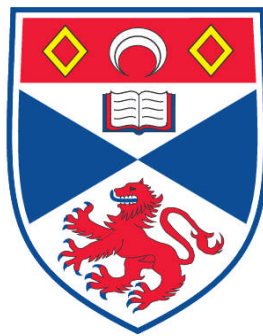


**EDUCATION AND EPISCOPACY:
THE UNIVERSITIES OF SCOTLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY**

Isla Woodman

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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**Education and Episcopacy:
the Universities of Scotland in the Fifteenth Century**

by

Isla Woodman

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Institute of Scottish Historical Research
School of History

University of St Andrews

September 2010

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Abstract

Educational provision in Scotland was revolutionised in the fifteenth century through the foundation of three universities, or *studia generale*, at St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen. These institutions can be viewed as part of the general expansion in higher education across Europe from the late-fourteenth century, which saw the establishment of many new centres of learning, often intended to serve local needs. Their impact on Scotland ought to have been profound; in theory, they removed the need for its scholars to continue to seek higher education at the universities of England or the continent.

Scotland's fifteenth-century universities were essentially episcopal foundations, formally instituted by bishops within the cathedral cities of their dioceses, designed to meet the educational needs and career aspirations of the clergy. They are not entirely neglected subjects; the previous generation of university historians – including A. Dunlop, J. Durkan and L. J. Macfarlane – did much to recover the institutional, organisational and curricular developments that shaped their character. Less well explored, are the over-arching political themes that influenced the evolution of university provision in fifteenth-century Scotland as a whole. Similarly under-researched, is the impact of these foundations on the scholarly community, and society more generally.

This thesis explores these comparatively neglected themes in two parts. Part I presents a short narrative, offering a more politically-sensitive interpretation of the introduction and expansion of higher educational provision in Scotland. Part II explores the impact of these foundations on Scottish scholars. The nature of extant sources inhibits reconstruction of the full extent of their influence on student numbers and patterns of university attendance. Instead, Part II presents a thorough quantitative and qualitative prosopographical study of the Scottish episcopate within the context of this embryonic era of university provision in Scotland. In so doing, this thesis offers new insights into a neglected aspect of contemporary clerical culture as well as the politics of fifteenth-century academic learning.

In loving memory of my grandmother, Amelia Mitchell, who was always there.

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It is a pleasure to acknowledge, and express my sincere gratitude to the foundations and many people who have supported me throughout this challenging but deeply rewarding process. First, I must thank the American Alumni Association for providing me with initial funding in the form of a US Foundation Scholarship. I must also acknowledge much-welcomed supplementary funding received from the Burnwynd trustees of the St Andrews Local History Foundation. Drs Barbara Crawford and Robert Smart, as well as the Strathmartine Institute trustees, have been most generous in allowing me access to Strathmartine's library and work space. My appreciation is also due to Dr Crawford for her advice on Orkney bishops. I am indebted to the late J. J. Robertson for allowing me to consult his formidable collection of facsimiles and transcriptions of Scottish appeals to the Sacred Rota, Rome, as well as his interest in my work. Similarly, I am grateful to Dr Norman Macdougall for lending me his copies of transcriptions of Laing Charters, iii, 322. I have benefited from the assistance of librarians and archivists at Aberdeen, Glasgow, and St Andrews particularly; and wish to extend a most heartfelt thank you to the Special Collections Department of the University of St Andrews for their generosity in time, help, support and good humour. The thesis also draws on advice and correspondence gratefully received from, among others, Dr Iain MacDonald, Dr Steven Reid, Dr Jamie Reid-Baxter, Dr Roland Tanner and Dr Jenny Wormald. My last thank you here is reserved for my supervisor, Professor Roger Mason, who has offered invaluable expertise, support and advice.

I am indebted to Janet and Don, who have welcomed me into their family so warmly and, recently, have provided me with a home so generously. I am profoundly grateful to them, and the whole Bowman family, for their encouragement and support. To Elizabeth Henderson, whose friendship and thoughtfulness have been sources of comfort throughout this process, particularly over the past year – thank you. I must also thank Elizabeth for acting as a sounding board, and sharing her work on late medieval literary culture so readily. Thank you too, to Helen Bury and Siobhan Talbott, for your friendship, and the restorative cups of tea!

My deepest and most important thank you is due to my parents, who nurtured my love of history as a child. I cannot articulate how appreciative I am of their support and encouragement throughout my academic career, and this particular undertaking. I will be forever grateful to them. A very special thank you must go to my personal cheer squad – Alasdair, Heather, Gerhard, Jamie and Rory – and to Heather especially. I look forward to enjoying PhD-free time with them all in the future.

I reserve my final thank you for Gary, who gave me his time, help and support so generously while finishing his own PhD thesis. Your love, patience and absolute intolerance for self-doubt have urged me over the final hurdles. I could not have completed this thesis without you, and look forward to the next step of our journey together.

Abbreviations

<i>ACSB:</i>	<i>The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488</i> , ed. A. I. Cameron (Oxford, 1934).
<i>Acta:</i>	<i>Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree 1413-1588</i> , ed. A. I. Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1964).
<i>ACUP:</i>	<i>Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis</i> , vols. i-ii, edd. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain; vol. iii, edd. C. Samaran and E. van Moe; vol. vi, edd. A. L. Gabriel and G. C. Boyce (Paris, 1894-1964).
<i>ALA:</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints, 1466-1494</i> , ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1839).
<i>ALCC:</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes</i> , vol. i. (1478-1495), ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1839); vol. ii (1496-1501), edd. G. Neilson and H. Paton (Edinburgh, 1918).
<i>ALCP:</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554</i> , ed. R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932).
<i>ALI:</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493</i> , edd. J. Munro and R. W. Munro (Edinburgh, 1986).
<i>APS:</i>	<i>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , edd. T. Thomson and C. N. Innes, vols. i-ii (Edinburgh, 1814-1844).
<i>AUL:</i>	Aberdeen University Library Special Collections
<i>AUR:</i>	<i>Aberdeen University Review</i>
<i>Bannatyne Miscellany</i>	<i>The Bannatyne Miscellany: containing original papers and tracts chiefly relating to the history and literature of Scotland</i> , vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1836).
<i>Boece, Episcoporum Vitae</i>	Boece, H., <i>Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae</i> , ed. J. Moir (Aberdeen, 1894)
<i>Brady, Succession:</i>	Brady, W. M., <i>The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland A.D. 1400 to 1875</i> (Rome 1876-1877).
<i>Burns, Churchmen:</i>	Burns, J. H., <i>Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle</i> (Glasgow, 1962).

- CDS:* *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vols. iii-iv, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1881–1888); vol. v, edd. G. G. Simpson and J. D. Galbraith (Edinburgh, 1986).
- Chronicle Wyntoun:* *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, ed. F. J. Amours (Edinburgh, 1903-1914).
- Clanranald:* *The Book of Clanranald*, in A. Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae: texts, papers and studies in Gaelic literature and philology*, ii, edd. A. Macbain and J. Kennedy (Inverness, 1892-1894).
- CPL:* *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers: Papal Letters*, edd. W. H. Bliss *et al.*, 18 vols. (London, 1893-1998).
- CPL BXIII:* *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon, 1394-1419*, ed., F. McGurk (Edinburgh, 1976).
- CPL CVII:* *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon, 1378-1394*, edd. C. Burns and A. I. Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1976).
- CPP:* *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers: Papal Petitions*, ed. W. H. Bliss, vol. i (London, 1896).
- CPS:* *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree: the Letter-Book of James Haldenstone Prior of St Andrews (1418-1448)*, ed. J. H. Baxter (Oxford, 1930).
- CSSR:* *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*, vol. i, edd. E. R. Lindsay and A. I. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1934); vol. ii, ed. A. I. Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1956); vol. iii, edd. I. B. Cowan and A. I. Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1970); vol. iv, edd. A. I. Dunlop and D. Maclauchlan (Glasgow, 1983); vol. v, edd. J. Kirk, R. J. Tanner and A. I. Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1997).
- CUP:* *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, edd. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, vols. ii-iv (Paris, 1891-1897).
- DNB:* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., Oxford University Press, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com>].
- Dowden, Bishops:* Dowden, J., *The Bishops of Scotland: being notes on the lives ... to the Reformation*, ed. J. M. Thomson (Glasgow, 1912).

<i>ELR:</i>	<i>Edinburgh Law Review</i>
<i>Early Libraries:</i>	Durkan, J., and Ross, A., <i>Early Scottish Libraries</i> (Glasgow, 1961).
<i>Early Records:</i>	<i>Early Records of the University of St Andrews</i> , ed. J. M. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1926).
<i>ER:</i>	<i>Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , edd. J. Stuart <i>et al.</i> , 18 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).
<i>Evidence:</i>	<i>Evidence, oral and documentary, taken by the Commissioners appointed by King George IV, for visiting the Universities of Scotland</i> , vol. ii, Glasgow; vol. iii, St Andrews; vol. iv, Aberdeen (London, 1837).
<i>EUL:</i>	Edinburgh University Library
<i>Fasti:</i>	Watt, D. E. R., and Murray, A. L., <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi ad annum 1638</i> , revised edition (Edinburgh, 2003).
<i>Fasti Aberdonenses:</i>	<i>Fasti Aberdonenses, selections from the records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1494-1854</i> , ed. C. N. Innes (Aberdeen, 1854).
<i>Foedera:</i>	<i>Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cuiuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliae et alios ...</i> ed. T Rymer, vols. v-xv (London, 1708-1713).
<i>Formulare:</i>	<i>St Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546</i> , edd. G Donaldson and C. Macrae, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1942-1944).
<i>GUA:</i>	Glasgow University Archives
<i>GUS:</i>	Glasgow University, Department of History (Scottish), Ross Fund Collection (of material from the Vatican Archives).
<i>Herkless, Archbishops:</i>	Herkless, J. and Hannay, R. K., <i>Archbishops of St Andrews</i> , 5 vols. (Edinburgh, London, 1907-1915).
<i>IR:</i>	<i>Innes Review</i>
<i>James IV Letters:</i>	<i>Letters of James IV</i> , calendared by R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1953).
<i>James V Letters:</i>	<i>Letters of James V</i> , edd. R. K. Hannay and D. Hay (Edinburgh, 1954).

<i>JEH:</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JR:</i>	<i>Juridical Review</i>
<i>LP HVIII:</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> , edd. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner <i>et al.</i> (London, 1862-1910); 2nd edition, vols., 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, ed. R. H. Brodie (London, 1920); <i>Addenda</i> , vols. i.i., i.ii. (London, 1929-1932).
<i>Matricule Louvain:</i>	<i>Matricule de l'Université de Louvain</i> , vol. i, edd. E. J. H. Reusens; vol. ii, ed. J. Wils; vols. iii-iv, ed. A. H. Schillings (Brussels, 1903-1958).
<i>Matrikel Köln:</i>	<i>Die Matrikel der Universität Köln</i> , ed. H. Keussen, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1919-1931).
<i>Matrikel Marburg:</i>	<i>Personen und Ortsregister zu der Matrikel und den Annalen der Universität Marburg, 1527-1652</i> , ed. W. Falckenheiner, with Epilogue by E. Schröder (Marburg, 1904).
<i>Matrikel Wien:</i>	<i>Die Matrikel der Universität Wien</i> , ed. F. Gall, vol. i (Graz, 1954).
McNeill, 'Acta Rectoria':	McNeill, W. A., 'Notes and Comments: Scottish Entries in the <i>Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis</i> , 1519 to c. 1633', <i>SHR</i> , xliii (Edinburgh, 1964), pp. 66-86.
<i>Munimenta:</i>	<i>Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis</i> , ed. C. N. Innes, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1854).
Mylne, <i>Vitae:</i>	Mylne, A., <i>Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum</i> , ed. C. N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1831).
Rashdall, <i>Universities:</i>	Rashdall, H., <i>The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages</i> , edd. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (London, 1936).
<i>Reg. Glasguensis:</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis: Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow</i> , ed. C. N. Innes, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1843).
<i>Reg. Moraviensis:</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis: Register of the Bishopric of Moray... to A.D.1623</i> , ed. C. N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1837).
<i>Reg. Passelet:</i>	<i>Registrum Monasterii de Passelet: Register of Paisley Abbey ... 1163-1529</i> , ed. C. N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1832).

<i>Reg. Supp.</i>	<i>Registrum Supplicationum</i>
Ridder-Symoens, <i>The University in Europe</i> :	de Ridder-Symoens, H. ed., <i>A History of the University in Europe</i> , vols. i-ii,(Cambridge, 1992, 1996).
RMS:	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland</i> , edd. J. M. Thomson <i>et al.</i> , vols. i-iv (Edinburgh, 1882-1912).
<i>Rot. Scot.</i> :	<i>Rotuli Scotiæ in turri Londinensi et in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati: Scottish Rolls preserved in the Tower of London and the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey.</i> , edd. D. Macpherson, J. Caley and W. Illingworth, 2 vols. (London, 1816-1819).
RPC:	<i>Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> , series 1, vol. i, ed. J. H. Burton; vol. xiv <i>Addenda</i> , ed. D. Masson (Edinburgh, 1877, 1898).
RPS:	<i>The Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707</i> , edd. K. M. Brown <i>et al.</i> (St Andrews, 2007), (www.rps.ac.uk).
RSS:	<i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland</i> , edd. M. Livingstone <i>et al.</i> , 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908-).
RSCHS:	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
<i>Scotichronicon</i> :	Bower, W., <i>Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English</i> , 2nd edn., edd. D. E. R. Watt <i>et al.</i> , vols. vi-ix (Aberdeen, 1987-1998).
<i>Scottish Libraries</i>	Higgitt, J. ed., <i>Scottish Libraries</i> , Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 12 (London, 2006).
<i>Scots Peerage</i> :	Balfour Paul, Sir J., <i>The Scots Peerage: founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's 'Peerage of Scotland... nobility of that Kingdom'</i> , 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904-1914).
<i>Sculpture</i> :	Steer, K. A., and Bannerman, J. W. M., edd. <i>Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the west Highlands</i> (Edinburgh, 1977).
SHR:	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>Statutes</i> :	<i>The Statutes of the Faculties of Arts and Theology at the Reformation</i> , ed. R. K. Hannay (St Andrews, 1910).

StAUL:	St Andrews University Library Special Collections
TA:	<i>Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum: Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , edd. T. Dickson <i>et al.</i> , 11 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877-1916).
<i>Vetera Monumenta</i> :	<i>Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia (1216 - 1547)</i> , ed. Theiner, A., vol. i (Rome, 1864).
Watt, <i>Graduates</i> :	Watt, D. E. R., <i>A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410</i> (Oxford, 1977).
Watt, <i>Religious Houses</i> :	Watt, D. E. R. and Shead, N. F., <i>The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries</i> (Edinburgh, 2001).

Conventions

All dates have been given assuming the new year to begin on 1 January.

Introduction

Educational provision in Scotland was revolutionised in the fifteenth century through the foundation of three universities, or *studia generale*, at St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen. These institutions can be viewed as part of the general expansion in higher education across Europe from the late-fourteenth century, which saw the establishment of many new centres of learning, often intended to serve local needs. The erection of thirty-eight universities between 1405 and 1500 constituted a two-fold increase on the number of foundations made during the previous century, and effected a marked change in their geographical distribution; universities were introduced to the periphery of west-central Europe – to Scotland, Scandinavia, Croatia and Slovakia.¹ The impact of these foundations on Scotland ought to have been profound. Previously, lack of provision in Scotland had compelled its scholars to seek higher education at the universities of England or the continent. In theory, the fifteenth-century foundations removed that need.

Scotland's medieval universities were essentially episcopal foundations, formally instituted by bishops within the cathedral cities of their dioceses, and primarily designed to meet the educational needs of the clergy.² Henry Wardlaw presided over the erection of St Andrews between 1412 and 1414;³ William Turnbull secured papal permission to found Glasgow in 1451;⁴ and William Elphinstone established Aberdeen having secured licence from Alexander VI in 1495, before re-founding the institution in

¹ Rashdall, *Universities*, i, xxiv; Verger, 'Patterns', in Ridder-Symoens, *The University in Europe*, i, 62-63.

² William Elphinstone made provision for lay attendance at Aberdeen, and seems to have attempted to stimulate the laicisation of higher education through such measures as the Education Act of 1496, but his efforts realised limited success in the period examined here. See section 2.4

³ Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, issued an episcopal charter of foundation on 28 February 1412, conveying privileges on a functioning academic community, before seeking confirmation from Benedict XIII. The papal bulls of foundation were issued on 28 August 1413, and promulgated in St Andrews on 4 February 1414. The episcopal charter no longer survives but was embedded in the first papal bull (StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull) and is copied in *Evidence*, iii, 171-172.

⁴ Nicholas V's bull permitting Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, to erect a university was dated, 7 January 1451. The bull no longer survives, but its text was recorded in GUA, ms26613 (Clerk's Press 1), *Liber Rectoris Universitatis*, fo. 1-2, and is published in *Munimenta*, 3-5.

erecting King's College in 1505.⁵ These fifteenth-century foundations are not entirely neglected subjects: their beginnings and subsequent development have been examined. However, customarily this has taken the form of institutionally-specific (and for St Andrews, where multiple colleges were later erected, college-specific) studies commissioned from scholars of the university in question in advance of, or following, centenary celebrations. Though accomplished and detailed, some of these works offer only limited insight into the place of each college and university in the evolution of higher educational provision in Scotland, and Europe more generally.⁶

The institution and character of Aberdeen as a medieval university, moreover, have been explored most significantly through a chapter in L. J. Macfarlane's study of William Elphinstone's ecclesiastical and administrative career.⁷ Similar biographies of James Kennedy, founder of St Salvator's College at St Andrews (1450), and William Turnbull have broached the engagement of these men in the wider politics of Church

⁵ Elphinstone secured papal permission, from Alexander VI, to found an university at Aberdeen on 6 February 1495, with ensuing bulls issued on 10 February 1495 (AUL, msK256/43/1, Foundation Bull). Elphinstone issued an episcopal charter of re-foundation, erecting King's College on 17 September 1505 (AUL, msK256/48/2, Charter of New Foundation). Transcripts of these documents are published in *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 3-6; 53-64.

⁶ St Andrews: in advance of the 500th anniversary of St Andrews (1413) and 400th anniversary of St Leonard's College (St Andrews, 1512): J. Herkless, and R. K. Hannay, ed., *The College of St Leonard: being documents with translations, notes and historical introductions* (Edinburgh, 1905). To coincide with the 500th anniversary of St Salvator's College (St Andrews, 1450): R. G. Cant, *The College of St Salvator* (Edinburgh, 1950); J. B. Salmond, ed., *Veterum Laudes* (Edinburgh, 1950).

Glasgow: following the 500th anniversary of Glasgow (1451): J. D. Mackie, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1951* (Glasgow, 1954). To coincide with the 400th anniversary of its re-foundation (1577): J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977).

Aberdeen: following the 400th anniversary of Elphinstone's erection of King's College (Aberdeen, 1505): P. J. Anderson, ed., *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1906). To coincide with the 500th anniversary of the original foundation of Aberdeen (1495): P. Dukes, ed., *The Universities of Aberdeen and Europe: the first three centuries* (Aberdeen, 1995).

See also, the biographies of Kennedy and Turnbull issued to coincide with the erection of St Salvator's and Glasgow: A. I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1950); J. Durkan, *William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1951); and 'William Turnbull', *IR*, ii (Glasgow, 1951), 5-61.

⁷ L. J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514* (Aberdeen, 1995), chapter 7. See also, the following Macfarlane articles: 'A Short History of the University of Aberdeen', *AUR*, xlviii (Aberdeen, 1979), 1-4; 'Some recent research on the founder of the University', *AUR*, xxxvi (Aberdeen, 1956), 225-241; *William Elphinstone, founder of the University of Aberdeen: the P. J. Anderson Lecture 1960* (Aberdeen, 1961); 'William Elphinstone's Library', *AUR*, xxxvii (Aberdeen, 1938), 253-271; 'William Elphinstone's Library Revisited', in A. A. MacDonald, M. Lynch, and I. B. Cowan ed., *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture* (Leiden, 1994), 66-81.

and kingdom and, in so doing, have shed some light on the intellectual, political and cultural concerns that may have shaped their foundations.⁸ Naturally, however, these biographies largely focus on the perspectives of the individual bishop founders and, while they suggest lines of further enquiry, pay little attention to the collective concerns of those involved in the evolution of Scotland's fifteenth-century universities. This has encouraged the enduring understanding that these foundations were the brainchildren of the bishops in question and the products of their very particular, often diocesan, concerns. Indeed general studies of fifteenth-century culture and society in Scotland, present the medieval universities as fundamentally 'undergraduate' institutions – arts colleges – restricted in scope and ambition, which had limited appeal for the academically talented and which did not curb the 'brain-drain' of Scots scholars to continental institutions.⁹

As centres of higher learning, *studia generale* customarily offered preparatory training in arts, but also degree programmes in at least one of the higher disciplines of medicine, civil law, canon law (decreets), and theology. An arts degree effectively was the pre-requisite for further study in theology.¹⁰ This was also the case for medicine from 1426,¹¹ when Parisian doctors successfully petitioned Martin V to establish arts instruction as compulsory training in advance of medical studies; and, while scholars of law were not obliged first to acquire qualifications in arts, Chapter 3 establishes that most did so from the turn of the fifteenth century. Thus, an arts degree was considered

⁸ Above, n.6. Dunlop, *James Kennedy*. Durkan, *William Turnbull*; and 'William Turnbull', 5-61.

⁹ See, A. Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 260-261; J. Durkan, *The Scottish Universities in the Middle Ages 1413-1560*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1959); R. Nicholson, *Scotland – The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh 1974), 241, 587-590; I. B. Cowan, 'Church and Society', in J. Brown, ed., *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), 123, 125, 126-127; J. M. Fletcher, 'The Foundation of the University of Aberdeen in its European Context', in P. Dukes, ed., *The Universities of Aberdeen and Europe* (Aberdeen, 1995), 9-56; J. M. Fletcher, 'Welcome Stranger or Resented Intruder? A Reconstruction of the Foundation of the University of Aberdeen in the Context of European University Development in the Later Middle Ages', *AUR*, lii (Aberdeen, 1988), 298-313; D. Ditchburn, 'Educating the Elite: Aberdeen and its Universities', in Dennison, E. P., Ditchburn, D., and Lynch, M. edd., *Aberdeen before 1800: a new history* (East Linton, 2002), 327-346.

¹⁰ This was less well-established as customary practice among scholars who were members of mendicant orders. These orders tended to make their own provisions for theological teaching within universities (or in their own *studia* often attached to universities) and believed that the secular teaching of arts undermined their teaching of theology. Dominican scholars, for example, were prohibited from studying in arts faculties. M. Asztalos, 'The Faculty of Theology', in *The University in Europe*, i, 414-417.

¹¹ *CUP*, iv, no. 2274.

inferior to those obtained in the higher disciplines. Nonetheless, a MA degree secured full membership of a university as well as the licence *ubique docendi* to teach arts at any institution.¹²

There were three levels of degree in each discipline: bachelor, licence, and master (doctor in the higher disciplines), although programmes varied in length. Arts students tended to matriculate as teenagers, and full qualification customarily took four years.¹³ Most scholars pursuing higher disciplines did so in their twenties. According to practice at Bologna – the oldest university to specialise in law, and prototype for later faculties – a full law programme might last six years; four or five years to qualify as a bachelor, and a further year of teaching before being eligible to take the licentiate and doctorate exams.¹⁴ However, a study of the Scottish episcopate (Chapter 3) suggests that by the late-fourteenth century, students were able to acquire BDec or BCv degrees within three years.¹⁵ Theology was the programme of greatest distinction among medieval academic disciplines, and qualifications customarily took longer to obtain. At most universities, a BTh degree demanded four years' study and a DTh, another four. At Paris, however, the complete theology programme lasted sixteen years.¹⁶

Universities were among the most influential of medieval institutions. Their foundation required papal or, by the fifteenth century, imperial sanction. Once established, however, members exercised control over their own affairs. The sphere of

¹² Cant, *The University of St Andrews: a short history* (St Andrews, 2002), 13, 15, 23; J. Verger, 'Teachers', in *The University in Europe*, i, 144-148. For abbreviations of academic qualifications used in this thesis, see Appendix 1.

¹³ Students aged younger than fourteen tended not to be accepted, although exceptions were made. Cant, *St Andrews*, 15. We will also see that some scholars sought arts qualifications as 'mature' students (section 3.4). An early St Andrews statute specified that BA candidates should be sixteen years old, and MA candidates no younger than twenty. *Statutes*, 87. This prescribed age for MA graduates suggests that initially, St Andrews preferred students to be sixteen years on matriculation if they were intending to complete the full four-year arts programme; it is unclear whether this stipulation was generally enforced.

¹⁴ García Y García, A., 'The faculties of law', in *The University in Europe*, 388, 398-400.

¹⁵ For example, Michael Ochiltree – bishop of the Isles and later, Dunblane – who was styled 'BDec, [having] read for three years' in 1418. *CSSR*, i, 3. According to Bolognian practice, the 'reading' of a title (section of a legal book) should take four years, and the reading of a book (complete legal work) should take five years – at this point, students were accorded bachelor status. *ibid.*, 399.

¹⁶ Cant, *St Andrews*, 15; Asztalos, 'The faculty of theology', 417-420. Asztalos provides a breakdown of the Parisian theology curriculum: the sixteen-years study required of secular clergy (thirteen years for regular clergy) in 1335, was reduced to fourteen years (twelve years for regulars) from 1389. See also, further discussion in section 3.6.

influence of both individual scholars and, more particularly, institutions as ‘corporate’ bodies could extend well beyond their local environs.¹⁷ As groups of learned men, universities were regularly consulted in the settlement of Church and secular controversies and, in turn, engagement in these wider political contexts shaped the course of internal affairs and institutional development. Their graduates, meanwhile, might pursue careers as academics, as clerics often elevated to high ecclesiastical positions, and in secular administration as bureaucrats, lawyers and officials. In so doing, they brought their learning and particular university experiences to these employments.

General studies on the history of universities in Europe have treated some of these aspects more widely. H. Rashdall’s extensive work – consulted more commonly in F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden’s revised edition – examines each of Europe’s medieval foundations individually as part of regional sub-sections; the exceptions being Salerno, Bologna and Paris, which receive extensive discussion in the first volume. His focus across the whole study is primarily organisational and administrative, however, and while he refers to intellectual developments and the cultural impact of universities, these are not explored fully.¹⁸ The first part of A. B. Cobban’s study of the development and organisation of *The Medieval Universities*, adopts a similar approach; like Rashdall, Cobban devotes most attention to these three iconic continental institutions as well as Oxford and Cambridge (which constitute volume iii of Rashdall’s work). The more thematic discussions of part two of Cobban’s volume – of student power, academic communities, and universities and society – explore these wider cultural aspects more thoroughly.¹⁹ The collaborative volumes of *A History of the University in Europe* (volumes i, ii), edited by H. de Ridder-Symoens, do so more successfully still, though again, this is done primarily through analysis of continental institutions. Moreover, their use of 1500 as the transitional date between the late medieval and early modern period imposes a distinction that is not perhaps as readily evident in the developments

¹⁷ See, for example, in the Great Schism and conciliar debates: section 1.5.

¹⁸ H. Rashdall, *The Universities in Europe in the Middle Ages*, edd. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (London, 1936).

¹⁹ A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: their development and organization* (London, 1975).

and impact of higher educational provision at Scotland's medieval universities.²⁰ In each of these general studies, Scotland's institutions receive only limited treatment; and while Rashdall offers a summary conclusion on St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen, it looks forward mainly to later developments and the evolution of a strong but distinct university tradition in early-modern Scotland.²¹

Of the studies focussing on Scotland's fifteenth-century institutions, J. Durkan's unpublished doctoral thesis, 'The Scottish Universities in the Middle Ages, 1413-1560', is the most comprehensive.²² It offers a thorough examination of the three foundations – their endowment, administration, organisational development, and certain personnel – based on exhaustive use of extant university muniments. Durkan's research on the institutional development of each university is almost beyond reproach; it also indicates where wider intellectual concerns might have impacted upon the internal politics and character of the individual colleges or universities, and occasionally draws links to commonalties or, indeed, differences that shaped their interaction. It offers only limited observations, however, on the evolution of the universities more generally in response to wider political, intellectual and cultural concerns of both Scotland and Europe. The same might also be observed of his later published studies of Glasgow and its founder, William Turnbull.

A. I. Dunlop's extensive examination of St Andrews' faculty of arts in the introduction to her transcript of its minute book is similarly restricted in scope.²³ It provides an in-depth discussion of the faculty's history as a 'corporate' entity and of the influence of prominent personnel, supplemented with thematic sections on particular aspects such as learning, teaching and discipline. Dunlop concludes her introduction with summary histories of the faculties of theology, law and medicine. Reinforced in this way, her lengthy history of the arts faculty has come to serve as a history of the medieval university at St Andrews, and is perhaps partly responsible for the enduring

²⁰ H. de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe*, i-ii (Cambridge, 1992, 1996).

²¹ Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 320-324.

²² Above, n.9.

²³ *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree 1413-1588*, ed. A. I. Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1964).

perception of Scotland's medieval foundations as primarily arts colleges. Nonetheless, it offers some insight into the institution's wider engagement with intellectual and political concerns, and continental curricular developments. Dunlop's passion for the institution perhaps led her to overplay certain of these observations²⁴ but, though generally less tentative than Durkan in this respect, her preface to the *Acta* does not offer a particularly full or effective exploration of St Andrews' response to, and impact on this wider context.

Extant muniments for Aberdeen, documenting its functioning as a young *studium generale*, are significantly more limited than for either of its predecessors. This has constrained Durkan, Macfarlane and fellow scholars of the third medieval university foundation in Scotland in their analysis.²⁵ Surviving bulls of confirmation and privilege, charters and legal instruments shed some light on endowment, prescribed organisational structure and on Elphinstone's motivation. However, the lack of minute books from early Aberdeen, comparable with those surviving from St Andrews and Glasgow, impedes our understanding of this new foundation as a functioning university. Surviving records also afford only limited insight into the extent to which internal politics and the character of the university were shaped by wider intellectual and ideological pre-occupations. Perhaps because of this, studies of the impact of the medieval *studium* have tended to use the character of works penned by its officials, and evidence of their personal libraries, to explore Aberdeen's engagement with continental curricular developments and the 'new learning' favoured by humanist scholars of the Renaissance.²⁶

J. M. Fletcher's quinquennial examination of the founding of Aberdeen 'in its European context' (published 1995) outlines the need for a wider study of continental

²⁴ For example, her discussion of lay scholars at St Andrews: their quick response to the Education Act of 1496, and attendance in fairly large numbers. *Acta*, xxxix-xli. Dunlop bases this on the assumption that non-graduating scholars were drawn primarily from the laity. However, Chapter 3 establishes that clerics also undertook studies without graduating; an increasing number doing so in the higher disciplines.

²⁵ Above, n.6, 7, 9.

²⁶ For example: J. Durkan 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', reprinted from *IR*, iv (Glasgow, 1953); 'The cultural background in sixteenth-century Scotland', in D. McRoberts ed., *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962), 274-331; 'Early Humanism and King's College, Aberdeen', *AUR*, xlviii (Aberdeen, 1979-80), 259-279. Fletcher, 'Welcome Stranger?', 298-313; see also, Macfarlane articles listed above at n.7.

influences on the foundation of Scotland's fifteenth-century universities.²⁷ With that in mind, and in the tradition of research commissioned in advance of institutional anniversaries, the thesis presented here was conceived as part of a series of doctoral studies on Scotland's universities undertaken in anticipation of the 600th anniversary of the founding of St Andrews, to be celebrated from 2011-2013.²⁸ Initially, a reappraisal of the first century of higher educational provision in Scotland was envisaged. This was intended to explore its evolution in response to intellectual, political and cultural developments in Europe, as well as the impact of these university foundations beyond their immediate academic concerns. However, it was disappointing and discouraging to find that there survive few untapped sources, and nothing of great substance concerning basic curricular and intellectual developments that had not been exploited by previous generations of university historians.

This necessitated a major revision of the scope of the thesis which, as presented here, consists of two parts. Part 1, comprised of two chapters, seeks to build on the work of Dunlop and Durkan by presenting a short narrative that re-examines the introduction and development of higher educational provision in Scotland, in the broader context of fifteenth-century Scottish politics. In exploring the nature and character of these episcopal foundations, it challenges – for St Andrews and Glasgow, at least – the enduring perception that these institutions were the initiatives of their bishop-founders alone, developed in isolation and designed primarily to serve particular diocesan needs. Extant university records (matriculation and graduation rolls, faculty and rectorial minutes, statutes and decrees), analysed in the context of the debates that shaped ecclesiastical and secular politics in the fifteenth century, suggest that the introduction and evolution of Scottish higher education was actually much more complex and interesting than the older and over-simplified view allows. Detailed study of relationships established among students and academics, both within an institution and beyond, reveals that the character and development of Scotland's *studia* were determined by the engagement of these academic communities with the intellectual

²⁷ J. M. Fletcher, 'Foundation of Aberdeen', 53-54 n.1.

²⁸ The thesis has been undertaken as a member of SAHUP – the St Andrews History of the Universities Project – in the School of History, University of St Andrews.

repercussions of the crises that shook the late-medieval Catholic Church – not least the Great and Little Schisms – which saw Europe’s monarchs challenge the authority of the papacy within their own realms and assume a more self-consciously imperial understanding of kingship.

Except where these ideological concerns were reflected in the teaching of particular academic disciplines, the narrative does not seek to replicate the work of Durkan and Dunlop by providing a full discussion of curricular developments at Scotland’s institutions. Rather, Chapter 1 focuses on the motivations underpinning the introduction of higher education to Scotland, and the evolution of St Andrews as a collaborative response to academic needs dictated by the politics of the Great Schism. Chapter 2 traces the expansion of university provision in fifteenth-century Scotland and, more particularly, examines how the need for further institutions of higher learning was to some extent dictated by broader intellectual and political factors stemming from the conciliar challenge to papal authority, and the vicious academic in-fighting that this engendered among Scots scholars.

In this short analysis, the foundation and early development of St Andrews commands greater attention than either of its successors. Partly this reflects the fuller extent of surviving university muniments for this institution, but it also serves to establish the thread of the intellectual and political themes underpinning the fifteenth-century revolution in educational provision. A revised narrative might include a third chapter examining the foundation and development of Aberdeen in greater detail. However, constrained by the nature of extant source material, it is difficult to move beyond the themes treated by Durkan, Macfarlane, Fletcher and D. Ditchburn, in their studies of aspects of this third university foundation.²⁹ Efforts to remedy perceived failings in Scotland’s administrative machinery by improving education and training underpinned Elphinstone’s foundation of Aberdeen, and his personal engagement with new learning would come to influence the character of teaching there. However, his foundation was less obviously a response to the fundamental ideological concerns that, it is argued here, shaped the foundations and development of both St Andrews and

²⁹ See works listed above under n.7, 9.

Glasgow. This is not to say that the motivations underpinning Aberdeen were divorced entirely from early-fifteenth century political preoccupations. Elphinstone's vision for Aberdeen anticipated producing capable administrators to uphold an increasingly self-conscious imperial monarchy in Scotland, which owed much to the nature of early-fifteenth century intellectual debates. However, the Scottish universities' response to the educational and curricular concerns of Renaissance humanism, or 'new learning', was more clearly evident in the sixteenth century and as such, lies largely outwith the scope of this thesis.

Part 1 demonstrates that the introduction of higher educational provision to Scotland was fuelled partly by conscious efforts to maintain, if not improve, levels of academic qualification among the Scottish clergy for whom the possession of university degree(s) could determine career prospects. Part 2 (Chapter 3), offers an extended case study of the education of the Scottish episcopate between 1360 and 1560, and forms the main body of the thesis. Inspired by Donald Watt's phenomenal prosopographical study of Scottish students, 1340-1410, it uses this elite group of bishops as a test case in evaluating the impact of Scotland's fifteenth-century university foundations on established patterns of university attendance.³⁰ In other words, it seeks to answer such fundamental questions as the extent to which these 'episcopal' foundations encouraged or facilitated change in university-going among those aspiring to high ecclesiastical office? The wide date-range of the study affords a 'control' group of bishops appointed in the fifty years or so preceding the introduction of university education to Scotland against whom changes in patterns of attendance might be tested. Extending the chronology to 1560, incorporates a sufficient number of provisions to evaluate the full impact of the development of the fifteenth-century university system on the Scottish episcopate.

Watt's research suggests that graduates accounted for 80% of appointments to Scottish sees by 1425; he extrapolated these findings to Scots scholars of the fifteenth century, offering his results as a means of understanding the influence of Scotland's

³⁰ D. E. R. Watt, *A biographical dictionary of Scottish graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford, 1977); 'University Graduates in Scottish Benefices', *RSCHS*, xv (Glasgow, 1966), 77-88.

medieval universities on their immediate localities and on Scottish society generally.³¹ Systematic examination of university administrative records, with recourse to the papers, records and registers of papal, ecclesiastical and secular government, and chronicles, has been undertaken to produce a prosopographical database of the Scottish episcopate (1360-1560). This allows us to ask quantitative and qualitative questions relating to changing patterns in the nature and extent of study, the incidence of higher study as opposed to the attainment of arts degrees, and preferred destinations – who went where to gain what degree? It also allows for an evaluation of the relative influence of education and patronage networks, or social background, on episcopal appointments and how this changed over the two centuries prior to the Reformation of 1560. Thus we can test against hard documentary evidence, at least for the episcopate, Watt's conjecture regarding the impact of Scotland's fifteenth-century university foundations on patterns of higher education. What emerges from this study suggests that Scotland's medieval foundations influenced trends both in the extent and nature of degree-holding among the episcopate, as well as preferred destinations. It also suggest that, while the provision of university education in Scotland did not necessarily discourage ambitious scholars from pursuing advanced education overseas, it did meet the needs of a substantial number of students of decreets and theology at least. In other words, the evidence presented here makes clear that the fifteenth-century Scottish universities were much more than 'undergraduate' institutions.

It would be unwise to take the data presented here concerning the episcopate as entirely typical of wider trends among Scots scholars. At best they are indicative of the broader implications of the expansion of educational provision within Scotland. Nonetheless, by combining a reassessment of the foundation and development of Scotland's medieval universities with a comprehensive analysis of the educational attainments of a key group in Scottish society, this thesis offers new insights into a neglected aspect of contemporary clerical culture as well as the politics of fifteenth-century academic learning.

³¹ Watt, 'University Graduates', 78.

Chapter 1: **St Andrews: the beginnings of higher education in Scotland, 1410-c.1420**

1.1 Bishop Wardlaw's Foundation at St Andrews

Founded by episcopal charter on 28 February 1412,¹ the University of St Andrews was an ecclesiastical initiative and, as such, is commonly viewed as the brainchild of its founder alone: Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews.² This is encouraged by the charter itself, which presented the university as an essentially diocesan affair, conceived and implemented by the bishop with the compliance of, and some assistance from, the prior and archdeacons of St Andrews.³ Wardlaw envisaged 'the study of divine and human [canon and civil] law, of medicine, and of the liberal arts'.⁴ His charter made no mention of the study of theology, nor did it make specific provision for the establishment of faculties. Rather, the episcopal charter was more concerned with endowing the university community with trade privileges and tax exemptions that extended to all academic and non-academic staff.⁵ It was the papal confirmation of Benedict XIII, issued on 28 August 1413, that formally erected the university as a *studium generale*, thereby allowing it to establish faculties in all disciplines – theology as well as law, medicine and arts – and confer degrees. This confirmation took the form of six bulls, which guaranteed Wardlaw's privileges, while also allowing academic

¹ Wardlaw's charter no longer survives. The text, however, was embedded in the papal bull issued on 28 August 1413. StAUL, UYUY100. Here, the date ascribed to the episcopal charter is 'the penultimate day of February, 1411 [1412]'; as 1412 was a leap year, Wardlaw issued his charter on 28 February 1412.

² The work of Dunlop and Durkan on the foundation of St Andrews has tended to influence subsequent discussions of the erection of the university. See, Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 260; Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 10; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 241; Cowan, 'Church and Society', 123, 125. For alternative considerations of the development of the institution, see Anderson, J. M., 'The Beginnings of St Andrews University, 1410-1418', *SHR*, viii (Edinburgh, Apr. 1911), 230; Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 320-303.

³ StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull. A translation of the episcopal charter embedded in the bull is supplied in W. C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson, and I. A. Milne, ed., *A Source Book of Scottish History. Vol. i, from earliest times to 1424* (London 1958), 212-216.

⁴ StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull.

⁵ The university's beadles, esquires, familiars, servitors as well as notaries, stationers and parchment makers; also, their wives children and maid-servants.

members to absent themselves from their benefices and Scots scholars at schismatic universities to continue their studies at St Andrews without being reprimanded.⁶ Finally, it conveyed the special protection of the Avignonese papacy.⁷ The bulls were proclaimed in St Andrews on 4 February 1414, their arrival giving rise to ‘the clergy spending the rest of the day in boundless merry-making ... drinking wine in celebration.’⁸

The establishment of a functioning university imparted dignity to a town and, more importantly, the founder. The Castilian and Aragonese monarchies had traditionally used the erection of schools of higher learning as testament to both its benevolence, and engagement with the tide of intellectual debate. The foundations of Palencia (1208-1209), Salamanca (c.1227-1228), Lérida (1300) and Huesca (1354), highlight this long and enduring association with university education.⁹ Local princes were responsible for much of the vast investment in higher education across Germany from the late-fourteenth century. The Habsburg duke Rudolf IV established Vienna in 1365 (re-founded by Albert III in 1383); Rupert I instituted Heidelberg in 1385; and the dukes of Mecklenburg initiated Rostock, confirmed in 1419.¹⁰ Episcopal direction underpinned development at Würzburg between 1400 and 1402; while an archdeacon – Don Juan López de Medina, archdeacon of Almazán – erected chairs of theology, canon law and arts at the convent of S. Antonio de Portaceli at Sigüenza c.1476, which was confirmed as a university in 1489.¹¹

These foundations were not always inspired by considerations of prestige alone and, as evident in Lopez’s precursor to Sigüenza, often reflected a genuine desire to promote learning. The fifteenth-century expansion in university provision reflects

⁶ *Evidence*, iii, 171-176.

⁷ The University of St Andrews was founded at the height of the Great Schism that saw the establishment of rival papacies in Rome and Avignon, and divided Europe. Benedict XIII (Pedro del Luna) was the Avignonese candidate at point of foundation and, as will be seen, was prepared to support most Scottish supplications to guarantee the kingdom’s continued support.

⁸ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 79.

⁹ Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 65, 74, 92, 98.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, ii, 236, 251, 261.

¹¹ *ibid.*, ii, 257, 104-105.

active engagement with culture and education by both ecclesiastical and lay society across Europe as evident in the establishment, by municipal councils, of Cologne in 1388, and Barcelona in 1450.¹² This combination of motives is apparent in Wardlaw's involvement in the development of a *studium generale* at St Andrews. As bishop, he worked to elevate the profile of his diocese above those of the twelve other Scottish sees, and promote its prestige and primacy.¹³ He earned a reputation for receiving dignitaries with lavish hospitality; and made considerable contributions to the restoration of St Andrews Cathedral, which extended to importing timber from Prussia.¹⁴ Wardlaw's foundation of the university, and building of a bridge over the Eden, in 1419, to make St Andrews more accessible, can be viewed as part of a systematic endeavour to reinforce the diocese's predominant status in the kingdom.¹⁵ At the same time, the university would offer Scots scholars accustomed to travelling to England or the continent to pursue higher education the option of studying closer to home. The rhetoric of the episcopal charter presented Wardlaw as papal legate possessing full jurisdiction throughout the kingdom of Scotland who, through the erection of an institution of higher learning, envisaged the 'flourishing of university and city [St Andrews] together, the power of the university rendering the city powerful.'¹⁶

In so doing, Wardlaw also sought to rehabilitate his own position. As we shall see, a group of masters gathered in St Andrews was functioning as an academic community from the summer of 1410.¹⁷ Wardlaw perhaps seized on the opportunity this presented to erect a university partly as a means of reinforcing his status as Scotland's leading prelate. Benedict XIII had provided him to St Andrews, apparently without consultation of the cathedral chapter in September 1403, when Wardlaw was

¹² *ibid.*, ii, 255, 100-101.

¹³ For a list of these dioceses: section 3.1, n.8; Appendices 2.1-2.13.

¹⁴ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 61.

¹⁵ Wardlaw's supplication requesting an indulgence to fund the completion of this bridge cites as partial motive, his concern for the continued survival of the university at St Andrews. *CSSR*, i, 109.

¹⁶ StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull.

¹⁷ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77. See below for discussion of these displaced masters' role in the foundation of the university.

resident at the curia.¹⁸ However, Robert duke of Albany, then lieutenant of the realm, had opposed his candidacy,¹⁹ championing instead Gilbert Greenlaw, bishop of Aberdeen and chancellor of Scotland.²⁰ On his return to Scotland, Wardlaw briefly enjoyed a prominent role among Robert III's circle of advisors. The king held him in such high esteem that he was entrusted, in 1404, with the guardianship and tutelage of Robert's sole surviving heir, the future James I.²¹ This arrangement perhaps reflected the tension existing between Wardlaw and Albany, Robert III believing the bishop would do his utmost to protect James from an attack mounted by Albany's regime.²² The failure of Robert III's scheme and James' period of captivity in England (1406-1424) ended Wardlaw's political ascendancy. There is little indication of improvement in his relationship with Albany, which might explain the absence of Albany's name from the foundation charters of the university.²³ Following 1406, Wardlaw made the diocese the focus of his career.

His efforts to strengthen his position as bishop by cultivating a reputation for piety and dedication to facilitating higher study in Scotland also suggest a desire to emulate his uncle, Cardinal Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow.²⁴ Walter had obtained a DTh degree from Paris in 1358, had entered David I's service in the 1360s, and

¹⁸ *CPL BXIII*, i, xvii, 107-108. For Wardlaw's residency at the curia, see Anderson, 'Beginnings of St Andrews University', 232 & n.

¹⁹ Robert III had been deemed unfit to rule in 1388 when – as John, earl of Carrick, – he was acting as lieutenant of Scotland on behalf of his father, Robert II. Robert, duke of Albany, Carrick's brother (then styled earl of Fife) had replaced him, and continued to act as lieutenant until 1393; he resumed the role after the death of David, duke of Rothesay, (Robert III's son, and lieutenant 1399-1402) in suspicious circumstances under Albany's custody in Falkland Palace (1402). *Scotichronicon*, viii, 39.

²⁰ *Fasti*, 382-383; *CPL BXIII*, xvii; Dowden, *Bishops*, 30; Watt, *Graduates*, 566.

²¹ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 61; *The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece, trans. by John Bellenden (1531)*, edd. E. C. Batho and H. W. Husbands, ii (London, 1941), 366, (bk. xvi) – in which, the bishop is mistakenly recorded as 'Walter Wardlaw'.

²² Bower cast suspicion over Albany's role in the death of James' brother, Rothesay, in 1402: above, n.19.

²³ Apart from the discussion of matters requiring the presence of Scotland's leading prelate, there is little indication that Wardlaw spent much time in Albany's council. *RMS*, i, 366-421, 712. Moreover, Murdac, Albany's heir and successor, seems to have inherited his father's animosity to Wardlaw; he suggested the bishop as a hostage in exchange for James I in an abortive treaty of May 1421. Watt, *Graduates*, 569.

²⁴ Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, 1367-1387, was elevated to Cardinal, 23 December 1383. *Vetera Monumenta*, 331; *Fasti*, 191; *CPL CVII*, 100-101; *CPL*, iv, 250. For further discussion of Walter Wardlaw: Chapter 3, n.255; Appendix 2.8. For abbreviations of academic degrees: Appendix 1.

regularly acted as an ambassador thereafter. It was his distinguished ecclesiastical career, however, that set the more formidable but inspiring example for his nephew. With this powerful family connection, and a record of personal service at the papal curia, Henry Wardlaw perhaps looked to receive similar favour from the Avignonese papacy following his election to the bishopric of St Andrews.²⁵ He remained loyal to Avignon for the duration of the Great Schism; as we shall see, he was conspicuously silent in the General Council of August 1418, which determined that Scotland should transfer allegiance to the Roman pope, Martin V. It is possible, therefore, that while formally sanctioning the existence of a scholarly community in St Andrews, Wardlaw also hoped that his university enterprise might enhance his reputation in Avignon and bring further ecclesiastical advancement.

1.2 An Entirely Episcopal Endeavour? A university to satisfy scholarly needs

Neither the episcopal charter nor the papal bulls made any provision for buildings to house the university.²⁶ It might be argued, therefore, that the infant institution was little more than a concept: a community of scholars lacking proper monetary endowment as well as a physical base. Traditionally, this was not unusual for a medieval university; having no attachment to a particular set of buildings, or indeed town, offered the dual advantage of keeping the pursuit of learning at the front of members' minds while allowing mobility in times of plague.²⁷ By the fifteenth century, however, the era of mobile institutions had ended.²⁸ So too, as we have seen, had the general ecclesiastical monopoly over founding universities. Walter Bower, a BDec graduate from early St Andrews, writing in the 1440s, suggested that James I was influential in erecting Scotland's first university. He remembered James as a learned man, skilled in moral

²⁵ Henry Wardlaw acted as examiner of petitions at the Avignonese curia, c.1389-1403. Watt, *Graduates*, 567.

²⁶ StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull; *Evidence*, iii, 171-176.

²⁷ Cant, *St Andrews*, 16.

²⁸ W. Rugg, 'Themes', in Ridder-Symoens, *The University in Europe*, 10-12.

philosophy, who ‘strove to introduce philosophy and the liberal arts to his kingdom’; and implied that a flurry of correspondence received while in English captivity prompted James to write to Benedict XIII to endorse the foundation.²⁹ Writing in the sixteenth-century, Hector Boece embellished this suggesting that James visited the university and attended disputations.³⁰ No record of James doing so survives in university muniments, but his desire to extend his control over its affairs was apparent in his abortive proposal to transfer the institution to Perth in 1426.³¹ However, while Benedict XIII acknowledged James’ supplication in the bulls of confirmation and the king’s later interest in the university is clear, Wardlaw did not cite his involvement in the episcopal charter.³² This suggests that James was consulted only after Wardlaw’s initial foundation, and the flurry of correspondence solicited his support in securing papal confirmation.

If the University of St Andrews was genuinely conceived by its influential patrons as a means of facilitating access to higher education in Scotland, while elevating both the profile of St Andrews and the kingdom generally, their failure to provide any form of financial or physical endowment appears short-sighted. Wardlaw’s lack of foresight seems particularly strange given his own academic career, and investment in other diocesan projects. As a DDec graduate with some formal training in civil law, and experience of the universities of Paris, Orléans and Avignon, he had most likely been exposed to the dependency of *studia generale* on generous benefactors.³³ Yet, following Wardlaw’s foundation, St Andrews functioned as a university for seven years

²⁹ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 313. Few surviving records document Bower’s early life. He was a canon of the Augustinian community in St Andrews, and was recorded as BDec on his elevation to abbot of Inchcolm in 1417. *CPL BXIII*, 365; *CSSR*, i, 189. By 1420, when supplicating for Holyrood, Bower was styled ‘BTh, BDec’. *ibid.*, i, 232-233. There is no evidence of Bower at continental or English universities, suggesting that he obtained these degrees at early St Andrews.

³⁰ Boece also suggested that James I brought eighteen DTh and eight DDec graduates to Scotland, and used this academic criteria to engineer their appointments to elevated benefices. The narrative proceeds to lament the state of Scottish learning and education in the sixteenth century. H. Boece, *Chronicles Scotland (Bellenden)*, ii, 371-372 (bk. xvi).

³¹ *CPL*, vii, 440-441.

³² StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull.

³³ For Henry Wardlaw’s academic profile: Chapter 3, n.66, 255; Appendix 2.13.

before it received any form of endowment: the chapel of St John on South Street, formally conferred by Robert Montrose in 1419.³⁴

This suggests that the establishment of St Andrews was not an entirely episcopal, or even royally-influenced episcopal endeavour. It is well known that Scots scholars – at this point, clerics – were accustomed to seeking higher education abroad. For much of the fourteenth century (save perhaps the 1360s), the strained nature of Anglo-Scots relations caused Scots to pursue studies at continental institutions, mostly in France.³⁵ A university degree offered them the prospect of ecclesiastical and administrative advancement, and the possibility of gaining high offices commensurate with the nature and level of their degrees.³⁶ However, the European political and religious situation at the turn of the fifteenth-century began to impede Scots scholars in continuing to attend their traditional French haunts. The Great Schism of 1378-1418 saw the establishment of two rival papacies, one in Rome and the other in Avignon (until 1408).³⁷ It shook the foundations of the Catholic Church; Europe's allegiances split between the two popes, and intellectual debate was dominated by contentious issues such as conciliarism (the authority of an ecumenical council over the pope) and the spread of heresy.

Swanson suggests that, in the absence of a strong Emperor, the universities were seen as the only widely accepted institutions competent to judge between rival popes.³⁸ Yet the academic community was fractured. While Italy, England and the German states grouped behind Rome, Scotland and the Iberian kingdoms remained

³⁴ *Evidence*, iii, 350.

³⁵ The educational background of the Scottish episcopate suggests a limited, but perceptible increase in the number of Scots scholars seeking education at Oxford or Cambridge during the 1360s following David II's return to Scotland from English captivity. For further discussion: sections 3.7, 3.8.

³⁶ See sections 3.1, 3.9.

³⁷ Benedict XIII retired from Avignon to Perpignan, where he convoked a council (1408-1409) to rival that of Gregory XII at Cividale, and the general council of Pisa. From 1415, Benedict took up residence in Pensicola. Conference proceedings examining the place of Perpignan in the course of the Great Schism, attendance, and matters of allegiance are published as H. Millet, ed., *Études Roussillonnaises: Le concile de Perpignan (15 novembre 1408-26 mars 1409)*, 24 (Paris, 2009). These include Ditchburn's examination of Scotland's position throughout the schism and its enduring allegiance to the Avignonese papacy: D. Ditchburn, '«Une grande ténacité doublée d'une loyauté remarquable»: l'Écosse et le Schisme, 1378-1418', *ibid.*, 137-146.

³⁸ R. Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1979), 2.

loyal to the Avignonese papacy. Meanwhile, the positions of France and the University of Paris wavered; while supportive of Avignon in the first instance, they transferred allegiance to Rome between 1398 and 1403 (although some Parisian academics did so reluctantly).³⁹ Ultimately, Paris and France withdrew their support from Benedict XIII (Avignon) in 1407, before endorsing the General Council which met at Pisa in 1409 and elected a third, 'Pisan', pope. For the duration of the schism, it was difficult, though not impossible, for scholars to attend and graduate from universities in regions adhering to the other papacy. From 1409, Scotland was isolated with the realms of Aragón, Castile and Navarre in upholding Aragón-born Benedict XIII;⁴⁰ and, at French universities where Scots had traditionally sought higher education, they were increasingly marginalised as 'schismatics'.⁴¹ Aspersions cast on degrees obtained while engaged in study at 'schismatic' institutions had very real implications, jeopardising a cleric's prospects of ecclesiastical advancement.⁴² By September 1414, the twenty or so Scots scholars choosing to remain at Paris for the quality of its teaching were restricted to graduating in a closed, secret ceremony there; or under Bishop Wardlaw, in a public ceremony in St Andrews.⁴³

The outbreak of conflict between the Burgundians and Armagnacs in 1408 compounded the difficulties faced by would-be Scottish scholars in continuing to pursue education on the continent. Arguably, then, the time was opportune for Wardlaw's foundation. He perhaps conceived of the university in response to these straitened academic circumstances and marketed St Andrews as a haven for peaceful study, scholars being free from persecution on 'schismatic' grounds. Bower, a canon at St

³⁹ E. F. Jacob, 'On the Promotion of English University Clerks during the Late Middle Ages', *JEH*, i (Oct. 1950), 176.

⁴⁰ Following the Council of Constance (1414-1418), Aragón remained the only kingdom to persevere in supporting Benedict XIII.

⁴¹ Particularly true of institutions in provincial France. Swanson, *Universities, Academics, Schism*, 184.

⁴² R. Swanson, 'The University of St Andrews and the Great Schism', *JEH*, xxvi (London, July 1975), 229.

⁴³ H. von Finke, ed., *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, i, 348. Though fewer in numbers, Scots did continue to attend Paris throughout the Great Schism; for example, John Crannach and Thomas Lauder, who established successful ecclesiastical careers and were elevated to the episcopate. Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 49; Burns, *Churchmen*, 21-23, 43, 46, 48. For further details of Crannach and Lauder: Chapter 3, n.154, 182, 257.

Andrews c.1400-1420 and probable witness to the establishment of the university, documented that teaching actually began at St Andrews in 1410, more than eighteen months prior to Wardlaw issuing the episcopal charter. He recorded that a '*studium generale* made a start' there after Whitsunday (May), and listed eight academics already gathered in the city who initiated teaching.⁴⁴ The dating of this record would suggest that the foundation of St Andrews was a response, in part at least, to the politics of the Great Schism and the altered academic climate on the continent.

Bower credited Laurence of Lindores, a Parisian BTh graduate and 'esteemed theologian' as the man who initiated teaching, with lectures on the fourth book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.⁴⁵ Durkan suggests that Lindores collaborated with Wardlaw in establishing St Andrews, and was appointed by the bishop to direct the development of the *studium*.⁴⁶ Lindores had returned to Scotland by May 1408 as rector of Creich (Fife), and in July of that year presided as 'inquisitor of heretical pravity' over the trial and execution for heresy of James Resby.⁴⁷ It is possible, then, that in response to the religious and intellectual developments of 1407-1409, Wardlaw and Lindores came together to plan the foundation of a university that would offer Scots scholars an alternative to continental institutions. If so, their collaboration was short-lived. Wardlaw's episcopal charter did not refer to Lindores, nor was he listed as a witness.⁴⁸ We shall see, moreover, that a difficult relationship developed between the two men; Lindores' absence from the foundation documents suggests that relations were strained by 1412. Of the eight masters recorded as initiating teaching at the university, Lindores was the only one who had acquired a theological qualification by 1410, although it was

⁴⁴ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77. For Bower's profile: above, n.29.

⁴⁵ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77. For details of Lindores' academic career, see Watt, *Graduates*, 343-345.

⁴⁶ Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 9. Moonan also follows this line, and argues that Lindores was engaged by Wardlaw to recruit staff and students from Glasgow diocese. L. Moonan, 'Lawrence of Lindores (d. 1437), "On Life in the Living Being"' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Louvain, 1966), [copy in StAUL], 39-41. However, this perspective takes no account of the almost-passive role in founding the *studium* that Bower ascribed to Wardlaw in contrast to his chronicle of the parts played by the masters gathered in St Andrews; nor does it acknowledge the tension that perhaps existed between the bishop and Lindores, even at this early stage. For further discussion of their difficult relationship: section 2.2.

⁴⁷ *Reg. Passelet*, 337-338; *Scotichronicon*, viii, 67.

⁴⁸ StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull; *Evidence*, iii, 174.

for his philosophical works, consulted as far afield as Cracow, Prague and Vienna, that he was held in greater renown.⁴⁹ It is possible that, rather than Wardlaw recruiting him expressly for that purpose, Lindores undertook to lecture in theology as the most qualified amongst those scholars gathered in St Andrews in 1410.

Bower's extract might reveal something more of the circumstances underpinning the foundation of St Andrews, and the nature of the early university. While Bower presented James I as very actively engaged in the supplication process that secured formal confirmation of the university, he ascribed to Wardlaw only a passive role in the initial establishment of the *studium*. If the community of scholars had arrived in St Andrews at Wardlaw's invitation, this would seem strange. Likewise, Bower limited the part played by James Bisset, prior of St Andrews (1394-1416), who was depicted in the episcopal charter as an active supporter of the project and, as we shall see, lent the early university use of priory buildings.⁵⁰ Bower recalled that the university 'made a start ... when Henry Wardlaw was the bishop of St Andrews and James Bisset was prior there.'⁵¹ The involvement of bishop and prior appears almost incidental in Bower's account; there is no mention of the episcopal charter nor Wardlaw's role in supplicating Benedict XIII for confirmation of the privileges. After the initial reference to the bishop, he is next mentioned receiving the bulls as chancellor of the university. Instead, Bower implied that St Andrews was born of the collaboration of the eight masters gathered in the city. Of Lindores' seven colleagues, three held decreets degrees by 1410: Richard Cornell, DDec; John Litstar, BDec; and William Stephenson, BDec.⁵² Cornell and Litstar were credited with commencing lectures in decreets; Stephenson joined them, with John Schevez, soon afterwards.⁵³ Bower was clear that these men operated as part of a 'faculty'. However, the lack of extant faculty records has created doubts over whether decreets was regularly taught in the early

⁴⁹ L. Moonan, 'The scientific writings of Laurence of Lindores (d.1437)', part ii, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, xxxix (Copenhagen, 1988-1989), 307-309.

⁵⁰ StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull.

⁵¹ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77.

⁵² Watt, *Graduates*, 112, 357, 506. For further details on William Stephenson: Chapter 3, n.264.

⁵³ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77.

university. The careers of those listed suggests it was. Litstar⁵⁴ appears to have acquired a LDec degree at St Andrews; Schevez⁵⁵ arrived there as a MA, and had acquired BDec and LDec degrees by 1412 and 1418. It seems that both had commenced studies in decreets on the continent before continuing at St Andrews, under Richard Cornell. John Gill and William Croyser, meanwhile, held MA degrees on arriving in St Andrews, and acted as regents in logic and philosophy.⁵⁶ While regenting, Gill obtained a BTh qualification and Croyser commenced studies in the same, although he returned to Paris in 1414 and studied theology there for a further four years.⁵⁷ William Fowlis, MA, the third philosophy lecturer on Bower's list remains a more shadowy character.⁵⁸

That at least four of these early masters continued to pursue their own studies on arrival in St Andrews might suggest that, finding themselves marginalised in the altered political and intellectual climate of the continent following the events of 1407-1409, they sought an academic environment more conducive to pursuing higher study. While Scotland offered them no *studium generale*, the resources of St Andrews' priory would allow them to persevere with their academic pursuits. They may well have viewed this as a temporary measure to tide them over before returning to graduate at a continental institution once the schism was resolved. The university, then, might be seen as evolving organically, the result of a community of displaced scholars gathering in St Andrews, continuing to pursue their academic studies, and finally receiving formal

⁵⁴ Bower styled Litstar 'LDec' in this excerpt (*Scotichronicon*, viii, 77); however, the first reference to Litstar's law credentials survives from 22 December 1413 when he was recorded BDec. Watt, *Graduates*, 357. As canons of St Andrews, Litstar and Bower were associates. We might assume then that while Bower had misremembered Litstar's level of qualification on arrival in St Andrews, Litstar did acquire a LDec degree at some point. He perhaps did so while teaching at St Andrews after Benedict XIII had endorsed the *studium* and granted it licence to confer degrees in 1413.

⁵⁵ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77; *Acta*, 12; *CPL*, vii, 102; Watt, *Graduates*, 480.

⁵⁶ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77

⁵⁷ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 209b; *CPL*, vii, 73, 92.

⁵⁸ Fowlis had entered the service of James I by 1432 when, as keeper of the Privy Seal, he was dispatched to the university to settle dispute within the arts faculty. *Acta*, 33-35; see also, section 2.2.

sanction from Wardlaw.⁵⁹ It is possible that some were acquainted, if not regular associates, prior to arriving in St Andrews. Gill and Croyser were students, and then regents, of arts at Paris between 1401 and 1410.⁶⁰ Litstar, Schevez and Stephenson appear to have been students of arts at Paris between 1383 and 1392 when there is a gap in the records of the English nation there, making it difficult to establish academic connections between them.⁶¹ However, if we compare the student careers of Wardlaw and Bisset with Cornell's, similarities emerge. Wardlaw began at Paris in the early 1380s, before transferring to Orléans (1385) and then to Avignon (1393).⁶² Bisset also began in Paris (1382) where he remained until 1393, when he also enrolled at Avignon.⁶³ Cornell commenced his studies a decade later, but they took him to Orléans (mid 1390s) and then to Avignon (1403-1407).⁶⁴ It is possible, therefore, that Litstar, Schevez and Stephenson followed similar paths. If so, they may have encountered each other as scholars, and perhaps even associated in the same circle. This is, admittedly, speculative, and we should be cautious of reading too much into possible academic associations. However, it seems plausible that, if not the result of co-ordinated migration, St Andrews developed organically as an association of like-minded scholars, of similar experience, seeking an environment better suited to academic pursuits.

Likewise, it is plausible to argue that Wardlaw issued his charter in response to an appeal from this academic community to provide them with the privileges and tax exemptions they had become accustomed to at other universities. Much of the

⁵⁹ In examining the position of Scotland in the Great Schism, Ditchburn has suggested that we should not over-estimate the Schism's impact on its religious and academic communities. He also argues that we should not interpret the foundation of St Andrews University as a response to restricted educational opportunities on the continent, but as the initiative of a group of an exceptionally erudite clergymen undertaken three years before soliciting Benedict XIII's approval. Ditchburn, 'l'Écosse et le Schisme', 143. The argument presented above seeks to illustrate that these are not incompatible arguments; that St Andrews was established by a marginalised but enterprising group of accomplished scholars, before seeking wider ecclesiastical and lay endorsement.

⁶⁰ Gill: BA, 1403; LA, MA, 1405. *ACUP*, i, 899, 901. Croyser: BA, 1407; MA, 1409. *ibid.*, ii, 6, 36, 58.

⁶¹ For the gap in the records of the English nation at Paris (24 April 1383 – 5 April 1392), see *ACUP*, i, 660-661.

⁶² For Wardlaw's academic and ecclesiastical career: Chapter 3, n.66, 255; Appendix 2.13.

⁶³ *CPP*, i, 575; M. Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privilèges des Universités Françaises*, ii (Paris, 1890-1891), 332.

⁶⁴ Watt, *Graduates*, 112.

episcopal charter concerned such privileges, as well as setting jurisdictional safeguards in place to avoid conflict developing between the university and burgh of St Andrews.⁶⁵ Having experienced such difficulties elsewhere, the new academic community in St Andrews naturally would have looked to Wardlaw to secure them a protected position in local society. We have seen that Wardlaw's initial patronage did not extend to physical or financial endowment; perhaps the grant of privileges presented itself as the more pressing concern that would allow for the future development of a lasting foundation. Having formally recognised the existence of an academic community, and granted it privileged status, Wardlaw could solicit material support from James I and the Three Estates.

If this view of the foundation of the University of St Andrews is correct, it bears comparison with the establishment of Erfurt (1379, 1392), so is not unique in its genesis.⁶⁶ However, Durkan is sceptical about the masters providing the impetus for Wardlaw's charter. He suggests that several of the 'founding fathers' soon left the infant university, and argues that James I and the Three Estates were unlikely to have lent their support to anything other than a petition from the bishop.⁶⁷ It is true that Croyser quit St Andrews for Paris in 1414. However, this does not rule out St Andrews developing organically in the first instance; neither does the choice of some Scots to endure the more difficult academic climate at Paris. Moreover, Croyser's later career indicates that preferment shaped his intellectual position and principles, and such considerations may well have influenced his movements in 1414.⁶⁸ Equally, he is known to have championed Scots conciliarists in the 1430s and it is possible that he had developed conciliarist sympathies by 1414, which drew him back to Paris. Durkan's second supposition, meanwhile, does not preclude the masters petitioning Wardlaw regarding privileges and the bishop choosing to champion their cause. Nor does it rule out the

⁶⁵ Though Wardlaw attempted to safeguard against such difficulties (StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull), a dispute concerning the rector's jurisdiction over St Andrews' citizens in civil and criminal matters arose in 1443. It was pronounced (28 June) that the rector held no such jurisdiction. StAUL, B65/1/2, Black Book Burgh Records, no. 276.

⁶⁶ Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 245.

⁶⁷ Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 10.

⁶⁸ Burns, *Churchmen*, 22-23.

scholars petitioning James directly – supplications from both Wardlaw and the academic community might explain the flurry of correspondence that Bower recorded James receiving in English captivity.⁶⁹

Collaboration between the displaced but self-aware academic community, and an astute bishop who not only desired to widen opportunities for Scottish scholars, but also recognised the benefits a university could impart to his diocese, appears the most plausible stimulus for the foundation of St Andrews. Wardlaw's role should not be down-played too much. After all, the emphasis placed on both laws in the episcopal charter, and the absence of reference to theology, reflected his scholarly interests and qualifications. The inclusion of medicine in the episcopal charter – which failed to develop as a taught discipline at medieval St Andrews – makes the omission of a theological school more striking still. It sits oddly, moreover, with a clause suggesting that Wardlaw was anxious to ensure Scotland's clergy were properly schooled in theology and envisaged the foundation of a university as the best means of achieving this: '...the Catholic faith, by an impregnable wall of doctors and masters, by whom thus surrounded, she is enabled to withstand heresies and errors.'⁷⁰

The need to combat heresy must have weighed heavily on Wardlaw as bishop of St Andrews. We have seen that English Lollard, James Resby, had been executed as recently as July 1408; evidence also suggests that English Lollards continued to seek support in Lowland Scotland following his death.⁷¹ In 1410, Quentin Flockhart, a Scotsman with contacts in England and Bohemia, dispatched four letters entitled 'News from Scotland'. His writing amounted to little more than an attack on clerical abuses, yet he styled himself a 'herdsman of the people obeying a call to denounce these evils and preach in the mother tongue'.⁷² Scotland's wider reputation as home to heretics was more worrying still. The papacy had seen fit to appoint Lindores inquisitor for Scotland in 1403, and Jean d'Achery – a Parisian academic – denounced the 'Lollard errors sown

⁶⁹ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 313.

⁷⁰ StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull.

⁷¹ T. M. A. MacNab, 'The beginnings of Lollardy in Scotland', *RSCHS*, xi (Glasgow, 1951-1953), 254.

⁷² *CPS*, 230-236, at 230.

especially in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Scotland' at Constance in 1411.⁷³ Wardlaw must have envisaged proper theological instruction at St Andrews. In 1417, an oath was introduced to the graduation ceremony requiring all scholars to defend the kirk against Lollardy; as chancellor of the university and presiding officer over graduations, Wardlaw would have approved this oath at the very least.⁷⁴

Wardlaw's apparent oversight in failing to authorise a theology faculty might simply be explained by his being careful to avoid usurping papal jurisdiction: the erection of theology faculties by university founders prior to receiving papal confirmation was rare at this time.⁷⁵ Wardlaw may have envisaged the cathedral chapter assuming responsibility for theological instruction in the first instance, under Prior Bisset's supervision. By so doing, he also avoided raising awkward questions regarding jurisdiction over regular canons and antagonising Bisset unnecessarily. Even after the university received Benedict XIII's confirmation, theology remained the preserve of the chapter with the prior acting as dean of the faculty until 1439. Moreover, with only Lindores of the eight migrant scholars holding a theology degree in 1410, and capable of meeting teaching demands in the first instance, erecting a fully-functioning theological faculty was not a priority for Wardlaw when issuing his charter of foundation.

Wardlaw could be fairly confident that Benedict XIII would license a university at St Andrews. Following the desertion of the University of Paris and France from his obedience, the pope needed to retain Scotland's support in the Great Schism. The foundation process betrays little input from secular society in Scotland until James I undertook to supplicate Benedict XIII in support of the already-functioning institution. There is no evidence of the foundation being influenced by burgeoning intellectual and cultural interest among the laity of the kind that had given rise to the university at Cologne. Certainly, in targeting heresy, Wardlaw's foundation must have resonated to some extent with the wider concerns of the temporal authorities in Scotland: in 1399 the

⁷³ Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ii, 399; iv, 627.

⁷⁴ *Acta*, 11-12.

⁷⁵ Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 14-15.

royal lieutenant David, duke of Rothesay, issued a pledge to restrain heretics.⁷⁶ Yet, in the first instance, the University of St Andrews was conceived in response, not to heresy as such, but to the altered international political and intellectual climate following the events of 1407-1409. Whether the primary impetus for the foundation came from the displaced scholars who gathered there in 1410 or from the bishop himself remains debatable, but it was through their collaboration that the university came into existence. As a result, Scots scholars were provided with a local solution to the mounting difficulties involved in studying in Europe, securing a university degree, and gaining the ecclesiastical advancement that went with it.

1.3 *Universitas* or *Studium*? The development of St Andrews as a *studium generale*

Conceived in response to such particular demands circumstances, St Andrews was slow to develop into what contemporaries had come to recognise as a fully-functioning *studium generale*. It was only after the papacy issued confirmation of its erection in 1413 that the university was entitled to confer degrees. For almost four years, the university had existed simply as a community dedicated to learning, benefiting from fiscal and legal privileges but lacking formal structure. It continued to want for designated buildings and endowment until 1419, and catered for Scottish scholars almost exclusively for much of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries.⁷⁷ Rashdall makes the distinction – as perceived by medieval society – between *universitas*, an academic community, and *studium generale*, an institute of higher education offering instruction in at least one of medicine, law and theology and attracting students ‘from all parts’.⁷⁸ At St Andrews, faculties were set up immediately following receipt of the papal bulls and, as Litstar, Schevez, Gill and Croyser illustrate, teaching in decreets and theology was offered from its inception.⁷⁹ However, in its exclusively Scottish

⁷⁶ RPS, 1399/1/3 (accessed, 12 September 2010).

⁷⁷ Montrose’s annexation of 1419. *Evidence*, iii, 350-351; see also, above n.34, below, n.88, 124.

⁷⁸ Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 2-5.

⁷⁹ Above, section 1.2; and below.

scholarly community, the early university perhaps bore greater resemblance to the concept of a *universitas* than a fully-fledged *studium generale*.

