencie/Item prima pars summe sancti
thome/Item nicholaus de lira super apocalypsim/Item
postilla super librum sapiencie et ecclesiastem/Item
pars post(erior?) super 4 primos nocturnos psalterii/
Item postilla alberti super ysaiaem/Item postilla
fratris hugonis super proverbia salomonis/Item tabula
naturalium li (brorum?) philosophie/Item liber
quadlibetorum de naturalibus/Item regula sancti
benedicti cum rubeo tegmine/Item libri ethicorum et
ycanonicorum (sic) in uno volumine/Item alla postilla
super lucam/Item summa alberti super epistolam aliam
que vocatur 'mulierem fortem'/Item epistole pauli
glosate in magno volumine/Item albertus super 'missus
est' et de laudibus beate virginis/Item 4us sententiarum
in magno volumine/Item postillam (sic) super cantica
in paruo volumine/Item postilla super lohanem/Item
liber de parabolis salomonis/Item flores augustinii de
ciuitate dei/Item albertus super primum de anima/Item
brito in mediocri volumine/Item regula sancti benedicti/
Item liber de sacramento/Item liber de causis alberti/
Item sermones in papiro/Item liber de numero(?)
sacramentorum/Item summa etc.
CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST: 7 JUNE 1512

(f. 61v.)

Instrumentum contractus inter A. Arthur et Magistrum fabrice pedagogii penes constructionem muri chori eiusdem.

In del nomine amen: per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter quod anno Incarnationis dominice milleseximo quingentesimo duodecimo mensis vero Junii die septimo Indictione decimaquinta pontificatus Sanctissimi in christo petris et domini nostri domini Julii divina providencia pape secundi anno nono in mei notarii publici... presencia personaliter constitutus proidus vir andreas arthuyr ciuils ciuitatis Sanctiandree et dominus tenementi lacentis prope pedagogium ex parte orientali eiusdem ab una et venerabiles viri magister petrus chaplane principalis et dominus Johannes henrisone magister fabrice dicti loci ab altera Qui taliter appunctuti sunt videlicet quod idem andreas non vi aut metu ductus sed sua spontanea voluntate fatebatur et consentii (sic) quod murus orientalis siue gavellum videlicet the est gavell chori ecclesiae dicti loci iam denuo fundati constructur edificetur et consummetur Insuper dicti magister petrus et dominus Johannes promiserunt restaurare muros et resarcire ruinam edificiorum dicti andree in constructione dicti chori destructos et reedificare eosdem in bonitate et valore quibus erant ente destructionem eorundem et hoc nomine Reuerendissimi domini Episcopi (sic) Sanctiandree Ipsumque andream de premissis indemnem servuare Demum promiserunt satisfacere dicto domino andree et eundem recompensare de dampnis que passus est ex dierctione sue domus antierioris et solii eiusdem secundum modificationem et ad arbitrium amicorum desuper eligendorum et nominandorum et secundum quod conuentum fuerit inter eoscem Super quibus omnibus et singulis
prefatus magister petrus dicti loci principalis
nomine eiusdem a me notario publico subscripto sibi
fieri petiti unum seu plura instrumentum seu
instrumentum Acta erant hec in prefato pedagogio ante
portam eiusdem ex parte interiori hora secunda post
meridiem (sic) aut eocirca Sub anno die mense
indictione et pontificatu quibus supra presentibus
ibidem providis viris Roberto Scot Roberto barre
gavino logy Jacobo steill incolis dicte ciuitatis
Sanctiandree archibaldo thomson et cristina lamb sua
sponse incolis de leyth cum diversis aliis testibus
ad premisse vocatis periterque rogatis.

(Notary is Robert Lesly cleric Aberdeen diocese)
PATRICK HAMILTON AT PARIS

Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale.
Ms Lat. 9951. (Acta Rectoria).

f. 27v
(In Rectorate of Nicolas Pastor, 10 Oct., 1520, till 16th Dec., 1520, the following students are among the iurati, that is, those who took oath to the Rector on incorporation. The entries are slightly out of place which confused the Paris informant of Lorimer who gives Nicolas Maillard as Rector, and his date of election as the 8th or 10th August, 1520, cf. Patrick Hamilton, pp. 28, 225, both dates being erroneous).

Johannes duncane glasgeuensis (sic) dioecesis...

f. 29v
Patricius hamelton glassguensis nobilis...

f. 19v
(Although on an earlier leaf, this entry refers to the Rectorate of Jean le Sieurre, 15th Dec., 1521, till the 24th March, 1522)

Sequentur nomina Incipientium in veneranda natione germaniae...

Dominus Patricius hammelton sancti Andree dioecesis Incepturus sub magistro Guillermo manderston....

Paris, University, Archives.
Reg. 91. (Receiver's Book; German Nation).

f. 193r.
Anno post virginis puerperium Quingentesimo vigesimo supra Millesimum duodecimo calendas octobris apud diuum Mathurinum Auguste Germanorum Nacionis Comitis, franciscus Osmanus Alcmaricus ultraiectine dioecesis ex Hollandorum principatu per inferioris provincie Magistros Eraril Quaeestor nunc secundum
designatus
Acceptorum articulus secundus

Que a baccalaureis

Joanne couden diocesis Sancti Andree
Matheo Nesbet diocesis Glasquensis (sic)
Jacobo delpho diocesis Traiectensis...

patricio (Followed by blank – erasure?) diocesis Sancti Andree bursa 15 solidi parisienses 7 lib. 15 so. par.

(Osman was in office from this date, i.e. 20th Sept., 1520 till 20th Sept., 1521, when Blase de Warda, of Hungary succeeded, as recorded on f.201r.)

f.207r
(Warda still Receiver)

Recepta post primum compotum...

A licencianitis

A Patricio hommonon (sic) diocesis Sancti Andree

 cuius bursa uolet 15 solidos parisienses recepi 3 libras 15 solidos parisienses.

Pro capa rectoris 2 libras parisienses

Pro locundo aduentu seu primo uoto 4 solidos par.

f.208v

Et sic receptor facto suo compoto, munimentis et pecuniis nationis in manibus domini decani Magistri videlicet Gasparidi pistoris relictis, tum ob pestem que hinc in urbe Parisiensi grassabatur, tum uero quia Hungaria patria eiusdem receptoria ob infidelibus depopulata et pro parte occupata fuit, in patriam redire coactus fuit, omnibus Magistris presentibus et futuris animam hilarem, ultam longam, finemque beatum exoptans.

f.209 r

New Receiver, William Monderston, elected on the 20th Sept., 1522.
JOHN MAIR AT PARIS: SOME EXCERPTS
(The first reference below only makes mention of George Lockhart).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Lat. 1782. f. 193v.

Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo sexto
die nona mensis juli congregate est Facultas theologica
in collegio Sorbone, sedente pro decano domino Cappel,
ad deliberandum quid respondendum esset curie
Parliamenti super materia Erasmi quod Elenchi eiusdem
Erasmi in censuras Natalis Bede...conclusum extitit
quod propter arduitatem negotii opus erat maiori numero
deputatorum...videlicet Barthelemi, Vallentin, de lat. Noe,
Loret, Boucher, Furci, Lokart.....
F. 205r.

(Meeting in Sorbonne 16th Jan., 1527)
Item proposuit honorandus predictus syndicus Beda
lectam fuisse ab honorandis magistris nostris Maioris,
Berthelemy, Tempette, Godequin...epistolam domini Henrici
regis Anglie qua respondet quibusdam litteris quas ad se
miserat Luther quae plurimum utilitatis habet et contra
Lutheranam factionem multa efficaciter dissersit. Ideo
requirebat ut consentiret Facultas illam Parisius Imprimi.
Auditis autem prefatis doctoribus qui idem affirmarent
...consensit quod imprimitur correcto titulo eiusdem
epistole ubi dicitur author rex Francie.
F. 210v.

(Erasmus again discussed)
Die lune xxilla mensis septembris anno predicto
vcccxxviii congregate Facultate apud collegium Sorbone per
iuramentum, in primis fuerunt assignati libri magistris
nostri videlicet magistro nostro Maioris Annotationes in
Matheum, Berthelemi in Matheum et Lucam...
F. 227v.

(Meeting in St. Mathurin's, Saturday, 19th June, 1529)
Audita relazione quatuor magistrorum eiusdem
facultatis...antea deputorum ad visitandum commentarios
per magistrum johannem maioris eiusdem Facultatis doctorem
recente factas seu compositas...Conclusum fuit quod
Ipsa facultas consentiebat...quod huiusmodi expositiones predicti doctoris in sancta quatuor evangelia... impressione edantur et venditioni exponantur f.236r.

Anno domini millesimo trigesimo prime mensis augusti fuit sancta theologorum facultas congregata apud sanctum mathurinum post missam super plurimis articulis... Item auditis deliberationibus magistrorum nostrorum conclusum fuit per organum domini decani Johannis maioris quod per modum provisionis (verso) frater egidius burci disputaret in loco presentati salvo tamen iure fratris johannis benedicti...
STATUTES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS CIRCA 1533

(f)

This Ms comes from the collection of Principal Lee, being Lee Ms 359. Originally it probably formed a part of the Ms volume Acta Rectorum, vol. I, in the St. Andrews Univ. Archives. Title One is missing.

