

THE EVOLUTION OF PROTESTANT IDEAS AND THE HUMANIST
ACADEMIC TRADITION IN SCOTLAND: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO SCANDINAVIAN/LUTHERAN INFLUENCES

by

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I certify that this thesis is entirely my own work and
that no part of it has been previously published.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Aberdeen Univ. Rev.</u> [<u>AUR</u>]	<u>Aberdeen University Review</u>
<u>Acts of Council.</u> [<u>ADC</u>]	<u>The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes</u> , ed. T. Thomson and others (Edinburgh 1839 and 1918-)
<u>Acts of Council (Public Affairs)</u> [<u>ADCP</u>]	<u>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554: Selections from Acta Dominorum Concilii</u> , ed. R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh 1932)
<u>Acts Parl. Scot.</u> [<u>APS</u>]	<u>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</u> , ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh 1814-1875)
<u>Auct. Chart. Paris.</u>	<u>Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis, Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae), 1333-1492</u> , ed. Samaran and others (Paris 1935-64)
Anderson, <u>Early Records</u>	J.M. Anderson, <u>Early Records of the University of St. Andrews</u> (SHS 1926)
Baxter, <u>Copiale</u>	J.H. Baxter, <u>Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree</u> (Edinburgh 1930)
Boece, <u>Vitae</u>	H. Boece, <u>Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae</u> (New Spalding Club 1894)
<u>BUK</u>	<u>Booke of the Universal Kirk: Acts and proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland</u> , ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs 1839-1845)
Calderwood, <u>History</u>	<u>Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland</u> , ed. T. Thomson (Woodrow Society 1842-1849)
<u>CDS</u>	<u>Calandar of Documents relating to Scotland</u> , ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh 1881-8)
<u>CPR</u>	<u>Calandar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope</u> , ed. H. Bliss and others (London 1896)
<u>CR</u>	<u>Corpus Reformatorum, Melanchthon Opera</u> , ed. Brentschneider & Blindseil (1834-60)
Dowden, <u>Bishops</u>	J. Dowden, <u>The Bishops of Scotland</u> (Glasgow 1912)

- Dun Papers "The Dun Papers", Spalding Club Miscellany, iv (1849)
- ER The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ed. J. Stuart and others (Edinburgh 1878-1908)
- Förstemann, Album Album Academiae Vitebergensis, ed K.E. Förstemann (Leipzig 1841, Halle 1894, Tübingen 1976)
- Handbook Handbook of British Chronology, ed. E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (London 1986)
- IR The Innes Review (1950-)
- Keussen, Matrikel H. Keussen, Der Matrikel der Universität Köln, (Cologne 1928-31)
- Knox, History John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, ed. W.C. Dickinson (Edinburgh 1949)
- Knox, Works The Works of John Knox, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh 1846-1864)
- L. and P. Henry VIII Letters and Papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII, ed. J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (HMSO 1901)
- Lesley, Historie J. Lesley, The Historie of Scotland from the Death of James I in the year 1436 to the year 1561 (Bannatyne Club 1830)
- McRoberts, Essays Essays on the Scottish Reformation, ed. D. McRoberts (Edinburgh 1961)
- Melville, Diary The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill (Woodrow Society 1842)
- Pittodrie Papers "The Pittodrie Papers", Spalding Club Miscellany, ii (1842)
- Reg. Epis. Brechin. Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis (Bannatyne Club 1856)
- Reg. Mag. Sig.
[RMS] Registrum Magni Sigillii Regum Scotorum, ed. J.M. Thomson and others (Edinburgh 1882-1914)
- Reg. Sec. Sig. Registrum Secreti Sigillii Regum Scotorum, ed. M. Livingstone and others (Edinburgh 1908-)
- Reusens, Matricule Matricule de l'Universite de Louvain, ed. E. Reusens and A. Schillings (Brussels 1903-1963)

- Rot. Scot. Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati, ed. D. Macpherson and others (1814-1819)
- RSCHS Records of the Scottish Church History Society (1923-)
- Scotichronicon Bower, Scotichronicon, Vol. viii, ed. D.E.R. Watt (Aberdeen 1987)
- SHR Scottish Historical Review (1903-28, 1947-)
- SHS Scottish Historical Society
- STS Scottish Text Society
- St. Andrews Acta Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588, ed. A.I. Dunlop (Edinburgh 1964)
- TRE Theologische Realencyklopädie, ed W. de Gruyter (Berlin 1978-) or Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, ed. A. Hauck (Leipzig 1897-1910)
- Treasurers Accounts Account of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, ed. T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh 1877-1916)

ABSTRACT

In Scotland, the fact that the Scottish church was not reformed until quite late, at least in comparison to most of the rest of the Protestant churches on the continent, has meant that many historians and theologians have concentrated more on contemporary parallels of the 1550s and 1560, particularly Geneva, and tended to ignore other possible origins for the ideas of the Scottish Reformation. Certainly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Humanism finally ended the academic monopoly of the medieval Scholastics, Scots were familiar figures in the universities of France and western Germany. This would have allowed many Scottish students to experience the 'magisterial reformation' of the 1520s.

This development of reform ideas by university magisters had its roots in the conciliar movement of the fifteenth century and in the radical neo-realist philosophy of Wyclif and Hus. In Scotland this can be traced as a tradition of progressivism which was passed down from one academic generation to the next. After the neo-realists who had been at Cologne during the 1440s, returned to Scotland in 1450, they helped to establish an academic atmosphere which encouraged continued study at Paris, Cologne and Louvain, and facilitated the introduction of Humanism by Bishop Elphinstone and Hector Boece towards the end of the fifteenth century. The reform ideas of these progressive academics were then adopted by John Adamson who was responsible for reforming the Dominican order in Scotland after 1511. Significantly, many young friars of this order appeared among the Scottish supporters of Luther a generation later.

When Cologne and Paris Universities both condemned the Humanist

Reformers during the 1520s, Scottish progressives were left with three broad options: acceptance of revived scholasticism at Paris, adoption of the radicalism of Zwingli in Zürich, or support for the German reform of Luther. Few chose to make the long, unfamiliar trip to Switzerland, and many Scots took the first choice. Some however, chose to follow the trade routes to Denmark and the Baltic in order to reach the previously avoided nominalist centres of eastern Germany, particularly those Scots who had been influenced by the study of Greek which is associated with Erasmus. There they were exposed to the conciliatory personality and slightly more radical Lutheran teachings of Philip Melanchthon. These characteristics of the Greek lecturer at Wittenberg soon began to appear frequently in the lives of Scots who had contact with that university. Thus, the nonconfrontational yet progressive example of Melanchthon becomes a factor in the appearance of unity which emerged among reformers in Scotland in 1560.

In this way, the long-established academic tradition of educated Scottish society can combine with the Baltic trade of the early sixteenth century to bring an example of moderate foreign reforms to the north-east of Scotland by the 1540s. Also, since most supporters of the reform movement in Scotland in 1560 had at least as great an association with Lutheran ideas as with the more recent developments of Calvinism, the study of the Scandinavian/Lutheran example helps to explain the origins of the regional diversity of ideas and practice in Reformation Scotland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The very existence of this thesis owes so much to the support and assistance of others that it is almost an injustice that only a few can be mentioned in this space. Therefore I shall begin with a general thank you to the many friends and acquaintances who have made my years in Scotland so enjoyable and who have contributed more than they know to the character of this work. On a more personal level, I would like to express my gratitude to my very understanding wife, Martina, without whose encouragement this project might never have been completed. Similarly, I thank my parents who have continued to support me as one year of study became six, and the trials and tribulations increased proportionally. For the same reason I am obliged to recognize the friendship of two former flatmates, Mark Gedney and Mike Laing, who have demonstrated their dependability and generosity repeatedly over the years.

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INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

Recent revisionist views of the Reformation in Europe during the sixteenth century have stressed the traditional overemphasis on the dominant role played by religious ideas, Protestantism in particular, compared to contemporary political and sociological forces, and attempted to rectify this shortcoming.¹ What has still been somewhat overlooked, however, is the role played by the intellectual or educated community which was responsible for much of the impetus and most of the implementation of religious, social and political reforms. The rising literacy of the early sixteenth century allowed for the rapid dissemination of ideas across Europe and provided both justification and inspiration for reformers of quite different beliefs and circumstances. During the early decades of the sixteenth century at least, this resulted in what has been identified as magisterial reform movements. Modern revision of our interpretation of the Reformation era only underscores the need to better understand the transmission of ideas in perspective.

Traditionally the study of the Reformation of the Christian Church during the sixteenth century has always been inseparable from the Renaissance ideas of Humanism which ended the dominant era of the medieval Scholastics. However, it was this medieval academic tradition, broadly described as Scholasticism, which provided the important foundation upon which both Humanism and the Reformation were built. Therefore it is necessary to go back and study the evolution and transmission of ideas during the Reformation period

¹ Christopher Haigh, The English Reformation Revised, (1987).

with an awareness that previous generations may have influenced the direction and form of the reform movement.²

This examination of how the Reformation on the continent, and Scandinavia in particular, touched Scotland during the second half of the sixteenth century, began with the same basic orientation towards the subject which has restricted most similar works. The awareness that Scotland was officially reformed in 1560 by John Knox and other evangelical Protestants means that all studies of this Reformation, including this one, start from that date and look backwards. However this leads to the basic problem that events are viewed with the advantage or disadvantage of hindsight. This in itself would not necessarily cause any dangerous bias, but in Scotland, the later dominance of Calvinism and the uncompromising nature of this branch of the Protestant church has resulted in a rather limited exploration of the Humanist and Lutheran ideas which immediately preceded those of Calvin and Knox.

Within the last half century or so, important attempts to remedy this situation have pushed the frontier of the search for alternative influences back several decades and across most of northern Europe. This current study originally began as a quite

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In the course of this discussion it has been necessary to make a distinction between several forms of the word and idea of 'reform' which must be established here at the beginning. The term 'reform' with a lower case 'r' is a non-specific one which has been used to describe all efforts towards the reform of church or society in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Thus the Conciliarists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the Humanists and early Lutherans can all be described as 'reform movements'. However soon after 1517 the word 'reform' becomes more specific and refers to the development of the Reformation and the Reformers. Similarly the term 'Reform', with an upper case 'r', has become the accepted description of a non-Lutheran, and generally Swiss branch of the Reformation. See the introduction to Williams, The Radical Reformation, p. xxv-xxvii, for discussion of 'the Reformed Church'.

broad examination of Scottish-Danish relations in the sixteenth century, which was largely based on Gordon Donaldson's 1948 article, "'The example of Denmark' in the Scottish Reformation".³ Pursuing this line of study eventually inspired a personal curiosity about the transmission of ideas between these two apparently unrelated cultures which soon resulted in the study of the ideas themselves and how they evolved from academic traditions. In the Scottish-Danish context, one individual emerged from Donaldson's work as a possible starting point for pursuing this path of enquiry. This was a Scot named John Macalpine, who is better known to Reformation historians as Johannes Maccebaeus.

Johannes Maccebaeus was a former prior of the Dominican friary at Perth who, because of his reformed opinions, was forced to flee Scotland and eventually ended up in Denmark as a leading Professor of Theology at Copenhagen University, where he played an important advisory role in the Danish court and church community during the 1540s and 1550s. Through him however, a whole new panorama of continental academia opened up. First of all, since he was a former student of Philip Melanchthon, the famous Greek grammarian and friend of Luther at Wittenberg, this relationship had to be explored more deeply. Philosophically, this proved to be a difficult undertaking since Melanchthon was himself the product of the Humanist rebellion against medieval Scholasticism. Academically, an examination of Melanchthon and his career necessarily includes a study of the role which Humanist devotion to the classical languages played during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Naturally these two facets,

3

Donaldson, "'The example of Denmark' in the Scottish Reformation", SHR xxvii (1948), 57-64; rewritten and expanded by Donaldson in his Scottish Church History (Edinburgh, 1985), 60-70.

Humanist philosophy and academia, trace back to the development of Northern Humanism from the blending of Italian Humanism with the established Scholastic tradition of the northern universities in the latter decades of the fifteenth century.

Secondly, other aspects of the life of Johannes Maccebaeus which were apparently entirely separate from Melanchthon pushed the parameters of this study even further back. For example, since he was a Dominican friar it was necessary to look at the large number of Dominicans who became identified with the reform movement in Scotland. Similarly, the fact that Maccebaeus was identified in the matriculation roll of Wittenberg University as having previously studied at Cologne meant that there might have been some other connection through Cologne University. As it happened, there was indeed a unifying feature at Cologne. This was the 'Reuchlin Controversy', which set the conservative Scholastic academics against the 'new learning' of the Humanists. This must have had some influence on Maccebaeus since it pitted the Dominicans against the great uncle of Melanchthon, Johannes Reuchlin, and was conducted under the supervision of the Scottish professor of theology at Cologne, Thomas Lyle. However this confrontation also touched on the much older conflict between the nominalist and realist schools of medieval Scholasticism. It soon became apparent that Scottish academics had maintained a significant presence at the continental universities throughout the fifteenth century and that these students and masters had been influenced by this conflict as well.

Ultimately, this Cologne academic trail pushed the intellectual roots of the Reformation in Scotland right back to the beginning of the fifteenth century and the establishment of St. Andrews University and the neo-realist revival at Paris. Conveniently, this was also

the period of Wycliff, Hus and the Lollardism that John Knox had vaguely identified as precursors of the early sixteenth-century reformers.⁴ This therefore seemed to provide a logical place to turn the enquiry around and begin to follow the evolution of reform ideas somewhat more chronologically.

St. Andrews University was strongly influenced by the revival of realism, which had been banned from Paris nearly a generation before, when it was founded in 1410. When neo-realism was similarly banned from the young Scottish university a surprising number of Scottish students began to appear at the realist centre of Cologne. During the 1430s the Council of Basle declared itself in opposition to the Roman pope, which also contributed to the split between the realists at Cologne, who were allied with the Hussites of Bohemia as Conciliarists, and the nominalists, who became associated with conservatism.

When Scottish students returned to Scotland from Cologne in 1449-50, after the healing of the Schism, and assumed a degree of academic dominance, the split between the nominalists and the neo-realists seems to have been resolved as well. Therefore the question arises: What then is the connection between the Cologne neo-realists, Lollardism, Humanism and the sixteenth century reformers? The answer must be that each in its day was nonconformist and progressive in the sense that each group was made up of idealists who wished to remedy contemporary faults in the church, society and the academic world by supporting new interpretations of the knowledge which was available to them. In Scotland it seems that this tradition of academic 'progressivism' can be traced from one generation of students to the next, providing a thread of continuity through the fifteenth and

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The Works of John Knox, ed. Laing, i, 5-8.

sixteenth centuries.⁵

Thus the return of the neo-realists who had been at Cologne during the 1440s can be seen as helping to establish an academic atmosphere which encouraged continued study at Paris, Cologne and Louvain, and facilitated the introduction of Humanism by Bishop Elphinstone and Hector Boece towards the end of the fifteenth century. The reform ideas of these progressive academics were then passed on to their students, among whom the clearest example is John Adamson, who became provincial of the Scottish Dominicans in 1511 and as such was largely responsible for an internal 'reformation' of that religious order in Scotland along the lines of a similar contemporary continental example.⁶

When Cologne and Paris Universities both condemned the Humanist Reformers during the 1520s, the Scottish progressives were left with three options: acceptance of revived Scholasticism at Paris, adoption of the radicalism of Zwingli in Zurich, or support for the German reform of Luther. The long established connections with Cologne and Paris would have made the first two options more likely since they were closer and more familiar. However, the Erasmian encouraged study of Greek at Paris had influenced a large number of Scottish academics and encouraged the breaking down of the centuries-old bias

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The term 'progressive' is here used with reservation to fill a gap in the discussion of conservative and radical ideas or actions. Most intellectual disagreements, then as now, were approached from different points of view which were not always diametrically opposed. 'Progressivism' describes those who are adopting new ideas and expanding on them but are not so vehemently opinionated that they can be viewed as radical. This applies particularly to the academic community where the inability to listen to new ideas made conservatism undesirable, but the rejection of established knowledge left radicals in a wilderness of opposition.

6

Boece, Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae, ed. J. Moir, New Spalding Club (1894), 91.

towards the Paris University 'system'. After Cologne University was discredited somewhat by the suppression of Humanism during the famous Reuchlin Controversy and Paris followed this conservative example, the progressive Humanists were able to form a type of union which was international and united a broad spectrum of nonconformist academics. When Erasmus of Rotterdam finally declared his opposition to many of the religious and social aims of the Humanist reformers, this union of the progressive Humanists began to fragment. However, most of the medieval academic boundaries had been broken and this enabled a significant number of Scots to follow the trade routes to Denmark and eastern Europe in order to reach Germany and the nominalist centres which Scots had previously shunned.

