

## **Lollardy, Hussitism and the Scottish Inquisition, c.1390-c.1527\***

The closing decades of the fourteenth century and the first of the fifteenth century saw considerable tensions within the late medieval Church. Pluralism and the abuse of benefices were rife, the protracted Great Schism drove the Church into near-terminal disarray, and European alliances were under strain as adherences and bonds were tested. It has been well established that in this climate, heterodoxy and heresy flourished, particularly amongst those who sought reform of the Church to resolve its crisis. Considerable scholarly attention has been focused on England and Bohemia, because the principal heresies of late medieval Europe, Lollardy and Hussitism, grew out of these areas. France and Germany, with extensive and flourishing academic interest in late medieval history, have also been examined. Yet, despite a peculiar constellation of factors that make Scotland in this period quite unique, and because of what can be described as, at best, a patchy and fragmentary archival record, scholars have paid virtually no attention to Scotland when considering those issues that have shaped the historiography of medieval Europe. Moreover, until recent decades historians of Scotland have been introspective and thus much of the evidence has been poorly interpreted or – in the case of heresy – shoehorned into the narrative arc of the Scottish Reformation and not considered in its proper historical contexts.<sup>1</sup> This article thus seeks to reconsider the evidence for heresy in late medieval Scotland and argues not only that it is more extensive than has previously been supposed, but also that Scotland had a functioning papal inquisition that far exceeded the understanding scholars currently have of the period. Such an analysis, therefore, contributes to recent scholarly projects that

place Scotland within the mainstream of European history, rather than on its idiosyncratic margins.

Despite it having been established that heresy and – more importantly – the fear of heresy was known in Scotland, neither of these points has been previously articulated. The two notorious trials that took place – that of an English Lollard priest in Perth in 1408, and that of a Bohemian Hussite preacher in St Andrews in 1433 – have been dismissed as isolated instances of ‘incomers’ being shown the full force of Scottish Catholic constancy, and are now recycled in histories and tourist brochures as a salutary reminder of how distant the medieval world has become from modern society. When the evidence of heresy in medieval Scotland has been considered it has mostly been in the context of explicating the longer-term trajectory of Reformation. Indeed, while the Protestant martyr Patrick Hamilton is commemorated with a stone memorial in the pavement outside St Salvator’s Chapel in St Andrews, where he was burned for his Lutheran heresies in 1528, the martyrs of earlier attempts at reform have received no such memorials.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, scholars have been quick to overlook or to misunderstand the surviving evidence. As recently as November 2013, one historian remarked that “evidence is scant for Lollardy in medieval Scotland”, but drew attention to only a small fraction of that which survives and declared it as “all that is known”.<sup>3</sup> Half a century ago, Duncan Shaw pronounced that ‘the cases of Resby [1408] and Crawar [1433] are the only cases of Lollardy and Hussism in Scottish history.’<sup>4</sup> Not only is this statement questionable (see table 2), but these pronouncements have had the effect of steering historians away from reconsidering the evidence by creating a confidence in the impression of the limited extent of dissent, heterodoxy and heresy in late medieval Scotland.

This article's purpose is thus to recover and reinterpret the evidence to provide a mechanism to enable and stimulate further research rather than continue to see scholars struggle with the fragmentary sources and (at times antiquarian) scholarship. The overarching argument presented here is that while the evidence for heresy might be slim, especially compared to some of that found elsewhere, the pattern in Scotland of a continuum of heightened concern about heresy from both church and civil authorities from the 1390s does correlate to broader European patterns. Moreover, this article argues that more consideration and attention needs to be given to the formally constituted inquisition that was in operation at this same time.<sup>5</sup> Most importantly, it is suggested here that inquisition of heresy was more to demonstrate a robust orthodox response by the church and the crown to the Wycliffite and Hussite challenge, and thereby to establish authority, than it was a response to the actual presence of dissent.

While scholars have tended to focus on Lollardy's southward trajectory from Oxford, particularly towards London, it is not in the least bit surprising that John Wyclif's theology and teachings gained something of a foothold in Scotland.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, there were several channels by which Lollardy crossed the border. First, there was a fairly continual stream of Scots matriculating at Oxford during the height of Wyclif's influence there, many of whom subsequently returned to Scotland. Of premier attraction to most of those Scots was Balliol College, where Wyclif was master from c.1360. From 1364 to 1379 Balliol College was the exclusive destination for Scottish students.<sup>7</sup>

While Lollardy's heartlands were in Oxford and in London, on the Continent the largest heretical movement was based in Prague and centred on the teachings of the outspoken reformer Jan Hus. The Hussites were drawn to

some of the same theological arguments as Lollards and the movements were in regular communication.<sup>8</sup> Wyclif's writings, for instance, were widely read in Prague in the last decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Many Hussite thinkers were renowned for a voracious appetite for all heterodox writings and regularly requested and copied (and translated into Czech) letters, tracts and documents for circulation amongst their communities. The events in Prague were of international significance and were played out in a European arena that was focused on resolving the Great Schism, which naturally drew the attention of religious authorities across Europe. It was not long before Scottish churchmen were condemning Hus, while sophisticated underground communication networks developed between heretics in Bohemia and sympathizers in Scotland.

A second route into Scotland was direct, via the small but notable influx of English clerics from 1378 onwards. Evidence indicates that there was a marked increase in English clerics appearing in Scottish churches within the first few years of the Schism, for example amongst the canons of the Cathedral Priory in St Andrews, which might suggest that there was a flight across the border by some English supporters of the restored Avignon papacy.<sup>10</sup> Of course, with accusations of heresy being standard rhetoric by both sides of the Schism, scholars must tread carefully in assessing this evidence in light of Scotland's adherence to Avignon. Whether there were Lollards amongst the group of English clerics remains entirely speculative, but it is not beyond the realms of possibility that their arrival would have increased awareness, for Lollardy was nothing if not topical in these years. Indeed, the Schism coincided with the production of an English vernacular bible, and, with the regular movement of books from Oxford to Scotland, it is not implausible that the English vernacular bible was known.<sup>11</sup>

Of even more pertinence, however, was the English law passed in 1401, *De heretico comburendo* – a strict censorship law that demanded the burning of heretics at the stake.<sup>12</sup> The law had immediate effects and in 1401 a follower of Jerome of Prague – a student of Wyclif and chief follower of Jan Hus – fled across the Scottish border to avoid prosecution. By early 1403 three English priests sheltering across the border in Kelso Abbey – James Nottingham, Robert of Roxburgh and John Whitby – had been accused of heresy by the bishop of Durham and warrants had been issued for their arrests (which might be read as evidence of schismatic adherence rather than reformist views).<sup>13</sup> And yet, in that same year the first Scottish inquisitor was appointed by the Avignon papacy, which indicates wider concern and a robust response from the church.<sup>14</sup>

The third probable point of contact between Scots and Lollard ideas was amongst some of the secular elite. From 1406 the uncrowned Scottish king James I was in English captivity, and during the ongoing attempts to secure his release, one Scottish faction was in complex negotiations with prominent and obstinate English Lollards. The captivity of James I was a diplomatic minefield. In Scotland, the governing Albany branch of the Stewart family was generally opposed to (and at times obstructed) the release of the king, whereas the Black Douglas family, who had considerable power in the south of Scotland, led efforts to secure his release. There were also strategic repercussions in England's ongoing war with France, and thus James's seizure and imprisonment was of interest in European diplomacy and geopolitics. When the Douglas family sought an alliance with the Lollard leader Sir John Oldcastle to facilitate the release of Scottish prisoners, this may have also encouraged intellectual exchange.<sup>15</sup> Oldcastle may well have had long-established connections with families operating in the south

of Scotland, for in autumn 1400 he had been stationed at the then English garrison at Roxburgh Castle in the Scottish borders.<sup>16</sup> In 1413 Oldcastle had been convicted as a heretic and refused to recant, quickly escaping the authorities and declaring himself in open rebellion of the king. During his time as an outlaw Oldcastle and his supporters were implicated in several attempts to release James I, and to reinstate to the English throne Richard II, at that point believed to be living under the protection of the duke of Albany in Scotland.<sup>17</sup>