(TITLE TWO)

Titulus secundus de his que respiciunt Rectorem
De electione rectoris inueniatur in titulo primo
constitutione septima
De Iuramento rectoris in sua reptione

(1) Ego N. iuro quod officium rectoris fideliter exercebo et deliberate in congregacione exsequar iuxta posse. Item quod in congregationibus generalibus universitatis neminem vocabo secrete aut priuatim, sed universaliter omnes qui vocari debent, et quod tempore rectorie mee procurabo pro posse utilitatem et commodum studii Sanctiandree et privilegia libertates eiusdem studii servabo. (Non legatur).

(Margin: Iuramentum rectoris in sua reptione)

(2) De iurisdictione et potestate rectoris

Tempore magistri Johannis barber Rectoris xiimi decretum fuit et ordinatum quod de cetero nulli haberent dubitare de iurisdictione dominii rectoris quin ipse haberet potestatem excommunicandi, interdicendi et suspendendi per privilegia universitatis per dominum episcopum henricum olim concessa, et dominum papam, benedictum papam xiii, approbata et confirmata. (Legatur).

(3) De appellantibus a rectore

Statutum fuit et ordinatum, existente pro tunc Rectore primo Laurentio de londoris, ad restringendum pluritatem appellantium, videlicet quod quilibet
appelans a rectore appellauerit ad ipsum matrem
uniuersitatem et eodem die, aliter appellatio eius
sit nullo, et solut xx. ad communes usus uniuersitatis,
ita tamen quod si appellatio eius recepta fuerit iusta,
ipsa matrem uniuersitas hobeat sibi illam summam
restituere, et si immerere appellauerit a rectore ad
papam, omissa medio matris uniyersitatis, solut xls
sine quacumque restitutione, siue (sic) aliquis ab ipsa
uniuersitate ad dominum nostrum papam, appelet eodem
die ut prius et solut xls., hoc addito quod si appellacio
per judicem ad quem appellauerit reperta fuit (sic) iusta,
restituatur sibi prefata summa. (Legatur).

(4) De inobedientibus et contemnentibus iurisdic-ctionem
rectoris

(a) Anno domini cccc\textsuperscript{mo} uicesimo quinto, existente
rectore magistro Jacobo lindsey, statutum fuit et
ordinatum et conclusum quod nulli supposito uniuersitatis
liceret recusare seu declinare rectorem uniuersitatis
in judicem, et, si quis contrarium presumperit, quod
Rector procedat contra eum, per suam censuram eum
suspendendo, et, sua contumacia exigente, excommunicando,
et si opus fuerit resecando eum ab uniuersitate. (Legatur).

(b) Statutum fuit et ordinatum anno domini millesimo
xliii\textsuperscript{to} (quarto also written above), existente protunc
rectore magistro alexandro newton, quod, si aliquod
suppositorum ausu tumericio declinauerit curiam rectoris
judicialiter in quibuscumque causis ad forum dicti rectoris
et iurisdictionem pertinetibus, tamen trangressionem
suam legittime (sic) monitus, infra ix dies emendare
curauerit, (aliter?) cum effectu a matre nostra uniuersitate
predicta et priuligiiis eiusdem iuste, mediente merito,
resecesandus. (Legatur).

(5) De concordia apppunctuata inter rectorem et priorem
super ordine dignitatis

Sub magistro Jacobo scrimzour pro tunc rectore
vicesimo quarto die mensis marci anno domini millesimo
cc\textsuperscript{mo} xxii (altered to xxii\textsuperscript{o}) concordatum fuit in
presentia domini henrici de wardlaw pro tunc episcopi Sanctiandree et cancellarii universitatis eiusdem, inter rectorem universitatis et priorem et capitulum monasterii Sti andree quod, ad sedandas discordias et rixes ortas, et resiliter oriri superandas, in futurum rector dicte universitatis, qui pro tempore fuerit, precederet dictum priorem in sessione in ecclesia et alibi, et in pacis donacione, in missa et in sensacione reliquiarum osculo seu adoratione et ceteris aliiis (f.1 verso) ceremoniis, ita scilicet quod semper futuris temporibus erit in ecclesia dictus Rector universitatis predicte et extra ecclesiam inuentus (iuxta?) domino episcopo, et post Rectorem prior predictus quicumque fuerit. Si uero dominus episcopus non fuerit presens in ecclesia, dictus rector erit simpli-citer primus, in honoribus, loco et ceremoniis suprascriptis. Et quod predicte punctuatio processit de concessu capituli, prioris et canoniciorum, missi fuerint dicto die ex parte eiusdem capituli 3es loci, dominus andreas de wyowntune, prior lacus de lewyn, et dominus laurentius fiwie, magister hospitalis Sanctiandree sanctileonardi, qui una cum episcopo in presentia rectoris et deputatorum dicte universitatis scilicet magistrorum Johannis dowglass decani moravensis, laurentii de londoris Rectoris ecclesie de crecht, Thome tinigame rectoris de newtoune, domini willelmi Stephani rectoris ecclesie de lestalryk, et aliorum suppositorum dicte universitatis, unanimiter et unanimi consensu deposuerunt et affirmauerunt priorem et capitulum predictum pro perpetuis temporibus dicte punctuationi concessae, eademque senare promississe pro se et suis posteris in futurum. (Non legitur).

(6) De concordia appunctuata super debatis aut rixis inter subditos utriusque contingentibus

Sub prefato rectore concordatum et appunctuatum fuit vicesimo sexto mensis supredicti anno domini millesimo cccxxii in presentia prescripti domini henrici episcopi et multorum aliorum inter predictos rectorem dicte universitatis et priorem Sanctiandree, quod scilicet si contingat aliquem de universitate in futuris temporibus contumelias seu injurias priori
suprædicto vel suis familiaribus inferre, dictus prior
vel sui familiares denunciabunt seu intimabunt rectori
uniuersitatis qui pro tempore fœrit, et dictus prior
vel sui familiares adhibet dominum episcopum et e
conuero, si contingat aliquem de familia prioris vel
sibi pertinentis aliquod delictum seu iniuriam facere
alicui seu aliquibus de uniuersitate, dictus rector cum
parte lesa intimabit domino priori; quod si dictus
prior delictum corrigere noluerit seu emendare distulerit,
tunc primum dictus Rector adhibet dominum episcopum
pro emenda optinenda vel aliter procedit (sic) ad emendam
secundum quod sibi et suis visum fuerit. Actum fuit
istud in refectorio Sanctiandree, die quo supra,
presentibus ibidem reverendo in Christo patre ac domino
henrico de wardlaw, episcopo Santiandree, necnon et
domino Johanne de Schiues, decerorum doctore, officiiali
Santiandree, magistris Johanne de douglas, decano
moraufensi, Laurentio de londoris, Thoma cunningayme
(sic for Tyningham) et nicholaos Inglis, cum multis
alii de uniuersitate, presentibus ibidem cum domino
priore suprædicto dominus willelmo de balbuthi, dicti
monasterii supræpriore, andreæ wyntown, priore locus de
lewyn, laurentio fywie, magistro hospitalis sancti
leonardi, et daviid spaynyhe, canonico dicti monasterii,
cum multis aliiis canoniciis, et in libro antiquo scripto,
manu Willemi bois notorii publici, Bedello fadultatis
canonum. (Non Legitur).

(7) De cura rectoris habenda circa pondera et precia
victualium
Item statuimus et ordinamus quod Rector per ministros
suos faciat diligenter attendere circa panem et servulciam
in ciuitate.

(8) De residencia continua rectoris in uniuersitate
Ordinatum est quod Rector uniuersitatis nunquam transeat
extra studium sic quod per noctem sic extra (sic), sine
ardua causa et absque licentia ab uniuersitate petita
et optenta. (fo. 2 r.)
(9) De continuacione rectoris per annum et eius salario

Statutum quod Rector universitatis remaneat in suo officio per annum annum integrum a tempore electionis sua, et habebit sex marcas de communi bursa bene solutae, allocata in dictis vi marcis summa quam recipiet Rector de graduatis et incorporatis, et comptum reddendum in exitu suo singulis annis. De ista autem summa sit contentus rector qui pro tempore fuerit, donec mater nostra universitas ad singularem fortunam perueniret.

**TITLE THREE**

Titulus tertius de universitate et concernentibus eam in se De divisione universitatis per quattuor nationes inueniatur in titulo primo, constitutione sexta

(1) De promotore universitatis et eius officio

Sub magistro Jacobo Scrimzour pro tunc Rector conlucion fuit quod expediens esset habere unum promotorem causarum universitatis.

(2) De communi bursa universitatis

Sub magistro Johanne legati rectore, anno domini millesimo cccc mo xxx mo statutum fuit quod esset bursa communis, ad quam pro communibus actibus dictae universitatis ac omnibus supportandis, omnes facultates et singuli graduandi contribuerent: facultates vero canonum et arcium ibidem presentes, habita super hoc prius inter se deliberatione diligenti et matuta, concesserunt et deliberauerunt et decreuerunt de bursis suis et graduandis in illis facultatibus contribuere et solvere communi bursa universitatis et receptori siue depositario eiusdem per modum qui sequitur, videlicet in facultate arciulam quilibet determinans soluet communi bursa illi solidos et vi denarios; et quilibet licentiatus in dicta facultate soluet dicte bursae tantum et eodem modo. In facultate vero canonum quilibet bacchalarius soluet quattuor solidos ultere illios xxii solidos consuetos solui facultati, qui quatuor cum v solidis de illis xx (sic) soluentur communi bursae et sic quilibet bacchalarius in ea facultate soluet.
communi burse ix solidos et sic quilibet licentiatus soluet
viii solidos ultra triginta solidos consuetos solui
facultati, qui viii solidi cum v solidis de illis triginta
solidis soluentur communi burse et sic quilibet licentiatus
soluet dicte burse xiii solidos. (Legatur).