Given the purpose underpinning the development of a university at St Andrews, this is not surprising. In the first instance, the collaborators in its foundation did not envisage an institution to rival those of the continent. Wardlaw's episcopal charter indicates rather a practical solution to immediate concerns. It provided for the scholars gathered in St Andrews and prospective students from the wider diocese, but did not anticipate an academic influx from further afield.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, his episcopal charter, and the subsequent papal confirmation, illustrate that the *universitas* gathered in St Andrews was intended to provide and follow instruction in higher disciplines. Dispensation issued in the second bull permitted scholars from other dioceses to attend, and to continue to hold their benefices *in absentia* for ten years – long enough to enable students to undertake both an arts degree and elementary qualification in a higher discipline, or complete the full programme in a higher subject.⁸¹

The comparative lack of extant muniments recording the fortunes of higher disciplines at St Andrews (when compared with the survival of the *Acta* – the faculty of arts' minutes) makes it difficult to gain a sense of the extent of teaching in medicine, law and theology. Moreover, the absence of records documenting incorporations before 1473 does not permit cross-referencing against arts graduation rolls to identify scholars of higher disciplines for much of the fifteenth century. Perhaps because of this, the enduring impression of pre-Reformation St Andrews (and Scotland's medieval university foundations generally) is of their functioning as arts institutions preparing 'undergraduate' students for 'postgraduate' study at continental *studia*.⁸² There is little indication at all of a functioning medical faculty at early St Andrews. Evidence for

⁸⁰ StAUL, UYUY100, Papal Bull. By contrast, those planning the foundation of Glasgow University (1450-1451) envisaged attendance by scholars from outwith the diocese and mainland Scotland. Overtures made to Gaels suggest perhaps the Glasgow academics had considered the character of their institution more carefully than Wardlaw felt obliged to do in safeguarding the privileges of an established community. *Munimenta*, i, 6.

⁸¹ *Evidence*, iii, 172-173.

⁸² For example, Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 303-305; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 261; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 587-590; Cowan, 'Church and Society', 126-127. For discussion of the validity of this interpretation: see following, and sections 3.5, 3.6, 3.8, 3.11.

students engaging with civil law is similarly limited. Cant draws on the presence of practitioners in both laws at early St Andrews, such as Wardlaw, to suggest that instruction in civil law was sought and offered.⁸³ However, the university's supplication (of 1432) to dispense clergy in holy orders, and holding dignities, to study this discipline at St Andrews, indicates only limited uptake of civil law by its early students. The petition laments the lack of a functioning civil law faculty, but anticipates one flourishing – to the benefit of the kingdom – should the pope grant dispensation.⁸⁴ The apparent failure of the consequent papal endorsement to stimulate greater engagement with civil law at St Andrews suggests that, while there may have been a desire among secular administrators in Scotland to take advantage of the local *studium* to develop a body of university-trained civilists, clerics continued to view decreets and theology degrees as the best means of securing ecclesiastical preferment.

We have seen that teaching was instigated in theology and decreets, and at least some of the founders acquired degrees in these disciplines following the papal confirmation of 1413. Watt suggests that John Haldenstone's theology doctorate, obtained at St Andrews, was vital in securing his succession to Bisset as prior of St Andrews in 1417.⁸⁵ Durkan, meanwhile, identified thirty-one theology and seventeen decreets scholars at St Andrews between its inception and c.1440 – some graduating, others non-graduating students.⁸⁶ We shall see, moreover, that a significant number of the Scottish episcopate of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries had enrolled at St Andrews as students, but not in arts. Among this group at least, this suggests that an increasing number were opting to receive some instruction in a higher discipline at St Andrews (also Glasgow and perhaps Aberdeen), although not to degree level. While we should be careful about extending this pattern to Scots scholars generally, it indicates

⁸³ Cant, *St Andrews*, 13.

⁸⁴ CSSR, iii, 210-211. Honorius III banned civil law as a discipline at Paris in 1291 and following this, clerics in holy orders usually required dispensation to study civil law. Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 143 & n.

⁸⁵ Watt, *Graduates*, 248. Durkan suggests this final level of theology qualification was in fact conferred as an honorary degree by Wardlaw. Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 33-35.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 28-33, 37-38.

that faculties of decreets and theology were operating at Scotland's medieval university foundations, and meeting the requirements of a significant number of students.⁸⁷

The numbers of decreets and theology scholars at early St Andrews did not perhaps rival those of arts listed in graduation lists presented in the *Acta*. Nonetheless, this source highlights that faculties of arts, law and theology were formally established following promulgation of the papal bulls in 1414. They provided the developing university with structure. The foundation of colleges would come later but, in the meantime, the faculties provided the most distinctive divisions in the university and marked a real development from the loose association of scholars that had existed previously.⁸⁸ The first record in the *Acta* provides a list of students who acquired BA degrees in the faculty of arts in 1414.⁸⁹ Early entries in this minute book also contain references to the 'Faculty of Canon Law' and 'School of Theology', thereby testifying to the contemporaneous establishment of these bodies. That of canon law is first recorded in the minute of 18 October 1415 detailing the faculties of arts and canon law pooling resources to procure further guarantees of their privileges.⁹⁰ The school of theology is first documented in May 1416, listed as the venue of an arts meeting.⁹¹ All preceding entries record the hospital of St Leonard, owned by the priory, as hosting arts faculty congregations. From this point, however, 'St Leonard's' and the 'School of Theology' were used interchangeably. This 1416 record suggests the existence of a functioning theology faculty but that at this point, it was viewed as little more than an extension of the priory and cathedral chapter.

This is unsurprising given the early university's dependency on priory buildings and resources, and the role played by successive priors, Bisset and

⁸⁷ See above, and sections 3.5, 3.6, 3.8, 3.11.

⁸⁸ The college foundations: St John's, with Robert Montrose's endowment, 1419 (*Evidence*, iii, 350-351); St Salvator's by Bishop James Kennedy, 1450-1451 (StAUL, UYSS110/A/1-UYSS110/A/3, Foundation Papers; Cant, *St Salvator*, 49-66); St Leonard's by Bishop Alexander Stewart, Prior John Hepburn and James IV, 1512-1513 (StAUL, UYSL110/A/1-UYSL110/A/4.1, Foundation Papers; *Evidence*, iii, 274-275; Herkless and Hannay, *St Leonard*, 127-144); St Mary's by Archbishop James Beaton, 1538 (StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/2-UYSM110/B1/P1/3, Foundation Papers; *Evidence*, iii, 357-358).

⁸⁹ *Acta*, 1.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, 3.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, 6.

Haldenstone, as dean of theology. We have seen that, in the turbulent circumstances which gave rise to the *studium* at St Andrews, practicality perhaps determined that theology would be the preserve of the priory. It may be that this was the price Bisset exacted for use of his buildings. But it also made sense: students could access the cathedral library easily, and apply themselves to studies in an atmosphere conducive to learning. In the first instance, then, the theology school at St Andrews perhaps resembled those of certain Dominican orders which assumed the function of theology faculties in particular universities such as Cologne.⁹² It remained as such until March 1439 when the faculty devised a constitution and its first set of statutes, and took definite steps towards establishing itself as a body independent of the priory.⁹³

While the establishment of faculties provided the early university at St Andrews with some rudimentary structure, the subjects studied – arts, decreets and theology – remained those associated with the masters who had first gathered in St Andrews. The priory continued to exert control over a significant element of the university's academic provision; and as long as the university remained dependent on the priory for buildings and resources, there was little prospect that this would change. None of this is entirely surprising or unique to St Andrews. As we have seen, seeking instruction in civil law and medicine made little sense for clerics aspiring to distinguished ecclesiastical careers, while dependency on the priory bore similarities to theological provision elsewhere in Europe. Moreover, despite the apparent medieval distinction between *universitas* and *studia generale*, partial development was hardly unusual among the new universities of the fifteenth centuries. Teaching at Leipzig (1409), for example, was similarly limited to arts, theology and decreets, with emphasis on arts.⁹⁴ Leipzig also drew its students primarily from neighbouring areas. Development at Trier (1454) and Ingolstadt (1459) was so halting that both underwent

⁹² Asztalos, 'Faculty of Theology', 414-417.

⁹³ The original statutes are lost. Two copies survive but are dated differently: an Edinburgh University copy, 1428 [1429], and a St Andrews transcript, 1438 [1439]. The witness designations suggest that the earlier date is erroneous, but Hannay mistakenly rendered this date (18 March 1429) in his publication of the statutes. Hannay, *Statutes*, 80, 112. For further discussion of this dating problem, see *Acta*, cxli-cxlii; Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 33-34.

⁹⁴ Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 259-260.

re-foundation (1473, 1472 respectively).⁹⁵ Provisions for universities at Calataydd (1415), Mantua (1433) and Gerona (1446), meanwhile, failed to amount to anything more than ‘paper’ universities.⁹⁶ The term *studium generale* was probably only truly applicable, in a functioning sense, to longer-established institutions such as Bologna, Paris, Montpellier and Prague. Yet, even the latter, so vibrant in the fourteenth century, was so wracked by academic feuding and religious controversy that, by 1408, it had completely lost its cosmopolitan character.⁹⁷

1.4 A Forum for Scholarly Debate?

If the medieval university at St Andrews did not function as a fully-fledged *studium generale*, it was clearly something more than simply an ‘undergraduate’ institution. The comparative wealth of extant muniments recording the fortunes of the arts faculty risks colouring any discussion of the development of the university as a whole. However, the interests of students and degree-holders within the faculties of decreets and theology – most of whom were also regents and administrators in the arts – were bound up with those of the arts faculty of which they were also members. The *Acta* attests to a vibrant, self-assured faculty, eager to maintain a distinct identity within the *studium*.⁹⁸ This is evident in its commissioning of French goldsmiths to fashion a mace (in January 1416) to be employed at all occasions attended by faculty representatives.⁹⁹ Dunlop suggests the arts faculty offered a greater sense of community than any other within the university, and nurtured a spirit of co-operation among members.¹⁰⁰ However, while the

⁹⁵ Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 268-278.

⁹⁶ Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 330.

⁹⁷ In 1400, Prague was home to over 2000 foreign students. Scholars became divided, however, over philosophy and religious reform and aligned themselves along national lines; in June 1408, matters came to a head and the German nation left Prague en masse. Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 213-234.

⁹⁸ *Acta*, 1-16.

⁹⁹ For example, by the delegation sent to the General Council meeting of October 1418. In anticipation of this meeting, the faculty determined to ensure the mace was dispatched from France timeously, 9 August 1418. *Acta*, 6, 12-13.

¹⁰⁰ *Acta*, xii.

Acta provides evidence of co-operation among scholars and staff in defence of the arts faculty's position against external influences, it also illustrates that the faculty hosted sometimes fierce intellectual debate.

Membership of the faculty, including both masters and students, rarely exceeded forty scholars. Scholars of arts tended to be just fourteen years old on incorporation. We have seen that an arts degree was deemed a pre-requisite for further study – certainly in medicine (from 1426) and theology.¹⁰¹ Though it was not compulsory to acquire arts qualifications before undertaking legal studies, many scholars tended to do so from the turn of the fifteenth century.¹⁰² Regents undertook the teaching – usually ‘postgraduate’ students of decreets or theology who assumed responsibility for the same group of ‘undergraduates’ for their four years of study. The curriculum consisted of instruction in Latin grammar, logic, and rhetoric; the techniques learnt in these classes then being applied to the study of natural philosophy, moral philosophy and metaphysics – the three ‘philosophies’, taught largely through the works of Aristotle, that formed the core of late medieval scholasticism.¹⁰³

Two broad schools of thought had developed within late medieval scholasticism: realism (the *via antiqua*), associated primarily with Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, and nominalism (the *via moderna*), associated with Duns Scotus and William of Ockham. Within each of these broad schools there existed further variations, usually identified with a particular master – hence Albertism, Thomism, Scotism. Affiliation to a particular school of thought could not only determine at which university a master of arts chose to pursue further study, but might also have profound implications for the way in which arts students were taught the three philosophies.¹⁰⁴ Where opposing schools of thought were actively taught in the same institution, disputes were often severe.¹⁰⁵ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the differences between

¹⁰¹ Introduction, n.11.

¹⁰² Rashdall, *Universities*, i, 329 n. See also, sections 3.3, 3.4, 3.5.

¹⁰³ G. Leff, ‘The *Trivium*, and the Three Philosophies’, in Ridder-Symoens, *The University in Europe*, 307-311, 319, 328-333; *Acta*, lxxxi-lxxxii, 5-6, 15, 181-182.

¹⁰⁴ See also, sections 2.2, 2.3.

¹⁰⁵ Leff, ‘The *Trivium*’, 311, 331-333; Asztalos, ‘Faculty of Theology’, 438-439.

realism and nominalism in any detail, let alone to pursue the range of variant philosophical positions that might fall under each of these broad labels. However, in crude terms, realists believed that God had created a world governed by unchanging laws of nature that could be fully comprehended through man's reason. In contrast, nominalists were reluctant to accept that God had established natural laws limiting His own absolute authority and tended to be more sceptical of man's ability to understand either God or His creation through reason alone. As a result, while the world of the realists, governed by reason and necessity, tended to be ordered and certain, that of the nominalists, where God's absolute authority could not be limited by reason or nature, tended to be more unpredictable and contingent.¹⁰⁶

Such philosophical debates coloured the development of arts teaching at St Andrews and, as we shall see, stimulated dissent among the academic community. Although Laurence of Lindores initiated theology teaching at St Andrews, he is better-remembered as the dominant figure in the faculty of arts there, from the foundation of the university until his own death in 1437.¹⁰⁷ An accomplished exponent of Buridan nominalism (developed from the work of the fourteenth-century Parisian master Jean Buridan), Lindores exerted strong influence over the course of the philosophical debate at St Andrews and thus over the university's early development.¹⁰⁸ Having obtained a LA degree at Paris in 1393 – with fellow nominalist John Derp – Lindores' adherence to Buridanism was perhaps only natural.¹⁰⁹ The study of Thomism had been prohibited at Paris in 1387 and its scholars expelled. In the period immediately following, nominalism dominated the curriculum, the work of Buridan being particularly favoured.¹¹⁰ Lindores and Derp studied under Aegidius Bartholomei Jutfaes, the most active Parisian regent during the 1390s and an acknowledged nominalist.¹¹¹ This

¹⁰⁶ Leff, 'The *Trivium*', 331-333; Asztalos, 'Faculty of Theology', 420-433; A. Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy* (Edinburgh, 2009), chapters 2-3.

¹⁰⁷ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77; *Acta*, ccxlv, ccxlix.

¹⁰⁸ Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 46; Moonan, *Lindores*, 1.02-1.04.

¹⁰⁹ *ACUP*, i, 676-7.

¹¹⁰ Moonan, *Lindores*, 2.06; Rashdall, *Universities*, i, 562-564 & n.

¹¹¹ *ACUP*, i, 676-7; Watt, *Graduates*, 343.

suggests that Lindores received wholly Buridan-nominalist instruction as an arts student at Paris. The character of his own commentaries further substantiates this: his work offered little that was new, but was simply a more succinct version of aspects of Buridan's natural philosophy.¹¹² So while perhaps not a great philosopher in his own right, Lindores played a significant role in disseminating Buridan's teaching not only at Paris, where he acted as a regent between 1395 and 1401, but also at the European institutions where his commentaries circulated.¹¹³

The same was true of arts instruction at early St Andrews. Lindores was recorded as dean of the faculty on 6 October 1416; it may be the case that he held this position from the promulgation of the papal bulls in 1414.¹¹⁴ As dean, and until 1417 university rector, Lindores was in a position to ensure that his preferred brand of scholasticism was taught to arts students.¹¹⁵ In so doing, he was most likely assisted by masters John Gill, William Croyser and William Fowlis, cited by Bower as the first teachers in 'philosophy and logic'¹¹⁶ – all three can be identified as former students of nominalist regents at Paris.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Lindores' successor as dean of arts, James Lindsay, had graduated as LA at Paris in 1401 under Lindores.¹¹⁸ It appears, then, that these teachers of arts at early St Andrews had all received nominalist instruction at Paris, closely aligning them with the philosophical position adopted and disseminated by Lindores.

¹¹² CPS, 382-383; Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 47-48; Moonan, *Lindores*, 1.03. All cite C. Michalski, 'La physique nouvelle et les différents courants philosophiques au xiv^e siècle', in *Bulletin de l'Académie polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres* (Cracow, 1928).

¹¹³ Watt, *Graduates*, 343; CPS, 382; Moonan, *Lindores*, 1.02-1.06.

¹¹⁴ *Acta*, ccxlix, 9. The *Acta*, and university muniments provide no indication of who held the deanship prior to 1416.

¹¹⁵ StAUL, UYUY305/1, *Acta Rectorum*, i, fo. i, 110; *Acta*, ccxliv.

¹¹⁶ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77.

¹¹⁷ Gill: Arnold Uitwick; Croyser: Crannach; Fowlis: Crannach and Bloc. Bloc was a former student of both Aegidius Jutfaes and Uitwick. *ACUP*, i, 853 (Gill); ii, 55 (Croyser); ii, 106 (Fowlis); Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 46.

¹¹⁸ *ACUP*, i, 741, 837; Moonan, *Lindores*, 2.07. For Lindsay as dean (1425-1427): StAUL, UYUY305/1, *Acta Rectorum*, i, 110; *Acta*, ccxlix.

The *Acta* indicates, however, that Lindores' circle encountered considerable resistance in attempting to secure a monopoly over arts teaching at St Andrews. A minute dated 16 February 1418 indicates that arts regents at St Andrews had been divided for some time over which school of thought to adhere to in teaching: 'the majority of the congregation concluded that from this point onwards the doctrine of Albert will not be taught in this *studium*, but [only that of] Buridan'.¹¹⁹ Albertism was based on the writings of the thirteenth-century Dominican Albert the Great, and belonged to the realist school. Eclipsed for much of the fourteenth century by scholars advocating the approach pioneered by his student, Thomas Aquinas, Albertism experienced something of a revival from 1400.¹²⁰ Focussed not just on Aristotle, but also incorporating elements of neo-Platonic thought, fifteenth-century Albertism was developed by Johannes de Nova Domo at Paris. From there, its adherents spread to Cologne, Louvain and Cracow during the 1420s.¹²¹ However, as the *Acta* makes clear, it was being taught at St Andrews before that date.

The faculty minutes suggest that tensions over which brand of scholasticism to adopt at St Andrews first emerged within a year of the formal foundation of the university. On 18 October 1415, the faculty prescribed that arts students should follow the books customarily used at Paris, but only those commentaries on Aristotle.¹²² This was followed, on 17 January 1416, by a decision to set aside £5 for the purchase of texts from Paris – again the works of Aristotle, and commentaries on his *Logic* and *Physics* were specified.¹²³ These references highlight the emphasis on Aristotle, and the apparent exclusion of the commentaries on Plato utilised by Albertists. They also suggest that concern over the dissemination of realism existed at St Andrews from 1415, fuelling the determination of Lindores and his circle to maintain a nominalist monopoly.

¹¹⁹ *Acta*, 12.

¹²⁰ Asztalos, 'Faculty of Theology', 420-440 at 423, 426, 428-429, 439-440.

¹²¹ Leff, 'The *Trivium*', 311; Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 6, 34; Rashdall, *Universities*, i, 564 & n.

¹²² *Acta*, 3.

¹²³ *Acta*, 6.

Lindores' influence as the driving force behind the 1418 declaration banning Albert the Great in favour of Buridan is clear from two subsequent developments. Robert of Montrose formally conferred the Chapel of St John upon the university as premises for a 'college of theologians and artists' on 22 January 1419. In so doing, he invested the property in Lindores as 'principal master, receptor and governor'.¹²⁴ The *Acta* illustrates that the faculty of arts had looked on St John's as a permanent base from the summer of 1416.¹²⁵ Yet this formal recognition of Lindores as the source of ultimate authority over St John's as a college served also to tighten his control over the faculty itself. Following Montrose's endowment, the faculty of arts set down the texts required for obtaining a LA degree 'in the presence of the chancellor [Wardlaw] and rector [John Elwald]'. All were works of Aristotle.¹²⁶ This prescription came just a year after the Buridan pronouncement and immediately following the exam period, and suggests that on conclusion of the exams, the assessors and Lindores as dean believed further clarification of the curriculum was required.¹²⁷ Lindores perhaps timed this meeting's agenda deliberately to coincide with the exam diet in the hope that the presence of university dignitaries at the faculty meeting would lend weight to the curriculum set down.

Lindores' education and the character of his commentaries indicate that, while his associates shared concerns over the dissemination of Albertist philosophy at St Andrews, it was he who was the driving force behind repeated attempts to regulate the arts curriculum during his tenure as dean of arts. His decision to pursue a career in the arts faculty and not that of theology, nor more lucrative positions in the Church or secular service, may indicate that he had a genuine passion for philosophical study. It was only natural that he should seek to impose what he viewed as the 'correct' school of thought on the arts faculty. Almost one hundred years previously, Buridan had chosen similarly to confine himself to a career in the arts faculty at Paris. Moreover, the

¹²⁴ *Evidence*, iii, 350-351.

¹²⁵ *Acta*, 7.

¹²⁶ 12 May 1419. *Acta*, 15.

¹²⁷ The fourteen successful candidates of 1419 were recorded between the minute of 20 April and the May entry. *Acta*, 14-15.

prohibition of a particular philosophical school was not unusual. We have seen that Paris expelled Thomist realists in 1387; in 1474, Louis XI banned the teaching of nominalism there.¹²⁸ However, philosophical controversy at early St Andrews was not so easily resolved. Chapter 2 will explore the events of 1430-1432, which indicate not only that Albertism survived Lindores' assault on it, but also that the realist-nominalist debate engendered such dissent that it ultimately influenced the foundation of St Salvator's College at St Andrews and the University of Glasgow.

1.5 University, Church and Kingdom: St Andrews in wider political and intellectual debates

Within a decade of its foundation, the university at St Andrews was functioning as something approaching a fully-fledged *studium generale*. Moreover, intense debates between proponents of different philosophical schools illustrates that the early academic community was a vibrant one, fully acquainted with the intellectual and curricular concerns of Europe's older, established institutions. That Lindores was unsuccessful in suppressing Albertism at St Andrews, and that the nominalist-realist debate continued for much of the fifteenth century, suggests that Scottish scholars and masters remained fully engaged with these wider European currents of thought. These intellectual affiliations were crucial in the arts faculties of late medieval universities because it was there that young scholars acquired the tools through which to understand theology and engage with the principles and theories influencing ecclesiastical and secular politics. The prominence of the nominalist-realist debate at early St Andrews invites consideration of how it related to such wider concerns.

We have seen that the Catholic Church of the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries was beset by crisis. Against the background of the Great Schism, members of the clergy and laity alike were calling for reform of ecclesiastical abuses, and the Hussite heresy had provoked religious war in Bohemia. In the context of the schism, conciliarists sought to subject the absolute authority of the papal monarchy to that of general councils of the Church, while Europe's kings and princes threatened to erode

¹²⁸ Rashdall, *Universities*, i, 564 & n.

papal jurisdiction within their own territories. The Council of Pisa's election of a third pope (Alexander V, in 1409) created further division, which endured until the Council of Constance deposed all three popes (Pisan, Roman and Avignonese, in 1415) and appointed Martin V in November 1417.¹²⁹

Resolving divisions in the Church was not a simple matter of determining which pope held the better claim; it was bound up closely with questions concerning the nature of papal authority and whether or not it derived from the superior authority of a council. We have seen that academics, particularly those of Paris, directed the course of these arguments.¹³⁰ In so doing, they added another dimension to the philosophical debate between nominalist and realist schools of thought. A great deal of research has been done on the general councils of the fifteenth century, the development of conciliar theory and how, in addition to canon law, theological – and so philosophical – principles shaped attitudes to papal authority and the Great Schism.¹³¹ This literature makes clear both the difficulties in establishing overly rigid connections between philosophy and politics and the need to be cautious in making such assumptions. However, it also suggests that, in broad terms, we might expect realists to favour the ordered, hierarchical and authoritarian views of papal monarchists, and nominalists to incline towards the conciliarist position.¹³²

¹²⁹ Pisa had elected Alexander V who, by Constance, was succeeded by John XXIII. The Roman and Avignonese candidates were Gregory XII and Benedict XIII respectively. John and Gregory complied with Constance's demands to resign; though Benedict held resolute, he was almost entirely marginalised in Europe by this point. C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: the Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (London, 1977), 6, 11, 184-186.

¹³⁰ Swanson, *Universities, Academics, Schism*, 2.

¹³¹ See, for example, A. Black: 'The Conciliar Movement', in J. H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge History of Political Thought c.350-1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 573-587; *Council and Commune: the conciliar movement and the fifteenth-century heritage* (London, 1979); *Monarchy and Community: political ideas in the later conciliar controversy, 1430-1450* (London, 1970); 'Popes and Councils', *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vii, c.1415-c.1500 (Cambridge, 1998), 65-86. J. H. Burns: 'The conciliarist tradition in Scotland', *SHR*, xlii (Edinburgh, 1963), 89-104; *Lordship, Kingship and Empire* (Oxford, 1992); *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle* (Glasgow, 1962). Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 1-40. E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Manchester, 1943). F. Oakley, 'On the Road from Constance to 1688: the political thought of John Major and George Buchanan', *Journal of British Studies*, i, 2 (Chicago, 1962), 1-31; 'From Constance to 1688 Revisited', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xxvii, 3 (Philadelphia, 1966), 429-432. Swanson, *Universities, Academics, Schism*.

¹³² See above, section 1.4. This alignment must be viewed in the broadest possible terms. Black has traced the evolution, by Basle, of a moderate conciliarism among some Cologne Albertists; though ultimately supportive of papal authority, it did endorse the occasional supremacy of a council. Black, *Council and Commune*, 58.

Studies of Paris, where nominalism and conciliarism generally went hand-in-hand, appear to substantiate this claim.¹³³ In contrast, though Louvain (founded in 1425) did not exist when Pisa and Constance were underway, after much hesitation it sent representatives to the Council of Basle (1431-1449) in June 1434, but recalled them within a month.¹³⁴ This suggests that at Louvain, where Albertism had taken firm root, realist teaching encouraged papal rather than conciliar sympathy.¹³⁵ However, this pattern was by no means universal. A significant number of the academic community at Cologne – a centre of realist philosophy – endorsed Basle; indeed, at least ten Scots scholars who adhered to Basle after Eugenius IV declared it schismatic in 1439 had Cologne associations.¹³⁶

Philosophical and political associations at early St Andrews were sufficiently ambiguous to allow two noted authorities, Baxter and Burns, to come to rather different conclusions over this issue. Baxter draws a definite link between nominalism and conciliarism, while Burns argues that the relationship is much less clearcut.¹³⁷ The gathering of a community of scholars in St Andrews in 1410, and the particular circumstances that gave rise to the establishment of the university, indicate that the Buridan scholars credited with initiating teaching at St Andrews were not – at this point, at least – firmly convinced of the conciliar position. Had they been, we might expect them to have continued to pursue their studies on the continent undeterred by aspersions cast on degrees acquired at ‘schismatic’, conciliar-inclined institutions and the limitations this might place on future ecclesiastical preferment in Scotland. Instead, they sought out a more congenial academic environment that would not curtail career prospects. By contrast, John Crannach and Thomas Lauder remained at Paris,

¹³³ Burns, ‘Conciliarist Tradition’, 91.

¹³⁴ Burns, *Churchmen*, 29-30.

¹³⁵ Rashdall, *Universities*, i, 564 & n; ii, 263-268.

¹³⁶ Burns, *Churchmen*, 77; Burns, ‘Conciliarist Tradition’, 94-95.

¹³⁷ *CPS*, liii; Burns, ‘Conciliarist Tradition’, 91-92.

indicating that they were committed conciliarists, or were willing to adapt their positions and short-term aspirations to take advantage of its teaching.¹³⁸

While his preferred philosophical approach might determine an academic's stance on the matter of papal authority and how to resolve the Great Schism, the Buridan scholars at early St Andrews did not conform – openly, at least – to the expected conciliarist stance. However, the university's role in determining that Scotland would withdraw obedience from Benedict XIII in 1418 suggests either that these scholars had set conciliarist principles aside in relocating to St Andrews or that they had become more sceptical of the absolute authority of the papacy by 1418. During James I's captivity in England (1406-1424), Robert, duke of Albany, acted as governor of Scotland and the kingdom had in effect two figureheads, the king and the regent. Benedict XIII waged a campaign to retain Scottish support from 1412-1417;¹³⁹ at the same time, the University of Paris and Europe's princes made overtures not only to Albany, but also to James I.¹⁴⁰ The Council of Constance requested the attendance of Scots delegates and dispatched the abbot of Pontigny to argue for abandonment of Benedict XIII before the general council in Scotland.¹⁴¹ Albany's representative at Constance (Finlay de Albany) returned in 1416 with letters that were read at St Andrews before Wardlaw, assorted clerics, 'and many others' – presumably the university and cathedral chapter.¹⁴² These repeated appeals met with little success, however; neither Albany nor James I appeared willing to endorse the council until the election of Martin V as pope in November 1417. James I acknowledged Martin as pope in a supplication seeking a benefice for his 'familiar', Michael Ochiltree, in January 1418, before Thomas Myrton formally conveyed James' loyalty to Martin on 6 July 1418.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ For Crannach and Lauder: Chapter 3, n.154, 182, 257.

¹³⁹ *CPL BXIII*, 316; *CPS*, 244-246, 248, 251, 253-256; *Scotichronicon*, viii, 87; M. H. Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* (East Linton, 1998), 197-198.

¹⁴⁰ *ACUP*, ii, 162n; *CPL*, vi, 6, 181; *CPS*, 7-16, 243-246, 261-263, 387-388; Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, i, 156; *Scotichronicon*, viii, 87.

¹⁴¹ *CPS*, 9; *Scotichronicon*, viii, 87.

¹⁴² *CPS*, 9, 261-263; Watt, *Graduates*, 4-5.

¹⁴³ *CSSR*, i, 3, 15; *CPS*, 11, 392, 394.

It appears, though, that it was St Andrews' academics who in 1418 determined Scotland's ultimate position on the Great Schism. Questions over allegiance, conciliarism and the nature of papal authority assumed particular importance for these scholars who owed their status as a *studium generale* to Benedict's patronage. At an arts faculty meeting on 9 August, however, its members agreed to petition the Scottish political community to transfer obedience to Martin V, also resolving that the university as a body would forsake Benedict XIII regardless.¹⁴⁴ Finlay de Albany's publication of letters from Constance appears not to have stimulated wide – or at least, official, documented – debate at the university in 1416; but it seems the academic community pushed its agenda fiercely in 1418 and before the October meeting of the Three Estates engaged in a series of caustic exchanges with Robert Harding, Governor Albany's representative in defence of Benedict XIII.¹⁴⁵ This suggests that the prospect of becoming further isolated in Europe following the election, and wide endorsement, of Martin V was decisive in influencing the university's position. However, the *Acta* indicates that the philosophical debate at early St Andrews had also served to clarify scholars' positions with respect to the Great Schism; the entry recording the decision to abandon Benedict XIII is the next following the minute prohibiting Albertist teaching at St Andrews.¹⁴⁶ While its academics had been unwilling to endorse a general church council that lacked a figurehead, pragmatism and philosophical principles now inclined them to align with a conciliarly-elected pope.

While this suggests that philosophical allegiances might shape academic positions regarding conciliarism and the nature of papal authority, it does not lend weight to any necessary association between nominalism and conciliarism at early St Andrews. That practical politics were more influential in determining an individual's position on these matters is evident in the actions and attitudes of Haldenstone and Lindores from 1417-1418. The former had positioned himself as successor to Bisset as

¹⁴⁴ *Acta*, 12-13.

¹⁴⁵ *RPS*, A1418/1 (accessed, 20 September 2010); *Scotichronicon*, viii, 89. For discussion of Albany's odd and perhaps deliberately counter-effective choice of Harding, an Englishman, to argue for continued adherence to Benedict XIII, see Ditchburn, 'l'Écosse et le Schisme', 145-146.

¹⁴⁶ *Acta*, 12-13.

prior of St Andrews (in 1417) and rather than seeking confirmation from Benedict XIII, approached Martin V.¹⁴⁷ In so doing, he was supported seemingly by Archibald, earl of Douglas, who had conducted correspondence with Constance from 1414 and, by 1418, openly opposed Albany on the Great Schism; during the summer of 1418, these men appear to have collaborated in soliciting support for Martin V from members of the Three Estates.¹⁴⁸ Haldenstone is recognised as a proponent of realist philosophy (as a theology student at early St Andrews, this further indicates that Albertism had a footing there) and was demonstrably pro-papal in later theological debates.¹⁴⁹ His decision to recognise conciliarly-elected Martin V illustrates that, in this instance, any association between preferred philosophical and theological principles assumed secondary importance to Haldenstone's promotional prospects in the context of the changing tide of ecclesiastical politics.

Lindores' position in 1418 is more elusive. As a Buridan scholar schooled at Paris, where a more distinct association between nominalism and conciliarist principles appears to have existed, we might expect Lindores to have been a committed conciliarist. As dean of arts, and a member of the theological faculty, we might also expect him to have assumed an influential role in directing the debate and university's response in 1418.¹⁵⁰ Given his clear commitment to maintaining a Buridan monopoly over philosophical teaching at St Andrews, it seems inconceivable that the university's position in 1418 was determined without Lindores' endorsement. The faculty of arts agreed to send to Paris to arrange speedy dispatch of the mace, perhaps in anticipation of an official university delegation attending the meeting of the Three Estates.¹⁵¹ However, Lindores does not appear to have been a member of this delegation. Bower's records of this meeting (dated 2/3 October 1418) documented M. John Elwald's (university rector) presence with 'other distinguished theologians', and M. John Fogo's

¹⁴⁷ *CPS*, lv & n, 16; *CPL BXIII*, 368, 377, 383; *CPL*, vii, 63; *CSSR*, i, 4-6 & n, 8-9.

¹⁴⁸ *CPS*, 243-244; *CSSR*, i, 8-9; *Douglas Book (Charters)*, 1100-1800, ed. W. Fraser, iii (Edinburgh, 1885), 52; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 197-198.

¹⁴⁹ *CPS*, lvii-lviii.

¹⁵⁰ *Acta*, ccxlix, 9-20.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, 13.

(later abbot of Melrose) vigorous disputation against Harding, but supply no reference to Lindores.¹⁵² Given the prominence and esteem Bower afforded to Lindores in his entry concerning the university's foundation, his lack of reference to him in accounts of 1418 suggests that Lindores was not in attendance – or was deliberately silent.¹⁵³

Moreover, following the conclusion of the meeting, Haldenstone rebuked Lindores (as inquisitor of heretical pravity) for failing to pursue Harding on heretical grounds.¹⁵⁴ Harding appears to have employed broadly conciliarist principles to suggest that, should Scotland deem Benedict XIII to have become negligent in office, its prelates would have the right to renounce him and choose an alternative pope.¹⁵⁵ This might suggest that Harding had tailored his arguments to satisfy the theological principles of the university delegation. Lindores' resolve not to bring heresy charges against Harding might also suggest that the philosopher was inclined towards a conciliar position and to endorse the principles underpinning Harding's arguments, if not his proposed pope. Balfour-Melville has suggested that during the Council of Basle, of which James I took advantage to extend royal authority over ecclesiastical appointments, Lindores' natural inclination towards a conciliar position secured him James' support in university affairs.¹⁵⁶ It was perhaps the case, then, that a broad relationship between Buridanism and conciliarism did influence Lindores' position on the nature of papal authority but, as with Haldenstone, pragmatism determined his official line. Lindores' career at St Andrews demonstrates him to be a difficult and prickly politician, determined to preserve his position and influence both in the faculty of arts and the wider university. So long as the wider Scottish political community remained wary of withdrawing obedience from Benedict XIII, and Lindores continued

¹⁵² *Scotichronicon*, viii, 87-91, 91-93. *RPS*, A1418/1 (accessed, 20 September 2010).

¹⁵³ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 77.

¹⁵⁴ *CPS*, 3-4.

¹⁵⁵ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 89-91, 91-93. These broadly conciliarist principles might have prompted Haldenstone to request Lindores pursue Harding as a heretic. It may also indicate animosity existing between Haldenstone and Lindores on philosophical and theological lines.

¹⁵⁶ E. W. M., Balfour-Melville, *James I, King of Scots* (London, 1964), 129.

to derive his positions as inquisitor and rector of Creich from Benedict's authority, he perhaps thought it unwise to adopt an overtly conciliarist position.

* * *

Conceived and developed in response to the altered intellectual and political climate following Parisian and French abandonment of Avignon, the early university at St Andrews remained small but developed quickly into a vibrant academic community fully engaged with the continental philosophical and theological debates that were bound up with wider political concerns. While it did not perhaps attract the same numbers of higher discipline scholars as it did arts students, and foreign academics are absent from the record, it clearly functioned as something more than an arts college catering for 'undergraduates'. Philosophical controversy evident at the infant institution, almost from its official foundation as a *studium generale*, continued to dominate internal politics and shape the character of the university. Attempts to prohibit Albertist instruction represented a conservative reaction by experienced Buridan scholars to new philosophical approaches, and risked intellectual stagnation. However, the failure to suppress Albertism in 1418 illustrates that the university remained conversant and engaged with wider intellectual concerns. With respect to ecclesiastical politics, while pragmatism rather than rigid principle may have determined the positions of both individual scholars and the burgeoning academic community as a whole, the university's continued engagement with debates on conciliarism and the nature of papal authority would continue to shape its development. Ultimately, indeed, such debates would give rise to the university's collegiate structure, and the expansion of higher educational provision in fifteenth-century Scotland through the foundation of Glasgow University in 1451.

Chapter 2: St Salvator's College and the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen: the expansion of higher education in fifteenth-century Scotland

2.1 New Foundations as the Instruments of Diocesan Prestige?

The mid-fifteenth century witnessed the expansion of higher educational provision in Scotland through James Kennedy's erection of the College of St Salvator at St Andrews, and William Turnbull's foundation of a second *studium generale* in Glasgow. Towards the close of the century, William Elphinstone (younger) extended university provision still further by establishing a third institution at Aberdeen.¹ Recent commentators have questioned the wisdom of developing higher education in this manner in preference to augmenting St Andrews' resources. They have suggested that the diocesan approach made for financially insecure universities that were limited in scope and, in failing to provide adequate instruction in the higher disciplines of medicine, law and theology, did little to stop the Scottish 'brain-drain' to continental institutions.² Regional expansion has also been discussed in terms of diocesan prestige, and the foundation of universities at Glasgow and Aberdeen presented as attempts by Bishops Turnbull and Elphinstone to place their respective sees on the same footing as St Andrews. Kennedy trumpeted St Salvator's College as an enhancement to the *studium* at St Andrews;³ Turnbull perhaps sought to redress the diocesan imbalance brought about by Kennedy reinforcing St Andrews' status as Scotland's centre of higher learning in this manner.⁴ In so doing, Turnbull set a regional tone for further development of higher education in Scotland.

¹ Kennedy erected the College of St Salvator on 27 August 1450. StAUL, UYSS110/A/1-2, Charters of Foundation. For foundation dates of Glasgow and Aberdeen: Introduction, n.4-5.

² Cowan, 'Church and Society', 125-128; Ditchburn, 'Educating the Elite', 328; Fletcher, 'Foundation of Aberdeen', 11-13; Fletcher, 'Welcome Stranger?', 300, 303; Macfarlane, 'A Short History', 2; J. Verger, *Men of Learning in Europe at the End of the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 2000), 92-93.

³ StAUL, UYSS110/A/2, Charter of Foundation; Cant, *College of St Salvator*, 55.

⁴ A. L. Brown and M. Moss, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1996* (Edinburgh 1996), 1; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 273-274, 278, 288; Durkan, *University of Glasgow*, 6; G. S. Pryde, 'The University of Glasgow', reprinted from *The Universities Review*, xx, 2 (1948), 1.

The establishment of a functioning university imparted dignity upon a town and, more importantly, the founder. Like Wardlaw before them, Kennedy, Turnbull and Elphinstone all stood to enhance their personal prestige considerably through establishing institutions of higher learning as monuments not only to their tenure as bishops, but also to themselves as erudite patrons of an academic tradition in Scotland. Annie Dunlop argued that in erecting his impressive tomb in St Salvator's Chapel, and not the cathedral at St Andrews, Kennedy made a statement of his altruistic love for the university.⁵ This certainly appears to have been a deliberate association on Kennedy's part, born of desire to be remembered first and foremost in the context of his academic foundation rather than as bishop of St Andrews. It may also be the case that St Salvator's College was conceived to recover some of the prestige he had enjoyed when serving James I's widow, Joan Beaufort.⁶ Norman Macdougall has suggested that Kennedy turned his attentions to developing the university at St Andrews during a subsequent period of political obscurity.⁷ If so, Kennedy's motives were similar to Wardlaw's, who, as we have seen, experienced comparable political eclipse under the Albany regime.

Glasgow University, however, cannot be presented as a diversionary diocesan project to occupy a marginalised statesman in quite the same way. Turnbull had distinguished himself through assiduous service to both the papacy and the crown and, having served as royal secretary and keeper of the privy seal, continued to act as a prominent councillor and ally of James II during the period of his new university's

⁵ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 259.

⁶ During the period of minority rule following the assassination of James I in 1437, Kennedy undertook embassies to the continent and led Scotland's pro-papalists in their response to the Little Schism. He aligned himself with Joan Beaufort against the Douglas-Livingston faction which exercised government and, from 1439, had custody of James II. By 1445, however, the Douglas faction was victorious and Joan Beaufort was dead, leaving Kennedy isolated for the following five years. Dunlop stated that this period allowed Kennedy to concentrate on the university and indulge his love of ceremony and pageantry. Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 27, 264, 272-273.

⁷ N. Macdougall, 'Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews: a reassessment of his political career', in N. Macdougall, ed., *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Glasgow 1983), 12-13, 17. Durkan proposed that Kennedy erected the chapel to resemble the Basilica of St John Lateran at the Latin Gate in Rome that was originally dedicated to St Salvator. This further reinforces the sense that in addition to being committed to expanding higher education in Scotland, Kennedy was determined to make a statement of status in establishing St Salvator's College. Dunlop records Durkan's observation in *Acta*, xxiv, n. 1.

foundation.⁸ His original supplication for the erection of Glasgow University is lost, although its drafting can be traced to the autumn of 1450 conceived, or so it might seem, in direct response to Kennedy's foundation dated 27 August 1450.⁹ It is more likely, however, that Turnbull drew inspiration from the existence of St Andrews University itself and not from the foundation of its new college. On his elevation to the episcopate and almost immediate translation to Glasgow in 1447, Turnbull set about augmenting his diocesan resources, capitalising on his proximity to James II. Much of this appears to have been undertaken with a view to founding a university in the city. Turnbull extracted permission to exercise rights of regality in civil cases, and statutes prohibiting Renfrew and Rutherglen from poaching Glasgow's trade.¹⁰ This reinforced his financial reserves while satisfying Glasgow merchants, in the hope perhaps of attracting their material support for his foundation.¹¹ Nicholas V also permitted Turnbull to divert one third of the revenue collected as contributions to the papal jubilee of 1450 from Scots who could not attend Rome in person to the upkeep of Glasgow Cathedral.¹² The infant university at Glasgow would become dependent on the cathedral chapter and ancillary buildings to host meetings and teaching, and on certain of its chaplains to staff the institution. In securing funds for the cathedral, Turnbull perhaps garnered the chapter's support while accruing further means for funding his academic enterprise.

This all served to reinforce Turnbull's standing as one of the most influential men in the realm. At the same time, and in the spirit of episcopal competition, it also

⁸ Turnbull served James II as councillor, keeper of the privy seal from 1440-1448, and royal secretary from 1441-1444. For further details of Turnbull's academic, administrative and ecclesiastical profile: Chapter 3, n.74, 161.

⁹ Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 39; see also, above n.1.

¹⁰ Turnbull received two grants of rights of regality: *Reg. Glasguensis*, ii, 375-377, 389. The ports came under the jurisdiction of Paisley Abbey. D. Marwick, ed., *Charters and other documents relating to the city of Glasgow*, i.ii (Glasgow, 1906) 27; I. B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh 1967), 175.

¹¹ Merchant communities and the laity of mainland Europe, especially the Empire and the Low Countries, were demonstrating interest in learning and university education. For their increasing tendency to endow, even found, institutions see Rashdall, *Universities*, ii; Fletcher, 'Foundation of Aberdeen', 10-22; see also below, n.24-25.

¹² *Reg. Glasguensis*, ii, 391; Durkan, *University of Glasgow*, 8. Issued in response to James II's petition, requesting that he and his nobility might be excused the journey to Rome for the jubilee.

underlined Glasgow's position as a diocesan rival to St Andrews. Turnbull's activities in 1447-1450 suggest, however, that the foundation of Glasgow University was by no means simply a hurried response to Kennedy's foundation of St Salvator's.¹³ Kennedy erected his college in advance of journeying to Rome to seek official sanction in the autumn of 1450.¹⁴ This coincided with Andrew Durisdeer departing for the curia to present Turnbull's case and letters of supplication for a second Scottish *studium generale*; and Nicholas V in fact issued the bulls permitting the establishment of a university at Glasgow on 7 January 1451, almost a month prior to confirming the erection of St Salvator's College on 5 February 1451.¹⁵ Turnbull's academic undertaking appears to have been a carefully considered enterprise, and the timing of these foundations was also surely more than coincidental. In fact it suggests a degree of collaboration between Kennedy and Turnbull in devising and articulating a case for expanding higher education in Scotland rather than their foundations being the product of diocesan rivalry.

That said, however, such competition may have assumed particular importance for Elphinstone in founding Aberdeen University later in the century, by which time the papacy had bestowed metropolitan status on both St Andrews (1472) and Glasgow (1492).¹⁶ The explicit creation of an episcopal hierarchy, and the elevation of these dioceses to archiepiscopal status, subjected the incumbents of Scotland's remaining eleven sees to their authority and, not surprisingly, met with some resistance.¹⁷ It did not sit easily with Elphinstone who, as an experienced canon lawyer and former official of both Glasgow and Lothian, held misgivings over the merits of the new hierarchy,

¹³ There was a gap of just ten months between Kennedy proclaiming the foundation of St Salvator's on 27 August 1450 (StAUL, UYSS110/A/1-2, Foundation Papers), and the promulgation of the foundation bulls for Glasgow at the town's market cross on 22 June 1451. *Munimenta*, i, 3-6.

¹⁴ StAUL, UYSS110/A/1-2, Foundation Papers; *CPL*, x, 88.

¹⁵ *Munimenta*, i, 3-5, 20-22; StAUL, UYSS110/A/3, Foundation Papers, Papal Bull.

¹⁶ St Andrews, 17 August 1472; Glasgow, 9 January 1492. *Vetera Monumenta*, 465-468, 505-506. Ditchburn, 'Educating the Elite', 329-330; Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom 1214-1560* (East Linton 2000), 74.

¹⁷ Macfarlane examines the elevation of St Andrews: L. J. Macfarlane, 'The Primacy of the Scottish Church, 1472-1521', *IR*, xx (Glasgow, 1969), 111-129. For further discussion of Scotland's diocesan make-up: section 3.1; Appendices 2.1-2.13.

particularly the capacity of the archbishops to exercise their authority with justice and impartiality.¹⁸ Indeed, as bishop of Aberdeen, Elphinstone secured exemption from St Andrews' jurisdiction in 1490.¹⁹

The foundation of Aberdeen University might then be viewed as part of a concerted effort by Elphinstone both to recover some personal prestige as a member of the Scottish episcopate and to establish diocesan parity with Glasgow and St Andrews, proclaiming Aberdeen's intellectual and cultural dynamism. His firm resolve to secure papal sanction for the establishment of a *studium generale* in Aberdeen, evident in his supplicating the papacy in person in 1495, reinforces this view.²⁰ Elphinstone's appeal to the pope entirely overlooked the existence of Glasgow and St Andrews, a presumably deliberate omission founded on fear of being refused a licence on the grounds that a third foundation risked saddling Scotland with an over-abundance of small universities of dubious viability. Similarly, his depiction of northern Scotland as 'uncultured, ignorant ... and almost barbarous' – dismissed in recent commentaries as hyperbole – underlines Elphinstone's determined use of rhetorical devices and cultural stereotypes to reinforce his case.²¹

This said, we should not dismiss Elphinstone's foundation as a product solely and simply of episcopal politics or one-upmanship. In the same way as Kennedy and Turnbull had done, though perhaps with greater success, Elphinstone made concerted efforts to secure sufficient endowment for his university, and was meticulous in prescribing the character and organisation of his institution. He augmented its funding and refined its structure over a period of almost twenty years (1495-1514), suggesting that the university was not simply a vanity project or a symbol of diocesan prestige, but

¹⁸ For discussion of the conciliarist principles underpinning Elphinstone's opposition, and his waiving his own metropolitan jurisdiction over Caithness when nominated archbishop of St Andrews: Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 217-218.

¹⁹ 6 July 1490. Full text: Macfarlane, 'Some Recent Research on the Founder of the University', *AUR*, xxxvi (Aberdeen, 1956), 238-240.

²⁰ 6 February 1495. GUS, *Reg. Supp.*, 1000, fos 81v-82v.

²¹ J. J. Carter and C. A. McLaren, *Crown and Gown, 1495-1995* (Aberdeen, 1994), 5; Ditchburn, 'Educating the Elite', 328.

that it was also and deliberately conceived to meet perceived educational needs.²² As a diplomat, administrator, bishop and lawyer, Elphinstone maintained international, national and local profiles.²³ As we shall see, the character of his *studium generale* was shaped in response to the intellectual, political and cultural preoccupations of these intersecting spheres.

The episcopal character of Scotland's medieval *studia* has been identified as outdated within the general pattern of university expansion in the fifteenth century, more in keeping with what proved to be the financially unviable model employed in peripheral regions of Europe than with the more impressive and better endowed foundations of the Empire and the Low Countries.²⁴ In setting out this argument John Fletcher contrasts the under-endowed universities of Uppsala and Copenhagen, and failed institutions at Pécs, Buda and Pressburg, with the well-established foundations of Cologne, Nuremberg and Wittenberg, that were erected in vibrant trading communities and benefitted from patrons invested in learning.²⁵ The development of higher educational provision in Scotland along diocesan lines was certainly limiting in some respects, and perhaps encouraged a degree of parochialism. The finite resources at a particular bishop's disposal and the essentially clerical character of their episcopal foundations, restricted prospects for expansion; Scotland's medieval institutions remained small, more akin in size to the individual colleges of Oxford, Cambridge and continental universities, but geographically dispersed and without the advantages that incorporation within a single university structure could bring. Their small scale also posed certain risks, such as interruptions to teaching should a master be called away or fall ill, a particularly disruptive factor in the higher and more specialised faculties where teaching resources were even scarcer than in arts.²⁶

²² Below, section 2.4.

²³ For discussion of Elphinstone's academic, administrative and ecclesiastical careers: Chapter 3, n.160, 162.

²⁴ Fletcher, 'Foundation of Aberdeen', 9-12.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 10-22.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 12-13.

At the same time, expanding university provision in this way offered advantages well suited to fifteenth-century Scotland. As we shall see, the laicisation of higher education did exert some influence over Elphinstone's planning of Aberdeen at the turn of the sixteenth century. However, there has been a tendency to exaggerate the provision made for the laity, and so long as higher education remained primarily geared towards the clergy, dioceses presented the natural 'unit' of university provision. They provided the bishop-founders with essential pastoral, intellectual and administrative resources and, in so doing, served to perpetuate the regional character of higher education in Scotland. Yet, such regionalism also reflected the decentralised, geographically fragmented nature of the kingdom itself; and the tendency of scholars who pursued studies in Scotland to attend their local institution (explored in Chapter 3) suggests that the diocesan character of higher education mirrored regional identification within the Scottish community.²⁷ Despite the diocesan and regional framework in which the Scottish universities developed, however, it is important to note their engagement with intellectual developments of European currency. As we have seen, early St Andrews was a dynamic, vibrant community of scholars fully-engaged with the developments in – and sometimes heated debates over – philosophical instruction that characterised medieval higher education as a whole. St Andrews' evolution in response to the intellectual and political debates which consumed academics elsewhere should caution us against dismissing the effectiveness and educational potential of such small-scale institutions.

The bishop-founders no doubt revelled in the personal prestige that erecting institutes of higher learning bestowed on them. Kennedy and Elphinstone tied themselves to their foundations in death: their respective interments in St Salvator's and King's College chapels established lasting monuments to their roles as patrons of learning. Turnbull and Elphinstone may also have been inspired to some degree by diocesan competition. However, to trace the evolution of university provision in fifteenth-century Scotland in terms of these motives alone relies on an overly-narrow interpretation of the stimuli driving expansion. In the same way that Wardlaw

²⁷ Sections 3.7 and 3.8.

recognised the need to provide a privileged environment for the enterprising group of scholars gathered at St Andrews in 1410, so the timing of the foundation of St Salvator's College and Glasgow University, and Elphinstone's dedication to establishing a viable *studium* at Aberdeen, suggest that much more than personal or diocesan prestige fuelled the development of higher education in fifteenth-century Scotland. Indeed, the character and structure imposed on these additional institutions indicates that, as with the foundation of St Andrews, expansion should be viewed in the context of wider intellectual, political and cultural concerns.

2.2 Albertism and the St Andrews Diaspora

The co-ordination apparent in Kennedy seeking papal endorsement of his College of St Salvator and Turnbull's petition to erect a university at Glasgow indicates that much more than diocesan rivalry underpinned these foundations. We have seen that debate over appropriate philosophical instruction engendered animosity at early St Andrews culminating in the prohibition of Albertist realism in the teaching of its arts curriculum.²⁸ Evidence suggests that ongoing philosophical disputes among Scotland's academics lay at the heart of the foundation of both St Salvator's College and Glasgow University.

Events of 1430-1432 indicate that Albertism survived Lindores' embargo at St Andrews and that its proponents had gained influential allies. On 7 February 1430, the faculty of arts elected Master William Turnbull (the future bishop of Glasgow and founder of its university) as dean. The relevant faculty minute records that 'he [Turnbull] first excused himself that he could not conveniently exercise his office, but the faculty did not admit his excuses.'²⁹ This did not mark the deposition of Lindores as dean of arts. In fact, he had not held the post since 24 November 1425 when the

²⁸ Section 1.4.

²⁹ *Acta*, 25-26.

faculty determined to hold annual elections for the office, perhaps on account of the strangle-hold Lindores had exercised as dean from 1416-1425.³⁰

Turnbull's reasoning for first refusing to assume office in 1430 is unclear, but it is possible that his misgivings reflected growing dissent among some faculty members over forced compliance with the Buridan directive of 1418. Turnbull had determined as BA at St Andrews in 1419, and most likely had attended the meeting of the previous year that witnessed the pronouncement against Albertist instruction.³¹ Having acquired a LA degree in 1420, he remained at St Andrews as a regent, apparently pursuing studies in decreets.³² Thus, Turnbull's early academic career developed in the context of the debate over which school of philosophical thought to adhere to in arts teaching at St Andrews. However, by 1431, he had quit St Andrews and enrolled at the recently-founded University of Louvain (1425/1426). This institution had evolved quickly as a bastion of Albertist instruction through the arrival of scholars from Paris and Cologne imbued with the new realist ideas developed at Paris by Johannes de Nova Domo and disseminated at Cologne and Louvain by his former students, such as Heimerich van de Velde (de Campo).³³

It is possible that disillusionment with the evolution of the arts curriculum, and the internal politicking it engendered at St Andrews, prompted Turnbull's move. Bishop Wardlaw had granted a tenement to St John's College soon after Turnbull's election as dean of arts, placing it under the jurisdiction of the dean rather than Lindores as principal regent (26 March 1430).³⁴ A subsequent entry in the *Acta*, undated but

³⁰ *ibid.*, 20. This stipulation of one-year terms ended with Turnbull's tenure after which, Lindores was re-elected and remained in office until his death in September 1437. For Lindores as dean: *ibid.*, 9, 20, 33-45.

³¹ *ibid.*, 12, 14.

³² *ibid.*, 16. For discussion of Turnbull's legal studies: Chapter 3, n.74.

³³ For Turnbull at Louvain: *Matricule Louvain*, i, 49. For the foundation of Louvain by John IV, duke of Brabant: Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 264. For the dissemination of Albertist realism through the migration of Nova Domo's students to Cologne and Louvain: R. Lyall, 'Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth Century', *IR*, xxxvi, 56-59; A. L. Gabriel, 'The Universities of Louvain and Paris in the 15th Century', in J. Ijsewijn and J. Paquet edd., *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages* (Louvain, 1978), 90 and n; A. G. Weiler, 'Les Universités de Louvain et de Cologne au XV^e Siècle', in *ibid.*, 64, 77.

³⁴ *Evidence*, iii, 351.

recorded between those of 9 April and 28 May 1430, highlights that the dean subsequently proposed the creation of a single pedagogy; this dean, although unnamed, was Turnbull.³⁵ These minutes might evidence a scheme, therefore, conceived by Wardlaw and Turnbull, not only to place a check on Lindores' control over the faculty of arts, but also to re-structure arts tuition at St Andrews with a view to re-habilitating Albertist realism within the curriculum.

No longer dean of arts, Lindores had continued as 'principal and governor' of St John's College. Wardlaw's decision to invest his tenement in Turnbull as dean thus served to create a situation whereby the faculty of arts was housed in two adjacent buildings, each under the jurisdiction of a different man. In theory, the proposed single pedagogy might operate from these abutting tenements under the overall direction of an annually-elected dean. Such a set-up might also allow for the opening up of the arts curriculum to embrace Albertist realism as well as Buridan nominalism. However, this would require co-operation between a dean and principal master sympathetic to such an arrangement. On 28 May 1430, the arts faculty jeopardised the striking of any balance by electing Lindores as principal of the single pedagogy with Alexander Methven and Thomas Ramsay – both of Lindores' circle – as deputies.³⁶ It appears that Turnbull was ousted or marginalised at this point and during the following year he quit St Andrews – perhaps initially to administer the rectory of Hawick, before pursuing further studies in decreets at Louvain while also seeking a career in papal service.³⁷

In the context of the enduring debate at early St Andrews between these rival schools of philosophical thought, the events of 1430 and Turnbull's choice of Louvain to further his training in canon law suggest that he was already a convinced proponent of Albertist realism on leaving the Scottish institution. His initial reluctance to accept the office of dean perhaps stemmed from an understanding that he would be unable to promote Albertist doctrine effectively while Lindores continued to wield authority over St John's College. The grant of a new building placed under Turnbull's jurisdiction as

³⁵ *Acta*, 26-27, 29.

³⁶ *ibid.*, 29.

³⁷ For fuller discussion of Turnbull's academic, ecclesiastical and administrative careers: Chapter 3, n.74, 161.

dean, which allowed him to exert influence over the faculty of arts more readily, offered him the opportunity to redress this. It seems, however, that Turnbull quickly realised he was unable to co-exist alongside Lindores as a faculty figurehead, let alone collaborate with him in establishing a single, harmonious pedagogy.

Ultimately, the single pedagogy did not prove a successful venture, even with Lindores and his hand-picked deputies at the helm, and Turnbull left for Louvain. On 13 November 1432, James I dispatched William Fowlis, former lecturer in arts at St Andrews, then keeper of the Privy Seal, to assist Lindores in remedying its breakup. Fowlis was granted licence to visit the houses of individual regents to inspect teaching and reading, to be assisted by three non-regent assessors.³⁸ This was not the first instance of Crown intervention in university affairs, but on this occasion, it did not represent an attempt to implement considered royal policy.³⁹ Rather, it seems to have been a reaction to renewed dissent at St Andrews and an attempt to stem fall-out in the wake of the single pedagogy breaking down.

Turnbull's apparent efforts to instil toleration of Albertism in the teaching of arts at St Andrews had proved ineffectual and Buridan nominalism continued to dictate the nature of philosophical instruction until Lindores' death in September 1437.⁴⁰ A year later, the matter of preferred philosophical approach was raised again; Bishop Wardlaw saw fit to override the wishes of the majority of arts faculty members (20:5 votes) in pronouncing that 'the doctrine of Albert or of any other not containing errors may be taught' at the university.⁴¹ This decree, coming just a year after Lindores' death, and reversing the ruling of 1418, reinforces the impression that it was Lindores' presence which had preserved Buridanism as dominant within the St Andrews' arts curriculum.

It further underlines that the relationship between Lindores as principal master (and often dean of arts, as well as rector), and Wardlaw as bishop-chancellor was not an

³⁸ *Acta*, 33-35.

³⁹ Chapter 1, n.31.

⁴⁰ 16 September 1437. *Acta*, 45.

⁴¹ 13 October 1438, 14 November 1438. *ibid.*, 48-49.

easy one.⁴² The matter of philosophical provision at St Andrews had perhaps concerned Bishop Wardlaw less immediately than Turnbull, and was secondary to his own desire to remove Lindores' stranglehold over the faculty of arts and university more generally. We have seen that Wardlaw was present at the 1419 faculty meeting, which set the texts for the licentiate exam in arts.⁴³ This might suggest that he supported Lindores' efforts to suppress Albertism. It is more likely, however, that Wardlaw's presence to preside over graduation provided a welcome opportunity for Lindores' circle to claim that the bishop-chancellor endorsed its reiteration of Buridanism as the preferred method of philosophical instruction.

Wardlaw's relationship with Lindores was undoubtedly strained by 1424. On 24 November, when Lindores was still dean, the arts faculty declared that wider university officials could make no decisions pertaining to the faculty without first securing its consent; a further caveat stated that the university should not interfere with the teaching of grammar.⁴⁴ Eighteen months later, seven auditors were appointed to inspect Lindores' accounts as faculty bursar. The relevant minute indicates that he was found to be in debt to the faculty and disagreement ensued.⁴⁵ These entries indicate that, during the early 1420s, Lindores attempted to gain tight control over the faculty at the expense of Bishop Wardlaw's authority over the university as a whole. This ambition – or over-ambition – probably underpinned successive attempts to limit Lindores' jurisdiction; most notably, the attempt to impose one-year fixed tenure on the position of dean in 1425, which temporarily removed Lindores from office and ultimately gave rise to Wardlaw and Turnbull collaborating in 1430.⁴⁶ Wardlaw perhaps seized the opportunity presented by the death of his prickly adversary in 1437 to reassert some control over the university and to sanction a greater degree of flexibility in the teaching of the arts curriculum.

⁴² For Lindores' academic profile at early St Andrews: sections 1.2 n.45 following, 1.4, 1.5.

⁴³ *Acta*, 15.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 18-19.

⁴⁵ 20 June 1426. *ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 20.

This marked a distinct shift towards a more balanced approach to philosophical instruction at St Andrews from 1438. For the more dynamic, ambitious and frustrated Albertist scholars of early St Andrews, however, this victory was nowhere in sight in 1430-1431. On losing influence at St Andrews, Turnbull looked to Louvain as a more congenial and inspiring academic environment. His move followed that of John Athilmer (senior) to the *Bursa Laurentiana* at Cologne (1429), which had adhered to the philosophical teaching of the new Albertism since the arrival of van de Velde in 1422.⁴⁷ Athilmer was licensed as MA at St Andrews in 1426 and had embarked on theological studies before transferring to Cologne.⁴⁸ There, he became a distinguished theologian but returned to St Andrews to shape the formal introduction of an Albertist approach to philosophical and theological instruction between 1438 and 1441, and again from 1448.⁴⁹ Athilmer was joined at Cologne by his former student, James Ogilvy (in 1433), who would carve out a similarly prominent career at Cologne and St Andrews which closely mapped that of Athilmer.⁵⁰ Turnbull's move to Louvain, meanwhile, coincided with those of James Kennedy and William Elphinstone (elder).⁵¹ Both were graduates of St Andrews: the former received his LA degree in 1429, the latter in 1430.⁵² While a family dispute with James I of Scotland may have prompted Kennedy's move, it is difficult to view these transfers to Louvain as entirely coincidental.⁵³ Rather, the movements and institutional choices of this pocket of St Andrews' alumni indicate that their migration was a decisive, and perhaps co-ordinated, response to the marginalisation of Albertist scholars at early St Andrews.

⁴⁷ For Athilmer at Cologne: *Matrikel Köln*, i, 323, no. 164.31. For the *Bursa Laurentiana*: Lyall, 'Scottish Students', 56.

⁴⁸ *Acta*, 22; *Early Records*, 9.

⁴⁹ *CPS*, 485; *Acta*, 49; Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 68, 88; Burns, *Churchmen*, 75.

⁵⁰ For Ogilvy's academic and clerical career: Chapter 3, n.13, 49.

⁵¹ Lyall, 'Scottish Students', 59. For Kennedy's academic career: Chapter 3, n.189. Elphinstone (elder) was father to William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen and founder of its university.

⁵² *Acta*, 24, 31.

⁵³ At this point, James I had imprisoned Kennedy's elder brother, John, and his cousin, Archibald earl of Douglas. The king's pretext is unclear but it would appear that Douglas was secretly corresponding with Menteith, James' adversary; his family and friends were punished by association. See M. Brown, *James I* (East Linton, 1994), 134.

The St Andrews diaspora of 1429-1433 was not alone in electing to pursue programmes of study at institutions where Albertism occupied an equal or dominant place in philosophical instruction. Scots were so numerous at Louvain by May 1432 that fellow countryman John Lichton was elected rector.⁵⁴ Periods at the Albertist colleges of Cologne can also be traced in the careers of Alexander Geddes, John Young, and Duncan Bunch, while Andrew Durisdeer is identifiable as a Parisian Albertist.⁵⁵ Paris and, to a lesser extent, Cologne were traditional destinations for Scottish students; and the strength of trading connections between Scottish ports and the centres of Sluis and Bruges most likely accounts for the high number of Scots at Louvain.

While Paris, Cologne and Louvain were perhaps logical destinations for Scots, these scholars' dynamic engagement with the intellectual currents of continental Europe provides another and critical context in which the expansion of higher educational provision in mid-fifteenth-century Scotland should be considered. It is significant surely that these named Albertists all played prominent roles in the expansion of university provision in Scotland through contributing to the establishment of new institutions at St Andrews and Glasgow between 1450 and 1451.⁵⁶ The 'opening up' of the arts curriculum at St Andrews in 1438 came following the return of Kennedy to Scotland, and Athilmer and Ogilvy to St Andrews.⁵⁷ Athilmer is credited with championing Albertism in 1438.⁵⁸ If correct, it seems that he found Kennedy to be a supportive colleague; within twelve years Kennedy had invited him to assume the role

⁵⁴ Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 11.

⁵⁵ Geddes matriculated at Cologne in 1429 as 'Fr. Allex. de Mylros'; Young in 1440; Bunch in 1443. *Matrikel Köln*, i, 314, 442, 467. Durisdeer transferred from St Andrews to Paris to complete his arts degree in 1437, before nominalism was rehabilitated there. *ACUP*, ii, 501, 504.

⁵⁶ StAUL, UYSS110/A/1-2, Foundation Papers; *Munimenta*, ii, 57, 178.

⁵⁷ Kennedy was active in Scotland from 1433 and at St Andrews, as bishop-elect of Dunkeld, in the aftermath of Lindores' death. *Acta*, 46; *CPL*, viii, 653; *CSSR*, iv, 7, 88; *Fasti*, 127, 217. Athilmer had returned to St Andrews by 1 April 1438. *Acta*, 47. Ogilvy followed Athilmer, his tutor and mentor, in 1439. *CPS*, 496.

⁵⁸ Burns, *Churchmen*, 75.

of provost at St Salvator's College which under Athilmer and Ogilvy, became a bastion of Albertist instruction.⁵⁹

In laying the foundations for St Salvator's College, Kennedy and Athilmer appear to have collaborated with Duncan Bunch in the first instance before the latter transferred to Glasgow, where he was appointed principal and later vice-chancellor.⁶⁰ This move was replicated by William Arthurlie a MA graduate of St Andrews who, having witnessed the foundation of St Salvator's in August 1450, was incorporated at Glasgow and is documented as recording the instruments that set down the character and organisation of its arts faculty.⁶¹ Returned from presenting Turnbull's supplication for a university to the papacy, Andrew Durisdeer lent his knowledge of Cardinal d'Estouteville's academic reforms at Paris to the establishment of Glasgow.⁶² The Albertist group at early Glasgow also included Alexander Geddes and John Young; Geddes contributed to the drafting of its constitution and statutes, and both acted as regents of arts.⁶³ Meanwhile, this community of like-minded scholars elected William Elphinstone (elder) as first dean of arts.⁶⁴ Thus, the timing and personnel of the foundation of St Salvator's College and Glasgow University suggest that the expansion of higher educational provision in mid-fifteenth-century Scotland was the result of a wider, enduring concern with the restricted nature of philosophical instruction at early St Andrews. It seems that simply permitting the teaching of Albertist realism in 1438 had not gone far enough for its disciples. These new university foundations were born

⁵⁹ StAUL, UYSS110/A/1-2, Foundation Papers. Athilmer had returned to the continent by 1442 when he was incorporated at Basle; from there, he resumed teaching at Cologne before returning to St Andrews in 1448. Burns, *Churchmen*, 75; *CPS*, 333-335, 485. Ogilvy had returned to St Andrews by 1455. *Acta*, 107-108.

⁶⁰ Bunch transferred from Cologne to St Andrews in 1448, and seems to have contributed heavily to Kennedy's planning of the college. Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 278. By 1451, he was collaborating in the establishment of Glasgow University – perhaps having been recruited by Turnbull who appointed him vice-chancellor in 1454. *Munimenta*, ii, 18, 57-58.

⁶¹ *Acta*, 61, 73; StAUL, UYSS110/A/1-2, Foundation Papers; *Munimenta*, ii, 57-58, 179.

⁶² As a member of Cardinal d'Estouteville's household at Paris from 1446, Durisdeer was familiar with Estouteville's intentions for academic reform which was implemented in 1452. *CPL*, ix, 554; *CUP*, iv, 728; *Munimenta*, 57-58; *Reg. Supp.*, 398, fo. 258.

⁶³ Geddes: *Munimenta*, ii, 57-58. Young: *ibid.*, 180-183.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, ii, 178.

of their shared desire to embed Albertist philosophical instruction firmly in the arts curriculum of higher education in Scotland.

The introduction to the statutes of the arts faculty and university at Glasgow appear to underline this: ‘founded on a firm rock ... so that the first products of the said university might from the beginning pass on to posterity a doctrine pure and sound’.⁶⁵ This excerpt indicates that those establishing the institution viewed new Albertist realism as a robust and well-reasoned philosophical approach on which to base teaching, and that Glasgow graduates might disseminate it further still in their subsequent careers. Principal Duncan Bunch’s endowment of the arts faculty with Albertist works and Athilmer’s commentaries on such might substantiate this.⁶⁶ Moreover, if the interpretation of the erection of St Salvator’s outlined above is correct, presumably its founder and early personnel were motivated similarly. If so, both institutions experienced success. For example, M. Alexander Wemyss, a graduate of St Andrews and member of Athilmer’s circle, transferred to Glasgow where he acted as regent in the arts faculty from 1468-1472.⁶⁷ William Elphinstone (younger) graduated as MA from Glasgow in 1462 and studied decreets and civil law on the continent before returning to Glasgow to serve as dean of arts and rector, presiding over the continued dissemination of Albertism at his *alma mater*.⁶⁸ Leslie Macfarlane has demonstrated that Elphinstone’s grounding in Albertism informed his commitment to Church reform and position on monarchical supremacy, both of which influenced his vision in founding the University of Aberdeen in 1495.⁶⁹

While the founders of St Salvator’s and Glasgow appear to have succeeded in embedding Albertism firmly in higher educational provision in Scotland, the erection of an Albertist institution did little to quieten academic discord at St Andrews. The

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, ii, 3, 20-21; trans. in Durkan, *University of Glasgow*, 3.

⁶⁶ *Munimenta*, iii, 404-405.

⁶⁷ Wemyss graduated at St Andrews in 1458 and held various offices there until departing for Glasgow in 1467. Prior to leaving, he is recorded as having chosen books for arts teaching. *Acta*, 125, 128-160. He was incorporated at Glasgow in October 1468. *Munimenta*, ii, 73, 208-216.

⁶⁸ See below, section 2.4; Chapter 3, n.160, 162.

⁶⁹ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 26, 190, 217-219, 447.

university community became divided again during the 1460s, this time over the functioning of St Salvator's within the arts faculty. Under Athilmer's direction, the college increasingly sought autonomy over not only teaching, but also examinations. In a bid to encourage co-operation, Bishop Kennedy revisited the model of a single, united pedagogy initially proposed by Turnbull; this time, the colleges of St John and St Salvator might adhere to separate philosophical schools in teaching but would come together to conduct exams.⁷⁰ However, Kennedy's efforts simply engendered a rift that worsened following his death in 1465. St Salvator's members endorsed Athilmer's attempts to distance the college from the faculty by staging walk outs from faculty meetings and questioning the authority of masters elected to conduct exams.⁷¹ In February 1469, an Indult received by Athilmer at Rome permitted the college to conduct exams and confer degrees independently of the faculty, thereby effectively sanctioning its severance.⁷²

Ultimately, this episode served to split the college itself and weaken St Andrews. When certain students used the dispute as an excuse to inflict violence on the rector, the dean of arts and faculty members in 1470, several St Salvator's masters quit St Andrews to incept at Glasgow.⁷³ Indeed, this appears to have marked the end for the close association of James Ogilvy with Athilmer – Ogilvy was incorporated at Glasgow in 1470, where he remained until his appointment as provost of St Salvator's following Athilmer's death in 1474.⁷⁴ As well as inducing such respected scholars to leave St Andrews, the crisis of 1469-1470 forced the university to look to the Provincial Council

⁷⁰ Kennedy's delegates proposed the single pedagogy, which was accepted, in April 1460. However, within two months, the faculty was forced to take measures against dissenters operating separately. *Acta*, 133-139. While Lindores' disciples such as Thomas Ramsay continued to teach at St John's, competing philosophical schools remained a feature of St Andrews and perhaps provided Athilmer with pretext for seeking separate examinations. For Ramsay as a Lindores adherent: *ibid.*, 29; for his last entry in the *Acta*, dated April 1470: *ibid.*, 175.

⁷¹ 21 February, 8 March 1469; 9 March 1470. *ibid.*, 165-167, 172-173.

⁷² 25 February 1469. *Evidence*, iii, 273-274; *CPL*, xii, 313.

⁷³ The weaponry included swords, bows and arrows. 9, 12 March 1470. *Acta*, 172-174. We have seen, that Alexander Wemyss transferred to St Andrews in 1468. So too, did Thomas, Andrew and John Lutherdale (*Munimenta*, ii, 73) – perhaps in response to escalating tension. For Ogilvy's migration: n.74; Chapter 3, n.49.