The earlier influence of Erasmus among the Scottish progressive academics meant that in the third decade of the sixteenth century the Greek lecturer at Wittenberg University, Philip Melanchthon, was now a likely leader for those of the Humanist reformers who still opposed radicalism but could not tolerate the regressive attitude of the conservative Scholastics. However, like Erasmus, Melanchthon was still principally an academic and therefore preferred reasoned discussion of ideas rather than emotional confrontation. Through the Scottish students who went to eastern Europe it seems possible that Melanchthon's style of nonconfrontational progressivism was then introduced to Scotland and may have become an important factor in the appearance of unity which suddenly emerged among the reformers in Scotland in 1560.

This connection with Germany and Scandinavia seems all the more plausible when the pattern of reform in Scotland is also taken into account. Certainly it has long been recognized that it was primarily in the merchant towns on the east coast of Scotland and in

their immediate hinterlands that the ideas of the Reformation became established. Of these it is apparent that those who lived in the area composed of Fife, Angus and the Mearns were the strongest supporters of the Reformation before 1555 and that by the end of the sixteenth century they were identified as conservatives. This fits exactly with the known trade pattern of the period which would have exposed the north-east coast to the reformed 'example' of northern Germany and the Baltic from the early 1520s. As Professor Donaldson so clearly states, "Reviewing all the evidence is it possible to doubt that, at least for the east coast burghs of Scotland, for every man who knew what was happening in Geneva a score or more knew what was happening in Denmark?"⁷

Thus, the established academic tradition of educated Scottish society can unite with those sections of the merchant community in the towns and their hinterlands involved in the Baltic trade of the early sixteenth century to bring a moderate foreign example of reform to Scotland during the 1540s. Since most of the supporters of the Reformation movement in Scotland in 1560 had at least as great an association with Lutheran ideas as with the more recent developments of Calvinism, the study of the Scandinavian/Lutheran example goes a long way towards explaining the origins of the apparent conservatism of the reformers of the north during the next generation. Also the tradition of academic progressivism helps to explain how Andrew Melville, who was probably the greatest of the radical Genevans in Scotland, could have developed such views even though he had been raised in a family with strong Lutheran connections.

Certainly in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the most

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Donaldson, "'The example of Denmark' in the Scottish Reformation", Scottish Church History, 64.

active reformed centre in Europe was probably Geneva, and since the Calvinism of John Knox and Andrew Melville was largely based on this example, the long history of Lutheran reform ideas has been dismissed as no longer important by this date. However, once again the role of Melanchthon in the introduction of early Reformation ideas into Scotland, and the long-standing tradition of progressive academics inspiring future generations, is quite useful in explaining the eventual success of the Calvinists.

As a progressive academic, Melanchthon was able to sympathize and tolerate ideas which may not have matched his own and even to change his mind if the argument was strong enough. For doctrinal zealots like Luther and Zwingli this was not possible. Therefore when new interpretations were proposed by Calvin in the 1540s, Melanchthon and others like him were able to adjust while others could not. It is for this reason that Melanchthon and his students have been labelled as Crypto-Calvinists or Philipists by supposedly orthodox conservatives. However it is this ability to tolerate and try to understand alternative reformed ideas which seems to have played an important role in the establishment of a Reformed Church in Scotland during the 1560s.

At first this spirit of toleration and unbiased discussion does not seem to conform to the common impressions of how the Reformation in Scotland took place, since John Knox and Andrew Melville were hardly the most understanding of people when it came to dealing with different ideas. It must be remembered though that no country could support two 'doctrinal zealots' easily and that most of the supporters of the Reformation were usually more practical and therefore more moderate. It is certainly noticeable and possibly quite important that John Erskine of Dun, who has been described as

"having been second only to Knox in promoting and accomplishing the work of the Reformation", was different from Knox in that he was more moderate than the great reformer and was also the product of the academic tradition of the north-east.⁸ Indeed the fifth laird of Dun, who became the first Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns and a leading political figure during the thirty years which followed the founding of the Reformed Church in Scotland, had direct connections with the progressive continental academic community and Melanchthon, and in many ways reflects the qualities of a Philipist through much of his adult life. When his son is identified as having gone to Copenhagen and Wittenberg to study under Maccebaeus and Melanchthon, the circle seems complete.⁹

It therefore seems possible to follow the development of the ideas and intellectual schools which made the Reformation possible and established the characteristics of the various branches of this reform movement, more than a century before the reforms themselves come to fruition. It is unfortunate that many historians in Scotland have, for several reasons, somewhat lost sight of this aspect of the development towards the Reformation of 1560. However the thread of progressivism has never been completely clouded over and by following this strand it seems likely that some light can still be shed on this frequently overlooked and now dim path.

⁸ Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, ed. H. Scott, v, 388.

⁹ The autobiography and diary of Mr. James Melville, 14.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ACADEMIC FOREFATHERS OF THE REFORMATION

Neo-Realism in Scotland, 1400-1450

John Knox's fifteenth century precursors of the Scottish Reformation

John Knox, in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, begins his "Historiae Initium" by presenting the trial for heresy of Paul Crauer, a Hussite from Bohemia who was at St. Andrews during the early 1430s, and persecution of the Lollards of Kyle in the 1490s, as early predecessors of the sixteenth-century struggle for reform within the Scottish church.¹ It is unfortunate that Knox does not develop his discussion of Lollard, Wycliffite and Hussite influence in Scotland during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in more detail since there is little documentary evidence which confirms an ongoing tradition of religious dissent or attempts at reform.

Attempts to reconstruct the religious developments during this period have been made even more difficult by Reformation apologists and historians who presented or concealed information in such a way as to reinforce their religious or political beliefs. As a result, elements of continental influence and interaction are often reduced to a level of unimportance since they do not seem to have much relevance to specific local illustrations. This idealism could even be accepted or admired except for the fact that some records may have been intentionally destroyed in the process.²

¹ John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, i, 6-8.

² Violet Jacob, *The Lairds of Dun*, 4-5; Michael Lynch, *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms*, Innes Review XXXVIII, 4.

Most historians, of course, have not been quite so destructive in their treatment of unwanted material. However, the lack of desire to preserve undesirable information may have been just as effective; particularly during the nineteenth century when those who collected most of the documents which had survived were also actively involved in writing histories of the Scottish Reformation which would become the standard works of the twentieth century.

The myth of the establishment of an independent and unique reform movement by John Knox using the example of Geneva (which is the historical picture given by Knox himself), further reduces any possible connection between the Lollards, Luther and the early Scottish Reformers. The neglect of this argument may be partially explained by the distrust Knox had for academics and for the Scholastic and Humanist academic traditions which were still closely interlinked during the early reform period. Certainly, the sudden establishment of a Reformed Church in the late 1550s through the efforts of one, or even several individuals, suggests nearly forty years of national ignorance with regard to continental events. This must surely have been impossible since the Reformation movement on the continent had political, religious, academic and military ramifications which would also have affected Scotland.

If we compare other aspects of sixteenth-century Scottish history with continental parallels it seems that the political and religious events of the early fifteenth century must have been common knowledge in Scotland as well. Certainly on the continent, it is the academic tradition of Wycliff and Hus which sets a precedent for the foundation of the Reformation one hundred years later. This is just what John Knox suggested in the 1560s, so it should also be possible to begin tracing the development of the

Scottish reform 'tradition' one hundred years before the recognized beginning of the Reformation in 1517.

The Council of Constance and the suppression of the nonconformists

The Great Schism of the Catholic world which occurred between 1378 and 1417 destroyed much of the traditional unity of the medieval Western Church. The loss of central control and a single doctrine resulted in the emergence of new ideas and new figures which combined with, and often became confused with, popular mysticism or social discontent. This often resulted in attempts to reform or purify religious beliefs, however, unconventional Christian groups were usually met with charges of heresy and persecution instead. The trials of the Lollards and a few Hussite followers in Scotland shows that she too had been affected by the reduced church control over ideas and education in much the same way as the rest of Europe. When tracing the origins of these disruptive ideas, the continuous presence of Scottish students at the academic centres of the continent, forms an alternative pathway for tracing Knox's suggested connection between Wycliffite and Hussite ideas in Scotland and the early Reformers.

The focal point of the effort to repress numerous local and international deviations was the Council of Constance and the burning of Jan Hus in 1415. This was intended to be an example for all those who were questioning the established order, and can be viewed as a landmark event for this period of academic development simply because Hus and his associate, Jerome of Prague, were first and foremost members of the academic community. In the end, the crackdown on radical members of the society encouraged a type of intellectual alliance between a.) those of the progressive Scholastic

academics who were questioning theological ideas, b.) those churchmen who wished for greater independence from papal authority and c.) the growing popular awareness of national identity and feudal disparity. Indeed the forced alienation of groups and ideas from the mainstream of the Roman Church actually increased debate and encouraged a re-analysis of the foundations of the Christian Church, and therefore helped to set the stage for the appearance of Humanism in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Once again, it is important to stress that Scotland was not at all isolated from continental events. Scotland adhered to, and was actively involved with, the Avignon papacy during most of the Great Schism. This is as would be expected considering Scotland's traditional French contacts and the old fear of domination by English cloth and crown. However, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the French papacy had begun to decline in status, the Scottish church found itself attached to a waning star and was forced to become somewhat more defensive of its international standing. It is therefore perhaps partially due to a feeling of insecurity and competition with other nations that the bishop of St. Andrews, Henry Wardlaw, sought and received a papal bull from Benedict XIII for the establishment of Scotland's first university.

Neo-realism at Cologne, Bohemia and the Council of Basle

In the decades before St. Andrews University was founded in 1410, the University of Paris, which has been called 'the mother of Universities', had experienced a philosophical struggle between members of its teaching faculty. This was due to a strain of neo-nominalism which had emerged in the middle of the fourteenth century and had quickly become more than merely fashionable. The Dominican

lecturers were expelled from Paris in 1387 for adhering to their realist beliefs, and moved their principal academic centre to the new University of Cologne which had grown out of a Dominican school.³ When the Dominican lecturers were finally allowed to return to Paris University in 1403, they reintroduced realist teachings, which had been rejuvenated by the teachings of John Wycliff at Oxford, into what had been an exclusively nominalist faculty.

This began a shift away from orthodox nominalist teaching at Paris which was further influenced by the great Prague migration of 1409. The German nation of Prague University had left en masse as a result of a prolonged nationalistic and philosophical disagreement with the Bohemian nation, largely inspired by Jan Hus and his neo-realist followers. Most of the German masters went to Heidelberg, Cologne or the new university at Leipzig, however a few made it as far as Paris where they were enrolled in the same nation as the Scots. These 'Bohemian' exiles were initially welcome because the German masters at Prague had been strong adherents of nominalism based upon the Paris model. However, the reforming influence of Hus soon appeared among some of the new arrivals and further weakened the strength of the now conservative nominalists.⁴

During the 1420s a new academic crisis arose with the beginning of another war between the English and the French. A campaign, begun by Henry V soon after his accession in 1413, eventually succeeded in occupying Paris and Orleans to the detriment of those universities.

³ Rashdall, Medieval Universities, i. 550-1.

⁴ Once again Scotland was certainly aware of events on the continent during this period since in 1410 a Scottish Lollard named Quintin Folkherd or Folkart is known to have corresponded with the Prague Wycliffites (Hussites); see M. Spinka, "Paul Kravar and the Lollard-Hussite Relations", Church History, XXV (1956), 18.

Many of their students, and the Scots in particular, were forced to look elsewhere for the opportunity to study.⁵ For the Scottish travellers, Cologne and Louvain were natural alternatives, although both were even more involved with the neo-realist movement than was Paris before the English wars. Thus the academic environment on the continent helped to force a splitting of the Scottish academic community, with the pre-1403 Paris students trying to defend their nominalist orthodoxy from the neo-realists.

Much of the controversy which became associated with these primarily philosophical beliefs originated in the academic competition between monastic orders and their interpretations of ideas which had developed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Several generations of remarkable scholars had been influenced by the reintroduction into Europe of Aristotelian ideas and writings from the Muslim world and had begun to develop new interpretations of Christian philosophy. The conflict between differing philosophical opinions, ideas and schools was nearly as important and vehement as those confrontations which were purely theological. Indeed the boundary between what was philosophy and what was religion was not at all clearly defined. In this way arguments often became personal as well as doctrinal, so that philosophy disagreement could cause strong reactions and lead to emotional accusations of heresy.

These disagreements during the Scholastic period broadly derived from two philosophical approaches to what a concept actually

⁵ It seems that only two bachelors and two magister candidates were present in the German Nation at Paris in 1425, and it should be noted that there were no Scottish students at Paris after 1419 and that Roger de Edinburgh, who was the only Scot to remain in Paris after 1420, has been identified as an English 'collaborator'. Ijsewijn, The Universities in the Late Middle Ages, 83, 86, 116.

is. To some, universal terms are merely words or names which are applied to things and ideas, and the concept which is associated with that name (nomen) in the mind, can change completely if it is viewed in a different way. To their opponents, once the awareness of physical objects or identifiable universals becomes established in the mind, the concept which represents them exists. They are now real and do not depend on perception to prove they exist. Since the original concept itself does not change it can then be used to build a new concept or idea which is also real. Thus there could be the conception of a 'universal' which did not exist physically but was acceptable as being just as real as any object.⁶

Soon many slight variations of these two themes developed, some of which can still provoke academic discussion in the twentieth century.⁷ However, by the end of the fourteenth century discussions had become somewhat polarized and set, with the convenient result that the students of the new schools of thought can be roughly divided into the descriptive classifications of nominalist and realist, which are based on name and real existence. These broad descriptions can be made slightly more specific by identifying an individual, or group of individuals, with the philosophical school in which they were trained. For example, students of the writings of Duns Scotus, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas can be labelled as Scotist, Albertist or Thomist respectively.

The break between the realist and nominalist periods at Paris may have been quite distinct for Scotland since when the Dominicans were finally readmitted in 1403 there was a noticeable decline and

⁶ G.H.R. Parkinson et al., An Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (1988).

⁷ An example of this can be found in the modern field of Artificial Intelligence where the nature of a concept can be quite important.

finally a break in the comparatively large number of Scottish students who were progressing towards degrees. In fact the surviving records of the German Nation at Paris University indicate that only one Scot, a William Balnavis, makes his initial appearance between 1402 and 1405.⁸ Indeed there appears to have been only one other Scottish student, a John Gyl Scotus, who determines before the return of the Dominicans (1402) and then completes his studies after the end of the purely nominalist period, incepting in 1405.⁹

To this we can add the fact that Jerome of Prague, the friend of Jan Hus who was also executed by the Council of Constance, arrives at Paris at just this moment and studies towards his licence and incepts in January of 1405. It is commonly believed that Jerome, after receiving his baccalaureate at Prague in 1399, had studied with Wycliff at Oxford and had brought some of his realist writings back to Hus in 1403. It may therefore be quite important that Thomas de Lyn and John Crannoch, who were to become the leading Scottish masters at Paris during the next decade, determined in 1405 when Jerome of Prague was one of the regents in the German Nation.¹⁰

When other students from Prague began to arrive at Paris, soon after the split between the Bohemian and German nations of that university which had resulted in the 'Prague migration', Scottish students would certainly have been made aware of contemporary events and conflicts in other universities. At St. Andrews however, realist teachings had been specifically banned so when these Paris students returned to Scotland and began to teach themselves, many must have

⁸ Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis [Auct. Chart. Paris], i, 876; see appendix under Paris.

⁹ Ibid., 853, 901.

¹⁰ Ibid., 894, 906.

felt somewhat restricted, being associated with the only university still controlled by nominalists.¹¹ It is not surprising that in practice the ban was not effective and that many Scottish students were still interested in studying current neo-realist developments and probably as a result began to appear more frequently in the matriculation rolls of Cologne University in particular.