(3) De lectione moralis

Sub magistro T. logy Rectore statutum est quod de
cetero fiat lectio moralis in ethicis aristotelis,
yeconomicis et poleticis (sic) in scola theologie
facultatis aut arcium, et hoc omnibus dominicis et festibus
diebus celebratis in ecclesia a festo pascha usque ad
festival beati michaelis hora septima. Et deinde iterum
usque ad pascha et hoc per yene hora viii, exceptis hiis
festis, scilicet nativitatis domini, duobus diebus
sequentibus, circumcisiopnis, epiphanie, purificacionis,
pascha die sequenti, ascensionis et pentecostes die
sequentii, sancte trinitatis, corporis christi, beati
Joannis baptiste, apostobrum petri et pauli, assumptionis,
nativitatis domine nostre, ad vinclo (sic) sancti petri,
omnium sanctorum et beati andree apostoli, ita quod
quodlibet suppositum universitatis culuscumque status aut
condicionis qui visitare et audire illam lectionem
solverit, et per quinque dies visitauerit et audierit,
si fuerit beneficiatus soluet in anno ii solidos, si
vero non, soluet v marcas, et quod prodebatur per rectorem
quod magister collectione non occupetur, ita quod,
expedita quinta lectura soluet mediam quotam, allam
mediam ante (fo. 2 verso) finem anni. Item quod magister
legens semper eligatur per rectorem qui pro tempore
fuerit et deputatos universitatis. (Legatur).

(4) De magistris et graduatis ex alia universitate
superuententibus

Non presumat aliquis alterius universitatis magister
doctor aut bacchaliarius in hac universitate non receptus
repente legere aut disputare, nisi prius habita licentia
deconi illius facultatis, quam ipsum non exibebit (sic)
nisi habita super hoc conclusione facultatis, et visis
diligenter testimoniabibus sui gradus, nec quisque
presumat actum magistralem exercere, qui non fuerit in
huiusmodi gradu rite et scolastice institutus. Si
quis uero contrarium alicuius horum presumpsisset,
nullum soppositum nostre universitatis suum det presentiam
(Legatur).

(5) De scolaribus causa studii eduententibus
Statutum quod nullus nouicius scolarum non iuratus
universitati et rectori admittatur per quascumque magistros
ad quascumque lectiones ordinarias vel extraordinaries
in quacumque facultate post quindenam post suum adventum
ad universitatem siue ad studium: nec talis de novo veniens
lucrabitum tempus in quacumque facultate, nisi post
iuramentum prestitit Rectori. Et quod nullus magister
bachalarius in quacumque facultate ordinarie vel extraordinaire
regens legat in presentia tallum nouiciorum non iuratorum
post terciam monitionem factam sub pena periiurii. Item
quod bedelli diversorum facultatum istud statutum
pluries in anno in pronunciacione diversorum festorum
tam magistris quam scolaribus habeant intimare. Item
quod nulli graduati vel quicumque alii studentes eximantur
ab hoc statuto, dummodo fuerint capaces dolli et maiores
decem et quatuor annis: sic tamen quod rector quicumque
fuerit parcat pauperibus et indigentibus in quanta sua
quousque perueniente ad pinguiorem fortunam. (Legatur).

(6) De absentibus a congregationibus universitatis et
eorum penis
Statutum est quod quilibet prelatus exceptis episcopis
sufficenter per bedellum vocatis ad congregationem se
absentans soluet ii solidos nisi habeat rationabilem et
legitimum excusationem, quam ipse pretendet in congregatione,
proxime supplicando quod eius excusacio admittatur et
fuerit admissa. Quilibet autem inferiorum in dignitate
constitutorum, utpote Archiadiaconus, prepositus,
officialis, decanus et consimiles, eodem modo vocatus,
soluet xvi denarios. Quilibet uero inferior non beneficiatus
graduatus, religiosus, capellanus vel etiam studens
proyecte etatis xx annorum vel ecirca vii denarios. Idem
intelligimus de deputatis ab universitate sufficenter
vocatis et non comparentibus ad vocationem rectoris vi
denarios. Item quod quilibet prelatus universitati
incorporatus soluet ii solidos; inferior uero et
beneficiatus xii denarios, et non beneficiati vi
denarios. (Legatur).

(7) De procuratoribus nationum et eorum habitibus,
libris et officiis
Nullus assumitur ad officium procuratoris nationis
 nisi graduatus aut in sacris ordinibus constitutus.
Quilibet procurator nationis habeat unum librum in qu0
inscribantur nomina suppositorum iuratorum sue nationis.
(Legatur).

(8) De iuramento procuratoris nationis
Ego iuro obedire rectori in licitis et honestis et
super propisitos in nacione mea aut in congregacione
universitatis fideliter deliberabo et fideliter referam.
Item quod observabo honorem nationis et tocius universitatis
et quod secreta universitatis et nationis mee memini
revelabo, et quod privilegia, statuta et libertates
studii Sanctiandre serueabo. (Non legatur).

(9) De residencia procuratorum
Item quod nullus procurator recedat extra studium
ut prius, absque litteris petitis a suo (fo. 3 r.) nacione
et optentis. Et tunc substituat iurum ydoneum ad
exercendum in absencia procuratoris officium, quem
substitutum procurator denunciabit domino rectori. Item
quod nullus bedellus vadat extra ut prius sine licencia
petita a rectore et optenta.

(10) De loco procuratoris
Statutum est quod procuratores habeant loca honesta
in actibus scholasticis secundum quod eos decet habitation.

(11) De Bedellis et eorum officio
Tenentur autem bedelli principaliter servire rectori
ad exequendum ea que ipse mandaerit circa ea que sunt
officii sui, nec aliquis decanus alicuius facultatis
presumat occupare sue facultatis bedellum, cum fuerit cirra universale negocium per rectorem demandatus ad odexequendum (sic), neque vadat extra ciuitatem ad pernoctandum sine licentia rectoris petita et optenta (Legatur).

(12) De statutis universitatis
   Item statuimus quod hec statuta legantur a rectore qualibet anno statim post suam electionem in aliquo loco ad hoc deputando, ubi congregari habet universitas ad audienciam iorum vocata, ne quis pretextu Ignorancie excusare se valeat in alicuius horum transgressione. (Legatur).

(13) De statutis facultatum
   Item statuimus ut nullus facultatis statuta vel ordinanciones vimi habeant oblivigandi quemque, ita quod infringentes incurrant penam periuiri, priusquam fuerint per universitatem approbata et confirmata. Nec sic confirmata possunt ab aliqua facultate deserinisi post desercionem universitatis trina vice super hoc congregando (Legatur).

(14) De litteris testimonialibus universitatis
   Statum fuit et ordinatum anno domini millesimo ccccmo xvii rectore pro tunc existente magistro Johanne gill, quod qui vellent habere litteras recommendatorias universitatis solverent pro sigillo videlicet, quilibet scolaris non beneficiatus in minoribus vel religiosus xii denarios et quilibet beneficiatus in majoribus dignitatis ii solidos. Item quicumque non existens de corpore universitatis haberet litteras universitatis solveret pro sigillo v solidos. (Legatur).

TITLÉ FOUR

(1) Titulus quartus de regentibus et eorum ordinationibus
   De ordinationibus regentium
   Nullus admittatur ad regendum in aliqua facultate nisi qui presentatus in congregacione illius facultatis
ad regenciam in eadem est admissus et iuratus fideliter
ad utilitatem legencium et ad hominem studii regere et
exercere, textus fideliter legere et per doctorum
approbatorum glosas declarare, alienam et suspectam
doctrinam non inserere, mores suorum auditorum pro
posse non solum ad doctrine cognitionem sed ad lucis
viaum reducere. (Legatur).

(2) De regencium habitibus
Conclusum fuit quod nulli reputarent regentes in
alique facultate nisi legant in hora statuta et in cappa
rugata vel ordinaria; nec scolaribus reputatur aliquid
de tempore nisi sub magistri legentibus, hora et
habitibus honestis et decentibus. (Legatur).

(3) De principiis et collacionibus moderandis et
scandalosis vitandis

(fo. 3 v.)

(To p of page: Alexander Suyerland rector universitatis
Sanctiandrea me scribi fecit anno domini millesimo v
xxxiii, followed by his arms).

Conclusum fuit et ordinatum quod nulli deinceps de
universitate cuiusque gradus, status vel condicionis
existant, in suis harangis, collacionibus, principiis
librorum seu recommendacionibus suarum facultatum vel
scientiarum, faciant comparaciones sediciosas et
scandalosas aut inferant vel imponant absurdities
alius, alias scientias aut facultates vituperando vel
vilipendendo. Potuerunt tamen suas commendare, laudare
et extollere ut moris est, et comparationibus uti quibus
usi sunt approbati doctores inter scientias et facultates.
(Legatur).

(4) Quod scolares unius facultatis pro inobedientia
recedentes, ab alio non recipiatur
Ordinatum fuit et statutum quod si contingat aliquem
scolarem de consortio aliorum propter suam inobedientiam
vel rebellionem fore expulsum, nullus alius magister
recipiet eum in scolarem donec humiliatus ad illum
redeat a quo superbus recessit, et etiam quosque sibi
satisfecerit tam de inobedientia quam de (pena omitted) pecuniaria, si aliquum debuerit. Item quod quilibet magister scribat suos scolares ut sciatur qui sunt veri scolares et qui sunt ficticii. (Legatur).