⁷⁴ *Munimenta*, ii, 78, 215-216; *Acta*, cclxiii, 192.

of the Scottish Church to broker a resolution, and lingering tension prompted James III to intervene in 1471.⁷⁵

The evolution of university provision in fifteenth-century Scotland underlines the importance that competing schools of philosophical thought assumed in medieval higher education. The efforts of the St Andrews diaspora and their Albertist colleagues to expand the nature of philosophical instruction in Scotland illustrates that scholars continued to engage with, and draw inspiration from, the intellectual developments of the continent. Moreover, their foundation of complementary institutions did meet with success; the strength of St Salvator's position under Athilmer, though detrimental to scholarly harmony at St Andrews, is testament to this. Glasgow was forced to weather the crisis of Turnbull's unexpected death in 1454, which left the university without its influential patron before it was properly endowed.⁷⁶ Yet, it survived and evolved as a centre of Albertist instruction through the collective efforts of those scholars who had shared Turnbull's vision and continued to attract like-minded academics. While Glasgow continued to develop in this way, it avoided laying itself open to the internal politicking which gave rise to the crises of 1430-1432 and 1469-1470 at St Andrews. St Andrews' resort to external agencies to resolve these disputes undermined its status as a self-governing, self-regulating institution that had played such a decisive role in shaping Scotland's response to the wider politics of Church and State in 1418. Thus, while St Salvator's and Glasgow may well have realised the curricular goals of their respective founders, the evolution of higher educational provision in fifteenth-century Scotland highlights the susceptibility of small universities to dominant personalities such as Lindores and Athilmer – celebrated academics who were inspirational on one hand but damaging on the other.

⁷⁵ The subsequent expulsion and excommunication of twenty St Salvator's members – students and masters – did little to ease tensions. 12 April 1470, *Acta*, 175-176. The matter was brought before the Provincial Council on 17 April 1470, which reversed the expulsion on the condition of the college renouncing its entitlement to confer degrees. *ibid.*, xxx at n. 3. James III requested that the election of examiners, scheduled for March 1471, be postponed for a month. *ibid.*, 179.

⁷⁶ Durkan, *University of Glasgow*, 21-22; Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 51-54.

2.3 Conciliarism, Papalism and Imperialism: St Andrews and Glasgow in the context of wider intellectual debates

The matter of philosophical instruction remained critically important in providing academics with the means of engaging with the intellectual currents that shaped the politics of Church and State. The expansion of university provision in Scotland came as the Church weathered another period of sustained crisis. Greater urgency behind calls for reform and the decentralisation of the Church added impetus to more extreme articulations of conciliar theory and the challenge they posed to the supreme nature of papal sovereignty over the Church. At the same time, Europe's temporal monarchs, while cautious of endorsing principles that might undermine their own sovereignty, used this opportunity to test papal authority within their respective territories. This all came together in the forum of the general council convened by Pope Martin V at Basle in 1431, and formally disbanded at Lausanne in 1449.⁷⁷

The opening of Basle also coincided with the Hussite victory over imperial forces at Domažlice (or Taus, Bohemia) in August 1431. This raised concerns over the reinvigoration of a heretical movement and caused Basle to take the radical step of allowing Hussite representatives to address the council and participate in its debates.⁷⁸ But Basle's overtures to heretics lost it the support of Eugenius IV – successor to Martin V – who dissolved the council and convoked a new assembly to meet at Bologna in May 1433. The relationship between papacy and council was thus reduced to only limited co-operation before this too was abandoned in January 1438 when Eugenius declared Basle null and void, and the council retaliated by suspending him as pope and moved towards electing a replacement (Felix V, appointed in November 1439). From the breakdown of 1438, the council and its members were viewed as schismatic.⁷⁹

Scots attendance at Basle was strikingly high; whether incorporated as council members, papal or royal delegates, over sixty Scottish clerics are recorded as having

⁷⁷ In fact, the council held no formal sessions at Basle after May 1443 and the remaining marginalised rump was forced to transfer to Lausanne in July 1448, where it disbanded after the abdication of anti-pope Felix V in April 1449. Burns, *Churchmen*, 81-84.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 11; Black, *Council and Commune*, 3.

⁷⁹ Burns, *Churchmen*, 11, 59, 60-64.

enrolled at some point.⁸⁰ The research of J. H. Burns has demonstrated that, while not all Scottish dioceses were represented at Basle, the clergy in attendance were drawn from across Scotland.⁸¹ The careers of Kennedy and Turnbull clearly indicate, however, that they were at heart papalists committed to upholding papal authority, as well as meeting the wider challenges of heresy and clerical abuses within their respective jurisdictions.⁸² Thus the timing of their university foundations might suggest that St Salvator's College and Glasgow University were conceived, in part at least, to confront the more extreme developments in conciliarist thought that had gained currency in Scotland through clerical engagement with Basle. The emphasis that Turnbull placed on the teaching of both canon and civil law at Glasgow, and his invoking of the legal-centre of Bologna as a model for his university, lends support to this view.⁸³ As a DDec with experience of both papal and royal administration, Turnbull perhaps regarded solid instruction in the legal principles underpinning the frameworks of Church and State as indispensable in addressing conciliarist challenges to monarchical authority.⁸⁴

That said, Antony Black has demonstrated that, while an understanding of legal theory shaped academic and ecclesiastical responses to the matter of papal versus conciliar authority, those responsible for the intellectual currents fuelling these debates regarded themselves as theologians first and foremost.⁸⁵ This might explain the rise in interest in theological studies evident among Scottish bishops who had been students

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 12-81; Burns, 'Conciliarist Tradition', 90.

⁸¹ Burns, *Churchmen*, 32, 85.

⁸² While Turnbull was one of the sixty-three Scots incorporations at Basle, he seems to have attended in his capacity as papal or royal nuncio. *ibid.*, 36-37; Durkan, *University of Glasgow*, 4; see also, Chapter 3, n.161. Kennedy, meanwhile, headed the pro-papal response to schismatic Basle and was invested with the right to deprive its adherents of benefices: *CPL*, viii, 238-239; *CSSR*, iv, 230, 268; v, 72, 161.

⁸³ *Munimenta*, ii, 3, 20-21. The teaching of law commenced in 1451, with David Cadzow lecturing in decreets and William Lennox in civil law. *Munimenta*, ii, 67. Cadzow perhaps provided Glasgow with a tangible link to Bologna; a papal supplication in which he is styled LDec was dated at Bologna in 1436. *CPL*, viii, 607-608.

⁸⁴ See Chapter 3, n.74, 161. Turnbull may also have drawn on personal experience in citing Bologna as a model for his institution; he may have attended Bologna when active at the papal curia prior to completing his decreets training at Pavia. Burns, *Churchmen*, 37.

⁸⁵ Black, *Council and Commune*, 5, 58-84.

during the Basle period, explored in Chapter 3.⁸⁶ We have seen that an arts degree was the prerequisite for pursuing theology at university and that differences in philosophical approach might define an individual's position with regard to the wider intellectual and theological debates that threatened to undermine papal sovereignty in the fifteenth century. The determination of Kennedy and Turnbull to embed Albertism firmly in arts instruction at their respective foundations might be understood in this context; as a means of buttressing papal authority through the dissemination of a philosophical approach that broadly favoured hierarchical order.

However, we have also seen that drawing definitive or fixed links between schools of philosophical thought and positions on the conciliarist and papal debates is problematic. This is particularly so with respect to the arguments articulated at Basle. In recovering Heimerich van de Velde's application of 'organic realism' to the matters of papal sovereignty and general council jurisdiction, Black illustrates that Velde's use of Albertism in fact inclined him towards a moderate conciliarist position that endorsed the supremacy of the pope 'with whom rests the greater authority of Christ', but also permitted occasional recourse to the authority of general councils.⁸⁷ Black further argues that often the broad relationships outlined in Chapter 1, between nominalism and conciliarism, and realism and papalism, were reversed by the onset of Basle.⁸⁸ Indeed, Velde's moderate conciliarism and endorsement of Eugenius when Basle pursued schism in 1438, was condemned by realist Cologne which sought his arrest for undermining its conciliarist position on papal authority.⁸⁹

If Kennedy looked to staff St Salvator's with pro-papal Albertist scholars who would instruct its students in the merits of monarchical supremacy, his recruitment of John Athilmer and James Ogilvy seems strange. Ogilvy had been provided anti-bishop

⁸⁶ Section 3.6.

⁸⁷ Black, *Council and Commune*, 58-84, at 60.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 82-83; see also, section 1.5.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 59-60. By this stage, Velde was teaching at Louvain having incorporated there in April 1435. *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain, 1497-1797*, ed. E. Reusens, ii.1 (Louvain, 1881), 163-164.

of St Andrews by Felix V, in opposition to Kennedy, in July 1440.⁹⁰ On failing to gain consecration, he retired to Basle with Athilmer in June 1441, where they remained for at least five months before Athilmer returned to teach at Cologne and Ogilvy eventually matriculated at conciliarist Vienna.⁹¹ This all suggests that these men toed the more extreme conciliarist party line favoured by Cologne, which would not be conducive to achieving Kennedy's objectives at St Salvator's College. However, there is perhaps a sense of opportunism in their movements. Clearly, both Athilmer and Ogilvy were committed Albertists and theologians, and their conciliarism appears genuine enough, but their alignment with Basle also came after the council issued a series of reforms (1438-1441) designed to protect the employment prospects of the most highly-qualified university graduates.⁹² Overwhelmingly, this legislation favoured theologians and it is not surprising perhaps that Athilmer and Ogilvy were incorporated at Basle as two of a group of Scots clerics who followed primarily academic careers.⁹³

This might suggest that, if motivated by career prospects in 1441, Athilmer and Ogilvy were sufficiently attracted by Kennedy's offer of protected, beneficed posts in St Salvator's, and the prospect of working with fellow Albertists, that they were malleable in their conciliarist positions. Likewise, perhaps some of the Cologne Albertists involved in the establishment of Glasgow had to temper more extreme conciliarist principles to comply with Turnbull's pro-papal stance. The foundation of St Salvator's and Glasgow came after Basle had limped to a close and the schismatic conciliarist agenda was defeated. Kennedy and Turnbull appear to have been determined to erect institutions grounded in sound Albertist doctrine, perhaps to buttress the Church and reinforce papal authority in Scotland. In the post-Basle climate, and in order to attract the best academic minds to staff their foundations, they may have been willing to accept their personnel adhering to a more moderate conciliarist position that, as espoused by Velde, was broadly supportive of papal supremacy.

⁹⁰ *CPS*, 302-305.

⁹¹ Burns, *Churchmen*, 73-75; Chapter 3, n.49.

⁹² Black, *Council and Commune*, 44.

⁹³ Burns, *Churchmen*, 73-77.

The nature of monarchical authority as debated during this period also assumed particular importance for Europe's temporal rulers. Though they were willing to exploit the crisis confronting the papacy to extend personal control over the Church in their respective territories, understandably, they were concerned by the threat that extreme articulations of conciliarism posed to princely authority more generally. As the intellectual wrangling of Basle played out on the wider European stage, these temporal monarchs moved towards a more exalted, self-consciously imperial interpretation of sovereignty identifiable with the civil law doctrine '*rex in regno suo est imperator*' – the king is emperor in his own kingdom.⁹⁴ This principle had been developed in thirteenth and early-fourteenth century Italy, by jurists such as Bartolus de Saxoferrato, in response to perceived encroachments by the Empire on the liberties of Italian city states. Subsequently, it found resonance in France where it was employed to defend the monarchical sovereignty of the crown against papal claims to temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction.⁹⁵ From France, it gained currency throughout Europe as law students returned from French universities fully conversant with the latest developments in legal theory. By the mid-fifteenth century, this doctrine was being combined with ideas retrieved through the revival of classical scholarship – expressly, the recovery of classical texts that lay at the heart of humanism or the 'new learning' – giving rise to an imperial understanding of kingship that emphasised territorial independence and monarchical autonomy, as well as increased royal control over the clerical estate.⁹⁶

In Scotland, successive Stewart kings sought to erode papal jurisdiction over the Church in order to gain greater influence over ecclesiastical appointments and clerical practices. Thus James I (1406-1437) toyed with endorsing pre-schismatic Basle to do so, and introduced legislation aimed at curbing clerics from 'purchasing' benefices at the curia – Chapter 3 explores this further.⁹⁷ James II (1437-160) capitalised on inroads

⁹⁴ R. A. Mason, 'This Realm of Scotland is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland', in B. E. Crawford ed. *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), 74.

⁹⁵ Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, i (Cambridge, 1978), 8-12.

⁹⁶ Mason, 'Realm of Scotland', 76.

⁹⁷ Burns, *Churchmen*, 10-56, at 10, 38, 49-50, 55; see also, section 3.9.

made by his father to promote as bishops men who had demonstrated particular loyalty to him during his campaign against the Black Douglasses; these men became so busy as royal officials that they found limited time to devote to diocesan matters.⁹⁸ Moving forward to James III's reign (1460-1488), the papacy was sufficiently weakened that the king famously received an Indult in 1487, granting him licence to nominate to vacant sees.⁹⁹ These developments have been interpreted as part of a deliberate policy to unify secular and ecclesiastical spheres in Scotland, associating this with the person of the king.¹⁰⁰ It may also be viewed as evidence of the Scottish crown moving towards a more self-consciously imperial understanding of kingship.

Roger Mason has explored the use made of imperial ideas and iconography to augment royal authority over temporal and ecclesiastical affairs in the reigns of James III, IV and V.¹⁰¹ He attributes this to lawyers and royal officials engaging with the intellectual debates of the mid-fifteenth century and the doctrine '*rex in regno*', tracing the emergence of a legal culture in which education, of both the clergy and laity, enabled administrators shaping royal policy to appropriate theory developed at Europe's legal centres.¹⁰² The first articulation of imperial ideology in Scotland was made in the parliament of November 1469; the Lords of the Articles decreed, 'oure soverane lord [James III] has ful jurisdictione and fre impire within his realme.' This statement prefaced legislation designed to bring the appointment of notaries more firmly under crown jurisdiction by prohibiting such clerks from seeking licence from the Empire.¹⁰³ Similarly, anxiety over the integrity of Scots money and efforts by the same parliament to limit the circulation of French coins suggest not only financial concerns, but also

⁹⁸ George Schoreswood to Brechin (1454); Thomas Spence to Aberdeen (1458); Ninian Spot to Galloway (1459). See Chapter 3, n.30, 125.

⁹⁹ *CPL*, xiv, 4.

¹⁰⁰ D. E. R. Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in B. Dobson ed., *Church Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), 123; J. P. Foggie, *The Dominicans in Scotland: 1450-1560* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998), 27.

¹⁰¹ Mason, 'Realm of Scotland', 73-91; R. A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonwealth, Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), 104-138.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, 133.

¹⁰³ *RPS*, 1469/20 (accessed, 20 September 2010).

determination to curb foreign influence while exerting greater royal control over the realm.¹⁰⁴ Roland Tanner, meanwhile, has documented a distinct change in the nature of vocabulary used by James III and his successors to prosecute crimes against the crown.¹⁰⁵ Characterised by the use of such terminology as ‘treasonable disparagement and degradation of our royal authority and majesty’, it marked a conscious break with the concept of *lese-majesty* which entailed doing only ‘harm’ to the crown or king’s person.¹⁰⁶ This new vocabulary was first employed by parliament in condemning the Boyd regime that had exercised minority rule on behalf of James III from 1466-1469 and thus coincided with the declaration of the crown’s ‘fre empire’.¹⁰⁷

Tanner has also explored the possible relationship between this first, and most forceful, articulation of imperial principles and Albertist philosophy. He considers whether the ordered, hierarchical world view associated with Albertism predisposed its subscribers towards an imperial understanding of sovereignty.¹⁰⁸ Tanner identifies a group of Albertist scholars, present at the parliaments of 1467-1472, that he suggests may have brought to bear their shared educational background in shaping an imperial style for James III. The men concerned were John Athilmer, Duncan Bunch, Richard Guthrie, David Guthrie of that Ilk, and Archibald Whitelaw.¹⁰⁹ All shared experience of studying at Cologne, and as members of the *Bursa Laurentiana* had pursued their studies in the college that was developed by Heimerich van de Velde as a bastion of new

¹⁰⁴ *RPS*, 1469/20 (accessed, 20 September 2010). Further efforts to limit Scotland’s debts to other realms is evident in legislation ordering the removal of the double tressure from the royal arms, 20 February 1472. *RPS*, 1472/13 (accessed, 20 September 2010). Use of this *fleur-de-lys* border was believed to date from a gift by Emperor Charlemagne and thus symbolised the authority of an external monarch. R. Tanner, ‘James III’, in M. Brown and R. Tanner eds., *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542* (Edinburgh, 2008), 213.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 214.

¹⁰⁶ *RPS*, 1469/2 (accessed, 20 September 2010).

¹⁰⁷ Above, n.103, 106.

¹⁰⁸ Tanner, ‘James III’, 216-218.

¹⁰⁹ Oct. 1467: Athilmer, David Guthrie, Richard Guthrie, Whitelaw. *RPS*, 1467/10/4, 1467/10/13 (accessed 20 September 2010). Jan. 1468: David Guthrie, Whitelaw. *ibid.*, 1468/1, 1468/1/1. Nov. 1469: Athilmer, David Guthrie, Richard Guthrie, Whitelaw. *ibid.*, 1469/2, A1469/2. May 1471: Athilmer, Bunch, Richard Guthrie, Whitelaw. *ibid.*, 1471/5/15. Aug. 1471: David Guthrie, Whitelaw. *ibid.*, 1471/8/1. Feb. 1472: David Guthrie. *ibid.*, 1472/3. Bunch and William Elphinstone (younger) may also have attended this last parliament as representatives of Glasgow University. *Munimenta*, ii, 79.

Albertism.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, all but David Guthrie had been active at St Andrews in some capacity. We have seen that Athilmer was the first provost of St Salvator's, and that Bunch advised Kennedy in erecting the college as an Albertist institution before moving to Glasgow to develop its arts teaching in the same way.¹¹¹ Whitelaw and Richard Guthrie were incorporated at St Andrews as arts regents and undertook administrative positions of varying importance.¹¹²

David Guthrie and Whitelaw were regular fixtures at parliament: Guthrie as successively treasurer, comptroller, lord clerk register, and justiciar south of the Forth (1461-1473); Whitelaw as lord clerk register, and then royal secretary (c.1452-1493).¹¹³ Attendance by the first three men named above was uncharacteristic and this, with their shared educational background, forms the basis of Tanner's thesis. It is problematic, however. First, the parliamentary novices are listed in the *sederunts* but assumed no role in the committees appointed to shape crown policy and legislation. While David Guthrie and Whitelaw served on various parliamentary bodies from 1467-1472, Athilmer, Bunch and Richard Guthrie appear to have had limited opportunity to influence policy directly.¹¹⁴ Second, we have seen that the broad relationships between schools of philosophical thought and positions on the matter of monarchical sovereignty, outlined in Chapter 1, were perhaps less evident during the Basle debates and beyond than during the early fifteenth century.¹¹⁵ Indeed, the official position of

¹¹⁰ Athilmer and Whitelaw as theology scholars (1429, 1440). *Matrikel Köln*, i, 323, no. 164.31, 424, no. 205.113. Bunch and David Guthrie as arts students (1443). *ibid.*, i, 467, no. 218.59, 471, no. 219.64. Richard Guthrie as a LA candidate (1442). *ibid.*, i, 467. See also Lyall, 'Scottish Students', 56, 60-61, 70-71.

¹¹¹ Above, n.59, 60.

¹¹² Whitelaw: as arts student c.1435-1439; as arts regent and examiner 1453-1455. *Acta*, 47-54, 95-108. Richard Guthrie: as arts regent, assessor, committee official and faculty member, 1457-1467. *ibid.*, 121-136. Guthrie held the abbacy of Arbroath (1449-1455), and was appointed confessor and almoner to James III in 1469. His library, left to the abbey, was distinctly Albertist in tone. *RPS*, 1469/30 (accessed, 20 September 2010); Higgitt, *Scottish Libraries*, xl, liii, lxviii, 79-84.

¹¹³ Guthrie: A. R. Borthwick and H. L. MacQueen, '“Rare creatures for their age”: Alexander and David, Graduate Laids and Royal Servants', in Crawford ed., *Church, Chronicle, Learning*, 230. Whitelaw: Lyall, 'Scottish Students', 61.

¹¹⁴ Guthrie: Oct. 1467, Nov. 1469, Aug. 1471. *RPS*, 1467/10/5, 1469/35, A1469/2, 1471/8/22 (accessed, 20 September 2010). Whitelaw: Nov. 1469, Aug. 1471. *ibid.*, 1469/4, 1471/8/22.

¹¹⁵ Above, n.88.

Cologne on Basle – firmly conciliarist as illustrated by its attack on Velde’s moderate stance – is hardly consistent with Tanner’s thesis.¹¹⁶ Moreover, we have seen that Athilmer was probably inclined towards a more extreme conciliarism which would make his advocacy of an imperial style of temporal rule unlikely.¹¹⁷

Rather, the uncharacteristic attendance at parliament of these three university men should be viewed in the context of the academic crisis at St Andrews of 1469-1470, and scholarly concerns more generally. Athilmer’s efforts to assert the independence of St Salvator’s College from the faculty of arts resulted in discord, violence, suspension of university memberships, and recourse to external agencies to impose a solution. This episode should also be considered against the background of Patrick Graham’s elevation to the bishopric of St Andrews in 1465, as successor to Kennedy, and his attempts to strengthen his authority and financial position as Scotland’s leading prelate. As bishop, Graham contested Kennedy’s bequest to St Salvator’s of goods valued at £942 4s. 10d. The resultant inquest found in favour of the college in March 1470.¹¹⁸ However, within two years, the erection of St Andrews as a metropolitan see placed the fragile settlement of the university crisis in jeopardy. The reactions of Scotland’s academic centres appear to have mirrored the fall-out seen among the wider ecclesiastical community.¹¹⁹ Dunlop suggested that this is clear from the interrupted academic calendar at St Andrews, evidenced by the lack of *Acta* entries between 1472 and 1473.¹²⁰ Nor does it seem that the archbishop was well-received by Glasgow scholars; Bunch, its principal master, supplicated for papal protection against Graham when conducting business at the curia as royal envoy in 1474.¹²¹ Athilmer and St Salvator’s, meanwhile, lost their privileged

¹¹⁶ Above, n.89.

¹¹⁷ Above, n.91 following.

¹¹⁸ Herkless, *Archbishops*, i, 35-36.

¹¹⁹ See above, n.16-17.

¹²⁰ *Acta*, xxxii.

¹²¹ *Munimenta*, ii, 226; *Reg. Supp.*, 705, fo. 230v; 706, fo. 292v.

positions within St Andrews University when the college was brought formally under Graham's jurisdiction with the annulment of its exemption in February 1473.¹²²

Most likely, it was this sequence of events that attracted the group of Albertist scholars identified by Tanner to the parliaments of 1467-1472. With crisis mounting at St Andrews, and in anticipation of a journey to Rome to seek the right to award degrees to St Salvator's students independently of the faculty of arts, Athilmer and his colleague Richard Guthrie most likely attended the October 1467 parliament to secure endorsement of the proposed supplication.¹²³ The meeting of the Three Estates of November 1469 came at the height of the academic crisis at St Andrews and Graham contesting Kennedy's final endowment of St Salvator's. As bishop of St Andrews, Graham also held the role of university chancellor, and Athilmer was left with no immediate recourse for resolving either matter in the college's favour without help from an external agency. Still deprived of a satisfactory resolution to the St Andrews crisis in May 1471, and in light of Graham's encroachments on St Salvator's privileges and endowments, Athilmer perhaps hoped to garner support against Graham among the Three Estates. If so, he may have asked Bunch to lend his experience of founding St Salvator's College to lobbying parliament. At the same time, the delegations of 1469 and 1471 should be seen, with that of Bunch and Elphinstone in February 1472, as repeated efforts to extract James III's confirmation of university privileges, as granted by James I and II before him.¹²⁴ This was issued in December 1472.¹²⁵

Tanner is right, however, to emphasise the influence of Archibald Whitelaw and David Guthrie in bringing an imperial understanding of sovereignty to Stewart rule. We have seen that both were heavily and continuously involved in royal administration, from c.1452 and 1462 respectively. Their collaboration in shaping royal policy renewed a partnership established at Cologne in the 1440s when Whitelaw taught Guthrie as an

¹²² *CPL*, xiii, 19.

¹²³ Guthrie appears to have taught at St Andrews as part of Athilmer's circle, from c.1455-c.1467, having resigned as abbot of Arbroath, and before his appointment as confessor to James III. See above, n.112.

¹²⁴ *Evidence*, iii, 178, 179; *Acta*, xxxiv, n; *Munimenta*, i, 6.

¹²⁵ *Munimenta*, i, 25-27.

arts student.¹²⁶ Whitelaw had received the traditional, scholastic approach to education in the arts and theology – first at St Andrews and then at Cologne – centred on an Aristotelian approach to the three philosophies (natural, moral and metaphysics).¹²⁷ However, his personal library suggests that Whitelaw also engaged with new currents in scholarship – those of humanism, or the ‘new learning’ that sought the revival of classical scholarship through recovering the texts of Greece and Rome in their original form.¹²⁸ His oration to Richard III, delivered in 1484, which drew heavily on such classical material, substantiates this.¹²⁹ We may not be able to link Whitelaw’s Albertism directly to the development of an imperial style of rule for James III, and no Bartolist titles survive among his extant library; however, his scholarly interests do suggest that Whitelaw was fully conversant with intellectual developments on the continent. If so, as a former tutor to James III in a position to shape the young king’s outlook, and as an influential figure in Stewart government since 1452, it was most likely Whitelaw who was responsible for the articulation of the crown’s imperial sovereignty in 1469.

In moving towards this understanding of monarchical rule, Whitelaw was probably supported by his long-standing colleague David Guthrie. Having received arts instruction under Whitelaw, Guthrie matriculated at Paris in 1447 – perhaps to study decreets.¹³⁰ While there is no evidence that Guthrie’s formal legal training extended to Bartolist theory, he was most likely familiar with its principles. The articulation of imperial kingship in 1469 was reinforced by articles seeking to regulate justice ayres and the appeals system, and commissioning the codification of Scots law.¹³¹ This indicates a genuine concern with legal reform among those devising royal policy, and

¹²⁶ Lyall, ‘Scottish Students’, 61, 71.

¹²⁷ See section 1.4.

¹²⁸ *Early Libraries*, 159; *Scottish Libraries*, 47.

¹²⁹ *Bannatyne Miscellany*, 41-48.

¹³⁰ *ACUP*, ii, 692. There is no indication of what Guthrie studied at Paris, although his career in royal administration suggests he had extensive training in law. If he pursued some of this at Paris, he did so in canon law (civil law had been prohibited there since 1291: see Chapter 1, n.84).

¹³¹ *RPS*, 1469/16, 1469/17, 1469/22, 1469/25, 1469/27, 1469/28, 1469/32 (accessed, 20 September 2010). The codification measure was re-enacted in 1473. *ibid.*, 1473/7/17.

efforts to augment crown authority over the administration of law, that were consistent with the principles underpinning imperial sovereignty. We cannot rule out discussion of imperial theory by the Albertist academics gathered at parliament during the period 1467-1472. However, the attendance of Athilmer, Richard Guthrie and Bunch seems more closely bound up with academic politicking. Whitelaw and Guthrie held the positions and had the opportunity to inform royal policy and perhaps drew on each other's experiences to shape the wording and imagery of James III's imperial moment that his Stewart successors would subsequently adopt and develop.

2.4 Educating the 'Barbarous North'

As university graduates employed in royal administration appropriated intellectual developments of European currency to shape an increasingly imperial approach to monarchical rule, they also influenced the evolution of higher educational provision in fifteenth-century Scotland. In many ways, the imperial style adopted by James III and IV was anticipated by the interventionist nature of kingship exercised by James I and II, which had sought to extend greater temporal control over the Church in addition to enforcing the authority of the crown more aggressively than their Stewart predecessors had done.¹³² Assertive monarchical rule depended heavily on well-oiled administrative machinery. However, the Stewarts' progressive shift towards a more self-consciously imperial interpretation of kingship exposed deficiencies in the administrative framework upholding their regimes, and generated a need for a wider pool of better-trained clerks, lay as well as ecclesiastical.¹³³

This demand was reflected in efforts at St Andrews and Glasgow to revisit and raise entrance requirements as well as expectations made of exam candidates, and to re-

¹³² See section 2.3.

¹³³ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 185-187.

establish the guidelines for the scholastic curriculum more generally.¹³⁴ We have seen that an arts degree was not necessarily considered a pre-requisite for further studies in decreets or civil law.¹³⁵ However, as university provision was extended in Scotland, the number of scholars undertaking arts prior to pursuing university training in either law increased – Chapter 3 explores this further.¹³⁶ Little survives to indicate how Scotland’s law faculties addressed the call for more and better-trained administrators. Yet, the general push to raise standards in arts education from the 1470s onwards, and the increase in number of arts graduates, suggests that Scotland’s universities were responding to this wider concern. And, while Macfarlane argued that the law faculties at St Andrews and Glasgow were not sufficiently well-developed to meet demands for a professionalised class of administrators, Chapter 3 explores an increase in the number of scholars enrolling at Scotland’s universities to receive at least some law instruction.¹³⁷ This may not have resulted in a concomitant rise in the number of law graduates, but it does indicate that scholars aspiring to successful administrative careers in the later fifteenth-century recognised the need to acquire some formal training in law.

These concerns also gave rise to further expansion of university provision in Scotland, with Elphinstone’s foundation of a third *studium generale* in Aberdeen in 1495.¹³⁸ Personal engagement with the intellectual and political developments of fifteenth-century Europe shaped the character of Elphinstone’s university, in much the same way as the foundations of St Salvator’s College and Glasgow University reflected

¹³⁴ St Andrews: the stipulation that no grammar student should be admitted without first passing an exam before the dean of arts (3 Nov. 1495). *Acta*, 253. The demand that the statute requiring MA candidates to complete the full four-year programme be observed (7 May 1479); and request that regents provide reports on their students (16 May 1496). *ibid.*, 205-206, 257-258. Efforts to reassert the scholastic curriculum were made on 5 Dec. 1471 and 16 May 1496 (*ibid.*, 181-182, 257-258). It may also be the case that the prohibition of regents from beginning the ‘*novam viam*’ without dispensation, might indicate concern over the dissemination of the ‘new learning’ or humanism (7 May 1498). *ibid.*, 267.

Glasgow: successive attempts to ensure MA candidates were adequately schooled for their exams were made in 1476, and on 3 Jul. 1481. *Munimenta*, ii, 221, 234. The passing of under-qualified Alexander Stewart drew complaints on 5 Jul. 1496. *ibid.*, 268. This perhaps inspired the formation of a committee to consider implementing more rigid observance of statutes. *ibid.*, 271.

¹³⁵ Introduction; see also sections 3.3, 3.4, 3.5.

¹³⁶ Sections 3.3, 3.4, 3.5.

¹³⁷ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 186; section 3.5, 3.8.

¹³⁸ See Introduction, n.5; section 2.1.

Kennedy's and Turnbull's preoccupations. As a MA graduate of Glasgow, Elphinstone had progressed to study decreets – first at Glasgow, then at Paris where he also acted as first reader in the discipline – before transferring to Orléans to pursue civil law. After just a year at Orléans, he returned to Scotland to act successively as official of Glasgow and Lothian (1471-1478, 1478-1483), before receiving provision to the sees of Ross, then Aberdeen (1481, 1483), while also undertaking a number of administrative roles in Stewart government.¹³⁹ The instruction Elphinstone had received at university, in Albertist philosophy and Bartolist legal theory, informed his positions on the intellectual debates of the period, particularly the matter of monarchical authority in both the spiritual and temporal realms.¹⁴⁰ Macfarlane demonstrated that this conditioning inclined Elphinstone towards a moderate conciliarism – not entirely dissimilar to that of van de Velde – which endorsed full sovereign jurisdiction, provided it was exercised with recourse to good counsel by elected representatives of the wider community and not autocratically in violation of recognised laws.¹⁴¹

At the same time, Elphinstone subscribed to a decentralised model of Church reform as advocated at Basle, which afforded bishops greater jurisdiction within their respective sees and limited papal intervention in provisions and arbitrations at diocesan level.¹⁴² This was also bound up with concern shared by academics across Europe over a decline in the number of graduates receiving ecclesiastical appointments commensurate with their qualifications.¹⁴³ We have seen that anxiety over this trend had inspired perpetual scholars, like Athilmer and Ogilvy perhaps, to align with schismatic Basle which sought to address the matter.¹⁴⁴ This enduring academic concern resonated with Elphinstone at the close of the fifteenth century, and married

¹³⁹ See Chapter 3, n.160, 162.

¹⁴⁰ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 26, 41-47, 190.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, 46-47; Macfarlane, 'Elphinstone's Library Revisited', 73-75. For van de Velde: see above, n.87, 89.

¹⁴² For Elphinstone's adherence on reform: Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 217-219; Macfarlane, 'Elphinstone's Library Revisited', 73-74. For similarities between this position and reform advocated at Basle: Black, *Council and Commune*, 40-41.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, 44; Jacob, 'Promotion, English Clerks', 175-177.

¹⁴⁴ Above, n.92, 93.

with his recognition of the need for a better-trained administrative class to effect diocesan reform in Aberdeen while also extending the ‘ful jurisdictione’ of an imperial Stewart monarchy. Together, these considerations influenced his establishment of a *studium generale* to educate the ‘barbarous’ north.

The university might be viewed as an integral element of Elphinstone’s wider efforts to implement lasting diocesan reform.¹⁴⁵ He appears to have been genuinely committed to fulfilling his own pastoral and administrative responsibilities as bishop through addressing the matter of clerical abuses. It is in this context, rather than that of personal and diocesan prestige as explored under section 2.1, that Elphinstone’s reluctance to submit to the metropolitan jurisdiction of the archbishop of St Andrews might be better understood.¹⁴⁶ His successful supplication of Innocent VIII for exemption from the latter (1490) followed his receipt of an Indult of 1488 which, in six months of the year, allowed Elphinstone to make appointments to vacant benefices in Aberdeen diocese.¹⁴⁷ This right superseded that of all other patrons unless provision to a particular benefice was reserved to Rome. However, so long as Elphinstone’s authority as bishop of Aberdeen was subject to that of William Schevez as archbishop, this remained a redundant privilege; the latter might exercise his jurisdiction to curtail any attempt by Elphinstone to address clerical abuses through targeting the nature of provisions. He was further inhibited in this respect by the Indult previously issued to James III in 1487, which allowed the crown similar right of nomination – to vacancies in Scotland valued at 200 florins or more.¹⁴⁸ The exemption of 1490, neutralising St Andrews’ influence over Aberdeen diocesan affairs, thus afforded Elphinstone some freedom to regulate provisions. As he looked to eradicate pluralism, absenteeism, and the appointment to prestigious benefices of well-connected men with only limited academic qualifications, a university operating in accordance with his specifications

¹⁴⁵ For Elphinstone on Church reform: Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 200-250.

¹⁴⁶ See above, n.16-18.

¹⁴⁷ 18 March 1488. *Reg. Supp.*, 882, fo. 113.

¹⁴⁸ See above, n.99.

offered Elphinstone the prospect of recruiting a body of well-educated clergymen to staff his reformed diocese more appropriately.

If Elphinstone conceived of the university as a training facility for a more professionalised class of administrators, and thus as instrumental to a wider project to implement diocesan reform, this larger enterprise also offered him opportunity to address graduate concerns over career prospects. He might take advantage of the papal privileges received in 1488 and 1490 to implement an academic ‘tariff’ whereby he could nominate graduates to benefices commensurate with the nature and level of their degrees.¹⁴⁹ This would mark a return at this diocesan level to practice more commonly adhered to in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and similar to that prescribed by Clement VII during the Great Schism.¹⁵⁰ Elphinstone’s commitment to this principle in a university context is evident in an instrument annexing the hospital of St Germain to the university. Stipends were allocated on a sliding scale, which sought to recruit a DTh degree-holder as principal theologian on the top tier and, failing that, a BTh graduate who would receive the same remuneration as the DDec and DCv principals on the level below, and so on.¹⁵¹ To some extent, the success of rolling out a similar ‘tariff’ across the diocese would be determined by the willingness of well-connected but lesser-qualified men to accept minor parish livings, and thus on Elphinstone’s authority as bishop when pitted against the influence of their patrons. The nepotism evident in his provision of Arthur, Adam and William Elphinstone to cathedral prebendaries also suggests that Elphinstone himself was not always dispassionate in his choices. However, these kinsmen were graduates and received lesser benefices – of Inverboyndie, Invernochtie and Clatt respectively – in contrast to more blatant incidents of the crown and lay patrons elevating lesser-qualified members of the nobility to prominent ecclesiastical offices explored in section 3.9.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 213-217.

¹⁵⁰ Avi-Yonah, R., ‘Career Trends of Parisian Masters of Theology, 1200-1320’, *History of Universities*, vi (Amersham, 1986-1987), 47-62; E. von Ottenthal, ed., *Regulae Cancellariae Apsotolicae* (Innsbruck, 1888), 99-100, no. 46. This is discussed more extensively in Chapter 3: n.35, and sections 3.6, 3.9.

¹⁵¹ AUL, MS K256/48/1; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 18-25.

¹⁵² Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 221. See also section 3.9.

Their appointments most likely reflected the realities of securing adequate endowment for an institution of the university's scope that required c.£186 annually to remain solvent at the point of foundation, and c.£444 annually just twenty years later.¹⁵³ As a student and official of Glasgow University (c.1458-1465, 1472-1475), Elphinstone had been exposed to the institution's precarious financial position as it remained under-endowed on Turnbull's death.¹⁵⁴ As a consequence, he was clearly determined to erect a financially-viable *studium*, and dogged in his efforts to accrue sufficient funding. Unsurprisingly, he drew heavily on his own reserves as bishop, as Kennedy and Turnbull had done in instituting St Salvator's and Glasgow.¹⁵⁵ His ability to divert significant sums from arrears collected by virtue of his position as keeper of the privy seal was crucial in meeting the shortfall not secured through endowments.¹⁵⁶ However, fundamental to establishing the *studium* on a firm financial footing was his annexation to the university of the hospital of St Germain and associated lands in 1497. Engineered by using an Aberdeen cathedral prebend to compensate its deposed rector, Thomas Piot, it provided a cumulative endowment of £60 annually.¹⁵⁷

Elphinstone continued to pursue funding in advance of the re-foundation of the university as King's College (17 September 1505) and re-instituting the college itself, planned but not implemented before his death in 1514.¹⁵⁸ James IV's gift of an annuity of £12.6s. to establish a chair of medicine is well-known; as the first instance of direct royal endowment of a Scottish university it marked an important milestone in the

¹⁵³ Macfarlane carried out extensive analysis of Aberdeen University's endowments, bursaries, stipends, diocesan financing and operating budgets: Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 309-318, 340-344 (budgets at 311, 341).

¹⁵⁴ See above, n.76; Chapter 3, n.160.

¹⁵⁵ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, 12-14, 20-23. See also above, n.10-12, 118.

¹⁵⁶ Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 311-312.

¹⁵⁷ St Germain was part of the parish of Tranent (St Andrews); the associated lands being, Aberlethnott, Glenmuick and Abergerny. The process of annexation was accomplished between February 1496 and September 1497. AUL, MS K256/48/1; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 9-25.

¹⁵⁸ Elphinstone first erected King's College as the College of St Mary in the Nativity. It seems the college became known as King's due to the building's exterior royal iconography and imperial crown. AUL, MS K256/48/2; *Fasti Aberdonensis*, 53-64; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 330. The re-foundation and expansion of King's College (planned in August 1514) was later implemented by Bishop Gavin Dunbar, 1529-1531. AUL, MS K256/48/3; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 80-108.

evolution of higher educational provision and brought the Stewart monarchy closer in line with their European counterparts as patrons of learning.¹⁵⁹ Yet, the sum itself was small compared to the stipends of £20 allocated from the St Germain annexation for each of the principals of theology, canon and civil law, and was more in keeping with that of £13.6s.8d. for an arts regent.¹⁶⁰ Presumably, it was envisaged that the mediciner would supplement his income through private practice in Aberdeen itself. Elphinstone also turned to kinsmen and associates to extract additional finance. Among the most generous of his benefactors was Andrew Elphinstone of Selmys who granted him lands and feu-duties in Mill of Mondurno, Bonnakettill, Audyale, Kinedward, and a £5 annuity from Utoch. In so doing, Selmys acknowledged the ‘good offices done to him’ by Elphinstone.¹⁶¹ Perhaps then, the nepotism evident in certain of the bishop’s diocesan provisions ought to be seen in this financial context. Similar benefactions were extracted from university personnel such as Duncan Shearer, dean of arts from 1498. Among his various gifts made between 1502 and 1503, annual feu-duties of £3.10s. from tenements in Aberdeen and Kintore were reserved for an arts student of the Shearer family who might proceed to study law.¹⁶²

If Elphinstone planned the university as an integral part of a wider project to introduce diocesan reform to Aberdeen, while also addressing promotional prospects for degree-holders, the practicalities of establishing a viable institution demanded certain compromises or adjustment of ideals. Nonetheless, his commitment to the principle of making provisions in accordance with academic qualifications is evident in the St Germain instrument. Likewise, it influenced his shaping of the newly-erected parish united to the university in June 1499 – dedicated to St Mary of the Snows in 1503 – which Elphinstone reserved for a graduate and reader in decreets; preferably, he sought

¹⁵⁹ 22 May 1497. AUL, MS K256/34/2-3; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 25-27. For monarchs as founders and patrons of universities: section 1.1.

¹⁶⁰ AUL, MS K256/48/1; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 9-25. Stipends were increased in the reiterations of statutes in 1505 and 1514: to £26.13s.4d. for the theologian and canonist and £20 for the civilist. The mediciner remained would receive £13.6s.8d., the same as the sub-principal and grammarian. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 358-359, 377.

¹⁶¹ 13 January 1504. AUL, MS K256/3/12; MS K256/6/1; MS K256/12/11 (includes acknowledgement of Elphinstone); *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 43-46.

¹⁶² 21 March 1502. *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 40-42. For subsequent gifts of 1503: *ibid.*, 42-43.

a DDec or LDec degree-holder, but would settle for a BDec.¹⁶³ Elphinstone was clearly a pragmatist, however, and recognised that Aberdeen offered insufficient benefices to accommodate the professionalised body of administrators required to implement Church reform and extend imperial royal rule on behalf of the Stewart regime. At the same time, the laity's burgeoning investment in university education, as exemplified by M. David Guthrie, administrator to James III, inspired the bishop to cater for lay attendance at Aberdeen.¹⁶⁴

Elphinstone's efforts to encourage the laicisation of university education in Scotland were concerted, and carefully planned. This is most obvious perhaps in the Education Act issued in June 1496, which decreed that the eldest sons of the laity should be educated at grammar schools and, when competent in Latin, should receive three years instruction at university to develop knowledge and understanding of the law.¹⁶⁵ It was anticipated that this would ensure that sheriffs and local justices were sufficiently well trained to disseminate the king's justice throughout the realm, thereby reducing the number of cases brought before the crown for settlement. While this measure cannot be linked expressly to Elphinstone, it was introduced at a parliament in which he presided over sixty-five referred judicial cases in a session lasting for two weeks.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, the nature of the legislation appears to reflect carefully considered measures taken by Elphinstone at Aberdeen to provide for a separate community of lay scholars existing alongside the clerical one, both functioning under the auspices of the university. His annexation of the new parish to the university in 1499 seems to have been the culmination of a project conceived perhaps as early as 1489, in which the boundaries of the cathedral parish of Kirkton of Seaton were redrawn to create two distinct communities: one clerical, incorporating the canonry and cathedral; the other lay, based in the new parish, centred on the market place and land dedicated for building

¹⁶³ 23 June 1499. *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 29-30. Dedicated by 29 September 1503, *ibid.*, 47.

¹⁶⁴ Borthwick, 'Rare Creatures', 227.

¹⁶⁵ *RPS*, A1496/6/4 (accessed, 20 September 2010).

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 1496/6/1-1496/6/65 (accessed, 20 September 2010).

the university.¹⁶⁷ In supplicating for papal approval, Elphinstone secured the support of James IV and the lay residents of Aberdeen. When viewed in this context, the timing of the Education Act indicates that both projects were part of a wider concerted effort to stimulate lay uptake of university education with a view to improving the administration of civil law.

The threat of a £20 fine to be imposed on fathers failing to comply with the terms of the Education Act illustrates that this was legislation designed to incentivise, rather than reacting to lay demand for access to higher educational provision.¹⁶⁸ Elphinstone's supplication seeking dispensation for clerics to study and teach civil law, granted in 1500, reinforces this sense. It echoed the request by St Andrews of 1432, but this time was an interim measure allowing for the establishment of a functioning faculty that would welcome lay students as the Education Act's stimulus started to take effect.¹⁶⁹ This all suggests that Elphinstone was firmly committed to ensuring that civil law would operate as a thriving faculty at Aberdeen; evident too, in the equal stipend allocated to the civilist in 1497, as well Elphinstone prescribing practical training in the sheriff court to reinforce theory received in lectures.¹⁷⁰

The bishop clearly drew on his own training and experience as an administrator to shape his *studium generale*; his determination to stimulate the study of civil law through attracting lay scholars should be interpreted in this context. His education at Orléans had provided him with an understanding of French codification of customary law (written civil law) which facilitated the incorporation of regional variations under one system.¹⁷¹ This practice provided a means of extending the 'full jurisdiction' of the crown throughout the realm, and had been implemented in the Scottish legislation of

¹⁶⁷ 20 February 1498. AUL MS K256/17/3. Elphinstone perhaps began working on this venture as early as 1489 when James IV erected Old Aberdeen as a burgh of barony. In 1492, he set down that laity were not to reside in the canonry, probably in anticipation of his creating a separate lay parish. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 314.

¹⁶⁸ RPS, A1496/6/4 (accessed, 20 September 2010).

¹⁶⁹ AUL, MS K256/43/6-8; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 36-38. For St Andrews: CSSR, iii, 210-211; Chapter 1, n. 84.

¹⁷⁰ For stipend: above, n.160. For practical training: AUL, MS K256/48/3; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 80-108.

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, 44.

1469 and 1473 that shaped an imperial style for James III.¹⁷² Elphinstone upheld full sovereign jurisdiction provided it was not implemented arbitrarily; his endorsement of an imperial Stewart style is evident from the closed or arched crown commissioned for the top of the bell-tower of King's College chapel.¹⁷³ In planning the university, he not only aspired to facilitate Church reform but also looked to educate lay administrators familiar with the customary law of northern Scotland, to buttress the Stewart regime in a manner consistent with his own understanding of imperial sovereignty.

Personal engagement with humanist principles of the 'new learning' may also have inspired Elphinstone to endorse full sovereign jurisdiction in royal rule as well as the use of imperial iconography to impress this style upon the realm. We have seen that familiarity with classical ideas through recovering the texts of ancient Greece and Rome in their original form, married with Bartolist legal theory to incline university-educated administrators such as Archibald Whitelaw towards an understanding of kingship that upheld monarchical autonomy within a territorially independent realm. Elphinstone's personal library illustrates that while his education as a student was grounded firmly in the scholastic tradition still prescribed by Europe's universities, like Whitelaw, he was later drawn towards the 'new learning'. The collection bequeathed to King's College, which presumably formed the core of its library from 1514, is unmistakably humanist in character.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, Elphinstone famously recruited Hector Boece, who would become known as a distinguished humanist and friend to Erasmus, to teach arts at the university in the first instance before later assuming the role of principal of King's College.¹⁷⁵

This evidence led Durkan to suggest that Elphinstone deliberately fostered a humanist tradition at Aberdeen, which proved inspirational but somewhat elusive to like-minded scholars at Glasgow and St Andrews at the turn of the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² See above, n.131.

¹⁷³ For Stewart employment of royal iconography such as the closed imperial crown: Mason, 'Realm of Scotland', 77-79.

¹⁷⁴ Macfarlane, 'Elphinstone's Library Revisited', 79-81; *Early Libraries*, 31-34.

¹⁷⁵ Boece, *Episcoporum Vitae*, 87-88.

¹⁷⁶ Durkan, 'Early Humanism', 259.

However, the arts curriculum prescribed by Elphinstone was fundamentally scholastic, and adhered to the traditional courses of Aristotelian logic and philosophy as set down at Paris.¹⁷⁷ This instructs us to be cautious in emphasising the humanist flavour to arts instruction at early Aberdeen; the conservative curriculum continued to offer the sound, established grounding in grammar, logic and rhetoric required for further studies in the higher disciplines. Moreover, Boece's personal library and publications indicate that, as a teacher, he remained committed to an essentially scholastic approach infused with elements of the 'new learning'.¹⁷⁸ This suggests that in the first instance, Elphinstone envisaged a hybrid approach to arts instruction that favoured scholasticism as the staple diet but afforded Boece and fellow regents the freedom to incorporate elements of the 'new learning' as they wished. He perhaps hoped that a curriculum which afforded some scope for engaging with continental humanist trends might attract the lay scholars he anticipated progressing to study civil law. As John Vaus and Theophilus Stewart undertook the work of grammarian at Aberdeen successively, they developed this humanist flavour to arts instruction with greater alacrity – as evident both from their personal libraries, and Aberdeen visitation records of 1549.¹⁷⁹ Yet initially, Elphinstone recruited a scholar schooled in the way that he had been, to implement a curriculum that might generate the body of clear-thinking, well-trained administrators essential to his vision of reforming both Church and state.

* * *

The introduction and development of university provision in late medieval Scotland was very much a part of the general expansion in higher education across Europe from the late fourteenth century. In Scotland, this amounted to a revolution in educational

¹⁷⁷ AUL, MS K256/48/2; *Fasti Aberdonensis*, 58.

¹⁷⁸ *Early Libraries*, 77-78. Boece compiled a volume of syllogisms, published in Paris; and a textbook of logic terms while at Aberdeen (Durkan, 'Early Humanism', 260, 274) – presumably the later served as a companion to his teaching at Aberdeen.

¹⁷⁹ *Early Libraries*, 150-151, 155-157. AUL, MS K256/23/2; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 265. Macfarlane and Durkan explore the roles of Vaus and Stewart in developing a more distinctly humanist flavour to the curriculum: Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 365-370; Durkan, 'Early Humanism', 262-265.

provision developed through the conscious engagement of its scholars with the debates that shaped fifteenth-century intellectual currents and political theory, and in response to this wider cultural context. Scottish masters and students remained fully conversant with continental developments in philosophical, theological and legal thought, and these in turn informed their individual positions on matters of Church reform and the nature of sovereign jurisdiction. University provision in Scotland evolved in this wider context, not simply through diocesan competition (although the bishop-founders clearly welcomed the associated prestige), but rather through the need to adapt to an intellectual and political climate in flux.

The decisions of Kennedy, Turnbull and Elphinstone to develop university provision in Scotland along diocesan lines, and their commitment to doing so, should not be dismissed as evidence of parochialism or self-interest. These institutions were born of the bishops' genuine desire to improve higher education; while the diocesan model allowed them to draw on personal resources, and develop access to universities that reflected regional identities within a decentralised realm. These institutions were small, and susceptible to the destructive influence of overly-dominant personalities. And, while they remained fully conversant with fashions of philosophical thought, they did not perhaps adopt the 'new learning' with the alacrity sometimes supposed.¹⁸⁰ Yet, their scholars were clearly familiar with humanist principles, and willing to infuse the scholastic curriculum still enforced in arts teaching with elements of the 'new learning'. Their successors would seize on this initiative during the sixteenth century to introduce additional curriculum reform, and expand St Andrews' collegiate structure still further.

¹⁸⁰ Annie Dunlop made a case for St Andrews embracing humanism in the late-fifteenth century. She based this on the revisiting of grammar standards and imposition of entrance exams; the incorporation of John Carpenter as 'poet'; and Alexander Inglis' bequest of a library of humanist texts to the arts faculty. *Acta*, lxxxv, 253, 257-258, 290; StAUL, UYUY411/3. Dunlop also interpreted the matriculation of certain lay scholars as testament to the success of the Education Act and a humanist approach to learning. *Acta*, xl & n. However, proficiency in Latin grammar was also required by the scholastic curriculum; while Inglis' bequest merely provides evidence of personal interests and perhaps the hope that his library might influence teaching and learning at St Andrews. Moreover, the prohibition of 'the new ways' of 1498 (*ibid.*, 267), suggests that if humanism was gaining currency at St Andrews, opposition to its formal incorporation in the curriculum was strong.

Chapter 3: Educating the Scottish Episcopate, 1360-1560

3.1 Rationale

The foundation of three universities in fifteenth-century Scotland can be viewed as a natural part of the contemporary expansion in higher education across Europe, involving the establishment of many new centres of learning, often intended to serve local needs.¹ Though this is true in broad terms, we have seen that Scotland's medieval universities were also the product of scholars reacting to, and engaging with, international political and intellectual developments of the period. The altered political climate of 1409-1418, for example, in which traditional university destinations were no longer as accessible to Scottish scholars, was the impetus behind the erection of a *studium generale* at St Andrews. Similarly, subsequent curricular preoccupations at St Andrews reflected concerns to ensure orthodox Catholic teaching and, together with a need for a wider pool of educated personnel to serve as royal and ecclesiastical administrators, inspired the foundation of St Salvator's College at St Andrews, and new *studia generale* at Glasgow and Aberdeen.

Underpinning this revolution in educational provision was a conscious effort to maintain, if not improve, levels of academic qualification amongst the Scottish clergy for whom the possession of a university degree could determine their prospects of promotion. Watt's research on Scottish students, 1340-1410, suggests that not only was acquiring a degree a means of securing benefices for these men, but also that the number and type of degrees obtained had a direct bearing on the value of such livings. Those who followed courses in law and theology to the highest levels could amass benefices totalling £300, up to thirty times greater in reward than the average vicarage valued at just £10.² Pursuit of qualifications in these higher disciplines was a lengthy process requiring considerable resources or sponsorship; and, there was a limit, clearly,

¹ Rashdall, *Universities*, i, xxiv; Verger, 'Patterns', 62-63.

² D. E. R. Watt, 'University Graduates in Scottish Benefices', *RCHS*, xv (1966), 84-85.

to the number and availability of the more sought-after positions.³ However, seen in this light, the displaced community of Scottish scholars of the early fifteenth century had a pressing financial incentive for establishing an academic institution in St Andrews.

Watt identified 400 Scots scholars between 1340 and 1410, most of whom carved out largely clerical careers for themselves that were commensurate with their academic background and credentials. This, he highlighted, compared favourably with the fortunes of their English and French counterparts, who seemed less certain of receiving livings that reflected their academic qualifications.⁴ Similarly, with respect to the episcopate, while Scotland's mainland dioceses were served almost exclusively by graduates from c.1350-1425 (graduates accounting for four-fifths of appointments), clergy qualified to degree level secured just two-thirds of provisions to English dioceses in the same period. Watt extrapolated these findings to Scots scholars of the fifteenth century, offering his results with respect to their predecessors as a means of understanding the impact of Scotland's medieval universities on their immediate localities and on Scottish society as a whole.⁵ He located the three university foundations firmly in this tradition of ambitious Scots scholars seeking advancement through an education in line with that offered on the continent. According to Watt, by improving accessibility to higher education in Scotland, these new institutions would not only safeguard existing educational standards amongst the Scottish clergy, but also generate still higher numbers of university-trained men for provision to Scottish benefices.⁶

This picture has heavily influenced subsequent discussions of the foundation and impact of Scotland's fifteenth-century universities.⁷ However, though plausible, Watt's argument is conjectural, and raises a number of questions that have still to be

³ For discussion of degree disciplines and levels: Introduction, n.10-16; below, section 3.6.

⁴ Watt, 'University Graduates', 85; Jacob, 'Promotion, English Clerks', 175-177.

⁵ Watt, 'University Graduates', 78.

⁶ *ibid.*, 87-88.

⁷ For example: Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 241-243.

subjected to systematic analysis. For example, did the kind of degree pursued by Scots remain essentially unchanged as the number of graduates of the new Scottish universities increased? Did domestic opportunities stimulate changes in the geographical distribution of Scots scholars but little growth in the overall number of those seeking a university education? How readily were Scotland's infant institutions able to meet the demands of students anxious to obtain the higher degrees necessary for provision to valuable benefices? What was the cumulative impact of the foundation of three institutions across the fifteenth century? And, how long did they continue to cater solely for the clergy rather than opening themselves up to the demands of the laity for an education that was aimed at non-clerical careers? Moreover, Watt's argument also neglects to consider whether attaining a university degree was indeed the best means of securing appointment to higher ecclesiastical and administrative offices.

Answering these questions in full would involve extending Watt's prosopographical study of Scots graduates, which concluded with the foundation of St Andrews in 1410, to encompass the fifteenth century and beyond. Only thus would it be possible to examine the extent to which earlier patterns endured, were enhanced, or altered, as a result of the expansion of university provision in Scotland. However, the patchy nature of the surviving sources for these medieval institutions, particularly Glasgow and Aberdeen, makes a comprehensive study of all Scottish graduates extremely difficult. Moreover, such a study would necessitate identification of students not only at Scotland's institutions, but also at those of England and the continent. Such a prosopographical project is well beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, what follows is a more modest analysis of the educational background and attainments of those who held Scottish bishoprics in the two centuries between 1360 and 1560. This has the advantage not only of being a readily identifiable group whose careers can generally be reconstructed from surviving records, but also a group who, as Watt has shown, were the most highly qualified graduates amongst the clergy in fourteenth-century Scotland. A study of the education of the episcopate over these two centuries, therefore, allows us to measure the impact of the fifteenth-century Scottish university foundations on a

clerical elite which exerted enormous influence over the political as well as ecclesiastical fortunes of late medieval Scotland.

* * *

For much of the period concerned in this study, the Scottish Church was comprised of thirteen dioceses.⁸ Of these, Galloway, the Isles, and Orkney, were only formally brought under its authority during the fifteenth century. All three were placed under the metropolitan jurisdiction of St Andrews on its erection as an archbishopric, 17 August 1472, before Galloway was transferred to the province of Glasgow on its elevation to archiepiscopal status, 9 January 1492. Prior to this, Galloway had been subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishops of York (until 1355) and then directly to that of the papacy, while the Isles and Orkney were under the authority of Trondheim (Nidaros).

The Great Schism (1378-1417), which gave rise to competing candidates from Scotland and elsewhere supplicating the rival papacies at Avignon and Rome for provision to the Isles and Orkney, further complicated ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. Difficulties in establishing episcopal succession for these dioceses during the schism caused Watt to restrict his summary of educational standards amongst the Scottish episcopate of 1350-1425 to mainland dioceses.⁹ However, while not formally incorporated until the later fifteenth century, in practice, Galloway, the Isles and Orkney were aligned with the Scottish Church, and their bishops drawn from the Scottish clergy, almost throughout the period concerned here.¹⁰ For our purposes, therefore, all

⁸ Aberdeen; Argyll (Lismore); Brechin; Caithness; Dunblane; Dunkeld; Galloway (Whithorn, Candida Casa); Glasgow; the Isles (Sodor); Moray; Orkney; Ross and St Andrews.

⁹ Watt, 'University Graduates', 79.

¹⁰ Galloway was aligned with the Scottish Church, and its bishops drawn from the Scottish clergy, from the provision of Thomas [Wedale] in 1359. *Fasti*, 171-173. Orkney witnessed competition throughout the Great Schism, between candidates of the Scottish Church, aligned with Avignon, and those provided by Rome. Its incumbents were drawn from Scottish clergy following the provision of Robert Sinclair in 1383. *ibid.*, 322, 326-329. I am grateful to Barbara Crawford for her advice on this point, and her suggestion that the dearth of trained Norse clerics following the Black Death forced Trondheim to recruit suffragans from outwith Norway. See also her article: 'The Bishopric of Orkney', in S. Imsen ed., *Ecclesia Nidrosiensis 1153-1537* (Trondheim, 2003), 143-158. The Schism encouraged the development of two lines of bishops in the Isles: those of the Isles, aligned with Avignon; and, those of the Isles and Man, aligned with Rome. Of the former, the earliest appointment clearly drawn from the Scottish clergy was Michael Ochiltree, provided without consecration in 1422, whose successors were Scots. *Fasti*, 257, 264-267.

those of Scottish origins who were nominated to the thirteen Scottish dioceses, 1360-1560, are included in this study.¹¹ This date range affords us a ‘control’ group of men educated and provided to their respective dioceses prior to the foundation of formal higher education institutions in Scotland, against whom those trained and appointed following the foundation of Scotland’s fifteenth-century universities can be compared. It also provides, in the later decades of the period, a substantial group for whom the impact of all three Scottish institutions can be tested.¹²

The group examined also encompasses those Scots who served as co-adjutors, who were appointed ‘anti-bishops’ of particular sees during the Little Schism (1438-1449), and who were elected or provided to a Scottish diocese without receiving consecration.¹³ If education to degree level was required for elevation to the Scottish episcopate, or to be considered for such, these men ought all to have been held to the same criteria. Omitted from the study, however, are fourteen men of non-Scottish origins or unclear nationality who were nominated or provided to Scottish sees during the period concerned, at least six of whom were schismatic appointments; and John Hay who was recorded as postulate of the Isles only once, in an English source.¹⁴

Thus, the group analysed here extends to 173 men: of these, 133 were incumbents (some of multiple dioceses); thirty-two were elected, nominated or provided

¹¹ Examination of education levels among men consecrated or provided to the Isles reveals results or patterns peculiar to this group, which distort those otherwise evident in education levels shared by the bishops as a wider group. These merit separate discussion, as presented below under section 3.10.

¹² The lower date limit incorporates all those of Scottish origin who were incumbents of a Scottish diocese in 1360.

¹³ With the bull *Doctoris gentium* (18 September 1437), Eugenius IV transferred the Council of Basle to Ferrara. Basle repudiated the bull but Eugenius upheld the transfer in a series of decrees (January – February 1438), declaring all subsequent acts of Basle null and excommunicating those who remained adherents of the dissident assembly. The council became schismatic on its deposition of Eugenius (25 June 1438). Burns, *Churchmen*, 56, 60, 62. Anti-Pope Felix V made four schismatic appointments to Scottish dioceses: James Ogilvy I to St Andrews, 26 July 1440 (*CPS*, 302-305); Thomas Livingston to Dunkeld, 29 November 1440 (*ibid.*, 305-307); Andrew Munro to Ross (*ibid.*, 311-313), and James Douglas to Aberdeen, 30 May 1441 (*ibid.*, 313-314). Schismatic Basle also made overtures to James Bruce for translation to Glasgow to facilitate Livingston’s provision to Dunkeld, however, Bruce accepted Glasgow from Eugenius IV. *ibid.*, 345-355; Burns, *Churchmen*, 83-84; *Fasti*, 192; *ACSB*, 37.

¹⁴ These fourteen men include ‘schismatics’ provided to Glasgow, Orkney, and Ross, or who were alternative candidates for the Isles (resident on Man) during the Great Schism; and, non-Scots aligned with Avignon and transferred to the Isles from Irish sees during the Great Schism. For John Hay as postulate of the Isles in 1547: *LP HVIII*, xxi.2, 382, no.740. These men are recorded under ‘Bishops Removed from Sample’ in the diocesan lists presented in Appendix 2.

to sees without consecration; four were anti-bishops; two served as co-adjutors; and two were archbishops-designate, postulated before reaching the canonical age for a bishop of twenty-seven years old.¹⁵ These names were compiled using another of Watt's undertakings - *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi* - supplemented by recourse to Dowden's and Keith's earlier studies of the Scottish episcopate.¹⁶ In assembling prosopographical profiles for those bishops who were scholars or graduates prior to the establishment of St Andrews, Watt's study of Scots graduates before 1410 was invaluable.¹⁷ The *Fasti*, with papal petitions, supplications and correspondence, in which those seeking modest benefices customarily supplied their academic credentials to demonstrate suitability for provision, were then employed to construct skeleton career profiles for their successors. These were fleshed out using university muniments, ecclesiastical registers, state papers and chronicles; while information concerning origins and familial background was extracted from these sources, and the *Scots Peerage*.¹⁸

The patchy nature of the sources necessarily render this study incomplete. Watt cited 'yawning gaps in evidence' when advising of the 'due circumspection' required in handling the extant prosopographical information on which his study was based; similar cautions needs to be exercised when extending Watt's work for the Scottish episcopate 1360-1560.¹⁹ Moreover, at points, the surviving evidence is itself problematic. We can discriminate with relative ease between two Thomas Tullochs, bishops of Orkney and Ross, both active in the mid-fifteenth century; and, the two John Ralstons – one, a notary, educated at the same time as the other, a future bishop of

¹⁵ The archbishops-designate nominated by James IV: James Stewart, duke of Ross, and brother of James IV; Alexander Stewart, James IV's illegitimate son. *Fasti*, 384. For their profiles: n.118, 120.

¹⁶ See Abbreviations: *Fasti* (with recourse to previous editions: St Andrews, 1959; Edinburgh, 1969); Dowden, *Bishops*. R. Keith, *An historical catalogue of the Scottish bishops: down to the year 1688*, ed. M. Russel (Edinburgh, 1824).

¹⁷ See Abbreviations: Watt, *Graduates*. See also: Watt, 'University Graduates'.

¹⁸ For details of these and other sources, see Bibliography. See also, Abbreviations: *Scots Peerage*.

¹⁹ Watt, 'University Graduates', 77.

Dunkeld.²⁰ However, distinguishing which of the Andrew Stewarts, one a Bachelor of Arts (BA) graduate of Glasgow in 1462 and the other a BA graduate of St Andrews in 1463 – future bishops of Caithness and Moray respectively – was incorporated at Paris in 1465 is less straightforward.²¹ Similarly, the inclination of some young benefice hunters to exaggerate the nature of their qualifications in supplications to the papacy has complicated the construction of educational profiles; though those guilty of misrepresentation did tend to correct themselves in subsequent submissions, as did Gilbert Greenlaw, future bishop of Aberdeen, when corresponding with the papacy in 1379.²²

Such obstacles aside, some evidence of university education is apparent in the careers of a large proportion (almost 80%) of the Scottish episcopate 1360-1560. The evidence compiled lends itself to analysing developments over the period concerned in terms of twenty-year intervals (hereafter referred to as transitional studies). These reveal certain patterns which, broadly-speaking, would appear to support Watt's forecast but, at the same time, invite reconsideration of traditional assumptions made of educational levels amongst the late-medieval ecclesiastical hierarchy in Scotland as well as the impact of the new university foundations on Scottish society more broadly.

²⁰ Thomas Tulloch I, bishop of Orkney, 1418-1461 (*Fasti*, 327): identifiable as a BA graduate of St Andrews in 1415. *Acta*, 4. Thomas Tulloch II, bishop of Ross, 1440-1460 x 1461 (*Fasti*, 349): engaged as a procurator at the curia from the late 1420s before enrolling at Louvain to study decreets in 1432. *CSSR*, ii, 190, 207, 230; *ACSB*, 12, 99, 109-111; *Matricule Louvain*, i, 238. John Ralston, bishop of Dunkeld, 1447-1451 x 1452 (*Fasti*, 128): identifiable as the 'LDec, dean of Dunkeld, and first secretary to James [II], king of Scots' (27 April 1446). *CSSR*, iv, 319. For their profiles: n.62, 218, 221.

²¹ Andrew Stewart I, bishop of Moray, 1482-1501 (*Fasti*, 281): half-uncle to James III, graduated as BA at St Andrews in 1463. *Acta*, 150. Andrew Stewart II, bishop of Caithness, 1501-1517; bishop-nominate of Aberdeen, 1513 (*Fasti*, 4, 81): identifiable as a BA graduate of Glasgow in 1462. *Munimenta*, ii, 197. Both seem to have taken a break from studying at their respective universities. However, it appears to have been the latter who was accepted as a BA at Paris, and completed his arts course there before returning to be 'welcomed into the bosom of the faculty' at Glasgow as M. Andrew Stewart, rector of Killearn, in 1466. *ACUP*, ii, 955; *Munimenta*, ii, 204. For their profiles: n.60, 169.

²² Gilbert Greenlaw, bishop of Aberdeen, 1390-1421 (*Fasti*, 3): erroneously claimed he possessed a MA licence. He was pardoned for acknowledging this exaggeration of his LA qualification (acquired at Paris, 1374) in 1379. Watt, *Graduates*, 237; *ACUP*, i, 451.

3.2 Educational Overview

A summary of education and training acquired by the Scottish episcopate across the period concerned illustrates that the level of formal academic schooling amongst this ecclesiastical elite remained high. Of the 173 individuals in our study, 133 (77%) were graduates or can be shown to have experienced university education in some capacity. By comparison, the number of bishops identifiable as possible but unsubstantiated university scholars, or who received education from religious orders, or were schooled by private tutors, is small – accounting for twenty-nine (17%) of those examined; while those for whom no information concerning education type or level survives is lower still, just eleven (6%). The high percentage (77%) of men provided to Scottish dioceses 1360-1560 with degrees or some experience of university, supports Watt's findings for those appointed to mainland dioceses c.1350-1425. It might also suggest that, if not improved by the foundation of three domestic universities, education levels amongst the native Scottish episcopate were maintained until the Reformation.

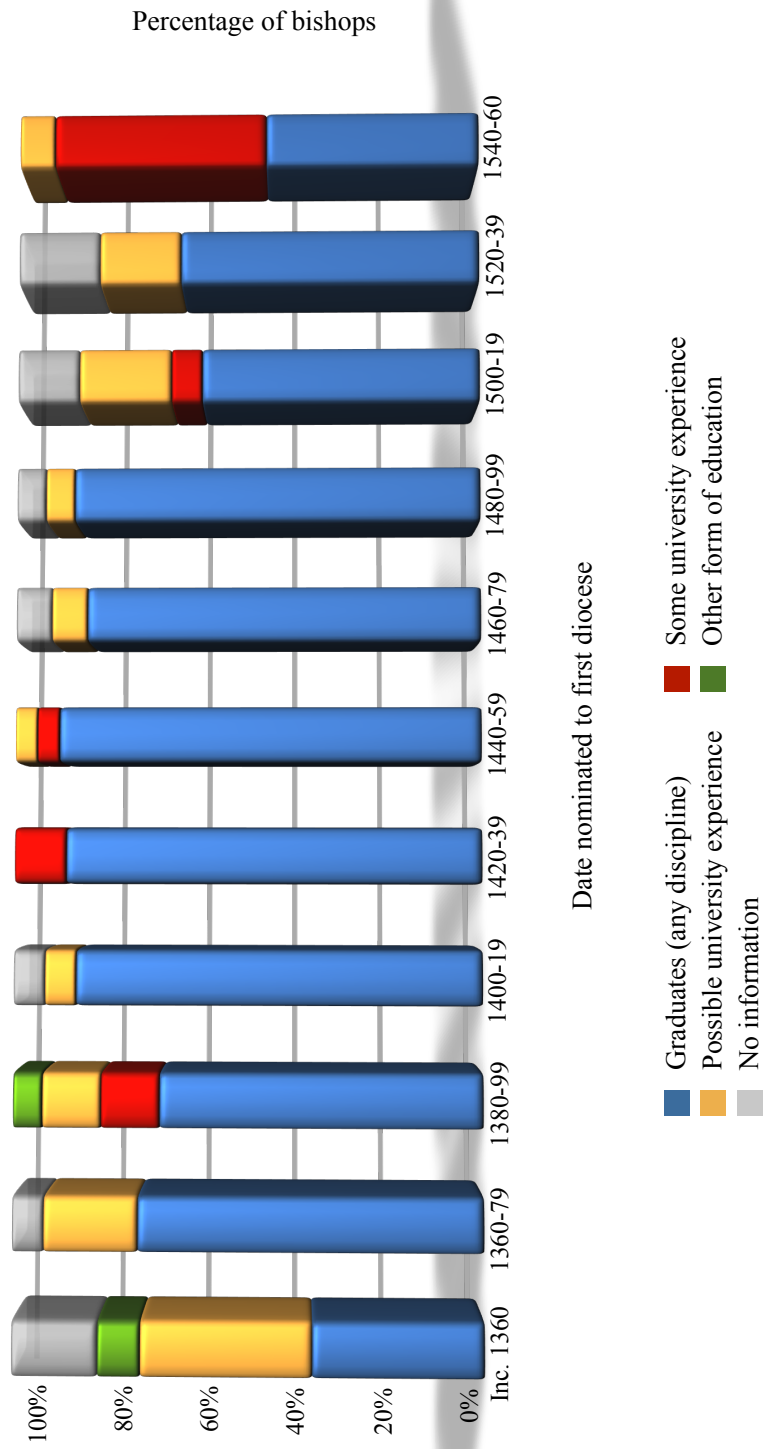
A more detailed overview (Figure 1), however, examining developments in the nature and degree of education acquired by these men in terms of twenty-year intervals, illustrates that such levels were not uniformly high across the period concerned. In broad terms, while graduate levels amongst the Scottish episcopate rose to over 80% of those appointed to dioceses during the fifteenth century, and this standard was sustained until the turn of the sixteenth century, a much greater degree of variation in the type and level of educational experience is evident in the careers of those provided to sees at the beginning and towards the end of our period.²³

Figure 1 represents the bishops in terms of the date on which they were elevated or nominated to a diocese, and their first diocese in the cases of those appointed to successive sees. Those already incumbent in 1360 are represented as a separate group.²⁴

²³ 'graduate levels' encompasses all graduates of any discipline and level; it excludes non-graduating scholars. Those who were graduates of multiple disciplines are represented only once.

²⁴ The incumbents of the Isles and Orkney were not Scots in 1360; thus, the interval 'incumbents 1360' includes just eleven men.

Figure 1: Overview of Education, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560*



* Represents the 161 bishops analysed in the main body of the case study as percentages of the number of men appointed or nominated in a given interval; excludes the twelve bishops of the Isles, who are discussed separately.

The numbers of men provided in a given period are broadly comparable from 1360-1419 and 1460-1560; however, a pronounced dip in turn-over during the period 1420-1439 was followed by a spike, 1440-1459. Levels of education are represented as a percentage of those elevated to the episcopate in each interval.²⁵ Our overall study incorporates those provided to Galloway, the Isles and Orkney due to the practical alignment of these dioceses with the Scottish Church and their sourcing of bishops from the Scottish clergy for much of the period concerned. The evidence compiled for incumbent and would-be bishops of the Isles, however, exhibits such anomalies that their inclusion in the general analysis risks misrepresenting overarching trends. Their experience suggests rather an educational tradition particular to the Isles, in the fifteenth century at least, that merits separate discussion.²⁶ The overview of educational levels presented in Figure 1, therefore, excludes the twelve bishops of the Isles who were not elevated to another diocese at any point.²⁷

On closer examination, the overview illustrates a sharp increase in the percentage of known graduates (represented in blue), from relatively low levels (36%) amongst incumbents of 1360 to almost three-quarters (73%) of their successors in the following period (1360-1379). This doubling in graduate appointments to Scottish sees quickly established a high level of formal academic qualification amongst the episcopate that extended throughout the fifteenth century. A university degree or equivalent experience was firmly embedded as a recognised pre-requisite for diocesan promotion prior to the foundation of St Andrews. Seven of the fifteen men falling within the interval 1400-1419 were provided to dioceses following the establishment of Scotland's first university; we will see that one of these was an arts graduate of the new

²⁵ The periods 1420-1439 and 1440-1459 saw a drop, followed by spike in provisions. This was due partly to natural variations in turn-over in ecclesiastical positions customarily held until death, but also to the appointment of four anti-bishops to Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Ross and St Andrews (1440-1441).