Realism as radicalism? - John Athilmer at Cologne and Basle

The Scottish students who left St. Andrews for Cologne between 1429 and 1437, must be seen as somewhat radical, since by continuing their academic studies at Cologne they were virtually denying the academic and theological supremacy of the Scottish church hierarchy. Indeed Scottish realists who studied on the continent during this period were always open to reprimand or worse if they returned. Even at the realist centre of Cologne, the University academics had to dissociate themselves from the teachings of Wycliff and Hus and justify their continued adherence to realism before the electors of Cologne, Mainz and Trier, who quite understandably wished to avoid the Bohemian example.¹²

The political importance of the nominalist influence at the University of St. Andrews became even more important when Cologne and the Bohemians associated themselves with the Council of Basle, while Scotland initially resisted joining France in doing likewise.¹³ When

¹¹ Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis S. Andree [St. Andrews Acta], ed. Annie I. Dunlop, SHS (1964), i, 12. Indeed it seems that most of the teachings of the nominalist masters were specifically banned at Louvain (1427) and Paris (c.1430) Universities, see Ijsewijn, The Universities in the Late Middle Ages, 88, 117.

¹² Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow University, 1451-1577, 70.

¹³ Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle, 12.

this plurality in the church led to a new schism in the 1430s, the continued appearance of Scottish students at Cologne would only have encouraged fellow Scots to travel on to Basle, since both were on the same trade route. The fact that Scotland did not try to clarify its partisanship only increased the traditional confrontations over appeals for church position and benefices, with obvious political consequences.

However, because of the political and religious aspects of Scholastic philosophy it is possible, through the students who appear at Cologne, to trace a tradition of academic radicalism right through the fifteenth century. When the radical academic tradition, with which Cologne can be connected, continues through the decline of Scholasticism and plays an important role in the development of Humanism, Scotland again parallels the continent exactly. Of the Scottish students at Cologne, the one who can virtually be described as the father of Scottish neo-realism and therefore a leading figure in fifteenth-century progressivism, is one John Athilmer.

John Athilmer or Aylmare certainly began his training in the nominalist tradition, since he received his licentiate from St. Andrews in 1426.¹⁴ However, when he arrived at Cologne three years later, he immediately entered the Bursa Laurentiana which had benefitted greatly from the continued arrival of Paris refugees during the English wars. At Cologne during this period the main academic controversy was not between nominalism and realism but between Thomists and Albertists, of which the neo-Albertists were led by Heimerich van de Velde (de Campo), who had studied under Johannes

¹⁴ Anderson, Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, 1413-1579 [Early Records], SHS (1926), 9.

de Novo Domo and arrived from Paris in 1422.¹⁵

The enrolment of Athilmer at the foremost realist centre in Europe would ordinarily have been remarkable, since he (and at least three other Scottish students who were at Cologne in the early 1430s) had completed a degree at St. Andrews University and must have been considered sufficiently orthodox in nominalist teachings to achieve graduate status. It has therefore been suggested that there may have been a small cell of regents at St. Andrews who had become Crypto-realists when, as contemporaries of Heimerich van de Velde at Paris, they too had been introduced to the teachings of Johannes de Novo Domo.¹⁶ This idea seems quite plausible and is supported by the fact that Paul Cramer, the Bohemian who was burned at St. Andrews in 1433, was also a student at Paris in 1414-5.¹⁷ Also, it may be important to note that between 1408 and 1417, John Crannoch (future bishop of Brechin) was the master who presented the vast majority of Scottish students for their degrees at Paris and that he had determined in 1405 when Jerome of Prague had been a regent in the German Nation.¹⁸

Cologne was not a common city for Scots to visit during the fifteenth century as is made apparent by the near absence of Scottish merchants in the town records.¹⁹ Travel between the German states could be difficult and was often quite dangerous, so that private

¹⁵ R.J. Lyall, "Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth Century", Innes Review (1985), XXXVI, 57.

¹⁶ Ibid., 58.

¹⁷ Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 190, 196; see also M. Spinka, "Paul Kravar and the Lollard-Hussite Relations", Church History, 1-26.

¹⁸ Ibid., i, 897, 925, 926.

¹⁹ D. Ditchburn, "Merchants, Pedlars and Pirates", 1988 Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 123-9, 135-7.

individuals and churchmen were often forced to rely on armed merchant groups travelling in their direction. This is probably one of the reasons that even though Cologne University had been established in 1388, fewer than fifteen Scots had matriculated before Athilmer and four others appeared in 1429.²⁰ Therefore, the matriculation rolls for Cologne seem to indicate that Scottish students were being drawn to that university by its academic reputation and not because of its convenience. Indeed between 1430 and 1437 at least twenty-eight Scots made the journey to Cologne, which is a tremendous jump when compared to the previous four decades.²¹

Some of this sudden tendency to travel abroad may have been due to an outbreak of plague which struck St. Andrews in 1430. This explanation seems to be supported by a simultaneous increase in the number of Scots who matriculate at Louvain, which was a daughter university of both Paris and Cologne.²² However it is important to remember that Paris was temporarily occupied by the English and this would also explain the increase. Also, the number of Scots at Louvain declines after 1435 whereas the number at Cologne does not. It therefore seems likely that there must be some other influence.

Another possible explanation is the fact that this first period of significant Scottish presence at Cologne seems to approximately coincide with the existence of the Council of Basle. This could easily have been one of the reasons for some students to temporarily matriculate at Cologne University since that city is on one of the

20 H. Keussen, Die Matrikel der Universität Köln (1928-32), i, rolls 161 and 164; see appendix under Cologne.

21 Ibid., rolls 165 through 194; Chart p. 25b; see appendix under Cologne.

22 A.I. Dunlop, The Life and Times of James Kennedy: Bishop of St. Andrews, 267; see appendix under Louvain.

main transportation routes to Basle and Italy. However, this by itself cannot explain the overall rise in Scottish matriculations at Cologne because this trend predates the opening of the Council by at least two years. The presence of Scottish students also remains constant and does not vary with the rise and fall of the popularity of the Council.

In trying to understand what would compel a young student to undertake such a hazardous journey it is probably significant that many of the Scottish students who cross the North Sea to Cologne in the 1430s and 1440s emulate John Athilmer by entering the Bursa Laurentiana.²³ This would indicate that they probably shared an interest in that school's approach to academics and had been drawn to Cologne rather than been forced to go there by plague or war. Indeed almost the only way the appearance of a Scottish 'colony' at Cologne University can be explained is by a major shift in the philosophical approach and partisanship of a large proportion of Scottish academia. Certainly during the last three-quarters of the fifteenth century at least 400 Scottish students matriculate at Cologne and possibly the same number merely visited or were attached to one of the religious schools.

The importance of John Athilmer and the Cologne neo-realists to the Scottish academic world in the century before the Reformation has only relatively recently begun to be recognized. It therefore seems worth while to take another short look at some of these individuals and attempt to place this group of scholars in perspective with relation to continental and Scottish intellectual developments in the years leading up to the appearance of Humanism and Humanist reform.

23

Lyall, Scottish students at Cologne and Louvain, 57.

The Cologne neo-realists as progressives

Athilmer presented his first student for a degree at Cologne in 1435 and formally assumed a leading position in Scottish academics as his students eventually became regents themselves and presented new generations of Scottish students for degrees. In 1437 John Athilmer became the first Scot to fill a position in the academic hierarchy at Cologne when he was elected dean of the Arts Faculty.²⁴ Late in that year Athilmer returned to St. Andrews, probably because of the death of Laurence of Lindores who as "Master, Rector and Governor" of that university had dominated Scottish academics. This is significant, for Lindores, the persecutor of Paul Crauer in 1433, was virtually the embodiment of the pre-1403, nominalist Paris student. Less than a year after Athilmer's return a new ruling was announced which allowed the teaching of philosophies which were not nominalist. In 1439, the formal statutes of the Faculties of Arts and Theology were finally revised to legitimate the teaching of realist ideas at St. Andrews.²⁵

After thus apparently succeeding in converting his native university, Athilmer left Scotland once again and travelled to the Council of Basle where he remained for a year before returning to Cologne in 1442.²⁶ This moving around would ordinarily not have been expected of a career academic, so it is probably safe to assume that this had something to do with the changing fortunes of the opposing papal and conciliar parties.

Scotland did some figurative travelling around of its own in

24 Ibid., 57.

25 St. Andrews Acta, i, 48, cclxii (n.3), xx (n.4).

26 Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle, 75; Lyall, Scottish students at Cologne and Louvain, 60

the way it cautiously switched from supporting Pope Eugene in the early 1430s, to moderate approval of the Council during the latter part of the decade, and then back to Rome again just before Pope Eugene's death. James II of Scotland never did openly commit himself to either camp. It is possible that Athilmer was sent to Basle in 1441 as a semi-official representative of Scotland in order to try and improve Scotland's standing with the Council. Certainly his Cologne credentials were among the most acceptable in Scotland and he was already well known to many of the Conciliarists.

The close connection between Cologne and Basle may explain why other Scottish realists followed the same pattern of attending both Cologne and Basle. Possibly the most interesting Scot who attends both Cologne University and Basle, and one of the most prominent of the Conciliarists was Thomas Livingston, abbot of Dundrennan.²⁷

Thomas Livingston has the distinction of being one of the first students at St. Andrews (B.A. in 1413), one of the first Scots at Cologne (1423) and also the first Scot to join the Council of Basle. Livingston arrived at Basle in late 1432, probably encouraged to do so by Nicholas von Cusa who had already begun to build a reputation at Cologne.²⁸ The representatives from Bohemia arrived one month later and Pope Eugene, who was already in competition with the Council, finally sent four legates soon afterwards. Thus, Livingston was involved with the Council from its very beginning and was present when it was at its most powerful in 1433-4.²⁹

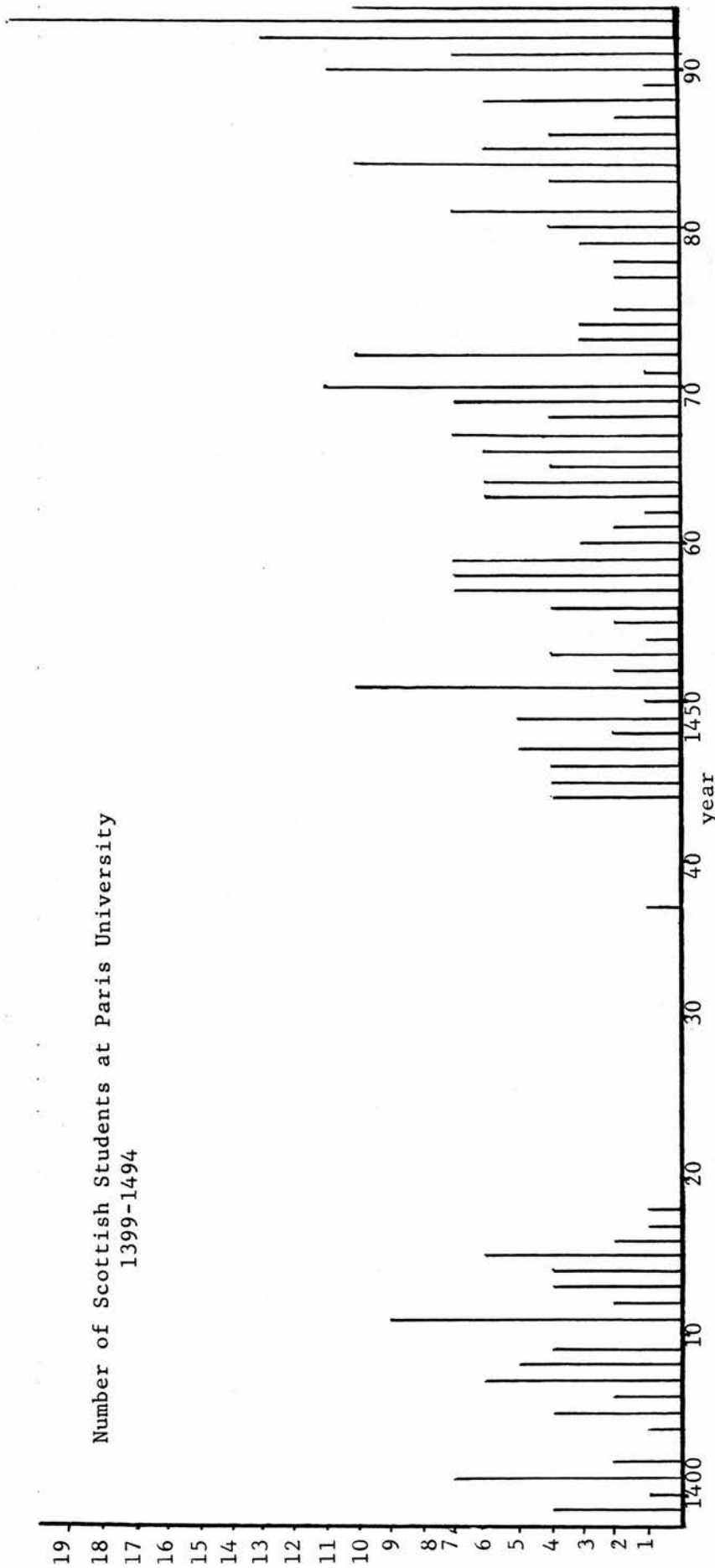
When the Council of Basle broke with Pope Eugene in 1437,

27 Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle, 12-3.

28 Duncan Shaw, "Thomas Livingston, a Conciliarist", RSCHS (1955), xii, 124.

29 Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle, 12.

Number of Scottish Students at Paris University
1399-1494



The matriculation roles for Paris University have not survived so that a direct comparison with Cologne and Louvain is not possible. However this graph, which is based upon the first appearance of a student in the Chartularii as a determinate or baccalaureate, provides a similar representation. Of particular interest are the peaks of 1410-18, 1444-52, 1463-72 and 1490-94, and the valleys of 1403, 1418 and 1453. Unfortunately there do not seem to be any adequate records for the period 1495-1520 and the only published record after 1520, (SHR xliii, 66-68), provides insufficient information for a meaningful graph.

Livingston began to play a more important role in the Conciliar proceedings. In 1447 the Roman pope, Eugene IV, suddenly died, giving his conciliar adversary, Felix V, one last chance to gain predominance. He sent papal representatives across Europe in the unlikely hope that he would be accepted as Eugene's replacement. Pope Felix sent Thomas Livingston to Scotland as a papal legate so that he could arbitrate between outstanding claimants of both parties to vacant benefices. Unfortunately for the Conciliarists, the higher offices of the Scottish church were now all occupied by Eugene's appointees and Livingston's attempt to bring Scotland into the Conciliar fold failed.³⁰

The eventual decline of the power of the Council during the 1440s is probably what caused Athilmer to leave Basle for Cologne and not return to St. Andrews until late 1448.³¹ Since most of the Roman candidates for episcopal office in Scotland had succeeded in gaining possession of their contested sees in 1441-42, Athilmer, who would now have been viewed as a Conciliarist, could probably foresee only difficulties if he returned to his native country.³²

However, after the reunification of the Church, the neo-realists who had been associated with the radicalism of Basle and Cologne, emerged as the progressive academics in Europe and were greatly in demand as lecturers. After 1448, Cologne graduates filled most of the positions created by the foundation of St. Salvator's College at St. Andrews, and the new University of Glasgow.³³ Under

30 Shaw, Livingston, 127.

31 St. Andrews Acta, i, 74.

32 Dowden, The Bishops of Scotland, 31, 73, 122, 218, etc.

33 Lyall, Scottish Students at Cologne and Louvain, 62; Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow University, 1451-1577, 71.

the leadership of John Athilmer, who had reappeared in St. Andrews as dean of the Faculty of Theology in 1448 and then served as provost of St. Salvator's College and vice-chancellor of the University until his death in 1473-4, Scottish academics became firmly established in the neo-realist tradition.³⁴

James Kennedy and Louvain as a realist centre

It is interesting that the prelate who was most responsible for reuniting the Scottish church, and perhaps more surprisingly, the individual who eventually introduced realists into Scottish politics, was James Kennedy, the bishop of St. Andrews. He too was a former student at St. Andrews and an approximate contemporary of Athilmer's. In the 1440s, however, he emerged as the Thomas Livingston's chief rival in the power struggles of the Scottish church. In fact, one of the main reasons Thomas Livingston had been made legate by Pope Felix was in order to settle the dispute between James Kennedy and James Ogilvie (another Cologne student) over the possession of St. Andrews. Thus it at first seems odd that after having been a political opponent of the Conciliarists and their Cologne realists allies, Kennedy eventually became their most important political sponsor.

James Kennedy had studied at St. Andrews as early as 1426, receiving his masters in 1429. He then entered Louvain University in 1430, which means that like Athilmer, he too could have been fleeing a plague or felt academically constrained. It is also possible that this academic adventure was partially due to the recent imprisonment of two of his brothers in Scotland.³⁵ Whatever the reason, the basic

³⁴ St. Andrews Acta., vol. 1, cclxiii.