(5) Quod in quolibet collegio sit unus regentium principalis

Item statuimus et ordinamus quod in quolibet collegio (et) studentium aula sit unus magister vel doctor principalis nec aliqui suorum scolarium ad aliquod examen vel temptamen in aliqua facultate pro aliquo gradu recipiatur, nisi cum consensu (eius) qui curam habeat universalem et magistrorum suorum et scolarium, ut et doctrina sit sana et labor debitus cum provisione sufficienti quoad esculenta et poculenta. (Legatur).

(6) Quod non presententur cancellario pro gradu aliqui per regentes priusquam examinentur in sua facultate

Non presententur a magistris alicuius facultatis studentes alicuius domino Cancellario pro litera gradus magistralis aut doctoralis, qui non sunt prius in eadem examinati et sufficientes inuenti a magistris vel doctoribus in sua facultate ad eorum examen prestito iuramento eligendis, nec in aliquo vicio commaculati, de quo inferius subscribitur in titulo de suppositis et studentibus universitatis, statuto octavo. (Legatur).

(7) Quod quilibet magister habeat in registro nomina suorum scolarium

Quilibet magister regens habeat in registro nomina suorum scolarium. (Legatur).

**TITLE FIVE**

Titulus quintus de suppositis et de studentibus universitatis et scolaribus

De scolaribus causa studii aduententibus requiratur
titulo tercio constitutione sexta

(1) De iuramento talium dum incorporantur

Ego iuro quod ero obediens Rectori universitatis Sanctiandree qui pro tempore fuerit et quod tocies
quocies fuero vocatus ad congregaciones et consilia
do deinde consilia et auxilia. Item quod statuta,
privilegia et constitutiones laudabiles universitatis
observabo et observari procurabo ad quemcumque statum
deuenio. Item quod secreta universitatis non revelabo
nisi quibus revelenda (sic) sunt, sic me deus adiuuet
et hec sacrosancta dei evangelia.

(2) **De honestate habituum studentium**
Conclusum fuit per modum decentie et non statuti,
quod scolares in generalibus congregationibus, ecclesiis,
vicis et plateis incenderent in habitibus talaribus sine
zonis. Secundo damnatus fuit quidem abusus scolarium
super scissura manicarum et cordulis pendentibus circa
collum. (Legatur).

(3) **De habitibus prohibitis studentibus**
Statutum fuit quod ammodo nullus studens portet extra
locum sue habitations istos gresios (fo. 4 r.) mantellos
sive clamides sub pena perdicionis illorum, ita quod si
quis possit comprehendi amodo extra hospitium in tali
habitum, ipso facto illum perdet et confiscabitur rectori.
(Legatur).

(4) **De deformitate habituum studentium**
Conclusum fuit quod deformitates habituum studentum
cellocentur ita quod post festum pentecostes proxi
seuens non ueterentur, sub pena emissionis temporis, in
quacumque facultate studarent, scilicet capucliis secularibus
grossis circulis provenientibus (MSpruentibus), fascis
sliue pectoralibus, peplis albis apertis et tectis more
mulierum, calceis rostratis et digis sliue tarsoriliis
cingulis appennis. (Legatur).

Nullus de cetero ex universitate intret congregationem
cum cingulo, si non fuerit pallio aut colicbie super
vestitus, quod si presumperit Rector habebit illud
scilicet confiscatur. (Legatur).

(5) **De noctiuggis et eorum penis**
Statutum fuit ut honestas clericorum studentium et
mores serventur, scandalae evitentur et pax ciuitatis et
studii persistat, et quod nullus clericus seu studens
universitatis de nocte inhoneste vigilare (sic) presumat,
in armis vel cum armis post decimam horam noctis in
publicis plateis nisi ex ratione bili causa ammodo reperiatur.
Quod si secus fuerit a quocumque clericico seu studente
attemptatum, post promulgacionem statuti presentis sic
repertus soluet pro primâ vice transgressionis sue
xiii solidos et iii denarios monete scocie communi burse
universitatis. Et quia crescente contumacia crescendum
est pena, si secundo reperiatur transgressor presentis
ordinationis et statuti soluet communi burse xxvi
solidos et viii denarios. Quod si tercio culpatus
inueniatur, cum sacri canones clericos arma portantes
et usurarios detestentur, per comminationem excommuni-
cacionis sententie et resecationis a sancte matris gremio,
in pena multiplicis contumacie soluet xi solidos, et si
ulterior delinqueret a mater nostra universitate
Sanctiandree ipso facto perpetuo resecatus et absconus
(sic) permaneat, nisi super hoc gracia et misericordiam
tocius universitatis in generale (sic) congregacione
meretur optinere. (Legatur).

(6) (Note: The test of this passage is evidently corrupt)
De ludis et recreationibus honestis et ludis prohibitis
Considerans mater universitas quod ludi et recreationes
honeste sunt iuvenibus necessarie, ut requies spiritus
et consolatio laborum precedencium et preparacio ad
futurum studium, indulgendo et permettendo eis pro
tempore recreationis ludos honestos rusticanos, non
periculosos et illiberales alias omnino prohibitos,
ut est ludus taxillorum, tesserarum et huiusmodi, et
specialiter pile pedalis, propter pericula concomitantia.
(Legatur).

(7) De concordi conversacione studentium cum ciuibus
Nullus ex suppositis nostre universitatis presumat
contendere aut rixari in aliquem ciium aut ei injurias
aut molestias inferre aut ledere in bonis aut in corpore
(Legatur).
(8) De qualitate suppositorum eligencium rectorem
Statutum fuit et conclusum per matrem nostram
universitatem Sancti Andreæ anno domini millesimo cccc
septuagesimo quinto, magistro Roberto Keyth existente
rectore, ad suitandum discordia et clamores inutiles et
ad procurandum pacem et honestatem dicte universitatis
inter supposita eiusdem, quod deinceps singulis annis
in congregacione tenta pro electione noul rectoris solum
doctores, magistri, licentiatii, bacchalarii (fo. 4 verso)
in singulis facultatibus eiusdem, religiosi patres et
sacerdotes habeant vota, et nulla alia supposita, ita
quod digniora membra seu honorabilia supposita predicte
matris nostre in electione capitis ut decet preferantur
et honorantur. Et si occasione quacumque aut usu
temerario aliquod suppositum universitatis infringere
ac violare predictum statutum presumserit, eadem in
aliquo contradicente, Rector universitatis qui pro tempore
fuerit eadem delinquenti ab huiusmodi perturbatione sub
excommunicacionis penit discessere (sic) mandabit, quod
si pertinaci animo per inobedientiam predictum facinus
continuare curaverit, idem rector prefatum suppositum
in sua contumacia perseverans excommunicatum declarabit.
(Legatur).

(10) De pene recusancion officium rectoris
Cum decens sit et naturali iuri consensus filios
matrem honore, reverencia et timore prosequi, eiusque
commodum et utilitatem procurare ac mandatis honorem
suum concernentibus obtemperare debere, statuit mater
nostre universitas quod recusantes rectoris officium,
ab universitate eis legitime (sic) impositum aut ab
eiusdem electione sciunter et fraudulentur se absententes
in predicte universitatis utilipensionem pariter et
gravamen, predicti in eadem congregacione subibunt
penam quam mater nostra universitas infligendum, nisi
aliquam causam rationabilem allegauerint, quod nisi
ab universitate admissa fuerit, predicte pene subiace-
bunt. (Legatur).

(11) De observancia statutorum a ciuibus editorum
Quia alios magnis laboribus et vigilliiis recolende
memorie Jacobus Kennedy hulus universitatis metropolitane
olim antistes inter nostre matris universitatis supposita
hulus atque ciuitatis ciues contractum, pacis fotonum,
futuris peppetuis temporibus duraturum, celebbruit, quo,
inter cetera, mater universitas, ipsiusque supposita,
clibus in negociis et agendis, et auxillo, consilio
et favore adesse obligantur, quo capite mota, nostra
mater universitas, atque etiam cum decept specialem
jurisdictionem seculare in subsidium accurrere, presertim
dum republicam suoere, firmare ac augere conatur
(sentence apparently left unfinished). Hinc anno gracie
millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tercio, magistro
nosto magistro hugone spens existente rectore, nostra
statuit mater universitas singula huius ciuitatis statuta
victione concernentia, signanter panem et cerulsiam,
ubi pro republica et communi bona operantur, et faciunt
a suppositis eiusdem inviolabili observeri et
observeri procurare; sic quod exquestis mediis uel
coloribus precium panis cerulsie, aliorumve victualium
non augeant in dispendium communides et republacies.
Statuit quod violareis prefati statuti pecuniara pena
universitatis burse applicanda multandos, duorum solidorum
multa; deinceps semper crescente culpa penam duplicari
pecuniariam: ad hos atque statuti sepefati violatores
delegendos, singulis annis, cum ciuitatis statuta
promulgantur, certos nominari inquisitores, per hosque
infamatos, nisi se proprio iuramento purgauerint, pro
convictis statuit (mater universitas?) haberi. Per
(hoc?) tamen statutum mater universitas rectori eiusdem
super jurisdictione et assisa panis et cerulsie in casu
neglicenle officiorum ciuitatis antedictae detrhere
seu prejudiciare non intendit. (Legatur).
ADDRESS OF NEWLY CREATED MASTER IN THEOLOGY AT ST ANDREWS

CIRCA 1546

(This address is to be found in some manuscript leaves inserted into a copy of William Manderston's Bipartitum, Paris, 1518, now in Glasgow University Library, shelf-number BE 6.b11 and formerly belonging to Robert Anderson, regent in St. Salvator's College, in whose hand it appears to be written. The peculiarities of spelling are retained below, but punctuation has been inserted)

Manderston Ms, f. 9r.