²⁶ The Isles are discussed under section 3.10.

²⁷ These twelve men are excluded from all subsequent transitional studies. The three men provided to the Isles who also held, or were nominated to, other dioceses have been analysed as part of the main group: Michael Ochiltree, bishop of the Isles (1422-1429), bishop of Dunblane (1429-1447) (*Fasti*, 102, 264); Robert Montgomery, bishop of Argyll (1525-1533 x 1538), bishop-nominate of the Isles (1529) (*ibid.*, 36, 265); Alexander Gordon II, bishop-nominate of Caithness (1544-1548), archbishop-elect of Glasgow (1550-1551), archbishop of Athens (1551), postulate of the Isles (1553-1562), bishop-elect of Galloway (1559-1575). *ibid.*, 81-82, 173, 194, 267; Dowden, *Bishops*, 249-250, 292-293, 349, 374-375; *ALCP*, 553-554, 629; *Reg. Glasguensis*, ii, 567-570; *RPS*, A1560/8/1 (accessed, 22 August 2010).

institution, while two further bishops had perhaps taken advantage of the local foundation to secure degrees in decreets.²⁸ However, the establishment of St Andrews was too recent to impact significantly upon the education levels of this particular group.

The level of university experience – numbers of known graduates being supplemented by those with definite exposure to university training (represented in red) – peaked during the period 1420-1439 when all clerics nominated to Scottish sees, if not graduates, could cite some university experience.²⁹ However, this interval witnessed a relatively small number of provisions to dioceses – only nine – and it was perhaps the following period (1440-1459) in which this trend was fully realised, the percentage of known graduates climbing to 90%, with only Ninian Spot of the twenty-one bishops exhibiting no firm evidence of university training.³⁰ Such levels of university education, even if degrees were only partially completed in some cases, were sustained amongst the Scottish episcopate of the late-fifteenth century with only minimal decrease.

It would appear, though, that the turn of the sixteenth century heralded a shift in priorities amongst those seeking preferment to high ecclesiastical office. The percentage of known graduates dropped to around 60% across successive intervals 1500-1519 and 1520-1539, and still further to 46% in the period 1540-1560, while the number of bishops for whom there is no surviving evidence of education type or level (depicted in grey) rose between 1500 and 1539.³¹ This should not, however, be interpreted as a straightforward decline in educational standards amongst the Scottish episcopate of the pre-Reformation era. When the figure for known graduates is

²⁸ Thomas Tulloch I, Henry Lichon, and John Bulloch. For their profiles: n.62, 63, 64.

²⁹ For example, Columba Dunbar, bishop of Moray, 1422-1435 (*Fasti*, 280): studied arts at Oxford after the Dunbar family's defection to England (c.1400-1409), and claimed he had done so for several years in 1413. Watt, *Graduates*, 159-161. He was later styled MA (*Reg. Moraviensis*, 360); but, his graduation is unsubstantiated, and he did not employ the title in supplicating the papacy. *CPP*, i, 601; *CPL BXIII*, 282.

³⁰ Ninian Spot, bishop of Galloway, 1458-1482 (*Fasti*, 172): comptroller, official and chaplain to James II (*CSSR*, v, 136); he was styled MA. *RMS*, ii, 134 no. 605, 147 no. 683. However, Spot did not supplicate the papacy as MA (*CSSR*, v, 136, 199), and no evidence of his education survives in university registers. As bishop of Galloway, he was recorded in St Andrews' *Acta* as present during congregations held to resolve discontent (1459, 1460). *Acta*, 132 & n., 133.

³¹ The percentage of those for whom no indication of educational background has been traced increased during the intervals 1500-1519 and 1520-1539, but fell away entirely among appointments of 1540-1560.

augmented by the percentage of those who had some university experience but who did not follow their studies to degree level, and those who styled themselves graduates but for whom degree-holding is unsubstantiated (represented in yellow), the level of those who pursued some form of university training remains fairly high.

In fact, when the Scottish episcopate is examined in terms of collective university experience rather than known graduates, the stark drop in degree-holders (by 40%) between 1500 and 1560 is contrasted by a sharp rise in those exhibiting some university training towards the end of the period. Indeed, at 92% of those appointed to Scottish sees in the interval 1540-1560, the percentage of those with some university education (graduates and non-graduates) is broadly comparable with the high levels evident amongst those elevated in the mid-fifteenth century.³² The patchy nature of university records for the early sixteenth century may account, in part, for this apparent shift in the perceived value of a university degree amongst those aspiring to high ecclesiastical office.³³ However, while emphasis on degree-holding clearly declined amongst bishops of the sixteenth-century, the benefit of some university training – whether in terms of enhanced career prospects or, as we will see, preparation for office – was still recognised by those nominated to sees towards the end of the period surveyed here.

Just as the nature and level of education of the Scottish episcopate changed during the period concerned, so too did the subject and type of degree pursued at university level. Watt's study highlights that those educated in the higher disciplines of medicine, canon law (decreets), civil law, and theology could expect to secure more lucrative benefices than those with degrees in arts only.³⁴ In fact, Pope Clement VII had formally linked potential earnings to the level of degree obtained in a particular discipline. Thus, masters of arts could expect to receive provision to benefices valued at only three-fifths of those to which doctors in the higher disciplines were appointed.

³² For those with some university training, the interval 1540-1560 (92% of appointments) ranks third behind those of 1420-1439 (100%) and 1440-1460 (96%).

³³ Perhaps also for 'Incumbents, 1360', which interval exhibits similar patterns of university experience.

³⁴ Watt also suggested that discipline and level of degree(s) could determine the number of benefices a cleric might receive. Watt, 'University Graduates', 83-84.

Similarly, those content with lesser degrees in the higher disciplines stood to accrue only three-quarters of the earnings of their better-qualified colleagues. And, amongst the higher disciplines, degrees in theology commanded a premium; bachelors in theology could expect to receive the same income as licentiates in either law or doctors in medicine.³⁵

We might expect, therefore, that graduates appointed to the Scottish episcopate would hold degrees in at least one of the higher disciplines. However, it is clear that Clement's educational tariff was disregarded. A breakdown of university education shared by these men in terms of subject and level of qualification (Figure 2, below) illustrates that of the 128 bishops with some university training (again, excluding bishops of the Isles) only 36% held degrees in a higher discipline (represented in red and deep purple).³⁶ A further 7% could lay claim to having pursued higher studies without obtaining a qualification (depicted in light purple and pink), as did Bean MacGillanders who studied decreets at Paris but appears not to have graduated.³⁷ Thus, while graduates could expect to receive ecclesiastical promotions commensurate with their qualifications, less than half (43%) of the Scottish episcopate educated at university can be positively identified as having studied or graduated in a higher discipline. By contrast, a significant proportion were content to leave university with only an arts degree, or having undertaken some study of arts (15%, represented in light and deep blue), and this evidently did not inhibit their acquiring higher benefices.

³⁵ Clement VII (1378-1394) ruled that MA, LMed and BLaws graduates, and partially-qualified BTh (BTh *non formati*) could hope to earn benefices yielding 120 *livres* (*livres tournois*). DMed and LLaws holders, and fully-qualified BTh (BTh *formati*) might receive benefices valued at 150 *livres*. DLaws and DTh graduates could command benefices of 200 *livres*. Ottenthal, *Regulae Cancellariae Apsotolicae*, 99-100, no. 46. For theology degree stages: section 3.6.

³⁶ 128 bishops with some university training excludes university-educated Isles bishops (who held no other diocese), twenty candidates who may have studied at university, and two educated by other means.

³⁷ Bean MacGillanders (Bean Johannis), bishop of Argyll, 1397-1411 (*Fasti*, 36): recorded SchDec at Paris (1388 x 1389). MacGillanders was chaplain and secretary to Donald, Lord of the Isles when provided dean of Argyll (19 January 1389), and 'king's [Robert III] chaplain' in 1393. *CPP*, i, 573; Watt, *Graduates*, 287; *ALI*, 239, 259, nos. B1, B3; *CPL CVII*, 143, 192-193.

3.3 Incentives: the comparative value of arts and higher discipline degrees

These figures suggest not only that education in a higher discipline was not always recognised as the best means by which to secure advanced ecclesiastical preferment, but also that the papacy did not apply its educational ‘tariff’ in a substantial number of appointments to sees in late medieval Scotland. The number of Scottish bishops 1360-1560 who had pursued studies in at least one of the higher faculties (43%) falls short of Watt’s collective figure for Scots scholars generally between 1340 and 1410, 58% of whom had experienced some university training in medicine, theology or either law.³⁸ Watt makes no distinction in his summary between graduates and scholars; however, his narrative suggests that the majority of the 58% of Scots higher discipline scholars acquired degrees.³⁹ By contrast, only 36% of the Scottish episcopate 1360-1560 can be identified as higher discipline graduates. This comparison indicates, perhaps, that higher degree-holding among the bishops varied across our period in a similar way to that of education levels in general as discussed under Figure 1. That is, while those nominated to Scottish dioceses in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries had been inspired to pursue higher studies to enhance their career prospects, their successors were not necessarily imbued with the same drive or incentive.

Such developments in the pursuit of higher disciplines are discussed in greater detail under Figures 3a and 3b below, where comparisons are made with patterns evident in the arts training acquired by would-be Scottish bishops. However, while these figures suggest that levels of formal qualification amongst the episcopate, as identified by Watt up to 1425, were probably not maintained throughout the following 135 years, it is important to highlight that they do not necessarily speak of a dramatic decline in the educational attainments of Scottish bishops towards the Reformation. Figure 2 illustrates that, in addition to the 43% of bishops who can be identified as

³⁸ Watt, ‘University Graduates’, 79.

³⁹ Watt incorporated all university scholars as well as degree-holders in his group of graduates, citing the common medieval usage of the term ‘graduate’ to refer to those with some university training in arts or law but no degree. *ibid.*, 78-79 & n. In assembling career profiles for this study of the Scottish episcopate, every effort has been made to distinguish between graduates and scholars. Where some doubt remains, individuals have been classed as scholars of a particular discipline; possible scholars and/or graduates; those with some university experience; or, those with possible university experience, as appropriate.

having studied or graduated in a higher discipline, a further 23% remained at university after graduating with an arts degree (represented in orange), suggesting that some training in a higher discipline was in fact common to a much higher percentage (66%) of the Scottish episcopate 1360-1560.

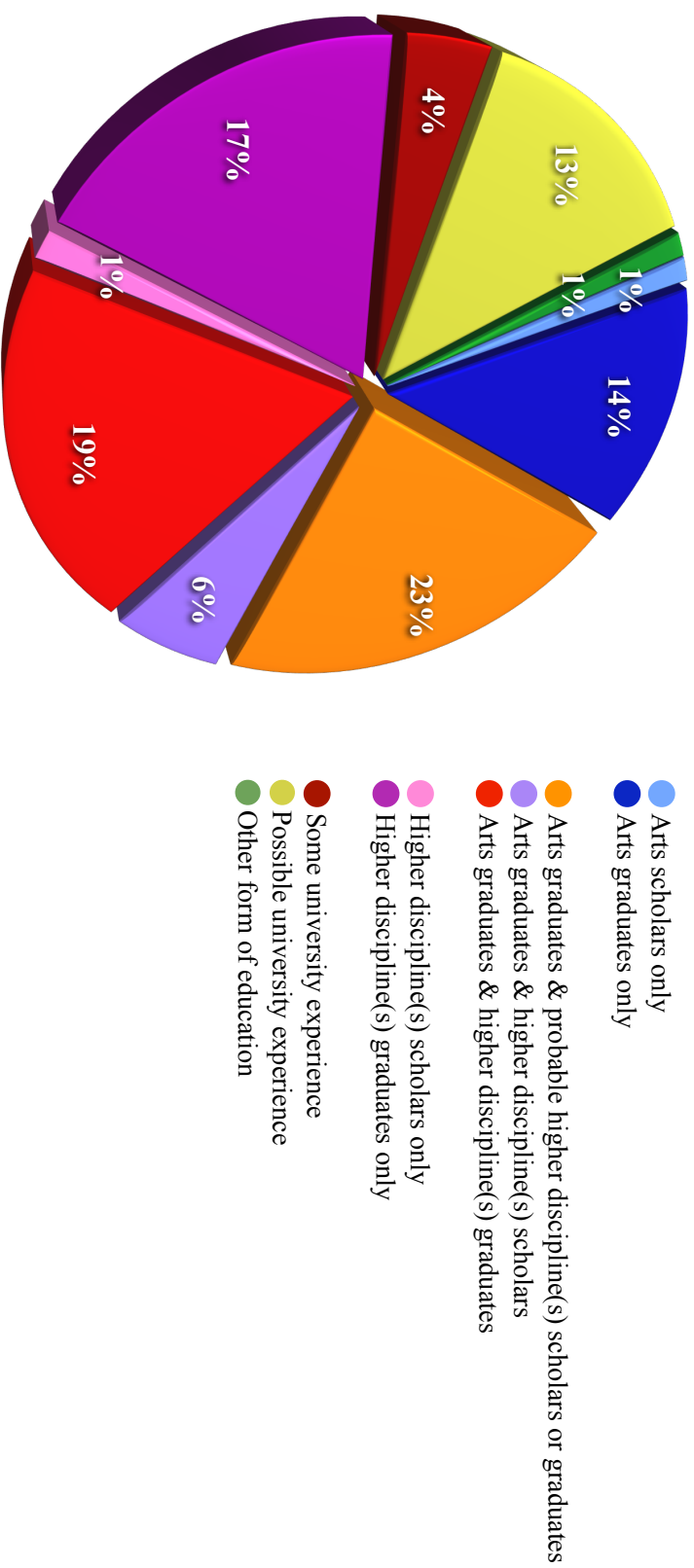
Some of these men were presumably engaged in teaching arts: for example, William Meldrum who graduated as licentiate in arts (LA) at St Andrews in 1467 and was present at proceedings brought by its faculty of arts against masters of St Salvator's College for poaching students on 9 March 1470.⁴⁰ None of Meldrum's graduating class was documented as having obtained the MA degree, which conferred entitlement to teach.⁴¹ However, Meldrum clearly remained active in the faculty of arts on completion of his studies there, and had a vested interest in the case determined in March 1470. This, and papal supplications in which he was styled 'Master' William Meldrum, suggest that his – and colleagues' – MA titles were omitted in scribal error; Meldrum was most likely fulfilling the obligation for MA degree-holders to teach the discipline for two years following graduation, while perhaps seeking clerical promotion or benefices supplementary to the vicarage of Crail to which he was provided on 22 January 1468.⁴² In so doing, it is conceivable that he also pursued studies in a higher discipline to enhance his prospects of such advancement.

⁴⁰ William Meldrum, bishop of Brechin, 1488-1514 x 1516 (*Fasti*, 55): is recorded as graduating as LA but not MA (*Acta*, 157, 160), although he was styled MA in supplications of 1467 and 1468. *CSSR*, v, 371 no. 1242, 373 no. 1246. He remained active in the faculty of arts at St Andrews for three subsequent years (at least), suggesting that he fulfilled his teaching obligations perhaps while engaged in study of a higher discipline. *Acta*, 170-173. Meldrum is not recorded as holding a higher degree, but may have dispensed with his studies before provision to the subdeanery of Brechin, in 1474. *Fasti*, 70.

⁴¹ The expectation that MA graduates would teach, termed the obligation *lectura*, accompanied inception as MA and customarily extended for two years. Increasingly, it was evaded by graduates of most universities and at Paris, was dropped from the statutes in 1452. J. Verger, 'Teachers', in *The University in Europe*, i, 144-168, at 146; Cant, *St Andrews*, 15 & n.

⁴² *CSSR*, v, 371 no. 1242, 373 no. 1246.

Figure 2: Nature and Levels of Education, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560*



* Represents the 150 men identified as educated bishops: excludes the eleven for whom no information concerning education survives; and the twelve bishops of the Isles, who are discussed separately.

Similarly Henry Wemyss graduated in 1508 as LA at St Andrews among a group in which none was recorded MA, and remained at the university for at least a further five years, perhaps fulfilling his teaching obligations in the first instance but subsequently presiding as a non-regent examiner. This would suggest that Wemyss, and colleagues exhibiting similar postgraduate careers, were no longer actively engaged in teaching but pursuing further study. Like Meldrum, Wemyss is not recorded as having graduated in a higher discipline, but his subsequent appointment as official of Galloway (9 December 1522) suggests that he devoted some of his additional time at St Andrews to studying decreets.⁴³

Others of the Scottish bishops 1360-1560 appear to have sought formal education in a higher discipline after elevation to the episcopate. David Hamilton, who received a MA degree from Glasgow in 1492 as ‘brother of the Lord Hamilton’, appears to have done so after being provided bishop of Argyll in 1497. At twenty-six years old and too young to receive consecration, Hamilton remained bishop-elect while pursuing further studies overseas. He was absent from Scotland for at least three years from late 1497, and was documented by the exchequer as studying at Paris in 1501.⁴⁴ Whether his initial arrival at Paris went unrecorded, or Hamilton had studied elsewhere prior to arriving at Paris, is unclear; so too is the nature of his studies, although he does not appear to have pursued them to degree level. Nonetheless, it would appear that this bishop of Argyll was motivated by a thirst for learning and a desire to widen his experience prior to assuming active administration of his see.

⁴³ Henry Wemyss, bishop of Galloway, 1526-1541 (*Fasti*, 173): like Meldrum, Wemyss was recorded LA on graduation but as M. Henry Wemyss in subsequent *Acta* minutes, suggesting that he did undertake some teaching. *Acta*, 284, 287. The minute recording his LA graduation is out of sequence and appears to have been added later. StAUL, UYUY411/1, fol. 127r. He appears as a non-regent examiner in 1509 and ‘examiner’ in 1513, while parson of Auchterderran (St Andrews diocese) and before provision as official of Galloway. *Acta*, 292, 304; *Fasti*, 180, 184; *RMS*, iii, 30-31 no. 145.

⁴⁴ David Hamilton, bishop of Argyll, 1497-1522 x1523 (*Fasti*, 36): at Glasgow (*Munimenta*, ii, 26, 102, 259); as a student while bishop-elect (Dowden, *Bishops*, 387-389; *ER*, xi, 372). In drawing comparison with Finlay Albany, bishop of Argyll, Iain MacDonald presents Hamilton as an ambitious cleric of the same mould. I. G. MacDonald, *The secular church and clergy in the diocese of Argyll from circa 1189 to 1560* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 2008), 53. Albany was heavily engaged in royal service and ecclesiastical diplomacy before election as bishop of Argyll (below n.54). By contrast, Hamilton had already received provision to the episcopate before seeking further education overseas. While Hamilton secured promotion to the episcopate rather more easily than Albany, his travels suggest he was an ambitious man.

Similar spells of postgraduate study are evident in the careers of a further thirty-one (thirty-four, when including the bishops of the Isles) of those nominated to the Scottish episcopate during our period. These years of formal training in higher disciplines could be quite protracted as was the case with Walter Stewart who was elected bishop of Dunblane by its cathedral chapter in 1447 but lost provision through the papal appointment of Robert Lauder.⁴⁵ Having graduated as MA at St Andrews in 1419, Stewart disappeared from the university's records for two successive periods of ten years: he resurfaced briefly as assessor to the dean of arts and on a committee for implementing reform in the faculty of arts in 1429, and with more regularity from 1438.⁴⁶ Stewart was perhaps engaged in papal service, or an unrecorded period of further study elsewhere during the first of these absences, and by 1433 he may have been actively fulfilling his role as archdeacon of Dunblane. Failing to secure provision to the bishopric of Dunblane was disappointing surely, but Stewart did not seek provision to an alternative diocese, nor was he an avid benefice-hunter. Rather, he was a committed academic, holding a succession of official positions in the faculty of arts and wider university at St Andrews both before and after his election as bishop.⁴⁷ Like Lawrence of Lindores, he perhaps preferred to focus his energies on the faculty of arts.

⁴⁵ Walter Stewart, bishop-elect of Dunblane, 1447 (*Fasti*, 102): the natural son of a deacon who was an illegitimate son of Robert III (*CSSR*, iv, 4 no. 15), Stewart was permitted to hold three benefices in compensation for his failed election, with dispensation for future provision to a diocese or arch-diocese. This remained unfulfilled. *ibid.*, v, 29 no. 113.

⁴⁶ Records concerning three other Walter Stewarts active in the early-fifteenth century complicate tracing Stewart's early career. The first died 1431 x 1434. *ibid.*, iv, no. 127. The second appears to have been studying decreets at Avignon in 1418, became a BLaws, was parson of Minto in 1448, and had died by 8 October 1454. *ibid.*, iv, 109 no. 448; v, 33 no. 127, 56 no. 226, 150 no. 545. The third graduated as BA at St Andrews in 1433. *Acta*, 36. The second poses greatest problems, but can be differentiated from the bishop-elect through their respective supplications to the papacy, 1433-1452. He supplicated variously as 'bachelor of laws', 'priest' or 'canon of Glasgow', 'parson of Minto'. See above, and *CSSR*, v, 124 no. 465. The bishop-elect styled himself 'M. Walter Stewart, archdeacon of Dunblane' (*ibid.*, iv, 4 no. 15; v, 72 no. 102), was recorded as such in the *Acta* (56, 116), and remained 'M. Walter Stewart' when supplicating the papacy as archdeacon of St Andrews in 1469 (*CSSR*, v, 403 no. 1343). His arts degree was recorded in the *Acta*, 13-14.

⁴⁷ Stewart's official roles at St Andrews, 1429-1469: rector (four times); assessor to the dean of arts (three times); bursar (three times); auditor (three times); deputy to the dean of arts (once); committee-member. *ibid.*, 24, 48, 50, 56, 58-60, 81-82, 84, 116-117, 119, 124, 128, 133, 146, 166. As archdeacon of St Andrews from 1457, he was also a conservator of the university's privileges. *ibid.*, 137. As a student, Stewart witnessed the first Buridan pronouncement of 1418. *ibid.*, 4. As a scholar, he voted to uphold the teaching of Buridanism against the reintroduction of Albertism in 1438 (*ibid.*, 48); this places him in the Lindores camp at early St Andrews. It was perhaps Lindores' death and the threat to Buridanism that inspired Stewart to return to St Andrews at the same time as Albertists seized the initiative there. For philosophical debate at St Andrews: sections 1.4, 2.2.

However, while Stewart is not recorded as a graduate of a higher discipline, the length of his academic career at St Andrews and his spells as rector in 1444, 1456 and 1460-1461, suggest he was recognised as a scholar of some distinction, presumably with some formal training in law or theology.⁴⁸

Strong academic inclinations are also evident in the careers of James Ogilvy I and Alexander Inglis, who continued to pursue studies after failed provision to dioceses: the former, as Felix V's anti-bishop of St Andrews in 1440; the latter, to Dunkeld in 1483. Ogilvy⁴⁹ focussed on scholarship, studying theology at various universities before assuming a teaching position in St Salvator's College, whereas Inglis appears to have secured his doctorate in civil law at St Andrews while fulfilling his role as archdeacon of the diocese.⁵⁰ These men are, however, recorded as graduates in theology and law. Among the 23% of educated bishops whose careers suggest some formal study of a higher discipline of which there is no record (Figure 2, orange), gaps in extant university muniments may account for the lack of references to degrees in some cases (e.g. Walter Stewart). For most of those included in this percentage, though, it appears that such spells did not extend to degree level. A substantial number of these men were educated and nominated to the episcopate in the later-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This will be revisited in greater depth in discussion under sections 3.5 and

⁴⁸ Customarily, a respected doctor or master was appointed rector. Cant, *St Andrews*, 9. There was a clear preference amongst those of the episcopate educated in higher disciplines for either law and, to a lesser extent, theology: section 3.6. For Walter Stewart as rector of St Andrews: *Acta*, 60, 116, 133, 146.

⁴⁹ James Ogilvy I, anti-bishop of St Andrews, 1440 (*Fasti*, 383): provided when vicar of Markinch (26 July 1440). *CPS*, 302-305, 496; *Acta*, 54. He graduated as BA at St Andrews (1429) and MA at Cologne (1434), before returning to St Andrews (by 1439). *Acta*, 25, 54; *Matrikel Köln*, i, 355, no. 176.2. Ogilvy studied theology at various institutions including Cologne, St Andrews and Vienna; he was styled BTh on matriculation at Vienna (1450), although where he took this degree is unclear. *Matrikel Wien*, i, 279. He appears to have completed his theological training at St Andrews while teaching at St Salvator's (c. 1454-1470), transferred briefly to Glasgow (c.1470-1474), before being provided provost of St Salvator's (1474). *Acta*, 107, 139-140, 142, 144-145, 150, 154, 156, 159, 162, 164, 166-167, 169, 192, 207, 458; *Munimenta*, ii, 78, 215-216. It is possible that Ogilvy was the DTh responsible for initiating theological instruction at Aberdeen; but, Hector Boece's recollection that this James Ogilvy was appointed the first professor of civil law there seems confused – the latter was James Ogilvy II (below n.171). Boece, *Episcoporum Vitae*, 91; Burns, *Churchmen*, 74; *CPS*, 496-497; Durkan, *Scottish Universities*, 529 & n.; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 320-321.

⁵⁰ Alexander Inglis, bishop-elect of Dunkeld, 1483 (*Fasti*, 128): nominated by James III when dean of Dunkeld and archdeacon of St Andrews (by 17 September 1483). E. Williamson, *Scottish Benefices and Clergy during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84): the evidence in the Registra Supplicationum*, ii (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1998), 615 no. 998; Dowden, *Bishops*, 78-79; *Fasti*, 137, 397. Inglis was styled DDec on appointment to Dunkeld, but was recorded as DUJ on his death in 1496. Dowden, *Bishops*, 78; *Acta*, 247.

3.6 below, but when considered along with the drop in graduates of higher disciplines apparent between the scholars of Watt's study and the bishops examined here, it reinforces the sense of a shift in educational priorities with respect to 'postgraduate' study amongst those aspiring to high ecclesiastical office in the second half of the period 1360-1560. It seems that a higher degree was no longer deemed the best means of securing preferment, though the careers of a significant proportion of the bishops in question suggest that students seeking distinguished ecclesiastical and administrative careers continued to recognise the benefits of some training in a higher discipline, albeit not to degree level. This shift might also reveal something of the readiness with which Scotland's new universities met demands for schooling in the higher disciplines, discussed more fully under Section 3.8 below.

Before we turn to the variations or patterns evident in education levels amongst the Scottish episcopate, it is worth considering the 18% of educated bishops who embarked upon higher study apparently having secured no formal qualification in arts (Figure 2, represented in deep purple and pink). The lesser status of an arts degree and premium afforded to degrees in medicine, law and theology, together with the function of arts as a preparatory course for theology in the medieval curriculum, has encouraged an assumption that an arts degree was the pre-requisite for all higher disciplines. However, it is not possible to impose such a definitive distinction between programmes of 'undergraduate' and 'postgraduate' study at medieval universities.⁵¹ Thomas Wedale, bishop of Galloway in 1360, for example, appears to have commenced an initial period of study in decreets at Paris before later taking an MA degree and resuming his studies in canon law.⁵²

In his study of Scottish scholars generally, Watt identified 120 students of either canon or civil law who held no arts degree; this figure amounts to 30% of the 400

⁵¹ Rashdall suggested that while students of decreets were not required to hold MA degrees, most tended to determine in arts (equivalent to BA qualification) before studying canon law. Rashdall, *Universities*, i, 329 & n. For discussion of medieval university disciplines and degree-levels: Introduction, n.10-16.

⁵² Thomas Wedale, bishop of Galloway, 1359-1362, (*Fasti*, 171): was recorded at Paris, but not as an arts student (1329 x 1336). He received a MA degree there under Walter Wardlaw (1344), remained at Paris as an administrator and regent (1344-1348), and was later styled '*jurisperitus*' and SchDec (1354). *ACUP*, i, 78, 81, 100, 109, 114, 116; Watt, *Graduates*, 579-580. Watt did not identify Wedale as the Thomas [no surname], bishop of Galloway (1359-1362), in *Graduates*; but, did so in his revised edition of *Fasti* (2003, p.171), citing A. D. M. Barrell, *Papacy*, 192-193.

scholars analysed and is broadly comparable to the number who were students only of arts.⁵³ Though smaller by comparison, the 18% of educated men nominated to the Scottish episcopate between 1360 and 1560 who were scholars or graduates of higher studies for whom extant university muniments offer no record of their graduation in arts is significant. Overwhelmingly, the twenty-seven men represented by this percentage pursued legal studies; only two – Finlay Albany⁵⁴ and John Woodman⁵⁵ – were graduates in theology. Given the role of arts as a preparatory course for theological studies, these exceptions might appear surprising. However, both men were members of religious orders and, as such, were probably schooled in arts prior to progressing to university for formal theological training. Nor should we assume that the twenty-five legal scholars had no training in arts whatsoever. We shall see that seven might be identified from non-university sources as ‘possible’ arts graduates; for the remaining eighteen, a good command of Latin grammar was essential at least, and had probably been gained at local parish or cathedral schools, or through private tuition. Nevertheless, in the academic careers of this group of twenty-seven, there survives no evidence in graduation rolls of the elementary qualification in arts – the determination

⁵³ Watt used this comparison to remind readers that law was an undergraduate degree at some universities. Watt, ‘University Graduates’, 79. Little emphasis was placed on the study of arts at institutions such as Orléans and the University of the Roman Court (Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 28-29, 140-141, 151); but, this should not undermine the value or weight attached to a law degree. Education in grammar was essential before embarking on legal studies, and some formal training in arts seems to have been required at Paris before pursuing law (above n.51). Thus, for our purposes, the loose distinction between arts and higher disciplines – including law – has been maintained.

⁵⁴ Finlay Albany, bishop of Argyll, 1420-1427 (*Fasti*, 36): Dominican friar and vicar-general of the order in Scotland (by 1409), was elected to Argyll by its cathedral chapter. Having received an open safe-conduct to study in England (1396), Albany graduated as BTh (by 1417). *CPS*, 261. Watt suggested that he became a friar on arrival in England, and acquired this degree before returning to Scotland in 1409. Watt, *Graduates*, 4. The thirteen-year period during which Albany seems to have made use of the safe-conduct, afforded him ample time to study arts as well as theology. However, the Dominican order prohibited its friars from studying in university arts faculties (Asztalos, ‘Faculty of Theology’, 416); had Albany become a friar immediately on arrival in England, he perhaps received training in grammar and arts within the order.

⁵⁵ John Woodman, bishop-elect of Ross, 1476 x 1481 (*Fasti*, 349): Augustinian canon, collated prior of Pittenweem and prior of Restennet (1465). Unsuccessful in both appointments, Woodman did secure provision as abbot of Jedburgh (1468) by which time, he had acquired a BTh degree. Watt, *Religious Houses*, 119, 146-147, 184; *CSSR*, v, 350 no. 1171, 353 no. 1181, 383 no. 1278, 441 no. 1462. Woodman enjoyed the patronage of James III, and was provided to Ross (by 20 August 1476). *ACSB*, 63; Dowden, 220.

or BA degree – that Rashdall suggested was commonly acquired prior to studying canon law.⁵⁶

Thus, the overview (Figure 1) and breakdown (Figure 2) of education shared by the Scottish episcopate 1360-1560 broadly support Watt's hypothesis with respect to levels of degree-holding among those provided to dioceses from c.1425 onwards. At the same time, they suggest certain qualifications should be introduced. The number of educated bishops, nominated 1360-1560, whose careers exhibit some formal schooling or qualification in a higher discipline is loosely comparable with that of Scots higher-discipline scholars generally between 1340 and 1410. However, in terms of degree-holding in a higher discipline, educational standards were not maintained among the episcopate in the later-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. The percentage of educated bishops who discerned no benefit in acquiring an arts degree in preparation for legal studies cautions us against applying assumed distinctions between 'undergraduate' and 'postgraduate' disciplines. Yet, the equally significant number who were content with an arts degree alone suggests that obtaining degrees in higher disciplines was not necessarily recognised as the only, or best, means of forging distinguished ecclesiastical careers. This is also evident in those bishops, mostly appointed from the turn of the sixteenth century, who embarked upon spells of higher study following elevation to the episcopate or high ecclesiastical office.⁵⁷ Similarly, the substantial percentage who seem to have engaged in short periods of higher study without graduating speaks of changing priorities among those aspiring to high ecclesiastical office. That said, this last shift also indicates continued recognition of the benefits of some higher study not just to secure preferment but also to prepare oneself to undertake the administrative and judicial tasks of a prominent ecclesiastical career.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Above, n.51.

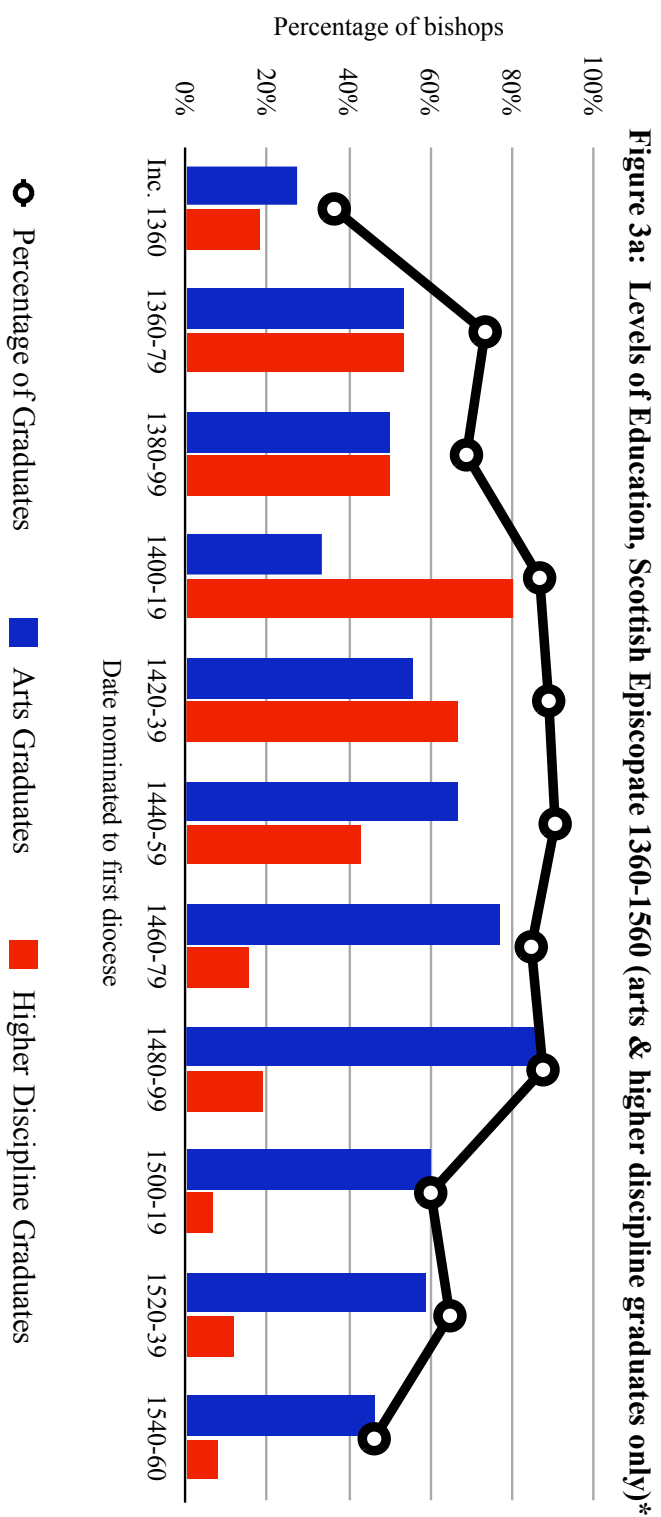
⁵⁷ David Hamilton: above, n.44. Robert Stewart: below, n.115. Alexander Stewart, archbishop-designate of St Andrews, 1504-1513 (*Fasti*, 384): received humanist schooling in private pedagogies attached to the universities of St Andrews, Padua, Siena, and Rome (c.1506-1508; below, n.118). Robert Montgomery, bishop of Argyll, 1525-1539 (*Fasti*, 36): was provided bishop at twenty-four years old, and matriculated at St Andrews as 'postulate of Argyll' (1525). Dowden, *Bishops*, 389-390; *Early Records*, 222. John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, 1547 x 1549-1571 (*Fasti*, 387): matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews, as 'abbot of Paisley' (1528-1529; below, n.107).

⁵⁸ Below, sections 3.5, 3.6, 3.9.

Figure 3a examines these themes further, in terms of fluctuations in levels of arts and higher discipline graduates among those appointed to the episcopate 1360-1560, relative to the overall percentage of graduates in the same group. Arts degree-holders are depicted in red; those with qualifications in higher disciplines, in blue; and the total percentage of graduates in black. In each twenty-year interval, those bishops who held degrees in arts and a higher discipline are represented in both columns, revealing varying degrees of overlap across the period in question. In the line depicting graduates collectively, each graduate is represented only once.

During the later-fourteenth century, variations in the number of arts graduates mirror those in the percentage of bishops who were degree-holders generally, as discussed under Figure 1 – at a slightly lower level. A sharp rise between the figure for arts graduates among the bishops incumbent in 1360 (27%) and their successors nominated to sees 1360-1379 (53%), was followed by a slight dip in the subsequent interval; at the turn of the fifteenth century, the percentage of arts graduates among those elevated to the episcopate was 50% while that of graduates generally was 69%. The opening decades of this century, however, witnessed a sharp divergence in these figures. While the latter climbed to 87% – a level more or less sustained throughout the fifteenth century – that for arts fell significantly among those appointed between 1400 and 1419, to 33%. An incremental rise in the number of arts graduates over the following sixty years peaked at 88%, in the interval 1480-1499, equalling the percentage of graduates generally among the episcopate at this point. The two levels having converged at the turn of the sixteenth century, a marked decline in the level of arts graduates mapped, almost exactly, that for degree-holders generally as discussed under Figure 1.

By contrast, from the turn of the fifteenth century, the level of higher degree-holders among those provided to Scottish dioceses followed a markedly different trajectory to that of arts graduates. Prior to this, it had mirrored the overarching



* Represents the 117 men identified as graduates among the bishops analysed in the main body of the study, as percentages of the number of men appointed or nominated in a given interval; excludes the graduates among the twelve bishops of the Isles, who are discussed separately. Graduates of arts and a higher discipline are represented in both blue and red columns / lines.

percentage of graduates almost exactly as the figure for arts graduates did – resting at 50% by 1399. However, while the number of those qualified in arts among Scottish bishops declined dramatically in the following interval, that for higher degree-holders surged to 80%, falling short of the aggregate number of graduates by just 7%. From this point, an incremental decline in those qualified in higher disciplines occurred in opposition to the steady rise in arts graduate numbers, although more steeply. Having fallen to just 15% of those bishops appointed during the interval 1460-1479, the percentage of higher degree-holders dropped still further to 6% at the turn of the sixteenth century and varied little for the remainder of the period.

Across the period 1360-1560, there were fifty-four graduates of a higher discipline among those provided or nominated to Scottish dioceses and we have seen from Figure 2 that this equates to 36% of those bishops for whom information concerning their educational background survives.⁵⁹ We have also seen that this statistic compares poorly to the number of Scottish scholars generally who acquired qualifications in a higher discipline during the period 1340-1410 (58%). However, Figure 3a illustrates that those elevated to the episcopate throughout the period 1360-1560 were not uniformly less-qualified than their ecclesiastical predecessors. Rather, 1420 marked a turning point. Prior to this, the level of higher degree-holders among those provided to Scottish sees (1360-1419) met or exceeded that for Scottish scholars generally between 1340 and 1410 as analysed by Watt. From 1420, however, those elevated to the episcopate appear to have set progressively less store by pursuing higher disciplines to degree level. This attitude seems to have become more pronounced among bishops appointed from the turn of the sixteenth century, who had been educated from 1460 onwards.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ These figures exclude those identifiable as higher discipline scholars, and those whose careers suggest a non-graduating period of higher discipline study. The 36% is based on the 150 bishops who comprise the main group of this study (excluding the eleven for whom no information concerning educational background survives).

⁶⁰ Of the fifteen men nominated bishops during the interval 1500-1519 (excluding two bishops of the Isles), Andrew Stewart II had been the first to pursue university studies (arts, 1460). For his studies at Glasgow and Paris: above n.21; *Munimenta*, ii, 197; *ACUP*, ii, 955. Of the rest provided between 1500 and 1519, if educated at university, most began their studies before 1500.

These patterns are more clearly evident in Figure 3b, which shows the trajectories discussed above (under Figure 3a) in linear form. The educational standards – in terms of qualifications in higher disciplines – established by Watt as the norm for bishops of the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century were realised almost uniformly by those nominated to Scottish dioceses between 1400 and 1419. Of the fifteen bishops elected or provided during this interval, thirteen were graduates and all of these, except Thomas Tulloch I, held degrees in a higher discipline.⁶¹ This Thomas Tulloch was one of the earliest graduates of St Andrews, having obtained his BA there in 1415. There survives no further record of Tulloch as a student and diocesan concerns consumed his attentions after his provision as bishop of Orkney in 1418, but he maintained close links with the university at St Andrews and Bishop Henry Wardlaw until the latter's death in 1440.⁶² As highlighted above, the early influence of St Andrews may also be evident in the academic careers of two others promoted between 1400 and 1419: Henry Lichon,⁶³ who perhaps sought to upgrade his qualification in decreets at the new university – from BDec to DDec – following his provision as bishop of Moray in 1415;

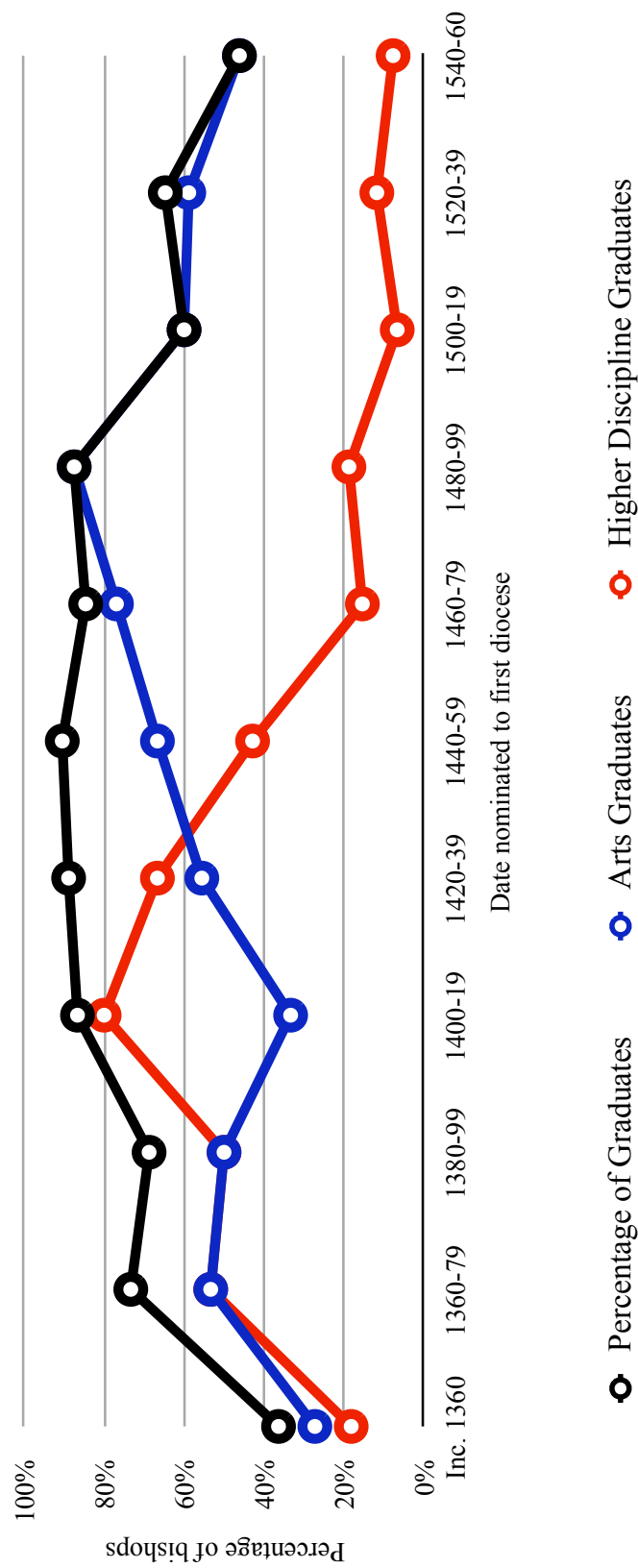
⁶¹ Exceptions for whom no information concerning formal education survives:

1. Eliseus Adougan, bishop of Galloway, 1406-1412 x 1415 (*Fasti*, 172): his relative, Thomas Adougan, graduated as MA at Paris (1403). *CPL BXIII*, 151; 'Thomas Adougan', Watt, *Graduates*, 3. This might suggest a tradition of university attendance among the Adougans; however, without evidence of Eliseus' education, he remains categorised as 'no information'. 2. Thomas Lyall, bishop-elect of Ross, 1416 x 1418. *Fasti*, 348; *CPL BXIII*, 371-372.

⁶² Tulloch's provision to Orkney (19 August 1418. *Fasti*, 327; *ACSB*, 2, 17; above, n.20) only three years after acquiring a basic arts degree, suggests that he was already well-schooled before matriculating at St Andrews. Tulloch may have followed the arts programme to BA level before seeking formal training in decreets – possibly at St Andrews – in accordance with the model outlined by Rashdall (above, n.51, 53), but quit his studies on provision to Orkney. He prevailed in litigation over the bishopric brought by William Stephenson (later bishop of Dunblane), and was commissioned by Eric of Norway to administer the earldom of Orkney (17 June 1420). *Fasti*, 102; Dowden, *Bishops*, 261. Tulloch's activities at St Andrews during 1437-1438 suggest he was aligned with the Wardlaw-Kennedy camp in opposition to adherents of the late Lawrence of Lindores. With Kennedy, he was enlisted to recover the mace and records of St John's College following Lindores' death (16 September 1437). *Acta*, 45-46. Tulloch also represented Wardlaw in pronouncing that bishop's decision to permit the teaching of Albertist realism alongside Buridan nominalism (14 November 1438). *ibid.*, 49; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 268-270.

⁶³ Henry Lichon, bishop of Moray, 1415-1422; bishop of Aberdeen, 1422-1441 (*Fasti*, 3, 280): qualified as LCv, BDec, by 1408, most likely at Orléans. Lichon secured papal dispensation to continue studying for five years, and was styled DCv by 1415. He acquired a DDec degree, apparently at St Andrews, after elevation to the episcopate. Watt, *Graduates*, 360-361; *CPP*, i, 639.

Figure 3b: Levels of Education, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560 (arts & higher discipline graduates only)*



* Represents the 117 men identified as graduates among the bishops analysed in the main body of the study, as percentages of the number of men appointed or nominated in a given interval; excludes the graduates among the twelve bishops of the Isles, who are discussed separately. Graduates of arts and a higher discipline are represented in both blue and red columns / lines.

and John Bulloch,⁶⁴ who may have obtained his BDec degree from St Andrews soon after its foundation. However, these were exceptions. The ten other university-educated men appointed to sees in this interval were schooled primarily on the continent, and before teaching was initiated at St Andrews in 1410.⁶⁵ Thus, in terms of qualifications in higher disciplines, those elevated to the episcopate in the interval 1400-1419 epitomised Watt's description of the 'hardy-spirited' Scots scholars who sought to further their careers by acquiring advanced university degrees, mostly at continental institutions.⁶⁶

This interval, however, was the high-water mark of Scottish bishops meeting Watt's profile with respect to qualifications in medicine, theology, or either law.⁶⁷ It was also the point at which graduates of higher disciplines who are not recorded as also holding a formal qualification in arts peaked. Such candidates accounted for eight of the thirteen graduates (62%) elevated to the episcopate between 1400 and 1419, which level was roughly double that witnessed in any other interval during the first century of

⁶⁴ John Bulloch, bishop of Ross, 1418-1439 x 1441 (*Fasti*, 349): Augustinian canon of St Andrews, he received provision to benefices in Dunkeld and St Andrews dioceses (1404-1409), and failed to secure the priory of St Andrews, before his appointment to Ross. Dowden, *Bishops*, 216-218; *CPL BXIII*, 198, 355, 368, 370; *ACSB*, 310; *CPS*, 268; *CPL*, vii, 287-288. Bulloch was styled BDec when supplicating for the priory (1417), though where he obtained this degree is unknown. *CPL BXIII*, 355; *CSSR*, i, 195. He most likely received education in arts and law at the priory, but it is possible that Bulloch took advantage of St Andrews University to acquire a decreets degree – perhaps driven by the need to quash a longstanding challenge to his possession of Dalgety (*CSSR*, i, 195), and aspirations of advancement.

⁶⁵ Except Gilbert Caven, bishop-elect of Galloway, 1412 x 1415 (*Fasti*, 172): styled 'student of decreets at Paris' (1406), and MA in safe conducts (1412-1413). Watt, *Graduates*, 93-94; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 202, 208. We might expect Caven to have acquired a BDec degree by 1410, but he was not recorded as such until 1415 when petitioning over Galloway. *CPL BXIII*, 318-319; *CSSR*, i, 220; *CPL*, vii, 152. Prior to this period of study, he was in the service of the countess of Douglas as chaplain and tutor to her son. *CPL BXIII*, 149-150. It seems that Caven punctuated service to the Douglasses with periods of scholarship, and perhaps broke his studies at Paris to negotiate with England on behalf of the earl (1412-1413). *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 202, 208; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 165, 194. Failure to secure Galloway perhaps motivated Caven to complete his degree.

⁶⁶ Mostly, those provided bishops between 1400 and 1419 attended the continental universities of Paris, Orléans and Avignon. However, Thomas Buittle, bishop of Galloway, 1415-1420 x 1422 (*Fasti*, 172), received a safe conduct to study at Oxford in 1380 (*Rot. Scot.*, ii, 20, 24) and claimed to have done so for five years (1388), before transferring to Avignon. Watt, *Graduates*, 70-72. Likewise, Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, 1403-1440 (*Fasti*, 383), received a safe conduct to study at Oxford in 1380 (*Rot. Scot.*, ii, 31); though, it is unclear if he did so before graduating as BA at Paris (1383), and acquiring successive degrees from Paris, Orléans and Avignon. *ACUP*, i, 648; Watt, *Graduates*, 564-568; below n. 255.

⁶⁷ Robert Shaw and William Schevez may have received some instruction in medicine at university level: below n.122, 123. However, little evidence survives to suggest that medicine was studied by any of the other bishops incorporated in this study.

our study. Of these six intervals, the years 1400-1419 were also distinct in exhibiting a pronounced disparity between the numbers of arts graduates, of higher discipline graduates, and of graduates of both arts and higher disciplines, among those appointed to dioceses. The respective levels for these categories, represented as percentages of the overall number of graduate bishops during the interval 1400-1419, were 7%; 62%; and 31%. By contrast, the interval 1440-1459, which witnessed a shift in the distribution of graduate bishops between these divisions – 53%; 26%; and 21% – as well as the relative dominance of arts degree-holders, appears to have marked a transition between the two centuries concerned in our study. Prior to 1440, graduates of higher disciplines, and both arts and higher disciplines, were dominant among those elevated to the episcopate; in the century following 1459, overwhelmingly, those appointed held qualifications only in arts. However, the divergent levels evident between these three categories of degree-holding during 1400-1419 were not witnessed again until the interval 1460-1479, when arts degree-holders were fully dominant among graduates appointed to Scottish sees, at 82%.

Table 1:

Nature of degree-holding among graduates, Scottish episcopate 1360-1560

Represents the number of degree holders in arts, in a higher discipline, or in both arts and a higher discipline, as percentages of the total number of graduates in each interval.

Interval	Arts Graduates	HD** Graduates	Arts and HD Graduates
Inc. 1360*	50%	25%	25%
1360 - 1379	27%	27%	46%
1380 - 1399	27%	27%	46%
1400 - 1419	7%	62%	31%
1420 - 1439	24%	38%	38%
1440 - 1459	53%	26%	21%

Interval	Arts Graduates	HD** Graduates	Arts and HD Graduates
1460 - 1479	82%	9%	9%
1480 - 1499	79%	0%	21%
1500 - 1519	89%	0%	11%
1520 - 1539	82%	9%	9%
1540 - 1560	83%	0%	17%

* Inc. 1360: incumbents of 1360; ** HD: higher discipline

Table 1 illustrates more clearly the distribution between these categories of qualification of bishops holding university degrees. In so doing, it also highlights the extent of overlap between the levels of arts degree-holders and higher discipline graduates among university-qualified men elevated to the episcopate in a given interval. Of Scotland's late-fourteenth century bishops, the incumbents of 1360 appear as distinct from their successors with a higher percentage of their graduate number being qualified only in arts – at 50%, the level for arts graduates in this interval is double that of either of the other two categories of degree-holding (25% respectively). We should exercise caution, however, in interpreting these figures in terms of patterns evident in the education of those bishops provided to sees from 1360 onwards. Only four of the eleven native incumbents of Scottish dioceses in 1360 can be clearly identified as graduates. Gaps in extant university muniments may explain the comparatively low level of degree-holding – in any discipline – among this group of bishops, and may go some way in accounting for the lack of student and / or graduation records for a further four incumbents of 1360 who perhaps had some experience of university education. Martin Argyll, bishop of Argyll in 1360, for example, being a member of the Dominican

order, may have studied theology at a university.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, John Pilmour, bishop of Moray 1326-1362, was styled ‘master’ when acting for Bishop William Sinclair of Dunkeld in 1317, and may have been the Master John Clonkerdim who served as procurator for Coupar Angus Abbey with William Pilmour in 1320. The former Pilmour seems to have spent much of his early career overseas, perhaps engaged in papal service, and while there is no record of his attending university, he was clearly an educated man who may have earned his ‘master’ status at the University of the Roman Court while working at the curia. This institution specialised in decreets and civil law and, if Pilmour did in fact obtain a qualification there, the styling of him as ‘master’ perhaps reflected an advanced qualification in either law.⁶⁹ Arguably, his commitment to facilitating education at university level is evident in his completing the foundation of the Scots College at Paris, initiated by his predecessor as bishop, David Moray.⁷⁰ Alternatively, he may have received the title in recognition of papal service.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Martin Argyll, bishop of Argyll, 1342-1382 x 1387 (*Fasti*, 35): Dominican, for whom no record of educational background survives. Watt suggested that as a friar, Argyll most likely had some experience of university. Watt, *Graduates*, 181-182. Foggie discusses the Dominican order’s sophisticated three-tier education system, the top level of which offered theology training in international schools or university colleges also known as *studia generalia*. J. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland* (Leiden, 2003), 101. Some of these were based in university towns and were attached to theology faculties, as at Paris, Oxford and Cambridge; some assumed the role of theology faculty in particular institutions, as at Erfurt and Cologne; others were established prior to the foundation of universities, as at Montpellier. Asztalos, ‘Faculty of Theology’, 414-417. We might expect then, that Argyll – and fellow Dominicans Adam Lanark and Finlay Albany – had received some schooling at one of these *studia*. Adam Lanark, bishop of Galloway, 1363-1378 (*Fasti*, 171), was styled ‘master’ in a safe conduct of 1364. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 881. This may reflect a period of university training, but unlikely in arts as Dominicans were prohibited from studying in arts faculties. For this, and Albany: above, n.54.

⁶⁹ John Pilmour, bishop of Moray, 1326-1362 (*Fasti*, 279): was perhaps the papal choice for provision to Moray, being present at the papal court in Avignon. *Reg. Moraviensis*, 359-360. Watt linked Pilmour to the Clonkerdim reference, suggesting that ‘Clonkerdim’ was a seventeenth-century copyist’s error for ‘de Dunkeldensis’. Watt, *Graduates*, 450-451. The nature of Pilmour’s early career is unclear, but little evidence survives of his activities in Scotland before elevation to the episcopate. This may indicate that he pursued prolonged periods of overseas study or papal service, or undertook both while attached to the University of the Roman Court. This institution moved locations with the curia and was foremost a centre for training in decreets and civil law, although it did host a faculty of theology and seems to have accepted students in arts and medicine from the fifteenth century. Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 28-29.

⁷⁰ Bishop David initiated the foundation of the Scots College through a land grant in 1325, confirmed – after his death (January 1326) – in August 1326, and the Parlement of Paris endorsed its establishment in July 1333. J. Durkan, ‘The Scots College Paris’, *IR*, ii (Glasgow, 1951), 112-113; J. Durkan, ‘Grisy burses at the Scots College, Paris’, *IR*, xxii (Glasgow, 1971), 50-52.

⁷¹ As a courtesy, the papacy also conferred the title ‘master’ on those acting as papal chaplains. ‘Walter Danielston’, Watt, *Graduates*, 142. It is possible then, that those bishops of this study styled ‘master’, but whose formal qualifications are unsubstantiated, earned their title through papal service.

The unsubstantiated educational backgrounds of Argyll and Pilmour highlight difficulties in drawing conclusions regarding the university experience of Scottish bishops in 1360. By contrast, patterns of degree-holding among those elevated to the episcopate during the remainder of the fourteenth century were remarkably uniform. Table 1 illustrates that of those educated to degree level and provided to dioceses during intervals 1360-1379 and 1380-1399 (73% and 69% of appointments respectively), a significant proportion was educated at university in both arts and a higher discipline (46%); this is almost double the number of those who pursued degrees either just in arts (27%) or in a higher discipline (27%) in both intervals. We have seen that the turn of the fifteenth century witnessed the peak of higher degree-holding among those appointed to Scottish sees and that the interval 1400-1419 (highlighted in blue, Table 1) thus broke with established educational patterns. Those qualified only in a higher discipline were dominant among their colleagues, accounting for 62% of the 87% of bishops promoted during these years who were educated to degree level. Meanwhile, the number of those holding qualifications in both arts and a higher discipline was significantly lower for the first time since 1360 (31%), and those who left university education on completing an arts programme accounted for just 7% of degree-holders appointed to dioceses from 1400-1419.

The balance between the three categories of graduates was redressed among their immediate successors 1420-1439, paving the way for the transitional interval 1440-1459, in which those qualified only in arts became dominant (53% of the 91% of graduate appointments to Scottish sees). As suggested, this interval (highlighted in blue, Table 1) marked a point of departure from the overarching pattern of degree-holding among those elevated to the episcopate in the first century of our study. Thereafter, those holding only arts degrees far exceeded those qualified in both arts and a higher discipline, or those educated only in the latter. From 1460, an arts degree clearly became the preferred qualification among those establishing distinguished ecclesiastical careers; the level of arts degree-holders remained consistently high, accounting for between 79% and 89% of graduate provisions to Scottish dioceses. By contrast, the number of those qualified in both arts and a higher discipline among

university-educated bishops was generally much lower from 1460 onwards than during the first century of our study, fluctuating between 9% and 21%; while that for degree-holders only in a higher discipline dropped to 9% of graduate bishops during the interval 1460-1479, a low from which it never recovered.

Of those elevated to the episcopate during the transitional period 1440-1459, all twenty-one had some experience of university education, and all – save James Douglas, future ninth earl of Douglas, nominated anti-bishop of Aberdeen in 1441 – were graduates (91% of those provided to Scottish dioceses during this interval).⁷² Collectively, these degree-holding bishops pursued their studies between c.1410 and c. 1470; the majority had secured their qualifications by 1448 although, as highlighted, James Ogilvy I continued to accrue degrees in theology following his provision as anti-bishop of St Andrews in 1440. 74% held degrees in arts and, overwhelmingly, these were obtained from St Andrews. Nine of the fourteen arts degree-holders graduated from St Andrews, while a further three began their arts studies there before transferring to Paris or Cologne; just one conducted his full arts training at Paris. (No record of where George Schoreswood obtained his MA qualification survives.) Furthermore, there is some evidence of pursuing higher studies at St Andrews in the careers of certain of these graduate bishops, but this is significantly more limited and primarily restricted to those who pursued only part of their degree programme at the university. Thomas

⁷² Excluded from this interval: John Hectoris MacGilleon, bishop of the Isles, 1441-1472. *Fasti*, 264.

Livingston⁷³ and William Turnbull,⁷⁴ for example, appear to have commenced training in theology and decreets respectively before transferring to other institutions; while, as we have seen, Walter Stewart and James Ogilvy I chose to forge academic careers there following failed provision to the episcopate and the latter, at least, obtained his MTh degree from St Andrews.

It might appear, then, that there was some degree of correlation between the foundation and development of local universities in Scotland and the apparent shift in educational priorities among those aspiring to advanced ecclesiastical or administrative careers. Certainly, the foundation of St Andrews seems to have had a considerable impact on those promoted to the episcopate in this interval (1440-1459). Its influence was, admittedly, more limited on those who pursued studies in a higher discipline, and the number of such graduates did remain fairly high at this point (47% of graduate bishops). It was perhaps the case that scholars of law or medicine had chosen either to forego an arts degree with a view to securing a higher degree overseas, or to undertake training in arts at home before transferring to a continental institution. Nonetheless, the comparative accessibility of the new university at St Andrews and reduction in travelling expenses through pursuing degrees at home appear to have provided sufficient incentive – particularly among those pursuing an arts programme – to stimulate change in traditional patterns of university attendance among Scots scholars.

⁷³ Thomas Livingston, anti-bishop of Dunkeld, 1440 (*Fasti*, 128): as abbot of Dundrennan, was provided to Dunkeld by Felix V during the Little Schism. *CPS*, 305-307. Before becoming a Cistercian (1422), Livingston acquired BA and MA degrees as one of the first group of St Andrews graduates (1414, 1415). *Acta*, 1, 5. He seems to have remained there, perhaps for a further eight years, before matriculating in theology at Cologne (1423); was styled BTh in August 1424, and accepted as a MTh at Cologne in 1425. *Matrikel Köln*, i, 253, 137.10; *CPS*, 490. Given the duration of the theology programme (Introduction, 4; below, section 3.6), this suggests that Livingston received most of his theology tuition at St Andrews, perhaps while teaching arts; certainly, he had remained active as an examiner in the arts faculty. *Acta*, 14. See also: D. Shaw, 'Thomas Livingston, A Conciliarist', *RSCHS*, xii (Glasgow, 1954-1956), 120-155.

⁷⁴ William Turnbull, bishop of Dunkeld, 1447; bishop of Glasgow, 1447-1454 (*Fasti*, 128, 192-193): was educated at St Andrews, acquiring BA and MA degrees (1418, 1420). *Acta*, 14, 16. He appears to have remained there for almost a decade, perhaps teaching arts while studying decreets; on election as dean of arts (1430), Turnbull's qualifications were recorded as 'MA, LDec'. *Acta*, 25. He transferred to Louvain in 1431 (*Matricule Louvain*, i, 49 no. 21), where he was styled just BDec (1434). *CPL*, viii, 482. It is possible that Turnbull was required to retake part of his legal training or examinations on arrival at Louvain, although his studies there were heavily punctuated by stints of papal and royal service from 1433 – as a papal chamberlain and member of the papal household, and representative of James I. *CPL*, viii, 281, 482; ix, 554; Burns, *Churchmen*, 37-38; Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 13. By 1439, he had enrolled at, and graduated from Pavia, as DDec. *Codice Diplomatico dell'Università di Pavia*, ed. R. Maiocchi, ii.1 (Pavia, 1915), 393.

Before exploring the impact of Scotland's universities on patterns of attendance in greater depth (see discussion of Figures 5 and 8 below), further examination of the type and level of schooling received in both arts and the higher disciplines may shed additional light on changes in the educational preparation of those elevated to the episcopate during our period. Figures 1, 3a and 3b suggest patterns in degree-holding among graduates provided to Scottish sees. Analysing the bishops purely in terms of known graduates, however, obscures certain aspects of the collective educational background of the Scottish episcopate 1360-1560.

Of those for whom some evidence of education survives, 13% – including Martin Argyll and John Pilmour – were most likely university scholars or graduates, but cannot be positively identified as such (Figure 2, represented in yellow). We have also seen that Thomas Tulloch I's time as an arts student at St Andrews was brief; as such, it was atypical of most arts degree-holders examined here and may indicate that on graduating as BA, Tulloch quit the arts programme to pursue studies in law for an unrecorded period.⁷⁵ If so, he can be grouped with the 23% of educated bishops who, on graduating as LA or MA, pursued studies in a higher discipline without obtaining a qualification (Figure 2, depicted in orange). Examining the bishops purely in terms of graduates conceals such transfers between disciplines where programmes of study were not pursued to degree level, while obscuring patterns in the number of those who remained at university as scholars and teachers to further their academic and clerical careers. Similarly, analysis of degree-holders masks short spells of university attendance in the careers of the 4% of educated bishops who were incorporated at particular institutions but appear not to have graduated (Figure 2, depicted in deep red), or who were educated in private pedagogies attached to universities. It also hides those such as John Bulloch and John Woodman, who perhaps received most of their schooling within the Augustinian order before obtaining a formal qualification from a university, as well as the 1% of graduate bishops who appear to have been educated entirely outwith the university system (Figure 2, represented in green).⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Above, n.62.

⁷⁶ Bulloch: above, n.64. Woodman: above, n.55.

3.4 Programmes of Study: the ‘undergraduate’ experience

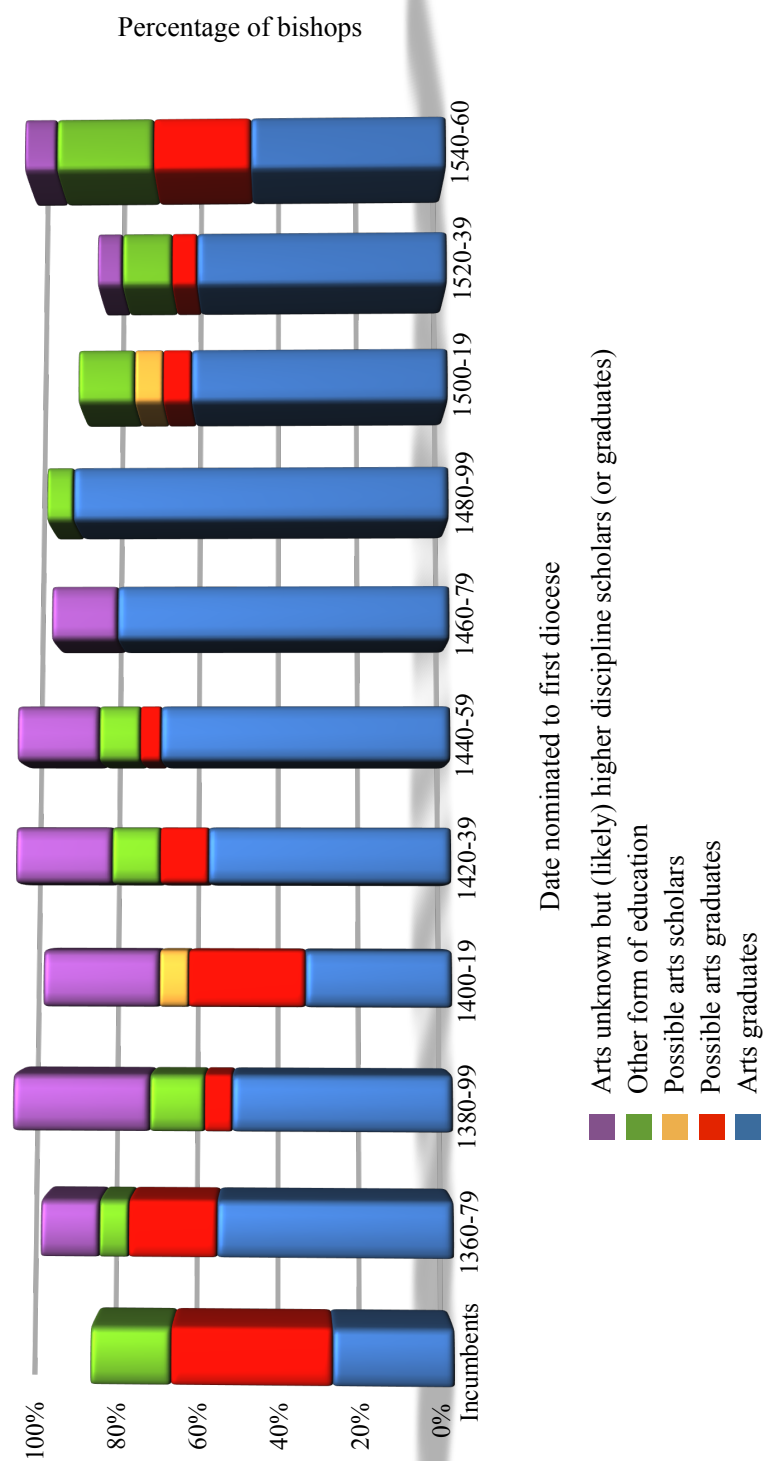
Of the 161 men constituting the main group of bishops examined here (excluding those of the Isles), information concerning their education survives for 150. Figure 4 represents these 150 clerics in terms of schooling in arts, ninety-two of whom (61%, or 57% of the group of 161) can be positively identified as arts graduates (represented in blue). The majority (eighty-five) had followed the full arts programme, and graduated as LA or MA on passing the licence exam at the end of four years of study. Only Thomas Tulloch I appears to have terminated his arts studies on determination during his third year, although a further six arts degree-holders are documented only as BA graduates despite their later being styled, or active, as masters of arts.⁷⁷ John Sinclair, for example, who was canon of Provan (Barlanark) when graduating as BA at St Andrews in 1456, is not recorded as having progressed to the licence exam but was incorporated at Glasgow as ‘Master John Sinclair, lord of Provan’ in 1470.⁷⁸ Similarly, no record survives of Patrick Hepburn, who became a BA at St Andrews in 1513, progressing to secure a MA degree; however, he was styled ‘Master’ when acting as spokesperson for Prior John Hepburn (his uncle), in 1523, and again two years later when witnessing letters issued by James V, which confirmed the privileges of St Andrews University.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ These men are listed as BA(MA) in the ‘Arts’ column under Appendix 2. Dowden suggested Robert Maxwell, bishop of Orkney, 1526-1540 (*Fasti*, 328-329), was styled ‘doctor of arts, chancellor of Moray’ in *ALCP*, xxxvii, 179. Dowden, *Bishops*, 264. While similar references in *ALCP* have been substantiated, this has not. The title doctor, customarily was not applied to arts degrees, but was reserved for higher disciplines and equated to a mastership. Maxwell is identifiable as the BA graduate of Glasgow (1502), and although his MA graduation is not documented, he is recorded ‘M. Robert Maxwell’ in subsequent *Munimenta* entries. *Munimenta*, ii, 115, 117, 280, 131, 137, 138.

⁷⁸ John Sinclair, bishop-nominate of Caithness, 1484 (*Fasti*, 81, 341): as archdeacon of Shetland, he was provided to Caithness, but failed to secure consecration. The prebend of Provan, formerly Barlanark, was attached to Glasgow Cathedral. For his academic career: *Early Records*, 33; *Acta*, 110 & n; *Munimenta*, ii, 77.

⁷⁹ Patrick Hepburn, bishop of Moray, 1538-1573, (*Fasti*, 282): matriculated at St Andrews (1509) and determined as BA (1512), listed as a wealthy student ‘dives’. *Early Records*, 204; *Acta*, 304. An addition to his incorporation record styled Hepburn ‘Prior of St Andrews’. StAUL UYUY305/1, fo. 57. No record of his MA graduation survives, but he was styled ‘M. Patrick Hepburn, parson of Whitsome’ in 1521 (*Evidence*, iii, 181); and as spokesman for his uncle, Prior John Hepburn, when raising a proposal concerning the election of examiners. *Acta*, 340. As a cleric, he was co-adjutor and successor to his uncle as Prior of St Andrews (1524, 1526 respectively); before receiving James V’s nomination to Moray and the commendatorship of Scone (1538). Watt, *Religious Houses*, 191; *James V Letters*, 342-345.

Figure 4: Nature of Arts Education, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560*



* Represents the 150 identified as educated men among the bishops analysed in the main body of the study, as percentages of the number of men appointed or nominated in a given interval: excludes the eleven for whom no information concerning education survives; and the educated among the twelve bishops of the Isles, who are discussed separately.

Similarly, thirteen bishops listed as LA on graduating are styled ‘Master’ in subsequent records. Of these, Walter Danielston⁸⁰ perhaps earned this status by virtue of serving as a papal chaplain; while we have seen that Gilbert Greenlaw assumed the title erroneously.⁸¹ However, five – including William Meldrum and Henry Wemyss – obtained their degrees from St Andrews among groups in which no graduate was documented as obtaining the masters’ insignia.⁸² Meldrum and Wemyss appear to have undertaken the teaching obligation customarily attached to the MA degree following graduation, which indicates that their MA titles (and perhaps those of fellow scholars in their respective groups) were omitted from the records in error. The same may be true of other graduate bishops documented simply as LA.

While graduation records perhaps misrepresent the qualifications of some of these thirteen future bishops, documentation is ambiguous or does not survive for a further seventeen. We are unable to substantiate place or dates of study for these men as arts scholars, but their subsequent academic careers and the frequency with which they are styled ‘Master’ allows us to classify them as arts graduates. Malcolm Drumbreck, for example, is not recorded as a graduating student, but was active in the faculty of Arts at Paris in the 1350s as procurator representing the interests of the English nation.⁸³ He assumed these responsibilities from John Reid – another of our bishops – who appears to have left Paris in 1350; Drumbreck may also have inherited Reid’s duties as

⁸⁰ Walter Danielston, bishop-nominate of St Andrews, 1402 (*Fasti*, 382-383): elected bishop at the duke of Albany’s insistence and received the fruits, but died before being consecrated. Dowden, *Bishops*, 29. Danielston had obtained the LA degree by 1392. He was styled MA the following year and BLaws in 1396; although, Watt suggested the MA was a courtesy title afforded to papal chaplains and his actual qualifications were LA, LCiv. *CPP*, i, 577; *ACUP*, i, 660; Watt, *Graduates*, 142.