³⁵ Dunlop, Kennedy, 5.

fact that he left Scotland is not too surprising, since most scholars with hopes for high church office did travel to France or Italy to gain experience and support. What is surprising is that of all of the continental universities he could have visited, he chose Louvain.

Louvain University had been founded only in 1425 and opened in 1426, and certainly had not had time to build much of a reputation. It had been established primarily for political and economic reasons and although it was a full university it was not yet allowed to have a Faculty of Theology.³⁶ Philosophically, Louvain must have had a fairly strong realist orientation since, in the early years at least, masters were drawn almost exclusively from the parent Universities of Cologne and Paris.³⁷ Therefore it is possible that both Athilmer and Kennedy had a similar academic background and point of view when they left St. Andrews University. However, Kennedy, by choosing to go to Louvain, indicates that the more radical realist ideas which seem to have drawn Athilmer and so many other Scots to Cologne, were probably not the main reason he travelled abroad.³⁸

When it is considered that he was a nephew of James II, it seems possible that Kennedy was already considering his political future and acceptability to the Church establishment. By going to Louvain, with its lack of a reputation, he was following a slightly more neutral academic path than his contemporaries at Cologne. This is important in Kennedy's case since one academic faction in Scotland

³⁶ Rashdall, Medieval Universities, ii (Louvain).

³⁷ Heimerich van de Velde (de Campo) moved to Louvain from Cologne in 1435 and was elected rector six times. Ijsewijn, Universities in the Late Middle Ages, 93. See also above pp. 20-1 (n. 15).

³⁸ An important attraction of Louvain during its first decade seems to have been Canon and Civil Law due to the English pressure on Toulouse and Orleans, so that this may also have been a draw for the Scots who matriculate at Louvain in 1430. See ibid., 86.

(the more conservative) was headed by Bishop Henry Wardlaw, the Paris educated founder of the University of St. Andrews, and the other was headed by Kennedy's direct patron, John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, who was an early supporter of the Council of Basle. Indeed Bishop Cameron may have been the individual who instituted an association between the neo-realists and court office when he was appointed court Secretary in 1424. Once established in the court of James I he may well have encouraged the appointment of two recent Paris graduates, John Benyng and William Foulis, as his successors as Secretary after he became Chancellor in 1426.³⁹

During the 1420s and '30s, Louvain provided an opportunity for an indirect, though still significant exposure to realist teaching by Cologne masters. In this way the small number of students who go to Louvain, may be disproportionately important to the way Scottish academia developed later in the fifteenth century. The records for 1530 alone list Kennedy, William Turnbull (later bishop of Glasgow, Secretary to James II and Keeper of the Privy Seal), William Elphinstone (father of the famous bishop of Aberdeen and himself an influential figure in the foundation of the University of Glasgow), and members of the Scrymgeour, Monypenny and Forester families, of whom more later.

When James Kennedy returned to Scotland in 1436 and was created bishop elect of Dunkeld by Pope Eugene, he was probably a compromise candidate. He would seem to be a logical choice since he was a member of the royal family and would satisfy both the Glasgow and St. Andrews

³⁹ Benyng, who only makes a brief appearance as Secretary, was at Paris in 1415-16 where he licenced under William Spalding, while Foulis, who was presented by John Crannock in 1411, served as Secretary or Privy Seal from 1427 to 1439. See Appendix under Paris and Handbook of British Chronology (Third Edition), 193.

academic/religious factions. As Bishop of Dunkeld, Kennedy would be able to gain the experience necessary to eventually be considered as a replacement for the conservative Henry Wardlaw. Certainly after Wardlaw's death in 1440, the Bishop of Dunkeld does indeed become the Roman candidate for transfer to St. Andrews. However, the bishopric was contested by James Ogilvie, a realist contemporary of Athilmer's at St. Andrews and Cologne, who was supported by the Black Douglas faction and had been confirmed by Felix V.⁴⁰ The importance of the academic debate now began to increase. The schism of the 1430s had already accentuated the division between academic factions, but now the powerful family political groups of Scotland began to become involved as well.

After James Kennedy returned to Scotland, having secured his appointment to St. Andrews from Pope Eugene, it was enacted that no Scot may go to Basle, adhere to the Council or obey it.⁴¹ In 1444, the situation became more polarized when the four bishops appointed by Eugene (St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Ross and Aberdeen) excommunicated and banned the adherents of Basle.⁴² Thus, Eugene IV unintentionally joined James II in reducing the Douglas family power in Scottish politics by attacking their candidate for high church office. It is interesting to wonder if the excommunication of the earl of Crawford by Bishop Kennedy at about this time may have been connected with a Douglas, Ogilvie and Lindsay alliance in some way.

It is thus possible to see how in the 1440s, Kennedy and the leading Conciliarists, Livingston, Athilmer and Ogilvie, obviously

⁴⁰ Handbook of British Chronology, 321; Shaw, Livingston, 128.

⁴¹ Hannay, "Letter to Scotland from the Council of Basle", SHR XX, 54.

⁴² Dunlop, Kennedy, 49.

belong to opposite camps. However with the reconciliation of the schism in 1449, Kennedy was able to apparently change camps and become quite closely associated with the realist academics. It may be that with regard to academic philosophy, Kennedy had always been a supporter of the progressives.

The realist Scholastics, 1449-1488

Bishop Kennedy as the patron of the realist Scottish academics

At St. Andrews University Kennedy proves that he has adopted the realist academic philosophy completely, since his prized personal foundation of St. Salvator's College in 1450 is practically devoted to realist teaching. Certainly it is staffed almost entirely by former preceptors and students from Cologne under the rectorship of John Athilmer. Some other Cologne realists who return to St. Andrews and influence Scottish academics during the latter half of the fifteenth century are: Archibald Whitelaw, Duncan Bunch, David Crannoch, Thomas Leitch, Adam Hepburn and Thomas Baron.⁴³

The dominant position taken in Scottish academia by the Cologne realists during the 1450s is reaffirmed when they also appear at Glasgow. Bishop Turnbull, who had also studied at Louvain in 1430, followed Kennedy's example at St. Salvator's College and recruited returning realist academics when Glasgow University was founded in 1451. Once again the Cologne influence is easily identifiable in the first principal of Glasgow University, Duncan Bunch. It seems likely that he was specifically chosen to model the new institution along the lines established by Bishop Kennedy and Athilmer at St. Andrews. In addition, the presence of Alexander Geddes, a Cistercian monk who

had been at Cologne with John Athilmer Sr. in 1429, as the second most prominent master at Glasgow University's foundation, confirms the existence of an important early neo-realist influence.⁴⁴

When Bishop Turnbull died in 1454, his successor, Andrew de Durisdeer, continued the realist tradition. He may even have been one of the figures who continued the Cameron/Turnbull Glasgow tie with realist progressivism since de Durisdeer, in 1436, had been the first Scottish student to return to Paris after the end of the English occupation and later was on the original governing council of Glasgow University. It may also be important that after completing his studies, this Scottish magister had spent time in the service of the future reformer of Paris University, Cardinal d'Estouteville, which would certainly have provided an additional introduction to academic progressivism.⁴⁵ Also on that first Glasgow University council was William Elphinstone who had studied at St. Andrews and Louvain with Kennedy and Turnbull and now became first dean of the Arts Faculty.⁴⁶

The importance of this generation of realist academics to church politics in Scotland is made clear by a papal bull of 1459, in which Pope Nicholas appointed Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, Bishop Durisdeer of Glasgow and John Athilmer to restore Thomas Livingston's prebend of Kirkinner.⁴⁷ Thus, the chancellors of St. Andrews and Glasgow universities and the vice-chancellor of St. Andrews University receive papal authority to provide for a fellow realist. The fact

⁴⁴ Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow University, 1451-1577, 73, 416.

⁴⁵ Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 501; Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow University, 10.

⁴⁶ Reussen, Matricule, i, 49:20; see Appendix under Louvain; Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow University, 412.

⁴⁷ Shaw, Livingston, 134; CPR, xi, 379-381.

that each of these figures except Athilmer have court positions shows how they were also positioned to influence state policy.⁴⁸

Livingston is perhaps the most interesting of these since this former political and religious outcast appears as 'intimate confessor and councillor' to James II. Certainly from his position as royal advisor and councillor, he was well placed, along with Kennedy and de Durisdeer, to have played some role in the rise of a "Cologne party" in the court of James III. Livingston's experience would have made him a natural advisor to the queen so that he may well have acted as a sponsor for former continental associates at court since he did not die until sometime before 8 April 1460.⁴⁹

Similarly, the international experience of other realist academics and former Conciliarists made them logical choices for foreign embassies and negotiations. During the 1450s many of those individuals who had formerly been purely academics, begin to appear as members of official parties who are sent to France and England. An important example of this is Archibald Whitelaw, who travels with an emissary to England in 1457 as clerk of St. Andrews diocese.⁵⁰

With regard to the connections between Scandinavia and Scotland at the time of the Reformation, which is one of the main elements of this discussion, it is perhaps more than mere coincidence that just when the realist academics began to play a role in Scottish politics, Scotland was increasing its connections with the continent and with Denmark in particular. In November 1457, Hugh Douglas, archdeacon of

48 Indeed it seems that most ecclesiastical officials and clerical officials of state after 1450 also appear as continental students with some contact to neo-realist progressivism, see footnotes to Appendix C.

49 Shaw, Livingston, 134.

50 Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, [CDS], iv, 1280, 1281.

St. Andrews; Sir William Monypenny; John Kennedy, provost of St. Andrews; Robert Pattilok and master George Monypenny were sent as ambassadors to the king of France to deal with several matters including the neglected tribute which was owed to the Norwegian king for Orkney, Shetland and the Western Isles. This collection of individuals illustrates how emissaries were often selected since Douglas, Kennedy, and George Monypenny had only recently returned from Paris University.⁵¹ The fact that a John Monypenny had been at Louvain with Kennedy in 1430 and a James Monypenny had matriculated at Cologne in 1452 adds to the impression that Sir William may have been chosen because of the international contacts and experience which members of his family had obtained as continental students.

Negotiations on the Norwegian claim stretched on through the summer of 1459 and William Monypenny and James Kennedy returned to Scotland. In September, Bishop Kennedy and the duke of Albany sailed from Scotland authorized to settle the disagreement as they saw fit. When Kennedy was detained in Bruges by sickness, it was Sir William Monypenny and Patrick Folkart who presented the proposal that a marriage between a Danish princess and the Scottish prince could settle the problem.⁵² However, the reluctance of Christian I to give up his claim to the Scottish isles preserved the deadlock until tragic events in Scotland temporarily ended the negotiations in 1460.

The realists in the minority government of James III

When James II was suddenly killed during the bombardment of Roxburgh castle in August of 1460, few provisions had been made for

51 Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 875,901, 914; see Appendix under Paris.

52 Dunlop, Kennedy, 199-200.

the government of Scotland in the event of his death. With the senior prelate of Scotland in France, the country ruled by a seven-year-old boy and the Scottish host in England, naturally upset and disorganized by the loss of their king, the political situation was uncertain. However, Scotland was fairly fortunate in this minority, in that the government had been left in the hands of a balanced group of experienced individuals who were too powerful together to allow a lesser power group to develop, and too evenly matched to dominate each other. It is probably this equality rather than the leadership of any one person, such as Mary of Gueldres or James Kennedy, which accounts for the success and stability of this minority government.

Most of the leading figures of the minority court of James III had established themselves and gained position well before the death of James II. Among the most prominent of these were: Archibald Stewart, Lord Avandale and Chancellor; Lord Darnley, a royal cousin; the earls of Argyll and Crawford; and the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Brechin.⁵³ When the need for a regency arose in 1460, the seven individuals selected were: the queen mother; James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews; Andrew de Durisdeer, bishop of Glasgow; the earl of Angus; the earl of Huntly; the earl of Argyll; and the earl of Orkney.⁵⁴ Thus at least four of the Council of Regency, along with the Chancellor, were part of the old guard.

It is this continuity within the court which prevented the beginning of James III's reign from suffering the disorganization which characterized the minority reign of James II or James V. When the regency council agreed to formally place the young king in the

53 Register of the Great Seal of Scotland [RMS], ii, 134-186.

54 Bishop Leslie's Historie, Bannatyne Club, 33.

care of his mother, a skilled politician in her own right, it was almost certainly with the intention of preserving the stability which already existed. Mary of Gueldres on her own, since she was a foreigner and lacked family connections, would probably not have been able to dominate the early years of her son's rule and to freely appoint her own supporters to court office.⁵⁵ There is also little evidence that any of the established political figures supported her, since no family other than the Kennedys rise in status or position during the 1460s.⁵⁶ Certainly no 'new' family rises to prominence until the Boyds do so after the death of Bishop Kennedy.

This once again brings into question the argument for the predominance of Mary of Gueldres during this period, which seems to be based largely on the fact that Bishop Kennedy was abroad at the time of James II's death and did not play a role in appointing any key figures in the new court. However, while it must be conceded that it is not known precisely when Bishop Kennedy returned to Scotland in the winter of 1460-61, his mere absence would certainly not relegate him from Scottish politics.

It must be remembered that in addition to his being the senior representative of the church in Scotland, Kennedy was also one of the leaders of a strong French party in Scottish politics, and a cousin of the king. In addition, no bishop of St. Andrews would have left the country without making sure that he had trusted representatives at court. It thus seems unreasonable to say that "it is impossible to ascribe to him a major role in Scottish politics", between 1460 and 1463.⁵⁷ If the officials who surround the king throughout the

55 As argued by Professor Macdougall in James III, 53.

56 RMS, ii, 161-179.

57 Macdougall, James III, 53.

1460s, including those who were supposedly in the Queen's party, are viewed individually, just the opposite seems to be the case.

To begin with it must be remembered that despite the fact that the young king was officially in the custody of the queen mother, it was Bishop Kennedy who was Chief of the Council of Regency. As such he and his representatives were entrusted with the care, and perhaps more importantly, the education of the young king. He must also have had significant indirect influence in choosing candidates for court offices since even if he were overruled by the rest of the Council he would have had the strength of office in both church and state to effectively hinder any candidate he opposed.

Traditionally, court offices were usually filled by members of the landed nobility, however the necessity of having literary and legal skills to fulfil the requirements for what may now be called clerical offices, meant that noble rank was no longer as relevant. Indeed these literate offices were now usually filled by clerics or academics. Thus the influence of the bishop of St. Andrews becomes apparent, since in addition to being senior prelate in the kingdom, he was also chancellor of the primary university, through which the heresy trials of Bishop Wardlaw and Laurence of Lindores had given Kennedy an effective tool in fifteenth-century Scottish politics.

When the members of the court remain constant after the death of Mary of Gueldres, it seems to confirm that it was James Kennedy who was responsible for selecting those individuals who filled the literate offices in this administration. Indeed it may not be a coincidence that almost every one of these office holders during the 1460s had some connection to either James Kennedy, the Scottish university establishment, or the Council of Basle.

Archibald Whitelaw and David Guthrie as court officers

As has already been mentioned, when Kennedy founded the College of St. Salvator in 1450, it became a focus for realists returning from the continent, and with their international experience, it is not surprising that several court officers were now drawn from this group. Perhaps the best example of this is Archibald Whitelaw, who became one of the leaders of the Scottish realist faction during the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

Archibald Whitelaw received his licence at St. Andrews in 1439, which coincides with the short return to Scotland by John Athilmer and the introduction of realism. Whitelaw then retraced Athilmer's path and matriculated as a student of Theology at Cologne in 1440.⁵⁸ Soon Whitelaw also became an instructor and in May of 1445 presented three other Scots, John Athilmer junior, Duncan Bunch and David Guthrie, for their Bachelor of Arts. These three young men can then be used to illustrate the close associations which existed between several of the realist academics.⁵⁹

The most obvious connection is depicted in the presence of John Athilmer junior, who was destined to play a slightly less important role in Scottish society than his classmates even though he too returned home in 1449 and taught at St. Andrews for fifteen years. The fact that the young Athilmer had almost certainly gone to Cologne to be under the supervision of his namesake, who could even have been his father or uncle, illustrates how family connections and contacts tied together some of the continental realists.

⁵⁸ Cologne matriculation rolls, i, 205:113.