Aegrestis moribus, conversacione inciuilis, tenuis minerua, ingenio rudis, inops scientiis, literarum omnium Inexpertus et qui nunc quod nouerim foue discipulus hodie in magistrum sum erectus, vestris coram splendissimis (sic) reverentiius, O reverendissimi patres et domini qui in circuitu assidetis universi. Nescius certe docere meipsum (hodie cernentibus vobis) ut alios docere proiectus sum. Indignus qui remigis fungar officio in gubernacione nauis positus ad amplustre, idque non meis meritis aut virtutibus, sed benevolentia et persuasionibus Reverendissimi domini cardinalis Sanctiandre huius alme universitatis cancellarii, ac ministerio consillioque collendissimorum magistrorum nostrorum in sacra theologica facultate graduatorum, quibus sane debere me scentio gratitudinem (MS has vicisitudinem) quam parentibus filii, dominis serui, magistris discipuli, solent exhibere. Hodie, inquam, de lare ad cathedram, de miserie obscuritate ad honorem magistralem miser homuncio exaltatus sum, per eum qui de terra suscitat inopem et de stercore erigit pauperem, Jesum christum dominum nostrum. Quoniam autem miser omnis alieno opus habet auxilio, opere pretium mihi facturus videor, si primum et ante omnia del optimi maximi presidium innotandum statuero, quippe sine quo nullus certe edificii
rite facit fundamentum. Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere preter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus: in quo omnis edificationis constructa crescit in templum sanctum in domino: quique non aliam ab causam venit in hunc mundum, quam ut peccatores saluos faceret, quorum primus ego sum. Et proinde ad tuam, o deus bone, confuge misericordiam, qui nulium unquam dereliquisti sperantem in te. Ad te recurro, o pater luminum, qui lucem habitas inaccessiblem et illuminans (f. 9v) omne hominum venientem in hunc mundum, qui via es et ea quidem certa, qua pertingitum ad cellum per Jesus christum dominum nostrum, cuius spiritus apud te postulaf pro nobis gemictibus inenarrabilibus. Illuminare, obsechravit michi miserum undique circumsepto, in tenebris quoque sedenti ac umbra quippe, qui tamquam solitarius in tecto in tenebris sedeo et umbra mortis. Illuminare inquam ad dirigendos pedes meos in viam pacis, tramitemque salutis eternae, indacasque in omnem sicut tuus promisit filius veritatem. Ipse est enim via, veritas et vita, in quo omnis spes vitae et virtutis, extra quem nichiil preter mortis um布拉 eternumque exitum inuenire licebit. Nam fallax quoque armatorum quadrige, fallax homo, fallax equus, ad salutem. Veigitur hils qui confidunt in nichil, in baculo arundineo, descendentes ad tenebras egipti, relinquentes dominum fontem aquae viue, condorem lucis eternae, sperantes auxilium in equis, habentes fiduciam in quadrigris quia multe sunt, et in equitibus quia preualidi sunt et non sunt confisi super sanctum Israel, dominum, omnis salutis actorem, non requisierunt. Nos autem, o domine deus, qui rex noster es solus, rex, inquam, Regum et dominum dominantium, in te nostram fidicem. Tuam proinde omnipotentem exercite virtutem et veni, ut saluos nos facias ab omnibus in circuitu inimicorum insidiis, ab hereticis et scismaticis, a demoniis et sortilegis, a lenonibus et sortis (?), homicidis et falciloquis, ab importunis et malis hominibus, nempe populi christianini schandalizatoribus, diuii ueri cardinalibus interpretibus sibi quiduis sine morsu conscientiam licere putantibus, preteria a diue virginis matris (f. 10r) dei nephandis blasphematoribus, ab ecclesiasticis ordinis ab te domine instituti sacramentorumque tuorum perversoribus, precipe vero sanctissime eucharistie in qua nobiscum permanebis usque ad consummacionem seculi. Libera nos in
potenti manu tua et adiuva nos seruos tuos, nullum aliiu
auxillum habentes, nisi in te domine, qui omnem potestatem
dominaris, qui omnem habes scientiam, et nosti quod nos ex
toto corde oderimus gloriam iniquorum, detestamurque ecclesiam
malignantium hacticorumque omnium. Adversus hos et id genus
Alios sathanice potestatis milites, ego Hodle meo conflictu
bellum ingredior, debilis contra forties, inermis contra
armatos, sine simulacione contra omnino dissimulatos. Nam
eiusmodi pseudo apostoli, sicut operarli subdoli, transfigur-
antes se in appostolos christi, non christo servientes, sed
suO ventri, nec mirum, quoniam ipsamet sathanas nonnunquam
transfigurat se in angelum lucis. Non ergo estmirum si ministri
transfigurentur velut ministri Iusticie quorum (fructus
omitted) suus tamen erit secundum opera ipsorum. Campus
adversariorum plenus, latus est, nimirum unit et
equae in circitu;
periculosumque bellum, sed tu, domine, propicie et miserircular
da auxillum de tribulacione, quia vana salus hominis. De michi,
queso, in animo constantiam, in lingua eloquentiam, in opere
fortitudinem ad contirendum inimicos crucis cristi et
subuersores unice tue electe. Non enim in multitudine est
virtus tua, domine, neque in fortium viribus voluntas tua est,
sed tibi haud dubile est semper et fuit potestas (f.10v)
equaliter victoriam dare in pauclis ut in multis, nec superbi
ab initio placuerint tibi, sed humillum et mansuetorum semper
tibi placuit deprecatio. Deus igitur celorum, creator aquarum,
orbis reparator et dominus totius creature, in quo viuimus
omnes, mouemus et sumus, exaudi me miserum deprecantem et de
tua misericordia presumem. Memento, domine, testamenti tu
quod in mille generationes, et da verbum in ore meo, et in
corde meo consilium corroborare, ut hoc honoris quod Hodie
magistrorum nostrorum manibus suscept, cedat ad salutem anime
mea, ad utilitatem proximi, ad edificationem ecclesie, ad
laudem quoque et gloriam nominis tui sancti, cuI ab omni
creatura sit omnis honor et gloria in secula.

(He now takes up the text of his principia)