⁸¹ Above n.22.

⁸² These men are listed as LA(MA) in the ‘Arts’ column under Appendix 2. For Meldrum: above, n.40. For Wemyss: above, n.43.

⁸³ Malcolm Drumbreck, bishop of Caithness, 1369-1379 x 1380 (*Fasti*, 80): is not recorded as an arts graduate of Paris. However Drumbreck’s representation of the English nation and assumption of Reid’s responsibilities suggest his connection with the arts faculty was well established, most likely through his own studies within the faculty. *ACUP*, i, 143-144; ‘John Reid’, Watt, *Graduates*, 467.

regent.⁸⁴ There is difficulty too in establishing John Fraser's academic career with certainty, although contemporary records style him 'Master' with such regularity that the title appears a true testament of his arts qualification. He seems to have obtained his MA degree at St Andrews, possibly in 1469, or more likely, in November 1473. It also seems that Fraser – later bishop of Ross – remained at St Andrews as the Master John Fraser who studied and lectured in decreets, and who interrupted his tenure as dean of arts there to conduct business affecting the College of St Salvator and Archbishop Schevez in Rome, before returning to act as rector.⁸⁵ A later reference to Fraser dying at seventy-eight years old in 1507 might cast doubt over this academic profile by placing him at forty years old in 1469 and unlikely, therefore, to be either Fraser recorded at St Andrews in 1469 and 1473. However, the nature of his early benefice holding undermines the validity of this seventeenth-century source.⁸⁶ Fraser was clearly an educated man, who later served as Clerk of Rolls and Register as well as councillor to James IV; while we may not be able to identify his particular graduation record, his recognised MA status allows us to classify him an arts degree-holder.

⁸⁴ John Reid, bishop-elect of Dunkeld, 1369 x 1370 (*Fasti*, 126): elected by the Dunkeld chapter, but lost provision to royal candidate, John Carrick, and received the deanery of Ross in compensation. Reid graduated as MA at Paris in May 1350. He left within four months, requiring another master to honour not only his official role, but also his regenting obligations to students; Drumbreck may have done both. *ACUP*, i, 115, 142-144; Watt, *Graduates*, 467.

⁸⁵ *Acta*, [159, 167] 186, 189, 206-208, 210-212.

⁸⁶ John Fraser, bishop of Ross, 1497-1507 (*Fasti*, 350): elected bishop by the Ross chapter, perhaps on the endorsement of James IV. *TA*, i, 314. If Fraser died at seventy-eight years old (*The Chronicles of the Frasers ... by Master James Fraser*, ed. W. Mackay, (Edinburgh, 1905), 120), he was born c.1429 and we might expect him to have undertaken university studies during the 1440s. He might then, have been the John Fraser of Inverness, matriculant at Vienna in 1456. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', 319. We might also expect him to be recorded as holding benefices prior to 1476, but there is no evidence of a clerical or official career before this date. Fraser suggested Bishop John was also prior of Beaulieu and abbot of Melrose (*Chronicle Frasers*, 115, 124), but Watt and Shead reject this. Watt, *Religious Houses*, 16-17, 151-152. Rather, it seems that the bishop succeeded his father to a chaplaincy in Abernethy collegiate church (Dunblane diocese) in the early 1470s, before receiving collation to Wemyss parish church (Dunkeld diocese) c.1475, and the provostship of Abernethy c.1476. A supplication of 1477 describes Fraser as 'MA, BDec', in recent receipt of dispensation for promotion to holy orders. This, with regular supplications for lesser benefices in St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Moray dioceses during the 1470s-1480s, suggest that Fraser was shaping a clerical career at this point and so was unlikely to be the septuagenarian on death. Williamson, *Scottish Benefices*, ii, 453, 455, 463, 475, 478, 488, 493, 548-550, 567, 597, 951; *Fasti*, 444; *RMS*, ii, 321-322 no. 1538. More likely, he was born c.1452, and was the St Andrews MA graduate of 1473 who remained to study law, graduating as LDec by 1483. If so, Fraser seems to have been examined and received as MA in advance of the customary exam diet, and within just eight months of becoming BA. *Acta*, 186, 189, 206-208, 210-212.

These examples highlight certain difficulties in using extant graduation rolls, and cautions us against doing so without recourse to additional material. Further to the ninety-two known arts graduates, Figure 4 also identifies nineteen men classified as possible arts graduates (represented in red). This group encompasses ‘assumed’ graduates, who were recorded as ‘Master’ only rarely and for whom insufficient supporting evidence survives to classify them as known arts degree-holders. We have seen that John Pilmour, styled ‘Master’ perhaps twice and for whom no firm evidence of university education survives, fits this description. So too does William Rae – incumbent of Glasgow in 1360 – who appears as ‘Master’ only once, when provided dean of Glasgow in 1336.⁸⁷ Gaps in muniment material may account for the lack of graduation record in some of these ‘assumed’ cases, as with John Innes I and Donald Campbell. Innes was recorded as ‘MA, BLaws’ on elevation to the diocese of Moray in 1407, but documentation of Innes’ MA graduation no longer survives; nor was he styled MA when receiving support from the then bishop of Moray, Alexander Bur, to continue to study decreets at Paris in 1396.⁸⁸ While Innes was perhaps one of our scholars who embarked upon a legal programme without holding a formal qualification in arts, he may also have studied arts at Paris during the years 1383 and 1392 for which the records of the English nation are no longer extant.⁸⁹ Similarly, Donald Campbell was recorded as ‘Master’ and clerk of Argyll on provision as abbot of Coupar Angus in 1525; he had matriculated at St Andrews only three years before, but does not appear to

⁸⁷ William Rae, bishop of Glasgow, 1339-1367 (*Fasti*, 191): was styled ‘M. William Raa’ when in receipt of an abortive provision to the deanery of Glasgow. *ibid.*, 198. This solitary reference to Rae as ‘Master’ caused Watt to afford him only cursory mention in his biographical dictionary of Scottish graduates.

⁸⁸ John Innes I, bishop of Moray, 1407-1414 (*Fasti*, 280): elected by the Moray chapter, and provided by Benedict XIII. *CPL BXIII*, 159. Styled ‘Master’ in 1390, and on provision to Moray, but was recorded without an MA title on receipt of Bur’s grant. Watt, *Graduates*, 278-279; *Reg. Moraviensis*, 206, 360. Innes may have studied arts at Paris (1380s), and returned to Elgin to act as a clerk to Bishop Bur before heading to Paris c.1393 to study decreets. He was styled ‘BDec’ by 1397, suggesting Bur’s grant had allowed Innes to undertake this degree; and, was recorded as ‘BLaws’ on provision to Moray. There is no record of Innes studying anywhere other than Paris, however, and ‘BDec’ might reflect his qualifications more accurately. *CPL BXIII*, 75; *Reg. Moraviensis*, 360; Watt, *Graduates*, 278-279.

⁸⁹ The gap in these records extends from 24 April 1383 – 5 April 1392. *ACUP*, i, 660-661.

have graduated.⁹⁰ The fourth son of Archibald Campbell, he was born 1485 x 1502 and may have received private tuition before enrolling as a ‘mature’ student. Campbell was not classed as a MA on entry to St Andrews and he possibly sought formal recognition of his existing education as well as some training in a higher discipline. His subsequent roles as commissioner for visiting Cistercian houses, an extra-ordinary senator of the College of Justice, and a royal administrator suggest he had received some schooling in law.⁹¹

On account of the lack of arts graduation records for Innes I and Campbell, and lack of clarity concerning their early academic careers, these ‘assumed’ graduates are classified as possible arts degree-holders for our purposes. This group also extends to those bishops whose graduation may be documented, but cannot be identified as the scholar in question with certainty. We have seen the difficulties in determining which Andrew Stewart was incorporated at Paris in 1465, and which St Andrews record testifies to John Fraser’s graduation as MA. In these cases, however, it is clear that the future bishops were acknowledged as masters by colleagues, and there is sufficient evidence to assemble plausible academic profiles. More ambiguous, however, are the graduate credentials of those such as Oswald – bishop-elect of Galloway 1378-1381 – who may have been Oswald Botelere (Butler), one of thirteen recipients of a safe conduct to study at Oxford in 1365. The would-be scholar was permitted to study for two years and while some of the group were styled ‘Master’, Oswald was not, which

⁹⁰ Donald Campbell, bishop-nominate of Dunkeld, 1548-1549; of Glasgow, 1548; of Brechin, 1558-1559 (*Fasti*, 56, 130-131, 194): nominated to Dunkeld and Glasgow by the earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, and to Brechin by the Guise regime, but failed to secure provision in each case. Campbell matriculated at St Salvator’s College, St Andrews, in 1522 (*Early Records*, 218), and was styled ‘Master’ on provision to Coupar Angus in May 1525. *Formulare*, i, 42-43; Watt, *Religious Houses*, 46.

⁹¹ As Cistercian commissioner: *Rental book of the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus*, ed. C. Rogers (London, 1879-1880), i, (from 1533). As extraordinary senator: G. Brunton and D. Haig., *An historical account of the senators of the College of Justice, from its institution in MDXXXII* (Edinburgh, 1832), xi, (2 July 1541). At Parliament, and as a lord of the articles: *RPS*, 1532/2, 1543/3/5, 1543/3/6, 1543/12/4, 1543/12/5 (accessed, 24 August 2010). As a member of the Privy Council, and as keeper of the Privy Seal: Rogers, *Rental Coupar Angus*, i, 107; Dowden, *Bishops*, 191.

might suggest that he intended to study arts.⁹² Likewise, Stephen Pay – Augustinian canon and bishop-elect of St Andrews 1385-1386 – might be identified as the ‘M. Stephen of St Andrews’ who attended a meeting of the English nation at Paris and, as ‘clerk and scholar’, acted as procurator for Bishop John Pilmour in 1333. Within three years, this Stephen was recorded as official of St Andrews when witnessing the election of the abbot of Cambuskenneth. If the future bishop-elect, this man was an arts graduate and had most likely received some formal training in decreets at Paris.⁹³ As with Oswald, however, Stephen Pay cannot be identified as the earlier scholar with surety. For our purposes, therefore, both are incorporated within the group of possible arts graduates.

These assumed arts degree-holders – styled ‘Master’ in later careers – and possible arts graduates, together account for just less than an eighth of the 161 bishops who form the main body of our study. If these nineteen men are counted together with the ninety-two known arts graduates (who represent 57% of this main group), 111 (69%) held or were likely to have held a formal qualification in arts. If possible arts scholars Thomas Buittle and John Hepburn II (represented in yellow) are also grouped with these men, 113 (70%) of our 161 bishops were educated in arts or were likely to have received schooling in arts at university level. We have seen that Buittle secured a year’s safe conduct to study at Oxford in 1380 and, in 1388, claimed to have studied decreets at Oxford for five years.⁹⁴ No record survives of Buittle as an arts graduate, and he does not appear to have adopted the ‘Master’ style customarily afforded to papal chaplains, but he may have used the safe conduct of 1380 to undertake preparatory

⁹² Oswald, bishop-elect of Galloway, 1379-1381 (*Fasti*, 171): prior of Glenluce, elected bishop by the Galloway chapter and provided by Urban VI. Clement VII cancelled this and Oswald lost the ensuing litigation to Thomas Rossy, although he may have secured possession in the short-term. His early career is unclear. Watt did not identify bishop Oswald as the former Oxford student in *Graduates*, but the dates might allow for them being the same man. Watt, *Graduates*, 58. For Oswald’s safe conduct: *Rot. Scot.* i, 891-892.

⁹³ Stephen Pay, bishop-elect of St Andrews, 1385-1386 (*Fasti*, 382): prior of St Andrews, elected bishop by the St Andrews chapter and received the endorsement of Robert II. Pay was captured by English pirates when en route to the papacy for consecration, but chose not to burden his diocese with meeting the ransom; he died within six months of his election. Dowden, *Bishops*, 27. If the ‘M. Stephen of St Andrews’ active at Paris in 1333 became the prior and bishop-elect, he was about seventy-two at death. Watt, *Graduates*, 476. This might explain his willingness to remain in England and refusal to levy the ransom.

⁹⁴ Above, n.66.

training in arts before transferring to study decreets.⁹⁵ John Hepburn II – bishop of Brechin, 1516-1557 – was perhaps the scholar of that name who matriculated in the Pedagogy at St Andrews in 1507, as the first of eighteen incorporants, but does not appear to have graduated. Hepburn was the fourth son of Patrick Hepburn, second lord Hailes and first earl of Bothwell; if the prospective scholar of 1507, his illustrious background perhaps occasioned Hepburn's name being listed first among his peers, and his entry into the Pedagogy – recorded without affording him the master title ascribed to the two Oliphants who were received in the same group – suggests Hepburn intended to pursue the arts programme. If identifiable as the scholar in question, Hepburn was unlikely to have been more than twelve years old on matriculation, which although younger than the desired age, was permitted, and might explain the lack of reference to Hepburn as a graduate. It might also fit with his precocious clerical career – provided to Brechin aged about twenty years, he required dispensation for defect of age, as acknowledged when finally consecrated 1522 x 1523.⁹⁶

Table 2 (below) provides a breakdown of those of our 161 bishops known, and likely, to have received an arts education at university. With Figure 4, it highlights that when those qualified in arts are viewed together with possible arts degree-holders and scholars, fluctuations in the percentage of bishops who benefited from studying arts at university broadly mirror those in the level of known arts graduates as depicted in Figures 3a and 3b. However, when viewed in these terms, variations between intervals are noticeably less stark (exceptions being the 17% drop between intervals 1360-1379

⁹⁵ Thomas Buittle, bishop of Galloway, 1415-1420 x 1422 (*Fasti*, 172): appears to have transferred to Avignon to acquire qualifications in decreets, becoming BDec by April 1390 and DDec by June 1410. It seems he entered Benedict XIII's service (early 1400s), acted as papal chaplain and auditor of appeals (1411-1415), and received provision to Galloway in recognition of this papal service. Watt, *Graduates*, 70-72.

⁹⁶ John Hepburn II, bishop of Brechin, 1516-1557 (*Fasti*, 55-56): born c.1496 (suggested by the dates of his parents' marriage (February x April 1491, *Scots Peerage*, ii, 151-152), and his consecration). Thus, if Hepburn was the St Andrews matriculant of 1507, he was eleven years on incorporation. *Early Records*, 200. The arts faculty required arts determinants to be fifteen years old, and Hepburn would have needed dispensation to graduate had he pursued arts to this level. Cant, *St Andrews*, 21. No record of his seeking permission to determine survives and it may be that being so young, Hepburn did not follow the full programme. Alternatively, he perhaps did so under a private tutor attached to the university, as did Alexander Stewart, illegitimate son of James IV and archbishop-designate of St Andrews, at various institutions (c.1506-1508): below, n.118. It is also possible that Hepburn progressed to study at Orléans, where a John Hepburn was procurator of the Scottish nation in 1520 – two years before bishop Hepburn's consecration. J. Kirkpatrick, 'The Scottish Nation in the University of Orléans, 1336-1538', *Miscellany SHS*, ii (Edinburgh, 1904), 86-87.

and 1380-1399, and 9% drop between intervals 1500-1519 and 1520-1539). Apparent too is the degree to which possible graduates and scholars of arts might augment graduate levels before 1420 (although, significantly less so among those elevated to the episcopate from 1380-1399) and after 1540; among bishops appointed to dioceses between 1420 and 1539, the figure for possible degree-holders and students of arts exceeds 10% only twice (11% during 1420-1439, and 14% at the turn of the sixteenth century).

Table 2:

Breakdown of education in arts at university level, Scottish episcopate 1360-1560

Represents the number of arts graduates, possible arts degree-holders, and possible arts scholars, as percentages of the number of bishops in each interval.

Interval	Arts Graduates	Possible Arts Graduates	Possible Arts Scholars	Total
Inc. 1360*	27%	36%	0%	63%
1360 - 1379	53%	20%	0%	73%
1380 - 1399	50%	6%	0%	56%
1400 - 1419	33%	27%	7%	67%
1420 - 1439	56%	11%	0%	67%
1440 - 1459	67%	5%	0%	72%
1460 - 1479	77%	0%	0%	77%
1480 - 1499	88%	0%	0%	88%
1500 - 1519	60%	7%	7%	74%
1520 - 1539	59%	6%	0%	65%
1540 - 1560	46%	23%	0%	69%

* Inc. 1360: incumbents of 1360

Through incorporating possible graduates and scholars in our analysis of arts education at university level, the percentage of arts graduates receives the most significant boost in the first interval. We have seen that gaps in extant records might impede our understanding of graduate numbers generally among incumbents of 1360 and that of these men, William Rae and John Pilmour can be classified as ‘assumed’ arts graduates; the same may also be true of Alexander Stewart I⁹⁷ and William Laundels.⁹⁸ In the interval 1360-1379, ‘assumed’ masters John Carrick⁹⁹ and Michael Monymusk¹⁰⁰ may buttress the number of known arts graduates and, if correctly identified as the prospective Oxford arts scholar of 1365, so too might Oswald bishop-elect of Galloway.

Using possible recipients of university schooling in arts to augment levels of known graduates produces particularly striking results when examining intervals 1400-1419 and 1540-1560 (highlighted in blue). Incorporating possible arts graduates and scholars does not increase arts figures by quite the same margin as among ‘Incumbents of 1360’ but at these points, it inverts the trajectory of arts degree-holding, effecting rises in levels rather than replicating the drops evident in Figure 4. This is more marked in the interval 1400-1419, where a rise in the ‘collective level’ of 11% (from 56% during 1380-1399, to 67%) contrasts a 17% drop in the figures for known arts graduates between the same periods (from 50% to 33%). Figures 3a and 3b highlight that of the fifteen men appointed to Scottish sees between 1400 and 1419, 87% can be established as graduates (of any discipline) and 33% pursued the arts programme to degree level. Meanwhile, Table 1 illustrates that in terms of degree-

⁹⁷ Alexander Stewart I, bishop of Ross, 1350 x 1351-1371 (*Fasti*, 348): acquired a LDec degree by July 1343 (*CPP*, i, 66); was recorded as ‘Master’ only once (March 1348). *CPL*, iii, 243; Watt, *Graduates*, 509-510.

⁹⁸ William Laundels, bishop of St Andrews, 1342-1385 (*Fasti*, 382): was ‘Master’ in a draft safe conduct (1349), but not in the final version. *CDS*, iii, 279 no. 1527; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 727. Bower and Wyntoun recorded his credentials differently: ‘Dominus’, (Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vii, 331); ‘Master’, and without title, (*Chronicle Wyntoun*, vi, 156-159). Watt suggested Laundels may have studied in France during the 1330s while in David II’s service. Watt, *Graduates*, 328.

⁹⁹ John Carrick, bishop-elect of Dunkeld, 1370 (*Fasti*, 126): styled ‘Master’ in 1362. *Reg. Glasguensis*, i, 271-272. However, Carrick’s academic credentials were documented inconsistently, and Watt speculated that ‘skilled in decreets’ might accurately reflect his qualifications. Watt, *Graduates*, 89.

¹⁰⁰ Michael Monymusk, bishop of Dunkeld, 1370-1377 (*Fasti*, 126): acquired a LDec degree – probably at Avignon, perhaps another French institution – by August 1361. *CPP*, i, 375. Monymusk was styled ‘Master’ in safe conducts to study at Oxford (1363, 1366), but was not accorded the title in other sources. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 871, 904. He does not appear to have added to his qualifications through studying at Oxford.

holders generally among those elevated to the Scottish episcopate from 1360-1440, the interval 1400-1419 appears distinct in the disproportionately low percentage of graduates qualified only in arts (7%) set against the high percentage of higher discipline graduates who were not also arts degree-holders (62%). If we view these figures in the context of Table 2, however, and assume that the five possible scholars and graduates of arts nominated to bishoprics during this interval had in fact received an arts education at university, the percentage of those who sought arts schooling at a higher institution rises from 33% to 67%.

Of these five men, we have seen that Thomas Buittle perhaps undertook some arts training at Oxford before transferring to study decreets. We have also seen that John Innes I may have qualified in arts at Paris at some point during 1383-1392 for which period the records of the English nation no longer survive.¹⁰¹ The same might also be argued of William Lauder, Thomas Stewart, and perhaps Gilbert Caven; all secured legal degrees and were styled 'Master' in their later careers although no record of their MA graduations survives. Lauder sought qualifications in decreets and civil law at Angers, and was described on the Angers University supplication roll of 1392 as 'Licentiate in Decrees and scholar of civil law, lecturing decreets in his third year'. It is possible then that Lauder had acquired his MA degree at Paris during the 1380s prior to transferring to Angers where he could study civil law as well as decreets.¹⁰²

Stewart and Caven acquired their decreets education at Paris. Stewart matriculated in 1390, perhaps having already secured his MA qualification there in the

¹⁰¹ Buittle: above, n.66, 95. Innes I: above, n.88.

¹⁰² William Lauder, bishop of Glasgow, 1408-1425 x 1426, (*Fasti*, 192): seems to have undertaken some training in decreets at Paris before transferring to Angers, perhaps having acquired an arts degree during the period no longer extant in Parisian records. D. Shaw, 'The ecclesiastical members of the Lauder family in the fifteenth century', *RSCHS*, xi (Glasgow, 1955), 160 & n, 161, 162 & n. For Lauder at Angers in 1392, *CPP*, i, 577. By 1394, he had acquired a BCv degree and was lecturing in civil law. Watt, *Graduates*, 330-333. He had completed programmes in both legal disciplines, to doctorate level, before Benedict XIII provided him to Glasgow (July 1408). *CPL BXIII*, 21, 109, 169, 177.

late 1380s.¹⁰³ Caven was documented as a Parisian student of decreets in 1406; had he previously completed an arts programme, we might expect him to have done so shortly before embarking upon legal studies.¹⁰⁴ However, papal records suggest that he was aged at least twenty-four in 1400, when litigating over the rectorship of the parish church of Carnismole (Kirkinner) and was, therefore, a mature student at Paris. If, as explored above, Caven interrupted extended service to the Douglas family to acquire university training in decreets, and was slightly older than twenty-four when pursuing provision to Kirkinner, it is possible that he had graduated in arts c.1390. Certainly, he commanded sufficient gravitas as a man of learning to be employed as tutor to the future fifth earl of Douglas in 1406.

The tendency among a significant proportion of medieval canonists to embark upon studies in decreets without first securing a formal qualification in arts cautions against attributing the lack of arts graduation records for all four of these ‘assumed’ graduates to the gap in Parisian records. Persuasive arguments can be made for Innes I, Lauder and Stewart, but in Caven’s case, are more tenuous. He appears as ‘Master’ only in safe conducts of 1412-1413, and his early career remains so obscure that his academic profile before provision to Kirkinner can only be assembled conjecturally.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, Figure 7a and 7b (below) illustrates that Paris was the preferred university among those arts graduates appointed to the Scottish episcopate between 1400 and 1419. So, while remaining cautious in using these four possible graduates and one likely scholar of arts to augment the percentage of identifiable arts graduates in this

¹⁰³ Thomas Stewart, bishop-elect of St Andrews, 1401-1402 (*Fasti*, 382): styled ‘scholar of Glasgow diocese, son of Robert II’, in a letter of Charles V to the papacy (1375). *CPL*, iv, 215. This perhaps referred to private tuition received before Stewart progressed to university. He may have secured a MA degree at Paris during the period no longer extant in its records (1383-1392); he was styled ‘Master’ in 1422 (*CPS*, 99-100), though this reference may have been drawn simply in recognition of his advanced university education. For Stewart’s matriculation at Paris (1390): Watt, *Graduates*, 513-514. He was a BDec by 1395, when he requested dispensation from visitation duties while studying for a further five years (*CPP*, i, 592), though no record survives of his acquiring further degrees. Robert III endorsed his election to St Andrews, but Stewart appears to have yielded to pressure from Albany to resign in favour of Walter Danielston so that a dispute over the keepership of Dumbarton Castle might be settled. *Chronicle Wyntoun*, vi, 395-396, 398-399; Dowden, *Bishops*, 28; ‘Walter Danielston’, *Fasti*, 382-383.

¹⁰⁴ Above, n.65.

¹⁰⁵ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 202, 208.

interval, the missing Parisian records of 1383-1392 may go some way in explaining the marked imbalance evident in graduate ratios as depicted in Table 1.

Table 3 (below) offers revised, conjectural figures for the distribution of graduates among each of the broad categories introduced in Table 1: arts degree-holders; higher discipline degree-holders; arts and higher discipline degree-holders. Possible arts graduates have been incorporated in calculating the percentages of those qualified in arts, and both arts and a higher discipline. In broad terms, it replicates the overarching pattern evident in Table 1. Again, the interval 1440-1459 emerges as a transition period during which the preference for degrees in a higher discipline evident among those elevated to the episcopate during the first century of our study began to shift towards an understanding among their successors that pursuing only arts to degree level was sufficient preparation for holding high ecclesiastical office. The first interval continues to sit at odds with the five spanning 1360-1459; its higher discipline percentage does not reflect the three incumbents of 1360 who were scholars and perhaps even graduates of a higher discipline and thus the figure for arts degree-holders might be over-inflated at the expense of that for graduates of both. Beyond this, Table 3 perhaps offers less surprising patterns of distribution between these categories than emerge from Table 1. In each of the first six intervals, the percentage of bishops holding degrees only in a higher discipline is lower than the equivalent figures for Table 1, and the stark variations between intervals 1380-1399, 1400-1419, and 1420-1439 are absent. The peak in higher discipline graduates among those appointed to dioceses between 1400 and 1419, as discussed under Figures 3a and 3b, accounts for the disproportionately high percentage of graduates in both arts and a higher discipline during this interval, as well as the consequent low in the figure for those qualified only in arts. While these figures are conjectural, and must be viewed as such, they suggest that the majority of bishops who were higher discipline graduates might also have been qualified in arts; we should be more cautious perhaps in drawing conclusions with respect to higher degree-holders for whom no record of arts graduation survives and who might appear to have seen little benefit in pursuing studies in arts to degree level.

Table 3:**Possible nature of degree-holding among graduates, Scottish episcopate 1360-1560**

Represents the number of degree holders in arts, in a higher discipline, or in both arts and a higher discipline, as percentages of the total number of graduates in each interval. Possible graduates of arts are incorporated in figures for degree-holders in arts, and arts and higher disciplines.

Interval	Arts Graduates	HD** Graduates	Arts and HD Graduates
Inc.1360*	71%	0%	29%
1360 - 1379	39%	15%	46%
1380 - 1399	33%	25%	42%
1400 - 1419	8%	25%	67%
1420 - 1439	33%	33%	33%
1440 - 1459	55%	25%	20%
1460 - 1479	82%	9%	9%
1480 - 1499	79%	0%	21%
1500 - 1519	90%	0%	10%
1520 - 1539	84%	8%	8%
1540 - 1560	89%	0%	11%

* Inc. 1360: incumbents of 1360; ** HD: higher discipline

Returning to Figure 4, also represented (in green) are the sixteen bishops who appear to have received schooling in arts outwith the formal university system.¹⁰⁶ These men can be divided between two broad categories: firstly, those educated within religious orders, or in cathedral or parish schools; and secondly, those educated by private tutors. With the exception of John Hamilton, who might have had some elementary private tuition before receiving instruction as a child oblate of the

¹⁰⁶ The non-university category in Figure 4 incorporates a larger percentage of bishops than that of Figure 1; this reflects the focus of Figure 4 on arts students, rather than education as a whole.

Tironensian order, the six men who might be included in the first of these categories were elevated to the episcopate in the first century of our study.¹⁰⁷ We have seen that due to the nature of Dominican rules concerning the arts programme that prepared scholars for theological studies, friars Martin Argyll, Adam Lanark, and Finlay Albany, are unlikely to have received preparatory arts training from a university arts faculty, but within a Dominican *studia* or college.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Patrick Leuchars, who held the sought after benefice of Tannadice on provision as bishop of Brechin and forged an illustrious career in David II's administration as diplomat, auditor of the Exchequer and Chancellor, seems to have been educated as an Augustinian canon at St Andrews.¹⁰⁹ Ingram Lindsay, meanwhile, was styled 'scholar of the diocese of St Andrews' in papal letters of 1405, before obtaining BDec and LDec degrees (by 1416, and 1430). These appear to be references to his elementary schooling; as the illegitimate son of David,

¹⁰⁷ John Hamilton, bishop of Dunkeld, 1544-1549; archbishop of St Andrews, 1547 x 1549-1571 (*Fasti*, 130, 387): Tironensian before he received Paisley Abbey in commend, aged fourteen. *RSS*, i, 505, no. 3353; Dowden, *Bishops*, 88 & n. A 'John Hamilton, Scot' matriculated at Marburg with M. Patrick Hamilton in May 1527, less than a year before the latter was executed in St Andrews (*Matrikel Marburg*, 74; Durkan, 'Cultural Background', 320). Abbot John Hamilton was incorporated in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in the session 1528-1529 (StAUL, UYUY305/1, fo. 85; *Early Records*, 226), where he remained as a student until 1535. There is no title in the Marburg entry to identify its John Hamilton as the abbot of Paisley; however, the abbot's incorporation at St Andrews within a year of Patrick's last lectures there might suggest that John had accompanied his older cousin to Marburg before enrolling at St Leonard's. Bishop Lesley recorded that John Hamilton was studying in France in 1542 when Regent Arran (his half-brother) requested he return to Scotland. J. Lesley, *The Historie of Scotland*, ed. E. G. Cody and W. Murison, ii (Edinburgh, 1895), 267 & n. Janet Foggie dismisses this, citing Hamilton's age. J. P. Foggie, 'Hamilton, John (1510/11-1571)', *DNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12102>, accessed 1 September 2010]. However, it is possible that at thirty-one, Hamilton was pursuing further studies in theology. Similar periods of study as mature students holding high ecclesiastical office are evident in the careers of William Schevez (Louvain, 1491-1493: *Archbishops*, i, 143-144; below, n. 123); William Cunningham (Paris, 1542: McNeill 'Acta Rectoria', 75); Robert Stewart (St Andrews, 1548-1550: below, n.115); William Gordon (Louvain, 1551: Durkan, 'Cultural Background', 324). Alternatively, Lesley may have confused John with his younger half-brother, James, who matriculated at Paris in 1542 (McNeill, 'Acta Rectoria', 76); Lesley's description and dating of John's administrative profile appears confused. Lesley, *Historie*, 267.

¹⁰⁸ Albany: above, n.54. Argyll, Lanark: above, n.68.

¹⁰⁹ Patrick Leuchars, bishop of Brechin, 1351-1383 (*Fasti*, 54): a canon of St Andrews on provision as rector of Tynningham (St Andrews), courtesy of David II's patronage (June 1344). This might suggest Leuchars had been educated as a member of St Andrews' Augustinian order. *CPL*, iii, 165. For Leuchars as rector of Tannadice (St Andrews): *CPL*, iii, 422; *CPP*, i, 227. As chancellor of Scotland: *CDS*, iii, 301, no. 1650. As chancellor and exchequer auditor: *ER*, i, 545; ii, 339.

first earl of Crawford, Lindsay may have been tutored privately, or perhaps in the parish or cathedral schools of St Andrews.¹¹⁰

The ten bishops who perhaps received their formative education through private tuition were younger or illegitimate sons of the higher nobility and in the case of the two archbishops-designate of St Andrews, the sons of kings. Most were elevated to the episcopate from 1480, although Robert Sinclair¹¹¹ and John Dugaldi¹¹² were provided in 1383 and 1387 respectively, while James Douglas was appointed anti-bishop of Aberdeen in 1441. Sinclair and Dugaldi's origins are obscure, but both pursued legal studies on the continent: Sinclair in both law disciplines; Dugaldi in decreets. If the former is correctly identified as the brother of lord Sinclair of Roslin, and the latter as a son of the Macdougall kindred that controlled Argyll at this point, it is conceivable that both received preparatory instruction in grammar and arts from private tutors before embarking on their respective legal programmes. Dugaldi was in receipt of a papal scholarship while undertaking university studies, perhaps in recognition of his mastery of Latin grammar and as a scholar of potential who, on completion of his studies, might bring additional experience gained through studying decreets to clerical work in the curia.¹¹³ James Douglas, meanwhile, was a younger son of James, seventh earl of

¹¹⁰ Ingram Lindsay, bishop of Aberdeen, 1441-1458 (*Fasti*, 3-4): elected by the Aberdeen chapter, and provided by Eugenius IV (April 1441). *CPL*, ix, 224. As the young scholar and BDec graduate: *CPL*, viii, 536-537. The preface to these records (dated 1435) refers to 'M. Ingram Lindsay, BDec'. However, no further evidence of Lindsay acquiring, or supplicating as, a MA survives; this later styling as master simply may have recognised his advanced university education. Lindsay had graduated as BDec before receiving dispensation for illegitimacy as the son of 'an unmarried man', and being appointed to the vicarage of Monkton (Glasgow, 1416). *CPL BXIII*, 335-336. He received further dispensation as the son of an 'unmarried knight, a baron' on provision to Ratho (St Andrews, 1419). *CSSR*, i, 67; *SP*, iii, 17-18. Boece styled Lindsay 'DDec' (Boece, *Episcoporum Vitae*, 34); but, Lindsay supplicated as 'LDec' or 'acolyte' throughout the 1430s until his appointment as bishop. *CPL*, viii, 336; *CSSR*, iv, 5 no. 18, 8 no. 32b, 90 no. 368, 92 no. 375.

¹¹¹ Robert Sinclair, bishop of Orkney, 1383-1391; bishop of Dunkeld, 1391-1395 x 1398 (*Fasti*, 127, 326): of noble origins – most probably a brother of Henry Sinclair, lord Roslin, earl of Orkney (from 1379). Watt, *Graduates*, 495. Sinclair had acquired a BCv degree, most likely from Avignon, by May 1371 (*ibid.*, 495), and had studied sufficient canon law to claim 'skill in decreets' by 1381. *CPP*, i, 561.

¹¹² John Dugaldi, bishop of Argyll, 1387-1395 (*Fasti*, 35): MacDonald suggests that Dugaldi's name, and roles in Argyll administration, indicate that he was of the ruling Macdougall kindred. MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 48. Dugaldi was recorded as a SchDec (1350) and, having received a papal scholarship to support his studies, was styled 'advanced in decreets' (1366); he had acquired a BDec degree by 1387. *CPP*, i, 201, 530; Watt, *Graduates*, 157.

¹¹³ For examination of the papal civil service, the origins of its clerks, and their recruitment and rewards: P. Partner, *The Pope's Men. The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1990) – particularly, chapter 4.

Douglas, who engineered James' appointment as anti-bishop of Aberdeen when he was just sixteen years old. His provision to Aberdeen being unfruitful, Douglas appears to have matriculated at Cologne in 1443. This does not seem to have been a lengthy period of study, nor did it result in a degree; however, Douglas' age on incorporation together with his earlier candidacy for Aberdeen might suggest that he was already well schooled in arts – most likely by a tutor – and perhaps looked to acquire an arts degree quickly before receiving some training in decreets at Cologne in order to advance his ecclesiastical career. When recognised as heir to William, eighth earl, in 1447, he perhaps saw no further need of erudition.¹¹⁴

Robert Stewart, younger son of John, third earl of Lennox, also appears to have sought further edification through a period of university study although, again, not to degree level. Like David Hamilton, discussed above, Stewart was underage when nominated bishop of Caithness in 1541. He received rights of administration in the following January, but remained unconsecrated bishop-elect before being temporarily deprived for his part in the Lennox alignment with Henry VIII against Arran's Franco-Scots alliance. While weathering Alexander Gordon II's two-year spell as bishop-postulate of Caithness (1546-1548), Stewart appears to have considered the intellectual and material benefits of pursuing some formal education. On incorporation at St Andrews in 1548, and again in 1550, he was styled '*venerabilis et egregius vir*' Robert Stewart bishop-elect of Caithness.¹¹⁵ No further record of Stewart's activities at St

¹¹⁴ James Douglas, anti-bishop of Aberdeen, 1441 (*Fasti*, 3; *CPS*, 313-314; above, n.13): was initially recognised as the younger of twins, the seventh earl's third son; and, was marked out for a clerical career. Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 35 n., 43 n. For his father's role in securing James' nomination to Aberdeen: Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 266, 269. For Douglas at Cologne: *Matrikel Köln*, i, 463, no. 217,46. Douglas continued to pursue an ecclesiastical career until 1447 – evident from supplications of 1444 and 1447 – when he was pronounced the elder of the twins and heir to William eighth earl; although, James did not marry until 1453. *CSSR*, iv, 250 no. 1009; v, 7 no. 24; *RMS*, ii, 68 no. 301; *Douglas Book (Douglas Memoirs)*, 1100-1800, ed. W. Fraser, i (Edinburgh, 1885), 447.

¹¹⁵ Robert Stewart, bishop-elect of Caithness, 1541-1586; earl of Lennox, 1578-1580; earl of March, 1580-1586 (*Fasti*, 81): nominated bishop by James V, at just twenty years old. *James V Letters*, 370, 433; *Formulare*, ii, 143. Stewart endorsed his brother, Matthew, fourth earl of Lennox, in supporting English military engagement in south Scotland and pushing religious reform (as witness, 17 May 1544). In the ensuing inquest, Cardinal Beaton deprived Stewart of the fruits of Caithness (July 1546); although, the alternative candidate, Alexander Gordon II, resigned his right to the diocese in April 1548. *Formulare*, ii, 318-321; *Fasti*, 81-82; Dowden, *Bishops*, 249-250. Stewart appears to have studied at St Andrews for almost two years (*Early Records*, 253, 255), before joining Marie of Guise's entourage in journeying to France (1550). Dowden, *Bishops*, 249-250. He succeeded his nephew as earl of Lennox (1578), but was persuaded to resign in favour of Esme Stewart, and received the earldom of March in compensation (1580). He remained bishop of Caithness until his death (1586). *Fasti*, 81.

Andrews survive, though as the son of an earl and at twenty-seven years old on first matriculation, we may presume that he had already received private tuition in grammar and arts and was pursuing studies in a higher discipline. His ecclesiastical career before succeeding as earl of Lennox in 1578, suggests a genuine commitment to learning and, during the 1560s, to facilitating Protestant reform of his diocese.¹¹⁶ This, and certain of his books, might indicate that he had been engaged in theological studies while at St Andrews.¹¹⁷ In so doing, he perhaps sought not only intellectual fulfilment, but also to rehabilitate his reputation in Scotland; the latter was also evident, perhaps, in his quitting St Andrews to assume a position in Mary of Guise's retinue to France, 1550-1551.

Our two royal archbishops-designate certainly received instruction from private tutors, but at points this appears to have been administered in private and itinerant pedagogies informally attached to particular universities. Alexander Stewart, illegitimate son of James IV, is remembered as a humanist scholar of great potential courtesy of the eulogy penned by Erasmus, his former tutor. His tutelage under Erasmus is well-documented; it appears though, that under successive scholars James Watson, Patrick Paniter, Raphael Regius as well as Erasmus, Alexander was exposed to the scholarly communities of St Andrews, Padua, Siena and Rome. Through this mode of private tuition, Alexander experienced the universities of Europe under strict

¹¹⁶ G. Donaldson, *Reformed by bishops: Galloway, Orkney and Caithness* (Edinburgh, 1987), 53-67; J. Kirk, *Patterns of reform: continuity and change in the Reformation kirk* (Edinburgh, 1989), 215.

¹¹⁷ Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, 215; *Early Libraries*, 63-64.

supervision while protected from misleading or destructive influences.¹¹⁸ In fact, private pedagogies stimulated concern at St Andrews, prompting the university to undertake building projects to restrict lodging outwith the colleges and renting rooms in the town. This suggests that such pedagogies were relatively commonplace, perhaps favoured by sons of the higher nobility.¹¹⁹ It may also be the case that Alexander's uncle and predecessor as archbishop, James Stewart – son of James III and previously duke of Ross – received legal instruction from Archbishop Schevez in a similar manner, among the university's legal community.¹²⁰

The final category presented in Figure 4, is the group of twenty-one bishops whose careers offer no evidence of having studied a formal arts programme at university, or elsewhere, but who are known, or appear, to have undertaken university instruction in a higher discipline (represented in purple) and must have received some formative training beforehand. These men have been treated above under Figures 2, 3a

¹¹⁸ Alexander Stewart II, archbishop-designate of St Andrews, 1504-1513 (*Fasti*, 384; *James IV Letters*, 16-17 nos. 20, 21): nominated archbishop by James IV following the death of Archbishop James Stewart (below, n.120). His tutors instructed Stewart in the disciplines of the 'new learning'. Watson and Paniter did so at St Andrews, before September 1507. *Acta*, xl & n., 291 & n; *TA*, ii, 133; *ER*, xii, 77; *James IV Letters*, xxix-xxx, 127-129 no. 205; N. Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1997), 214, 252. Regius and Erasmus did so at Padua, c.1507-1508. *James IV Letters*, 124 no. 197 & n., 136-137 no. 222 & n; *TA*, iv, 140; Herkless, *Archbishops*, i, 248-249. Erasmus continued to instruct Stewart at Siena and Rome c. 1508-1509 (*ibid.*, 248-249, 262-264) and in his *Panegyric*, documented his pupil's devotion to learning. Erasmus also described the private pedagogy at Siena in which he taught Stewart rhetoric and Greek, and where Stewart received tuition from its law doctors, and read histories. *ibid.*, 262-264. Paniter had urged his former student to take advantage of continental universities to learn law (December, 1508). *James IV Letters*, 127-129 no. 205. James IV's correspondence of 1509, reveals that Stewart sought the move to Rome, which offered better schooling in Latin and Greek; but, James believed him to be too young to experience the city. *ibid.*, 136-137 no. 222 & n. Mindful of his father's concern, Stewart assumed a false identity there to avoid attacks. Herkless, *Archbishops*, i, 248-249. Chalmers suggests that Stewart used a brief visit to France with M. John Hervey in the summer of 1503 to study at Paris, but this came at the end of the academic year and was too short for productive study. T. Chalmers, 'Stewart, Alexander (c. 1493-1513)', *DNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26454>, (accessed, 3 September 2010)].

¹¹⁹ For concern over freelance students: Cant, *St Andrews*, 20; *Acta*, xl & n, cxxxvii. For concern over students who were disrespectful to their tutors and teaching staff generally (e.g. 16 May 1496): *ibid.*, 257-258. For students boarding outwith the Pedagogy and colleges (7 May 1478, 4 November 1533): *ibid.*, 201-202, 371-372.

¹²⁰ James Stewart, duke of Ross; archbishop-designate of St Andrews, 1497-1504 (*Fasti*, 384): younger brother of James IV. He received James' nomination to St Andrews and had Crown confirmation by May 1497, but did not secure papal endorsement until September 1497; he died before reaching twenty-seven years old and receiving consecration (1504). *RMS*, ii, 502 no. 2358; *ER*, xi, 66-69; *Fasti*, 384. Stewart was tutored by George Shaw, abbot of Paisley. *Reg. Passelet*, i, 84, 263; *RMS*, ii, 373 no. 1767. Herkless suggested he was also instructed by various tutors appointed by James IV's minority regime. Herkless, *Archbishops*, i, 170. In associating closely with Archbishop Schevez, at Parliament and presiding over legal cases from 1493, Stewart perhaps undertook a legal apprenticeship. *ibid.*, 181 & n. If so, and had James IV already expressed his intent to intrude his brother on a vacant see, this might indicate Stewart sought to prepare himself accordingly.

and 3b, as known graduates or scholars of a higher discipline who cannot be identified as possible arts scholars; under Figure 4, possible scholars of a higher discipline whose elementary education is similarly obscure are also included in this category. The graph highlights that this sort of academic experience was more common among bishops appointed to sees between 1380 and 1459, which broadly replicates the intervals for which scholars appear to have pursued university education in higher disciplines more keenly. After 1460, arts graduates were overwhelmingly dominant among degree-holders elevated to the Scottish episcopate, and those who acquired qualifications in a higher discipline tended to do so having first obtained an arts degree. If these twenty-one higher discipline scholars are added to the conjectural, collective totals of arts graduates and scholars as presented in Table 2, 1360 and 1499 emerge as turning points between which the overall level of university education remained above 85%. If these speculative figures (see Table 4 below) in fact provide a fairly accurate reflection of university-level education shared by the ecclesiastical elite – across all disciplines and levels of student – the average level of 83% evident from 1440 onwards suggests that the model established by Watt, whereby graduates commanded four-fifths of diocesan appointments from 1310-1425, was broadly maintained among their successors. Indeed, the average level of 91% among those elevated during the fifteenth century significantly exceeds Watt's benchmark. However, as we have seen, such averages mask variations in the nature and level of education pursued at university as well as the increasing tendency for Scottish bishops to be drawn from scholars who had followed only studies in arts to degree-level. In this respect, this study does not substantiate Watt's conjecture that the level of academic qualification in higher disciplines evident in the Scottish episcopate of 1360-1425 – comparatively high among their English and French counterparts – was maintained until the Reformation.

Table 4:**Possible levels of university education, Scottish episcopate 1360-1560**

Represents the conjectural total of those educated in arts at university; and higher discipline scholars whose arts background is unclear, as percentages of the number of bishops in each interval. ‘Conjectural Arts Total’ incorporates known arts graduates, and possible arts graduates and scholars. ‘Arts Training Unclear’ incorporates all bishops known or likely to have been educated in a higher discipline at university but the nature of whose preparatory arts training is unknown or unclear.

Interval	Conjectural Arts Total	Arts Training Unclear	Conjectural Total of University Educated
Inc. 1360*	63%	0%	63%
1360 - 1379	73%	13%	86%
1380 - 1399	56%	31%	87%
1400 - 1419	67%	27%	94%
1420 - 1439	67%	22%	89%
1440 - 1459	72%	19%	91%
1460 - 1479	77%	15%	92%
1480 - 1499	88%	0%	88%
1500 - 1519	74%	0%	74%
1520 - 1539	65%	6%	71%
1540 - 1560	69%	8%	77%

* Inc. 1360: incumbents of 1360

3.5 Programmes of Study: the ‘postgraduate’ experience

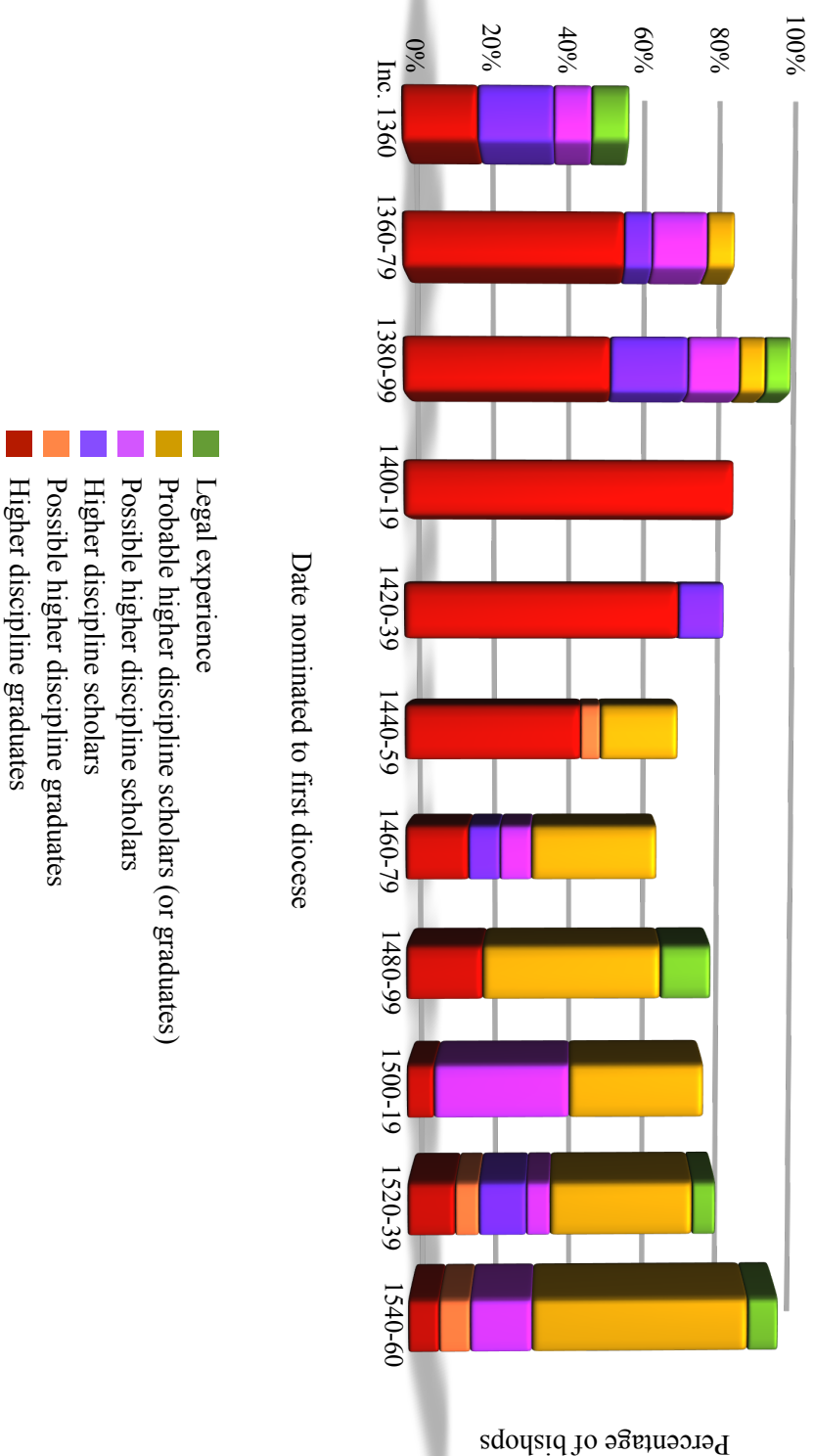
Evidence suggests that, of the 150 bishops for whom information concerning their education survives, as many as 122 (81%, or 76% of our main group of 161 bishops) may in fact have received some formal instruction in a higher discipline. Figure 5 represents these 122 men in terms of the nature of studies or training undertaken, and

highlights that the number of bishops who were higher degree-holders might be heavily supplemented by those whose careers provide strong indication that they pursued an element of schooling in medicine, civil law, decreets or theology. We have seen that fifty-four bishops – 34% of the 161 men constituting the main study – are identifiable as graduates of at least one higher discipline (represented in red). Figure 6 (below) provides a breakdown of these degree-holders in terms of subject, at which point level of qualification is also discussed in greater depth.

Further to these fifty-four established graduates, three bishops might be considered possible higher degree-holders (depicted in orange). As with arts, this ‘possible’ category incorporates a potential graduate who cannot, with certainty, be identified as the medical degree-holder of the same name, as well as two assumed graduates. A Robert Shaw, BMed, appears to have graduated from Paris by 1492 when he was an elected representative of the German nation there.¹²¹ Our Robert Shaw was a Cluniac monk, promoted from within the order to abbot of Paisley in 1498, and transferred to bishop of Moray in 1525. Though the dates allow for plausible identification of these men as the same person, no reference to Shaw as a medical

¹²¹ A. Dunlop, ‘Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century’, *Historical Association Pamphlet*, 124 (London, 1942), 15.

Figure 5: Nature of Higher Discipline Education, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560*



* Represents the 122 bishops analysed in the main body of the study whose careers suggest receipt of some formal instruction in a higher discipline (at university, through private tuition, or in undertaking apprenticeships), as percentages of the number of bishops appointed to dioceses in each interval. Excludes the graduates, scholars and trained men among the twelve bishops of the Isles, who are discussed separately.

graduate survives.¹²² Furthermore, while Shaw did not perhaps anticipate provision to the episcopate, medicine was an odd choice of higher degree for any cleric aspiring to a distinguished ecclesiastical or administrative career; only William Schevez among the rest of our bishops appears to have received university instruction in medicine, and not to degree level.¹²³ Accurately discerning Shaw's academic profile is further complicated by John Lesley's account of James III's nomination to Paisley, in which he erroneously refers to the appointment of 'Master Robert Shaw' rather than that of Master George Shaw, his predecessor.¹²⁴ If the bishop of Moray was in fact the Parisian graduate of medicine, he would have been required to obtain an arts degree before embarking on medical studies. However, difficulty in discerning Shaw's academic credentials with certainty renders him as a possible graduate of both arts and medicine for our purposes.

Of the assumed graduates, George Schoreswood was styled 'BDec' by his patron, William, earl of Douglas, when supplicating the papacy in 1448. This reference

¹²² Robert Shaw, bishop of Moray, 1525-1527 (*Fasti*, 281): appointed abbot of Paisley following George Shaw's resignation, July 1498. Watt, *Religious Houses*, 170-171. He was nominated as Crown candidate for Moray in January 1525, but struggled to obtain papal confirmation due, seemingly, to Arran's efforts to intrude his illegitimate son as abbot of Paisley. *James V Letters*, 113. Shaw solicited Wolsey's support in resolving this problem (8 May 1525), and was consecrated within five months. *LP HVIII*, iv.1, 132 no. 316; *Reg. Moraviensis*, 371. The nature of this Robert Shaw's education is unclear. If the Shaw abbots of Paisley were related, and George resigned to ensure Robert's succession, we might suppose that the latter had received a good education. George was recognised as a sufficiently distinguished scholar to tutor James, duke of Ross (above, n.120). He may have nurtured Robert's education similarly at Paisley, and perhaps encouraged him to seek further training at Paris.

¹²³ William Schevez, archbishop of St Andrews, 1476-1497 (*Fasti*, 383-384): graduated as MA from St Andrews (1456). *Acta*, 111, 114. Writing in the mid-sixteenth century, Buchanan suggested that Schevez learned medicine under John Spierinck, a 'celebrated physician' and rector at Louvain in 1457, 1462, 1479. G. Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, trans. J. Aikman, ii (Glasgow, Edinburgh, 1827), 137; *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain, 1497-1797*, ed. E. Reusens, i (Louvain, 1881), 256. Annotated works extant from Schevez's library indicate some academic engagement with medicine; and, an association with Louvain is evident from his commissioning much of his collection from its publishers. *Early Libraries*, 47-49; *Scottish Libraries*, 235-236. However, Schevez was not recorded at its university. Macdougall states that he remained at St Andrews for four years having graduated as MA, and supposes that he acquired experience of Louvain when absent from St Andrews records c.1460-1470. Macdougall, *James III* (Edinburgh, 2009) 147. Yet, while Schevez's activities at St Andrews 1456-1460 went unrecorded, he was at the university in February 1463 when he received permission to wear clothing of his choice. *Acta*, 114-135, 150. If this dispensation was issued in response to a request to wear dress that reflected training in medicine rather than the customary masters' garb, it is possible that Schevez had received medical instruction from Spierinck during one of two periods of absence from St Andrews – 1456-1460, or 1460-1463. For academic clothing: Cant, *St Andrews*, 24. Elizabeth Henderson's (St AUL) research on Scottish university libraries should enhance our understanding of Schevez's collection.

¹²⁴ J. Lesley, *The historie of Scotland*, ed. E. G. Cody, ii (Edinburgh, 1895), 90.

is at odds with subsequent petitions on his behalf, including those advanced by James II in 1454, in which Schoreswood was afforded simply MA status but was also described as secretary to the king.¹²⁵ It seems unlikely that the BDec title was a clerical error, but strange that it was omitted from the otherwise detailed credentials submitted by James II. A decreets degree might have earned Schoreswood his place in the king's administration; however, it might also provide further evidence of ambitious clerics exaggerating qualifications to secure preferment.

Adam Bothwell (c.1529-1593) our second assumed degree-holder, was clearly learned and well-educated, although exactly what he studied and where remains unclear. In advising his brother-in-law on where to school his nephew, John Napier, Bothwell was wholly disparaging about the quality of education available in Scotland and firmly advocated sending Napier overseas to the universities of France or the Low Countries as 'he can leyr na guid at home'.¹²⁶ This most likely reflected his own experience. It seems he was either sent or felt compelled to pursue his university studies on the continent, perhaps at Orléans as his father had done. If so, it is likely that he was a graduate of civil law and perhaps also decreets, as borne out by his 'comprehensive [collection of legal works] which compares most favourably with those of practising lawyers in Europe'.¹²⁷ However, Bothwell's library also suggests a profound interest in theology, particularly Christian humanism, that might also have been developed through a period of university study. The level to which he followed his studies is unknown, but the extensive and sophisticated nature of his classical, legal and theological texts – some

¹²⁵ George Schoreswood, bishop of Brechin, 1454-1462. *Fasti*, 55. For Douglas' supplication on behalf of his secretary: *CSSR*, v, 48-49 no. 194. For James II's supplication: *ibid.*, 141 no. 518.

¹²⁶ M. Napier, *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston: his lineage, life and times, with a history of the invention of logarithms* (Edinburgh, 1834), 67.

¹²⁷ D. Shaw, 'Adam Bothwell: A Conserver of the Renaissance in Scotland', in E. J. Cowan and D. Shaw edd., *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 155.

which are annotated – suggests that Bothwell’s collection was not for show but was the working library of an accomplished scholar.¹²⁸

In addition to these three possible graduates of a higher discipline, twenty-four bishops identifiable as scholars or possible students of law or theology might also be used to supplement the number of those elevated to the Scottish episcopate who possessed some experience of university training in these subjects. Like Bean Macgillanders, the scholar of decreets discussed above, a further nine embarked upon programmes of study in a higher discipline but do not seem to have pursued these to degree level (represented in purple).¹²⁹ Dougal Petri, for example, appears to have used a safe conduct issued to him to study at Oxford or Cambridge in 1364 to study both laws and, when provided to a canonry and prebend in Dunblane in 1380, his credentials listed this period of study as lasting for three years.¹³⁰ Thomas Wedale’s flirtation with the Parisian decreets course was outlined above; he seems to have punctuated his legal studies with a MA degree, perhaps with a view to working as a regent in arts while seeking ecclesiastical advancement. No record survives, however, of Wedale obtaining a law degree and he was styled ‘*jurisperitus*’ in 1354, which might suggest that he had not graduated in decreets but was sufficiently experienced in the subject to earn this description.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, 1559-1593 (*Fasti*, 329): his father, Francis (MA), had studied law at Orléans, and served as procurator of its Scottish nation for five months from August 1513. Kirkpatrick, ‘Scottish Nation Orléans’, 84 nos. 29, 30. An Edinburgh burgess, Francis also pursued a distinguished legal career: he acted on the judicial and legislative committees of Parliament (1520s), and was one of the original senators of the College of Justice. Brunton, *College of Justice*, ix, 28. This, the lack of reference to Adam at Scotland’s universities, and his damning appraisal of their teaching, suggests a strong family tradition of pursuing extensive higher education overseas. Certainly, a number of Bothwells matriculated at Paris between 1526 and 1542. McNeill, ‘*Acta Rectoria*’, 71. For Adam Bothwell as an extra-ordinary senator of the College of Justice (1565): Brunton, *College of Justice*, xiii, 199-122. For his library: *Early Libraries*, 29-30; Shaw, ‘Adam Bothwell’, 141-169.

¹²⁹ Above, n.37.

¹³⁰ Dougal Petri (de Lorne, de Ergadia), bishop of Dunblane, 1380-1398 x 1401. *Fasti*, 101-102. For safe conduct: *Rot. Scot.*, i, 881. Petri was provided to Kilmore parish church (Argyll) before October 1371, and to two canonries and prebends in Dunblane (November 1375, June 1380). *CPP*, i, 554, 591-592; *CPL CVII*, 48-50. He was employed in service to Robert, earl of Fife, future duke of Albany, by 1380; and, perhaps represented Fife at the curia (June 1380) before his election to Dunblane (September 1380). *CPP*, i, 554; Watt, *Graduates*, 359-360.

¹³¹ Above, n.52.

As rector of Kirkforthar and recipient of a pension of twenty merks from the parish church of Creich (both St Andrews diocese), John Balfour was not perhaps motivated by the same material needs as Wedale in determining the direction of his academic career. However, Balfour does not appear to have made good on the thirst for legal studies evident in his supplication of the papacy in 1442 by acquiring a higher degree. Having graduated as MA from St Andrews in 1437, and pursued litigation over Creich and Kirkforthar in person at the curia 1438 x 1441, Balfour sought permission to absent himself from Kirkforthar for five years while continuing at Cologne, ‘or some other famous university, to study letters and other sciences according to his power’. By 1445, however, he had returned to St Andrews, seemingly without a legal qualification.¹³² Unlike Stephen Sellario and Gilbert Caven, it does not appear that Balfour had pursued his studies by means of a career break and was forced to cut them short to resume his employment (ministering Kirkforthar).¹³³ Rather, he appears to have pursued an academic career in the faculty of arts at St Andrews from 1445-1448, and 1455-1463. It may be that Balfour was not deemed accomplished enough to pass the bachelors’ exam in decreets or civil law at Cologne, although by 1452 he was regarded as sufficiently competent to conduct business at Rome on behalf of Bishop James Kennedy. While no documentation of Balfour as a graduate of either law discipline survives, he had clearly undergone some legal training and, in securing Kennedy as a patron, this experience paid dividends.¹³⁴

Fourteen possible scholars of higher disciplines may be grouped with these known scholars (depicted in pink). As with the possible arts and higher discipline graduates, some of these bishops can be loosely termed as ‘assumed’ scholars. For example, by virtue of the Dominican order’s emphasis on theological instruction, Argyll

¹³² John Balfour, bishop of Brechin, 1465-1488. *Fasti*, 55. For Balfour as an arts student at St Andrews: *Acta*, 39, 45. For his litigation over Creich and Kirkforthar: *CSSR*, iv, 105 no. 429, 110 no. 455, 124 no. 513, 127-128 no. 529, 129 nos. 532, 533, 535, 151 no. 637, 202 no. 824, 207 no. 838, 213 no. 857. For ‘M. John Balfour, vicar of Linlithgow’ as bursar on his return to St Andrews (1455): *Acta*, 65; *CSSR*, v, 109 no. 416.

¹³³ Sellario: below, n.135. Caven: above, n.65.

¹³⁴ For M. John Balfour’s career in St Andrews’ arts faculty: as bursar, 1445-1448 (*Acta*, 65, 67-68, 72, 76-77); as assessor and committee member, 1455-1472 (*ibid.*, 110, 116, 119, 123, 144-145, 149, 151, 183). For John Balfour, ‘MA, familiar and continual commensal’ to Bishop Kennedy: *CSSR*, v, 109 no. 416. As Kennedy’s procurator at Rome: *ibid.*, 124 no. 464, 130 no. 482.

and Lanark – the two Dominicans who do not appear to have studied theology to degree level – can be assumed to have had some training in the discipline. So might Stephen Sellario who, while in the service of David II, received a crown stipend of 66s. 8d. towards studying at university between June 1361 and August 1362, and a safe conduct to do so at Oxford or Cambridge in the following year. As a clerk in royal service, Sellario already must have mastered the skills derived from securing an arts degree and presumably used the grant to receive instruction in a higher discipline – law being most relevant to his work.¹³⁵ Meanwhile, John Mair's acknowledgement of Gavin Douglas as a friend in Paris as well as Scotland might suggest that Douglas sought some training in decreets at Paris having secured his LA degree at St Andrews in 1494. Douglas' subsequent career as a procurator and advocate for various family members, Lord of Council to James IV and the Albany regime, and diplomat at the French court to renew the Auld Alliance and negotiate the marriage of James V, suggests that he was well-versed in legal practice and in fulfilling these roles, perhaps drew on instruction received at Paris.¹³⁶

The fourteen possible higher discipline scholars also include those bishops who might be identified as particular students, but not with certainty. If Stephen Pay can be correctly established as the M. Stephen of St Andrews active in the English nation at Paris and as procurator for John Pilmour in 1333, he might also have been studying decreets at this point. It was perhaps this experience that contributed to his appointment as official of St Andrews by 1336.¹³⁷ Similarly, James Werk – bishop-nominate of Ross

¹³⁵ Stephen Sellario, bishop of Brechin, 1383-1404 x 1405. *Fasti*, 55. For the stipend: *ER*, ii, 114. For the safe conduct: *Rot. Scot.*, i, 869. For David II's supplication for Sellario's provision as archdeacon of Brechin: *CPL*, iv, 82.

¹³⁶ Gavin Douglas, archbishop-nominate of St Andrews, 1514-1515; bishop of Dunkeld, 1515-1522. *Fasti*, 129, 386. For Douglas at St Andrews: *Early Records*, 187; *Acta*, 241, 245. For Mair's comment: J. Mair, *A History of Greater Britain*, trans., edd. A Constable (Edinburgh, 1892), 425-428. For Douglas as a Lord of Council, 1513-1516: *ALCP*, 1, 4, 11, 20-23, 26, 40-50, 69. Douglas at Parliament in 1517: *RPS*, A1517/10/1 (accessed, 6 September 2010). For safe conduct to negotiate at the French court (1517): *RSS*, i, 453 no. 2900. Margaret Tudor nominated Douglas to St Andrews before 23 November 1514, when she asked Henry VIII to endorse his candidacy. *LP HVIII*, i, 933 no. 5614. Douglas failed to secure elevation to St Andrews, but received Margaret's support for Dunkeld (1515) and was consecrated in September 1516. *LP HVIII*, ii.1, 9 no. 31, 205 no. 779; *ACLP*, 49; *James V Letters*, 23-24; *RSS*, i, 436 no. 2807; *Formulare*, i, 183-184. He was deemed a rebel, and forfeited while in English exile. *LP HVIII*, iii.2, 789 no. 1857.

¹³⁷ Above, n.93. For Stephen, official of St Andrews: *Fasti*, 423.

in 1478 – might be identified as the James Wick who held benefices in Argyll and Ross, and lands in Inverness, and made a career as secretary and chaplain to John Lord of the Isles. If so, he was most likely the ‘*Jacobus Wije de Schotia*’ of Moray diocese who matriculated – perhaps in arts initially and later decreets – at Louvain in 1441.¹³⁸ John Hepburn II, meanwhile, may have been the scholar of the same name elected procurator of the Scottish nation at Orléans in 1521. If so, he perhaps used the years prior to being consecrated as bishop of Brechin to receive some instruction in law in preparation for this new role.¹³⁹

Figure 5 also depicts two further categories of scholars among those elevated to the Scottish episcopate: those grouped as probable scholars and graduates of a higher discipline at university level (represented in yellow); and those whose careers indicate some formal training or practical experience in administering law (depicted in green). We have seen that a number of arts degree-holders, such as William Meldrum, Henry Wemyss, and Walter Stewart, appear to have remained engaged in university education following graduation.¹⁴⁰ These future bishops seem to have combined teaching and office-holding in the faculty of arts with periods of study in higher disciplines of varying duration, although, in these cases, no firm record of the latter survives. Such

¹³⁸ James Werk (Wick), bishop-nominate of Ross, 1478 (*Fasti*, 349): styled ‘James Wake, clerk of Moray diocese’ (1458), when holding Delny chapel (Ross), and the canonries and prebends of Kilmuir Easter (Ross) and Kilcolmkill (Argyll). *CSSR*, v, 192 no. 676; *CPL*, xi, 334. He held the lands of Auldcastlehill, Inverness, 1464-1478. *RMS*, ii, 173 no. 805, 284 no. 1390. Wick was ‘clerk’ (1456), ‘chaplain’ (1461), ‘rector of Kilmuir, and secretary’ (1472) to John, earl of Ross, lord of the Isles (*ALI*, 245- 246, 276-277); and, remained as the lord’s chaplain on provision to Ross. *Vetera Monumenta*, 480. For the Louvain matriculant: *Matricule Louvain*, i, 146; Lyall, ‘Scottish Students’, 62. This James Wick may have moved to Cologne to complete arts training before teaching at Louvain (1446-1449); he was appointed *dictator* (secretary) at Louvain in 1447, having acquired a BDec degree. Reusens, *Documents*, i, 313; ii.1, 227-228, 268; Burns, *Churchmen*, 74. Dunlop suggested that Louvain’s celebrated civil law faculty attracted Wick. Dunlop, ‘Scots Abroad’, 16. The Moray bishop was not styled ‘MA’ or ‘BDec’ in papal supplications, but the academic profile outlined here might fit with his administrative career. For further examination of Wick: MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 181 n. 942-944, 214, 255 no. 144. Baxter mistakenly identified the Louvain teacher as James Ogilvy I (*CPS*, 496), and Burns suggests his second name might be properly rendered White. Burns, *Churchmen*, 74.

¹³⁹ The Orléans John Hepburn was not styled master on election as procurator. Kirkpatrick, ‘Scottish Nation Orléans’, 87, 99. He may have been the St Andrews matriculant of 1507, for whom no graduation record survives. If so, and this scholar might also be identified as the bishop of Brechin, it is odd that Hepburn was documented ‘of St Andrews diocese’, and the Orléans entry made no reference to his status as bishop-elect. However, the records of Orléans’ Scottish nation contain errors; indeed, the dating of this entry is incorrect (recorded as 1520, not 1521) – indicating perhaps that it was written up later, omitting or misrepresenting some salient details. For John Hepburn II, bishop of Brechin and possible St Andrews student: above, n.96.

¹⁴⁰ Above, n.40, 43, 45-47.

men are included in the first of these categories of additional scholars, together with those such as Robert Stewart and John Hamilton who appear to have received elementary instruction in grammar and arts outwith the university system but who subsequently matriculated at *studia generalia* to pursue studies in a higher discipline.¹⁴¹ In all, this group of probable students or graduates of a higher discipline encompasses 24% of the 150 for whom some information survives concerning their educational background (22% of the 161 bishops forming the main body of our study).

The second of these additional categories incorporates six men including John Pilmour, who appears to have been engaged in long periods of papal service and must have been well trained in legal procedure.¹⁴² He may have combined papal service with legal instruction at the University of the Roman Curia, although no evidence of this survives; alternatively – like John Peebles¹⁴³ who drew on an apprenticeship at the episcopal court of the bishop of Glasgow as well as DDec and BCv degrees – Pilmour may have drawn his understanding of law from practical experience acquired through service at the curia. Alexander Vaus¹⁴⁴ commission to investigate a dispute over appointments to Holyrood in 1423, and George Vaus¹⁴⁵ activities as a procurator and Lord of Council, also suggest familiarity with decreets and legal procedure, although where and how this was gained is unclear. Similarly, while perhaps sinecurists in the

¹⁴¹ Stewart: above, n.115. Hamilton: above, n.107.

¹⁴² Above, n.69.

¹⁴³ John Peebles, bishop of Dunkeld, 1378-1390 (*Fasti*, 127): graduated as BA and LA at Paris, under Malcolm Drumbreck (March-April 1351) and, as MA under Walter Wardlaw (February 1352). *ACUP*, i, 149-150, 154. He continued at Paris as a SchDec, regent and administrator until 1355. *ibid.*, 155-157, 159, 161, 176-178, 180, 182, 184. Peebles quit Paris to acquire practical experience at Glasgow episcopal court (September 1355), remained there for five years, and served a further three years as official of Glasgow. Watt, *Graduates*, 422; *CPP*, i, 417; *Fasti*, 245. Still unqualified in 1363, Peebles resumed his studies and was 'BUJ, advanced in theology' in June 1365. *CPP*, i, 506. He had graduated as DDec by March 1370, perhaps before quitting Paris for a second time in 1368. *CPL*, iv, 83.

¹⁴⁴ Alexander Vaus, postulate of Orkney, 1398 x 1407-1414; bishop of Caithness, 1414-1422; bishop of Galloway, 1422-1450 (resigned, 1450). *Fasti*, 80, 172, 327; *CPL*, vii, 185, 287; *ACSB*, 42. Vaus was commissioned, with Bishop Cardney of Dunkeld, to investigate complaints against Henry Wardlaw's (bishop of St Andrews) conduct regarding provisions to Holyrood Abbey (1423). *CSSR*, ii, 4-5, 9-10.

¹⁴⁵ George Vaus, bishop of Galloway, 1482-1508 (*Fasti*, 172-173): was incorporated at Glasgow in 1466, and acquired an MA degree (1469). *Munimenta*, ii, 72, 211. He was successful in representing Patrick Vaus, his student, in a land dispute brought before the lords auditors in 1483. Dowden, *Bishops*, 370. For Vaus at Parliament (1504): *RPS*, 1504/3/2 (accessed, 6 September 2010). For Vaus as a Lord of Council (1497, 1505, 1507): *ALCC*, 78-79; *ALCP*, lxi-lxiii; Dowden, *Bishops*, 370. No evidence survives of Vaus pursuing university instruction beyond his arts degree.

first instance, William Chisholm Senior's and Alexander Gordon II's roles as senators of the College of the Justice, when viewed in the context of their respective administrative and official careers, are indicative of their being well versed in both canon and civil law. Chisholm¹⁴⁶ was a MA graduate and Gordon reputedly studied at Aberdeen, before transferring to Paris and graduating as MA in 1537-1538; it may be that the latter also pursued studies in decreets at Paris.¹⁴⁷ Beyond this, there survives no further evidence of how these men undertook legal training. As younger sons of the nobility, they perhaps engaged in apprenticeships with private tutors as James Stewart II appears to have done with William Schevez.

Table 5 (below) provides a breakdown of those of the 161 bishops constituting our main study known or likely to have received some education in a higher discipline at university level. With Figure 5, it highlights that when identified graduates in theology or either law are viewed together with those who studied these subjects but not to degree level, fluctuations in the percentage of bishops who definitely received some university instruction in a higher discipline – graduates and scholars – broadly mirror those in the level of known higher degree-holders. Exceptions to this arise in intervals 1380-1399 and 1480-1499 (Table 5, bordered in red), when the addition of higher discipline scholars inverts the trajectory of known graduates. In the interval 1380-1399, this augmented level rises by 9% instead of mirroring the slight decline in graduates viewed as a distinct group; while in the interval 1480-1499, the absence of known higher discipline scholars gives rise to a 4% drop in the augmented level. These

¹⁴⁶ William Chisholm Senior, bishop of Dunblane, 1526-1546 (*Fasti*, 103): matriculated at St Andrews in 1518, and acquired an MA (1521). *Early Records*, 214; *Acta*, 332, 337. No record survives of Chisholm receiving further tuition at university. For Chisholm in Parliament, and as a Lord of Articles: *RPS*, 1535/2, 1535/3, 1535/5, 1535/8 (accessed, 6 September 2010). As a Lord of Council c.1545-1554: *ALCP*, 541, 549, 555, 575, 586, 629-632. He first served as an extraordinary senator of the College of Justice from 1546, before being appointed an ordinary senator by Mary de Guise (1558). Brunton, *College of Justice*, 89.