⁵⁹ Lyall, Scottish Students at Cologne and Louvain, 61; these family and ideological relationships are reminiscent of those described among the early Scottish supporters of the Reformation a century later, see Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, 84-7

More important from the academic perspective is Duncan Bunch since he became a leading figure among the second generation of Scottish realists. After determining under Whitelaw in 1445 he went on to receive his licence two years later (again with John Athilmer junior), from another former student of Athilmer senior, Thomas Baron. Soon afterwards Bunch also returned to Scotland and joined his Cologne colleagues at St. Andrews. In 1451, Duncan Bunch became the first principal at Glasgow University and served as the primary lecturer there for more than twenty years.⁶⁰

David Guthrie, on the other hand, illustrates an alternative path open to the Scottish realists, when after determining at Cologne in 1445 he transferred to Paris, which had once more become popular among Scottish students two years before.⁶¹ Paris had rebuilt her reputation after the English wars along the realist lines which had been established by Johannes Novo Domo a quarter century earlier. This was the same realist period (with many of the same masters) which had influenced Andrew de Durisdeer, when he had studied there in 1436 and 1437.⁶² The academic connection between Paris and Cologne is interesting politically since de Durisdeer, Whitelaw and Guthrie all play important roles in the court of James III. It is also interesting academically since, when St. Salvator's College was established, David Guthrie joined the Athilmers, Bunch, Baron and Whitelaw at St. Andrews and thereby broadened the reputation and continental background of the returning Cologne realists.

In March 1461, possibly before Bishop Kennedy returned to

60 Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow, 412.

61 Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 645; see Appendix under Cologne and Paris.

62 Ibid., ii, 501, 504.

Scotland, Archibald Whitelaw left St. Andrews and was made Clerk Register. One year later he was promoted to the more prestigious office of Secretary to the court of the nine-year-old king.⁶³ This is certainly noteworthy since Whitelaw seems to have had little political experience or contact with the Scottish court prior to his appearance in England in 1457.⁶⁴ On that occasion he was named as clerk of St. Andrews diocese, so it is safe to assume that he was also a close associate of Bishop Kennedy. Thus, in only four years he progressed from being a bishop's clerk to become the senior court clerk and then royal Secretary.

It must be more than a coincidence that Whitelaw's former student, and fellow lecturer at St. Salvator's, David Guthrie, was also appointed to the office of Treasurer in 1461. It certainly seems unlikely that Mary of Gueldres would happily place career academics, ones who owed their positions to her adversary, the Bishop of St. Andrews, in positions of such importance.

It is possible that the St. Andrews lecturers were initially chosen as representatives of a Kennedy family faction. However, the Bishop of St. Andrews died in 1465 and his family was soon replaced by the Boyds. Whitelaw, on the other hand, remained Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal throughout the reign of James III and well into the reign of James IV. Similarly, David Guthrie also remained an important figure and served as Treasurer until 1468, and filled the office of Comptroller as well between 1466 and 1468. He too was not affected by the Boyd usurpation since he served as Clerk Register from 1468 until 1473 and was reinstated as Comptroller for the period

⁶³ Handbook of British Chronology, 192, 196.

⁶⁴ CDS, 1280, 1281.

1470 to 1471.⁶⁵ Both Whitelaw and Guthrie must have been competent and free from party connections to remain in office despite political shifts and royal retribution. This is unusual since control of purse and seal often indicated who controlled actual power. However, in the years before the end of the reign of James II and during the early minority of James III, it is difficult to identify the realists from Cologne and St. Andrews with any of the established family political factions. Instead it seems that the realist academic members of the court develop into a faction of their own which is largely independent of great family politics.

Why did this new political grouping develop? Perhaps the ruling families required the services of respected and educated individuals who had no direct obligation to any established faction. It may also be that the recent schism in the church had caused an interruption in the tradition of placing sons of great families into church positions, so that benefice acquisition was now more important for family factions. A third possibility is that some of the rising families had been influenced by returning scholars from Cologne and had followed the factional shift within the Scottish Church of the 1450s and thereby become associated with the realist academics. In the end, all of these options seem to have played a part.

Associates of the realists? - the Lindsay family

By the beginning of the reign of James III, the dominance of the Livingston and Crichton families during the 1430s and 1440s had almost disappeared. James II had also brought down the Boyd family, and the Lord of the Isles, and had alienated or destroyed most of the

65 Handbook of British Chronology, 196, 190.

Douglasses. Not surprisingly, a new group of family names begin to appear in court documents, of which the most important are Lindsay, Erskine, Campbell and Gordon. Interestingly, Lindsays, Erskines and Campbells also appear among the Reformers a century later. Of these, the one which seems most likely to have had an early connection to the Cologne realists is that of Lindsay, earl of Crawford, which was attempting to make a reappearance after a combined royal and church suppression of the 1440s.

The matriculation rolls of the universities of Europe during the fifteenth century list an impressive number of Lindsays. It is not possible to identify many of them with certainty, but those who can be traced in Scotland often have a close affinity to the Lindsay earls of Crawford. Some such as Alexander (1409), James (1403), and David (1445), who all studied at Paris, are related to the first or second degree. When this family returns to prominence in the reign of James III, it is all the more intriguing that perhaps the most interesting of the Lindsay matriculants during the 1450s can probably never be confidently identified.

In March of 1455, the matriculation roll of Cologne University lists "Walterius Lindizae de Scotus and Jacobus Lindizae de Scotus", consecutively.⁶⁶ In 1456 these same individuals reappear at Paris as "Fratres (Walterus Lindesay, nobilis, dyoc. S. Andree and Jacobus Lindesay, nobilis, dyoc. S. Andree)".⁶⁷ These two 'brothers', who may have been influenced, and possibly even trained, by returning Cologne scholars, matriculated at the great realist centre just when Scottish students seem to be decreasing at that University (there

⁶⁶ Cologne matriculation rolls, i, 264, Nos. 16 & 17.

⁶⁷ Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 910.

were only twenty eight matriculants between 1448 and 1460 compared to sixty five in the previous decade). However, when they transferred to Paris in the following year they seem to have been imitating an example set by David Guthrie and several others during the previous decade.⁶⁸

The fact that they are listed as 'nobilis' at Paris in 1456, initially seems to make identification quite straightforward since the second and fifth sons of the third earl of Crawford are also named Walter and James and would have been in their twenties.⁶⁹ However, other records and circumstances in Scotland show that these cannot be the same individuals. For instance, James Lindsay of Crawford accompanied Princess Eleanor Stewart, sister of James II, to Austria when she married Duke Sigismund, and afterwards married a noblewoman from Augsburg.⁷⁰ Since Eleanor was married in 1449, it is unlikely that this James Lindsay would enter Cologne University six years later and then continue on to Paris and possibly Louvain.⁷¹ Similarly since his brother Walter was now second in line to the earldom after the death of their father in 1445, he was probably still in Scotland. However, this does not eliminate the possibility of a link between the Lindsays of Crawford and the Cologne realists.

It is probably more than a coincidence that there was also a David Lindesay 'de Scocia, filius comitis Crawfordie' who determined at Paris in 1445 under Albert Scriptoris.⁷² It may be significant

68 See Paris Graph, p. 25a.

69 Scots Peerage, ed. J. Balfour Paul, iii, 20.

70 Lindsay, Lives of the Lindsays, i, 133.

71 Louvain matriculation rolls, ii, 48.

72 Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 48.

that Albert Scriptoris, who played a major role in restoring the German nation at Paris University, also had a reputation as a realist scholar which had been spread by his being a procurator and official of Paris University during its involvement with the Council of Basle during the 1440s.⁷³ When he was a student at Paris, Scriptoris was a contemporary of Andrew de Durisdeer, future bishop of Glasgow, and it is interesting that both had been presented by Robert Esschinc of Wallis, who had studied at Louvain circa 1430.

However, despite these intriguing academic connections the only certain fact which can be drawn from the previously mentioned 1455 entry in the Cologne records is that there are two Lindsays, later entitled "nobilis", who study at the two primary realist centres on the continent. To this we can add the observation that Walter and James were common Christian names among the third earl of Crawford's descendants, so that they may well have been close relatives. It is also likely that just as James II would have been looking towards developing the opportunities that his new family tie to the continent offered, so too would the Lindsays naturally be expected to follow his lead and increase their own contacts with the continent.⁷⁴ It therefore seems worthwhile to look for additional interaction between the Lindsay family and the Cologne/Basle/realist faction.

The first certain connection can be traced back to 1434, when Ingeram Lindsay, precentor of Moray and future bishop of Aberdeen,

73 Keussen, Matrikel, iii, Ntr. 555; see Appendix under Cologne.

74 It is interesting to wonder when the news of the death of the third earl of Crawford, and of his body being left on the field of battle because of his having been excommunicated by Bishop Kennedy, reached Paris, since in the same year that David Lindsay determined (1445), Johannes Kennedy 'nepote Jac. Kennedy', is also listed among the determinates at Paris; see Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 615 and Appendix.

was incorporated at Basle on the thirteenth of August.⁷⁵ Ingeram Lindsay seems to have been a member of the Lindsays of Crawford, and was probably an illegitimate son of the first earl.⁷⁶ He would have started his student life during the nominalist period in Scotland and was granted a provision to the vicarage of Monkton in Ayr in 1416. Lindsay must have remained in good standing with the nominalists at St. Andrews since in 1421 he was sent to Rome as a procurator for Bishop Henry Wardlaw.⁷⁷

After apparently failing to secure a position for himself in Rome, Ingeram seems to have gone back to his university studies, possibly in Italy. He received his licentiate in law before 1430 and may have been influenced by the Conciliar movement although he was still an agent for Alexander Lindsay at curia in 1433.⁷⁸ By the middle of 1434 the Council of Basle was slightly in the ascendancy so it is not surprising that Ingeram Lindsay would try there as a source of benefices. Once again though he does not find things going his way since one of his first actions was an unsuccessful appeal for a Glasgow canonry which was also claimed by William Turnbull.⁷⁹

It is not known exactly when Ingeram Lindsay left Basle, but by August 1435 he seems to have held the degree of D. Dec., so he may have returned to Italy. This would have enabled him to have reopened his appeals in Rome which seem to have been successful this time since in 1441, seemingly out of obscurity, he succeeded Henry Lichon

75 Baxter, Copiale, 490.

76 Dowden, Bishops, 124-5; Lindsay, Lives of the Lindsays, i, 104.

77 Watt, Dictionary of Scottish Graduates, 347.

78 Ibid., 347.

79 Baxter, Copiale, 485.

as Bishop of Aberdeen.⁸⁰ Lindsay must of course now be associated with the papal party since James Douglas had been provided to that same bishopric by the anti-pope Felix V. His adherence to Eugene and Rome is confirmed when he was one of the four bishops who banned supporters of the Council in 1444. Philosophically, however, Lindsay need not have been an opponent of the realists with which Cologne and Basle had become associated, indeed James Kennedy headed the list of bishops who condemned the Conciliarists.

As a law student in Italy during the 1420s and 1430s, it is entirely possible that Ingeram Lindsay had also been influenced by some of the neo-realist radicalism which had forced the Cologne masters to defend teachings which were associated with Wycliff and Hus. Unfortunately it is not possible to tie Bishop Lindsay directly to the Cologne realists in the court of James III since he died before the end of 1458.⁸¹ However, he is known to have remembered his blood tie to the Lindsay family during his episcopacy and to have worked to restore the position of the earldom. It is the inter-linking between the Lindsays and the Scottish church hierarchy at the same time as Bishop Kennedy was attempting to reform church discipline and modernize the academic approach of the universities, which may have been Ingeram Lindsay's most important legacy.

A second member of the Lindsay family who contributed to the association between the Cologne realists and the Lindsay of Crawford political faction, and one who may have benefited from Ingeram Lindsay's influence, was James Lindsay, provost of the collegiate church at Lincluden. He has been portrayed as a strong supporter of

80 Dowden, Bishops, 122.

81 Ibid., 123-4.

Mary of Gueldres in the minority court of James III; however, it is also possible to argue that his connections to the academic realists and the church establishment were just as important if not more so.⁸²

The early career of Magister James Lindsay of Lincluden is not certain, principally because so many James Lindsays appear in the fifteenth-century records that it is often difficult to differentiate between them. However, during the 1420s and '30s there appear to have been only two James Lindsays who are cited with the academic title of Magister.⁸³ Of these, the eldest of the two attended Paris University as early as 1397 and incepted under Laurence of Lindores in 1401.⁸⁴ Therefore he would have been almost fifty years of age when he makes his only appearance at St. Andrews University in 1425 where he is listed as dean of the Faculty of Arts.⁸⁵ He declines in prominence soon afterwards, which increases the likelihood that the citations for a magister James Lindsay after 1430 refer to a younger man who appears in St. Andrews in 1426 as Baccalaureus, and receives his licentiate in 1429. This James Lindsay would therefore also have been a contemporary of both John Athilmer and James Kennedy.⁸⁶

It was quite common for students to become regents for a time in the universities after they incepted. Therefore it is probably the same magister James Lindsay, now rector of Arbuthnot, who joins magister John Aylmar (Athilmer), vicar of Menmuir, magister William Stephens, and magister Robert Panter in approving the St. Andrews

82 Macdougall, James III, 52.

83 See index lists in the standard Registers and Calendars (most are listed in the Bibliography)

84 Auct. Chart. Paris., i, 790, 827, 837; see Appendix under Paris.

85 St. Andrews Acta, i, 20-1.

86 Anderson, Early Records, ii.

University statutes of 1439 which finally permitted the teaching of doctrines which were not nominalist.⁸⁷

It has also been suggested that he may have been the same James Lindsay who petitions the Council of Basle in 1438.⁸⁸ This is quite possible since this coincides with Scotland's flirtation with the Council and there is no evidence that Lindsay ever actually journeyed to Basle. This petition could also reflect Ingeram Lindsay's earlier attempt to seek a benefice from the Council and it could indicate the influence of Bishop Cameron of Glasgow as well, especially if James Lindsay intended to seek a benefice in that diocese. Certainly a James Lindsay, who is cited as M.A., B. Dec., did become rector of Douglas and secretary to William, earl of Douglas, by October 1444, which was just when the earl of Crawford becomes associated with the Douglases.⁸⁹ During the 1440s this Master James Lindsay established himself more firmly in the diocese and became a canon of Glasgow cathedral.⁹⁰

It is at this point that problems arise in the identification of the Provost of Lincluden since a second magister James Lindsay suddenly appears in the same area. Lord Lindsay believes that the James Lindsay who was at Douglas, remained as a canon of Glasgow until the 1480s, and that another James Lindsay, one of the Coverdale Lindsays, entered the church and became titular head of the nearby collegiate church at Lincluden.⁹¹ However, this does not seem to

87 St. Andrews Acta, i, 55.

88 Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle, 61.

89 St. Andrews Acta, i, cli (n).

90 Lindsay, Lives of the Lindsays, i, 101.

91 Ibid., i, 151-2; CDS, iv, 1256.

adequately explain his use of the title magister, which was usually jealously guarded as an academic title.

For this discussion it does not really make too much difference if this was one individual or two. Indeed if there were two they would have been acquainted with each other since they resided in the same area and were of about the same age. Also, both would have been aware of the arrival of the realists at Glasgow, especially since William Elphinstone senior was a member of both the Douglas and the University circles.⁹² Similarly, Bishops Turnbull and de Durisdeer, must have been personally involved in these appointments since the Bishop of Glasgow was the immediate superior of both the cathedral and Lincluden. Indeed William Turnbull had even appointed his future successor to the provostry of Lincluden in 1448, possibly against the wishes of the earl of Douglas since this same benefice was in his patronage.⁹³

Since James Lindsay of Lincluden became an officer in the royal court in 1461, when a majority of the bishops were either former Conciliarists or tied to James Kennedy's faction in some other way, it is likely that Lindsay was associated with the realists as well. When David Guthrie was relieved from his position as Treasurer in 1468 and was replaced by the provost of Lincluden, it is in the middle of the Boyd period. If James Lindsay supported any family, it would have been the Douglas or Lindsay family political groupings, and would therefore have been mistrusted by the ruling Boyds. Thus it seems as if this is not so much a shift in faction as it was a reshuffle of offices by existing clerical or academic officials.

92 L.J. Macfarlane, William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514, 19-20.

93 Durkan, William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, 24-5.

If Ingeram and James Lindsay(s) provide interesting possible connections between the Lindsay family and the realist academics, the clearest example of interaction between these groups in the court of James III can be found in the person of the earl of Crawford himself. In 1464, David Lindsay, the fifth earl, joins James Kennedy, Andrew de Durisdeer, Archibald Whitelaw, David Guthrie, and magister James Lindsay, provost of Lincluden and keeper of the privy seal, as one of the regular witnesses to the Great Seal charters of James III.⁹⁴

The Earl's presence varies somewhat more than the other regular witnesses; however, this is what would be expected since he would not have been able to avoid shifts in family based political factions. Certainly he is absent from Great Seal charters only when the Boyds dominate the court in the late 1460s. Thus his presence in the court of James III parallels the presence of the most prominent realists and his return to court in 1470 may have been assisted by previous connections with the academic 'party'.