modo celebrassimi patres, dominique percelebrres,
diuinorum eloquorurn precontia elaturi, pro dicendorum radice
sumimus in medium thema illud quo iam olim uti solemus in
nostri adsacras literas principilis: Concupiscite sermones et
lumen sapientie, omnes qui preestis populis, dicit qui non
mentitur deus, quique archanarum sensum scripturarum aperit
et nemo claudit, claudit et nemo aperit. Nam teste daniele
profeta est deus in cellis reuelans mysteria. Reuela igitur, o domine deus, et oculos meos ad apertari et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua. Retribue seruo tuo ut viuam, viuificia me et custodeam sermones tuos. Lex enim tua immaculata et testimonium conuertans animas, testimonium tuum fidele sapienciam prestans paruulis. Quod mundum est mundis tractandum est (f. lIr) manibus. Lex, igitur, omnimodo sic mundum requirit amorem, et propheta magna sollicitudine invesfigans. Quisnam ascensurus esset In domini montem, quis verura deluinarum scripturarum invcnturus esset intellectum? Respondit: innocens manibus et mondo corde qui In maluolam animam non introlbit. Sapientia neque habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis, de qua sapientia nomine aque loquiris (sic) domine, apud ezechielem, capite 36. Effundam, inquis, super vosaquam mundam et vos mundabimini ab omnibus iniquitatibus vestris, et dabo vobis cor novum et spiritum nouum ponam medio vestri, et afferam cor lapideum de carne vestre et dabo vobis cor carneum, et faciam ut in preceptis meis ambuletis et iudicia mea custodiatis, et spiritum meum ponam in medio vestrum et eritis mihi in populum et ego ero vobis in deum, et saluabo vos ex universis inquinamentis vestris. Tum sciuieritis me et in lege mea ambulaueritis. Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas et qui non habetis argentum properate, emtte et comedite. Venite, emtte absque argento et absque ulla commutatione, vinum et lac. Inclinante aurem vestram in sermones oris mei, audite et viuet anima vestra. Querite dominum dum inuenire potest, inuocate dum prope est. Derilunquat (sic) impius viam suam et vir iniquus cogitationes suas et reuertatur ad dominum et miserabitur eius, et ad deum nostrum qui multus est ad ignoscendum. Non enim cogitationes mee cogitationes vestre, neque (f. lly) vie mee vie vestre, dicit dominus: quod sicut sicut exaltantur celi a terra, sic exaltate sunt vie mee a viis vestrirs (Ms has vrestis) et cogitationes mee a cogitationibus vestris. Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et qui sarclnis peccatorum onerati estis. Concupiscite sermones meos et ego reficiam vos. Tollite iugum legis mee et fasciculum mandatorum merorum super ceruices vestras et discite a me quia mitis sum et humiliis corde, et inuenietis requiem animabus vestris. Audite me omnes qui sequimini quod iustum est, auscultate in verba oris mei qui diligitis quod rectum est, quia lex a me exibit et iudiciwm meum in lucem populum requiscet. Leuate in celum oculos et videte sub terra deorsum, quia celi sicut fumus liquecent et
terra sicut vestimentum atteretur et habitatores eius sicut
hec interibunt. Salus autem mea in septemternum erit et iustitia
mea non difficiet (sic). Celum quidem et terra transibunt,
verba autem mea non transibunt. Audite me qui scitis iustum,
populus meus. Lex mea in corde ipsorum, et quemuis lex lux
sit et mandatum vita, nonnuncquam tamen mandatum quod erat ad
vitam inuentum est multis esse ad mortem, nempe his que in
tenebris sedent umbraque mortis. Et sicut oculis egris odiosa
lux que puris est amabilis, sic implis, peruersis et pecca-
(f.12r) toribus summe disiplivent sermones tui, domine, quos
boni omnes et sancti ampliuntur summo desiderio cordis.
Clamant implis: Recede a nobis scieniam viarum tuarum; nolumus,
habentes damnationem, quippe quorum corda excetabant deus huius
seculi non fulgeat in eis lumen gloriosi evangeli christi.
Clamant piis: Manifestatio sermonum tuorum illuminat et
intellectum dat paruulis. Sed quibus paruulis? Illis certe
de quibus et alibi dixit: Confiteor tibi, domine, pater celi
et terre, quia abscondisti hec a sapientibus et prudentibus
et revelasti ea paruulis. Hec, inquam, tam excelsa tamque
sublimio celaueris eos qui luxta mundum sapientes habentur
et prudentes, et revelaris ea pusillas, contemptibilibus,
humilibus, idiotis ac iuxta mundi estimationem omnino
imprudentibus, Caute nichilomnus, fratre mei in domino
decti, ne pueri sitis sensibus, quoniam potens malicie.
Paruuli estote, sensibus autem perfecti. Nolite timere,
pusillas grex, quia patri celesti complacuit dare vobis regnum.
Pusillum gregem electorum vel ob humilitatis deuocationem deus
nominat, quia videlicet ecclesiam suam quantalibet numerositate
iam dilatatam tamen usque ad finem mundi humilitate (sic)
vult crescere (sic) et ad promissum regnum humilitate peruenire,
ne igitur quis putet sine humiliitate (f.12v) possideri posse
dei nostri sapientiam, vel in elatione superbie aut fustu
supercilii sermones eius perimpleri. Ad eorum perditionem
(sic) electi sunt. Non multi sapientes secundum carnem, non
multi potentes, non multi nobiles: sed que stulta sunt mundi
elegit deus ut confundat fortes, et (omitted luxta) hominum
opinonem contemptihiles, nec ullahus apud vulgus estimationis
elegit deus ut non glorietur in conspectu eius omnis caro.
Sed qui gloriatur, in domino glorietur. In domino, inquit,
glorietur qui thematis verba percipit et cum humiliitate,
ideoque luxta thematis verba cum mentis humiliitate et puritate
conscientie omnes qui preestis populus. Neminem enim diligat
dus nisi cum qui cum sapientia inhabitat. Nam clara est et que nunquam marcesset sapientia et que facile videtur ab his qui diligent eam et inuenit tur ab his qui querunt illum. Preoccupat qui se concupiscunt ut illis semper ostendat cogitare de illa. Sensus est consumptus et qui vigilauerit propter illum cito securus erit. Concupiscentia itaque sapientia deducat ad Regnum tuum: non, inquam, sapientiam huius mundi
que stultitia est apud deum, sed illius verius intellectus sapientia, que est secundum verbum tuum, domine. Unde et pro huius intellectu sapientie orans, propheta cantabat: Appropinquet deprecatio mea in conspectu tuo, domine, secundum verbum tuum: intellectum tribue michi. Non intellectum generaliter dixit, sed intellectus secundum verbum (f. 13r) dei. Est enim intellectus ad mortem. Est prudentia ad interitum.

Filii huius seculi prudentiores quam filii lucis in generatione sua sunt, sed prudentia ista que seculi est, que questibus consceruandis, non meritis comparandis, intenta, honores querit et lucellas: que circa elementa est phalerata magis quam vera dicenda sapientia que plagas celli- scrutatur ac mundi rimatur spatia, quem deum ignorat quem solum deberat inquirere; hec, inquam, sapientia ad vitam non suffragatur eternam. Ea propter qui vera pollebat sapientia dixit: Si quis videtur sapiens esse inter vos in hoc seculo, stultus fiat ut sit sapiens. Sapientia huius enim mundi stultitia est apud deum et proinde ut veraciter scimus sapientes, petat unusquisque sapientiam secundum verbum tuum divinum, nonsecundum philosophos, non secundum causidicos, non secundum mercatores huius seculi, non secundum raptorem prediorum aut imperii, non secundum architectos domorum, sed secundum verbum tuum, domine, quod est vere sapientie omniumque bonorum operum fundamentum certissimum. Huius etenim professores sapientie in extremo omnium die stabunt in magna constantia adversus prudentes huius seculi qui se angustiauerunt ac tanquam latum sub pedibus conculcauerunt, ac qui huius seculi prudentia tument videntes tunc huiusmodi sapientie gloriun turbabuntur timore horribili, mirabunturque in sublectione salutis tam
Inesperate, pre angustia spiritus (f. 13v) gementes dicentesque: Hii sunt quos habuimus (sic) aliquando in derisum et in solitudinem improperii nos insensati vitam illorum estimabamus insaniam, et finem illorum sine honore (? altered unreadably), nunc quomodo relectis nobis computati sunt inter filios dei et inter sanctos sors illorum est? Optarunt et adhuc viuentes in corpore et datus est illis sensus, invocarunt et venit in illos spiritus sapientie, quem ubi adepti sunt preposuerunt regnis ac sedibus, et diuitiis nil esse dixerunt in comparatione illius. Nos autem erramus a via veritatis iustitiae, lumen misericordie requisiimus et sol intelligentie non est ortus in nobis. Ideoque nec sero penitentiam paramus, lassati in via inequitatis et perditionis, qui semper in vita ambulanimus vias difficiles. Viam autem domini prorsus ignoramus; putantes nosmetipsos apud mundum sapientes, prudentiam satis nobis fuisse ad salutem, modo stultitie (Ms has stultie) convincimur, incredulitatis arguimus, quippe qui christum hactenus sermonesque eius erubuimus. Lam proch dolor a christo vicissim unico salutis actor penitus erubescimur, ac in eternum incendium perpetuo comburendi detrudimur. Quid nobis nostra profuit superbia, aut diuittiarum iactantia quid nobis contulit? Transierunt omnia hec tamquam umbra et sicut nauis que pertransit fluctuantem aquam, cuius cum pretererit (sic) non est vestigium inueniri, neque semitam carine illius in fluctibus. Contempsimus divine lumen sapientie, duximus in bonis dies nostros et nunc digne pro meritis (f. 14r) in pucerto ad inferna descendimus. Vos autem non sic, o patres amplissimi, sed dum tempus habens emulatores estote legis ac divine lumen sapientie diligite, omnes qui preestis populis. Date animas vestras pro testamento patrum et mementote operum que fecerunt in generationibus suis, et accipietis gloriam magnam, nomenque eternum. Abraam pater vester nonne in tentatione inuentus est fidelis, et reputatum est ei
He eulogises sacred letters and specially the 4 books of the Sentences of Peter Lombard.

Concupiscite sermones meos et lumen sapientie diligite omnes qui preistis (sic) populis, dicit dominus deus per salomonem suum, sapientie sexto capite.