Whilst it is clear that the dominant heretical sects had a variety of points of contact with Scots, it is equally evident that there was a coterminous concern with the spread of heresy in Scotland. In 1388 James Dardani, a clerk of the Roman papal court (and thus, it should be noted, not the obedience to which Scotland adhered), was appointed by Urban VI as nuncio to hear and examine the accounts of inquisitions of heresy in England, Ireland and in Scotland.<sup>18</sup> Within a decade the duke of Rothesay, lieutenant for his father Robert II, was awarded the explicit right to restrain heretics at the request of Church authorities.<sup>19</sup> Concern continued to grow as heretical thinking gained firmer ground in pockets of Europe, now including not only England, but also Bohemia and zealous Hussites centred in Prague. Widespread disarray in the Church and competing papal authorities combined with the strengthening in reformist movements that explicitly criticised the corruption of the clergy and amongst other beliefs held that the clergy was inessential to communion with God. Regular contact between heretics and sympathisers in Scotland was of grave concern. Indeed, at the same time as the Governor of Scotland, Robert Stewart, duke of Albany, was praised for being “a constante Catholyk / All lollaris he laythit and herrrotyk”, the new University of St Andrews was founded with the explicit aim “to counteract the

heresy of the times".<sup>20</sup> Indeed, it is entirely natural that the episcopal centre of St Andrews became the principal focal point for concern with heresy, as it was not only the premier bishopric of the kingdom, a major site of pilgrimage where both the apostle and local Scottish saints were venerated, and home to several ecclesiastical foundations that coexisted with the Cathedral and its priory, but it was also a thriving intellectual centre, with frequent preaching, debate and circulation of books. Both the space and audience for orthodox and heterodox preaching could be found in St Andrews. Thus, what appears to have been the rather sudden foundation of the university can be seen not only as a direct response to the general need for a degree awarding body in an established intellectual centre, but also as a means of collecting a body of men equipped to staff the Church in a period of complex transition. A crucial aspect of this latter role was the need to combat heresies throughout the parish system. It is no coincidence then that the man appointed to several senior leadership roles in the early administration of the university, as well as the teaching of theology and canon law, was the principal inquisitor, Laurence of Lindores.<sup>21</sup>

As the papal bulls from Anti-Pope Benedict XIII arrived to confirm the foundation of the university in St Andrews in early 1413, pressure was mounting to resolve the Schism. The Council of Constance was called in 1414 to seek an end to the dispute and restore the unity of the Church. A secondary agenda was to direct a unified attack on John Wyclif and Jan Hus, the leader of the Bohemian heretical movement. Scotland was also singled out at Constance for known sympathy to Lollardy in particular: Dietrich von Nieheim, a German chronicler of the Schism, reported that Wycliffite doctrines were being widely circulated in Bohemia, Moravia, England and Scotland.<sup>22</sup> The following year Jean d'Achéry,

ambassador of the University of Paris at Constance, called upon the pope and council to deal with doctrinal errors “being sown most widely in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Scotland”.<sup>23</sup> Of course, these concerns cannot be detached from Scotland’s continued adherence to the Avignon line and the relatively small Scottish presence at Constance. Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, who was keen to end the Schism, may have been using his heightened influence on the Continent, particularly with the University of Paris, to circulate anti-Albany propaganda and spread the news that Lollardy was rife in his homeland to score political points against Governor Albany.<sup>24</sup> The theologian Jean Gerson, procurator of the French nation at the University of Paris (where Douglas had some influence), in that same year complained about the influence of Wycliffism in Scotland in his work on the literal interpretation of Scripture. “There is opposition to the truth, in England, in Scotland, in the university of Prague and in Germany, and even, shameful as it is to admit it, in France. [...] And these sowers of heresy, and enemies of truth [...] claim that their sayings are founded upon holy scripture, and on its literal sense.”<sup>25</sup> Increasingly aware of the rumours of the state of belief in Scotland, Anti-Pope Benedict XIII called upon Henry de Lichten, bishop of Moray, to investigate whether or not heresies were being spread through his diocese in the north east of Scotland.<sup>26</sup>

In summer 1416 the Schism was still unresolved, the Hussite revolution was increasing in intensity after the execution of Jan Hus at Constance in 1415, and the convicted heretic John Oldcastle was still at large, but evidently in close contact with some in the south of Scotland. It was in this climate that in St Andrews the Papal Inquisitor Laurence of Lindores used his position and influence in the new university to insist upon a set of revised oaths for new

masters of arts who would be teaching bachelors students – Lindores’ army in the fight against heresy.<sup>27</sup> Teaching in significantly smaller cohorts was mandated, in order to encourage better knowledge of the students and their thinking, but most crucially, the new masters undertook an oath to defend the Church against the assault of the Lollards and to resist their adherents.<sup>28</sup> When James I was finally released from English captivity, one of his early concerns was to respond to the perceived threat of heresy: in parliament on 12 March 1425 it was declared that a general inquisition to root out all “lollardis and heretykis” should be carried out in every diocese in the kingdom.<sup>29</sup> Yet despite the near resolution of the Schism and the end of the Hussite wars, the fear of heresy remained a serious concern to the Scottish clergy in the 1440s and beyond. In a letter written by James Ogilvie, a former master of arts at the university of St Andrews to that same university in 1441, it was remarked that the treachery of heretics had long afflicted the church in Scotland.<sup>30</sup> The 1440s also witnessed the abbot of Inchcolm Abbey and chronicler, Walter Bower, penning a violent attack against Wyclif and Lollardy and expressing his serious reservations and anxieties about the continued presence (however genuine) of widespread heretical thinking in the kingdom. In a long and impassioned diatribe he revealed that “writings of this heretic [Wyclif] are still retained by some Lollards in Scotland and are carefully preserved at the instigation of the Devil by the kind of men in whose view ‘stolen water is sweeter and bread got by stealth more pleasant.’”<sup>31</sup> Bower laid considerable stress on what he argued was the most pernicious and dangerous aspect of Lollardy, that “those who have once been tainted with and become rooted in the school of this most infamous doctrine scarcely ever return to the faith.”<sup>32</sup>

James Kennedy, the bishop of St Andrews from 1440, took several steps to defend the Church against heresy.<sup>33</sup> In 1450 he founded St Salvator's College at St Andrews for the teaching of theology, with the explicit purpose of strengthening the faithful and eradicating heresy.<sup>34</sup> When nearly two decades later in 1469 Kennedy's foundation of St Salvator's was granted degree awarding powers (explicitly distinct from those of the University of St Andrews), Pope Paul II's decree stated that the study of theology was necessary in the college "for the extirpation of certain heresies which the old enemy of the human race has sown in those parts."<sup>35</sup> Further university establishments followed the foundation of St Salvator's. In 1451 William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, received papal permission to erect the University of Glasgow, a response to the "urgent need for an educated class, particularly of laymen to administer the royal and franchisal courts, and for sound theologians to combat and contain Lollardy."<sup>36</sup> The theologian John Ireland, who was in the service of James III from 1483, wrote his vernacular *Meroure of Wyssdome*, finished in 1490 and dedicated to James IV, to set out the orthodoxies of the Catholic faith in a manner accessible to ordinary Scots in order to combat the heresies of Wyclif and the Lollards.<sup>37</sup> A third university foundation, the University of Aberdeen in 1495, at the instigation of William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, had the Faculty of Theology as its centerpiece and the defense of Christian orthodoxy at its heart.<sup>38</sup> The cleric and poet Walter Kennedy, nephew of James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, wrote at this time that:

The schip of faith tempestrous wind and rane

Dryvis in the see of lollerdry that blawis.<sup>39</sup>

In his flyting with the contemporary poet William Dunbar, renowned for his anti-clericalism, Kennedy accused Dunbar of being an exemplar of Lollardy, a “lamp lollardorum” and a “Lollard laureate”.<sup>40</sup> Concerns also escalated in St Andrews, which by 1500 was reputed to be “strongly impregnated with heretical ideas”.<sup>41</sup> The body of evidence indicating that there were genuine fears about heresy should draw the historian towards two conclusions: that elite behaviour can be explained as a moral panic and an attempt to bolster civil and church authority in order to maintain order; and that heresy (whether genuine or anticipated) and inquisition were more prominent and consistent features of Scottish life during the long fifteenth century than has hitherto been acknowledged.