The Kennedys and other West Coast families as supporters of the realists

Other than Kennedy, Whitelaw, Guthrie, James Lindsay and the earl of Crawford, the other semi-permanent members of the court also remain fairly constant. The Great Seal charters show that the only other regular witnesses during the 1460s were: Andrew de Durisdeer, bishop of Glasgow; John Stewart, Lord Darnley; Andrew Stewart, Lord Avandale and Chancellor; Gilbert Kennedy, Lord Kennedy; and Colin Campbell, earl of Argyll.⁹⁵ These ten courtiers seem to have been actually in attendance on the King since they consistently witness

94 RMS, ii, 169.

95 Ibid., 365.

his Great Seal charters and there is enough variety in the witness lists to indicate that their names were not signed as a matter of form. Of these, Darnley, Avandale and Bishop Kennedy were close relatives of the King and had been guardians of the young king in the original Regency Council, as had Andrew de Durisdeer. Lord Kennedy's presence is no surprise considering Bishop Kennedy's personal power, the earlier Kennedy family ties to the royal court and the west coast connections between the Kennedys and the earl of Argyll.

Similarly, Bishop de Durisdeer must be seen in the context of west coast connections as well. Certainly the University of Glasgow and the example of James Kennedy had increased awareness of the opportunities which university education offered among some of the west coast families. The lists of students on the continent and at St. Andrews and Glasgow Universities through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries make it apparent that the Kennedy, Lennox and Stewart families valued advanced education more than most. The attempts by the Campbell family to assume the status of the lord of the western highlands during this period may also have had some academic importance, since the Celtic lords which had traditionally supported the Gaelic scholars and bards could not have ignored the new Scottish universities.⁹⁶

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It is possible, indeed even probable that the reform movement in the west has a similar pattern of development to the northeast of Scotland. Certainly during the fifteenth century the Campbells and other west coast families do begin to appear more often in the universities and this combined with the Lollards of Kyle and the role of John Carswell, Superintendent of the West and former minister to the earl of Argyll; Andrew Campbell, bishop of Brechin in 1560; and the western supporters of the Reformation during the 1550s and '60s, there seems to be a parallel to the Reformation in Angus and the Mearns which this work concentrates on: see Dawson, "The Fifth Earl of Argyll, Gaelic Lordship and Political Power in Sixteenth-century Scotland", *SHR* (1988), lxvii, 1-27.



The third generation: realism to Humanism

The overthrow and death of James III apparently did not greatly affect the realist faction's position even though many Lindsays, Erskines and members of the west-coast families died in the battle against the supporters of the young prince. Some, such as the earl of Crawford, lost their positions in court but were restored to prominence when James IV rewarded those who had remained loyal to his father. Others, such as Archibald Whitelaw, were not so easily replaceable and continue to hold office or at least a place in court well into the reign of James IV. Indeed it may be that Whitelaw played some role in selecting the individuals who were to surround James IV during his reign, much as Livingston and Kennedy had done in the 1460s. Certainly the rising importance of William Elphinstone junior may have been partially due to academic connections.

This William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, was to become the leading figure among the third generation of the Scottish realist circle. Through him it is possible to bridge the fifty years between the establishment of the Cologne realists in the court of James III and the Reformation period, by following the influence of progressive academics into the Humanist era with which Elphinstone is identified.

William Elphinstone junior would have been aware of academic controversy almost from birth, since his father had graduated from St. Andrews during the nominalist domination and had joined James Kennedy and William Turnbull at Louvain in 1430.⁹⁷ Similarly, the Elphinstone family had also experienced the beneficent struggles of the recent schism since William senior had to obtain the livings of Ashkirk and a canonry at Glasgow from Pope Eugene between 1431 and

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Reussen, *Matricule*, i, 49; see Appendix under Louvain.

1437. The fact that Ashkirk was in the patronage of William Douglas, laird of Drumlanrig and Hawick, during the supposed alliance between the Lindsays, Douglasses and the Conciliarists, is also interesting.⁹⁸

At Aberdeen, Bishop Elphinstone's precentor was one Archibald Lindsay, who had been an associate of his when he had been an official in Glasgow diocese. Also his archdeacon at Glasgow had been a James Lindsay, who may have been the same James Lindsay who was at Cologne and Paris in the 1450s.⁹⁹ The presence of several Lindsays in the Aberdeen cathedral probably reflects the influence which the earl of Crawford had within that diocese, particularly after Ingeram Lindsay became bishop. Indeed an association between Elphinstone and the Lindsays may even explain his translation to Aberdeen.

Academically, the bishop of Aberdeen must have had much the same philosophical background as the previously mentioned Lindsay students since he was one of the earliest students at the University of Glasgow. Elphinstone was certainly trained as a neo-realist since it was Duncan Bunch who presented him for his baccalaureate in 1459, and was leading examiner when he incepted as a magister.¹⁰⁰ From Glasgow Elphinstone went on to Paris and Orleans Universities to study canon law. Thus he provides an illustration of how Scottish academics progressed towards Humanism along with the rest of Europe.

He returned Scotland and became rector of Glasgow in 1474-5, a lord of Council in 1478 and bishop of Aberdeen in 1483. In 1488, when Elphinstone was made Chancellor, it is into the same court in which David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, is Chamberlain and Archibald

⁹⁸ Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 17, 20.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 207; for James Lindsay at Cologne see p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 22.

Whitelaw is Secretary. It is interesting that in the two embassies to England of which Elphinstone was the senior member, the only court figure who accompanies him both times is Archibald Whitelaw.

Bishop Elphinstone was replaced, along with other supporters of James III, when James IV succeeded in 1488. However, despite this apparent demotion, Elphinstone remained bishop of Aberdeen, a lord of Council and advisor to the young James IV. Therefore, his political position remained secure and he soon returned to prominence, becoming Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1492. This combined with his position in the academic community as founder of Aberdeen University to establish him as the leader of the realist academic political faction.

When William Elphinstone set about establishing the University of Aberdeen in 1495, he already had a background which could provide a strong foundation for developing a blend of the realist Scholastic tradition with Humanism. His bringing of Hector Boece to Aberdeen as first principal of that University shows his support for progressive academics and also provided an important Scottish connection to the foremost of the continental Humanists, Erasmus of Rotterdam.

The reunification of the church in 1449 had allowed the realist academics, who had previously been viewed with suspicion as possible Hussites or Conciliarists, to come into their own and dominate most Western European universities. By the 1470s, when Elphinstone was at Paris, there were even attempts to restrict a revival of nominalism there. In 1474 Louis XI went so far as to publish a royal ban on nominalism.¹⁰¹ However, academically it was no longer a question of nominalism versus realism. Instead, a new confrontation began to develop between the established teachings of the medieval Scholastics

¹⁰¹ Durkan and Kirk, *Glasgow*, 78, 113.

and the radicalism of the modern Humanists. It is this continuity of progressivism and of forward-thinking masters and their students which the Humanists share with the Cologne neo-realists.

The idea of a radical academic tradition is not as far-fetched as it may appear. Students studied their masters as much as they did their lessons. They not only copied the lectures which the master had copied from his mentor, but they also often copied his academic methods and philosophy. Since they copied the master as well, the teaching of a controversial approach could easily reflect itself in the career of the student. Thus, a progressive student who was at Paris in 1410 could study with the students from Prague and Johannes Novo Domo, go on to teach at St. Andrews in the 1420s, and influence students who follow the rise of realism and go on to Cologne and Louvain. This second academic generation then returns to Scotland and parallels the neo-realist revival at Paris. Their students in turn go on to study on the Continent in the 1470s and return with the burgeoning ideas of Humanism and so on into the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER TWOHUMANISM AND THE BIRTH OF THE REFORMATIONScholasticism, Humanism and Humanist Reform, 1488-1528**The rise of the Humanists in the reigns of James IV and James V**

The twentieth century historian Joseph Lortz, in his analysis of the intellectual life before the Reformation in Germany, relates approximately the same message as Knox when he stresses the close connection of the Renaissance with the Middle Ages. However he qualifies this perception by differentiating between the pagan Humanism of Italy with its rejection of Scholasticism, and its more academically critical, Lorenzo Valla influenced, German derivative. It thus becomes possible to explain the coexistence of Scholasticism and Humanism in the Northern European universities at the end of the fifteenth century. This could be an important distinction to make in Scotland as well since as Lortz relates, "In Germany the older humanism exhibited (in harmony with the coexistence of scholasticism and humanism in the schools and in some universities) a prevalent tendency to join forces with the *via antiqua* of the realists."¹ This interpretation seems to lend itself to the Cologne-influenced Scottish academic world at the beginning of the sixteenth century as well.

As has already been briefly mentioned there was a high degree of consistency in the 'literate' or clerically held offices through the reigns of James III and James IV. This is particularly true for the office of Secretary with Archibald Whitelaw remaining in that office for more than thirty-one years and then being uneventfully

¹ Lortz, The Reformation in Germany, i, 60-2.

replaced, first by Richard Muirhead, a relative of the former bishop of Glasgow, and then by Patrick Paniter. Similarly, Sir William Knollis, preceptor of Torphichen, returned to the office of Treasurer after an absence of eighteen years, and thus provides another link between the educated courtiers of the 1460s and those of the 1490s.²

This association is strengthened by the academic connections of these office holders. Richard Muirhead, for example, studied at Paris with the future bishop, William Elphinstone, during the early 1470s and then went on to become a master at Louvain in 1475 before returning to Scotland and becoming dean of Glasgow diocese.³ The academic background of Sir William Knollis is not as clear, but it seems quite likely that he may have encouraged a namesake to study at Paris in 1480-1. There is also a William Knowles, possibly the Paris student, who studied at Louvain in 1475.⁴ Since these students were compatriots of Muirhead, an academic association between these young scholars and Archibald Whitelaw cannot be dismissed.

Also at Paris in 1483, dom. David Hwm (Home), nobilis, was received as a baccalaureate, before proceeding to his licence in 1485 and becoming procurator of the German nation in 1488.⁵ Since he is probably related to Lord Home, the Chamberlain, this individual may have been guided by Whitelaw as well. Certainly the old Cologne

2 Handbook of British Chronology, 182-93.

3 The study of Civil and Canon Law on the continent may have been an important conduit for the transmission of Humanism to Scotland. Certainly the Italian Renaissance was associated with the rise of the legal profession from the thirteenth century. [Nauert, Age of Renaissance, 85] The legal training of James Kennedy (see above p. 28n), William Elphinstone, Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, etc., should be considered with this in mind.

4 See Appendix for Paris and Louvain.

5 Auct. Chart. Paris., iii, 541, 576; see Appendix under Paris.

neo-realist remained the senior academic in court until the rise of Bishop Elphinstone.

When Patrick Paniter succeeded Richard Muirhead as Secretary in 1506, and was then joined in court by his royal student, Alexander Stewart, archbishop of St. Andrews, who became Chancellor in 1510, the predominance of continentally influenced academics of the realist tradition seemed assured. No one, however, could have foreseen the imminent tragedy at Flodden when suddenly, with the king and the archbishop of St. Andrews slain and the peace of Scotland imperilled by the loss of much of its nobility, there was a great demand for educated officials and for ambassadors to manage Scottish affairs at home and abroad, which could not be easily filled.

Into this void moved young academics who were chosen largely by Bishop Elphinstone and Patrick Paniter. It was principally these individuals who were destined to play important roles in Scottish political and religious life during the first twenty-five years of the continental Reformation period. It is therefore worth taking a closer look at Humanism in Scotland, which is often associated with Elphinstone, during the 1490s and early 1500s.

The Paniter family and the rise of the Humanists in Scotland

It has already been suggested by others that there may have been a Humanist tradition in the office of Secretary.⁶ However, there also seems to have been a similar association between this office and the north-east of Scotland, or more particularly, Angus and the Mearns. The clearest example of this, and one which bridges the realist academics with the Humanists, are the Panters or Paniters

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Brown, (ed.), Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, 194.

of Montrose.⁷

It seems that during the early years of the fifteenth century the Paniters pursued church livings almost as a family profession. Unfortunately, this resulted in a great frequency of Paniter family illegitimacy, so that it is often difficult to determine exactly who is descended from whom. It is probably safe to assume, though, since the Paniter surname is uncommon, that they were somehow related.

An early example of this can be found in the 1420s when a John Paniter made a claim for the vicarage of Kirriemuir, which had become vacant upon the death of John Paniter senior, and in the pursuit of which he was supported by the abbot of Arbroath, Walter Paniter.⁸ This seems likely to have been a case of a son seeking to retain the benefice which had belonged to his father, with the assistance of his powerful uncle. If the political and academic situations of this time are considered alongside the family situation described by this record, then it is interesting to note that this same Walter Paniter, abbot of Arbroath, intended to accompany John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, through England and on to the Council of Basle in 1432.⁹

It is therefore not surprising that the Paniters also attended continental universities and became associated with the realist academic and political factions. For example, it appears that the John Paniter who had appealed for the vicarage of Kirriemuir, then

⁷ The family based power structure of Angus and the Mearns during the Reformation period is the subject of the Ph.D. thesis written by Frank Bardgett entitled 'Faith, families and factions: the Scottish Reformation in Angus and the Mearns' and a shorter printed version entitled Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns. The appendices to the former are especially useful to any study of Reformation individuals.

⁸ Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle, 66-7.

⁹ Rot. Scot., ii, 277b.

went on to matriculate at Cologne at the beginning of 1440 and then, as dean of Dunkeld, to have been incorporated at the Council of Basle in September of that year.¹⁰

This alignment with the realists by members of the Paniter family seems to be confirmed by a Robert Paniter who determines at St. Andrews in 1436.¹¹ He is approximately the same age as the young vicar of Kirriemuir and may even have been a brother or cousin. His entering St. Andrews at this time would also make him a contemporary of Archibald Whitelaw, and it is likely that he too licensed under John Athilmer since Robert is promoted to magister in 1438.¹²

It seems significant that magister Robert Paniter disappears from the Scottish academic scene after he joined James Lindsay and John Athilmer in approving the new university statutes in 1439, and does not reappear until 1446.¹³ This could mean that he too had followed John Paniter, Athilmer and many other St. Andrews realists to the continent during the 1440s. The fact that Robert Paniter was elected dean of the Faculty of Arts at St. Andrews University in the same year that Athilmer returned to Scotland to become dean of the Faculty of Theology could indicate that both were riding a wave of realist popularity.¹⁴ It seems likely that he was indeed one of the leading realist academics since Robert Paniter became bursar at St. Andrews in 1451 and held that office until 1475. In this he almost exactly paralleled John Athilmer's dominant period in Scottish

10 Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle, 66.

11 St. Andrews Acta, i, 43.

12 Ibid., i, 47.

13 Ibid., i, 55, 68.

14 Ibid., i, 74-9.

academics.¹⁵ Even after giving up this administrative post Robert appears to have remained active in the University into the 1490s.¹⁶

The Paniter family continued to favour the academic path to positions of importance since there are three Paniters who study at St. Andrews in the last two decades of the fifteenth century. They are: Alexander Paniter, who matriculates in 1486; John Paniter, who determines in 1490 and proceeds to his licence in 1492; and Henry Paniter, who determines in 1494 and licenses in 1496.¹⁷ The surname Panter or Paniter is still relatively uncommon during this period so it is likely that these three individuals are in some way related. The association between the Paniter family and Montrose may also have been a link with the Cologne realists since James Balfour, bishop of Brechin until 1488, had been a student with Whitelaw and Bunch in the 1440s. The likelihood that these Paniters might have been associated with the academic tradition which had touched John and Robert Paniter in the 1420s is supported by the career of the greatest of the Paniter students in the 1490s, Patrick Paniter.

Patrick Paniter, who was soon named as the royal tutor, was obviously one of those who was selected quite early in his career to fill a clerical or literate post. He may have had some affinity to the royal family, but it has also been said that his Latin fluency is apparent from the court letters of James IV, so it may have been this which brought him to the attention of his teachers and influential educated circles.¹⁸ Certainly Patrick is the only one of the Paniter

15 Ibid., i, ccliv-cclv.

16 Ibid., ii, 236.

17 Anderson, Early Records of St. Andrews University, SHS (1926), 183, 77, 79, 82, 84.

18 McRoberts, Essays, 196; Forbes-Leith, Pre-Reformation Scholars, 6.

students who travels abroad to study, first at Louvain in 1498, and then at Paris University, where he was a contemporary of John Major and George Lockhart.¹⁹ After completing his education in France, Paniter returned to Scotland in 1506 and was almost immediately made Secretary to James IV.²⁰ In this way he continued the association between that office and progressive continental academics which had begun with Turnbull and Whitelaw and would continue on through the first half of the sixteenth century.