¹⁴⁷ For Alexander Gordon II's claims to various Scottish benefices, 1544-1575: above, n.27. Gordon was privately tutored, before graduating as MA within just three months of matriculating at Paris in December 1537. McNeill, '*Acta rectoria*', 68, 75. This suggests that he sought formal training in a higher discipline – most likely decreets – and before doing so, underwent examination in arts. Shaw proposes that Gordon studied at Aberdeen before Paris; if correct, he did so as a non-graduating student. D. Shaw, 'Gordon, Alexander (c.1516–1575)', *DNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11016>]. Accessed, 8 Sept 2010]. For Gordon as a Lord of Council (1546, 1554): *ALCP*, 553-554, 629. At Parliament (1554, 1560): *RPS*, A1554/4/3, A1560/8/1, A1560/8/7 (accessed, 8 September 2010). As a privy councillor and commissioner to that body (1566-1571): *RPC*, xiv, 23, 27, 91-92, 104, 309-314. As an extraordinary senator of the College of Justice from 1565: Brunton, *College of Justice*, 128-132.

inversions do not appear stark; however, in the former interval, the addition of higher discipline scholars increases the percentage of those who received some university instruction in these subjects by almost half the number again of established graduates.

A more striking contrast with the pattern of higher degree-holding emerges, however, when known degree-holders and scholars of higher disciplines (Figure 5, red and purple) are viewed along with all bishops suggested to have received some university instruction in these subjects: that is, both the possible graduates and scholars (Figure 5, orange and pink) and the probable graduates or scholars (Figure 5, yellow). Including these categories, the aggregate numbers and overall trajectory (the ‘conjectural HD total’) are dramatically different to that of known higher degree graduates considered alone.

The interval 1440-1459 appears a turning point (Table 5, highlighted in blue). Prior to this, the aggregate (‘conjectural’) higher discipline trajectory broadly maps that of known graduates and scholars, although these conjectural levels are higher and the variations between intervals are less pronounced. From 1460, however, the figures for suggested higher discipline graduates and scholars – viewed as a separate group – far exceed those for bishops qualified in a higher discipline, as well as substantially overshadowing the combined percentages of known higher discipline graduates and scholars. Thus, when all these groups are combined to give the conjectural extent of university-level tuition in higher disciplines shared by the Scottish episcopate, the resulting trajectory is much more steady than that of degree-holding in these subjects. When graduate numbers are augmented with these additional categories, the marked drop – of 28% – evident in the level of higher discipline graduates between intervals 1440-1459 and 1460-1479, is significantly reduced (to just 9%). This 9% decline in the conjectural total follows an 11% drop from the previous interval (1420-1429) and, aside from the 42% of bishops incumbent in 1360 whose careers suggest some university training in a higher discipline, it marks a low in the conjectural trajectory. However, at no point do the revised figures drop below 60%, and the 62% low evident in the interval 1460-1479 is followed by a gradual increase during the remainder of our study. In fact, the 85% of bishops known or suggested to have received some instruction in a higher

discipline at university level in the interval 1540-1560 almost matches the 88% high in the conjectural total apparent among those appointed towards the turn of the fifteenth century (1380-1399).

Table 5:

Breakdown of education in higher disciplines at university level, Scottish episcopate 1360-1560

Represents the number of known graduates of higher disciplines; the collective number of known graduates and scholars of higher disciplines; and the number of conjectural graduates and scholars of higher disciplines, as percentages of the number of bishops in each interval. ‘Suggested HD Graduates and Scholars’ incorporates possible graduates and scholars, and probable graduates and scholars, as depicted in Figure 5. Those with legal experience are not represented.

Interval	HD** Graduates	HD Graduates and Scholars	Suggested HD Graduates and Scholars	Conjectural HD Total
Inc. 1360*	18%	36%	9%	45%
1360 - 1379	53%	60%	20%	80%
1380 - 1399	50%	69%	19%	88%
1400 - 1419	80%	80%	0%	80%
1420 - 1439	67%	78%	0%	78%
1440 - 1459	43%	43%	24%	67%
1460 - 1479	15%	23%	39%	62%
1480 - 1499	19%	19%	44%	63%
1500 - 1519	7%	7%	66%	73%
1520 - 1539	12%	24%	47%	71%
1540 - 1560	8%	8%	77%	85%

* Inc. 1360: incumbents of 1360

** HD: Higher Discipline

In drawing conclusions with respect to levels of education in higher disciplines shared by the Scottish episcopate, we must view these conjectural totals cautiously. The lack of extant muniments for the faculties of law and theology at Scotland's medieval universities, together with the patchy nature of university records generally for the period concerned, impedes determining the nature and extent of higher discipline instruction received by these 'suggested' graduates and scholars. Where their names appear in ecclesiastical and secular administrative records, the apparent absence of higher discipline credentials for the possible and probable scholars of this 'suggested' group might indicate that if they did undergo some university training in law, theology or medicine, they did not pursue courses to degree level.

Basing such interpretations on non-university sources, in which the recording of credentials was subject to the practice, dedication or even whim of particular scribes, perhaps leads us to view certain of these students unfairly. However, Figure 5 illustrates that the 'possible scholars' and 'probable graduates or scholars' categories account for an overwhelming majority of the 'suggested higher discipline graduates and scholars' presented in Table 5; and of these, the 'probable' category commands the larger proportion. For most of these scholars, such as William Meldrum, David Hamilton and Robert Stewart, this probable period of higher discipline scholarship appears to have been too short to warrant a degree. We have also seen that others of this 'probable' category, having graduated in arts, seem to have been engaged at particular universities for sufficient time to acquire a further degree but are not recorded with higher discipline credentials when acting as officials in the faculty of arts – Henry Wemyss and Walter Stewart, for example. While allowing an appropriate amount of caution for those of our 'suggested' group who may have obtained an unrecorded qualification in a higher discipline, this does encourage the interpretation that most of our possible and probable scholars – if they did in fact receive some instruction in law, theology or medicine – did not pursue their studies to degree level.

Nonetheless, the 'probable' scholars illustrate that while the number of higher discipline graduates among the episcopate declined from 1440, Scotland's bishops continued to recognise value in acquiring some university-level training in these

subjects. When known degree-holders are viewed together with ‘probable’ scholars, the drop in numbers pursuing higher disciplines at university during the second century of our study is less pronounced. In fact, the figures for this augmented higher discipline level (graduates and ‘probable’ scholars) over the closing six intervals (1440-1560) when averaged (53%), equates to the average percentage of known higher discipline graduates among prelates of 1360-1420 (54%). ‘Probable’ scholars account for at least half those elevated to the episcopate during the second century of our study whose careers exhibit some evidence of university instruction in a higher discipline. Rather than a lack of interest in pursuing these subjects at university, this indicates a shift in attitudes among those aspiring to advanced ecclesiastical or administrative careers from the mid-fifteenth century and, for some seeking preferment, satisfaction with partial instruction in a higher discipline. It was perhaps the case that, like John Peebles, such scholars of law sought to supplement initial university instruction with apprenticeships in episcopal courts, or through papal or royal service, thereby allowing them to bring both theory and practical application to appointments. Conversely, others provided bishops before being the appropriate canonical age, such as David Hamilton and Robert Stewart, appear to have enrolled at universities to extend their education before fully assuming office.

We shall see that most of this ‘probable’ group matriculated or remained at Scottish institutions having received private tuition or obtained arts qualifications, suggesting perhaps that this shift in attitude with respect to pursuing higher degrees accompanied the foundation of universities in Scotland. We shall also see that it appears to reflect changing patterns of provision to high ecclesiastical office and the gradual erosion of papal jurisdiction over such appointments, which altered the social make-up of the Scottish episcopate in the second century of our study. Irrespective of motivation, the majority of these ‘probable’ scholars opting to enrol or stay at Scottish universities indicates that St Andrews, Glasgow, and perhaps Aberdeen, catered for the higher discipline demands of Scottish scholars much more quickly than has traditionally been supposed. Dedicated academics such as Adam Bothwell may have viewed the education offered at Scotland’s medieval institutions scathingly and continued to pursue

their studies overseas. However, Figure 8 (below) illustrates that there is little evidence of studying higher disciplines at continental institutions among those elevated to the episcopate from 1460 and, for this group at least, domestic universities appear to have met their higher discipline requirements effectively.

Thus, while maintaining due circumspection, this category of ‘probable higher discipline graduates and scholars’ allows us to question not only traditional assumptions made of Scotland’s medieval universities, but also – for the episcopate at least – those of attitudes to higher education and qualifications in higher disciplines among Scottish scholars. This category cautions us to be wary of applying the levels of higher education apparent among those provided to dioceses before 1425, as identified by Watt, to their fifteenth and sixteenth century successors. However, these men do seem to have continued to recognise the benefit of acquiring some grounding in a higher discipline – particularly in either or both laws – in order to improve their chances of promotion and, more importantly, to prepare themselves for fulfilling the demands of high ecclesiastical office.

3.6 Programmes of Study: preferred higher disciplines

Figure 6 offers a summary breakdown, by subjects, of the fifty-four bishops who acquired higher degrees, and the ten who can be firmly identified as having received some university instruction in a higher discipline. It illustrates that law was overwhelmingly favoured, particularly canon law (decreets), and that theology was less popular. Medicine does not appear in the breakdown at all. We have seen that Robert Shaw might be identified as the BMed active at Paris in 1492, and that William Schevez appears to have held a strong interest in medicine perhaps developed through a period of study under John Spierinck at Louvain in the late 1450s or early 1460s.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, Adam Bothwell’s library suggests the bishop of Orkney engaged with developments in medical theory, although this appears to have been in the capacity of a Renaissance scholar rather than a qualified physician.¹⁴⁹ As the medical aspects of the academic

¹⁴⁸ Shaw: above, n.122. Schevez: above, n.123.

¹⁴⁹ Shaw, ‘Adam Bothwell’, 161-163.

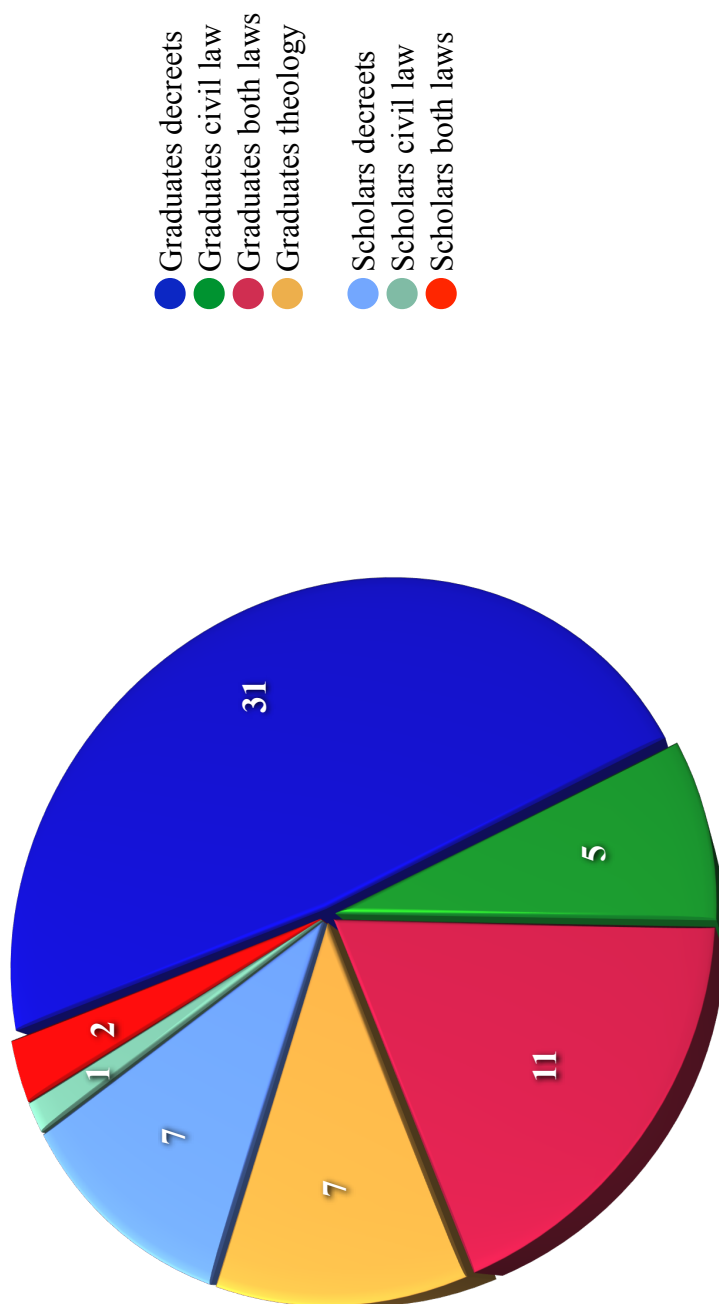
profiles of these men remain speculative, they are not represented here. Moreover, as a summary breakdown, the chart does not reflect the seventeen graduates and scholars who incorporated, or perhaps incorporated, instruction in an additional higher discipline in their programmes of higher study. In keeping with the preferences evident in Figure 6, most of these seventeen opted to broaden their legal experience, although three appear to have chosen to supplement their law studies with tuition in theology.¹⁵⁰

We have seen that of the higher disciplines, theology was accorded a premium and those with theology degrees might hope to secure benefices of greater value.¹⁵¹ The limited number of such graduates elevated to the episcopate during our period perhaps appears surprising then. However, the full theology programme could last up to sixteen years. In accordance with Parisian custom, a BTh *non formati*, had completed elementary training in theology lasting between five and seven years and had undertaken some basic lecturing on a book of each of the Old and New Testament. As a *baccalarius biblicus*, he was required to conduct two further years of advanced lecturing

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix 2, 'higher discipline' column.

¹⁵¹ Above, n.35.

Figure 6: Breakdown of Higher Discipline Education at University Level, Scottish Episcopate 1360–1560*
(Known graduates and scholars of higher discipline(s))



* Represents the fifty-four men identified as graduates of higher disciplines among the bishops analysed in the main body of the study, and ten identified as scholars of the same, in terms of subjects undertaken.

on the bible and act as respondent in a disputation, following which, he was permitted to lecture on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (as a *baccalarius sententiarum*). On completion of this series of lectures, the student was recognised a BTh *formatus* and remained such for four years (three from 1389), before being eligible to take the licentiate and masters degrees.¹⁵² Just seven of our bishops had opted for theology in pursuing higher studies. Table 6 illustrates a slight increase in numbers of theology graduates among those promoted to the episcopate in the mid-fifteenth century; this reflected the theological issues raised by the Great and Little Schisms and the emergence of conciliarism. Finlay Albany¹⁵³ and John Crannach (both BTh) benefited from pursuing theology at university level, and secured confirmation in their sees.¹⁵⁴ However, anti-bishops Thomas Livingston and James Ogilvy I (both MTh), provided by Felix V during the Little Schism, failed to do so. Ultimately, Livingston¹⁵⁵ returned to Scotland to act as confessor and councillor to James II, and was reduced to contesting benefices; Ogilvy¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Asztalos, 'Faculty of Theology', 418-419. By comparison, the full theology programme at Scotland's medieval universities lasted twelve years – four years for each of BTh, LTh and DTh degrees. Cant, *St Andrews*, 15. Elphinstone reduced this further at Aberdeen in 1505. See, Conclusion, n.15.

¹⁵³ Above, n.54.

¹⁵⁴ John Crannach, bishop of Caithness, 1422-1426; bishop of Brechin, 1426-1453 (*Fasti*, 55, 80): earned a MA degree (1406), and a BTh degree by 1416. He acquired both from Paris (*ACUP*, i, 923-924; ii, 238), where he acted as a regent and administrator while studying theology. Watt, *Graduates*, 118-122. For Crannach as rector at Paris, and as regent, proctor and receptor of its English nation: *ACUP*, ii, index. He was, therefore, one of few Scots to pursue studies at Paris while it was unwelcoming of Avignonese adherents (1409-1417); this might suggest that he did not endorse Scotland's stance on the Great Schism. Crannach quit theological study to undertake administrative service – first, for Charles VI of France (1417). *ibid.*, ii, 238 n. 5. He received promotion to Caithness while at the curia as procurator for James I (1422), but struggled to pay the common services before securing provision in 1424. He served James I as one of his most trusted advisors, and used his position to secure elevated ecclesiastical posts for his brothers Robert, David and William. *CPL*, vii, 407-408; *CSSR*, ii, 85, 88-89; Burns, *Churchmen*, 48-49. Robert was incorporated at Basle on John's behalf in 1436; although, it is unclear if John ever attended Basle, and he avoided adherence after it became schismatic in 1438. *ibid.*, 47-49.

¹⁵⁵ For Livingston: above, n.13, 73. He was abbot of Dundrennan, 1429-1441 (Watt, *Religious Houses*, 64-65); however, he was a prominent figure at Basle and championed conciliarism in Scotland. *CPS*, 305-307. Livingston failed to secure Dunkeld and Eugenius IV deprived him of Dundrennan, declaring him a schismatic (1441). *CPL*, ix, 226. After Basle, Livingston was reduced to supplicating for pensions and commends, but continued to style himself 'bishop of the Universal Church'. Burns, *Churchmen*, 12-13.

¹⁵⁶ Above, n.49.

Table 6: Summary Breakdown of Preferred Higher Discipline Degrees and Programmes of Study

Higher Discipline	Inc. 1360	1360 - 1379	1380 - 1399	1400 - 1419	1420 - 1439	1440 - 1459	1460 - 1479	1480 - 1499	1500 - 1519	1520 - 1539	1540 - 1560
Graduates Decrees	1	3	3	9	4	7	1	3		1	
Graduates Civil Law			3	1							
Graduates Both Laws	1	3	2	2					1	1	1
Graduates Theology		2			2	2	1				
Scholars Decrees	2	1	2		1						
Scholars Civil Law										1	
Scholars Both Laws			1				1				
Scholars Theology										1	

meanwhile sought an academic career, and completed his theological training. Conciliarist principles and the theological debates raised by the Schisms endured, and informed the work of late-medieval Scottish theologians such as John Ireland and John Mair. For most of our bishops, however, the length and cost of pursuing theology to degree level appears to have discouraged them from doing so as students. For those seeking ecclesiastical advancement and aspiring to successful careers, theology degrees did not secure quick promotions. In terms of the educational ‘tariff’ prescribed by the papacy, qualifications in either law offered better prospects of return for time and resources invested in programmes of higher study.

Training in law was also much more practically applicable in the administrative careers of those seeking high ecclesiastical office. The Church’s jurisdiction in legal matters extended not only to strictly ecclesiastical concerns such as doctrine, cases involving churchmen, provisions, benefices and revenues, but also matters affecting the laity such as marriages, dowries, legitimacy, wills and occasionally, allegations of slander or violence. The efficiency of ecclesiastical courts often made them preferable to civil courts.¹⁵⁷ A bishop’s remit in civil cases was more limited; rarely extending to matters deserving of the most severe punishment or crimes against the king, it was similar to that of the titled nobility in localities. However, grants of regality such as issued to Glasgow, Moray and St Andrews, by James II between 1450 and 1452, conferred civil jurisdiction upon bishops equal to that of sheriffs.¹⁵⁸ In receipt of such rights, a bishop might preside over the four pleas of the Crown – murder, rape, arson and robbery – but not treason.¹⁵⁹ Commonly, authority was vested in bishops but it often fell to their delegates, the official of a particular diocese, to preside. Spells as officials were common amongst those appointed to the Scottish episcopate during our period. We have seen, for example, that Henry Wemyss was official of Galloway prior to elevation to that see; William Elphinstone, who was recalled from studying civil law at Orléans to supplicate for provision as official of Glasgow (held 1471-1478), and

¹⁵⁷ Cowan, ‘Church and society’, 129.

¹⁵⁸ Glasgow (1450): *Reg. Glasguensis*, ii, 375-377. Moray (1451): *Reg. Moraviensis*, 223-226. St Andrews (1452): *APS*, ii, 73-74.

¹⁵⁹ J. Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910), 286.

was later made official of Lothian (St Andrews, held 1478-1483), continued as the latter while attempting to secure confirmation as bishop of Ross.¹⁶⁰

Like William Turnbull¹⁶¹ and William Elphinstone,¹⁶² many of our bishops acted as royal councillors, officials and diplomats, both before and after elevation to the episcopate. As envoys, familiarity with canon law was advisable; recognised across continental Europe as the *ius commune*, ‘the common law of Europe’, canon law (combined with Roman law) served as a supplementary system for reference when native legal process or precedent fell short of resolving matters in hand.¹⁶³ Studies examining the development of late-medieval Scots law and its institutions have highlighted the influence of canon law and ecclesiastical lawyers in nurturing a legally

¹⁶⁰ William Elphinstone, postulate of Ross, 1481-1483; bishop of Aberdeen, 1483-1514; archbishop-elect of St Andrews, 1513-1514. *Fasti*, 4, 349-350, 384-385; *CPL*, xiii.1, 105; *Vetera Monumenta*, 508 no. 894; Boece, *Episcoporum Vitae*, 105-106. Elphinstone acquired an MA degree from Glasgow in 1462. *Munimenta*, ii, 65, 193, 196-197. He studied decreets there before transferring to Paris in 1465 (*ibid.*, ii, 204) where he graduated as BDec (c.1468) and undertook the role of ‘first reader’ in decreets, then moved to Orléans to learn civil law in 1470. Boece, *Episcoporum Vitae*, 62-63. We are dependent on Boece for much of this law profile; however, Elphinstone returned to Glasgow in anticipation of his appointment as diocesan official (1470), which discredits Boece’s assertion that Elphinstone studied in France for thirteen years. *Fasti*, 245; Macfarlane, *Elphinstone*, 35-39. He re-entered Glasgow University while official, and served as dean of Arts (1472-1473) and rector (1474-1475), and received an honorary LDec degree (1474). *Munimenta*, ii, 81-82, 84, 214-216. When postulate of Ross, Elphinstone continued to fulfil his legal role as official of Lothian (from 1478, *ALCC*, i, 58), and refused to meet debts outstanding from his predecessor (Woodman). Macdougall, *James III*, 272-273; *CPL*, xiii.1, 105. As with Ross, Elphinstone failed to gain consecration as archbishop of St Andrews, despite being endorsed by the Crown and most of the Scottish elite (excepting rival Gavin Douglas). *LP HVIII*, 2nd edition, 1.2, 1079 no. 2443; *James V Letters*, 4 & n; *ALCP*, 11.

¹⁶¹ For Turnbull: above, n.74. As nuncio between Eugenius IV and James I: *CPL*, viii, 281, 482; ix, 554; Burns, *Churchmen*, 37-38. As keeper of the Privy Seal, from 1440: Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 19; *ER*, v, 143. As secretary, from 1441: *RMS*, ii, 61 nos. 264, 265. As keeper of James II: *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, ed. J. Robertson, iii (Aberdeen, 1857), 196.

¹⁶² For Elphinstone: above, n.160. As an administrator, Elphinstone served James III and IV. As a Lord Auditor, he was present at eight of twelve sittings 1478-1485 (*ALA*, 58-150); and, was similarly dedicated 1488-1496 (Macfarlane, *Elphinstone*, 421). He was likewise committed as a Lord of Council. *ALCC*, i, 3-118; *ER*, ix, 645; x, 435, 604; xi, 283. As auditor of the *ER*: ix, 298, 437, 459; x, 122. As auditor of the *TA*: i, 196, 206, 271, 311; ii, 479; iii, 1, 210-211; iv, 1, 141, 143, 381, 383, 448. For his conducting justice ayres: *TA*, ii, 90-91, 299-300; iii, 91, 329; iv, 319-320. As chancellor of the kingdom (1488): *RMS*, ii, 359-364 nos. 1707-1730, witness 146. As keeper of the Privy Seal (1492-1513): *ER*, xi, 163, 168, 169, 172; *RSS*, i, 6-535 nos. 39-2436; *RMS*, ii, 446-847 nos. 2111-3883, witness 30. As a diplomat, he conducted negotiations with Louis XI, Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII and Castile. Boece, *Episcoporum Vita*, 66; *ER*, x, 559; *Foedera*, xii, 343, 345; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 461-464, 495; *TA*, i, lxxiv-v, cviii.

¹⁶³ G. Dolezalek, ‘The Court of Session as a *ius commune* court – witnessed by Sinclair’s ‘Practicks’, 1540-1549’, *Miscellany*, iv (Edinburgh, 2002), 54.

mature society staffed by a ‘professionalised’ class.¹⁶⁴ We have seen that many of our bishops had cut their administrative teeth at the papal curia, affording the Scottish episcopate extensive experience of the legal theory and mechanisms underpinning the most highly-developed court system in Europe. As litigants engaged in correspondence, or procurators in regular attendance at the Sacred Roman Rota – the foremost papal tribunal court – Scotland’s clergymen lawyers were exposed to a refined professionalised system. This training informed their work in episcopal courts, and administrative service in Scotland generally. Robertson’s recovery and analysis of Scottish cases brought before the Roman Rota has revealed the similarity between the interlocutory recordings of the Rota and those of the lords of council in civil causes. This, he argues, is unsurprising given the traffic between Scotland and the Rota, and underlines the influence of ecclesiastical law and its practitioners on the development of Scots law and process.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, Macfarlane and Cairns have demonstrated the deliberate efforts of William Elphinstone and Gavin Dunbar II to improve the administration of civil justice: the former through the foundation of Aberdeen and legislative measures such as the Education Act; and, the latter as the initiator and driving force behind the foundation of the College of Justice.¹⁶⁶

To those aspiring to ecclesiastical advancement, knowledge and understanding of legal theory and practice was clearly more advantageous than qualifications in theology and medicine. With such far-reaching administrative remits, the preference for canon law (decreets) evident among our bishops with higher degrees is understandable. With this in mind, the general decline in number of qualifications in decreets held by the Scottish episcopate might seem strange, although we shall see that this was linked to

¹⁶⁴ Dolezalek, ‘The Court of Session’, 54-55; J. J. Robertson, ‘The development of the law’, in J. Brown ed., *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), 142, 145-147, 150-152; J. Durkan, ‘The Early Scottish Notary’, in E. J. Cowan and D. Shaw edd., *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 30-31.

¹⁶⁵ Robertson, ‘Development of the Law’, 145, 147, 151-152. Robertson has recovered and examined Scottish appeals to the Roman Rota dating from 1464 onwards. These highlight the frequency of Scots’ supplications to this court, as well as their regular engagement as procurators at the Rota. This material offers valuable insight into the influence of canon law and papal administrative practices in shaping legal developments in late-medieval Scotland. I am grateful to Dr Robertson for permitting me access to his collection.

¹⁶⁶ Macfarlane, *Elphinstone*, chapters 3, 7, 8, at 117-118, 302-304, 420-425 particularly; J. W. Cairns, ‘Revisiting the Foundation of the College of Justice’, *Miscellany*, v (Edinburgh, 2006), 31, 37.

secular encroachment on collations to benefices and alterations inherent to traditional patronage networks. In tracing the ‘professionalisation’ of Scots law, Finlay remarks that Scots law was almost distinct in Europe in not requiring advocates engaged at the central civil court to hold a university degree in either or both laws.¹⁶⁷ Finlay’s observations are drawn on the practising of civil law, however, this perhaps reflected attitudes towards legal qualifications among clergymen lawyers generally and might explain the number of bishops in the second half of our study who had followed short programmes of higher discipline tuition at universities but not to degree-level.

In response to changes in customary methods of advancement, clerics opted for combining some theoretical training with practical administrative apprenticeships at episcopal courts or in secular service. William Schevez, for example, who further to his possible medical studies, appears to have received some instruction in law while teaching arts at St Andrews.¹⁶⁸ Subsequently, modest roles in royal service allowed Schevez to secure the patronage of James III, provision to the archbishopric of St Andrews, and the role of court ‘fixer’ preparing and counter-signing royal letters. This earned him enmity from the circle opposing James III in 1482 and the criticism of his episcopal colleagues for being ill-equipped for his role as archbishop. In the context of the general decline in higher degree-holding among the Scottish episcopate, this slur on Schevez’s education is unfair and appears to have been a propaganda device employed

¹⁶⁷ J. Finlay, *Men of Law in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 2000), 54. Elphinstone identified inadequate education as being responsible for widespread incompetencies among Scotland’s procurators and judges. This concern underpinned the ‘Education Act’, through which Elphinstone sought to develop a body of university-trained legal administrators, thereby encouraging uniformity in the application of the law. Macfarlane, *Elphinstone*, 424; W. E. Levie, ‘Bishop Elphinstone and the Law’, *JR*, vol. lxxviii (London, 1936), 113-116. The act seems to have realised limited immediate success; Finlay also suggests that sixteenth-century Scots lawyers, who were university educated, tended to seek theoretical preparation at French institutions rather than at home. J. Finlay, ‘James Henryson and the Origins of the Office of King’s Advocate in Scotland’, *SHR*, lxxix.1 (Edinburgh, 2000), 24; ‘The Early Career of Thomas Craig, Advocate’, *ELR*, viii (Edinburgh, 2004), 299-300. This might indicate that although Scotland’s *studia* were meeting the requirements of scholars content to acquire some legal theory (see, section 3.8), those seeking qualifications recognised that continental institutions offered better instruction. If allowed to become entrenched, such patterns would limit the capacity of Scotland’s universities to keep pace with continental reforms in legal education and practice. For apprenticeships and the professionalisation of Scots law: J. Finlay, ‘The Lower Branch of the Legal Profession in Early Modern Scotland’, *ELR*, ii (Edinburgh, 2007), 46-48.

¹⁶⁸ During the 1460s, perhaps while regenting following his return from Louvain (above, n.123). *Acta*, 150, 170-171.

by Bishop Andrew Stewart (Moray) in attempting to oust Schevez from St Andrews.¹⁶⁹ Nonetheless, concern over the theoretical preparation of Scotland's legal administrators evident in Elphinstone's attempts at reform through educational provision and Dunbar's demands for men 'literate' in both laws to staff the College of Justice, seems to have coincided with the professionalisation of Scots law to generate renewed interest in legal qualifications.¹⁷⁰ We shall see that secular nominations to dioceses from the mid-fifteenth century onwards gave rise to a significant increase in the number of noble appointments to the Scottish episcopate – particularly of sons of titled nobles – which no longer allowed for the recruitment of men of less-privileged backgrounds who were qualified in either or both laws as had been more customary in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. However, traces of renewed interest are evident in the

¹⁶⁹ Macdougall, *James III*, 297; EUL, Laing III 322, *Epistolae Regum Scotorum*, fos. 28-30. Schevez was slighted as a 'new man', suggesting that his lack of illustrious birth fuelled contempt among episcopal colleagues. *ibid.*, fo. 28, dated c.1482-1483. This supplication acknowledged Schevez's administrative capabilities, but emphasised Stewart's 'virtue and learning' which, with his powerful connections, should allow him to command the episcopate, correct abuses and stimulate reform. Schevez subsequently conceded that he was 'unequal to the burden' of administering St Andrews. *ibid.*, fo. 29-30. However, these men shared comparable educational backgrounds. Both were MAs, and had undertaken some non-graduating further study; Stewart at St Andrews and Glasgow. *Acta*, 166, 175-180, 186; *Munimenta*, ii, 87, 90. For Schevez: above, n.123. Arguably, Schevez demonstrated greater commitment to learning in seeking instruction in medicine and law. Stewart was unsuccessful in ousting Schevez. *Fasti*, 384.

¹⁷⁰ Cairns, 'College of Justice', 33.

academic credentials of James Ogilvy II,¹⁷¹ Gavin Dunbar II,¹⁷² and William Gordon,¹⁷³ all qualified in both laws. Moreover, while we are unable to assemble firm academic profiles for Henry Sinclair¹⁷⁴ and Adam Bothwell,¹⁷⁵ their libraries and careers as judges, as well as in secular administration, suggest they were fully-fledged members of this professionalised class of lawyers.

¹⁷¹ James Ogilvy II, bishop-nominate of Aberdeen, 1514 x 1515 (*Fasti*, 4): an arts graduate under Hector Boece at early Aberdeen. 'Preliminary Matter', in H. Boece, *Scotorum Historia* (1575 version), trans., ed., D. Sutton, (<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/boece/> (Irvine, 2010), accessed, 27 July 2010; *SP*, ii, 5-6. It appears that Ogilvy matriculated at Orléans in 1508 to study laws. Kirkpatrick, 'Scottish Nation Orléans', 96, 102. He became the first professor of civil law at Aberdeen, which suggests that in addition to a DDec degree, Ogilvy also held qualifications in civil law. *CPS*, 496-497.

¹⁷² Gavin Dunbar II, archbishop of Glasgow, 1523-1547 (*Fasti*, 193): a MA graduate (*Formulare*, i, 43 no. 25), although it is unclear where Dunbar obtained this degree. Cairns identifies him as the Gavin Dunbar incorporated in decreets at Glasgow in 1470. Cairns 'College of Justice' 31 & n; *Munimenta*, ii, 77. If correct, the archbishop was at least ninety years on death. However, this seems implausible; Mair detailed Dunbar's continental education and his role as part of Mair's Parisian circle before transferring to Angers, where he acquired DUJ degrees. Mair, *History of Greater Britain*, 444-445. Mair left Paris in 1517 and thus, Dunbar might be identified as the 'treasurer of Ross' incorporated at St Andrews in 1509 (*Early Records*, 204), who does not appear to have graduated but perhaps transferred to Paris. This suggestion also fits better with Mair's profile of Dunbar than Dunlop's identification of him as the St Andrews graduate of 1475. *Acta*, 188, 194, 486. For Mair's Parisian circle: A. Broadie, *The Circle of John Mair: Logic and Logicians in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Oxford, 1985), 2.

¹⁷³ William Gordon, bishop of Aberdeen, 1545-1577 (*Fasti*, 5): may have matriculated at St Andrews before transferring to Aberdeen where he studied under Boece. *Early Records*, 209; 'Preliminary Matter', in Boece, *Scotorum Historia* (1575 version) – accessed, 27 July 2010. Macfarlane cited McNeill ('*Acta Rectoria*', 75) in suggesting that Gordon went from Aberdeen to Paris, before obtaining degrees in both laws at Angers. L. J. Macfarlane 'Gordon, William (d. 1577)', *DNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11085> – accessed, 12 September 2010]. However, the dates of Gordon's degrees do not support a Paris experience; he had graduated as LLaws by 1546, seven years before Macfarlane's William Gordon matriculated at Paris (1553). *Formulare*, ii, 343 no. 548. In 1553, moreover, Gordon was already bishop of Aberdeen and although the Paris student was styled '*nobilis*', he was not accorded an episcopal title – this, in contrast to the recording of Bishop Cunningham's incorporation at Paris (1542). McNeill, '*Acta Rectoria*', 75. Gordon's episcopal status was acknowledged when received at Louvain in 1551. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', 324.

¹⁷⁴ Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, 1558-1565 (*Fasti*, 351): matriculated, and acquired a BA degree from St Andrews in 1524. *Early Records*, 220; *Acta*, 114. No further record of Sinclair's education survives, but he was styled 'venerable Master' on provision to Glasgow Primo (1537). *Formulare*, ii, 83 no. 376. As the son of Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, he was a student of means 'solvit' (*Acta*, cxv & n, 114) and had no particular need for benefices to support his studies. The gap between his graduating at St Andrews and receiving benefices in the late 1530s, might suggest that Sinclair quit St Andrews for a continental institution and immersed himself in studies of a higher discipline. If identifiable as the Henry Sinclair, official of Moray, in 1537 (*Fasti*, 319), this appointment probably acknowledged legal training. So too, might his roles as Lord of Session (1537), commissioner to Parliament (1539), royal secretary (1558), senator (from 1537) and president of the College of Justice (1558). *RPS*, 1538/10 (accessed, 12 September 2010); *RSS*, v, no. 507, 768; Brunton, *College of Justice*, x, xii, 58-60. For Sinclair's library, which contained both scholastic and humanist texts: *Early Libraries*, 49-60.

¹⁷⁵ Above, n.128.

3.7 Patterns of University Attendance: arts destinations

Figures 7a and 7b illustrate patterns of university attendance among arts degree-holders elevated to the episcopate during the period of our study. Figure 7a examines the ninety-two known arts graduates among our bishops in absolute terms. We have seen, however, that the number of bishops elevated to the episcopate could vary significantly between intervals.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, the number of arts graduates fluctuated dramatically across the period surveyed, as evident in Figure 7a. Thus, Figure 7b presents patterns of attendance in percentage terms.¹⁷⁷ Degree-holders are represented solely in terms of the institution from which they obtained their highest level of arts qualification. James Ogilvy I, for example, who determined at St Andrews with a BA degree in 1429 before transferring to Cologne where he graduated as MA in 1434, is depicted as a Cologne graduate (interval 1440-1459).¹⁷⁸

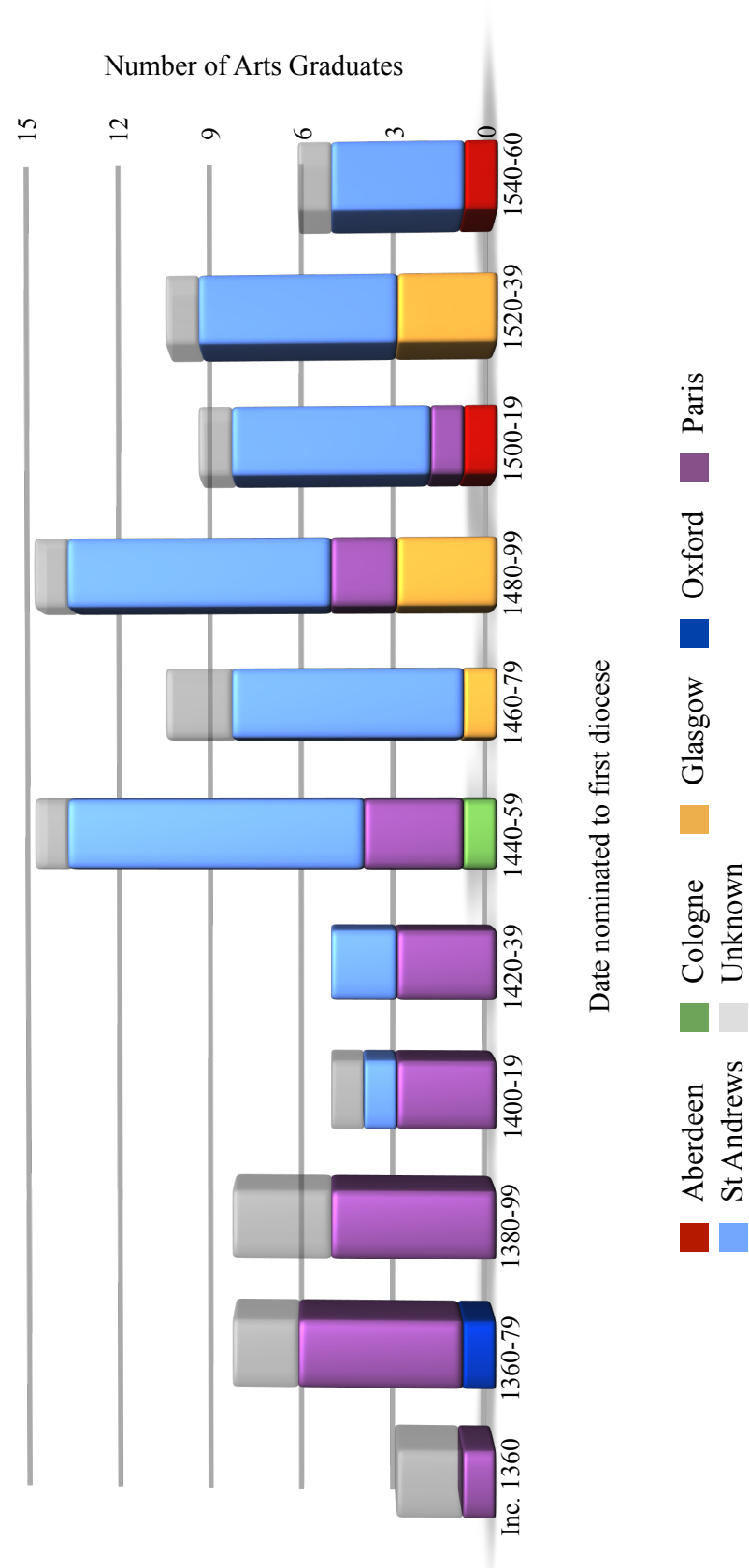
In broad terms, the graphs illustrate a shift in patterns of university attendance in response to the foundation of institutions of higher education in Scotland. Domestic opportunities to receive university-level instruction in arts stimulated a shift away from the traditional practice of seeking such education at European institutions – customarily at Paris – towards Scots scholars doing so locally at St Andrews, Glasgow or Aberdeen. The graphs further highlight that the popularity of Paris as an arts destination for those appointed bishops in the first century of our study gave way to St Andrews as the dominant institution among preferred destinations. The foundation of St Andrews had an immediate impact, albeit limited in the first instance. The gradual nature of this influence is unsurprising given the customary gap of seven to nine years between students graduating in arts and reaching twenty-seven years old, the canonical age at which clerics were eligible for promotion to the episcopate. As we have seen, almost all known arts degree-holders provided to dioceses during the interval 1400-1419, and indeed most of those appointed during the following interval, had received their arts

¹⁷⁶ Above, n.25: lowest (nine) during interval, 1420-1439; highest (twenty-one), 1440-1459.

¹⁷⁷ Arts degree-holders in each interval being represented as a percentage of the number of arts graduates provided during the same.

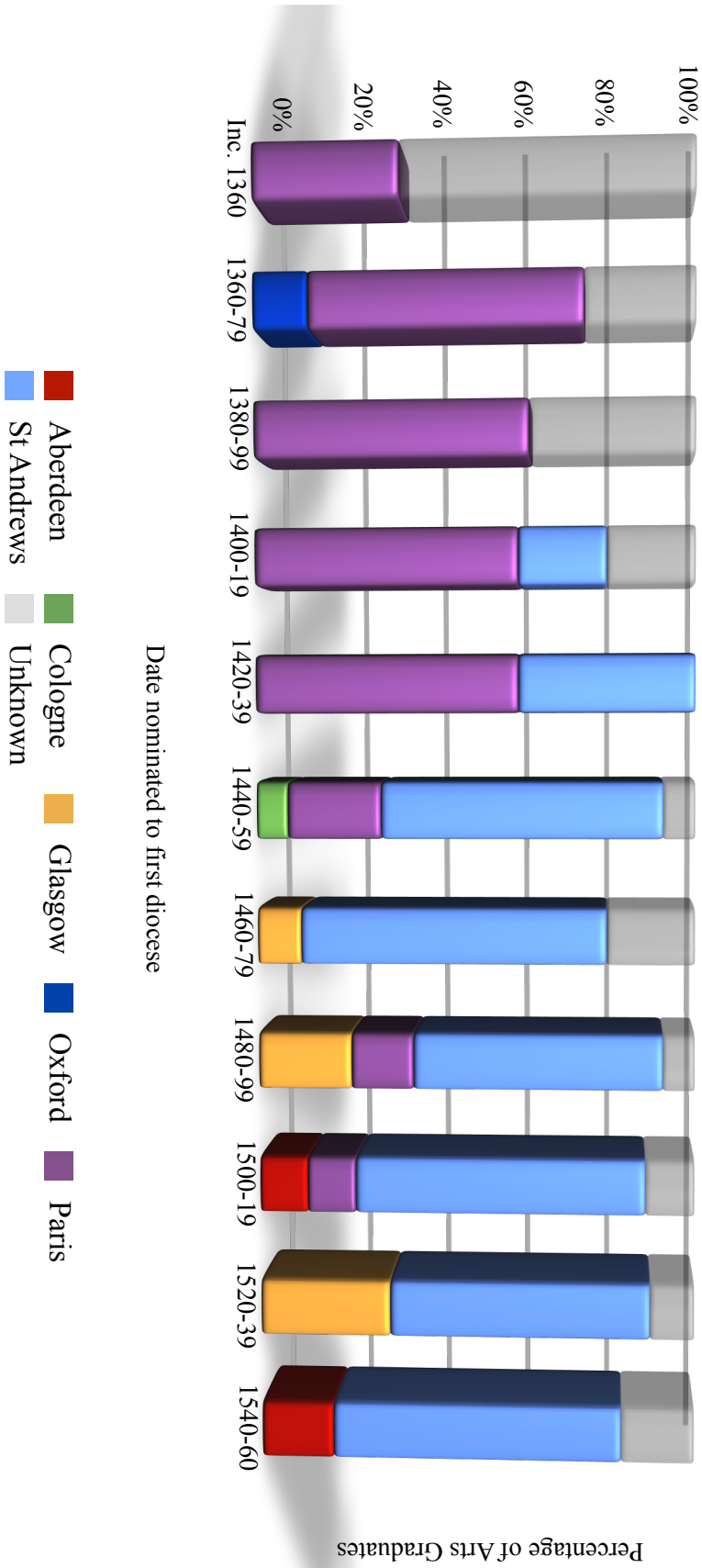
¹⁷⁸ Above, n.49.

Figure 7a: Patterns of University Attendance, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560: Arts Graduates *
 Known graduates (absolute terms)



* Represents the ninety-two men identified as arts graduates among the bishops analysed in the main body of the study, in absolute terms; and, in terms of the university from which they obtained their highest level of arts degree.

Figure 7b: Patterns of University Attendance, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560: Arts Graduates*
Known graduates (percentage terms)



* Represents the ninety-two men identified as arts graduates among bishops analysed in the main body of the study, as percentages of the total number of arts graduates appointed to dioceses during particular intervals; and, in terms of the university from which they obtained their highest level of arts degree.

tuition before the inception of university education in Scotland.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, examination of patterns of attendance for higher discipline instruction (Figures 8a-8c below) indicates that reorientation away from Paris after its academic community withdrew allegiance from Benedict XIII, and in response to university provision in Scotland, occurred earlier among higher discipline scholars. Customarily, these men were older on acquiring qualifications – particularly if they had graduated in arts beforehand – and theoretically could be elevated to the episcopate within a few years of obtaining a higher degree.

While these graphs underline a marked shift in preferred arts destinations in response to the foundation of *studia generale* in Scotland, they also make clear that this did not constitute a complete break with traditional patterns of attendance. We have seen, that the turbulent political environment in France, which made their universities less attractive for Scots academics in the early-fifteenth century, gave Scots exiles from Paris a strong incentive to found a *studium generale* in their native land.¹⁸⁰ In prompting the foundation of the Scottish universities, international politics thus influenced not only patterns of university attendance among our bishops, but also attitudes to undertaking formal arts instruction prior to studying a higher discipline. However, it did not impact upon arts scholarship as quickly, or in quite the same fashion, as is evident in analysis of higher discipline destinations.¹⁸¹

Paris had traditionally attracted the largest share of Scots arts scholars and in response to the altered political climate, we might expect to see a pronounced decline in Parisian arts graduates elevated to the episcopate from 1420 until the mid-fifteenth century when France once again became a more welcoming destination for Scots students. The situation did create a hiatus in Scots acquiring arts degrees from Paris,

¹⁷⁹ Above, n.28.

¹⁸⁰ Scots experienced difficulty in studying at Paris after its academic community, with France, withdrew allegiance from Benedict XIII. Scots scholars remaining at Paris in 1414 received licence to graduate, but in secret; alternatively, they could do so at another institution: Chapter 1, n.43.

¹⁸¹ Below, section 3.8, discussion of Figures 8a-8c.

between Thomas Lauder¹⁸² in 1414 and Andrew Durisdeer¹⁸³ in 1438. However, with the exception of interval 1460-1479, the number of Parisian arts graduates among the Scottish episcopate remained steady until the turn of the sixteenth century. This can be explained by the smaller number of bishops appointed during the first century of our study who, in contrast to their successors, had secured arts qualifications. For this earlier cohort of the episcopate who, as discussed under Figures 3a and 3b, demonstrated a preference for securing higher degrees without first having completed formal arts training, the inhospitable climate of early-fifteenth century France impacted more keenly on customary destinations for studying law and theology.

Among our bishops at least, the establishment of a *studium generale* in Scotland in response to the hostile international environment encouraged a marked increase in numbers pursuing arts degrees, the majority of them doing so at home. Paris continued to attract arts scholars, some of whom were later elevated to the episcopate. However, five of the six Parisian graduates provided to sees from the interval 1440-1459 onwards – including Andrew Stewart II, examined above – had transferred from Scottish institutions having determined as BAs.¹⁸⁴ The first of these to do so was Andrew

¹⁸² Thomas Lauder, bishop of Dunkeld, 1452-1475 (*Fasti*, 128): graduated as MA at Paris (1414), where he remained for three years perhaps while studying decreets. *ACUP*, ii, 166, 167, 177, 184, 216, 226. The recording of his graduation in Parisian records, when Scots were required to graduate from Paris in secret (above, n.180), indicates that Lauder did not conform openly with Scotland's endorsement of Avignon. His incorporation at Basle (1435) might also suggest that Lauder had developed moderate conciliarist sympathies as a student, which inclined him to support conciliar efforts to settle the Great Schism. Burns, *Churchmen*, 43. Before provision to Dunkeld, Lauder was employed as tutor to James II; he continued to counsel his former pupil. *CSSR*, v, 152-153 no. 551.

¹⁸³ Andrew Durisdeer, bishop of Glasgow, 1455-1473 (*Fasti*, 193): acquired a BA degree at St Andrews (record no longer extant), before being admitted at Paris 'ad eundem' from St Andrews' (his BA degree being recognised) in 1437, and graduated as MA (1438). *ACUP*, ii, 501, 504. Durisdeer appears to have received some decreets instruction before entering Cardinal d'Estouteville's service as 'his continual commensal familiar' (1446), from whom he received extensive patronage. *CPL*, ix, 554-555; *CSSR*, iv, 323 no. 1311; v, 22 no. 86, 38 no. 152, 39 no. 153, 54 no. 218 & 220, 159-160 no. 574. Estouteville instigated extensive reform at Paris in 1452. *CUP*, iv, 728. This may have encouraged Turnbull to draw on Durisdeer's experience when founding Glasgow; Durisdeer was incorporated there as 'M. Andrew Durisdeer' in 1451. *Munimenta*, ii, 57.

¹⁸⁴ The five scholars – 1. Andrew Durisdeer: above, n.183. 2. Thomas Vaus, bishop-elect of Galloway, 1457 (*Fasti*, 172): graduated as BA from St Andrews, 1444 (*Acta*, 61); admitted as BA at Paris, 1445 (*ACUP*, ii, 646); acquired a LA degree, 1447 (*ibid.*, ii, 692). 3. Robert Blackadder, bishop of Aberdeen, 1480-1483; (arch)bishop of Glasgow, 1483-1508 (*Fasti*, 4, 193): graduated as BA from St Andrews, 1461 (*Acta*, 148); admitted as BA at Paris, 1464 (*ACUP*, ii, 952); acquired a MA degree, 1465 (*ACUP*, ii, 957). 4. George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld, 1483-1515 (*Fasti*, 128-129): gained a BA degree from St Andrews, 1460 (*Acta*, 145); was not recorded as a St Andrews MA graduate, but was welcomed into its arts faculty as 'M. George Brown from Paris' (1465). *Acta*, 156. 5. Andrew Stewart II: above, n.60.

Durisdeer, who we have seen was the first among our bishops to qualify as MA at Paris following the perceptible gap in Parisian attendance of the early-fifteenth century. The motivation of these migratory arts students is unclear, although George Brown, Robert Blackadder and Andrew Stewart appear to have been part of a wider group of Scots scholars inspired to transfer to Paris in this way during the late 1450s and 1460s.¹⁸⁵ In this respect then, Paris seems to have served almost as a finishing school whereby these Scots added experience of the latest in continental trends to the weight of their existing BA degrees.

Similarly, the appearance of Cologne as an arts destination in Figures 7a and 7b conceals James Ogilvy I acquiring a BA degree from St Andrews in 1429 before his MA place of study was determined by regent John Athilmer transferring to Cologne to seek further theological instruction. Chapter 2 explored the extent to which Ogilvy's academic career mapped that of Athilmer – his tutor and apparent mentor – and their place among the St Andrews' diaspora of the late 1420s and early 1430s that sought further education at continental universities, which offered more congenial academic environments for scholars subscribing to the Albertist school of philosophical thought.¹⁸⁶ Athilmer transferred to Cologne in 1429 and Ogilvy's disappearance from St Andrews' records at this point indicates he followed his tutor overseas, although, for reasons unclear, he delayed doing so; Ogilvy matriculated at Cologne in 1433 and graduated from there as MA in 1434.¹⁸⁷

Closer examination of the pull of Scotland's universities for arts students among our bishops reveals that two elevated to the episcopate during the interval 1420-1439,

¹⁸⁵ *Acta*, xxviii & n. Paris also attracted William Elphinstone, who transferred as a decreets student rather than arts scholar (1465), perhaps in the company of Andrew Stewart II. Above, n.60, 160.

¹⁸⁶ See, section 2.2.

¹⁸⁷ Above, n.49.

George Lauder¹⁸⁸ and James Kennedy¹⁸⁹ had elected to pursue their qualifications at St Andrews. Of the nine men established in mainland dioceses during this interval, only these two could have received arts training at St Andrews; the rest had acquired arts degrees or were engaged in studying a higher discipline before the foundation of Scotland's first university, or elected to forego obtaining a formal qualification in arts. This suggests that the provision of university education in Scotland exerted an immediate influence on Scottish scholars, even those aspiring to high ecclesiastical office.

Similarly, though Figures 7a and 7b illustrate that Glasgow commanded more limited appeal than its east coast counterpart, Robert Colquhoun's credentials as a Glasgow MA graduate among those elevated to the episcopate during the interval 1460-1479 is indicative of prospective scholars reacting fairly readily to the foundation of a second university in Scotland.¹⁹⁰ This is substantiated by three Glasgow arts alumni receiving provision to dioceses in the following interval: William Elphinstone, George Vaus, and David Hamilton. The small numbers concerned here dictate that any observations with respect to Glasgow's sphere of influence must be highly speculative. However, all four of these cases are broadly suggestive – among this group of scholars at least – of Glasgow exerting a primarily local or west coast pull at this stage. Colquhoun, Vaus and Hamilton were drawn from Argyll, Galloway and Glasgow

¹⁸⁸ George Lauder, bishop of Argyll, (*Fasti*, 36): graduated as BA and MA from St Andrews (1417, 1419). *Acta*, 12, 14. George was the first of the Lauder episcopal dynasty to take advantage of local university provision in Scotland. William and Alexander had sought education in France before the foundation of St Andrews, and Thomas (a nephew) followed Alexander to Paris. Robert Lauder, bishop of Dunblane, 1447-1466 (*Fasti*, 102), studied at St Andrews before transferring to the continent. Below, n.227. For further discussion of the Lauder dynasty: below, n.257.

¹⁸⁹ James Kennedy, bishop of Dunkeld, 1437-1440; bishop of St Andrews, 1440-1465 (*Fasti*, 127, 383): graduated as LA from St Andrews (1429). *Acta*, 24. Kennedy was not styled MA on graduation, but the list of licentiates was headed '*ac sollemniter graduati*', suggesting that all three candidates received the masters insignia with due ceremony. StAUL, UYUY411/1, fo. 8v. He acted as auditor while studying decreets (1430), but quit St Andrews for Louvain where he had graduated as BDec by January 1433. *Acta*, 29; *Matricule Louvain*, i, 106; *CSSR*, iv, 3 no. 9. Kennedy returned to St Andrews and had perhaps resumed studies there by 1436, when he received dispensation from lecturing to undertake diplomatic service in France. *Acta*, 42.

¹⁹⁰ Robert Colquhoun, bishop of Argyll, 1474-1493 x 1496 (*Fasti*, 36): son of John Colquhoun, fourth Colquhoun lord of Luss. *SP*, v, 606-607; MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 52 & n. 260. He matriculated at Glasgow when already rector of Luss and Kippen in 1466 (*Munimenta*, ii, 72), and graduated as BA and MA (1468, 1470). While a student, Colquhoun represented his nation in the rectorial elections of 1468 and 1469, and was appointed rector's assistant in 1469. *Munimenta*, ii, 74, 209, 212-213.

dioceses respectively; and though the Elphinstone family was based in Stirlingshire, Elphinstone was raised and educated in the vicinity of Glasgow Cathedral while his father fulfilled prebendal duties there before assisting Turnbull in establishing Glasgow University.¹⁹¹ We shall see that this sense of Glasgow commanding limited national appeal is less apparent among those who sought higher discipline instruction there. Nonetheless, a regional bias among arts students is further evident in the degree-holders appointed to dioceses between 1520 and 1539. Robert Montgomery, son of the earl of Eglinton, appears to have attended from Ayrshire.¹⁹² William Stewart's father held lands in Minto, Roxburghshire, but Stewart was born to Isabella, daughter of Walter Stewart of Renfrew, and it would seem that William's choice of Glasgow reflected a natural west coast orientation.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, similarly to Elphinstone, David Beaton

¹⁹¹ Colquhoun: above, n.190. Vaus: 'son of Robert Vaus of Galloway'. *Munimenta*, ii, 72, 211; above, n. 145. Hamilton: son of James, lord Hamilton, lord Cadzow; 'brother of lord Hamilton'. *SP*, iv, 353-354; *Munimenta*, ii, 261; above, n.44. Elphinstone: grandson of Sir William Elphinstone of Pittendreich; son of 'priest', William Elphinstone, and 'an unmarried woman' – probably Margaret Douglas of Drumlanrig. *SP*, iii, 527; *CSSR*, v, 189 no. 665. Elphinstone was raised by his father, while he was rector of Ashkirk. *CPL*, viii, 678; Macfarlane, *Elphinstone*, 19; above, n.160.

¹⁹² For Montgomery: above, n.57. Son of the earl of Eglinton. *SP*, iii, 434. No record survives of his graduating as MA, but he was incorporated at St Andrews as 'Master Robert Montgomery, postulate of Argyll' in 1525. *Early Records*, 222. This indicates that Montgomery transferred to St Andrews from another institution; most likely, he acquired an arts degree from Glasgow during the period no longer extant in its graduation records (1509-1535: below, n.196).

¹⁹³ William Stewart, bishop of Aberdeen, 1532-1545. *Fasti*, 5. For his lineage: *SP*, ii, 77-78. Confusion over Stewart's date of birth complicates determining his academic profile. Balfour Paul suggested he was born c.1479 (*ibid.*, iv, 152); Macfarlane proposed, c.1490. 'Stewart, William (c.1490-1545)', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26515>, accessed 12 September 2010]. If c.1479, Stewart may have been the master accepted at Glasgow from Paris in 1497. *Munimenta*, ii, 271. However, he was not listed in administrative records regularly until 1527, when elected dean of Glasgow and styled 'M. William Stewart, provost of Lincluden, abbot of Tongland'. *Formulare*, i, 310 no. 262, 341-343 no. 264. Stewart served as lord high treasurer and diplomat by 1530. *TA*, v, xviii, lxvi, 392, 456, 450, 458. This might suggest that he received promotion in the late 1520s having returned from studying overseas. If so, c.1490 might be the more accurate birth date; and, Stewart had perhaps graduated as MA from Glasgow during the period no longer extant in its *Munimenta* (1509-1535), before pursuing higher studies abroad.

was drawn to Glasgow by a relative: his uncle James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow from 1508-1523.¹⁹⁴

Figures 7a and 7b underline the shift in attitudes towards higher education among those elevated to the episcopate in the second century of our study as identified under Figures 3a, 3b and 4. The striking rise in the number of arts graduates provided to Scottish sees during the interval 1440-1459 and after mirrored the emergence of St Andrews as unquestionably dominant among the preferred arts destinations of Scots scholars. Of the Scottish universities, Aberdeen does not appear to have had the same influence on patterns of attendance as St Andrews, or even Glasgow. Only two bishops are identifiable as having qualified in arts at Aberdeen: James Ogilvy II, postulate of Aberdeen 1514 x 1515, and William Gordon, provided bishop of Aberdeen in 1545.¹⁹⁵ Lack of extant registers for early Aberdeen makes identification difficult, and with the gaps in Glasgow's records, might go some way to explaining the slight decline in known arts degree-holders among the sixteenth-century Scottish episcopate.¹⁹⁶ Nonetheless, as the sons of Aberdeenshire nobles, Ogilvy and Gordon studying at Aberdeen indicates that, like Glasgow, the youngest of Scotland's medieval foundations recruited successfully from its immediate environs. By contrast, St Andrews continued to attract arts scholars from across Scotland as evident in the many Hamiltons documented in the university's graduation rolls.¹⁹⁷ This probably reflects the esteem accorded to St Andrews by virtue of its seniority and, by the end of the period in question, its more extensive resources and larger academic community. That said, at

¹⁹⁴ Cardinal David Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, 1537 x 1538-1546 (*Fasti*, 386-387): matriculated at St Andrews in 1508/9 (entrants for these years are listed together: *Early Records*, 203), but transferred to Glasgow in 1511. *Munimenta*, ii, 125. Beaton graduated as MA c.1512, during the period no longer extant in Glasgow's graduation records (1509-1535). Archibald Hay, Beaton's cousin, recalled that James Beaton encouraged nephew David to pursue higher studies overseas, and David went to Paris aged sixteen. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', 329. Sanderson contests that Beaton was eighteen on transfer, and remained at Paris for only seven or eight years. M. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland, David Beaton, c.1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986), 12. Parisian records for this period no longer survive. Having acquired decrees there, Beaton sought instruction in civil law – he matriculated at Orléans as 'M. David Beaton, chancellor of Glasgow', in 1519. Kirkpatrick, 'Scottish Nation Orléans', 85.

¹⁹⁵ Gordon's address in the 'Preliminary Matter' to Boece's, *Scotorum Historia*, (1575 version; accessed, 27 July 2010) highlights that both he and Ogilvy II had studied at Aberdeen under Boece, although not at the same time. Ogilvy II: above, n.171. Gordon: above, n.173.

¹⁹⁶ For the gap in Glasgow's records, 1509-1535: *Munimenta*, ii, 285-286.

¹⁹⁷ Indexes: *Acta*, 497-498; *Early Records*, 334-335.

least for the episcopate, the collective impact of the foundation of three *studia generale* in medieval Scotland on patterns of university attendance for arts instruction is unmistakable. Not only did it stimulate, or facilitate, a shift away from the tradition of seeking education at European institutions, it also encouraged a larger number to seize local opportunities to acquire an arts degree without incurring the expense of pursuing arts education overseas that had traditionally inhibited many Scots from doing so before tackling a higher discipline.

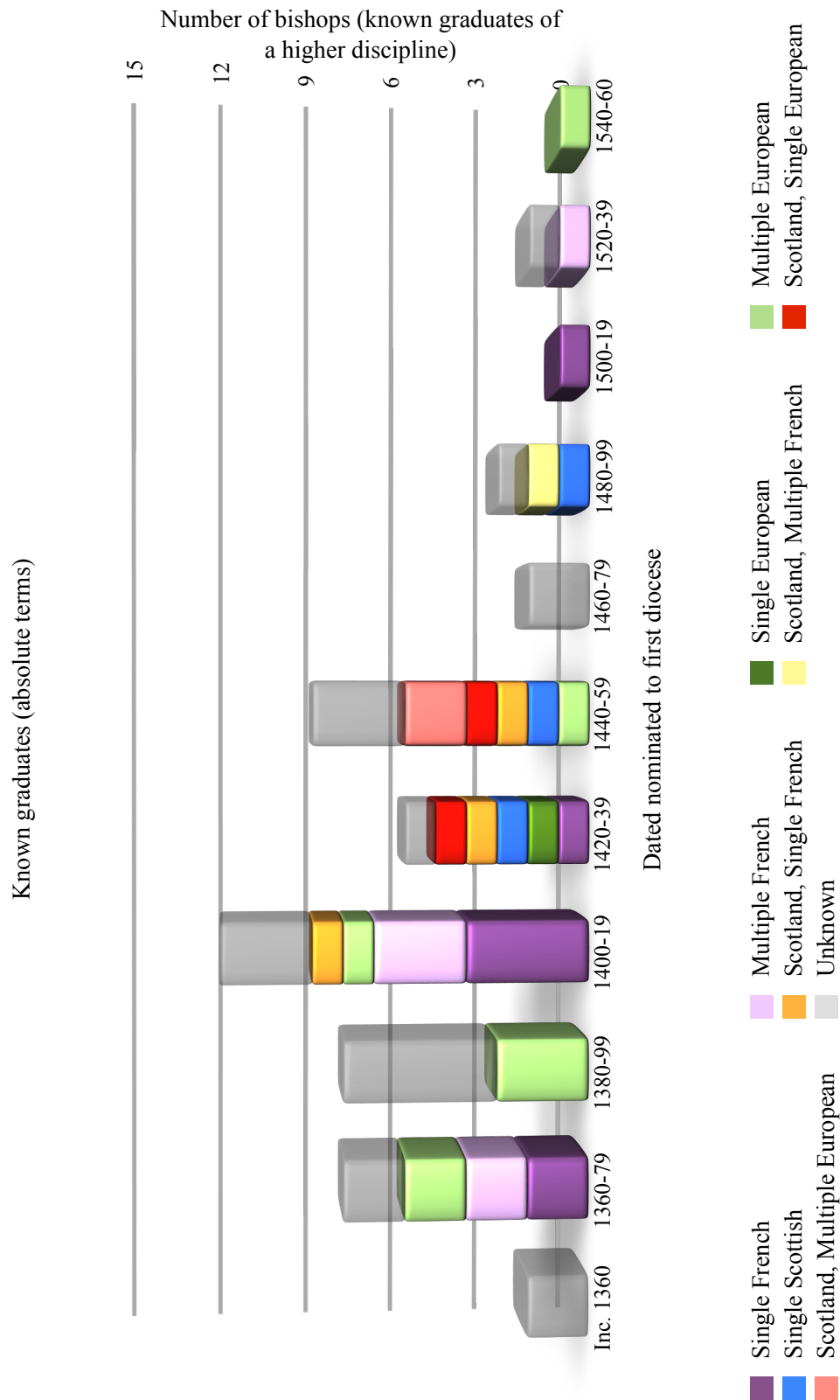
3.8 Patterns of University Attendance: higher discipline destinations

Conducting a similar evaluation of patterns of university attendance among those of our bishops who pursued studies in a higher discipline is less straightforward. 34% of the 161 men constituting the main body of our study were graduates of at least one higher discipline. However, this number is significantly smaller than that for arts graduates among our bishops and, as Figure 8a illustrates, is heavily drawn from those provided to sees between 1360 and 1460. This graph is instructive in underlining the stark decline in numbers of higher discipline graduates appointed to the Scottish episcopate during the second century of our study (see Figures 3a, 3b and 5), and providing a basic indication of which regions' universities attracted Scots scholars aspiring to successful ecclesiastical or administrative careers. It also highlights that, as suggested above, the foundation of St Andrews had an immediate, if not decisive, impact on the choice of destination made by some of our bishops.

However, Figure 8a might also indicate that this response to the foundation of *studia generale* in Scotland was only tentative, did not endure beyond the fifteenth century and, among this group of clerics at least, failed to realise the lofty ideals which underpinned their inception. Restricting our analysis of preferred destinations for higher discipline study to known graduates not only confines us to an overly small group on which to base firm general conclusions, but also neglects to take account of those who embarked upon programmes of higher study but did not follow them to degree level. Nor does it consider those identified under Figure 5 as actively engaged in

scholarly pursuits at universities having received private tuition in grammar and arts, or having acquired an arts degree. With this in mind, Figures 8b and 8c examine patterns of attendance among all bishops firmly identified as graduates or scholars of at least one higher discipline, as well as those ‘probable’ scholars whose presence at particular institutions – but not as arts students – suggests they also received education in these subjects.

Figure 8a: Patterns of University Attendance, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560: Higher Disciplines *



* Represents the fifty-four men identified as graduates of a higher discipline among the bishops analysed in the main body of our study, in absolute terms as appointed to dioceses in particular intervals.

Even with the inclusion of the latter groups, any observations or conclusions drawn are necessarily speculative. Furthermore, those who – like some of our arts students – transferred between universities while seeking qualifications in theology or either law, or who acquired degrees in multiple disciplines from different institutions, further complicates the analysis. Added to this, the perennial issue of limited or patchy university muniments – particularly for higher faculties – impedes tracing at which universities some of our known graduates and scholars pursued their studies. Incidental references in general university records, and the nature of certain bishops' ecclesiastical and administrative careers as young clerics, allow us to establish institutions or regions in some such cases. William Spynie, DDec and SCv, for example, undertook training in decreets at Paris 1353 x 1364 before receiving a safe conduct to study at 'Oxford or elsewhere' in 1364, which he appears to have used to study civil law.¹⁹⁸ The absence of opportunity to study civil law at Paris, together with the safe conduct, suggest that Spynie studied this discipline at Oxford or Cambridge during a period when Anglo-Scots relations were more conducive to doing so.¹⁹⁹ However, for twenty-four of the ninety-nine known and probable higher discipline graduates or scholars, place of study remains unclear.

Nonetheless, consideration of these groups of known and probable academics collectively suggests some interesting patterns in higher discipline university-going among those elevated to the episcopate across the entire period of our study. We have seen that political and practical concerns combined with the specialist nature of certain

¹⁹⁸ William Spynie, bishop of Moray, 1397-1406 (*Fasti*, 279-280): styled SchA (1351) and, on arrival at Paris (1353), claimed he had been examined in arts at the Roman curia and 'found sufficient'. *CPP*, i, 223, 253; *CPL*, iii, 480-481. However, the University of the Roman Court specialised in law rather than arts (above, n.69); Spynie's claim was not recognised, and he was required to retake the arts programme. He acquired BA and LA degrees at Paris (1355), where he remained for ten years while lecturing and studying decreets, and engaged in university administration. *ACUP*, i, 178, 180, 184, 211, 283; *CPP*, i, 386-387; *CPL*, iv, 188. He had graduated as BDec by 1362, before receiving the safe conduct to study at Oxford. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 891. Watt highlighted that there is no evidence that Spynie used this licence (Watt, *Graduates*, 503), but he perhaps did so to study civil law – he later claimed to be 'advanced in civil law'. *CPP*, i, 580. Spynie had returned to Paris by 1373, and resumed decreets lecturing while acquiring a DDec degree. *CPL BXIII*, 1.

¹⁹⁹ For Honorius III's prohibition of the study of civil law at Paris (1291): Chapter 1, n.84.

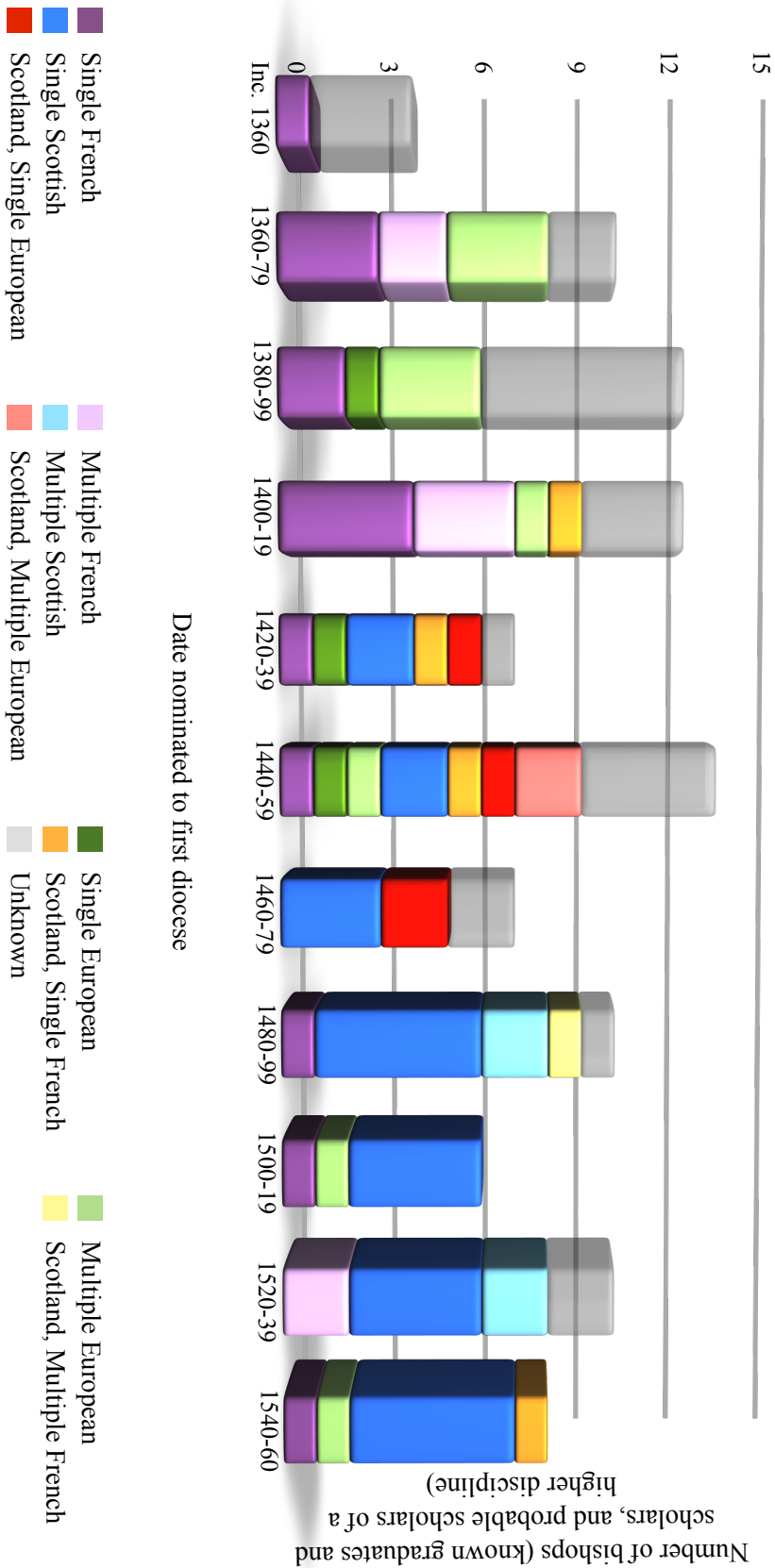
institutions restricted the number of universities at which Scots scholars could pursue arts degrees to just a few. However, the establishments at which our bishops sought education in higher disciplines were more numerous and diverse. For these subjects, the increased number of universities and higher incidence of transfer between institutions makes presentation of patterns of attendance in terms of individual foundations impossible. Thus, Figures 8a–8c depict our higher degree-holders and scholars in terms of broad, regional categories according to where they pursued their studies. For example, James Ogilvy II, a graduate of both laws from Orléans, is represented as ‘single French’; Finlay Albany, who acquired his BTh degree from Oxford, appears as ‘single European’; and, as a graduate of Paris and student of Oxford or Cambridge, William Spynie is depicted as a scholar of ‘multiple European’ destinations.²⁰⁰ Whereas arts graduates among the episcopate were portrayed in terms of where they acquired their highest arts degree (Figures 7a and 7b), here our augmented higher discipline group are categorised according to each university at which they undertook some study in advanced subjects. These various destinations, and combinations of institutions, do not lend themselves to pictorial representation, but Tables 7a-7c attempt to provide a breakdown of the regional patterns of attendance evident in Figure 8b and 8c.²⁰¹

Figure 8b represents (in absolute terms) the preferred destinations of known graduates of higher disciplines together with known and ‘probable’ scholars of the same. When compared with Figure 8a, it illustrates that including known and ‘probable’ scholars active at particular institutions, who had already received arts schooling of some description, has a significant impact on overall levels of education in higher disciplines among the late medieval Scottish episcopate. This is most remarkable among those appointed from 1440 onwards when these groups of scholars supplement numbers of higher discipline graduates by between four and eight bishops in each successive interval. In so doing, they elevate the percentage of those provided

²⁰⁰ Ogilvy II: above, n.171. Albany: above, n.54. Spynie: above, n.198.