Visibilium omnium, patres conscripti et domini semper venerandi, maximus est mundus iste quem oculis cernimus corporis. Invisibilium autem omnium maximus est deus, per quem factus est mundus quoque. In ipso continentur uni versa, sed mundum esse limpidis conspicimus, deum esse firmissime creditimus. Quod autem deus mundum fecerit, a nullo potius quam ab ipsomet deo querendum (esse) puto testimonium, ubi eum obsechro aliquando loquentem. Audiuimus nusquam interim nos melius quam in scripturis sanctis, ubi dixit profeta elius (f. 15r) Moyses: In principio creauit celum et terram. Nunquid nam ibi fuit iste profeta quum fecit deus celum et terram? Nequaquam. Sed ibi fuit sapientia dei per quam facta sunt omnia; etiam in animas sanctas se transfert, amicos dei et profetas constituit, elisque omnia opera sua sine aliqua vocis strepitu intus enareat (sic), hec sic se habere testatur certissime eadem dei sapientia huiusmodi apud salomonem proverbiorum 8, proferens sententiam verba dominus inquit possedit me in initio viarum suarum, antiquam (sic) quicquam faceret a principio; ab eterno ordinata sum et ex antiquis, antiquam terra fieret. Nondum erant abissi et ego iam concepta eram. Necdum fontes aquarum eruperant, necdum montes graui mole constiterant, ante omnes colles ego parturiebar. Adhuc terram non fecerat (et) lumina et cardines orbis terre. Cum preparabat celos aderam, cum certa lege et giro vallabat abissos, cum ethera firmabat sursum et librabat fontes aquarum. Quando circundabat mari terminum suum et legem ponebat aquis ne transient fines suos, cum appendebat fundamenta terra, cum eo eram cuncta componentes. Et delectaber per singulos dies, ludens coram eo omni tempore, ludens in orbe terrarum et dilicie mee esse cum filiis hominum.
Nunc ergo filii audite me, et me lumen fontemque omnis sapientie in celo et terra diligite. Ego enim sum (f. 15v) qui vere sapientes efficio. Celum namque et terram ego impleo: Jeremias 23; et absque me nusquam sapiens inuenitur ullus. Ego profetas constituo: per me enim reges regnant, per me principes imperant et potentes decernunt iustitiam: proverb 8. Ego quoque in animus sanctas meipsum transfero/ut diligentes me diligam, inter iustos ambulo, ut ditem diligentes me etthesauros eorum repleam: eodem capitulo. Et quamquam cunctorum qui ab orbe condito hactenus extiterunt sapientium et profetarum corda hec dei summi opulentissima sapientia sui splendoris radiis mirifice illustraverit, miro tamen modo et inaudito arteficio preclarissimi viri petri lombardi sententiarumque magistri mentis thesauros per ipsam cumulatissimempletos fuisse, doctorum qui dubitet inuenitur nemo. Ipsenim in quatuor sententiarum libris et diuinorum eloquiorum floribus undequeque collectis uniueraos summe divine sapientie thesauros, quantum humane mentis fragilitas capere potest, in unius codicilli compendium quam breuissime col. Profunda fluuiorum scrutatus est, abscondita produxit in lucem: Job 28. Si vero sciscitetur quispeam (sic), sapientia ubi inuenitur et quis locus intelligentie? Recte sequidem responderi, prout in libris quibus titulus prefigitur de sententiis petri lombardi. (f. 16r) Nam in primo sententiarum libro scrutatur et id quidem subtilissime trinitatem personarum in unitate divinie essentie. Credimus sane, tenemus et predicamus quod prout genuerit verbum, hoc est sapientiam, per quam facta sunt omnia, unigenitum filium, unus unum, coeternus coeternum, summe bonus equaliter bonum, et quod spiritus sanctus simul et patris et filii sit spiritus et ipsa consubstantialis et coeternus ambobus. Atque hoc totum et trinitas sit propter proprietatem personarum, et unus deus propter inseparabilem diuinitatem, sicut unus omnipotens propter inseparabilem omnipotentiam. Ita tamen ut cum de singulis queritur unusquisque eorum et deus et omnipotentes (sic) esse respondeatur. Scrutatur, inquam, profundissimum mysterium ac magnitudinem substantie diuinie, cum eterna ineffabile personarum amenacione. Alte certe profunditas et quis inueniet eam? ecclesiastes 7. Et paulus rom. II: 0 altitudo, inquit, diuiniorum sapientie et scientie dei: quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius et investigabiles vie eius. Hec enim
profunditas inuenitur Job II dicentis: forsitans vestigio dei apprehendes et usque ad perfectum omnipotentem reperies? Excelsior celo est et quid facies? Profundior inferno et unde cognosces? Ex te profecto non potes, lumine vero illustratus divinum poteris et agnosceret et predicare summam dei omnipotentiam (f. 16v) perfectissimam quam eiusdem voluntatem: de quibus idem magister in primo sententiarum libro disputat doctissime.

**In secundo autem libro ordinem scrutatur sapientiae divinae, disputatque de creatorum productione, de operationibus dei ad extra, de natura angelica, de creatione hominis eiusdem-que lapsu, de peccato originali et actuali, et quomodo ob eterno et antequam quicquid fuerit, ab initio ordinata, sapientia in se omni ineffabilis videri utcumque posset in suis creaturis. Unus enim est altissimus creator omnium, qui super omnia opera sua suam effundit sapientiam, iuxta illud Pauli rom. primo: Invisabilia ipsius a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspicientur, sempiternae quoque eius virtus et diuinitas. Nam quod notum est dei manifestum est in illis.**

**In tertio item libro scrutatur mirabilissimam connexionem creatoris cum creaturis. Ubi agitur praeteria de incarnacione verbi, de eius passione, morte, discensus ad inferos, resurrectione in celum usque in ascensionem qualiter nos (cum adhuc in terris viueret) docuit et prudentissime instruxit: idque virtutibus, donis et preceptis diversisque aliis charismatibus largaritionibus. In summa qualiter pater noster quam mire, quamque ineffabili charitate pater ille celestis delexerit nos, qui etiam iuxta paulum rom. 8: Proprio filio non pepersit (sic) sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum et non solum tradidit (f. 17r) verumetiam ad mortem usque tradidit, mortem autem crucis:** philipenses 2.

**Demum in quarto sententiarum suarum libro profundissimam scrutatur dulcidentem misericordie divine super salutem generis humani, idque in applicatione sacramentorum ad animas peccatorum veneno sanctatis, de quo psalmista: O quam magna (inquit) est multitudo dulcedinis tuae, domine, quam abscondisti timentibus te. Et iterum: Misericordia domini ab eterno et usque in eternum super timentes eum, et in eis qui sperant super**
concinitis multitudines et placetis vobis in turbis nationum, eo quod ad nutum vestrum obidunt. Vobis enim data est potestas a domino et virtus ab altissimo, et ipse nihilominus si negligenter egeritis, interrogabit opera vestra et cognitiones scrutabitur, quoniam cum essetis custodes ecclesiae et ministri regni illius non recte iudicatis, nec custodistis legem iustitiae, neque secundum voluntatem dei ambulasitis. Horendi enim apparebit vobis, et si non regunt ut decet, iudicium durissimum fiat ilis qui presunt. Miseri sortis tamen daretur misericordia, potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur, et fortioribus fortior instabat cruciatio. Ad vos ergo omnes qui preestis populis sunt sermones isti ut discatis sapientiam et non excitatis ab eodem, neque ad dexteram neque ad senistem, utique quamcumque excelsus, quamcumque consummatus reperiatur. Quisquam inter filios hominum, si fugeret ab illo (sic) sapientia (sic) tua, domine, in nichilium reputabitur: sapientia 9. Firma proinde sententia est, nec mutari quidem potest. Nemo a deo deligatur qui cum sapientia non habitabit: sapientia 7. Diligite lumen sapientie omnes qui preestis populis. Nam in spiritu prouidens, lambas illo celitus infusi luminis et supercelestis sapientie armarium dauid non (f.18v) sine quousque admodum sublatoque incomodo regnare posse rectorem incipientem in populo, preceptit erudiri omnes, ac omnes presentim quorum partes essent iudicare terram: psalmus 2. Ne si cecus cecid ducatum prestet, ambo in foemem cadant: matheo 15. Unde cum dominus dedisset salomonis fiduciam queque vellet rogandi, petiuit non opes, non honores, non ampliora orbis imperia (quomquam et hie omnis cumulantissime adiecerit illi deus), sed 'Dabis', inquit, 'servo tuo cor docele ut populum tuum recte iudicare possit et discernere inter bonum et malum': 3 regum, 3. O quam felicem censendum (in Ms sensendum) arbitrator hominem qui cum a iuventute isthec inoleverit sapientiam, quia in terris degentem celestem plane efficit hominem, nil quod (sic) aliud modo cogitantium quam quod unus dei procurat gloriam, que etiam aduersus omnium hereticorum terraeque potestatis intrusus(?). inuiictum omnino suum reddit possessorum luxta id domini ac saluatoris, luce 21, ad suos discipulos dicentis: Dum steteretis (sic) ante regas et presides, nolite premiditari (sic) quemadmodum respondiatis. Ego enim dabo vobis os et sapientiam, cui non poterunt resistere et contradicere
omnes aduersarii vestri. Porro Jacobus apostolus admonet ut qui veram se sapientiam putant assequutos, eam prestant declarantque, non supercilio aut litigandi acrimonio, sed mansuetidinie potius ac morum probitate eximia. Nam sapientiam, que sub(?) amarulentam habet emulsionem, que pertinacem habet contentionem, terrenam vocat, animalem ac demoniacam, negatque (f. 19r) penitus eandem e superius profusisti: Jacobo, 3 capites: ut enim mortua et inutilis est fides, ut fecta et infuctuosa est charitas que verbotenus prestantur (in Ms prestander) non factis. Idemdem mundane hypochrisis plena ac inutilis est sapientia que non penes se expressit lenitate morum vitaque probata. Illa vera sapientia que celestis est et que desursum est descends (teste eodem Jacobo), primum quidem pudico est, costa est et pura, nullis prauis affectibus quomododlibet inquinata. Delinde pacifica est et ab omni studio contentionis penitus aliena. Ad hec, modesta est, benigna est, corde (Ms has cornu) preteria tractabilis et morigira, neque gravate cedens ei qui doceat meliore; clemens insuper et modesta, misericos, erga lapsos, nihil non tollerans ut recepscant et sanentur, plena fructibus bonis dum nunquam cessat de omnibus bene mereri; docens indoctos, impios ad pietatem convirtens, cessantes a bonis operibus rurssus extinguilans (Ms has extimulans), quovis incommodo (inquomodo in Ms) afflictorum semper et ubique pro posse consulans (sic), nec interim quemquam damnat, neminem sinistre judicat, nihil habens fuci, nihil simulationis, sed ex animo sinceru bene volens uniuersis. Concupiscite igitur sermones meos, dicit dominus, et lumen sapientie diligite omnes qui praestis populis, et accipiets taned pro mercede immacessabilem eternae glorie coronam. Quam nobis omnibus pro sua bonitate concedat, obsechro, qui sine fine viuit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum.

SOME THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

(1) The following question for disputation is in the same hand as above. The question itself is first given, then five propositions each with one attached corollary.

(f.3r)
An non multo potius in rerum createrem quam in creaturam credendum sperandumque sit.
1 propositio: Fides est substantia rerum sperandorum, argumentum non apparentium.
1 corollarium: Hec fides igitur per quam iustus vitam tinetur (sic), solida basis est earum rerum que nec sensibus nec rationibus humanis deprehendi possunt.

2 propositio: Apostolorum docet symbolum credendum esse, in deum, patrem, filium et spiritum sanctum.
2 corollarium: Unde liquido constat, uni deo et eidem miserenti unam cristanorum fidem inniti debere.