When Patrick Paniter and Alexander Stewart set off to study with Erasmus in Italy in 1507 the possible connection between the neo-realist tradition and Humanist study is made stronger.²¹ It seems almost as if it was an intentional decision to train the young archbishop of St. Andrews as a Humanist under the foremost academic on the continent so that he could eventually take over the leadership of the academic party from Bishop Elphinstone. This could even have been a conscious attempt to imitate James Kennedy and place a royal relative at the head of both church and academic administrations.

When the nearly adult archbishop of St. Andrews died at Flodden in 1513, the realist/Humanist political elite, which still looked to the now ageing Elphinstone for leadership, must have expected to lose much of their influence. This educated 'party' or 'faction' for lack of a better word, must have been relieved to find that the tradition which had produced so many remarkably well educated bishops and court officials in the fifteenth century had not died on the Flodden field.

19 Reussens, Matricule, iii, 171; Auct. Chart. Paris., vi, 734.

20 Handbook of British Chronology, 193.

21 Allen, Erasmi Epistolae, i, 55; - this mention of the relationship between Alexander Stewart and Erasmus is particularly interesting in that it is addressed to Hermann von Weid, bishop of Cologne in 1536: see Chapter 8, p. 310.

Erasmus and the path of Humanism in Scotland

When Bishop Elphinstone brought Hector Boece to Aberdeen as first principal of that University in 1495, he formally introduced Scotland (and perhaps more importantly the north-east of Scotland), to the mainstream of the Humanist period of European academic history. The fact that Boece was a friend and associate of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was just emerging as an important academic figure, provided a fresh and vital connection between the geographically somewhat isolated Scottish academic society and the energetic world of the contemporary Humanist academics on the continent.²²

This ongoing connection with the continent at the turn of the century, would later prove to be important since it involved Scots with the Humanist reform ideas, with which Erasmus and his students are associated. Indeed, the first period of Humanist reform has been called the Magisterial Reformation simply because it spread first through the young graduates of German, Swiss, French and Italian universities and then into the communities where they lived and worked.²³ The fact that Scottish students continue to attend continental universities during the first half of the sixteenth century provides a conduit for the transmission of the Renaissance inspired intellectual questioning and innovation to Scotland.

When he was at Paris with Boece, and indeed for many years afterwards, Erasmus of Rotterdam was merely one of a large number of Humanists who were rising to prominence. It was not really until

²² Ibid., i, 154-5.

²³ Williams, The Radical Reformation, pp. xxiii-xxvii; the term 'Magisterial Reformation' is useful in this context in that it also reflects the association between the university magisters and the magistrates of society during this period.

after the turn of the century that he achieved a predominance among his peers, and was sought after by many influential schools and noble patrons as a teacher and figurehead, particularly in the Paris University catchment area, which extended from Scandinavia through the Low Countries to France and included the British Isles. In Scotland, Erasmus was initially best known for his lectures at Paris where he was a contemporary of Patrick Paniter, John Major, Boece and others, and it was probably because of this that Erasmus later became a tutor to the young archbishop of St. Andrews.

In England Erasmus was able to influence an academic community which was normally outside of the Paris sphere, by spending several years teaching at Cambridge (1510-13).²⁴ While there he was an important associate of Sir Thomas More and Wolsey, and influenced the young Henry VIII. This would naturally have added to his reputation in Scotland as well since contacts between Scotland and England were increasing, both before and after the Battle of Flodden.

As Erasmus gradually became more famous in the universities for his academic abilities, his popular reputation also spread due to his writings and commentaries which skillfully criticized faults in the church and in contemporary society, especially Praise of Folly. This would have had particular appeal to many Scottish lairds as they were becoming increasingly literate as a result of the 1496 Education Act.

Thus, for many Scottish and English students, Erasmus was the best known of the continental Humanists and their introduction to the discussions in continental academic circles, firstly because of his contacts with both royal circles and secondly because he had been associated with Paris University and was therefore part of the same academic tradition. However, there were other equally prominent

²⁴ Grimm, Reformation Era, 55-6.

continental Humanists who were contemporaries of Erasmus and who also had some influence on Scottish students.

During the 1490s and the first decade of the sixteenth century, Humanism was introduced to different schools and universities in varying degrees. Probably the most important of the initial sparks of the 'new learning' which was to light up Northern Europe, was brought to Heidelberg from Italy by Rudolf Agricola in 1482. From that ancient university a host of students soon began to carry Humanism across Germany and the Netherlands. As other scholars such as Conrad Celtis, Johannes Reuchlin, Guillaume Budé, William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre also returned from Italy and added further impetus to the Renaissance wave moving northward, pockets of Humanist thought began to appear, first in Germany and then gradually as far afield as Cracow, Oxford and Aberdeen.²⁵

The primary Humanist circles were established in Basle, under Heinrich Loriti Glareanus; at Tübingen, by the historian Heinrich Babel; and perhaps most importantly at Erfurt, where Mutianus Rufus inspired "the Muritanic Host" to condemn mystical beliefs, relic worship and other aspects of late medieval Christianity, including fasts, confession and masses for the dead.²⁶ Certainly this would have played an important role in the education of the young Martin Luther when he studied in Erfurt during this period. Similarly, the effect which progressive Humanism had on the Swiss Reformation is demonstrated by the appearance of Ulrich Zwingli and his future associate, Johannes Oecolampadius, in the matriculation rolls of the University of Basle in 1502 and 1515.²⁷

²⁵ Grimm, Reformation Era, 55, 59, 60

²⁶ Lindsay, History of the Reformation, i, 64-6.

²⁷ See Appendix under Basle.

In addition to these great universities, the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life also began to provide an important focus for this academic reawakening. Founded by the followers of Gerard Groote (Geert Grote) in the Netherlands at the end of the fourteenth century, this nonmonastic group of laymen set out to establish centres of religious devotion which were free from the corruptions of the world. The two lessons which determined the direction of the Brethren were that, "the essence of religion is an inward spiritual communion with God through Christ", and "the only valid test of this inner experience is its outward manifestation in a life of moral rectitude and Christian service."²⁸ In this philosophy lay the beginning of a break with medieval formalism and a platform upon which man could build a new understanding of life and religion.²⁹

It is probably not a coincidence that Rudolf Agricola had been educated at the Brethren school in Deventer before continuing on to Louvain, Paris (1470) and Italy. His return to Germany was to have far reaching effects on Northern European development when the Italian educated master visited his old school in the 1480s and directly influenced the young Erasmus.³⁰ Indeed it is worth noting that many of the Northern European reformers of the sixteenth century, including Martin Luther, also had some connection with the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life or teachers associated

28 Nauert, The Age of Renaissance and Reformation, 70.

29 Recent histories have defined two different views of the role of the Brethren during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in which it is debated whether, as a medieval foundation, they can be seen as contributing to the establishment of the Renaissance in Northern Europe, (Van Engen, Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings, 10, 316). Personally I feel that the ideals of the Brethren of the Common Life do lend themselves to the broad academic developments discussed here.

30 Grimm, Reformation Era, 65.

with the Brethren.³¹

There were several lesser Humanist centres in Germany which also played a role in the spread of the 'new learning' including Augsburg, Nürnberg, Strasbourg and Cologne. Of these Cologne in particular, led by Herman von Busch, provided an academic challenge to the long-established, and now relatively conservative, Albertist and Thomist scholastics.³² This produced a reaction which in turn provoked an increase in the radicalism of the progressives. In this way, Cologne, with its relatively minor Humanist academic circle, plays an important role in the development of the Reformation by laying the foundation for the Reuchlin Controversy of 1510-20.³³

Johann Reuchlin and his confrontation with Cologne Scholasticism

Johann Reuchlin had also studied Greek in Italy during the 1480s and returned to Germany to become the individual who was probably most responsible for making the study of the Hebrew language broadly popular in that land. He too had studied under the Brethren of the Common Life, gone on to Paris, Freiburg, Basle and Orleans universities and eventually been influenced by the teachings of the Platonic Academy in Florence and Pico della Mirandola in particular. It happens that this same Johann Reuchlin was to play an important role in the education of one of the leading figures of the Reformation, his grand-nephew Philip Melanchthon.³⁴ When the Scholastics fought back against the 'new learning' it was probably unavoidable that Reuchlin would eventually

31 Ibid., 77; Hyma, The Christian Renaissance, 40, 225, 260-99.

32 Lindsay, History of the Reformation, i, 67.

33 Nauert, Renaissance and Reformation, 127.

34 Grimm, Reformation Era, 60; Stupperich, Melanchthon, 13-6; CR, i, p. xxv, 5-6, 27-36.

focus the conflict between Humanism and Scholastic conservatism.

In 1508, John Pfeffercorn, a Jewish scholar who had converted to Christianity only three years earlier and was now associated with the Dominican order at Cologne, obtained a mandate from the court of Emperor Maximilian, to seize all 'peculiar' Hebrew books, except the Old Testament. This was supposed to be part of a general campaign against the Jewish minority in Germany which was intended to force conversion to Christianity and reaffirm the Dominican reputation as defenders of Christian philosophy. Reuchlin, who was now one of the most respected scholars in Germany, resolutely defended Hebrew texts in general, saying that while a few texts did contain things which were contrary to Christianity they also contained many passages which were potentially useful to Christian scholars and should be preserved for that reason.³⁵

What had begun as a Hebrew text controversy now grew into an academic confrontation in which Reuchlin was personally condemned by the Dominicans at Cologne for being a Humanist and a layman and daring to defy Church theologians in their teachings on theology. In the end this controversy lasted for ten years and Reuchlin was eventually summoned to a virtual trial for heresy by the theologians of Cologne. As it happened, this disputation was conducted and chaired by the former rector of Cologne University, Thomas Lyle de Scotia. This is an interesting coincidence since this Thomas Lyle, who had studied at Paris before entering Cologne in 1461 and seems to have been a confirmed realist of the Athilmer period, was probably one of the most senior theologians in Europe during the first decade of the sixteenth century.³⁶

³⁵ Lindsay, History of the Reformation, i, 70-1.

³⁶ Keussen, Matrikel, i, 66, 677 (n.).

Reuchlin was initially cleared of the charges of heresy but the attack by the Dominicans at Cologne continued. Eventually, in 1520, the Dominicans did manage to convince Pope Leo X to reverse the decision and make Reuchlin pay the costs of the disputation, which seemed to give the final victory to the conservatives.³⁷ However, an important result of the 'Reuchlin Controversy' was to raise the study of classical languages and Humanism to a more public prominence, and it developed that Reuchlin had become a hero and symbol, both for those wishing to relax the surviving restrictions of Scholasticism and those hoping to reduce the domination of the church establishment.³⁸

Thus, Reuchlin's trial and persecution had almost exactly the opposite effect to that which the reactionary Scholastic doctors desired. The apparent defeat of Reuchlin meant that many of the young students and progressive Humanists now found themselves in open opposition to the established Scholastics. They naturally doubted the authority of the church hierarchy and the Christian purity of the religious orders because they seemed to be obscuring classical works and 'new learning' in general and thereby supporting ignorance. The old desire of the Brethren of the Common Life to correct inaccuracies and reverse the worldly contamination of a supposedly spiritual church, (which is similar to the motivation behind the old Conciliar movement and the Hussite rebellion of the fifteenth century), now developed more fully in progressive academic circles. The feeling that immediate reforms were necessary began to become an important

37 Manschreck, C.L., Melanchthon: The Quiet Reformer, 26.

38 Stupperich, Melanchthon, 14-5; also see "The Apotheosis of that Incomparable Worthy, John Reuchlin", in The Colloquies of Erasmus, trans. Craig R. Thompson, Chicago, 1965. For the impact of the Reuchlin Controversy on Louvain and associates of Erasmus between 1518 & 1521, a period of Scottish presence at Louvain, see Vocht, History of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550, 418-469.

issue with the second generation of Humanists in Germany largely because of the polarization which followed the Reuchlin Controversy. Indeed, Humanism provided much of the academic justification for the ideas of the early reformers, as was explained by Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon in 1523 in their treatise "Die Bedeutung der humanistischen Studien für die zukünftigen Theologen".³⁹

The effect of the Reuchlin Controversy on Scotland

If the Reuchlin Controversy can be seen as having had some influence on the German Humanists then a glance at the matriculation rolls for Cologne University during this period suggests that this dispute might have had a similar effect on students from Scotland. It is quite apparent that Scotland, and especially the educated members of Scottish society, could never have been ignorant of what was being discussed at Cologne since there are at least seventeen Scottish students who appear in the Cologne matriculation rolls during the Reuchlin Controversy (1512-1520), and another sixty at nearby Louvain. To this number must be added members of the various religious orders, such as the Dominicans and the Cistercians, who continued to send students to their own schools in Cologne.⁴⁰

Also, it is significant that a large proportion of the students who are known to have been at Cologne during this period are from those areas of Scotland which experienced the first influx of the Reformation one generation later, with at least six of them being identifiable with Dundee. One of these students even provides some

39 Luther Taschenausgabe, ii, "Glaube und Kirchenreform", 171-76.

40 Lyall, R.J., "Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth century", Innes Review, xxxvi (1985), 56. See also Appendix under Cologne and Louvain.

evidence that the Reuchlin episode may have influenced some of the early Scottish Humanist Reformers and therefore affected the course of the Scottish Reformation.

In 1515, the matriculation roll for Cologne University includes the name of one Thomas Forrayt.⁴¹ If we assume that he remained at Cologne and received a degree approximately three years later, this would place him right in the midst of the Reuchlin Controversy and also put him in Germany for the beginning of the earliest Lutheran period. He may even have stayed a while longer since he next appears in Scotland at about the same time as the trial of Patrick Hamilton in 1528. This trial and execution may have affected Forrat directly since in the 1530s he too became an open exponent of reform.

Calderwood records that Thomas Forrat, when he was a canon of Inchcolm abbey, took a new interest in the teachings of Augustine and became an enthusiastic scholar of the Old and New Testaments, which is reminiscent of another Augustinian student of the Bible, Martin Luther.⁴² Soon after Forrat was chosen as the new vicar of Dollar he became associated with a small group of clerics in the Stirling area who seem to have sympathized with many of the ideas of the continental reformers. One of these was Robert Logie, an Augustinian canon at Cambuskenneth who was a teacher of grammar and seems to have been a relative of the St. Andrews Humanist, Gavin Logie. Indeed, Robert Logie is cited specifically as having been a close acquaintance of the vicar of Dollar before Logie fell under suspicion and fled to England.

Not long after this Forrat himself was one of those who were

⁴¹ Keussen, Matrikel, 508, 57; see Appendix under Cologne.

⁴² See note 69 on p. 82 for comment on Augustinian Reformers.

condemned for attending the wedding of the vicar of Tullibody. The Pitscottie Chronicle claims that among the principal accusations at his trial were that he did not collect the traditional death dues in his parish and that he read from the English Bible and taught in the vernacular. These were certainly characteristics which indicate that he was, at very least, a Humanist reformer, and perhaps more probably that he was also a supporter of Lutheran reforms. His debate with the bishop of Dunkeld gave bishops in general the image of being virtually illiterate, and for churchmen of the Crannoch, Kennedy, Turnbull, Durisdeer and Elphinstone heritage this must have been a painful accusation. The almost inevitable result of this criticism of the bishops was the trial of Dean Forrat for heresy, after which he was burned on Castle Hill in Edinburgh along with two Dominican friars from Stirling, John Keillor and John Beveridge, and Sir Duncan Simson and Robert Forester on 28 February 1539.⁴³

Henry Balnaves, who is reported to have been in Cologne and studied at its schools as a child, provides another example of an early Scottish Lutheran with possible awareness of the Reuchlin controversy.⁴⁴ While it is not possible to actually place Balnaves at Cologne University since he, like John Macalpine, does not appear in the matriculation rolls, his youth would have coincided with the Reuchlin Controversy, the early Reformation era, or both.⁴⁵

The brief surge of Scottish students at Cologne University

⁴³ Knox, Works, i, 62-3; Calderwood, History, 125-9; Lindsay of Pitscottie, The Historie and Chronicles of Scotland, STS (1899), i, 348-50.

⁴⁴ Calderwood, History, i, 128, see Knox, Works, i, 226.