The latter conclusion is nuanced by the fact that historians are still uncovering evidence of both anti-heretical and heretical writings in Scotland. A recent discovery in the Traquair Bible, which was at Culross Abbey by the last decades of the fourteenth century, firmly roots concern with heresy in Scotland to twenty years earlier than the first recorded burning of a heretic.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, Eyal Poleg’s recent discovery of a brief marginal comment – declared by him as the earliest Scottish “anti-Lollard polemic” – is significant. Around 1390, and possibly not long after the bible arrived at Culross, a short anti-Lollard sentence was added as a marginal gloss to Ezekiel 33:6, and the same phrase was repeated in an empty space at the end of the manuscript by a different hand in the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>43</sup> Poleg has argued that the original 1390 commentary is in direct reference to the subject of the adjacent biblical text, where Ezekiel rebukes negligent watchmen (the clergy):

if the watchman see the sword coming, and sound not the trumpet: and the people look not to themselves, and the sword come, and cut off a soul

from among them: he indeed is taken away in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at the hand of the watchman.<sup>44</sup>

What makes the commentary particularly remarkable is its conscious engagement with John Wyclif's use of the same verse from Ezekiel to argue "in what way a watchman negligent in his office is an underlying cause of trial to the people, and a traitor of his guard", referring here to the heretical tenet that spiritual power was subject to temporal authority.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, Ezekiel 33 had considerable resonance with reformers and inquisitors alike: the chapter, for example, was drawn upon in 1415 by both the heretic Jerome of Prague and his examiner Robert Hallum, president of the English nation at the Council of Constance.<sup>46</sup>

The Traquair marginalia is about all that has survived of what can be identified as a lost corpus of fairly substantial writings against heresy in late medieval Scotland; the works that are known to be lost are suggestive of a vibrant intellectual culture and a full engagement with canon law and heterodox theologies. During his tenure as Papal Inquisitor, for instance, Laurence of Lindores wrote a number of tracts against Lollardy. None have survived, but three are identified in other works: *Election and the Power of the Elect*; *An Examination of the Heretical Lollards who Spread throughout the Realm*; and *The Process of Peter Krek, the English Heresiarch*.<sup>47</sup> It is not impossible that copies of these tracts may one day be uncovered, for Lindores' writings were widely circulated and copied amongst students on the Continent (including in Prague during the rise of Hus), where his commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* and *De Anima* – based on lectures he gave at the University of Paris – achieved considerable academic renown.<sup>48</sup>

Traces of arguments against heresy and trial proceedings of accused heretics have survived in some contemporary sources. In 1419, for example, an inquisition took place into the heresies of Robert Harding, an English friar and master of theology. Harding had been appointed by the governor, Robert, duke of Albany, to argue and promote the case for continued obedience to Avignon at the Council of Perth in October 1418, which was called to discuss the outcome of the Council of Constance, the cause of significant ruptures in the political and ecclesiastical community.<sup>49</sup> During the council Harding revealed ten errors of thought and he was accused of heresy by Master John Elward, rector of the university.<sup>50</sup> John Fogo, master of theology and afterwards abbot of Melrose wrote a polemical letter against Harding, which the chronicler Walter Bower declared an “impressive refutation of Harding’s case”, and in the early 1430s he also wrote a book against the heresies of Pavel Kravař, the Hussite evangelist who was burned at the stake in St Andrews.<sup>51</sup>

Of the heretical tracts that were circulating, much has been lost by the very nature of the inquisitorial process, which saw the burning of heretical writings as the only way of destroying the venomous errors contained therein. Indeed, during the trial of James Resby in 1408, Laurence of Lindores dramatically refuted Resby’s writings, “putting them into the fire and burning them”, although – perhaps somewhat hopefully – the nineteenth-century historian Bellensheim suggested that copies were preserved by his followers and were being read at the time of the Reformation.<sup>52</sup> Likewise, when Pavel Kravař was burned at the stake in St Andrews in 1433, so were his writings. A flavor of these might survive in three radical reformist treatises, *De anatomia Antichristi*, *De regno Antichristi* and *Sermones de Antichristi*, once erroneously ascribed to

Jan Hus, then suggested to be the work of Kravař (although this has been recently disputed).<sup>53</sup> The recantation in 1435 of one St Andrews master, Robert Gardiner, included a wholehearted promise to seek, destroy and annihilate any copies of his heretical orations.<sup>54</sup>

There is, however, a remarkable survival of some Scottish material that was circulated in translation and preserved on the Continent. Four letters, together known as *Nova Scocie*, have survived in two versions – the Latin letters which were sent to Bohemia and the Czech translations made there – by virtue of some Hussites' voracious appetite for Lollard writings. The letters were written in 1410 by Quentin Folkhyrde, of whom we know very little except that he seems to have been a small landholder in the diocese of Glasgow.<sup>55</sup> The four letters were a series of responses to attacks laid against him and were addressed to different recipients. Contained within were sharp criticisms of the Scottish clergy for failing to deliver the spiritual services for which they received remuneration, complaints that the clergy refused to use the vernacular scriptures, and an attack on their immorality, corruption and profligacy.<sup>56</sup> Together they declared a "holy war against the enemies of God" and called upon secular lords to reform the Church, by force if necessary.<sup>57</sup>

These letters were intended as open letters and were distributed widely and placed "in any hand that was held out".<sup>58</sup> It seems most likely that the *Nova Scocie* were couriered via a network of university students connecting Scotland, England and Bohemia.<sup>59</sup> They probably travelled with two other letters, one from the known English heretic Richard Wyche to Jan Hus, and one from John Oldcastle to Voksa of Valdštejn and other reformists in Prague.<sup>60</sup> These six letters may have been sent to Bohemia in response to the burning of Wyclif's books by

Zbyněk Zajíc z Házmburka, the archbishop of Prague, in an attempt to abort the spread of Hus's teachings.<sup>61</sup> The timing is also suggestive, as the Church was in further disarray after the Council of Pisa and the election of a third pope, Alexander V, which further complicated the Schism. That the archbishop of Prague favoured Alexander V and attempted to quash all support for reform, including attacking Hus, no doubt encouraged Lollards to produce and send works to replace the destroyed teachings.

Rumours circulated well into the eighteenth century of vernacular bibles in use in the fifteenth century by the elite houses of the Scottish aristocracy, but while it is not implausible that there were vernacular (Scots or English) bibles in circulation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, none have been identified that can be dated before 1520.<sup>62</sup> At this time, what is now recognised as the earliest Scots vernacular bible was produced by Murdoch Nisbet, a Lollard from Hardhill in Ayrshire. Nisbet had been living in England and Germany prior to the production of the bible, and it seems most probable that he was one of the 'Lollards of Kyle' who were tried in Glasgow in 1494, and he perhaps fled Scotland after the trial.<sup>63</sup> During his time abroad, or shortly upon his return to Ayrshire around 1520, Nisbet translated into Scots the later version of the Wycliffite New Testament, which had been written and produced sometime in the 1390s.<sup>64</sup> Nisbet's bible represents something of a sea change in the history of heresy in Scotland, and the 1520s and 1530s can be regarded as the final decline of Lollardy in favor of Lutheranism and the Protestant movements. Indeed, within a couple of years Nisbet had added a close translation of Martin Luther's preface to the New Testament.<sup>65</sup> By 1525 Lutheranism was of such concern that the Scottish parliament forbade importing Lutheran books and sought to

suppress Luther's heresies throughout the realm; but times had changed and over the next decade Lutheran books continued to be imported.<sup>66</sup>

The absence of ecclesiastical and inquisitorial court records has obscured the existence of much of the inquisitorial structure in Scotland. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence in the existing record to confirm its place in the history of the Church in Scotland. Writing in the 1440s, the chronicler Walter Bower gave a clear steer in his passing remark that "whenever Lollardy or the Lollard heresy begins to sprout heresies of this kind in a kingdom, the inquisitors must strive to cut it down, calling for the help of the secular arm if need be."<sup>67</sup> While the comment here about Lollardy can be taken as a general concern, the specific nature of his reference to the inquisitors suggests that these positions were in operation. Recent work by Ian Forrest on the detection of heresy in England in this same period has identified that despite the nature of and the problems with the sources it is clear that there were inquisitorial processes. He argues that "the assumption that there was no inquisition in England must [...] be abandoned. There were both English inquisitors and foreign inquisitors, delegated by popes, bishops, archbishops, and the crown and foreign inquisitors, direct agents of papal authority with jurisdiction over *ecclesia anglicana*."<sup>68</sup> The same logic can be applied to the Scottish context. In Scotland it has long been established that there was a papal-appointed inquisitor, but this has blinded scholars to evidence that demonstrates that inquisition in Scotland spread further than the portfolio of Laurence of Lindores.<sup>69</sup> It is suggested here that there was a Scottish inquisition that concerned itself with the spread of heresy from as early as 1388 (see table 1).