(f. 8v)
3 propositio: Credo (matheus ait) sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sublata prepositionis 'in' syllaba, ob id a creaturis creatorem secernente.
3 corollarium: Ideoque ecclesiam esse credere, non in ecclesiam credere aperto docemur.

4 propositio: Spes est certa erorum expectatio bonorum que vere a deo promissa fides credit.
4 corollarium: Hinc et apostolus ait, Spe salui facti sumus: ro. 8.

5 propositio: Sicut paulus, nostre salutis authorem, deum, ita christum, facit spem.
5 corollarium: Quamobrem in unum deum sperandum perinde ac credendum est.

(2) The date of this question is uncertain. It is not in the same hand as Question 1.

(f. 3v)
Questio theologica
Nonne maior est authoritas ecclesie quam evangeli et huius quam summi pontificis.
Summus pontifex potest errare in fide, excommunicari, non tamen dispensare cum monochis (sic) ut habeant proprium aut cum monialibus ut nubant. Non sunt monochi (sic) sed apostate qui ulla fortune bona faciunt sibi propria, siue illa temporalia fuerint siue spiritualia. Evangelium prohibit omne
mendacium, inimici odium, uxorum pluralitatem et matrimonii dissolutionem aliter quam fornicatione. Evangeli precepta sunt firma, pauc a et facilia. Ecclesia docet ieiunium divinitus esse institutum, similiter eleemosinam et oracionem. Contemptatores ieiunii (ad) domandum suum cornem, eleemosine ad iuvandum proximum aut oraciones erga deum non sunt vere fideles. Ecclesia itaque (f. 4r) authoritas maior est quam evangeli et huius quam summi pontificis.

(3) This question has annexed to it seven propositions, with a corollary attached to the last, and a determination at the end.

(f. 7v)

Ques tum theologica
Numquid homo suis meritis satisfacit pro peccato.

Propos itio prima: Peccatum est transgressio legis divinae.

Secunda proposition: Peccatum impremeditatum non imputatur suo authori.

Tertia proposition: Peccatum originale imputatur toti posteritati ut ob quod vere punitur.

Quarta proposition: Peccatum originale plene remittitur in baptismo.

Quinta proposition: Nemo potest omnia peccata vitare.

Sexta proposition: Non omnia peccata sunt paria.

Septima proposition: Quedam sunt peccata pro quibus non est orandum.

Octava proposition: Peccatum est infinitum.

Nona proposition: Proni et assueti peccato, laetitantes tamen suam fidem, non habent eam fidem quam profitentur se habere et quam evangelium cum Paulo commendat.

(f. 8r)

Decima proposition: Remisso peccato merito passionis Christi reliquitur, pena persoluenda.

Undecima proposition: Omnia hominum opera ab Adamo ad finem usque mundi nequem satisfacere pro uno peccato.
Corollarium: Ex his ergo sequitur hominem meritis suis pro peccato satisfacere non posse.

Sola fide, remissionem peccatorum cum mentis invocatione, per misericordiam dei et propter merita christi, apprehendente, homo impius iustificatur.
ST ANDREWS: DATING OF THEOLOGICAL STATUTES

The dating of the originals on which these statutes are based presents a problem, which was not satisfactorily solved by Professor Hannay, who was unaware of the earlier manuscript copy of them to be found in volume 7 of the Balcarras Papers in the National Library of Scotland. This earlier version (like the rest of the contents of that volume) is undoubtedly late sixteenth century, and incorporates a few phrases from the lost medieval original not found in the manuscripts that Hannay used. Like the Edinburgh university manuscript, however, it gives the date of these statutes as March, 1439, and not 1429, the date accepted by Hannay from the St Andrews manuscript (see the excerpts printed in this appendix). This, of course, would make it impossible for James I to have been present at their redaction, although we know from other evidence that he took an active interest in the university about 1429, even to the extent of legislating for its arts faculty.

Formidable obstacles lie in the way of accepting the earlier date. The others who are said to have been present were: Bishop Wardlaw; James Haldenstone, prior of St Andrews and William Stury, abbot of Scone, both professors of theology; Gilbert of Galloway, abbot of Tongland (Balcarras, vii, f. ir reads "Gaudia" rather than "Gandia"); William Brown, prior of Urquhart; John Gill, chancellor of Dunkeld; Robert de Essay, vicar of Auchterhouse; and John Athilmer, vicar of Memuir, all licentiates in theology. (Statutes, p. 112). There is no difficulty about Bishop Wardlaw and Prior Haldenstone, nor possibly about John Gill, who was in the faculty about this date (A.F.A., ff. 8r-11r; he was at Basle in 1434, Copiale, p. 488).

However, John Winchester was chancellor of Dunkeld in 1426 and the next recorded chancellor there appears to be John de Atholia (R.M.S., ii, no. 84; C.P.R., vii, 467; Wemyss, ii, 69).

William Stury, abbot of Scone, succeeded, not
Adam de Crannoch, but John of Inverkeithing, who was still in possession in 1432. (C.P.R., viii, 270, 427. Copiale, p. 403, is in error.) Stury does appear as abbot in 1435 (A.F.A., f. 17r; Scone, p. xii). He was certainly neither a licentiate in theology nor an abbot in 1429, for he appears as a canon of St Andrews and bachelor in theology in 1431 (Adv. Ms. 15.1.18, page 66, no. 95).

As to Gilbert, abbot of Tongland, he is almost certainly the Gilbert Macdowell, who, as canon of Tongland in 1437 received permission to hold the abbatial dignity notwithstanding defect of birth and who resigned in 1458, (Backmund, Monasticon Praemonstratense, ii, 113; C.P.R., viii, 59; R.M.S., ii, no. 652).

As to Brown, monk of Dunfermline and prior of Coldingham, there can be no doubt that he succeeded another Dunfermline monk, John Shaw, as prior of Urquhart, and that Shaw did not become prior there till after his visitation of Urquhart and the subsequent resignation of prior Raeburn in 1430, after which Shaw went to Rome, dying there while seeking papal approval. Brown could not therefore have been prior at the supposed date of the statutes. As a matter of fact he was not given collation till 1431, and even then his tenure of Urquhart was uncertain. (C.P.R., viii, 467; Dunfermline, p. 283; Scot. Ben., pp. 106-7; he had a rival in 1446, ibid., p. 270). However tenuous Brown's claim to Urquhart in 1439, it was totally non-existent ten years earlier. He seems to have died a master in theology and a simple monk of Dunfermline. (James, Catalogue of Mss Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge, Ms. 171, f. 370v).

Regarding the next two we can be somewhat more positive. Robert de Essy was already a master when he came to study arts in Cologne between December, 1428, and the 18th March, 1429. (Keussen, Matrikel, i, 312). It is quite improbable that he could be in St Andrews in the latter month. Some time after April, 1431, he became vicar of Auchterhouse in virtue of a
provision of Eugenius IV. He falsely claimed to be a licentiate in theology in 1431. (C.P.R., viii, 578-9; ix, 22). He was not securely in possession till 1439, in which year as vicar he approved the arts faculty statutes. (Scot. Ben., p. 122; A.F.A., f. 23v).

In the text we have already referred to confusion between John Athilmer, senior and junior. Athilmer senior was a theologian and Athilmer junior a lawyer. The former is the licentiate in arts of 1426 as identified by Keussen (Matrikel, i, 323). The latter only incepted in arts in 1447 (Ibid., i, 470, note). It is quite unlikely therefore that Athilmer senior could have been a licentiate in theology in 1429, and his first definite appearance as vicar of Menmuir is in 1439 (A.F.A., f. 23v).

When moreover we compare the St Andrews statutes with those of Cologne we are struck with remarkable resemblances. Naturally as the St Andrews group are a hasty post-Reformation recasting of the medieval statutes as they were in 1560 (evidently somewhat modified already) we cannot be positive that the statutes of 1439 corresponded in detail with what the Reformers chose to preserve. Nevertheless their arrangement is strikingly like the Cologne arrangement. Cologne has nine Titles where St Andrews has eleven. If we exclude the third St Andrews Title which is an explanation of the grouping of the biblical books (possibly necessary due to Reformation changes and to the abolition of the Sentences as a text-book), and remembering that Cologne groups the matter of Titles 10 and 11 together, the Cologne parentage of the statutes grows more evident. (The "tenth Title" is actually referred to, Festschrift Köln, p. 98.) Certainly both universities owed a lot to Paris and Professor Hannay was not wrong to point this out as regards St Andrews. (Statutes, p. 80). But if the main work on the theological statutes took place in 1439 and not in 1429, the
influence of the Cologne graduates cannot be regarded as negligible, an influence that might not have been so preponderant with Laurence of Lindores still alive; indeed if the date is 1429, his absence from the licentiate list is inexplicable.

Granting this thesis, there is the difficulty still of James I. These statutes purport to be drawn up by a notary of the time of James I. The extant versions mention but do not name the notary; obviously his name figured in the original. What seems to have happened is that the sixteenth century redrafter in his haste, besides omitting the notary's name, misunderstood the presence of certain names added in 1439 as recording their approval of the statutes drawn up in Title form at that date (in the same way as in the same year both Essy and Athilmer recorded their approval of the arts statutes) and wrongly concluded that they were present on an earlier occasion when the king, James I, took action regarding the power and status of the dean of the theological faculty, the two statutes regarding whom, rather inconsistently, are quite outside the grouping into eleven Titles to which we have referred.