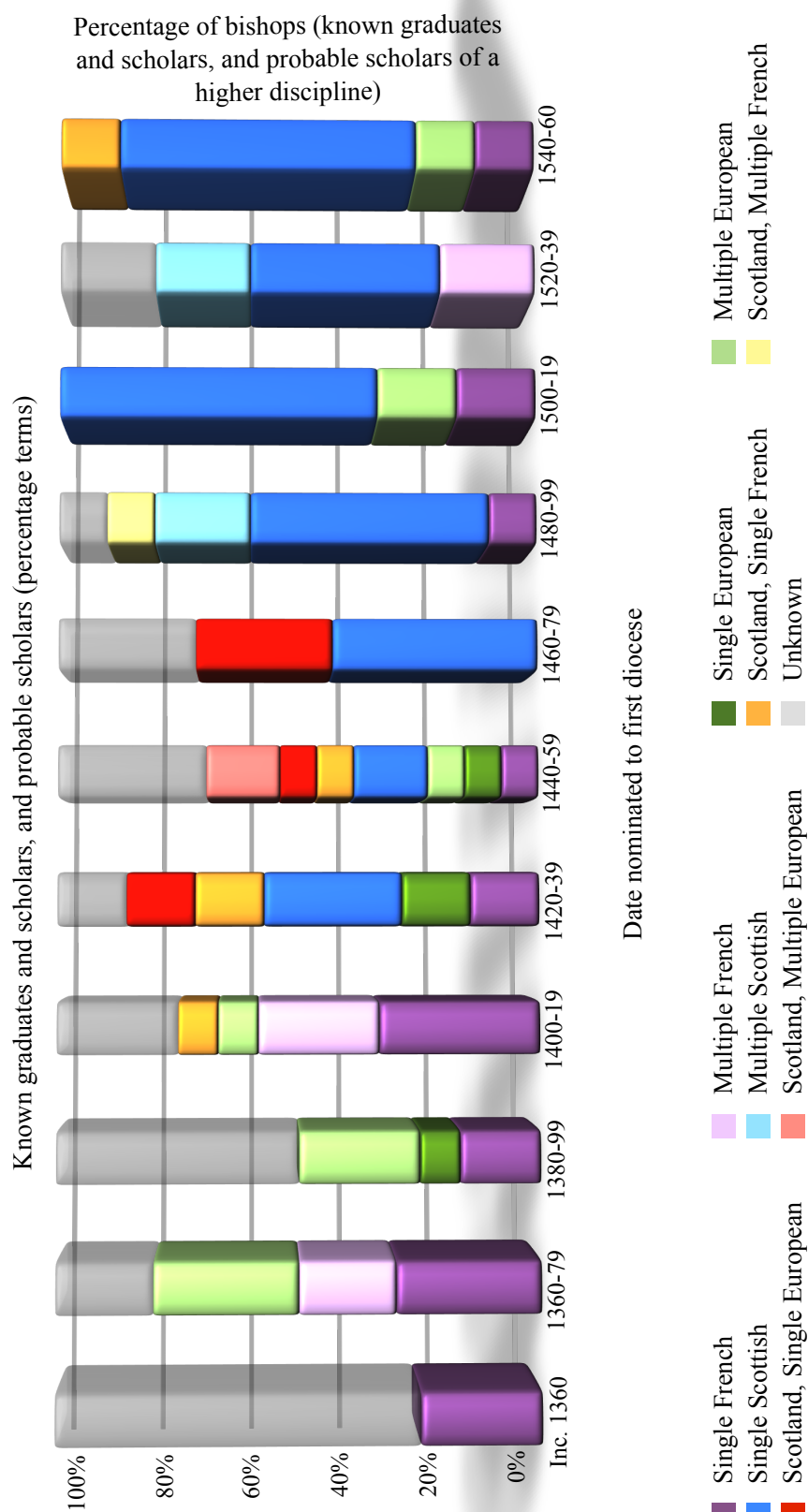
²⁰¹ Avignon was directly subject to the papacy from 1348, but its university was French in character and recorded certain of its muniments in French. Thus, in keeping with Rashdall, Avignon is incorporated in the French region here.

Figure 8b: Patterns of University Attendance, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560: Higher Disciplines *
Known graduates and scholars, and probable scholars (absolute terms)



* Represents the ninety-nine men identified as graduates, scholars, and probable scholars of a higher discipline (enrolled at a university after receiving private tuition in grammar and arts, or acquiring an arts degree) among the bishops analysed in the main body of the study, in absolute terms as appointed to dioceses in particular intervals.

Figure 8c: Patterns of University Attendance, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560: Higher Disciplines *



* Represents the ninety-nine men identified as graduates, scholars, and probable scholars of a higher discipline (enrolled at a university after receiving private tuition in grammar and arts, or acquiring an arts degree) among the bishops analysed in the main body of the study, as percentages of the total number of such graduates / scholars appointed to dioceses in a particular interval.

to dioceses with some apparent training in these subjects to at least 40%, and the resultant graph presents a much more balanced trajectory than that evident in Figure 8a.

We have seen, however, that the disparity in number of appointments between given intervals is marked in some cases. Thus, Figure 8c presents analysis of higher discipline destinations in percentage terms; in each interval, bishops identified as students of institutions in particular regions are represented as percentages of the augmented number of scholars with higher discipline schooling at university level. Broadly speaking, the graph suggests a shift in response to the foundation of *studia generale* in Scotland, whereby local access to university tuition in law and theology did stimulate a change – for this group at least – in the tradition of Scots scholars attending continental institutions to receive education in higher disciplines. The impact of the establishment of St Andrews was immediate, though initially gradual. We have seen that Henry Lichon – when bishop of Moray – appears to have availed himself of the opportunity it provided to complete his decreets qualifications in comparative proximity to his diocese while presumably incurring less costs.²⁰² Among those provided to dioceses between 1420 and 1459, some – such as John Cameron – pursued training in a higher discipline exclusively at the new university although, during these intervals, at least as many chose to combine studies at St Andrews with periods of continental instruction.²⁰³ This gradual impact appears to have gathered pace among bishops appointed during the second century of our study and, from 1480, the majority of those whose careers provide evidence of formal training in higher disciplines tended to draw this from exclusively Scottish institutions.

A more detailed examination of patterns of attendance reveals that prior to the fifteenth-century expansion in university foundations, those of the Scottish episcopate educated in higher disciplines had mostly received instruction at French institutions:

²⁰² Above, n.63.

²⁰³ John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, 1426-1446 (*Fasti*, 192): graduated as BDec (1419), and as LDec (1420). *CSSR*, i, 131, 227. These supplications indicate that Cameron actively administered the parish church of Livingston during his studies, and was also appointed official of Lothian and nuncio for Albany before graduating. This suggests that, in order to fulfil these commitments, Cameron studied locally at the new University of St Andrews.

most notably Paris, but also Orléans, and perhaps Angers and Avignon. Tables 7a-7c highlight that where destinations can be firmly identified, only three bishops appointed before 1400 were trained at Oxford or Cambridge.²⁰⁴ As William Spynie appears to have done, Michael Monymusk and Thomas Rossy utilised safe conducts to do so during the 1360s when, if Anglo-Scots relations were not amicable, the two countries were no longer engaged in open war. Moreover, like Spynie, Monymusk and Rossy also undertook periods of study in France. Monymusk²⁰⁵ combined service as a procurator at the curia with initial studies in decreets, though at which university is unclear; Rossy²⁰⁶ supplemented theological instruction acquired at Oxford with tuition at Paris before receiving dispensation to be examined at the curia by Walter Wardlaw, for LTh and DTh degrees. Meanwhile, in addition to Spynie, two further bishops provided during the interval 1380-1399 – Simon Ketenis and Walter Trail – pursued studies at various universities in securing their qualifications in both laws. Ketenis²⁰⁷ reinforced Parisian instruction with periods of further study at Orléans and Oxford to

²⁰⁴ Safe conducts issued to study at Oxford might also be used to attend Cambridge. Unless place of study can be firmly identified for those using such licences, the scholars concerned might have attended either institution.

²⁰⁵ Above, n.100.

²⁰⁶ Thomas Rossy, bishop of Galloway, 1379-1397 x 1406 (*Fasti*, 172): received a safe conduct to study at Oxford (1364, mistakenly issued in the name William). *Rot. Scot.*, i, 885. When applying to attend Paris (1371), Rossy outlined his previous study of arts and theology at various institutions, culminating at Paris after which, he had returned to Scotland to preach. *CPL*, iv, 164; *CUP*, iii, 200-201. He drew on these credentials again when supplicating in 1375, having also acquired a BTh degree and lectured in *The Sentences* at Paris. *ibid.*, iv, 216; *Vetera Monumenta*, 356. Rossy received permission to remain at Paris, but lacked the resources to do so and secured dispensation to be examined for LTh and DTh degrees by Walter Wardlaw at the curia. *Watt, Graduates*, 471-473.

²⁰⁷ Simon Ketenis, bishop-elect of Aberdeen, 1380 (*Fasti*, 3): graduated as BA, LA, MA from Paris (1352-1354). *ACUP*, i, 163, 173, 175. He remained there as a regent, studying decreets, and was elected rector (1359). *CUP*, iii, 92. Ketenis was also styled ‘SchCv’ by 1363, which indicates that he had some experience of another institution – perhaps Orléans – before returning briefly to Paris for the academic session 1362-1363. *CPP*, i, 396-397; *ACUP*, i, 282-283. A series of safe conducts issued 1363–1366 permitted Ketenis to study at Oxford for five years (*Rot. Scot.*, 877, 898, 904); he used these to acquire degrees in both laws before returning to Orléans to lecture. By 1377, Ketenis had graduated as LUJ. *Watt Graduates*, 295.

obtain a LUJ degree; Trail transferred from Paris to Orléans before graduating as DUJ through an apparent final period of study at the University of the Roman Court.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Walter Trail, bishop of St Andrews, 1385-1401 (*Fasti*, 382): graduated as BA, LA, MA, from Paris, (1365). *ACUP*, i, xxxvii. He commenced studies in decreets there before moving to Orléans (by 1375), where he appears to have become LUJ (by 1378). *CPP*, i, 540. Within two years, Trail entered papal service as chamberlain and auditor; it seems he took advantage of the University of the Roman Court to enhance his qualifications to DUJ. *CPP*, i, 555.

Table 7a: Patterns of Attendance: Single Destinations, Higher Disciplines

Depicts known graduates and scholars of a higher discipline, and all 'probable' scholars of a higher discipline enrolled at particular institutions having received private tuition in arts or an arts degree, who appear to have attended a single university to pursue their studies in these subjects. Depicted too, are the known graduates and scholars of higher disciplines for whom place of study is unknown.

Single Destinations	Inc. 1360	1360 - 1379	1380 - 1399	1400 - 1419	1420 - 1439	1440 - 1459	1460 - 1479	1480 - 1499	1500 - 1519	1520 - 1539	1540 - 1560
Angers				1							
Avignon				1							
Cologne						1					
Glasgow							1	1	3	1	
Orleans		1							1		
Oxford*			1		1						
Paris	1	2	2	2	1	1		1			
Poitiers											1
St Andrews					2	2	2	4	1	3	5
Unknown	3	2	6	3	1	4	2	1		2	

* Oxford: where Oxford is listed, the safe conducts issued permitted study at 'Oxford or elsewhere' and may have been used at Cambridge

Table 7b: Patterns of Attendance: Two Destinations, Higher Disciplines

Depicts known graduates and scholars of a higher discipline, and all 'probable' scholars of a higher discipline enrolled at particular institutions having received private tuition in arts or an arts degree, who appear to have attended two universities to pursue their studies in these subjects. Depicted too, are the known graduates and scholars of higher disciplines for whom place of study is unknown. University combinations are listed in alphabetical order and do not reflect the order in which bishops pursued studies at particular institutions.

Two Destinations	Inc. 1360	1360 - 1379	1380 - 1399	1400 - 1419	1420 - 1439	1440 - 1459	1460 - 1479	1480 - 1499	1500 - 1519	1520 - 1539	1540 - 1560
Angers, Paris										1	
Avignon, Orleans				1							
Avignon, Oxford*				1							
Cologne, St Andrews						1	1				
Glasgow, St Andrews								2		2	
Louvain, St Andrews					1		1				
Louvain, URC**						1					
Orleans, Paris		1		1						1	
Oxford*, Elsewhere***		1									
Paris, Elsewhere***		2	2	1							
Paris, St Andrews					1	1					1
St Andrews, Elsewhere***				1							
Unknown	3	2	6	3	1	4	2	1		2	

* Oxford: where Oxford is listed, the safe conducts issued to prospective scholars permitted study at 'Oxford or elsewhere' and may have been used at Cambridge.

** URC: University of the Roman Court, an itinerant university which moved location with the papal curia.

*** 'Elsewhere' denotes an unknown university, possibly in the same country (as with Parisian scholars John Peebles and Thomas Stewart perhaps) or elsewhere in Europe.

Table 7c: Patterns of Attendance: Multiple Destinations, Higher Disciplines

Depicts known graduates and scholars of a higher discipline, and all 'probable' scholars of a higher discipline enrolled at particular institutions having received private tuition in arts or an arts degree, who appear to have attended multiple universities to pursue their studies in these subjects. Depicted too, are the known graduates and scholars of higher disciplines for whom place of study is unknown. University combinations are listed in alphabetical order and do not reflect the order in which bishops pursued studies at particular institutions. Where destinations are rendered in brackets, existing scholarship has suggested that the bishops concerned may have studied at these institutions but acknowledges the lack of record for such periods of study.

Multiple Destinations	Inc. 1360	1360 - 1379	1380 - 1399	1400 - 1419	1420 - 1439	1440 - 1459	1460 - 1479	1480 - 1499	1500 - 1519	1520 - 1539	1540 - 1560
Angers, Louvain, Paris											1
Cologne, St Andrews, Vienna, (Basle?)						1					
Louvain, Pavia, St Andrews, (Bologna?)						1					
Glasgow, Orleans, Paris								1			
Orleans, Paris, URC**			1								
Oxford*, Paris, URC**		1									
Padua, Siena, Rome									1		
Unknown	3	2	6	3	1	4	2	1		2	

* Oxford: where Oxford is listed, the safe conducts issued to prospective scholars permitted study at 'Oxford or elsewhere' and may have been used at Cambridge.

** URC: University of the Roman Court, an itinerant university which moved location with the papal curia.

Among those elevated to the episcopate before 1400, therefore, the balance apparent in their attendance of French and European institutions to study higher disciplines – as evident in Figures 8b and 8c – is slightly misleading. Of our fifteen bishops for whom place of study is known, or evidence indicates their presence at particular universities, all but two appear to have received some higher discipline instruction at French establishments. Given the lack of viable alternatives for Scots scholars at this point – during a period when Anglo-Scots relations were strained at best, and Scotland’s adherence to the Avignonese papacy made Italian *studia* unnatural choices for its academics – this is unsurprising. The predominantly French experience which characterised higher discipline education shared by the late fourteenth-century ecclesiastical elite in Scotland was replicated among their immediate successors. Of the twelve higher discipline graduates provided to sees during the interval 1400-1419, only Thomas Buittle²⁰⁹ and Henry Lichon²¹⁰ demonstrate any variation in this established pattern. Even then, they fused knowledge gained from periods of education in France with that extracted from their respective spells at Oxford and St Andrews.

Tables 7a-7c suggest, however, that while those provided to dioceses between 1400-1419 had continued to follow established patterns of attendance when seeking education in higher disciplines, this interval heralded a slight shift away from customary French destinations. Those appointed bishops during intervals 1360-1379 and 1380-1399 had tended to opt for either Paris or Orléans of the French institutions, depending on their preferred discipline. Among their immediate successors, however, we see individuals also attending Angers and Avignon. Drawing conclusions based on such limited numbers is problematic, all the more so given the comparatively high number of higher discipline graduates elevated to the episcopate from 1360-1399 for whom no record of university attendance survives. Nonetheless, this perceptible shift in outlook appears to have paved the way for further expansion in patterns of university attendance that, as it gathered pace, markedly altered the character of higher discipline education shared by the episcopate of fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Scotland.

²⁰⁹ Buittle: above, n.66, 95.

²¹⁰ Above, n.63.

With Figures 8b and 8c, Tables 7a-7c, illustrate that those provided to dioceses between 1420-1459 had a much more eclectic set of university experiences than their predecessors. The more diverse group of French foundations from which the bishops appointed during the interval 1400-1419 had acquired their degrees increasingly gave way to a wholly cosmopolitan range of universities. In fact, of the French *studia*, only Paris continued to attract some of the bishops whose choice of institutions for higher discipline study can be traced. Angers, Avignon, and even Orléans, were replaced as preferred destinations by universities in Germany, Italy and the Low Countries, as well as St Andrews.

This transpired partly as Scots scholars engaged with the dramatic expansion in higher education provision in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which saw the foundation of new *studia generale* across central and northern Europe. The timing of this growth was propitious in coinciding with the Great Schism, the politics of which ultimately resulted in traditional French haunts being less welcoming of Scots scholars from 1409.²¹¹ It provided the impetus for the Parisian exiles who congregated at St Andrews to work towards establishing Scotland's first university there which, as evident in our figures and tables, had an immediate and increasingly profound impact on patterns of university attendance with respect to tuition in higher disciplines.²¹² Of the nineteen men elevated to the episcopate during intervals 1420-1439 and 1440-1459 who appear to have received some university instruction in these subjects, at least half (ten) had some experience of St Andrews. Robert Strathbrock, a Parisian exile, was active as one of the first arts regents at the new university and appears to have combined this with

²¹¹ See Chapter 1, n.43; above, n.180.

²¹² Comparison of the destination choices of higher discipline scholars with those of arts students (Figures 7a-7b with 8b-8c) might appear to suggest that this manifested itself more immediately among the former. However, this simply reflects that they tended to be more advanced in their careers and received elevation to the episcopate more quickly than arts students marginalised at Paris 1409-1418.

studying decreets in preparation for examination as a papal notary in 1418.²¹³ Like Henry Lichton, Donald MacNaughton,²¹⁴ Alexander Lauder²¹⁵ and James Ogilvy I²¹⁶ supplemented degrees acquired elsewhere with a final period of study at St Andrews. Meanwhile, John Cameron²¹⁷ and John Ralston²¹⁸ appear to have been sufficiently satisfied with the nature of its decreets course to follow it to LDec and DDec level respectively; and, Walter Stewart ultimately chose to pursue an academic career there.²¹⁹

The apparent extent of higher discipline tuition received at St Andrews by some of the bishops provided to sees during intervals 1420-1439 and 1440-1459 underlines the impact Scotland's first university had on traditional patterns of attendance among this group of Scots scholars. The character and level of training undertaken in these

²¹³ Robert Strathbrock, bishop of Caithness, 1427-1443 x 1446, (*Fasti*, 80): graduated as BA (1409), LA and MA (1410) at Paris, under John Crannach. *ACUP*, 63, 74, 77. By 1412, Strathbrock was a regent of arts at St Andrews, where he was reprimanded and received a year's teaching ban for presenting a BA candidate for determination without due examination (1414). *Acta*, 2. He appears to have been studying decreets at this point, with a view to entering papal service. Following his regenting offence, Strathbrock quit St Andrews for the curia, where he was examined as a notary (1418). *Acta*, 3; *CPL BXIII*, 366. He returned to St Andrews (1425), when the new dean exonerated him of misconduct and struck the 1414 entry from *Acta* records (although the text remains legible). *StAUL*, UYUY411/1, fos. 1v, 3r; *Acta*, 20.

²¹⁴ Donald MacNaughton, bishop-elect of Dunkeld, 1437 (*Fasti*, 127): acquired BA, LA, MA degrees at Paris (1405). *ACUP*, i, 897, 899-900. By 1413, he had returned to Scotland to assume responsibilities as canon of Dunkeld under his maternal uncle, Bishop Cardeny. *CPS*, 492; *CPL BXIII*, 271-272. He was a regent of arts at St Andrews by 1414 (*CPS*, 492), and bursar there from 1415-1419 (*Acta*, 5, 14). By January 1418, MacNaughton was styled 'BDec, in his third year of lecturing decreets at the University of St Andrews'. *CPL*, vii, 102-103. He supplicated as 'dean [Dunkeld], DDec' (April 1431); presumably, MacNaughton had acquired this qualification during his studies at St Andrews. *CPL*, viii, 368.

²¹⁵ Alexander Lauder, bishop of Dunkeld, 1440 (*Fasti*, 128): a student of decreets at Paris in 1413. *CPP*, i, 599; *CPL BXIII*, 270. Lauder graduated as BDec (1415), and was styled LDec in 1418. *CPP*, i, 604, 610; *CPL BXIII*, 314-315, 380. He reneged on a promise to Jean Gerson, chancellor at Paris, to take his DDec degree there, supplicating instead for permission to do so at another university (1430). Lauder chose St Andrews, and was DDec by 1439. *CPL*, viii, 158; *CSSR*, iv, 142 no. 595. He died within a year of receiving Crown nomination to Dunkeld. *Scotichronicon*, viii, 298-299.

²¹⁶ Above, n.49.

²¹⁷ Above, n.203.

²¹⁸ John Ralston, bishop of Dunkeld, 1447-1451 x 1452 (*Fasti*, 128): LDec by 1446. *CSSR*, iv, 319 no. 1295. He appears to have anticipated acquiring a DDec degree on elevation to the episcopate, but cited clerical error in withdrawing this claim (1448). *ibid.*, v, 50 no. 197. Nicholas V's response highlights that Ralston had acquired his LDec degree at St Andrews and, recognising his lengthy studies there, granted him an honorary doctorate. *Vetera Monumenta*, 379 no. 753. While Ralston may not have taken the required exam, this sequence suggests he pursued decreets beyond LDec level with a view to completing the programme.

²¹⁹ Above, n.45-47.

subjects might also indicate that far from being an essentially ‘undergraduate’ institution, St Andrews was operating as a fully-fledged, if small, *studium* offering advanced instruction in law and theology. The availability of a competitive domestic alternative to the costly pursuit of higher discipline tuition overseas clearly encouraged some of these nineteen men educated in the politically fractured climate of c.1408-1449 to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by St Andrews.

At the same time, however, the development of universities in Germany and the Low Countries dramatically expanded continental horizons for Scots, also furnishing them with welcome alternatives to the traditional French destinations. James Douglas and Thomas Tulloch II appear to have sought higher discipline training exclusively overseas: at Cologne (Douglas),²²⁰ and at the curia and Louvain (Tulloch II).²²¹ By contrast, Thomas Livingston, James Kennedy and William Turnbull – our three remaining bishops appointed 1420-1459, who received some higher discipline instruction during their time at St Andrews – embraced new opportunities in both Scotland and western Europe; all embarked upon programmes of ‘postgraduate’ study at St Andrews before transferring to Cologne (Livingston), and Louvain (Kennedy, Turnbull).²²²

This can be viewed as a part of a slight reorientation in the tradition of ambitious Scots scholars seeking to secure ecclesiastical advancement through education overseas in response to the altered intellectual climate of the early fifteenth century. However, Kennedy’s and Turnbull’s motivations were more complicated. Chapters 1 and 2 explored the role of philosophical debates at early St Andrews in fostering the two factions that polarised its academic community for much of the fifteenth century. At the height of the disputes of the late 1420s and 1430s, tensions seem to have become so

²²⁰ Above, n.114.

²²¹ Thomas Tulloch II, bishop of Ross, 1440-1460 x 1461 (*Fasti*, 349): acquired a BDec degree during a sabbatical from papal service. Tulloch was engaged as a procurator at the curia from 1429-1432 (*CPL*, viii, 79, 153; *ACSB*, 12, 99, 109-110), before matriculating at Louvain (*Matricule Louvain*, i, 238). He was styled BDec on incorporation at Basle in May 1434. Burns, *Churchmen*, 26. This might suggest that Tulloch drew on his litigation experience, or perhaps some theoretical instruction received at the curia’s itinerant university, to acquire this qualification more quickly than the customary three years. For similarities with William Turnbull at Louvain: above, n.74.

²²² Livingston: above, n.73. Kennedy: above, n.189. Turnbull: above, n.74.

acute that St Andrews was no longer a comfortable environment for proponents of Albertism and a number of influential scholars sought refuge at continental institutions. Kennedy and Turnbull were among these, as was James Ogilvy I who followed his teacher (John Athilmer) to Cologne. Conversely, Walter Stewart, of the opposing Buridan nominalist camp, may have returned to St Andrews in 1438 to safeguard the position of his preferred school of thought.²²³ The new Albertism was developed at Paris before its pioneers introduced it to Cologne and Louvain where it flourished and attracted scholars of similar conviction.²²⁴ Thus, as with the fallout that accompanied the Great Schism at Paris, intellectual debates at early St Andrews appear to have combined with the European expansion in higher education to influence patterns of attendance among some of our scholars elevated to the Scottish episcopate. In this context, the foundation of St Andrews by disenfranchised academics provided a precedent for further domestic expansion in university education and gave rise to Kennedy's College of St Salvator and Turnbull's university at Glasgow.

Figures 8b and 8c illustrate that intervals 1420-1439 and 1440-1459 served as a transitional phase in terms of patterns of university attendance for higher discipline instruction during which the outlook of prospective scholars shifted and diversity in destinations peaked. This reflected a combination of factors, prominent among them the geographical location of the papacy. The curia offered employment opportunities for ambitious scholars anxious to improve their prospects of advancement while gaining practical administrative experience. We have seen that a number of our bishops had strengthened their credentials in this way during the late fourteenth century, combining this with periods of studying higher disciplines. Thus the popularity – and, indeed, stagnation – of universities was tied to the fluctuating fortunes and movements of the papacy. While Scotland remained aligned with the Avignonese papacy and Benedict XIII was based in that city, French universities were dominant among the preferred destinations for higher discipline instruction among future Scottish bishops. The perceptible shift away from French institutions, initially occasioned by the unfavourable

²²³ 13 October 1438. *Acta*, 48-49.

²²⁴ Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 34.

environment for Scots at Paris, was further fuelled by Scotland's endorsement of Martin V who resided in Rome from 1420; thus, it mirrored the general downturn in Avignon's position after Benedict XIII withdrew his curia from the city in 1408.²²⁵

Reorientation in accordance with the geographical position of the papacy – or indeed, the anti-papal curia – is evident in the academic careers of four bishops nominated to sees during the interval 1440-1459. Thomas Tulloch II and Robert Lauder appear to have secured BDec degrees while acting as procurators, both for themselves and others, at the curia. Tulloch was engaged at the curia of Martin V and Eugenius IV from 1429 and appears to have capitalised on practical experience gained through prosecuting, or formal instruction in canon law undertaken while at the Roman court, to gain his qualification within two years of matriculating at Louvain in 1432.²²⁶ Lauder, a LA graduate of St Andrews in 1425, was active at the curia from at least 1437 when he was styled simply as 'Master'. Within two years, however, he had clearly acquired his BDec degree, and his talents both as a procurator and scholar were recognised in his appointment as *nuncio* between Scotland and Rome from 1440.²²⁷ William Turnbull, meanwhile, chose to complete his qualifications in decreets having taken a break from academia to further advance his distinguished career in royal and papal service. His choice of Italian institutions in the late 1430s – perhaps Bologna, and certainly Pavia – to secure a doctorate, reflects his attachment to Eugenius IV's curia based at Florence between 1434 and 1443.²²⁸ By contrast, James Ogilvy I's attachment to the schismatic Council of Basle and Felix V between 1440 and 1441 influenced his subsequent choices

²²⁵ Some of the bishops appointed c.1360-1419, for whom place of higher study is unknown, may have studied at Avignon. This university suffered decline from 1408 and by 1478, was reputedly empty due to its doctors refusing to teach without pay; although, its fortunes were restored from this point through the patronage of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, bishop of Avignon (later Julius II). Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 178-179.

²²⁶ Above, n.221.

²²⁷ Robert Lauder, bishop of Dunblane, 1447-1466 (*Fasti*, 102): graduated as BA and LA at St Andrews (1422, 1425). *Acta*, 17, 19. Lauder first appeared at the curia as a procurator, 15 January 1437. *CSSR*, iv, 83 no. 399. He seems to have been based at, or near, the curia for the following three years. *ibid.*, iv, 111 no. 458, 161 no. 674. Supplications pre-dating 1439 style Lauder 'MA' (*ibid.*, iii, 58; iv, 28 no.118), but he was using the titles 'MA, BDec' by October 1439. *ibid.*, iv, 150 no. 631. This suggests that Lauder pursued studies in decreets while serving as a procurator at the curia – perhaps at its university, or a local institution. He was acting as nuncio between James II's minority government and the papacy in September 1440 (*ibid.*, iv, 161 no. 674), and continued to do so for four years. *ibid.*, iv, 274 no. 1098.

²²⁸ Above, n.74, 161. See also, sections 2.2, 2.3.

of institution on returning to an academic career, and perhaps ultimately inspired his incorporation at the pro-conciliarist University of Vienna in 1450 where he continued to study theology.²²⁹

For our collective group of known graduates and scholars of higher disciplines, as well as probable scholars, Figures 8b and 8c highlight that these transitional intervals, during which diversity of destinations peaked, gave way to the dominance of Scottish institutions. The regional representations illustrate that of the forty-one such bishops appointed during the century 1460-1560, place of study remains unknown for only five known graduates or scholars. Just eleven were imbued with the zeal for learning that had inspired most of their predecessors educated in higher disciplines to seek some instruction on the continent. Of these eleven, all but James Beaton II were grounded in arts training received at Scottish institutions, and four combined periods of domestic higher discipline study with tuition received overseas.²³⁰ Meanwhile, twenty-five bishops had sought some instruction in higher disciplines at Scotland's universities, four of them doing so at both St Andrews and Glasgow.

St Andrews commanded the greater share of those who availed themselves of opportunities to study advanced disciplines in Scotland. Including those who migrated between St Andrews and Glasgow, as well as those who engaged with these subjects at domestic and continental institutions, St Andrews attracted twenty-one scholars to Glasgow's eleven. This might suggest a conservatism among Scots scholars, at odds with the dynamism evident among those educated c.1408-1445 and elevated to the Scottish episcopate during the transitional intervals 1420-1439 and 1440-1459.

²²⁹ Above, n.13, 49. See also, sections 2.2, 2.3.

²³⁰ James Beaton II, archbishop of Glasgow, 1550-1570, (*Fasti*, 194): of the third generation of Beaton clerics and administrators who shunned Scotland's universities for continental schools. David Beaton – educated in law at Paris and Orléans (above, n.194) – encouraged this preference, and the attendance of younger Beaton's at French institutions mirrored his diplomatic activity. David was engaged in France for much of 1538; James Beaton II matriculated at Paris with relative, Archibald, in June 1538. McNeill, 'Acta Rectoria', 70. James was aged fourteen and pursued an arts degree for which no documentation survives, though later records styled him 'Master'. *TA*, ix, 144-146, 170. An eighteenth-century source suggested James then studied law at Poitiers. See J. Primrose, *Mediaeval Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1913), 205. The Guise family exercised strong influence there, and James may have been drawn to Poitiers by the patronage opportunities in David Beaton's alignment with the Guises. Durkan, *University of Glasgow*, 214-215, 268. James received benefices in Poitou, and maintained a long association with the university as official and as patron of Scots scholars. He held the Priory of Absie, and as treasurer of St Hillary collegiate church, was also university chancellor. Dowden, *Bishops*, 351; Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 194.

Alternatively, St Andrews was perhaps held in greater esteem by virtue of seniority; and while it was by no means a wealthy institution to rival the long-established, prosperous universities of Europe, it did not suffer the financial hardship that Glasgow weathered in the late-fifteenth century.²³¹ Nonetheless, Glasgow endured these constraints and, among this group at least, did attract a reasonable number of higher discipline scholars whose geographical origins suggest Glasgow's influence extended well beyond its immediate catchment area. Unfortunately, lack of extant incorporation and graduation rolls precludes similar analysis of the impact the foundation of Aberdeen had on patterns of attendance. It is possible that James Ogilvy II – local to the new university and educated in arts there – received some legal instruction before transferring overseas. If so, this does not appear to have extended to degree level; on incorporating at Orléans in 1508, Ogilvy was recorded without such credentials.²³² This might reinforce the idea explored in Chapter 2, that Aberdeen was initially slow to realise William Elphinstone's particular objective of redressing deficiencies apparent in legal administration in Scotland through expanded, targeted university training.

The nature of the group examined in Figures 8a-8c dictates that any observations drawn from this analysis of higher discipline destinations must remain speculative. However, when viewed in the context of Figure 5, these figures – with Tables 7a-7c – do suggest some interesting developments in attitudes towards higher education and university-going among those elevated to the Scottish episcopate during the second century of our period. The evident shift away from following programmes of higher study to degree level, replaced by apparent contentment with obtaining some elementary grounding in higher disciplines (most likely law), coincided with the dominance of Scottish institutions among preferred destinations. This might reflect the practice, also evident among their predecessors, of combining theoretical instruction received at universities with practical experience acquired through apprenticeships undertaken in notarial offices, episcopal courts, or royal and papal administration. The establishment of local *studia* presented Scots scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth

²³¹ For Glasgow's financial difficulties: Durkan, *University of Glasgow*, 27-31; Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 59; Cowan, 'Church and Society', 126-127.

²³² Above, n.171.

centuries with the option of doing so while incurring limited debts and without the sense of squandering money and opportunities through failing to pursue continental education to qualification level. At Scotland's universities, they perhaps felt less compulsion to fulfil degree requirements.

At the same time, the analysis presented here might suggest revisions to some arguments made by previous university historians with respect to the regional development of Scotland's medieval foundations. Patterns of attendance evident among this group of scholars in terms of higher discipline study indicates that these academic institutions were not born of regional rivalry reflecting diocesan politics in Scotland, and were not intended to cater primarily for scholars from their immediate or associated environs. Rather, the foundation and development of universities at St Andrews and Glasgow were inspired by shared academic experiences and intellectual concerns, while accruing welcome prestige for founders and dioceses alike. Even among our bishops, the institutions' success in attracting students from beyond their respective catchment areas is evident. Nor does the analysis presented here substantiate the suggestion that the foundation of Glasgow provided for the evolution of particular academic specialisms among Scotland's higher education establishments comparable to continental universities, such as theology at Paris; civil law at Angers and Orléans; and medicine at Montpellier. Given the clear inclination of many of those aspiring to senior ecclesiastical or administrative positions to opt for some study of either law, had Glasgow focussed on legal studies, leaving St Andrews to cater for theological instruction, Glasgow would presumably have attracted an overwhelming majority of the higher discipline graduates and scholars examined here.²³³

Returning to the bishops provided during the second century of our study who undertook some higher study overseas, Tables 7a-7c reveal that patterns of attendance at continental institutions saw a slight swing back to French destinations. John Balfour and William Schevez – provided to dioceses in the interval 1460-1479 – sought some higher discipline schooling at Cologne and Louvain; while Alexander Stewart II – appointed to St Andrews in 1504 – was tutored by means of private pedagogies attached

²³³ For discussion of these themes: Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 311-315; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 276-279; Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 38-39; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 387-388, 588-589.

to Padua, Siena and Rome.²³⁴ However, the remaining eight shared some experience of French institutions. This reflected the more stable intellectual, religious and political climate of the later-fifteenth century following the end of the Great and Little Schisms and French victory in the Hundred Years War. We have seen, for example, that David Hamilton enrolled at Paris.²³⁵ William Elphinstone's study of decreets at Paris and civil law at Orléans was very much in keeping with the traditional model of Scottish scholarship evident among our fourteenth-century bishops.²³⁶ Most of these eight favoured Paris, Orléans, or both; however, Gavin Dunbar II and William Gordon incorporated periods at Angers into their programmes of study, while James Beaton II attended Poitiers. Beaton's preference appears to have been determined by the scope for patronage in Cardinal Beaton's – his uncle – association with the Guise family, and their influence at Poitiers.²³⁷ Angers' place among preferred destinations of those seeking senior ecclesiastical careers in the sixteenth century suggests deliberate engagement with the intellectual renaissance by Dunbar and Gordon.²³⁸ Angers had always been a law school of repute, particularly for its training in civil law, but it played a pivotal role in the legal renaissance of the sixteenth century.²³⁹ This pursuit of the 'new learning' in Dunbar's and Gordon's legal training, though different in emphasis perhaps, mirrored the humanist education that Alexander Stewart II received from a succession of tutors – including Erasmus – which, as we have seen in Chapter 2, was not readily available in Scotland.

The desire apparent among these 'renaissance men' to seek instruction abroad in subjects not yet fully represented in the official curriculum of Scotland's universities fits with the tradition of dynamic Scots seeking advancement through education at European institutions. It also suggests, for this group at least, that while Scotland's

²³⁴ Balfour: above, n.132. Schevez: above, n.123. Stewart II: above, n.118.

²³⁵ Above, n.44.

²³⁶ Above, n.160.

²³⁷ Above, n.230.

²³⁸ Dunbar II: above, n.172. Gordon: above, n.173.

²³⁹ M. Fournier, *Histoire de la science du droit en France. Les universités françaises et l'enseignement du droit en France au moyen-âge*, iii (Paris, 1892), 207; Rashdall, *Universities*, ii, 153.

studia met the demands and aspirations of a large number of native scholars in both arts and higher disciplines, the nature and quality of tuition available was deemed inferior by some. Dunbar's and Gordon's preferred universities echo a much earlier realisation by William Elphinstone — with the advice of his uncle and patron, Lawrence — that he would receive a better standard of education overseas. This conviction is also evident in David Beaton sending nephew James to Paris and Poitiers.

Thus, from the mid-fifteenth century, a dichotomy in attitudes to higher education appears to have evolved in Scotland. A comparatively large number of scholars were content to avail themselves of local opportunities to acquire an arts degree and some elementary schooling in a higher discipline, while a minority believed that Scotland's institutions were failing to take on board intellectual developments at Europe's universities with the alacrity that had fuelled the initial foundation of St Andrews. The latter attitude clearly prevailed among certain scholars until the Reformation, as evident in Robert Reid's recruitment of Giovanni Ferrerio to introduce humanist teaching to Kinloss Abbey and Beaulieu Priory, as well as Adam Bothwell's scathing appraisal of Scottish institutions. Nonetheless, this apparent dichotomy in attitudes to higher education among those elevated to the episcopate suggests that Scotland's medieval universities functioned as more than 'undergraduate' institutions. Notwithstanding gaps in service provision and their perhaps inadequate reaction to renaissance scholarship, Scotland's universities were operating almost as fully-fledged *studia generale* satisfying the demands of a substantial proportion of its academic community.

3.9 Origins: the social background of the Scottish episcopate, 1360-1560

The general shift in attitudes towards university education apparent among those elevated to the Scottish episcopate from 1460-1560, suggests a profound change in the perceived value of higher degrees in terms of professional advancement in ecclesiastical and administrative spheres. This reflected long-standing concerns shared by academics across Europe regarding the detrimental impact on the provision of higher discipline

graduates to elevated positions within the Church, inherent in challenges posed to papal jurisdiction over collation to benefices.²⁴⁰ Papal practice, as extended by the Avignonese papacy during the fourteenth century, had encroached on the traditional right of prelates to appoint to benefices within their own jurisdictions, and engendered a fierce desire in some – endorsed by their respective monarchs – to protect this privilege.²⁴¹ In England, it gave rise to a succession of acts, the Statutes of Provisors issued between 1350 and 1393, designed to inhibit papal appointments and prevent English clerics from supplicating for papal provision.²⁴² The Council of Paris of 1398, at which the French Church withdrew its support of Benedict XIII, also sought to limit papal influence by enforcing the process of election to ecclesiastical dignities and restoring prelates' rights to appoint to non-elective benefices.²⁴³ In Scotland, the influence of this dispute, as well as James I's early conditioning at the English court, is evident in James' legislation against barratry (1424, 1428), reissued under James III (1482, 1484) and James IV (1496).²⁴⁴

Europe's academic community reacted strongly to such protectionist measures; in the curtailing of papal influence over appointments, it perceived a threat to the established system by which scholars could supplicate for benefices and graduates might hope to receive clerical positions commensurate with the nature of their degrees. It anticipated appointments dictated by local politics, favouring lesser-qualified men or

²⁴⁰ Jacob, 'Promotion, English Clerks', 176-177; Black, *Council and Commune*, 44.

²⁴¹ Jacob, 'Promotion, English Clerks', 173.

²⁴² *ibid.*, 177-179.

²⁴³ The Parisian academic community was largely uncomfortable with this withdrawal, and the restoration of free collation. Theologians, including Noel Valois and Nicholas of Clémanges, contested it. Public opinion also reverted to Benedict; French obedience was restored from 1403-1408, before it was finally retracted when the Council of Pisa deposed Benedict. *ibid.*, 'Promotion, English Clerks', 176-177.

²⁴⁴ Rights of reservation encouraged clerics to litigate at Rome, either in person or by procurator, with a view to securing benefices or pensions payable from their revenue. James I sought to curb this practice of 'purchasing pensions' by introducing 'barratry' legislation to regulate overseas travel and suspect dealings at Rome. *RPS*, 1424/16, 1424/17, 1428/3/10 (accessed, 14 September 2010). James III and IV refined and reissued this legislation. *RPS*, A1482/3/7, 1484/2/41, A1496/6/3 (accessed, 14 September 2010). See also, I. B. Cowan, 'Patronage, Provision and Reservation, Pre-Reformation Appointments to Scottish Benefices', in I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw edd., *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 75-92, at 82-83.

non-graduate nobles, and a consequent drop in student numbers.²⁴⁵ Intensive lobbying to safeguard the position of graduates did achieve a measure of success; however, the protracted debate over collations paved the way for further secular erosion of papal jurisdiction during the fifteenth century.²⁴⁶ In Scotland, the papal Indult of 1487, which afforded James III eight months grace to nominate to vacant benefices valued at 200 gold florins or more, formally recognised gradual encroachments made by the Crown on ecclesiastical appointments. While it did not restrict papal rights of reservation, or confirmation, the Indult afforded the Crown unprecedented rights of patronage within the Church, exploited most flagrantly perhaps by James IV in engineering the provision of his brother and illegitimate son as successive archbishops-designate of St Andrews.²⁴⁷

Figure 9a examines the familial backgrounds of the bishops concerned here, with a view to exploring whether academic fears regarding the impact of the protracted collation debate were realised in the nature of appointments to the Scottish episcopate during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The bishops are represented according to parentage, in terms of five broad categories: ‘Royal’, the sons of kings (red); ‘Higher Nobility’, the sons of magnates and, from 1440, Lords of Parliament (blue); ‘Lesser Nobility’, the sons of untitled nobles (yellow); ‘Lesser Status’, the sons of merchants, burgesses, minor clerics, or lesser administrators (green); ‘Undistinguished, Unknown’, those who refer to themselves as such in papal supplications or for whom family background is unclear (grey).²⁴⁸ In broad terms, it suggests that a significant increase in the promotion to the episcopate of men drawn from noble and royal stock occurred at

²⁴⁵ The English delegation at Constance attributed a drop in university student numbers directly to the curtailing of papal influence. This resonated with representatives from across Europe, each identifying decline in the perceived value of university education among those seeking ecclesiastical careers. Jacob, ‘Promotion, English Clerks’, 175.

²⁴⁶ Parisian masters suspended teaching during Lent 1400, in protest against the official position of the French Church in the collation debate. The German Concordat agreed at the close of Constance (1418) sought to reserve a share of benefices for university graduates only, and determined a system of provision that placed highest value on theology degrees – for example, benefices exceeding 2000 communicants, would be served by senior theologians. *ibid.*, 173, 176.

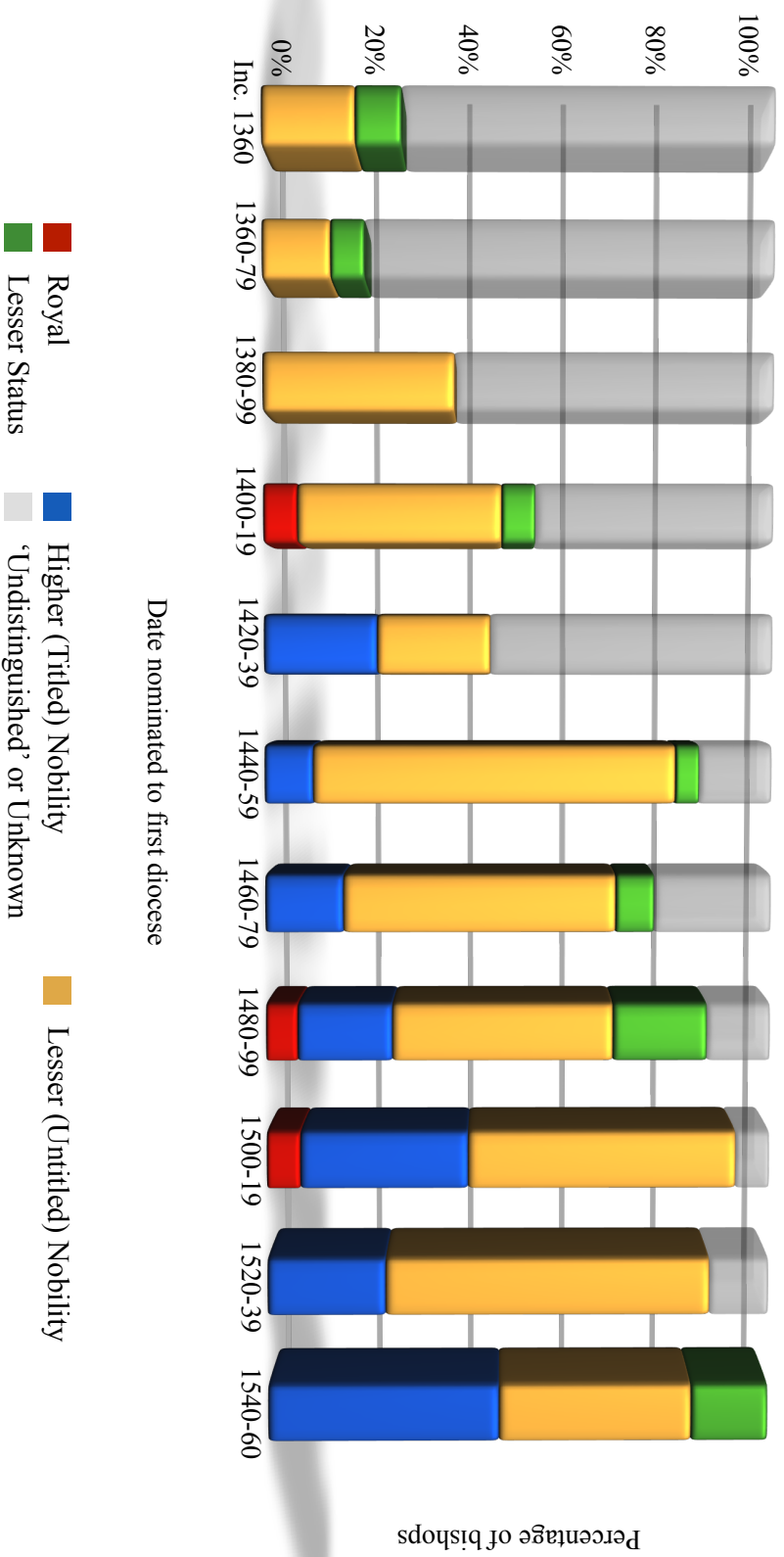
²⁴⁷ For discussion of secular encroachments, and impact of the Indult: Cowan, ‘Patronage’, 75-92 (Indult, at 91).

²⁴⁸ Bishops are categorised irrespective of legitimacy.

the expense of men of ‘undistinguished’ or unknown backgrounds. Again, the interval 1440-1459 appears a demarcation point. Prior to this, men of ‘undistinguished’ or unknown origins accounted for between 46% and 80% of appointments; from 1440 onwards, however, the provision of such men dropped significantly, totalling 23% of nominations at most and falling away entirely during the interval 1540-1560. By contrast, men of noble or royal parentage constituted between 13% and 47% of the episcopate during the opening five intervals of our study, following which, this figure increased significantly to 76%. Such promotions remained high from 1460 onwards, fluctuating between 69% and 93%.

These overarching patterns might suggest that, increasingly, academic fears were realised in episcopal promotions during our period, particularly from 1440 onwards. The level of those drawn from ‘undistinguished’ or unknown backgrounds followed a broadly similar trajectory to that of higher discipline degree-holding among Scottish bishops between 1360 and 1560 (see Figures 3a and 5), although the downturn in such appointments occurred more quickly and at a much steeper rate. Meanwhile, the number of prelates of noble or royal parentage increased almost in opposition; the sharp rise in such provisions during interval 1440-1459, mapped the point at which higher discipline graduates dropped below 50% before declining still further over the

Figure 9a: Familial Background, Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560*



* Represents the 161 bishops analysed in the main body of the case study as percentages of the number of men appointed or nominated in a given interval; excludes the twelve bishops of the Isles, who are discussed separately.

following century. Gaps in extant source material might account for some of those categorised here as being of unknown origins, and the resultant downward curve is slightly exaggerated perhaps. However, the distinct, almost undeviating decline in the number of men of ‘undistinguished’ or unknown origins promoted to Scottish dioceses, suggests a deliberate shift towards the elevation of nobles and a strong correlation between this policy and the fall in higher discipline graduates among the episcopate.

For those appointed to dioceses during the opening eighty years of our study, less fortunate familial circumstances appear to have presented few barriers to forging advanced ecclesiastical careers. While the papacy maintained jurisdiction over collation to Scottish dioceses – even if it chose simply to confirm chapter elections – and prescribed an educational ‘tariff’ whereby graduates might receive benefices commensurate with the nature of their qualifications, those aspiring to high ecclesiastical office continued to recognise value in acquiring higher discipline degrees.²⁴⁹ Practical experience added weight to academic credentials and many of our bishops supplemented or combined their studies with administrative service in episcopal courts, royal governance, or at the papacy. In so doing, scholars of limited means could secure influential patrons who might advance their careers. We have seen, for example, that David II allowed Stephen Sellario a career break from service as a royal secretary and provided him with a pension to pursue studies in a higher discipline, while Alexander Bur, bishop of Moray, sponsored John Innes I’s BDec degree.²⁵⁰

Competition for benefices, and ultimately promotion to dioceses, was fierce, resulting in a number of disputed provisions. In the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries, however, scholars of undistinguished backgrounds – and even nobles of less substantial means – who had maximised their prospects through acquiring advanced university educations, administrative experience and eminent patrons, might hope to contend successfully against those of more privileged circumstances. Analysis of the sixty-six nominations to Scottish sees before 1440 highlights that during the opening eighty years of our study, ecclesiastical sources of patronage proved most fertile. The

²⁴⁹ Above, n.35.

²⁵⁰ Sellario: above, n.135. Innes I: above, n.88.

papacy endorsed forty-one chapter elections and imposed twenty-one prelates of its choosing on Scottish sees. By contrast, the Crown proposed only four candidates, and perhaps exerted influence in just ten chapter or direct papal provisions. The election of Thomas Stewart as bishop of St Andrews in 1401, and subsequent retraction of his candidacy in favour of Walter Danielston, highlights competing royal parties taking greater interest in episcopal appointments. It also underlines, however, that at this point, royal parentage provided no guarantee of preferment; an illegitimate son of Robert II, Stewart sacrificed his promotion in the interests of resolving a political dispute involving the Danielston family of lesser noble standing.²⁵¹

Examination of career-building among those nominated to Scottish sees before 1440 reveals the extent to which candidates were drawn from, and continued to operate within, intersecting spheres of clerical influence. While the papacy retained jurisdiction over collation to benefices and ecclesiastical patronage offered greater prospects of reward, this is unsurprising. Papal tendency to confirm chapter elections encouraged incumbent prelates to nurture local scholars for promotion within diocesan hierarchies. Successive Moray bishops employing and promoting their successors – John Pilmour, Alexander Bur, William Spynie, John Innes I, and Henry Lichon – for example, was a natural product of this system of advancement.²⁵² It also cultivated the development of ecclesiastical dynasties whereby senior family members advanced the careers of junior relatives, grooming them for succession, or provision to another diocese.²⁵³ Among the bishops of the first century of our study, this is evident in John Pilmour's ²⁵⁴ promotion

²⁵¹ Stewart: above, n.103. Danielston: above, n.80.

²⁵² For Moray succession: *Fasti*, 279; Appendix 2.10.

²⁵³ Wormald suggests that the nepotism inherent in this practice, though deserving of criticism, was little different in principle to the ministry families of the post-Reformation era, in which sons were schooled to follow their fathers and married among like families. J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (Edinburgh, 1981), 81.

²⁵⁴ Pilmour petitioned twice, in 1350, on behalf of 'M. Ingram de Ketenis, ... [his] nephew'. *CPP*, i, 201. Ingram was also nephew of Richard Pilmour, bishop of Dunkeld, 1338-1346 (*Fasti*, 125); and, it appears that Simon Ketenis was part of this wider ecclesiastical dynasty, drawn partly from St Andrews diocese. *CPP*, i, 110, 387; Watt, *Graduates*, 293-294, 450-451. Ingram Ketenis was appointed bishop of Galloway in 1378. *Fasti*, 171. He received dispensation to take the LA exam at Paris (1347) without having graduated as BA, on the grounds of his imminent departure for Scotland. *ACUP*, i, 107, 109. On return to Paris, Ingram completed his arts qualifications (by 1349). *ibid.*, i, 133. He received papal provision to Galloway in 1378, but he declined the appointment (reason unclear). *CPP*, i, 540; *CPL CVII*, 26. Pilmour: above, n.69. Simon Ketenis: above, n.207.

of his Ketenis nephews; Walter Wardlaw's²⁵⁵ employment of nephew Henry in his household, while fostering his clerical career; Robert Cardney's²⁵⁶ abortive attempt to secure nephew Donald MacNaughton's succession to Dunkeld; and the evolution of the Lauder episcopal dynasty, which realised the elevation of five members to the Scottish episcopate between 1408 and 1452.²⁵⁷ Family regimes remained a feature of the Scottish ecclesiastical hierarchy throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of the

²⁵⁵ Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, 1367-1387 (*Fasti*, 191): graduated as BA and LA (1340), MA (1341), at Paris. *ACUP*, i, 37, 39, 50. Walter was styled SchTh in 1348 (*CPP*, i, 175), and graduated as DTh in 1358. *ibid.*, i, 339; *CDS*, iv, 4 no. 17. He pursued an influential academic career as regent to at least forty Scots scholars at Paris from 1341-1350, 1351-1352, 1356-1357. *ACUP*, i, 52-221 (graduation entries). Walter also undertook administrative roles, including proctor of the English nation (*ibid.*, 52, 59, 67, 69, 71-74, 77-78), and rector of the university (*ibid.*, 87, 89). For two years from 1361, he may have used a safe conduct to attend Oxford (*Rot. Scot.*, i, 854). Walter benefited from the patronage of own tutor, John Rait, bishop of Aberdeen, 1350-1355 (*Fasti*, 3), and Bishop Laundels of St Andrews (above, n. 98). He was appointed Cardinal in 1383. Watt, *Graduates*, 571. Nephew, Henry Wardlaw, had begun his ecclesiastical career in Walter's household. Watt, *Graduates*, 564-565. Through Walter's patronage, he held the canonry and prebend of Old Roxburgh (by 1379), and precentorship of Glasgow (1387-1403). *CPL CVII*, 30, 133. He was styled 'nephew of [the late] Cardinal Walter' in supplications and provisions, 1387-1398. *CPL CVII*, 133, 135; *CPP*, i, 570; *CPL BXIII*, 84. See also: above, n.66.

²⁵⁶ Robert Cardney, bishop of Dunkeld, 1398-1437 (*Fasti*, 127): studied arts at Paris, qualifying as BA, LA, MA in 1381; though, he determined under William Trebrun, and sat the remainder under a different master. He continued at Paris as an administrator until 1393 (possibly 1398), most likely while studying a higher discipline. *ACUP*, i, 600, 660, 662-665, 670-672; *CUP*, iii, 172, 344, 481, 519-525, 531, 586, 610. Cardney tried to secure the succession of his sister's son, Donald MacNaughton, canon and procurator of Dunkeld, to the bishopric. However, he was impeded by James I's intrusion of James Kennedy – contrary to the wishes of Eugenius IV and the Dunkeld chapter. Dowden, *Bishops*, 71; Mylne, *Vitae*, 17; *CPL*, viii, 653-654; *ACSB*, 23; *Fasti*, 127. MacNaughton: above, n.214.

²⁵⁷ 1. William: Glasgow, 1408 (above, n.102). 2. George: Argyll, 1427 (above, n.188). 3. Alexander: Dunkeld, 1440 (above, n.215). 4. Robert: Dunblane, 1447 (above, n.45, 188, 227). 5. Thomas: Dunkeld, 1452 (above, n.182). William and Alexander were sons of Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass and Edrington. *CPP*, i, 599. Lauder and Bishop William weathered the transition from Albany's administration to James I's rule; and, as indispensable king's men, they secured the advancement of the Lauder dynasty. Brown, *James I*, 27, 47, 51, 54. MacDonald argues persuasively that George Lauder was an unnamed son of Sir Robert, and received a pension from him as master of the Hospital of St Leonard (Peebles). MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 51 & n., 254-255. If so, George was a third, perhaps illegitimate, brother. Thomas was styled 'nephew' of William. *CPL*, vii, 248. Mylne recorded that the Dunkeld chapter initially refused to uphold James II's nomination of Thomas, a 'sexagenarian' (though, his degree dates suggest that Thomas was c.fifty-two years). Mylne, *Vitae*, 21. Robert's lineage is unclear, but he was styled 'kinsman to barons', 'of baronial race'. *CSSR*, iv, 87 no. 354, 246 no. 989. He received regular Crown patronage like his Lauder kinsmen, even in preference to members of the royal line – James II's regime nominated Robert to Dunblane, thereby voiding Walter Stewart's election (Stewart was grandson of Robert III. *ibid.*, iv, 4 no. 15; v, 27 no. 102). *Fasti*, 102. Shaw's article on this dynasty examines an Edward Lauder, but overlooks George and Robert. Shaw, 'Lauder Family', 160-175.

later dynasties, some such as the Hepburns²⁵⁸ and Hamiltons²⁵⁹ were drawn from the titled nobility, and owed their elevated positions to secular incursions on provision to benefices and their respective family stakes in royal government. By contrast, those of c.1360-1440 were of lesser-noble standing and illustrate the extensive benefits that might be accrued through university study, assiduous administrative service and acquiring an influential patron.

Closer study of these early episcopal promotions also illustrates the extent to which academic networks facilitated securing patronage, and were self-perpetuating. Two circles of scholars, emanating from the pedagogies of Parisian-based Scots regents Walter Wardlaw and William de Trebrun, were dominant among those provided to sees during the first century of our study. Of the forty Scots identifiable as students of the former, six were nominated as episcopal candidates; Trebrun, meanwhile, imparted arts training to at least four future bishops.²⁶⁰ As bishops tended to bestow favour on relatives and local scholars of promise, they also rewarded former academic colleagues and such networks provided further sources of patronage. The careers of William

²⁵⁸ Five Hepburns were provided or nominated to dioceses in the sixteenth century: John Hepburn I, George, James, Patrick, John Hepburn II. 1. John I, prior of St Andrews, nominated to St Andrews in 1514 (*Fasti*, 385-386; below, Appendix 2.13): son of Patrick, 1st lord Hailes; and, uncle of George, James and Patrick. *SP*, ii, 141-148. 2. George, Isles, 1510 (below, n.294): grandson of Patrick; son of Adam, master of Hailes; nephew of John I; cousin of James and Patrick. *SP*, ii, 148-149. 3. James, Moray, 1516-1524 (*Fasti*, 281; below, Appendix 2.10): grandson of Patrick; son of Alexander Hepburn of Whitsome; nephew of John I; cousin of George and Patrick. *SP*, ii, 143-144; Dowden, *Bishops*, 167-168. 4. Patrick, Moray, 1538 (above, n.79): grandson of Patrick; son of Patrick Hepburn of Benistoun; nephew of John I; cousin of George and James. *SP*, ii, 142. 5. John Hepburn II, Brechin, 1516 (above, n.96, 139): son of Patrick, 2nd lord Hailes, earl of Bothwell; and, nephew of George, James and Patrick. *SP*, ii, 151-152. The Hepburn family controlled James IV's minority regime following Sauchieburn in 1488. It positioned family members in Crown offices, and implemented legislation that brought extensive powers in the sheriffdoms of the borders and south-west Scotland to the extended Hepburn-Hume network. The dynasty played minority politics astutely, ensuring Hepburns survived in positions of power throughout James IV's personal rule and beyond. Macdougall, *James IV*, 50, 51, 60, 64, 65, 98-99.

²⁵⁹ Three Hamiltons were provided bishops from 1497: David, John and James. 1. David, Argyll, 1497 (above, n.44): illegitimate son of James, 1st lord Hamilton; half-brother of James, earl of Arran; uncle of John and James. *SP*, iv, 353-354. 2. John, Dunkeld, 1544; St Andrews, 1547 (above, n.107): illegitimate son of James, earl of Arran; nephew of David. *SP*, iv, 353-354. 3. James, nominated to Glasgow, 1547; Argyll, 1553-1580 (*Fasti*, 37, 194; below, Appendices 2.2, 2.8): lineage as for John. James graduated as MA at St Andrews in 1540 (*Acta*, 393), before matriculating at Paris in 1542. McNeill, '*Acta Rectoria*', 76. The first earl of Arran built and consolidated Hamilton power during James IV's reign and James V's minority. His successor extended it further during the late 1530s and was appointed governor of Scotland on James V's death, allowing him to position his half-brothers as leading members of the episcopate.

²⁶⁰ Walter Wardlaw: Thomas Wedale (1344), Ingram Ketenis (1349), John Reid (1350), John Peebles (1352), Simon Ketenis (1354), Thomas Rossy (examined in theology by Wardlaw, 1378). *ACUP*, i, 81, 133, 144, 154, 175; Watt, *Graduates*, 471-473. William Trebrun: Gilbert Greenlaw (1374), Walter Forrester (1375), Robert Cardney (1381), Henry Wardlaw (1383). *ACUP*, i, 451, 472, 648, 665.

Spynie and Robert Cardney highlight the pervasive influence of these particular nexuses. Spynie was taught by John Peebles, a former pupil of Wardlaw, and was patron to William Lauder, founder of the Lauder episcopal dynasty.²⁶¹ Cardney received instruction from Trebrun, and nurtured the career of John Bulloch as well as that of Donald MacNaughton.²⁶²

The Wardlaw and Trebrun circles did not overlap significantly but were connected by Henry Wardlaw, recipient of his uncle's favour and tutored by Trebrun. His foundation at St Andrews linked a number of Scottish bishops to the fortunes of the infant university and a new academic sphere of influence. As successive bishops of Brechin, Walter Forrester and John Crannach were appointed Conservator of Privileges, and Thomas Tulloch I's enduring interest in the fortunes of his *alma mater* is evident in his representing Wardlaw in the fallout engendered by Lawrence of Lindores' death.²⁶³ Robert Strathbrock and William Stephenson – respectively, a former student and possible colleague of Crannach – assumed teaching roles at the new institution, while William Turnbull and James Kennedy were among its early graduates.²⁶⁴ As students and young academics, Turnbull, Kennedy, Strathbrock and Stephenson were exposed to networks of scholars associated with St Andrews who might advance their respective careers; while as bishops, the seven discussed (elevated to the episcopate between 1407 and 1447) might recruit talented clerics and administrators from its pool of students. We have seen, moreover, that Kennedy and Turnbull drew on the St Andrews academic nexus in expanding university provision in Scotland, thereby further extending this sphere of influence and patronage.²⁶⁵

However, the Crown's increasing propensity to exert influence over episcopal appointments, evident in the abortive candidacies of Thomas Stewart and Donald MacNaughton (St Andrews and Dunkeld dioceses respectively), threatened customary

²⁶¹ Spynie: *ACUP*, i, 178, 180; above, n.198. Lauder: *CPL B XIII*, 135, 169.

²⁶² Cardney: above, n.256. Bulloch: *CSSR*, i, 195. MacNaughton: above, n.214.

²⁶³ Cant, *St Andrews*, 10. Tulloch I: above, n.20, 62.

²⁶⁴ Strathbrock: above, n.213. Stephenson: section 1.2, n.52. Turnbull: above, n.74. Kennedy: above, n.189.

²⁶⁵ Section 2.2.

means of career-building. Of the fourteen promotions bearing the mark of some royal intervention before 1440, nine stood to benefit men of noble or royal backgrounds. Secular incursions on episcopal appointments became increasingly aggressive during the mid-fifteenth century when the challenge to papal authority posed by the Little Schism left Eugenius IV vulnerable, and anxious to maintain the loyalty of Europe's princes. The extent to which James I took advantage of the crisis besetting the papacy to widen his influence over the Church in Scotland is apparent in his intrusion of nephew James Kennedy on the diocese of Dunkeld. In suppressing MacNaughton's nomination to do so, James acted 'against the wishes of Eugenius IV and the Dunkeld chapter'.²⁶⁶

Royal disregard of papal jurisdiction in Kennedy's enforced appointment has more in common perhaps, in terms of date and nature, with particular nominations during the following interval, 1440-1459. James I promoted Kennedy in January 1437, less than a month before James was assassinated. Over the subsequent thirteen years, the Douglas and Livingston families capitalised on the absence of monarchical rule in Scotland and the weakened papacy to promote self-interest. We have seen that this interval witnessed a higher number of provisions to the episcopate due partly to a high mortality rate, but also to the Council of Basle's promotion of the four anti-bishops discussed above.²⁶⁷ Three were drawn from noble families; only James Douglas was of titled stock, although Thomas Livingston was of the Livingstons of Callendar who dominated royal administration during James II's minority c.1439-1449, and James Ogilvy was most likely a member of the Ogilvy family that held significant influence in Angus and was aligned with the Douglas-Livingston faction controlling government at this point.²⁶⁸ Andrew Munro, meanwhile, the son of a priest, seized the opportunity offered by an alternative papacy and patronage network to secure Felix V's endorsement of his election to Ross after Eugenius IV had overturned his candidacy in favour of

²⁶⁶ MacNaughton: above, n.214. Stewart: above, n.103.

²⁶⁷ Above, n.13, 25.

²⁶⁸ Douglas: above, n.13, 114. Livingston: above, n.13, 73, 155. Ogilvy I: *CPS*, 495; above, n.13, 49.

Thomas Tulloch II.²⁶⁹ Crown influence exerted by the Douglas-Livingston party is further evident in the appointment of two members of the Lauder episcopal dynasty to Dunblane and Dunkeld, and its support of William Turnbull's promotions to Dunkeld and Glasgow.²⁷⁰ Nor did James II lose the initiative with respect to collations to high ecclesiastical office in Scotland, but seized on inroads made by his predecessors in extending royal authority over provisions to advocate the elevation of three 'Crown' men to the episcopate; his endorsement of Thomas Lauder as bishop of Dunkeld completed the series of Lauder dynasty promotions.²⁷¹

The settlement of Scottish episcopal vacancies during the interval 1440-1459 illustrates that the Council of Basle and associated Little Schism, which rocked the papacy between 1431 and 1449, added impetus to the policy of encroachment on papal jurisdiction advanced by the royal Stewarts during the early fifteenth century. Coinciding with a lengthy period of minority rule in Scotland, this papal crisis afforded the nobility unprecedented opportunity to exert influence over the Church at this level, which naturally it was keen to maintain. Figure 9a highlights that the extent of secular incursions made during this period stimulated lasting change in the social background of the Scottish episcopate, paving the way for the realisation of academic fears over diminishing opportunities for well-educated administrators of less illustrious family circumstances.

For the purposes of evaluating episcopal origins, 'noble' background has been determined in accordance with the broad definitions of elite society in late medieval Scotland offered by Alexander Grant, whereby security in land tenure constituted nobility in its widest sense and free-holders, as well as greater magnates, might be regarded as 'noble'.²⁷² The degree of mobility within elite society and absence of a clear distinction between greater and lesser nobles prior to the creation of Lords of

²⁶⁹ CSSR, i, 129.

²⁷⁰ Robert Lauder to Dunblane (1447). For his promotion in preference to Walter Stewart: above, n.45. Alexander Lauder to Dunkeld (1440): above, n.215. For James II's involvement in Turnbull's provisions (both 1447): Durkan, *William Turnbull*, 23-24; above, n.74, 161.

²⁷¹ For James II's intrusion of Lauder on Dunkeld, despite the chapter's reservations over his age: n.257.

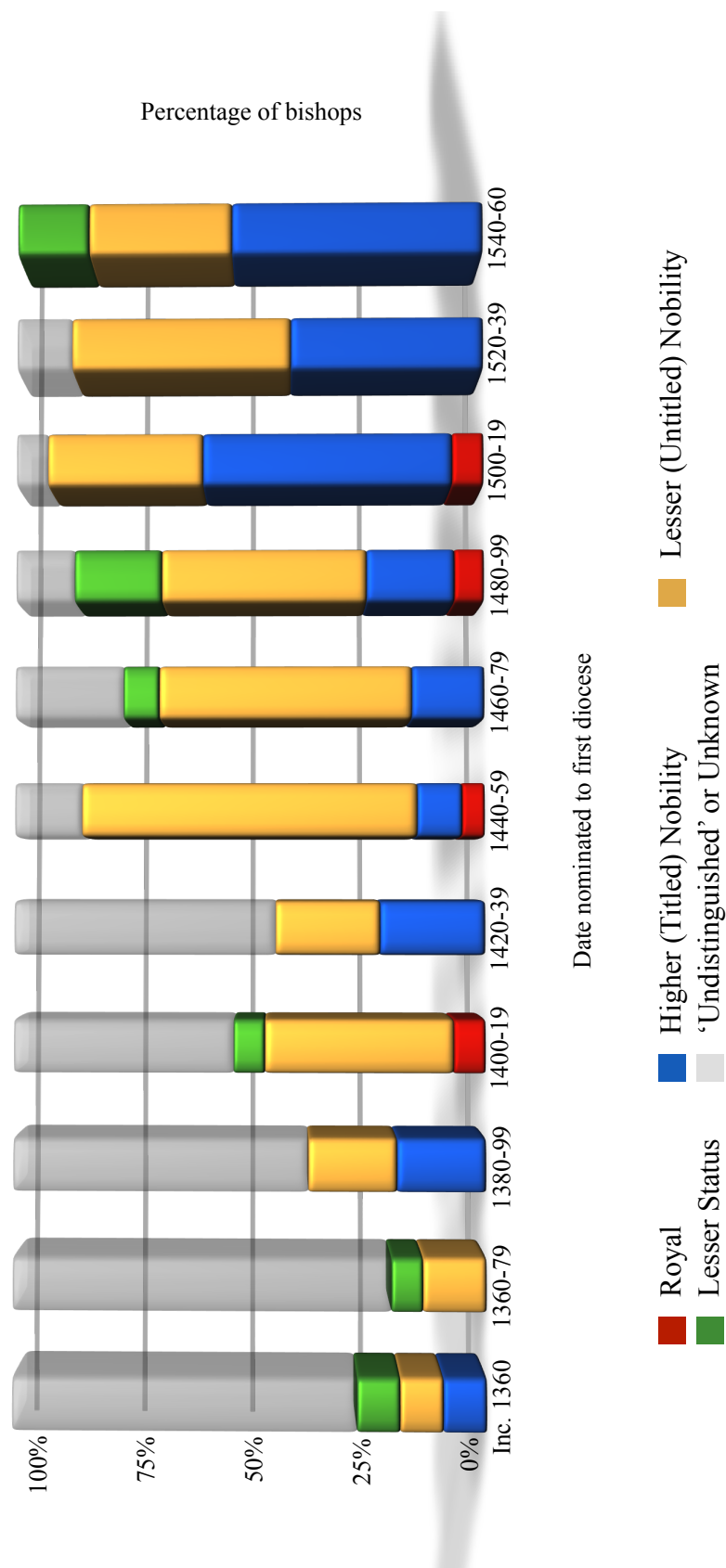
²⁷² A. Grant, 'The development of the Scottish peerage', *SHR*, lvii, 1 (Apr., 1978), 1-27, at 1-2; A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1984), 120-121.

Parliament and a Scottish peerage from the mid-fifteenth century, makes imposing further classifications on this broad group problematic. Possession of titles provides the most natural means perhaps of analysing the nobility in terms of spheres of influence, and our bishops of noble stock have been divided between two categories accordingly: 'Higher (Titled) Nobility' – encompassing the sons of magnates and, from the 1440s, sons of Lords of Parliament – and 'Lesser (Untitled) Nobility'. This distinction is somewhat artificial, however; certain members of the titled nobility were not easily distinguishable, in terms of wealth and influence, from untitled nobles of high standing and the latter category necessarily incorporates a vast spectrum from freeholders to lesser lords, including younger sons of titled magnates.²⁷³

If then, the sons of lesser lords of influence are redistributed to reflect their status as members of titled lineages and incorporated within the 'Higher Nobility' category, the correlation apparent in divergence between the trajectories of higher discipline graduates and of prelates of noble stock is reinforced. Figure 9b offers an alternative representation of familial backgrounds, indicating where such adjustments might be made. It illustrates that men of royal and titled lineages accounted for just over 20% of nominations to dioceses across the period concerned, but the redistribution of such men swells higher nobility numbers most significantly in the closing three intervals of our study. Of those elevated to the episcopate from 1500, between 41% and 60% could claim titled heritage, constituting an 8–20% increase in figures for bishops of strictly royal or titled parentage appointed between 1500 and 1560 as represented in Figure 9a. Adjusted to reflect lineage, the level of royal and higher nobility promotions peaked at 60% during the interval 1500-1519, coinciding with the point at which provision of higher discipline graduates to dioceses dropped to a low of just 7%. This suggests that with sufficient time to take effect, in terms both of appointments to sees and the pursuit of higher degrees by clerics aspiring to distinguished careers, the Indult of 1487 was critical in effecting profound and lasting change in the character of the Scottish episcopate. In facilitating the provision of men of higher-noble lineage drawn

²⁷³ Wormald, *Court, Kirk, Community*, 31-32.