The precise inquisitorial work of Laurence of Lindores cannot be extracted from his wider duties at the new University of St Andrews, where he was the principal theologian and held numerous senior posts within university administration.<sup>70</sup> In many ways this has obscured his inquisitorial work, for there are substantial early records of the university that have skewed studies of Lindores' life in that direction. Yet he was evidently an active and forceful inquisitor and by 1408 he had condemned a heretic to burning at the stake. The trial of James Resby, an English Wycliffite priest, took place after his arrest at Perth in 1408 for preaching Lollard heresies. Lindores' arguments against two of the forty tenets that the inquisition found objectionable were laid out by the chronicler Abbot Walter Bower and, while they are fairly standard Lollard arguments, it is clear from the account that Lindores was prosecuting Resby in a formally constituted inquisitorial court.<sup>71</sup>

Shortly thereafter there are indications of the spread of heresy into the north-east of Scotland, when in 1415 Benedict XIII commanded Henry de Lichon, bishop of Moray, to investigate heresies in his diocese.<sup>72</sup> Over the course of the next decade there was a notable rise in detection and prosecution of heresy. In 1418 Laurence of Lindores was again in court at Perth, bringing charges against Robert Harding, the English friar who was accused after the Council of Perth.<sup>73</sup> From Bower's account we learn something more about the range and weight of the personnel involved in these trials. James Haldenstone, prior of the Cathedral Chapter of St Andrews, was also present and later took Laurence of Lindores to task for failing to condemn Harding during the trial.<sup>74</sup> In this rebuke, Haldenstone demonstrates substantial knowledge of the recent history of heresy in the kingdom and argues that the heresies that James Resby

first sowed in the kingdom had taken root and grown in the hearts of some and that Lindores had failed in his appointment as inquisitor and been careless with suppressing these dangerous preachers. Haldenstone chides: “error cui non resistitur approbatur”.<sup>75</sup>

The pressure mounted and the inquisitorial structures expanded and dealt with an increasing case load. While detailed records have not survived, there is sufficient evidence to confirm that an unnamed Lollard was burned at the stake in Glasgow in 1422, a case in which John Fogo must have been involved for he was granted the abbacy of Melrose for his role in this inquisition.<sup>76</sup> Around 1424 John Shaw, a monk from Dunfermline Abbey, was challenged by the academic authorities for unorthodox comments on the sentences of Peter Lombard, the standard textbook of theology at medieval universities. Again James Haldenstone was integral to the detection of this case, as then Dean of the Faculty of Theology; the trial was held in that faculty, and whether Laurence of Lindores who was still inquisitor-general was involved is unclear, but it ended with little more than a rap over the knuckles for his master, William de Spalding, and a recommendation for more robust policing of heterodox ideas amongst the student body.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, Shaw appears to have learned his lessons from this experience and went on, untarnished, to hold clerical appointments at Dunfermline and Urquhart. What this incident illustrates is the impulse to bring quickly forward charges of heresy in situations where there was little evidence of real dissidence.

By the time of Shaw’s case in St Andrews, the kingdom was taking measures to demonstrate it was eager to eradicate the threat of heresy. The newly returned James I oversaw the parliament of 1425 that instructed “that

each bishop should cause an inquiry to be made by the inquisitors of heresy”, who were to then be dealt with according to the laws of the Church in inquisitorial courts.<sup>78</sup> This may have been effective, perhaps in preventative terms, or because there were no cases to be answered, or that cases were heard that have not survived in the historical record. Indeed, it is not until 1433 that the next case of heresy is recorded, this time a Hussite from Bohemia, Pavel Kravař. St Andrews was again the focus; Henry Wardlaw, the bishop of St Andrews, brought the accusations against Kravař and Laurence of Lindores, still in post as inquisitor-general, led the trial. Despite the loss of two extant records of the trial sometime after 1627, we can deduce that it is highly likely that an ecclesiastical council was called to hear the case, and it is possible that amongst them were James Haldenstone, Prior of the Cathedral Priory of St Andrews, and John de Crannach, bishop of Brechin, who may have known Kravař during their overlapping time in the English nation at the University of Paris.<sup>79</sup> Kravař was “convicted, condemned, put to the fire and burned to ashes” on 23 July 1433, “silenced by that venerable man Master Laurence of Lindores [...] who gave heretics or Lollards no peace anywhere in the kingdom.”<sup>80</sup>

Pavel Kravař, a Bohemian physician who had studied arts at Paris and medicine at Montpellier, came to St Andrews to win support for the Hussite cause at the Council of Basel. He had almost certainly read Quentin Folkhyrde’s *Nova Scocie* and he may have been familiar with the philosophical works of Laurence of Lindores, which were used at the University of Prague.<sup>81</sup> Kravař arrived in St Andrews with letters from several Hussites in Prague recommending him as an “outstanding” physician.<sup>82</sup> His purpose, one chronicler tells us, was “to corrupt the kingdom of the Scots.”<sup>83</sup> One Hussite method of propagating messages was to

send emissaries and manifestos to potential sites of sympathetic ears. Indeed, manifestos issued in 1430 and 1431 that proclaimed the basic tenets of Hussite belief and appealed for secular powers to fight against corrupt clergy, spread throughout Germany, France, Spain and England.<sup>84</sup> The four articles of Prague, the “bedrock of the Hussite programme”, were reiterated therein; and it is almost without question that Kravař would have expounded their virtues.<sup>85</sup> The timing is suggestive that Scotland was also an intended destination for such manifestos and St Andrews was, in every way, an attractive destination. It is not unreasonable to assume that Kravař expected to meet a receptive group of sympathisers in the town. Moreover, the Hussites “detested all branches of the religious orders, abhorred pilgrimages, and scorned the holy orders of the church and its power of the keys”, and thus St Andrews was an obvious target for reformist preaching.<sup>86</sup>

Indeed, the heightened awareness of the problems of heresy in St Andrews no doubt led to the prosecution two years later of Robert Gardiner, who was charged by the university with lecturing heresies within the Faculty of Canon Law. On 27 October 1435 charges were laid against him by Laurence of Lindores before a council of university and ecclesiastical dignitaries (see table 2). Gardiner quickly recanted and declared that he would never again support these propositions nor defend them in public or private.<sup>87</sup>

Scholars have often assumed that on Lindores’ death the position of Papal Inquisitor lapsed; no further burnings took place until the sixteenth century but this has somewhat obscured the picture. The fear of and concern with rooting out heresy was still an important priority, regardless of the actual number of instances of genuine heretical thought being found. Three subsequent Papal

Inquisitors were appointed: George Newton, rector of Bothwell (and nephew of Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews) was inquisitor from Lindores' death in 1437; Robert de Essy, vicar of Aucherhouse was inquisitor by December 1493; and James Haldenstone, Prior of the Cathedral Chapter of St Andrews held the post of inquisitor by May 1440.<sup>88</sup> Of these three, Haldenstone in particular had long been central to the Scottish inquisition and it was reputed that he "refuted heretics fiercely every day". In December 1436, when Lindores was still in post, Haldenstone received a letter that attacked him personally for persecuting heretics with such vigour. This letter brought about a new inquisitorial strand, for the letter claimed to be from the house of Archibald Douglas, fifth earl of Douglas, but Haldenstone did not believe this to be the case. Instead, he suspected it actually was written by one of the canons of the Cathedral Priory, whereupon he instructed his subprior to seek out the author of the letter from amongst the canons and extract a confession.<sup>89</sup> Within a few years of Haldenstone's appointment as inquisitor, Pope Eugenius IV bolstered the inquisitorial apparatus by appointing Baptista de Padua in June 1444 as nuncio and orator in England, Scotland, Germany, Ireland and Holland, with "faculty to absolve from excommunication etc all persons within his nunciature, even such as have fallen into heresy."<sup>90</sup>

No evidence of papal-appointed inquisitors has survived after Haldenstone's death in 1443, although it seems probable that the bishops retained authority over the detection of heresy in their dioceses. Certainly the charge of heresy retained currency, despite its ever-widening application, and was amongst the accusations laid against the first archbishop of St Andrews, Patrick Graham, in the late 1470s. This was a politically motivated attempt to

oust him from the post.<sup>91</sup> In effect, Sixtus IV's erection gave St Andrews metropolitan authority over the other twelve Scottish bishops.<sup>92</sup> Not only did this confer a loss of status on these officeholders, but also Scottish bishops had hitherto managed their affairs with direct recourse to the papal curia: the new intermediary metropolitan authority thus posed problems. In 1487 Pope Innocent VIII formally decreed that the archbishop of St Andrews was the primate of all Scotland, which was intolerable for Robert Blackadder, bishop of Glasgow, who immediately – and successfully – petitioned the Pope to grant an exemption to Glasgow from the authority of St Andrews.<sup>93</sup> With royal support, further petitioning ensued and in January 1492 Innocent VIII issued a bull elevating Glasgow to metropolitan status. The incumbent bishop, Robert Blackadder, was raised to archbishop and while this had little effect on the daily life of the archdiocese of Glasgow, there were areas in which Blackadder used his power and authority to underline his new status. This was particularly noticeable in his amplification of the detection of heresy in the diocese. It cannot be a coincidence that amongst Blackadder's first acts as new archbishop was to persecute and interrogate a group of thirty men and women from Ayrshire, whom he accused of Lollardy and brought to trial.<sup>94</sup>

On 17 May 1494 James IV and the king's council met in Glasgow and heard Robert Blackadder's thirty-four accusations of heresy, and members of some influential Ayrshire families - the Campbells of Cesnock, the Chalmers of Galdgirth and the Shaws of Polkemmet – were put on trial.<sup>95</sup> Perhaps here James IV had heard the advice so recently proffered by John Ireland in his *Meroure of Wyssdome*:

And ilk king & prince suld be werray catholic anens ihesu and the kyrk for the kyrk is his spiritual moder and has generit him in the haly font of bapteme he suld lif eftir the doctrine of the halyscriptur he suld luf the kyrk honour & defend it in the richt and ministeris of it. And geve it be necessite he suld mak batall for the faith and kyrk of ihesu and liberte of it agane the infidelis & herretykis for this is pertenant to the office of the king & this he promittis to god in his coronacioun.<sup>96</sup>

There is nevertheless something very curious about the accounts of the 1494 'Lollards of Kyle' trial. No contemporary records have survived, and the principal source is John Knox's partisan *History of the Reformation*.<sup>97</sup> Procedural anomalies are apparent in his account. For instance, the trial was held before the great council, not in an ecclesiastical or inquisitorial court. Moreover, the accused were all either acquitted or else recanted during the trial.<sup>98</sup> It seems that there were many factors at play in this trial. The king, who just two months earlier had reached his majority and had officially dispensed with the tutelage of Patrick, earl of Bothwell, had a clear incentive to exercise his newly-acquired power in order to establish his own authority. The same might be said of his friend Robert Blackadder, the new archbishop of Glasgow. Perhaps most curious of all, was the fact that many of the men who were named by Knox at the trial were known familiars of the king and continued to receive royal support in the years after the trial.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, the rather insolent recantation of Adam Reid of Barskimming reveals a measure of confidence in the king's sympathy or outright support. It is possible, and being suggested here, that this was a staged trial, designed to show the power of the king, underline the authority of the archbishop in

contradistinction to the archdiocese of St Andrews, and to demonstrate unequivocally to the community that heresy would not be tolerated. Indeed, the sheer volume of men and women called to be examined suggests that it was meant to impress upon the Scots the effectiveness of the inquisitorial process and to herald a new phase of intolerance to heterodoxy.<sup>100</sup>

The evidence presented here thus indicates that there was an inquisition in Scotland, certainly for much of the first half of the fifteenth century, and ongoing detection of heresy within diocesan structures at other times. The inquisition was an ecclesiastical venture, carried out by bishops and their staff and by specially designated inquisitors. However, from the trial evidence it is patently clear that heresy was not just a matter for Church inquisitors, but there was a close co-operation with civil authorities, who carried out arrests, detention and execution of convicted heretics.<sup>101</sup> Heresy was thus a unifying concern to both Church and state. Scotland, long overlooked for having little to add to the pan-European history of heresy, instead becomes a case study of a kingdom exploring the capacities of its institutional structures in establishing authority and control over dissent during the politically fractured period of the Great Schism. Her 'special daughter' relationship with the papacy and the lack of a metropolitan see until comparatively late in the period combine to render Scotland's experience deserving of greater attention. Far from having one anomalous appointment of an inquisitor who was mostly otherwise distracted with a new university, as has so often been supposed, the evidence demonstrates that the inquisitorial process was regularly at work, detecting and bringing to trial cases of accusations of heresy in the kingdom. Of course, it should also be stressed that while heretical activity was of concern and (probably) evident in

most dioceses in Scotland, it did not penetrate deeply into Scottish society. One need only consider the rise in devotion to Scottish saints in the late Middle Ages; the increasing collegiate foundations and other examples of lay patronage; and the devotional literature being read to see that deeply-held piety and manifest orthodoxy were still in this period the distinguishing experience of the vast majority of religiously-minded Scots.<sup>102</sup>

Table 1: Known and Probable Inquisitors to 1527

1388	James Dardani, Papal Nuncio, appointed to hear accounts of inquisitions in Scotland by Urban VI.
By 1408	Laurence of Lindores appointed Papal Inquisitor for Heretical Pravity
1408	Council of Clergy in heresy trial may have included Robert de Cardney, bishop of Dunkeld, and Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews
1415	Henry de Lichton, bishop of Moray, appointed by Anti-Pope Benedict XIII to investigate heresies in Moray
1419	John Fogo, abbot of Melrose, involved in trials in 1419, 1422 and wrote a book against Pavel Kravař in 1433
1419	Master John Elward, identified Robert Harding's heresy at the Council of Perth and reported him to the Pope
1419	Fionnlagh MacCailein, bishop of Dunblane, involved in Harding trial
1422	William Lauder, bishop of Glasgow and other senior clergy involved in trial and burning of heretic in diocese of Glasgow
1425	Bishops of Scotland and other inquisitors of heresy in their diocese instructed to root out heresy. Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews; Henry de Lichton, bishop of Aberdeen; Fionnlagh MacCailein, bishop of Dunblane; Robert de Cardney, bishop of Dunkeld; Alexander Vaus, bishop of Galloway?; William Lauder, bishop of Glasgow; John de Crannach, bishop of Caithness?; Walter Forrester, bishop of Brechin?
1433	Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, accused Pavel Kravař of heresy
1435	University of St Andrews internal trial: meeting of the Faculties of Canon Law and Arts including George Lauder, bishop of Argyll; John Regate, rector of the University; William Skurry, abbot of Scone; John Scheves, official of St Andrews
1436	Subprior of St Andrews Cathedral Priory. Instructed by the Prior, James Haldenstone, to root our heretic amongst the canons.
1437	George Newton, rector of Bothwell, appointed Papal Inquisitor
1439	Robert de Essy, vicar of Auchterhouse, appointed Papal Inquisitor
1440	James Haldenstone, Prior of Cathedral Chapter of St Andrews, appointed as Papal Inquisitor (evidence of his involvement in heresy trials from 1419)
1444	Baptista de Padua, Papal Nuncio, appointed by Eugenius II to absolve heretics from excommunication in Scotland
1494	Robert Blackadder, archbishop of Glasgow involved in trial of the Lollards of Kyle
1494	Great Council of Glasgow tried Lollards of Kyle (including James IV)

Table 2: suspected, accused and convicted heretics to 1527

1401	A 'follower' of Jerome of Prague crosses Scottish border to escape prosecution
1403	James Nottingham, Robert of Roxburgh and John Whitby, English priests accused of heresy fled England and found shelter at Kelso Abbey
1408	James Resby, English priest arrest at Perth for heresy is tried and burned
1410	Quentin Folkhyrde, writes four open letters expressing heretical views which are distributed in Bohemia
1419	English friar Robert Harding is accused of heresy at the Council of Perth
1420	Several Lollards seized in Scotland for teaching Wyclif doctrine
1422	An unnamed Lollard is burned at the stake in Glasgow
1422	John Fogo, abbot of Melrose, summoned to St Andrews to answer to inquisitorial charges. Recanted.
c.1424-30	John Shaw, monk of Dunfermline, charged by University of St Andrews with giving unorthodox lectures.
1433	Pavel Kravař, a Bohemian Hussite preaching in St Andrews is tried and burned.
1435	Robert Gardiner charged by University of St Andrews with lecturing heresies
1436	A canon of the Cathedral Priory of St Andrews wrote an anti-Inquisitorial letter attacking James Haldenstone, Prior of St Andrews, for persecuting Lollards
1476-8	Patrick Graham, first archbishop of St Andrews, in an effort to expel him from the new seat of archbishop, is accused of being a heretic and schismatic
1494	'The Lollards of Kyle' tried on thirty-four charges of heresy. Were either acquitted or recanted. Included George Campbell of Cessnock; Adam Reid of Barskimming; John Campbell of Newmilns; Andrew Shaw of Polkemment; Helen Chalmers, Lady Polkillie; Marion Chalmers, Lady Stair; and around twenty-five others from Ayrshire, probably also Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill
1520-22	Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill translated English vernacular bible into Scots.
1504	George Campbell of Cessnock, John Campbell of Newmilns and Adam Reid of Barskimming tried again for heresy

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\* Much of the research for this article was undertaken while I held the position of Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, James Edward McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection* (London & Toronto, 1989). The best work to date is Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester, 2006), esp. ch. 1; and Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490–1600* (East Linton, 1997). For more on the shaping of 'national' stories of reformation and counter-reformation see Bob Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, ed., *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> On Hamilton see Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, Dd.10.74, *Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias* (Leipzig, 1551); John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (1576 edition) (Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011), 1563 edition, book 3, 511–12. See also Joe Carvalho, *Patrick Hamilton, 1504–1528: The Stephen of Scotland* (Burrelton: AD Publications, 2009); Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson, ed., *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Eyal Poleg, "The Earliest Evidence for Anti-Lollard Polemics in Medieval Scotland", *Innes Review* 64:2 (2013), 227. See also, for example, the very short chapter in John A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414–1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 202–10, where Thomson declares at 202, "There are only a few traces of Lollardy north of the border", although he does recognise that the extent of Lollardy may be skewed due to the "total loss of the Scottish diocesan records".

<sup>4</sup> Duncan Shaw, "Laurence of Lindores", *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 12 (1958), 59.