Figure 9b: Familial Backgrounds (Adjusted), Scottish Episcopate 1360-1560*



* Represents the 161 bishops analysed in the main body of the case study as percentages of the number of men appointed or nominated in a given interval; excludes the twelve bishops of the Isles, who are discussed separately.

from families closely involved in royal government, but who possessed only limited university experience, the Indult provided for an ecclesiastical elite with little vested interest in maintaining pre-existing levels of higher degree-holding.

Stewart monarchs and minority governments availed themselves of the Indult of 1487 in broadly similar terms. Certain nominations, such as Robert Cockburn²⁷⁴ and David Paniter²⁷⁵ to Ross, illustrate the Crown utilising the privilege to reward trusted administrators for distinguished service. Promotions with a view to political stability or with specific objectives in mind, evident in the appointment of David Hamilton²⁷⁶ to Argyll and Gavin Douglas²⁷⁷ candidacy for St Andrews, were more common. Minority governments exploited the Indult more aggressively than did the royal Stewarts, to install family members or allies in positions of ecclesiastical influence thereby buttressing their respective regimes. During such periods of noble rule, rival factions attempted to do likewise resulting in a number of contested nominations.²⁷⁸ The nepotism in James IV's appointments to St Andrews aside, he and James V appear to

²⁷⁴ Robert Cockburn, bishop of Ross, 1507-1524; bishop of Dunkeld, 1524-1526 (*Fasti*, 129, 350): was incorporated as 'master' at Glasgow (1491). *Munimenta*, ii, 108. On receipt of James IV's nomination to Ross (1507), he was described as being in 'royal service, qualified in letters and character'. *James IV Letters*, 62, 73. This, and his diplomatic undertakings in France, might suggest Cockburn had pursued legal studies at Glasgow, although not to degree level. *ibid.*, 82-83

²⁷⁵ David Paniter, bishop of Ross, 1545-1558 (*Fasti*, 351): son of Patrick Paniter the secretary of James IV, tutor of James' illegitimate sons (above, n.118), and abbot of Cambuskenneth. *RMS*, iii, 29 no. 138, no. 2072; *SP*, ix, 63. David held a MA degree; Gould suggests he studied at St Andrews. 'Panter, David (d.1558)', *DNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21233>] (accessed, 15 September 2010). However, no record survives in St Andrews lists of David matriculating or graduating. He did matriculate at Paris in 1526 (McNeill, '*Acta Rectoria*', 79), but not as 'Master', which suggests that any previous St Andrews experience was as a non-graduating student. It seems that David acquired his degree from Paris, as Patrick had done, and supplemented this with legal training in preparation for an administrative career. He undertook prominent roles in Mary Queen of Scots' minority government, as secretary and diplomat (*TA*, ix, 31, 442-444), and received Crown nomination to Ross. *RSS*, iii, 224 no.1446; *Fasti*, 351.

²⁷⁶ There is no record of David receiving explicit royal nomination, but his close involvement with James IV's policy, particularly later in the reign, might suggest that James promoted David's interests as a means of harnessing Hamilton resources in establishing royal authority in the west. For David as an instrument of royal policy in the 1500s: N. Macdougall, 'Achilles' Heel? The Earldom of Ross, the Lordship of the Isles, and the Stewart Kings, 1449-1507', in E. J. Cowan and R. A. McDonald edd., *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (East Linton, 2000), 248-275, at 268-269. For David Hamilton: above, n.44.

²⁷⁷ Above, n.136.

²⁷⁸ For example: St Andrews, 1514-1516: Hepburn and Douglas candidates, and episcopal heavyweight, James Beaton I, contested the provision of papal favourite, Andrew Forman. *Fasti*, 384-386. Caithness, 1544-1546: Robert Stewart was replaced temporarily by Alexander Gordon II. *Fasti*, 81-82; above, n. 115. Glasgow, 1547-1550: the Hamilton, Campbell, and Gordon magnate dynasties competed to appoint relatives, but a member of the Beaton ecclesiastical dynasty received provision. *Fasti*, 194.

have promoted to the episcopate from titled and untitled nobility in fairly equal measure. By contrast, the candidates proposed by minority regimes or opposing groups were drawn overwhelmingly from titled lineages, usually extended family or kin networks.

With power and patronage at stake, this is unsurprising. We might also expect that it was these minority provisions which were reflected more strongly in the decline of higher degree-holding among the episcopate; that desire to secure influence through promoting loyal associates, regardless of academic credentials, overrode the tradition of prelates holding degrees in law or theology. The small number of higher discipline graduates identified among those elevated to dioceses from 1487 precludes testing this supposition purely in terms of higher degree-holding. Consideration of those known or likely to have received some higher discipline instruction at university in the context of appointments and patronage networks is more fruitful, but suggests no particular correlation between minority nominations and limited exposure to university training in these subjects. No evidence survives, for example, of Alexander Douglas²⁷⁹ as a university student but as a LUJ, William Gordon²⁸⁰ was one of four sixteenth-century graduate bishops identifiable as holding a higher degree. In fact, analysis of university education among Scottish prelates promoted after 1487 reveals no particular relationship linking nature of degree, familial background and patron, beyond the broad correlation between the increase in bishops of noble circumstances and stark drop in levels of higher discipline qualifications. Rather, the Indult appears to have exerted a broad, dual influence on the character of the Scottish episcopate. In facilitating the provision of nobles to dioceses, irrespective of credentials, it altered the social makeup of the prelacy while stimulating general scepticism, or even apathy, towards following

²⁷⁹ Alexander Douglas, bishop-nominate of Moray, 1528 (*Fasti*, 281-282): son of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, crown treasurer. *Douglas Book (Correspondence)*, 1100-1800, ed. W. Fraser, iv (Edinburgh, 1885), 16 no. 12. The Moray vacancy arose when Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, controlled James V's minority government. Angus wrote to Wolsey seeking Henry VIII's support; he acknowledged that Alexander was not of canonical age, and documented Albany's opposition to the appointment. *LP HVIII*, iv.2, no. 4205. Henry endorsed Alexander's candidacy, but his provision was abandoned with Angus' fall from power. *James V Letters*, 145.

²⁸⁰ William Gordon, bishop of Aberdeen (above, n.173): son of Alexander Gordon, 3rd earl of Huntly. *SP*, iv, 532. William was Governor Arran's nominee as coadjutor and successor to William Stewart, bishop of Aberdeen (1545). *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ed. C. N. Innes, i (Edinburgh, 1845), lviii.

higher discipline programmes at university beyond introductory level.²⁸¹ This extended to scholars of less privileged backgrounds who, by tradition would have acquired a higher degree, but like Robert Cockburn and George Learmonth, appear to have quit their studies before graduating.²⁸²

Ecclesiastical dynasties endured as a characteristic of the sixteenth-century Scottish episcopate, but only the Beaton-Durie network was typical of those dominant in previous generations in which a particular family member capitalised on his distinguished career to secure preferment for junior relatives. The Beatons benefited from Sir David Beaton of Creich's prominent role as treasurer in James IV's administration and exploited this opportunity in making themselves indispensable as Crown servants.²⁸³ By contrast, the Hepburn and Hamilton ecclesiastical dynasties were extensions of the titled-noble families influential or dominant in the minority regimes of James IV, V and Mary Queen of Scots.²⁸⁴ For those more remote from the sixteenth-century axis of power, the facility of appointing co-adjutors might secure the succession of relatives, as seen in William Chisholm Senior acceding to half-brother James as bishop of Dunblane in 1526.²⁸⁵ This was rare, however, and the practice was often subject to external influence. Moreover, while academic networks remained a feature of the ecclesiastical experience – for example, James Ogilvy II's and William Gordon's connection as former students of Hector Boece – such bonds carried less leverage following the issue of the Indult.²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ See earlier discussion of the academic delegations at Constance voicing just such fears: introduction of section 3.9.

²⁸² Robert Cockburn: above, n.274. George Learmonth, co-adjutor at Aberdeen, 1529-1531 (*Fasti*, 5): graduated as MA at St Andrews (1498). *Acta*, 268. He returned to the university c.1508, and remained there for three years, presumably while studying a higher discipline, but not to degree-level. *ibid.*, 288, 301. When prior of Pluscarden, Learmonth was appointed co-adjutor and successor to Gavin Dunbar I as bishop of Aberdeen, but predeceased Dunbar. *Fasti*, 5.

²⁸³ For Sir David Beaton of Creich as treasurer (1501-1505): *TA*, ii, 1, 163, 145, 197, 299, 300, 307, 349, 367, 372. James Beaton capitalised on his brother's service and favour with James IV; he succeeded David as treasurer, and received provision as archbishop of Glasgow. Macdougall, *James IV*, 196, 213.

²⁸⁴ Hepburn dynasty: above, n.258. Hamilton dynasty: above, n.259.

²⁸⁵ James Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, 1487-1534 x 1546 (*Fasti*, 102): resigned in favour of William, but retained the diocesan fruits as a pension, 6 June 1526. Brady, *Succession*, i, 140. Thus, William was consecrated in 1527, but was without diocesan income for at least eight years. Dowden, *Bishops*, 207.

²⁸⁶ For Ogilvy, Gordon and Boece: above, n.195.

Progressive secular encroachment on ecclesiastical collations during the early fifteenth-century and duration of the Little Schism, increased the number of bishops drawn from noble society generally. In so doing, it altered traditional patronage networks and means of professional advancement, stimulating a concurrent decline in higher degree-holding among the Scottish episcopate that became marked during the interval 1460-1479. In formally recognising secular incursions by investing the right of nomination in the Crown, the Indult of 1487 galvanised this process by expediting the provision of men of higher-noble lineage drawn from families closely involved in royal government but who, broadly, did not share the same level of university training as their ecclesiastical predecessors. This contrived to restrict opportunities for ecclesiastical advancement for well-educated clerics of less privileged backgrounds, and the ensuing change in social background of the Scottish episcopate realised long-standing academic fears over the impact of the collation debate. Moreover, though the correlation between increase in number of noble appointments and decline in levels of higher discipline degree-holding among the episcopate is clear, the impact on patterns of university-going was not restricted to nobles aspiring to ecclesiastical advancement. Rather, it appears to have generated general scepticism over the value of higher discipline degrees. If this was not perhaps reflected in reduced student numbers pursuing these subjects at Scotland's universities, it does appear to have encouraged a culture among Scots scholars whereby elementary training in law was deemed sufficient theoretical preparation to advance an ecclesiastical or administrative career.

3.10 The Isles

Studies of late-medieval Gaelic Scotland have suggested that the clergy of the diocese of the Isles shared a fairly high level of education, particularly native bishops who possessed a similar extent of university training to their mainland counterparts.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ J. Bannerman, 'Literacy in the Highlands', in I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw edd., *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 221; J. Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles', in J. Brown ed., *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), 230-231; M. MacGregor, 'Church and culture in the late Medieval Highlands', in J. Kirk ed., *The Church in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1998), 3.

However, comparison of the information presented for Isles bishops in Appendix 2.9 against that recorded for the prelates of the twelve sees examined in the main body of our study, highlights that the patterns evident in university education shared by the Scottish episcopate generally were not replicated among their Isles colleagues.²⁸⁸ A transitional study of the university experience of candidates for provision to the Isles reveals an inversion, almost, of the trends explored above. In contrast to the decline in extent of university instruction possessed by the wider episcopate across our period, in broad terms, the level of formal training or degree-holding increased among Isles nominees. Again, a loose distinction is evident between the first and second centuries of our study but, in this case, early attitudes towards university attendance appear to have endured almost until the turn of the sixteenth century.

The criteria of Scottish birth used to determine the extent of our study restricts the sub-group of Isles bishops to those appointed from Michael Ochiltree (1422) onwards. The lack of fourteenth-century incumbents in our Isles sub-group therefore presents a slightly deceptive picture of the extent to which this diocese was served by bishops with an advanced university education; Michael, a Franciscan transferred from Cashel (Ireland) in 1387, held a DTh degree.²⁸⁹ However, this Michael's education sheds no light on patterns of university attendance among the native Scottish episcopate. Appendix 2.9 illustrates that only Michael Ochiltree of our Isles candidates elevated to the episcopate during the fifteenth century can be firmly identified as having a university education.²⁹⁰ It is possible that John Hectoris MacGilleon had acquired the same degree c.1408, but confusion over his identity and early career casts doubt on his

²⁸⁸ See, Appendix 2.9.

²⁸⁹ Michael, bishop of the Isles, 1387-1409 (*Fasti*, 263): DTh. *ALI*, 27-28 no. 17; *RMS*, ii, 479 no. 2264.

²⁹⁰ Michael Ochiltree, postulate of the Isles, 1422-1429; bishop of Dunblane, 1429-1447 (*Fasti*, 264, 102): had acquired a BDec degree by 1417. *CPL BXIII*, 362. Supplicating in 1418, James I described Ochiltree as 'BDec, in which he has read for three years'. *CSSR*, i, 3. This supplication marked James I's alignment with Martin V, appointed pope at Constance (November 1417): Chapter 1, n.143.

academic credentials.²⁹¹ John Campbell I is documented as ‘Master’ only rarely. Certainly, he had received an extensive education – his father, Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, described Campbell as a scholar aged seven, in 1466.²⁹² However, this most likely took the form of private tuition at this point, and due to the limited evidence of Campbell I as a university scholar, he remains an assumed graduate for our purposes. Meanwhile, the MacDonald bishops – father and son, Angus Insulis I and II – do not appear to have had any university experience.²⁹³ There survives very limited evidence, therefore, of our fifteenth-century Isles bishops benefitting from university instruction. This contrasts sharply with their colleagues among the wider Scottish episcopate who shared much more extensive experience of university education during the first century of our study, particularly of higher degree-holding.

The ambivalence apparent among our early Isles bishops towards acquiring the formal training and degrees recognised by the wider clerical community as key to securing advancement, endured certainly until the appointment of John Campbell I and perhaps into the sixteenth century. However, James IV’s nomination of George Hepburn, the first non west-coast bishop promoted to the Isles for a century, heralded

²⁹¹ John Hectoris MacGilleon, bishop of the Isles, 1441-1467 x 1472 (*Fasti*, 264): identified by Watt as John Carrick II, archdeacon of the Isles, who was named MacGilleon on provision as bishop in 1441. *ibid.*, (2003 edn.), 272. Previously, however, Watt had presented these men as successive archdeacons of the Isles. *ibid.*, (1969 edn.), 210. He had also dated Carrick II’s death to c.1419. Watt, *Graduates*, 5. In the latter source, Watt suggested Carrick’s disappearance from records c.1416 might be explained by his losing the archdeaconry of the Isles to a rival candidate, and dying within three years. In the 2003 edition of *Fasti*, Watt seemed to explain Carrick’s disappearance by his adopting the name MacGilleon. If correct, and these were in fact the same man, he graduated as BDec in 1408 when aged at least twenty-six (he was a priest by 1406). *ibid.*, 5. If so, he would have been between eighty-five and ninety years on death. There is confusion too, over his lineage: Watt recorded MacGilleon as a son of Hector MacLean of Duart, as indicated by his full name (*Fasti*, (1969), 203; (2003), 264); but, MacDonald suggests that he was the illegitimate son of a priest (citing a dispensation by Finlay Albany to MacGilleon). MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 138 n. 723; *CSSR*, iv, 191 no. 784. The wording of this grant is not entirely clear.

²⁹² John Campbell I, bishop of the Isles, 1487-1510 (*Fasti*, 264-265). For the supplication on behalf of John Campbell ‘scholar’: *CSSR*, v, 331 no. 1109. For his parentage: *SP*, ii, 174, 177; *The Black Book of Taymouth*, ed. C. N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1855), 11.

²⁹³ Angus Insulis I, bishop of the Isles, 1426-1438 x 1441 (*Fasti*, 264): a son of Donald, lord of the Isles. *ALI*, lvi, 300-301; *Clanranald*, ii, 210-211; *CPL*, vii, 465, 466, 478; *CSSR*, ii, 121, 132-134; iv, 25. Angus Insulis II, bishop of the Isles, 1472-1479 x 1480 (*Fasti*, 264): son of the previous bishop Angus, born following his father’s provision to the Isles. *ALI*, 247, 301; *Clanranald*, ii, 210-211; *CSSR*, v, 303 no. 1018; MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 145-146.

change in the educational background of the Isles episcopate.²⁹⁴ From Hepburn onwards, nine of the ten successive nominees appear to have received some university instruction. Institutional records of attendance survive for seven: of whom five appear to have conformed to the contemporary preference for pursuing an arts degree at a Scottish university, while two appears to have sought tuition overseas. Hepburn and John Campbell II²⁹⁵ do not appear to have progressed to higher studies after graduating in arts; however, James Stewart III, Robert Montgomery, and John Campbell III, engaged in the short period of postgraduate study common to a number of sixteenth-century prelates without obtaining degrees. Stewart²⁹⁶ continued at Glasgow, while Montgomery²⁹⁷ and Campbell III²⁹⁸ transferred from Glasgow to St Andrews. It has been suggested that Alexander Gordon II perhaps studied decreets at Paris having acquired a MA degree there within three months of matriculating.²⁹⁹ By contrast Roderick MacLean, our only native Isles bishop for whom institutional record survives, stands out having sought his education at a Protestant institution – Wittenberg. He matriculated there in 1534, and had acquired a MA qualification by 1536 when collated to the parish church of Kilmaluaig (Trotternish, Isles diocese). This might suggest that

²⁹⁴ George Hepburn, bishop of the Isles, 1510-1513 (*Fasti*, 265): a member of the Hepburn family that acquired power following James III's death, and of the Hepburn episcopal dynasty. *LP HVIII*, i, 112; *SP*, ii, 148-149. He graduated as BA at St Andrews in 1488 (*Acta*, 231), before transferring to Glasgow to complete his studies c.1491. It appears that Glasgow required him to retake the BA exam before securing MA status. This move perhaps coincided with his provision as lord of Provan. *Munimenta*, ii, 258-259.

²⁹⁵ John Campbell II, bishop-elect of the Isles, 1514-1532 (*Fasti*, 265): son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. *SP*, ii, 178-180. Graduated as BA and MA at St Andrews (1505, 1507). *Acta*, 280, 285. See also, MacDonald's discussion of Campbell II: MacDonald, *Argyll, Clergy*, 93 & n.476.

²⁹⁶ James Stewart III, bishop-nominate of the Isles, 1529 (*Fasti*, 265): his family background is unclear; though, his nomination by James V might suggest that he was of a senior Stewart line, promoted as part of James' efforts to extend personal authority having freed himself from the Angus regime (1528). Stewart was a MA by 1512, and had perhaps acquired this degree at Glasgow in 1496. *Munimenta*, ii, 109, 270. He was recorded there from 1512-1514, and 1521-1522, which suggests that Stewart maintained a long affiliation with the university, and perhaps undertook short periods of higher discipline study. *ibid.*, ii, 125, 139, 142, 144-147

²⁹⁷ Above, n.27, 57, 192.

²⁹⁸ John Campbell III, postulate of the Isles, 1557-1560 x 1562 (*Fasti*, 265): son of John Campbell of Cawdor. *RPS*, A1560/8/1 (accessed, 17 March 2010); MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 99, t.4; Watt, *Religious Houses*, 11. Campbell appears to have studied arts at Glasgow; he was incorporated in 1521 (*Munimenta*, ii, 139) and most likely graduated c.1525, though he would have done so in the period for which Glasgow graduation records no longer survive (1509-1535). He later transferred to St Andrews, where he was incorporated as 'M. John Campbell, rector of Kilmartin' (1533). *Early Records*, 232.

²⁹⁹ Above, n.27, 147.

MacLean was already well-schooled in Latin and the arts curriculum on arrival at Wittenberg and having obtained an arts degree quickly, pursued some further study at the German institution. Certainly, his Latin verse praising St Columba, published in 1549, suggests MacLean was an accomplished scholar fully engaged with both his Gaelic heritage and the ‘new learning’ developed at continental institutions.³⁰⁰

Without records of matriculation or graduation, evidence of formal education among our remaining sixteenth-century Isles bishops is less conclusive. More frequent references to Farquhar MacLean³⁰¹ and Patrick MacLean³⁰² as masters survive than for John Campbell I. They are inconsistent, however, and provide no indication of place of study. There is no indication, meanwhile, that Roderick MacAllister attended university. However, with Patrick MacLean, he was commissioned by Donald Dubh to treat with Henry VIII in 1545, and his gravestone remembers him as a ‘venerable and eminent man’. The scope of this professional engagement is surely testament to MacAllister being well-educated and accomplished in handling such matters.³⁰³ If not a university graduate, it is most likely that he was instructed by a domestic chaplain in the

³⁰⁰ Roderick MacLean (Ruairi Farquharson), bishop of the Isles, 1544-1552 x 1553 (*Fasti*, 266): a MacLean of Kingairloch, and brother of predecessor, Bishop Farquhar. *Sculpture*, 129-132; MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 85-86, 187 & n.981. For Wittenberg: Durkan, ‘Cultural Background’, 320. For ‘master’ references: *RSS*, ii, no. 2045; *Sculpture*, 131. As an author of Latin verse praising St Columba: R. Sharp, ‘Roderick MacLean’s Life of St Columba in Latin Verse, 1549’, *IR*, xlii (Glasgow, 1991), 111-132, at 112; Durkan, ‘Cultural Background’, 224; *Sculpture*, 131. In 1544, MacLean was described as ‘educated in the islands ... sufficiently learned according to the custom of his people’. This suggests that he had also been schooled in the Isles, perhaps before Wittenberg. T. Ruddiman, ed., *Epistolae Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et Mariae Regum Scotorum*, ii (Edinburgh, 1722-1724), 221.

³⁰¹ Farquhar MacLean, bishop of the Isles, 1528-1544 x 1546 (*Fasti*, 265): a MacLean of Kingairloch, and brother to successor, Bishop Roderick. *Sculpture*, 129-132; MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 85-86, 187 & n. 981. Farquhar was a Benedictine monk of Iona. References to him as ‘master’ may recognise a degree obtained from Glasgow during the period for which its graduation rolls no longer survive (1509-1535). Dowden, *Bishops*, 291. For ‘master’ references: *James V Letters*, 163; Dowden, *Bishops*, 291-292. For Farquhar without MA title: *James V Letters*, 209; *Sculpture*, 131.

³⁰² Patrick MacLean, postulate of the Isles, 1547-1552, (*Fasti*, 266): illegitimate son of Lachlan Caltanach MacLean. *Sculpture*, 117, 137. For Patrick as commissioner to Henry VIII: *LP HVIII*, xx.1, nos. 196, 197, 287, 347, 348, 1298. As with Farquhar MacLean (above), it is possible that Patrick was schooled in arts at Glasgow during the period for which its graduation rolls are no longer extant (1509-1535).

³⁰³ Roderick MacAllister (Rory Alexander), bishop-nominate of the Isles, 1545-1546 (*Fasti*, 266): son of Alexander, lord of Clanranald, and half-brother of John Moidart, chief of Clanranald. *Clanranald*, ii, 170; *RSS*, i, no. 2910. Bannerman commented that MacAllister was the only one of the ‘eight native’ bishops of the Isles not identifiable as a university graduate. *Sculpture*, 136-137; ‘Lordship’, 231. We have seen, though, that evidence of university education among the fifteenth-century Isles bishops is limited. Independently, MacDonald has drawn the same observations regarding MacAllister’s education as presented here. MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 109 & n.572. For MacAllister as part of the delegation to Henry VIII: *LP HVIII*, xx.1, no. 1298; *ALI*, 289. For MacAllister’s grave inscription: *Sculpture*, 136.

service of his father, Alexander, son of Alan Captain of Clanranald; or in a native school operated by the *aos dána*, the learned orders of Gaelic Scotland responsible for educating the professional kindreds of the Isles.³⁰⁴ Indeed, it is possible that all of our native Isles bishops (MacDonalds, MacLeans, and MacAllister) had received some instruction in the classical tradition of the region in this manner. Roderick MacLean, documented as being ‘educated sufficiently in the Isles in the custom of his people’, appears to have done so before supplementing this training at Wittenberg.³⁰⁵

Sixteenth-century provisions to the Isles altered the educational background of bishops serving this diocese during our period. In contrast to the decline in higher degree-holding evident among the wider Scottish prelacy, the promotion of successive arts graduates to the Isles from 1510 constituted an expansion in the university experience shared by its episcopate, bringing the diocese closer into line with those of Orkney and mainland Scotland. In analysing the educational background of Isles bishops with respect to the patterns examined in the main body of our study, distinguishing between those drawn from native Isles families and those transferred from elsewhere in Scotland is instructive. Of the fifteen candidates for provision to the Isles between 1422 and 1557, seven were natives of the diocese, and six of the eight external appointments were drawn from the neighbouring sees of Argyll (four) and Glasgow (two). Hepburn and Gordon II were exceptions to the practice of promoting clerics from this west-coast catchment area, although Hepburn had held the lordship of Provan while a student at Glasgow, and Gordon’s immediate family – the earls of Huntly – had interests in Lochaber (Argyll diocese) and Badenoch (bordering Argyll).

The shift evident in the educational background of Isles prelates saw native candidates embracing the European academic tradition, fusing it with that of Gaelic Scotland. While the professional careers of indigenous bishops indicates they were well-practised in administering law, their training seems to have been received primarily at native schools, which also specialised in teaching canon law. The limited evidence

³⁰⁴ For discussion of the *aos dána*: Bannerman, ‘Literacy’, 222-235; Bannerman, ‘Lordship’, 235-239; MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 176-177, 180-181, 185-90; MacGregor, ‘Church and culture’, 1, 4, 9-12, 16-18, 27, 30, 35.

³⁰⁵ Above, n.300.

of university instruction in higher disciplines among bishops promoted from the Isles – even of non-graduating periods of study – compares poorly with the wider Scottish episcopate; overwhelmingly, external appointments account for the university tuition in higher subjects shared by Isles prelates.³⁰⁶ Roderick MacLean appears to be the only native Isles bishop to possess an ‘European’ academic experience similar to those of contemporaries among the wider Scottish episcopate; and, even then, his choice of continental institution was markedly different to those favoured by mainland colleagues.

Studies of benefice holding in the Isles and Argyll reveal a high incidence of transfer among native clergy, between positions in these sees.³⁰⁷ This might suggest a shared attitude towards education and ecclesiastical advancement, and led Bannerman to regard the four Argyll candidates for provision to the Isles – Ochiltree and the three Campbells – as native bishops when examining schooling in the Lordship of the Isles. However, their educational experience was much more in keeping with that of their Argyll and mainland colleagues. Appendix 2.2 illustrates that Ochiltree’s engagement with higher learning and BDec degree was in line with the theoretical training shared by native Argyll clergy appointed to that diocese until 1420, and typical of the patterns evident among the Scottish episcopate generally as discussed above (Figures 3a, 3b, 5). Meanwhile, the educational experience of the successive Campbell bishops – all members of the main earl of Argyll line, or principal cadet branch, that expanded Campbell authority in west Scotland during the late fifteenth century – was similar to the shared experience of the sons of titled nobles elevated to the episcopate as it developed towards the end of our study. By contrast, the MacDonald bishops’ lack of university training, and MacLean candidates’ fusion of European and Gaelic tradition appears distinct.

Recent studies of society and culture in late medieval Gaelic Scotland have demonstrated the particular commitment to university learning among the MacDougall and Campbell kindreds dominant in Argyll and the west during our period. They have

³⁰⁶ External candidates for the Isles, who appear to have studied higher disciplines at university: Ochiltree (Argyll origins), BDec; Stewart III (Glasgow origins), Montgomery (Glasgow origins), Campbell III (Argyll origins), Gordon II (Aberdeen origins). Above, n.57, 147, 192, 290, 296, 298.

³⁰⁷ *Fasti*, 34-52, 257-277; Bannerman, ‘Lordship’, 230; MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 170.

also explored the MacDonald lords of the Isles' comparative lack of interest in endorsing the European model of education.³⁰⁸ The university experience evident among those nominated to Argyll and the Isles during our period is consistent with this. Moreover, MacGregor has explored the extent to which the collapse of the MacDonald lordship (1475-1545), more than the Reformation, was critical in hastening the demise of Gaelic high-culture.³⁰⁹ Re-introduction of external candidates to the episcopal succession of the Isles from 1487, reflects the expansion of Crown authority over the province through determined royal policy – enhanced by receipt of the Indult of 1487 – at the expense of MacDonald influence. Campbell and MacLean provisions illustrate the extent to which these kindreds seized the opportunity of the vacuum presented to play increasingly aggressive roles in the province. In the Isles, this brought an end to the tradition common to peripheral areas of Europe whereby a lack of external competition allowed the sons of nobles to secure provision to dioceses with only minimal formal education.³¹⁰ The significant shift in secular hierarchy and patronage networks in the Isles stimulated marked change in the educational background of the its episcopate. Heightened competition for provision to high ecclesiastical office through the imposition of external candidates associated with the Crown and convinced of the benefits of university training, encouraged native families such as the MacLeans to incorporate elements of the European educational model into their preparation for ecclesiastical and professional careers. In so doing, their attitudes towards university education became more closely aligned with those of the wider Scottish episcopate.

³⁰⁸ For extension of Campbell power: S. Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250-1513* (Edinburgh, 2006), 245, 272, 278-279. For the Campbells as cultural and educational patrons (though, this did not amount to rejection of 'native' culture): *ibid.*, 327-329. For Boece's dependency on Campbell sources in writing *Scotorum Historia*: *ibid.*, 278; MacDonald, *Argyll Clergy*, 174-175.

³⁰⁹ MacGregor, 'Church and culture', 15.

³¹⁰ For discussion of this, and noble sons attending universities in greater numbers due to competition from those of less-privileged backgrounds: R. C. Schwinges, 'Student education, student life', in Ridder-Symoens, *The University in Europe*, i, 207.

3.11 Conclusion

This systematic study of the education of the Scottish episcopate tests, for this elite ecclesiastical group, the impact of Scotland's medieval foundations on established patterns of university attendance. This does not represent a typical cohort of students, and caution should be exercised in extrapolating conclusions to Scots scholars generally. Nonetheless, this study sheds new light on this aspect of clerical culture as well as the politics of learning in late-medieval Scotland. Broadly speaking, it supports Watt's hypothesis that the introduction of university provision to Scotland allowed for maintaining the levels of education identified among the episcopate of the fourteenth century.³¹¹ However, it also highlights an important caveat: while 80% of bishops (1360-1560) were graduates, the nature of degree-holding changed significantly. There was a marked decrease in the percentage holding postgraduate degrees in law or theology from 1460 onwards. We might argue, then, that there was a corresponding decline in quality of candidates for episcopal promotion from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. However, this was not necessarily the case. This study also demonstrates that bishops appointed from 1460 onwards had, as students, tended to favour pursuing a non-graduating course in law or theology at a Scottish university, often combining this with some practical training at ecclesiastical or sheriff courts.

Examination of patterns of university attendance among this group highlights a reduction in student mobility during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some scholars clearly viewed the education offered at Scotland's institutions disparagingly and adhered to the customary practice of seeking degrees on the continent.³¹² However, the impact of Scotland's *studia generale* on traditional patterns of university going at both 'undergraduate' and 'postgraduate' level was immediate and significant. Local foundations were less burdensome in terms of travel and cost, and offered shorter degree programmes than Paris. Determined to make Aberdeen a viable *studia*, particularly in terms of law and theology, Elphinstone reduced the length of degree-

³¹¹ Watt, 'University Graduates', 87-88.

³¹² Adam Bothwell, for example: above, n.127, 128.

programmes in 1505.³¹³ Importantly, this all challenges the traditional supposition that Scotland's medieval universities were essentially undergraduate institutions. This study demonstrates that they were in fact fully-functioning *studia generale* catering for the aspirations and demands of Scots scholars.

Important too is the response identified among this group to the change in established practices of securing ecclesiastical promotion that accompanied Stewart monarchs employing an increasingly aggressive, imperial style of rule. Progressive temporal encroachment on ecclesiastical collations from the early fifteenth century increased the number of bishops drawn from noble society generally, a trend that accelerated following James III's receipt of the Indult of 1487. The Indult expedited Stewart provision of men of higher-noble lineage drawn from families closely involved in royal government but who did not necessarily share the same level of qualifications as their ecclesiastical predecessors. A concurrent decline in higher degree-holding among the Scottish episcopate suggests that scholars began to question the value of acquiring such degrees. James IV's nepotism was perhaps most blatant, but the minority governments of the sixteenth-century employed the Indult as aggressively. The consequent change in social background of the Scottish episcopate realised long-standing fears over reducing papal jurisdiction over collations. Progressive temporal encroachment on established methods of securing ecclesiastical promotion fostered an understanding among Scots scholars that a non-graduating period of higher study was sufficient theoretical preparation to advance ecclesiastical and administrative careers. Ironically it was this development perhaps that was responsible for deficiencies identified by Elphinstone in the administrative framework underpinning Stewart authority.

The findings of this study are not entirely consistent with patterns evident among the clergy of wider Europe. Jacques Verger has identified a rise in the percentage of graduates, most of whom were jurists, promoted to the dioceses of northern France; this peaked at 86% in 1412.³¹⁴ However, his observations are confined to the early

³¹³ AUL, MS K256/48/2; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 53-64.

³¹⁴ Verger, *Men of Learning*, 92.

fifteenth-century and do not provide the most appropriate comparison. Indeed, Verger laments the lack of similarly comprehensive studies of the French episcopacy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A survey of fifteenth-century Danish canons might serve as a better contrast: the percentage of graduates rose from 55% to 76%, suggesting that Scandinavian clergy were perhaps slower to recognise the benefit in acquiring a university degree.³¹⁵ This group shows a similar decline in numbers pursuing higher disciplines to degree level as is evident among Scottish bishops from the mid-fifteenth century. While this provides an interesting comparison, it does not match like for like.

R. Montel has identified that graduates of poorer social backgrounds struggled to compete for prestigious benefices in Rome throughout the fifteenth-century, as scholars of similar social standing may have done in Scotland from c.1460 onwards.³¹⁶ However, the findings of this study of Scottish bishops are more consistent perhaps with those of Swanson's study of 'learning and livings' in later medieval England. Swanson has identified a crisis in patronage in early fifteenth-century England which, by 1500, was largely resolved due to a perception among patrons that educational levels among the clergy needed to be improved.³¹⁷ It seems that the patterns identified here, among the Scottish episcopate, were broadly similar to those exhibited by the English clergy, though they appear to have developed at a slower pace. Renewed interest in higher education was perceptible among those promoted to the Scottish episcopate from 1540-1560 particularly, indicative perhaps of a growing concern in Scotland over a decline in the level of education shared by the episcopate and echoing that recognised in the English clergy fifty years previously.

³¹⁵ *ibid.*, 93.

³¹⁶ R. Montel, 'Les chanoines de la basilique Saint-Pierre de Rome (fin XIII^e siècle - fin XVI^e siècle): esquisse d'une enquête prosopographique', in H. Millet ed., *Les chanoines au service de l'État en Europe du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Moderna, Ferrera, 1992), 105-118.

³¹⁷ Swanson, 'Learning and Livings', 81-103, at 98-99.

Conclusion

The foundation of three universities in fifteenth-century Scotland amounted to a revolution in educational provision. Scottish students were no longer compelled to pursue higher education abroad in order to remain competitive in securing patronage and ecclesiastical preferment. Institutionally-specific histories of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen – undertaken to mark particular centenary celebrations – provide detailed studies of their endowment, organisation and administrative development.¹ Based on exhaustive use of extant muniments, they are almost beyond reproach. Yet, they offer only limited insight into the evolution of university provision in fifteenth-century Scotland more generally. Similarly, biographies of the founders shed some light on the intellectual, political and cultural concerns that shaped their institutions, but do not explore how these came together to influence the evolution of late-medieval higher education in Scotland as a whole.² In neglecting to explore the principles common to all three foundations, as well as points of interaction and even interdependence, much of the broader significance of this revolution in educational provision is lost. This thesis considers the foundation of Scotland's fifteenth-century universities and colleges in relation to each other; and assesses the cumulative impact of these institutions of higher learning by examining the extent to which they influenced patterns of university attendance. In so doing, it offers a more positive interpretation of their achievements than has hitherto been available while also interpreting their development in the wider context of university expansion in late-medieval Europe.

The treatment of Scotland's medieval *studia* in regional sub-sections of general studies of universities in Europe also serves to underplay the intellectual and cultural importance of these foundations. The tendency to incorporate Scotland's universities in survey summaries of institutions erected on the periphery of west-central Europe, and to compare them with those of Scandinavia and Bohemia particularly, contributes to a

¹ Introduction, n.6; *Acta*, xi-clx.

² Introduction, n.7; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*; Durkan, *William Turnbull*; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*.

misrepresentation of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen.³ Often, they are presented as struggling institutions; old-fashioned and parochial; liberal arts colleges in essence that were ill-equipped to meet the demands of ambitious scholars accustomed to receiving the latest in academic theory and practice through periods of study at the major centres of continental Europe.⁴ This fairly perfunctory appraisal of the Scottish foundations fails to take account of the speed with which they received and reacted to intellectual developments. Nor does it acknowledge the contribution by Scots scholars to teaching and learning across Europe. Chapters 1 and 2 explored the uptake of ideas at early St Andrews that influenced the evolution of university provision in Scotland, and established that Scotland's institutions were in fact functioning as fully-fledged *studia generale* educating 'post-graduate' students in law and theology. These chapters also drew attention to the circulation of Lindores' commentaries at the universities of Bohemia and the Empire; and illustrated that, while some graduates continued to seek instruction on the continent, they often did so as regents disseminating learning received at Scotland's institutions.

Yet, the interpretation of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen as foundations of limited scope and achievement endures still, and has influenced general studies of the Church and culture in late-medieval Scotland. Recent commentators have explored the wisdom of extending university provision along diocesan lines in preference to augmenting the resources of St Andrews; and again, Fletcher has done so by drawing comparison between Elphinstone's project at Aberdeen and the fortunes of Uppsala, Copenhagen, Pécs, Buda and Pressburg – poorly endowed institutions battling for survival on the periphery of Europe.⁵ If size and financial viability are used as the benchmark for success, this appraisal of Scotland's medieval *studia* is understandable. Chapter 2 highlighted that they were indeed small institutions, more in keeping with the individual colleges of continental and English academic centres; and as such, they were

³ Cobban, *The Medieval Universities*; Rashdall, *Universities*, ii; Ridder-Symoens, *The University in Europe*, i-ii; Verger, *Men of Learning*, 92-93.

⁴ For example: *ibid.*, 92-93.

⁵ Cowan, 'Church and Society', 125-128; Ditchburn, 'Educating the Elite', 328; Fletcher, 'Foundation of Aberdeen', 10-12; Fletcher, 'Welcome Stranger?', 300, 303; Macfarlane, 'A Short History', 2.

vulnerable to the disruptive, destructive influences of inspirational but overly-dominant masters. This chapter also explored how the financially precarious position in which Glasgow found itself following Turnbull's unexpected death served as a valuable lesson to Elphinstone, which explains the latter's determination to secure adequate funding for Aberdeen as well as his continuing to campaign for funding in advance of its expansion in 1505 and 1514. Yet, this interpretation fails to take account of the practicalities of erecting foundations in a realm where the crown and laity came relatively late to patronise institutions of higher learning. Chapter 2 highlighted that James IV's gift of £12.6s. to establish a medical chair at Aberdeen in 1497 marked the first instance of the Stewart crown investing directly in the extension of university provision in Scotland.⁶ This appears to have stimulated further endowment by members of the lay community; nonetheless, such interest remained limited in Scotland and compares unfavourably to the Aragon and Castilian monarchies' established practice of supporting universities as well as the role of German princes and merchant communities as patrons of institutes of higher learning examined in Chapter 1.⁷

The diocesan model of extending university provision in Scotland, initiated by Turnbull and continued by Elphinstone, represented a practical solution to the issue of financing. At the same time, and as we saw in Chapters 2 and 3, this framework was well-suited to the regional identities and educational needs of a decentralised realm. However, focus on the diocesan evolution of institutes of higher learning in Scotland – without recourse to the wider context of financial, intellectual and cultural concerns – has led Brown and others to examine the extension of university provision to Glasgow and Aberdeen simply as acts of personal and diocesan advancement.⁸ While the individual bishop-founders most likely welcomed the associated prestige, this overlooks the degree of collaboration that Chapter 2 has demonstrated gave rise to the foundations of St Salvator's and Glasgow as carefully considered responses to curricular concerns, and the intellectual and political questions raised by Basle. It also neglects to consider

⁶ AUL, MS K256/34/2-3; *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 25-27.

⁷ *ibid.*, 31-33, 45-46, 49, 51-52, 70-71.

⁸ Brown, *University of Glasgow*, 1; Ditchburn, 'Educating the Elite', 330; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 278; Durkan, *University of Glasgow*, 6; Pryde, 'University of Glasgow', 1.

the evolution of Aberdeen in the contexts of clamours for Church reform, concerns over clerical career prospects, and the matter of sovereign jurisdiction that endured long after Basle limped to a close.

As academics applied philosophical, theological and legal principles acquired at university to the intellectual and political debates of the spiritual and temporal realms, they developed an understanding – perhaps also influenced by humanism – of imperial kingship that exposed deficiencies in the administrative machinery upholding Stewart rule. Chapter 2 explored Elphinstone's anticipation of resolving this weakness through the laicisation of university education and training of a professionalised body of civil lawyers. He was supported in this perhaps by those responsible for efforts to raise standards among grammar students at St Andrews and Glasgow, which coincided with the so-called Education Act's stipulation that sons of the laity should receive instruction in arts and law at Scotland's universities.⁹ This chapter also demonstrated – and this is substantiated by the laity being slow to invest in higher education – that the Education Act was a measure designed to incentivise, rather than reacting to lay demands for improved access to higher education in Scotland. Thus it further illustrated that the extent to which these *studia* were transformed from exclusively clerical foundations to ones accepting lay students in significant numbers has been exaggerated by scholars such as Roger Mason.¹⁰ When compared to Swanson's work on 'learning and livings' in contemporary England, this also suggests that Scotland was at least a century later in witnessing the laicisation of its universities.¹¹

Thus, Part I established that Scotland's *studia* remained essentially ecclesiastical institutions during the fifteenth century, formally erected by bishops to cater for the clergy. The main thrust of the argument pursued in this narrative section illustrated that these foundations were conceived and developed in response to the wider intellectual, political and cultural contexts of late-medieval university provision, and to meet the needs and aspirations of clerics seeking ecclesiastical advancement. Those sceptical of

⁹ RPS, A1496/6/4 (accessed, 20 September 2010).

¹⁰ Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, 112-113; see also Dunlop, *Acta*, xl & n.

¹¹ Swanson, 'Learning and Livings', 82.

the achievements of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen, have argued that they failed to stem the ‘brain-drain’ of talented scholars to continental institutions.¹² Yet, the narrative presented here invites the question, were they intended to do so? Chapter 1 established that St Andrews evolved in the first instance, as a practical response by dynamic and accomplished scholars who found themselves academically marginalised in the political fallout of the Great Schism. Chapter 2 traced the evolution of university provision in Scotland through the erection of new foundations as the St Andrews diaspora and associates played crucial roles in ensuring Scotland’s academic communities remained fully-conversant with the philosophical, theological and legal theory shaping continental positions in response to the politics of Church and state. Thus, *studia generale* were introduced and developed in Scotland to facilitate access to higher education, and not to reverse entirely traditional patterns of university going that continued to serve as a means of engaging with the intellectual developments of wider Europe.

Part II of the thesis examined the impact of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen on established patterns of university attendance through a systematic prosopographical study of the education of the Scottish episcopate, 1360-1560. Admittedly, this is not a typical student group, and we should be cautious in extending the findings of the study to the academic community of Scotland as a whole. Nonetheless, the comprehensive analysis presented in Chapter 3 offered conclusions that shed new light on this aspect of clerical culture as well as the politics of learning in late-medieval Scotland. In broad terms, the study supports Donald Watt’s hypothesis that the introduction of university provision to Scotland provided for the maintenance of levels of education identified among the episcopate of the fourteenth century.¹³ Watt’s own study of Scottish students until 1410 established that 80% of clerics provided to dioceses from 1350-1425 were graduates. He anticipated that having benefitted from local access to higher education as students, their successors would share similar levels of qualification at least.

While Chapter 3 established that 80% of bishops appointed from 1360-1560 held university degrees, it also demonstrated that an important caveat should be added to this

¹² Cowan, ‘Church and Society’, 125-128; Ditchburn, ‘Educating the Elite’, 328; Verger, *Men of Learning* 92-93.

¹³ Watt, ‘University Graduates’, 87-88.

statistic; while educated clerics were appointed as bishops in similar numbers during this period, the nature of degree-holding changed significantly with a sharp reduction in the percentage holding postgraduate degrees in law or theology from 1460 onwards. This might invite the interpretation that the quality of appointments to the episcopate was reduced significantly from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. However, this was not necessarily the case. Indeed, Chapter 3 also identified that as scholars, the bishops had increasingly favoured pursuing a non-graduating course of formal instruction in law or theology at a Scottish university from 1460 onwards. It is possible that they had combined this study with some practical training at ecclesiastical or sheriff court; the importance of gaining practical experience of administering the law was evident in the prescription made by Elphinstone for students of both canon and civil law at Aberdeen, as highlighted in Chapter 2.

At the same time, an examination of patterns of university attendance by future bishops highlighted a reduction in student mobility during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some scholars, such as Adam Bothwell, clearly viewed the education offered at Scotland's institutions disparagingly and adhered to the customary practice of seeking degrees at continental universities.¹⁴ Yet, this study of the episcopate made it clear that the introduction of *studia generale* to Scotland had an immediate impact on traditional patterns of university going, and from the mid-fifteenth century, its universities attracted both 'undergraduate' and 'postgraduate' scholars in significant numbers. This perhaps reflected the ease of attending local foundations, as well as the saving of expense and time by pursuing studies at domestic institutions. Chapter 3 highlighted that Scottish universities offered shorter degree programmes, certainly by comparison with Paris, which traditionally had attracted the largest proportion of Scots scholars. Indeed, as part and parcel of his determined effort to make Aberdeen a viable *studia* that facilitated acquiring degrees, particularly in law and theology, Elphinstone reduced the duration of its degree-programmes when reissuing its statutes in 1505.¹⁵ Importantly, this altered pattern of university going identified among scholars later appointed to the Scottish

¹⁴ Bothwell advised his brother-in-law that students 'can leyr na guid at home'. Napier, *Memoirs*, 67.

¹⁵ AUL, MS K256/48/2; *Fasti Aberdonensis*, 53-64.

episcopate underlines that Scotland's medieval institutions were not essentially undergraduate institutions as has traditionally been supposed. This study of Scottish bishops demonstrated that they were in fact fully-functioning *studia generale* catering for the aspirations and demands of Scots scholars at all levels of learning.

If Scots scholars adjusted their customary patterns of university going as they took advantage of the opportunity to acquire degrees through cheaper and shorter periods of study at local institutions, Chapter 3 illustrated that they also did so in response to the change in established practices of securing ecclesiastical promotion that accompanied the Stewart monarchy's adoption of an increasingly assertive, imperial style of rule. Progressive temporal encroachment on ecclesiastical collations from the early fifteenth century increased the number of bishops drawn from noble society generally and this trend accelerated following James III's receipt of the Indult of 1487 that sanctioned the crown to nominate to vacant benefices. Chapter 3 demonstrated that the Indult expedited Stewart provision of men of higher-noble lineage drawn from families closely involved in royal government but who, broadly, did not share the same level of university training as their ecclesiastical predecessors. This appears to have stimulated a concurrent decline in higher degree-holding among the Scottish episcopate, suggesting that scholars began to question the value in acquiring higher degrees. James IV's appointment of less-qualified men was perhaps most blatant, but the minority governments of the sixteenth-century employed the Indult as aggressively. Chapter 3 established that the ensuing change in social background of the Scottish episcopate realised long-standing fears over reducing papal jurisdiction over collations that E. F. Jacob has argued was first raised by academic communities across Europe in the context of the Great Schism.¹⁶ This may not have been evident in reduced numbers studying law and theology at Scotland's universities. Chapter 3 illustrated, however, that progressive temporal encroachment on traditional means of securing ecclesiastical promotion encouraged a culture among Scots scholars whereby a non-graduating period of higher study was deemed sufficient theoretical preparation to advance ecclesiastical and administrative careers. Ironically it was this development perhaps, that Elphinstone

¹⁶ Jacob, 'Promotion, English Clerks', 175-177.

recognised as responsible for deficiencies identified in the administrative framework upholding Stewart rule.

The study undertaken in Chapter 3 examines a small, unique cohort of bishops. Thus, it would be unwise to extend the findings outlined here across the Scottish student community as a whole. Nor are they entirely consistent with patterns identified among episcopates elsewhere in late-medieval Europe. Jacques Verger has identified a rise in the percentage of graduates promoted to the dioceses of northern France, which peaked at 86% in 1412, most of whom were jurists.¹⁷ However, his observations are confined to the early fifteenth-century; and, he also laments the lack of comprehensive studies of training and recruitment to the French episcopacy generally in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A survey of Danish canons across the fifteenth century might provide a better comparison by way of period examined: the percentage of graduates rose from 55% to 76%.¹⁸ This might suggest that Scandinavian clergy were perhaps slower than those appointed to the Scottish episcopate to recognise benefit in acquiring a university degree; although analysis of the disciplines studied appears to support the decline in numbers pursuing higher disciplines to degree level evident among Scottish bishops from the mid-fifteenth century. However, while this provides an interesting comparison, it does not match like for like.

R. Montel has identified that graduates of poorer social backgrounds struggled to compete for prestigious benefices in Rome throughout the fifteenth-century, as Scots scholars of similar social standing may have done from c.1460 onwards.¹⁹ The findings presented in Chapter 3 are perhaps more consistent, however, with those of Swanson's study of 'learning and livings' in later medieval England, which traces a crisis in patronage in the early fifteenth century that forced graduates to come to terms with lower career prospects.²⁰ Even then, he highlights that this was largely resolved by the turn of the sixteenth century when patrons increasingly tended to appoint graduates.

¹⁷ Verger, *Men of Learning*, 92.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 93.

¹⁹ Montel, 'Les chanoines', 105-118.

²⁰ Swanson, 'Learning and Livings', 81-103, at 98-99.

Swanson suggests that this reversal in trend perhaps stemmed from a perception that educational levels among the clergy needed to be improved.²¹ The findings offered in Chapter 3 are broadly consistent, therefore, with Swanson's observations of the English clergy as a whole, although it seems that the patterns identified among the Scottish episcopate developed at a slower pace. Some renewed interest in higher education was perceptible among those promoted to the Scottish episcopate from 1540-1560 particularly, as identified under sections 3.5 and 3.6. This might be indicative of growing concern in Scotland over a decline in the level of education shared by the episcopate, which echoed that recognised in the English clergy generally fifty years previously.

Inevitably, a number of questions remain that could not be addressed fully in this thesis. Most obviously perhaps, the study of the episcopate would benefit from being extended to incorporate other groups within the Scottish clergy; although, at lower diocesan or parish levels, the patchy nature of extant source material may undermine the effectiveness of such comparative studies, just as it inhibits a prosopographical study of Scottish students generally from 1410-1560. Likewise, studies of the episcopate across Europe affording more direct comparison than those drawn above might reinforce some of the findings presented in Chapter 3. Extending the case study in these ways would be a significant undertaking, but might allow us to answer questions of typicality. Still, the insights presented here shed new light on aspects of clerical education, and the politics of fifteenth-century learning. Importantly, they are also sufficient to undermine Verger's sweeping observations that group Scotland's clerical elite together with those of Scandinavia and the Empire, and conform to stereotypical assumptions of the undergraduate nature of Scotland's universities that were capable of training only 'very modest Masters of Arts, ... who could not hope to become more than simple parish priests'.²²

Chapter 2 was able to touch only briefly on the laicisation of education as part of a broader effort to professionalise lawyers as a class of administrators that, by the close

²¹ *ibid.*, 99.

²² Verger, *Men of Learning*, 92.

of the fifteenth century, was perceived as a vital means of strengthening an imperial Stewart monarchy. There was insufficient space, moreover, to examine the full impact of humanism and the 'new learning' on arts training at Scotland's universities during the sixteenth century. The evolution of calls for Church reform in the context of university men in Scotland engaging with humanist principles and scholarship, and the interaction of these intellectual currents with Lutheran ideas clearly invites further examination. Consideration of the role and reaction of an episcopate, which increasingly drew on a shared educational background received at Scotland's universities, in shaping the response of the Scottish Church to these intellectual and theological developments might also shed interesting light on the cultural impact of Scottish universities in the first half of the sixteenth century. The currency that Lutheran principles gained at St Leonard's College (St Andrews) in the 1520s, might be particularly constructive in this respect. It also demonstrates that while they may have endured as predominantly clerical communities, Scotland's medieval universities remained fully engaged and conversant with the wider context of philosophical, theological and political debate that shaped their genesis and evolution.

Appendices: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Appendix 1: Prosopographical Abbreviations

Arts	
SchA	Scholar of Arts
BA	Bachelor of Arts
LA	Licentiate of Arts
MA	Master of Arts
(BA); (LA); (MA)	Assumed Titles
BA?; LA?; MA?	Possible Titles

Decrees (Canon Law)	
SchDec	Scholar of Decrees
GradDec	Graduate of Decrees
BDec	Bachelor of Decrees
LDec	Licentiate of Decrees
DDec	Doctor of Decrees
HBDec; HLDec; HDDec	Honorary Titles
(BDec); (LDec); (DDec)	Assumed Titles
BDec?; LDec?; DDec?	Possible Titles

Civil Law	
SchCv	Scholar of Civil Law
GradCv	Graduate of Civil Law
BCv	Bachelor of Civil Law
LCv	Licentiate of Civil Law
DCv	Doctor of Civil Law
HBCv; HLCv; HDCv	Honorary titles
(BCv); (LCv); (DCv)	Assumed Titles
BCv?; LCv?; DCv?	Possible Titles

Both Laws	
SchUJ	Scholar of Both Laws
GradUJ	Graduate of Both Laws
BUJ	Bachelor of Both Laws
LUJ	Licentiate of Both Laws
DUJ	Doctor of Both Laws
(GradUJ)	Assumed Graduate
BLaws	Bachelor of Laws, discipline(s) unspecified
LLaws	Licentiate of Laws, discipline(s) unspecified
DLaws	Doctor of Laws, discipline(s) unspecified
LE	Legal Experience

Theology	
SchTh	Scholar of Theology
BTh	Bachelor of Theology
LTh	Licentiate of Theology
DTh (MTh)	Doctor of Theology

Medicine	
SchMed?	Possible Scholar of Medicine
BMed?	Possible Bachelor of Medicine

Other	
AD?	Perhaps educated by the <i>aos dána</i> (the learned orders of the west coast)
D	Educated within the Dominican Order
HD?	Possible higher discipline scholar
Probable HD	Probable scholar or graduate of a higher discipline
PT	Privately Tutored
RO	Educated within a Religious Order
School	Parish Church School or Cathedral Chapter School

Destinations	
Ab	Aberdeen
An	Angers
Av	Avignon
Ba	Basle
Bo	Bologna
Cm	Cambridge
Co	Cologne
Fl	Florence
Gg	Glasgow
Lo	Louvain
Ma	Marburg
Or	Orleans
Ox	Oxford
Pa	Paris
Pd	Padua
Pt	Poitiers
Pv	Pavia
Rm	Rome
StA	St Andrews
Si	Sienna
Vi	Vienna
URC	University of the Roman Court
Wi	Wittenburg

Background	
R	Royal
HN	Higher (Titled) Nobility
LN	Lesser (Untitled) Nobility
LS	Lesser Status
U	Unknown
(I)	Illegitimate

Appendix 2: Prosopographical Tables

Appendix 2.1: Scottish Bishops 1360–1560, an Educational Prosopography

Aberdeen

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Kinimund (II) , Alexander	1355	LA	SchDec	Pa?	Pa? Av?	U
Ketenis , Simon	1380	MA	LUJ	Pa	Pa Ox? Or?	U
Tynningham , Adam	1380	MA	SchDec	Pa? Av?	Pa? Av? Or? Ox?	U
Greenlaw , Gilbert	1390	LA (MA)		Pa		U
Lichton , Henry	1422		DUJ		Or StA	LN
Douglas , James	1441	PT SchA	HD?	Co	Co	HN
Lindsay , Ingram	1441	PT? School?	LDec			HN (I)
Spence , Thomas	1458	MA		StA		LN
Blackadder , Robert	1480	MA		StA Pa		LN
Elphinstone , William	1483	MA	(HLDDec), BDec, SchCv	Gg	Gg Pa Or	LS (I)
Stewart II , Andrew	1513	MA	Probable HD	Gg Pa	Gg	HN (I)
Ogilvy II , James	1514 x 1515	MA	GradUJ (DCv?)	Ab	Ab? Or	LN
Gordon I , Alexander	1514 x 1515					LN
Forman , Robert	1515 x 1516	MA	Probable HD		Gg	LN
Dunbar I , Gavin	1518	MA	Probable HD	StA	StA	LN
Learmonth , George	1529	MA	Probable HD	StA	StA	U
Stewart , William	1532	MA	SchDec, SchTh	Gg		LN
Gordon , William	1545	MA	LUJ, SchTh?	StA? Ab	Pa An Lo	HN

Appendix 2.2: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Argyll

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Argyll, Martin	1342	D?	SchTh?			LN
Dugaldi, John	1387	PT?	BDec		Pa? Av? RmCu(Av)?	LN
MacGillanders (Johannis), Bean	1397		SchDec		Pa	LN
Albany, Finlay	1420	D?	BTh		Ox	U
Lauder, George	1427	MA		StA		LN
Colquhoun, Robert	1475	MA	Probable HD	Gg	Gg	LN
Hamilton, David	1497	MA	Probable HD	Gg	Pa	HN (I)
Montgomery, Robert	1525	MA	Probable HD	Gg?	StA	HN
Cunningham, William	1539	PT?	Probable HD		Gg StA Pa	HN
Hamilton, James	1553	MA	Probable HD	StA	Pa	HN (I)

Appendix 2.3: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Brechin

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Leuchars , Patrick	1351	RO	RO			U
Sellario , Stephen	1383		SchDec? ScCv?		Ox	U
Forrester , Walter	1407	MA	BDec, SchCv?	Pa	Or Pa	LN
Crannach , John	1426	MA	BTh	Pa	Pa	U
Shoreswood , George	1454	MA	BDec?			LN
Graham , Patrick	1463	LA (MA)	Probable HD	StA	StA	LN
Balfour , John	1465	MA	SchUJ	StA	Co StA	LN (I?)
Meldrum , William	1488	LA (MA)	Probable HD	StA	StA	LN
Hepburn II , John	1516	SchA?	HD?	StA?	StA? Or?	HN
Campbell , Donald	1558 x 1559	PT? (MA)	GradDec?	StA?	StA	HN

Appendix 2.4: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Caitness

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Fingask, Thomas	1342	MA	LDec, BCv	Av?	Av?	U
Drumbreck, Malcolm	1369	MA	Probable HD	Pa?	Pa	U
Man, Alexander	1381	MA	BCv		Or? Av?	U
Vaus, Alexander	1414		LE			LN
Crannach, John	1422	MA	BTh	Pa	Pa	U
Strathbrock, Robert	1427	MA	SchDec, SchCv?	Pa	StA	U
Innes II, John	1446	LA		StA		LN
Tulloch, Andrew	1447 x 1448	LA		StA		LN
Mudy, William	1448	MA		StA		LN
Sinclair, John	1484	BA (MA)	Probable HD	StA	Gg	HN (I)
Stewart II, Andrew	1501	MA	Probable HD	Gg Pa	Gg	HN (I)
Stewart III, Andrew	1517	MA	HD?	StA	Gg?	HN
Stewart, Robert	1541	PT	SchTh?		StA	HN
Gordon II, Alexander	1544	PT MA	SchD?	Ab? Pa	Pa	HN

Bishops Removed from Sample

Name	Date Prov.	Reason Removed
Medici, Prospero Camogli de	1478	Italian Origins

Appendix 2.5: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Dunblane

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Cambuslang , William	1347					U
Coventry , Walter	1361	MA	DUIJ	Pa	Or	U
Magnus , Andrew	1372					U
Petri (Ergadia, Lorn) , Dougal	1380		SchUIJ		Ox	LN
Colini (Campbell?) , Finlay	1403		BDec			U
Stephenson , William	1419	MA	BDec	Pa?	Pa?	U
Ochiltree , Michael	1429		BDec			U
Stewart , Walter	1447	MA	Probable HD	StA	StA Gg?	LS (I?)
Lauder , Robert	1447	LA (MA)	BDec	StA	RmCu(FI)?	LN
Spalding , John	1467	MA				U
Chisholm , James	1487					LN
Chisholm Senior , William	1526	MA	LE	StA		LN

Bishops Removed from Sample

Name	Date Prov.	Reason Removed
Herpolz (Hepburn?) , John	1466	German Origins?

Appendix 2.6: Scottish Bishops 1360–1560, an Educational Prosopography

Dunkeld

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HID Destinations	Background
Lucy, John	1355					U
Reid, John	1369 x 1370	MA	SchDec	Pa	Pa	U
Carrick (D), John	1370 x 1371	(MA)	SchDec?			U
Monymusk, Michael	1370	(MA)	LDec	Pa? Av?	Pa? Av? RmCu(Av)? Ox	U
Umfray, Andrew	1377		BDec		Pa? Or? Av? RmCu(Av)?	U
Peebles, John	1378	MA	DDec, BCv, SchTh	Pa	Pa	U
Sinclair, Robert	1391	PT?	BCv, SchDec		Or? Av? RmCu(Av)?	LN
Cardney, Robert	1398	MA	Probable HD	Pa	Pa	LN
MacNaughton, Donald	1437	MA	DDec	Pa	Pa StA	LN (I)
Kennedy, James	1437	MA	BDec	StA	StA Lo	HN
Lauder, Alexander	1440		LDec, DDec?		Pa StA	LN (I)
Livingston, Thomas	1440	MA	DTh (MTh)	StA	StA Co	LN (I)
Bruce, James	1441	MA		StA		LN
Turnbull, William	1447	MA	DDec, SchCv?	StA	StA Lo Bo? Pv	LN
Ralston, John	1447		(HDDec), LDec		StA	U (I)
Lauder, Thomas	1452	LA (MA)	SchDec?	Pa	Pa	LN (I)
Livingston, James	1475	MA	Probable HD	StA	StA	LN
Inglis, Alexander	1483	MA	DUI		StA?	LN
Brown, George	1483	MA	Probable HD	StA Pa	StA	LS
Beaton I, James	1507 x 1508	MA		StA		LN
Stewart III, Andrew	1515	MA	HD?	StA	Gg?	HN
Douglas, Gavin	1515	LA (MA)	HD?	StA	Pa?	HN
Cockburn, Robert	1524	(MA)	Probable HD		Gg	U
Crichton, George	1526	MA	Probable HD	StA	StA Gg	LN
Crichton, Robert	1543	MA	Probable HD	StA	StA	LN
Hamilton, John	1544	RO	SchTh?		(Ma?) StA Pa?	HN (I)
Campbell, Donald	1548	PT? (MA)	GradDec?	StA?	StA	HN

Appendix 2.7: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Galloway

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Wedale , Thomas	1359	MA	SchDec	Pa	Pa	U
Lanark , Adam	1363	D (MA)	HD?		Pa? RmCu(Av)?	U
(Botelere? Butler?) , Oswald	1378 x 1379	MA?		Ox?		U
Ketenis , Ingram	1378 x 1379	MA		Pa		LN
Rossy , Thomas	1379	MA	DTh	Ox	Ox Pa RmCu(Av)	U
Adougan , Eliseus	1406	?				U
Caven , Gilbert	1412 x 1415	(MA)	BDec		Pa	U
Buittle , Thomas	1415	SchA?	DDec	Ox?	Ox Av	U
Vaus , Alexander	1422		LE			LN
Spence , Thomas	1450	MA		StA		LN
Vaus , Thomas	1457	LA (MA)		StA Pa		LN
Spot , Ninian	1458	(MA)				U
Vaus , George	1482	MA	LE	Gg		LN
Beaton I , James	1508 x 1509	MA		StA		LN
Arnot , David	1508 x 1509					LN
Wemyss , Henry	1526	LA (MA)	Probable HD	StA	StA	LN
Durie , Andrew	1541	SchA GradA?	HD?	StA Gg Pa?	Pa?	LN
Gordon II , Alexander	1559	PT MA	SchD?	Ab? Pa	Pa	HN

Appendix 2.8: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Glasgow

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Rae, William	1339	(MA)		Pa?		U
Wardlaw, Walter	1367	MA	DTh	Pa	Pa Ox?	LN
Glendinning, Matthew	1387	MA	BCv, SchDec, LUJ?	Ox? Pa?	Ox? Or? Pa?	U
Lauder, William	1408	(MA)	DUI	Pa?	Pa? An	LN
Cameron, John	1426		LDec		StA	U
Bruce, James	1447	MA		StA		LN
Turnbull, William	1447	MA	DDec, SchCv?	StA	StA Lo Bo? Pv	LN
Durisdier, Andrew	1455	LA (MA)	HD?	StA Pa	Pa? Gg?	LN
Laing, John	1474	MA				LN
Carrichael, George	1483	MA	Probable HD	StA	Gg StA	LN
Blackadder, Robert	1483	MA		StA Pa		LN
Beaton I, James	1508	MA		StA		LN
Dunbar II, Gavin	1523 x 1524	MA	DUI	StA	Pa An	LN
Hamilton, James	1547 x 1548	MA	Probable HD	StA	Pa	HN (I)
Campbell, Donald	1548	PT? (MA)	GradDec?	StA?	StA	HN
Gordon II, Alexander	1550	PT MA	SchD?	Ab? Pa	Pa	HN
Beaton II, James	1550	SchA (MA)	Probable HD	Pa	Pt	LN

Bishops Removed from Sample

Name	Date Prov.	Reason Removed
Frammysden, John	1391	Schismatic

Appendix 2.9: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Isles	Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
	Ochiltree, Michael	1422		BDec			U
	Insulis I, Angus	1426	PT? AD?				HN (I)
	Hectoris MacGilleon, John	1441	PT? AD?				LN (I)
	((Carrick II?, John))			((BDec?))		((Pa))	((U))
	Insulis II, Angus	1472	PT? AD?				HN (I)
	Campbell I, John	1487	(MA)				LN (I)
	Hepburn, George	1510 x 1511	BA (MA)		StA Gg		HN
	Campbell II, John	1514 x 1515	MA		Gg		LN (I?)
	MacLean (Farquharson), Farquhar	1528 x 1530	MA				LN (I)
	Stewart III, James	1529	MA	Probable HD	Gg	Gg	U
	Montgomery, Robert	1529	MA	Probable HD	Gg?	StA	HN
	MacLean, Roderick	1544 x 1547	MA	Probable HD	Wi	Wi	LN
	McAllister, Roderick	1545 x 1546	PT? AD?	LE			LN (I)
	MacLean, Patrick	1547	MA	LE			LN (I)
	Gordon II, Alexander	1553	PT MA	SchD?	Ab? Pa	Pa	HN
	Campbell III, John	1557	MA	Probable HD	Gg	StA	LN
Bishops Removed from Sample							
Name		Date Prov.	Reason Removed				
Russell, William		1349	Manx Origins				
Donnegan, John		1374	Manx Origin, Schismatic				
Michael		1387	Irish Origins				
Richard		1421	Irish Origins				
Hay, John		1547	Single Source				

Appendix 2.10: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Moray

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Pilmour (Pilmore), John	1326	(MA)	LE	Pa? Av?	RmCu(Av)?	LS
Bur, Alexander	1362		DDec, LCv		Or Pa	U
Spynie, William	1397	MA	DDec, SchCv	RmCu(Av) Pa	Pa Ox? Or?	U
Innes I, John	1407	(MA)	BDec, BUJ?	Pa?	Pa	LN
Lichton, Henry	1415		DUI		Or StA	LN
Dunbar, Columba	1422	SchA (MA)		Ox		HN
Stewart I, James	1460	BA (MA)	BDec	StA	StA? Pa?	HN (I)
Stewart, David	1462	MA		StA		HN (I)
Tulloch, William	1477					LN
Stewart I, Andrew	1482	MA	Probable HD	Gg StA (Pa?)	StA Gg	HN
Forman, Andrew	1501	LA (MA)		StA		LN
Hepburn, James	1516	PT?	HD?		StA?	LN
Shaw, Robert	1525	MA?	BMed?	Pa?	Pa?	LN
Douglas, Alexander	1528					LN
Stewart III, Alexander	1529	PT MA?	HD?	Gg?	StA?	HN (I)
Hepburn, Patrick	1538	BA (MA)		StA		LN

Bishops Removed from Sample

Name	Date Prov.	Reason Removed
Winchester, John	1435 x 1436	English Origins?

Appendix 2.11: Scottish Bishops 1360-1560, an Educational Prosopography

Orkney

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Sinclair , Robert	1383	PT?	BCv, SchDec		Or? Av? RmCu(Av)?	LN
Vaus , Alexander	1398 x 1407		LE			LN
Stephenson , William	1415	MA	BDec	Pa?	Pa?	U
Tulloch I , Thomas	1418	BA		StA		LN
Tulloch , William	1461					LN
Stewart , Edward	1498 x 1500	LA		StA		U
Benston , John	1523 x 1524					E
Maxwell , Robert	1526	BA (MA)	Probable HD	Gg	Gg	HN
Reid , Robert	1541	MA	Probable HD	StA	StA Pa	LN
Bothwell , Adam	1559	MA?	(GradUJ?) SchTh?		Or? An?	LS

Bishops Removed from Sample

Name	Date Prov.	Reason Removed
William II	1340 x 1369	Nationality Unclear
John	1382 x 1384	Schismatic
Henry	1394 x 1396	Schismatic
Pak , John	1396	English Origins, Schismatic
Pictoris , Andrew	1477	German Origins?

Appendix 2.12: Scottish Bishops 1360–1560, an Educational Prosopography

Ross

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Stewart I, Alexander	1350 x 1351	(MA)	LDec	Pa? Av?	Pa? Av? RmCu(Av)?	U
Kilwhiss (Kylwos), Alexander	1371	MA	LDec			U
Waghorn, Alexander	1398		BDec			U
Lyall, Thomas	1416 x 1418					U
Bulloch, John	1418		BDec			U
Munro, Andrew	1440		BDec			U (I)
Tulloch II, Thomas	1440		BDec		RmCu(Rm) Lo	LN
Cockburn, Henry	1461	MA		StA		LN
Woodman, John	1476 x 1477		BTh			U
Wick (Werk), James	1478	SchA?	BDec?	Lo?	Lo?	U
Elphinstone, William	1481	MA	(HLDec), BDec, SchCv	Gg	Gg Pa Or	LS (I)
Hay, Thomas	1483	MA	Probable HD	StA	StA	LN
Guthrie, John	1492	MA		StA		U
Fraser, John	1497 x 1498	MA	LDec	StA	StA	LS (I)
Cockburn, Robert	1507	(MA)	Probable HD		Gg	U
Hay, James	1523 x 1524		DDec		StA?	LN
Cairncross, Robert	1538					LN
Paniter, David	1545 x 1547	MA	Probable HD	StA? Pa?	Pa	LS (I)
Sinclair, Henry	1558 x 1561	BA (MA)	SchUJ?	StA		LN

Bishops Removed from Sample

Name	Date Prov.	Reason Removed
Young, Griffin	1417 x 1418	Welsh Origins, Schismatic

Appendix 2.13: Scottish Bishops 1360–1560, an Educational Prosopography

St Andrews

Name	Date Prov.	Arts	Higher Discipline	Arts Destinations	HD Destinations	Background
Laundels (Landale), William	1342	(MA)	HD?			LN
Pay, Stephen	1385	MA?	HD?	Pa	Pa	U
Trail, Walter	1385	MA	DUJ	Pa	Pa Or RmCu(Av)	U
Stewart, Thomas	1401	(MA)	BDec, GradCv?	Pa	Pa Or? Av?	R (I)
Danielston, Walter	1402	LA (MA)	BCv, SchDec?	Pa	Av	LN
Greenlaw, Gilbert	1403	LA (MA)		Pa		U
Wardlaw, Henry	1403	LA (MA)	DDec, SchCv	Ox? Pa	Or Av	LN
Ogilvy I, James	1440	MA	DTh (MTh)	StA Co	Co StA Ba? Vi	U
Kennedy, James	1440	MA	BDec	StA	StA Lo	HN
Graham, Patrick	1465	LA (MA)	Probable HD	StA	StA	LN
Schevez, William	1476 x 1478	MA	SchMed? SchUI?	StA	Lo? StA	LS (I?)
Stewart I, Andrew	1480s	MA	Probable HD	Gg StA (Pa?)	StA Gg	HN
Stewart II, James	1497	PT	LE	PT	PT; StA?	R
Stewart II, Alexander	1504	PT	HD	PT; StA	PT; Pd Si Rm	R (I)
Elphinstone, William	1513 x 1514	MA	(HLDDec), BDec, SchCv	Gg	Gg Pa Or	LS (I)
Douglas, Gavin	1514	LA (MA)	HD?	StA	Pa?	HN
Hepburn I, John	1514	MA	HD?	StA	Pa?	HN
Forman, Andrew	1514	LA (MA)		StA		LN
Beaton I, James	1515, 1521 x 1523	MA		StA		LN
Beaton, David	1537 x 1538	LA (MA)	SchCv, SchDec?	StA Gg	Pa Or	LN
Hamilton, John	1547 x 1549	RO	SchTh?		(Ma?) StA Pa?	HN (I)

Bishops Removed from Sample

Name	Date Prov.	Reason Removed
Cibo, Innocent	1513	Italian Origins

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