<sup>5</sup> There have been many recent inroads into uncovering inquisition and inquisitorial practice. See for example R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe* (London: Profile Books, 2012), Mary C. Flannery and Katie L. Walker, ed., *The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013); Ian Forrest, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London: Continuum, 1985), pp. 125–39.

<sup>6</sup> The Midlands and pockets in the north have also received attention, but these are not dominant strands in discussions about the spread of Lollardy. See, for example, Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond (eds), *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, Stroud 1997; Thomson, *The Later Lollards*; Anne Hudson, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings*, Aldershot 2008; Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, 141–63. For more see: Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens and Derrick G. Pitard (eds), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati, Vol I: Temporibus Regum Angliae Edwardi I. Edwardi II. Edwardi III* (London: Command of His Majesty King George III, 1814), 808–9, 815–16, 822, 825–6, 829, 849, 851, 859, 877, 881, 886, 891, 896; *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati, Vol II:*

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*Temporibus Regum Angliae Ric. II. Hen. IV. V. VI. Ed. IV. Ric. III. Hen VII. VIII* (London: Command of His Majesty King George III, 1819), 8, 20, 45–6, 100; J. I. Catto, “Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford, 1356–1430”, in *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume II, Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. J. I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 175–261.

<sup>8</sup> See for example Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. 63–85; Hudson, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings*, *passim*; Anne Hudson, “From Oxford to Prague: The Writings of John Wyclif and his English Followers in Bohemia”, *Slavonic and East European Review* 75 (1997), 642–67; Reginald L. Poole, “On the Intercourse Between English and Bohemian Wycliffites in the Early Years of the Fifteenth Century”, *English Historical Review* 7 (1892), 306–11.

<sup>10</sup> A. Francis Steuart, “Scotland and the Papacy during the Great Schism”, *Scottish Historical Review* 4 (1907), 147.

<sup>11</sup> On regular movement of books from Oxford to Scotland see Poleg, “The Earliest Evidence for Anti-Lollard Polemics in Medieval Scotland”, 233. For more in general see: Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge, 2002); Fiona Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> On this act see A. K. McHardy, “*De Heretico Comburendo*, 1401”, in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret Aston and C. Richmond (Stroud: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 112–26.

<sup>13</sup> *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: Registrum Cartarum Abbatie Tironensis de Kelso, 1113–1567*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846), ii, 435–6 (no. 538), 436–7 (no. 539).

<sup>14</sup> Isla Woodman, “Education and Episcopacy: The Universities of Scotland in the Fifteenth Century”, (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2011), 25.

<sup>15</sup> W. Stanford Reid, “The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland”, *Church History* 11:4 (1942), 273. For more on Oldcastle see: Maureen Jurkowski, ‘Henry V’s Suppression of the Oldcastle Revolt’, in Gwilym Dodd (ed.), *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2013), 103–30.

<sup>16</sup> *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office*, London, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1888) iv, 118 (no. 567).

<sup>17</sup> London, The National Archives, KB 27/624, Rex m. 9r; KB 27/595, Rex m. 3v; London, British Library, Cotton MS, Cleopatra F IV, f. 109; *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: Corporation of the City of London, 1899–1912), i, 165–6; *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani: Ypodigma Neustriae, A Thoma Walsingham, Quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, Conscriptum*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London: Master of Rolls, 1876), 482. See also Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Continuum, 1984), 26–8; Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 427; Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 37.

<sup>18</sup> *CPL*, iv, 267.

<sup>19</sup> *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. K.M. Brown et al (St Andrews, 2007–2014) [hereafter *RPS*], 1399/1/3. For more on Robert II and David, duke of Rothesay, see Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371–1406* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996).

<sup>20</sup> *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun: Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss MSS., with the Variants and Other Texts*, ed. F. J. Amours (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1908), vi, 417; Karen J. Hunt, “The Governorship of the First Duke of Albany: 1406–1420” (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998); St Andrews, St Andrews University Library, University Muniments, UYUY 152/3, ff. 19–22r. For more on the foundation of the university see: J. Maitland Anderson, “James I of Scotland and the University of St Andrews”, *Scottish Historical Review* 3 (1906), 301–15; J. Maitland Anderson, “The Beginnings of St Andrews University, 1410–1418”, *Scottish Historical Review*, 8 (1911), 225–48, 333–60; Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages: A New Edition in Three Volumes*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), ii, 302; Woodman, “Education and Episcopacy”, esp. 25–7 on heresy.

<sup>21</sup> On Lindores see for example, Anderson, “The Beginnings of St Andrews University”, 235–40; Woodman, “Education and Episcopacy”, *passim*; Lawrence Moonan, “Lawrence of Lindores (d.1437) on ‘Life in the Living Being’” (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Louvain, 1966); Lawrence Moonan, “The Scientific Writings of Laurence of Lindores (d.1437)”, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 39 (1988–9), 273–217; J. H. Baxter, “The Philosopher Laurence of Lindores”, *The Philosophical Quarterly* 5: 21 (1955), 348–54.

<sup>22</sup> Dietrich von Nieheim, “*Super reformacione ecclesie*”, in *Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils*, ed. Heinrich Finke (Münster: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1889), 269.

<sup>23</sup> Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 595, ff. 102r–103v.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300–1455* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), esp. 196–9.

<sup>25</sup> Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), 105–6n, 359; Thomson, *The Later Lollards*, 203.

<sup>26</sup> Vatican City, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Registra Vaticana 332, f. 51v; *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree: The Letter-Book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St Andrews (1418–1443), Transcribed and Edited with an Appendix of Documents illustrating Scottish History from 1378 to 1450*, ed. James Houston Baxter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), 253–4; Reid, “The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland”, 272.

<sup>27</sup> On student life in medieval St Andrews more generally see James Robb, “Student Life in St Andrews before 1450 AD”, *Scottish Historical Review* 9 (1912), 347–60.

<sup>28</sup> St Andrews University Library, Muniments of the University of St Andrews, UYUY411, Acta Facultatis Arterium, 1413–1728, f. 3v; *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413–1588, Volume I*, ed. Annie I. Dunlop (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1964), pp. clxxvii, 11–12.

<sup>29</sup> *RPS*, 1425/3/4.

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<sup>30</sup> *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 208. Of course, an element of this attack was against schismatics: the tone of the letter was no doubt influenced by Ogilvie's personal situation for in July 1440 he had been elected to the see of St Andrews by Anti-Pope Felix V, who in 1439 was elected as pope by the Council of Basel. Ogilvie's letter was a petition for the university to adhere to the decisions of Basel, and related to his difficulties in obtaining possession of the see of St Andrews, which had been granted in June 1440 to James Kennedy by the Roman Pope Eugenius IV. For more on the Scots and Basel see J. H. Burns, "Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle", *Innes Review* 13 (1962), 3–53, 157–89.

<sup>31</sup> Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. E. R. Watt (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), viii, 68–9.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> For more on Kennedy see: Norman Macdougall, "Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews: A Reassessment of his Political Career", in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408–1929*, ed. Norman Macdougall (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), 1–22; Annie I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1950).

<sup>34</sup> St Andrews University Library, UYSS110/A/2 Foundation charter of St Salvator's College 27 August 1450; UYSS110/A/3 Charter of Confirmation by Pope Nicholas V 5 February 1451, transcribed in Ronald G. Cant, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development including a Selection of Documents* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), 54–60 and then 61–6 for Nicholas V's confirmation. It has been suggested that Kennedy was inspired by the success of the bishop of Winchester William of Wykeham's foundation of the New College at Oxford in 1379, for Wykeham and Kennedy's careers shared similarities and Wykeham was also 'alarmed at the spiritual decline of the secular clergy and the growth of heresy'. Cant, *The College of St Salvator*, 3; Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy*, 283–4. For more on the foundation of New College, Oxford, see for example R. L. Storey, "The Foundation and the Medieval College, 1379–1530", in *New College Oxford, 1379–1979*, ed. John Buxton and Penry Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 3–43.

<sup>35</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss et al (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902–21) [hereafter *CPL*], xii, 313.

<sup>36</sup> Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431–1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985), 21.

<sup>37</sup> John Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyssdome Composed for the use of James IV, King of Scots AD 1490*, vol. i ed. Charles MacPherson (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1926); vol. ii ed. F. Quinn (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1965); vol. iii ed. Craig McDonald (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990). See for example Ireland's discussion of Wyclif and Hus in iii, 84–5. For more on Ireland and the *Meroure of Wyssdome* see J. H. Burns, "John Ireland and *The Meroure of Wyssdome*", *Innes Review* 6 (1955), 77–98; Alexander Broadie, *The Tradition of Scottish Philosophy: A New Perspective on the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990), esp. 12–19;

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Roger Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 12–25.

<sup>38</sup> Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 304–5.

<sup>39</sup> Quotation from Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 1.1.6, ff. 52v–53r; all extant versions are transcribed in Walter Kennedy, “At matyne hour, in myddis of the nycht”, *The Poems of Walter Kennedy*, ed. Nicole Meier (Woodbridge: Scottish Text Society, 2008), 10, 11, 12.

<sup>40</sup> *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1999).

<sup>41</sup> Reid, “The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland”, 279.

<sup>42</sup> Poleg, “The Earliest Evidence for Anti-Lollard Polemics in Medieval Scotland”, 228, 233. The Traquair Bible is now in the private collection of Traquair House, Peeblesshire. Although only two surviving works can be traced to Culross Abbey, we know that it was an important intellectual hub and centre of manuscript production in medieval Scotland. See London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 440, fol. 2r; John Higgit, *Scottish Libraries* (London: British Library, 2006), 167, 222, 387–8.

<sup>43</sup> Poleg, “The Earliest Evidence for Anti-Lollard Polemics in Medieval Scotland”, 234.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 227–34, 239.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 231–2.

<sup>46</sup> Matthew Spinka, *Jan Hus: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 247. On Hallum see *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957–9), ii, 854–5.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum* (Edinburgh: Andrew Balfour, 1829) ii, 443.

<sup>48</sup> Krakow, Krakow University MS 2095 (BB XVIII 5) dating to 1406; Krakow University MS 705 (DD I 13) dating to 1417; Krakow University MS 2099 (BB XVIII 9), ff. 1–73, dating to 1433; Erfurt, Erfurt University Library, MS fol. 342, ff. 1–179v, dating to 1436; Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, MS lat. 141, dating to 1443; Krakow, Krakow University MS 1892 (BB XIX 1), dating to 1444; Munich Bavarian State Library, MS Lat. 26974, dating to 1472; and two undated manuscripts, Krakow University MS 709 (CC VIII 44) and Erfurt MS quart. 317, fol. 161–290. This is not an exhaustive list of Lindores manuscripts and there are almost certainly more to be found: there is some indication that Dublin, Trinity College Library EE.e.53, No. 4, might be an early printed version. For more see J. H. Baxter, “Four ‘New’ Medieval Scottish Authors”, *Scottish Historical Review* 25 (1928), 92–5. It is entirely plausible that sermons (which have barely been touched by historians) delivered by Thomas Livingston before the Council of Basel, may reveal concerns with heresy. For more on Livingston at Basel see: Burns, ‘Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle’, 6–7.

<sup>49</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 86–91.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 88–9.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 90–93.

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–9.

<sup>53</sup> Matthew Spinka, “Paul Kravař and the Lollard-Hussite Relations”, *Church History* 25 (1956), 19–21. Lawrence Moonan argues that these texts should not be attributed to Kravař on the sole basis of the arguments put forward by earlier scholars. See Lawrence Moonan, “Pavel Kravař, and Some Writings Once Attributed to Him”, *Innes Review* 27:1 (1976), 3–23.

<sup>54</sup> St Andrews University Library, Muniments of the University of St Andrews, UYUY411, Acta Facultatis Arterium, 1413-1728.

<sup>55</sup> It has been suggested Folkhyrde was from the parish of Lesmahagow. As Lesmahagow Priory was a dependent of Kelso Abbey, this raises suggestive questions about the fate of the three English priests accused of heresy by the bishop of Durham who fled to Kelso only a few years prior. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 37.

<sup>56</sup> The Latin letters are in Prague, Archiv Univerzity Karlovy, MS 1925, fol. 391v–393v; Bautzen, Archivverbund Stadtarchiv und Staatsfilialarchiv, MS VIII<sup>o</sup> 7<sup>a</sup>. The Czech translations of 1415 are in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4916, Han-Verschiedene: Theologische Sammelhandschrift, fol. 5r–11v. Transcribed copies of these can be found in Jan Sedlák, *M. Jan Hus* (Prague: Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1915), appendix xiv, 182–96; *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 230–6.

<sup>57</sup> *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 230–6. On the letters see T. M. A. MacNab, “Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards”, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 5 (1935), 11–16.

<sup>58</sup> *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 230–6; Michael Van Dussen, “Conveying Heresy: ‘A Certayne Student’ and the Lollard-Hussite Fellowship”, *Viator* 38:2 (2007), 217.

<sup>59</sup> It is plausible that Folkhyrde may have been in contact with two Bohemian students studying at Oxford, Mikuláš Faulfiš and Jiří of Kněhnice, who were couriering letters between Hussites and Lollards in Prague and Oxford. For more see Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, 66–7; Van Dussen, “Conveying Heresy”, esp. 217, 220–22, 226 n. 45; MacNab, “Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards”, esp. 11–16.

<sup>60</sup> For more on Wyche see Christina von Nolcken, “Richard Wyche, A Certain Knight, and the Beginning of the End”, in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond (Stroud: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 127–54.

<sup>61</sup> MacNab, “Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards”, 14.

<sup>62</sup> In c.1721 Robert Wodrow wrote “I have been informed that the predecessors of this ancient family [Gordon of Earlsoun] entertained the disciples of Wicliff and had a new testament in the vulgar tongue which they used at meetings in the woods about Earlstoun House”. Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restauration to the Revolution* (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1721-2), ii, 67–8.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas. M. Lindsay, “A Literary Relic of Scottish Lollardy”, *Scottish Historical Review* 1:3 (1904), 271–2, 273. The Nisbet family was closely connected to the key members of the ‘Lollards of Kyle’ trial, the Campbells of Cessnock. Several Cunningham Lollards were referred to in the accounts of the trial but unnamed, and it would seem plausible that Nisbet was amongst them. On

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his return to Scotland further family connections add weight to this suggestion: it is likely that it was this Murdoch Nisbet who undertook notarial business for the Campbells, Reids and Lockharts in the 1520s and 1530s, all established Lollard families. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 42–3. See also Elizabeth Leona Tapscott, “Propaganda and Persuasion in the Early Scottish Reformation, c.1527–1557” (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2013), 210–15.

<sup>64</sup> London, British Library, Egerton MS 2880; *The New Testament in Scotland being Purvey’s Revision of Wycliffe’s Version Turned into Scots by Murdoch Nisbet c.1520, Edited from the Unique MS. in the Possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney*, ed. Thomas Graves Law (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1901–5). See also Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), esp. 243–7; Lindsay, “A Literary Relic of Scottish Lollardy”, 260; Reid, “The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland”, 280.

<sup>65</sup> Further additions continued to be made to the bible and later again Tyndal’s long prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, first printed in 1525, was added to Nisbet’s New Testament. For recent work on the bible see M. Dotterweich, “A book for Lollards and Protestants: Murdoch Nisbet’s New Testament” in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, ed. C. Gribben and D.G. Mullan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); Tapscott, “Propaganda and Persuasion in the Early Scottish Reformation”, 210–15.

<sup>66</sup> *RPS*, 1525/7/32; 1535/10. See also Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 29–31.

<sup>67</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 280–1.

<sup>68</sup> Forrest, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England*, 59.

<sup>69</sup> Papal inquisitors – who were often drawn from the Dominican order – worked alongside bishops in rooting out heresy. On the Dominicans in Scotland see Janet P. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450–1560* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). For more on inquisitors see for example: Wolfram Hoyer, ed., *Praedicatores, Inquisitores, Vol I: The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition* (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2004); Karen Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Christine Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

<sup>70</sup> See for example *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree*, ed. Dunlop, 21, 29–30, 33; St Andrews University Library, Muniments of the University of St Andrews, UYUY411, *Acta Facultatis Arterium*, 1413–1728.

<sup>71</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 66–73. See also *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis: Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitanae Glasguensis a Sede Restaurata Seculo Ineunte XII ad Reformatam Religionem* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1843), ii, 316, a brief chronicle in list form with entries dating 1067–1413. For more on Resby’s trial see Lawrence Moonan, “The Inquisitor’s Arguments Against Resby, in 1408”, *Innes Review* 47:2 (1996), 127–35.

<sup>72</sup> Vatican City, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Registra Vaticana 332, f. 51v; *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 253–4.

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<sup>73</sup> Papal bulls – one to Lindores and one to the university – were expedited by Martin V from Florence on 11 July 1419 authorising Lindores to seize and detain Harding and make him desist. Notarial copies of the bulls are preserved in St Andrews University Library, Muniments of the University of St Andrews, UYUY150/1, f. 42v–44r. A transcription of two bulls is printed in Anderson, “The Beginnings of St Andrews University, 1410–1418”, 358–60. See also Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 88–9.

<sup>74</sup> *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 3–4; Spinka, “Paul Kravař and the Lollard-Hussite Relations”, 18.

<sup>75</sup> *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 3–4.

<sup>76</sup> *John Knox’s History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. William Croft Dickinson (London: Thomas Nelson, 1949), i, 7; Reid, “The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland”, 274–5. Fogo received the abbacy of Melrose sometime after Spring 1422. *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros: Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Cisterciensis de Melros*, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1837), ii, 542; *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus with the Breviary of the Register*, ed. Charles Rogers (London: Grampian Club, 1879), i, 40. Fogo had been confessor for both the earl of Douglas and James I. See Michael Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 1994), 52, 135, 153; Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases*, 198–9. Further hints at Lollards in Scotland around 1420 are found scattered throughout European histories. See MacNab, “Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards”, 16, for discussion of some of these.

<sup>77</sup> *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 71–2.

<sup>78</sup> *RPS*, 1425/3/4. It has been argued that this act may have been inspired by the English Suppression of Heresy act of 1414 (2 Henry V, c. 7, *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 181–4), which given that the king was a prisoner in England at the time he must have been fully aware. Thomson, *The Later Lollards*, 203.

<sup>79</sup> The two trial copies are recorded as extant in 1627 by Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. David Irving (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1829). Kravař was recorded in the *Liber procuratorum* of the English nation at the University of Paris in 1415, which included scholars from central and eastern Europe, and a number of Scots, including John de Crannach, who was one of the most distinguished and well-known teachers in the Faculty of Arts. *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis: Liber procuratorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae) in Universitate Parisiensi. Ab anno 1406 usque ad annum 1466*, ed. Henricus Denifle and Aemilius Chatelaine (Paris: Delalain, 1937), 190, 196, 197. Other scots that coincided with Kravař were William Croyser, Thomas Lauder, Patrick Young and John Borthwick.

<sup>80</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 276–81.

<sup>81</sup> Baxter, “Four ‘New’ Medieval Scottish Authors”, 92–3. Moonan, “Pavel Kravař, and Some Writings Once Attributed to Him”, 8–9.

<sup>82</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 277; Paul Vyšný, “A Hussite in Scotland: The Mission of Pavel Kravař to St Andrews in 1433”, *Scottish Historical Review*, 82:1 (2003), 1–19.

<sup>83</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 276–7.

<sup>84</sup> *Husitské Manifesty*, ed. Amedeo Molnár (Prague: Odeon, 1986); “Manifesty města Prahy z doby husitské”, ed. František M. Bartoš, *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hlavního města Prahy* 7 (1933), 253–309; J. Prokes “Taborske manifesty z r 1430 a 1431”, *Casopis Matice Moravske* 52 (1928), 1–28. For more on Hussite propaganda see Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot, 1998), 178–274; Josef Macek, *The Hussite Movement in Bohemia* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1965).

<sup>85</sup> Vyšný, “A Hussite in Scotland”, 18; E. F. Jacob, “The Bohemians at the Council of Basel, 1433”, in *Prague Essays: Presented by a Group of British Historians to the Caroline University of Prague on the Occasion of its Six-hundredth Anniversary*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949) 81–123; Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2004), 369–75.

<sup>86</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 278–9.

<sup>87</sup> *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree*, ed. Dunlop, pp. clxxxi, 39–41; Anderson, “The Beginnings of St Andrews University”, 239.

<sup>88</sup> St Andrews University Library, Muniments of the University of St Andrews, UYUY411, *Acta Facultatis Arterium*, 1413–1728; *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree*, ed. Dunlop, 89; *CPL*, viii, 578–9.

<sup>89</sup> *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 136–7.

<sup>90</sup> *CPL*, viii, 297.

<sup>91</sup> *CPL*, xiii, 226; J. A. F. Thomson, “Some New Light on the Elevation of Patrick Graham”, *Scottish Historical Review* 40 (1961), 87–8; Leslie Macfarlane, “The Primacy of the Scottish Church, 1472–1521”, *Innes Review* 20:2 (1969), esp. 111–12; Norman Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), 104–7; John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, *The Archbishops of St Andrews, Volume I* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1907), 1–79.

<sup>92</sup> Augustin Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum historiam illustrantia, quae ex Vaticani Neapolis ac Florentiae* (Rome, 1864), 465–8 (no. 852). Some bishops took steps to undermine this authority. Thomas Spens, bishop of Aberdeen, obtained a papal bull in February 1474 that exempted the see of Aberdeen from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of St Andrews.

<sup>93</sup> Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Borghese, Series 1, vol 880, ff. 390r–310r; Leslie J. Macfarlane, “The Elevation of the Diocese of Glasgow into an Archbishopric in 1492”, *Innes Review* 43:2 (1992), 99–118. The petition to the pope to raise Glasgow to an archbishopric and to grant Blackadder the status of primate and *legatus natus* had the approval of James IV. The bishops of Moray and Aberdeen also obtained exemption from St Andrews’ authority.

<sup>94</sup> It is tempting to see the survival of a belief in Lollard propositions amongst a pocket of Ayrshire families from its introduction to Scotland by the opening years of the fifteenth century right through to the Reformation. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 39, 44.

<sup>95</sup> *Acta Dominorum Concilii: The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, A.D. 1478–1495*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1839), i, 319; *John Knox’s History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. Dickinson, i, 8–11; Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*,

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36; Reid, "The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland", 281; D. E. Easson, "The Lollards of Kyle", *Juridical Review* 48 (1936), 123–8.

The king's council normally included Robert Blackadder, who was one of his closest advisors. The following summer, for example, the archbishop began the process of securing a suitable bride for the king. *Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to Spain*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London: Longman, 1862), i, 103, 104; Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1989), 120–5, 212–13.

Those on trial included George Campbell of Cessnock; Adam Reid of Barskimming; John Campbell of Newmilns, George Campbell's son; Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, the laird of Cessnock's nephew; Helen Chalmers, Lady Polkellie (wife of Robert Muir of Polkellie); and Marion Chalmers, Lady Stair (wife of Dalrymple of Stair). External evidence suggests that Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill was amongst the thirty. The Chalmers women were sisters of Margaret Chalmers, wife of George Campbell of Cessnock, and the Chalmers family later also supported the Reformation. Andrew Shaw's father, William Shaw of Polkemmet, had a close relationship with George Campbell of Cessnock and John Lockhart of Bar from at least 1491. Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, Portland Muniments, GD 163, Box 1. See also Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 42.

<sup>96</sup> Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyssdome*, iii, 135.

<sup>97</sup> *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. Dickinson, i, 8–11. Circumstantial evidence indicates that Knox was accurate in much of the testable content. *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, i, 319. Other evidence places the king and his council in Glasgow from 15 to 17 May. *Registrum Magni Sigili Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, ed. J.M. Thomson et al (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1882–1914), ii, 2211–14.

Other evidence might illuminate this trial. When the Lutheran reformer Alexander Alesius wrote an open letter to James V in spring 1533, he remarked specifically that John Campbell of Newmilns had supported a priest who expounded the New Testament in the vernacular to him and to his family, for which he was arrested, delated to the bishop, appealed to the king and was acquitted, which would fit with the 1494 trial procedures. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, Dd.10.74, *Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias* (Leipzig, 1551) [first published 1534].

For more on the ways in which Protestant reformers used medieval history see Abraham Friesen, 'Medieval Heretics or Forerunners of the Reformation: The Protestant Rewriting of the History of Medieval Heresy', in Alberto Ferreiro (ed.), *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>98</sup> In 1504 the Campbells were again under question, but Blackadder provided copies of their attestations from 1494. *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, ed. Joseph Bain and Charles Rogers (London: Grampian Club, 1875), i, 12, 298; ii, 50; Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 43–4. For more on the value of attestations see Genelle Gertz, 'Heresy Inquisition and Authorship,

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1400–1560', *The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England*, ed. Mary C. Flannery and Katie L. Walker (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 130–45.

Suggestion that this may have been a fresh accusation or retrial of the 1494 case appears in the 1507 undertaking by Adam Reid to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury and Amiens. That the crown offered a respite while on this pilgrimage is suggestive. *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. I. A.D. 1488–1529* (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register Office, 1908), 203. See also Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 44.

<sup>99</sup> For example, George Campbell of Cessnock was sheriff-depute of Ayr by 1500 and sheriff of Ayr by 1511. *Acta Dominorum Concilii: Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, Vol. II, 1496–1501*, ed. George Neilson & Henry Paton (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1918), 432–3; *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ii, 2386, 3638. Adam Reid of Barskimming was addressed in a royal charter as a familiar of the king, and granted lands in North Kintyre in 1498 and 1499 for good service. *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ii, 2454, 2500.

<sup>100</sup> The 1494 case coincided with an intensification of persecution of Lollardy in England. See Thomson, *The Later Lollards*, 205n.

<sup>101</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 280–1.

<sup>102</sup> See, for example, Helen Sarah Brown, “Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian, c.1306–c.1513” (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2006); and Audrey-Beth Fitch, *The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480-1560* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2009). See also Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006).