⁴⁵ It seems that Margaret Sanderson (Cardinal of Scotland, 83), is the only author to place Balnaves at the university, which is of course possible, however there were other 'schools' in Cologne.

after 1512 probably reflects an interest in Reuchlin's defence of Humanism against the conservatives of the Dominican chapter, combined with the draw of the Humanist circle of Herman von Busch. It is worth noting that Busch was a fellow student of Erasmus at Deventer and had become a prominent Humanist in his own right at Wittenberg and Leipzig before coming to Cologne in 1507 and may have been a significant attraction for Scottish Humanists.⁴⁶ Certainly when Scottish students again abandon Cologne University in the 1520s, this coincides with the papal decision to reverse the initial judgement in favour of Reuchlin and the formation of an alliance between the magistrates, churchmen and University to repress Lutheran/reform sympathies in Cologne itself.⁴⁷

The execution of two Dominican friars alongside Thomas Forrat, would seem to support the possibility of a Cologne influence on some of the early adherents of the Reformation. The role of the Black Friars in particular may have been quite important among educated Scots given the importance which they placed upon their involvement in academic teaching.

It seems significant that the Dominican school in Cologne was one of the most important religious order schools in Europe. This school would naturally have exposed many members of the order to the rise of Humanism and Humanist reform in the universities. Indeed, initially the Humanists and the Dominican Scholastics would have had much in common since Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas had already demonstrated the importance of studying the works of philosophers, such as Aristotle, in their original form and language. Or as Joseph Lortz relates, "it was precisely the reviled Dominicans (after the

46 Paulsen, Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts, 55-6, 80.

47 See Graph, p. 135. See Moeller, Imperial Cities, 57, for Cologne as the only large imperial city to stay 'incontestably' Catholic.

Reuchlin affair, the Tetzels business and Luther's attacks on Prieras and Hoogstraeten, commonly represented as stupid and hypocritical or even a 'fat, dirty swine') who had maintained a healthy Thomistic open-mindedness, which did not see humanism as hostile but as a fulfillment."⁴⁸ A study of the Dominican order as a whole during the Reuchlin Controversy era could therefore help explain why during the 1530s and '40s, the Black Friars seem to provide a disproportionately large number of martyrs and converts in Scotland.

The Dominican reformation and its contact with Scottish Humanism

At Aberdeen University, the Humanism which had been introduced by Elphinstone and Boece had strongly influenced a young scholar named John Adam or Adamson. It is through Adamson, who was also the first divinity student and theology graduate at Aberdeen, that the new academic alternative to Scholasticism gains an important foothold among the Dominicans in Scotland.⁴⁹ He would have graduated sometime around the turn of the century and must have been seen as one of the best examples of the progressive graduates in the country when he was almost immediately made prior of Aberdeen and then chosen to replace David Anderson as the Scottish Provincial in 1511.⁵⁰ This move may well have been intended to be part of the broad, strict reformation of the Dominican order which had been begun by Thomas de Vio (who is probably better known as Cardinal Cajetan) in the Low Countries several years earlier and which then spread to France, where the reform of the study-house of St. Jacques, in Paris, gives that name

48 Lortz, Reformation in Germany, 62.

49 Boece, Vitae, Bannatyne Club, 92.

50 McRoberts, Essays, 192.

to this reform movement.⁵¹

In Scotland, John Adamson soon proved to be a quite determined reformer in the decade which preceded Martin Luther's confrontation with the established church. So much so that by 1518, Adamson was being considered as Cardinal Cajetan's successor as Master-General of the entire Dominican order, firstly because of his success during the previous seven years, but also in recognition of the "prudence and religious observance" with which his reforming work in Scotland was associated.⁵² Adamson's efforts to replace corrupt, authoritarian scholasticism with strict regular prayer, penance and scholarship compares closely with the equally non-confrontational style of reform which was advocated by most of the early academic Humanist reformers, including Erasmus, Melanchthon and even Luther.

This example of the internal reform of the Dominicans at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it is combined with the moderate Humanist approach to reform which was supported by most of the reformed academics, may well have contributed to the relatively peaceful transfer of power within the Scottish Church which was effected by the reformers in Scotland during the 1560s. Certainly this is one aspect of the Reformation in Scotland which may be more in the German academic tradition than in that of the slightly broader, more extreme and often confrontational Swiss reformers.

In Scotland, the rise of the Humanists first at Aberdeen and then in the hierarchy of the Scottish Dominican order may be part of the reason why there seems to have been a decline in the number of

51 Ibid., 191; The internal reforms of the Dominicans, Augustinians and the Carmelite orders c.1500 seem to play an important, not yet fully understood, role in the first generation of Reformers, see McRoberts, Essays, 209-10; and below n.59, n.98, n.110 and p.147.

52 Ibid., 192.

Scottish students who attend the conservative Scholastic stronghold at Cologne during the first decade of the sixteenth century.⁵³ This connection between Aberdeen and the Dominicans was actually quite strong since John Adamson himself had been a lecturer in theology at Aberdeen, and was one of the founding members of what has been called the "Aberdeen Circle".⁵⁴ Adamson and his colleagues at Aberdeen may therefore have been an academic force which drew students away from the North Sea connection to Cologne.

Since Hector Boece mentions five distinguished preachers and professors who graduated from Aberdeen as contemporaries of Adamson and then go on to enter the Dominican order, the Black Friars in Scotland can be seen as probably the greatest beneficiaries of the Humanist teaching which is traditionally associated with Bishop Elphinstone and Hector Boece.⁵⁵ Certainly in a religious order which probably contained no more than 120 members during the second decade of the sixteenth century, including individuals who may have been out of favour after the enforced 1511 reform, the influence of this "Aberdeen Circle" must have been considerable.⁵⁶ It is likely that these Aberdonians would have had an influential voice in determining which promising students of the order would be sent abroad to study. Therefore continental students who are identifiable with the Dominican order become more interesting since they can be seen as protégés of the Aberdeen Humanists and 'descendants' of the Cologne realists of the 1440s, by way of the Elphinstone/Boece progressives at Paris.

53 See Graph, p. 25b.

54 McRoberts, Essays, 194.

55 Boece, Vitae, 92; Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 320.

56 McRoberts, Essays, 234.

The best source for attempting to trace these academic inheritors of Adamson's attempts to reform the Scottish Dominicans, seems to be a 1525 appeal to the General Chapter in Rome for approval of theology degrees which had been earned abroad by Dominicans during this period.⁵⁷ The fact that James Chrichton, Alexander Campbell, James Hewat, Francis Wright, John Macdowall and John MacAlpine, all reappear as reformers during the early Reformation period seems to confirm the continuation of the Adamson tradition.⁵⁸

It is probably safe to assume that not all of the young Dominican scholars of this period would have been receptive to the spirit of the reform started by Adamson in 1511. However, the influence of the St. Jacques reform on even a small number could have been quite important, especially when combined with the effects of the Reuchlin Controversy in Cologne.⁵⁹ Adamson and his Humanist reforms may have encouraged many of the Dominicans to sympathize with the continental reformers from the very beginning of the German Reformation, even though there was not as yet any movement for general church or social reform within Scotland. Certainly in the decade which followed the trial and execution of Patrick Hamilton, nearly a dozen Dominican friars can be identified as supporters of reform, and several become outright followers of Luther.

It is interesting that by 1560, the Dominicans in Scotland

57 Ibid., 200; Moir Bryce, "The Black Friars of Edinburgh", Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, iii, 37; Reichert, Acta Capitulum Generalium, iv, 206.

58 The whole list reads: James Crichton, Alex. Campell, Alex. Barclay, Alex. Lawson, James Hewat (Cheuvot), Francis Wright (Carpitarius), John MacAlpine (Mackap), John Macdowell (Makderod) and James "Pryson".

59 The Scottish Dominican involvement with St. Jacques may have been important since they are later called 'Jacobins'. Ross, "Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 1481-1560", IR, xx (1969), 12.

had lost approximately one third of their number of a half century before.⁶⁰ This was the sharpest decline of any of the Scottish religious orders and is probably not what they would have expected to be the result of their earlier attempts at reform. It might be possible to explain some of this decline on the restrictions which a reformed order would have imposed on the casual convert. However, the small number who are known to have openly declared themselves as Lutheran supporters probably indicate the existence of a larger body of Dominicans who continued to follow the reform tradition of John Adamson, only perhaps in a more radical manner and increasingly outside of the naturally conservative established church structure.

The Dominican resurgence at St. Andrews University

The Dominicans, under the leadership of John Adamson, had naturally made the rebuilding of their house at St. Andrews one of their primary goals, since this was still the religious and academic centre of Scotland. It seems important that this refoundation was largely financed by a bequest in the 1514 will of Bishop Elphinstone as directed by Prior Hepburn. Indeed after the disaster at Flodden, the Black Friars must have seemed the most promising force within the Scottish academic and religious communities to continue the reforming and neo-realist tradition of Bishops Kennedy, Turnbull, and Durisdeer, hence the support of the Dominican houses at St. Andrews and Montrose by Bishop Elphinstone and Secretary Paniter.⁶¹

However, while the religious vitality which is associated with

⁶⁰ McRoberts, Essays, 234.

⁶¹ Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 120; Currie, "The Order of Friars Preachers in Scotland", RSCHS, x (1949), 130. See also pp. 56-7 and below for Paniter and Montrose.

the Adamson period was important, there were other motivational forces which would have contributed to the renewal of the Dominican presence in St. Andrews. Certainly for the Dominicans themselves it would have become somewhat embarrassing not to have their Provincial leadership in the town which was the primary seat of the Scottish religious hierarchy.⁶² Their international reputation may also have suffered due to their underrepresentation at the university, given the long tradition of Dominican academic leadership at Paris and its 'daughter' universities and the importance which the order placed on education in general. Since the Scottish Provincial had achieved independence from English oversight nearly thirty years before, it seems that the exception of St. Andrews was probably due to political forces competing within the religious community.

It must have been obvious to all concerned, however, that the eventual restoration of the 'preaching friars' at St. Andrews would provide an important resource for the new college(s) proposed by Prior Hepburn and Archbishop Stewart in 1512.⁶³ Indeed the movement of the Provincial seat of the order to St. Andrews from Edinburgh may have been part of the academic program of Archbishop Stewart since the books of the Provincial were transported to Stirling in March of 1513, five months before the disaster at Flodden.⁶⁴

The presence of John Adamson at the General Chapter in Genoa in 1513 may have been partially connected with this transfer. At the General Chapter in Rome in 1518 Adamson described the progress made in renovating the Scottish province and appealed for approval of a

62 Ross, Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 24.

63 This seems confirmed by the role which Dominicans played in the Archbishop Hamilton's reforms in the 1550s. See below p. 101.

64 Ross, Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 24.

foundation to support five or six Dominican students, quite probably at St. Andrews since John Grierson, Andrew MacNeill and Robert Lile were also approved as 'Lectorates', a theology degree. Certainly by the time Grierson became Provincial in 1523, the Dominicans would have re-established their presence in St. Andrews, just in time for them to assume a leading role in meeting the new threat of Lutheran beliefs arriving from the continent, which Rome had already declared heresy.⁶⁵

As a religious order which had recently undergone a thorough restructuring itself and was devoted to many of the same ideals as the continental Reformers, it would seem reasonable to expect the Dominicans to have played some part in any popular movement towards reform which might have followed Luther's 95 Theses in 1517. However, at first sight contemporary sources indicate that this does not seem to have been the case on the continent or in Scotland.

Scottish Dominican adherents to the Reformation

When Patrick Hamilton returned to Scotland from Germany in 1527, John Grierson, the Dominican provincial who had been one of the "Aberdeen Circle" noted by Boece, and Alexander Campbell, the first prior of the revived chapter at St. Andrews, initially seem to have been strong opponents of reform. Certainly Grierson was one of the judges who condemned Hamilton to the stake, and Campbell is usually remembered for having conversed privately with Patrick Hamilton during his imprisonment and then, after agreeing with much that he had to say about the shortcomings of the church, sealed Hamilton's conviction by revealing this discussion during the heresy trial.⁶⁶

65 Ibid., 12, 14, 25.

66 Knox, Works, 1, 16, 18, 19n; Moir Bryce, "The Black Friars of Edinburgh", Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, iii, 54; McRoberts, Essays, 200n, 201, 281.

Placed in context though, the actions of Grierson and Campbell may not have been as anti-reform as they appear. There is certainly no philosophical reason for the Dominican provincial to condemn the general movement towards reform which John Adamson had sponsored.⁶⁷ Similarly, since Alexander Campbell had studied abroad during the Adamson/Reuchlin period, he would have been aware of the need for reform and may actually have believed in the process of reform.⁶⁸ However, since both were now relatively senior members of the church hierarchy in Scotland, the violence of the Peasants War in Germany only three years before may have made them more conservative and anti-Lutheran. Certainly many Humanists, including Erasmus, were affected in this way, even some of those who had previously supported the reformers openly. This is perhaps understandable since some of the stories which reached Scotland about events in Germany must have seemed quite threatening to the leadership of both church and state, and would only have encouraged ending the importation of Lutheran literature in 1525. Besides, since Rome had defined Lutheran tenants to be inherently heretical, even Dominicans or Augustinians who were sympathetic would have had few options in dealing with Hamilton.

If the actions of Grierson and Campbell now begin to seem almost comprehensible, the Adamson reform tradition would still mean that it should not be surprising that another Dominican friar of the

⁶⁷ An interesting parallel may be found in the life of Cardinal legate Cajetan who was assigned the difficult task of examining and condemning Martin Luther at Augsburg in 1518. This was the same individual who had begun the St. Jacques reforms some two decades earlier. The fact that the Cardinal tried so hard in his efforts to get Luther to recant indicates that the former head of the Dominicans probably still recognized the basic need for reform which the German monk had proclaimed.; see Heiko Oberman's Luther: Man between God and the Devil, 196.

⁶⁸ Knox, Works, i, 19.

St. Andrews chapter, Alexander Seton, who was also confessor to the king, provided the first stirrings of objection to the suppression of the ideas of the Reformation in Scotland to come from within the order. It is not possible to know exactly what inspired the young friar to virtually risk his life, but Alexander Alane, an Augustinian academic who had been one of Hamilton's prosecutors, may have had something to do with it.⁶⁹ When Alane (Alesius) was himself examined for heresy, it was Alexander Seton, who had determined at St. Andrews in 1516 and possibly then been one of the Dominican students sent to Paris to complete his studies, who followed in Alane's footsteps.⁷⁰

In 1532 Alexander Seton used a Lenten lecture series to teach a point of view which resembled that of Hamilton and Alane.⁷¹ When Seton was called before the archbishop to clarify his teachings, he more clearly condemned most of the church hierarchy for its lack of participation in the preaching ministry and seems to have been the first of the reformers to use the "dum doggis" illustration which

69 There may have been an internal reform movement in the Augustinian order which parallels that of the Dominicans. When Luther credits Vicar General Staupitz with laying the foundation for the struggle towards "the betterment of the Church and world" (Oberman, Luther, 144-6, 197) he seems to recognize a school of thought which facilitated 'longed-for' and 'unexpected' reform; Graf zu Dohna, "Staupitz and Luther", Via Augustini, 116-29. The heresy of Alesius, Forrat and Robert Logie in the 1530s certainly seems to support an Augustinian tendency towards reform similar to the Blackfriars, although not formally sanctioned in the same way as that of Cajetan and Adamson (see here pp. 71, 100). For current views on Augustinian thought during the Reformation period see D. Steinmetz, Luther and Staupitz & Luther in Context, and most importantly Via Augustini (1991) ed. Oberman and James.

70 McRoberts, Essays, 200; St. Andrews Acta, 321, 326.

71 Although the condemnation of corruption was not restricted to followers of Luther, the presence of Lutheran ideas in St. Andrews was almost certainly important.; see J. Cameron, "Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation 1528-1552", and G. Wiedermann, "Martin Luther versus John Fisher: Some Ideas concerning the Debate on Lutheran Theology at the University of St. Andrews, 1525-30", RSCHS (1986), 1-12 & 13-34.

Knox later favored.⁷² Seton was also fortunate to escape martyrdom, although not by much, when he fled to Berwick and caught a ship to London, where he became one of the first of many Scottish exiles who were to settle in England during the next decade and a half.⁷³

The religious divergence which had originated with Hamilton and was restated by Alesius and Seton rapidly spread to other Dominican houses. Of these the chapter at Perth seems to be the clearest example since the prior, John MacAlpine, became an internationally known Reformer, of whom more later, and James Hewat, who was a sub-prior, goes on from Perth to the priory at Dundee, where he is given credit for preaching reform and confirming the Wedderburns of Dundee in the Lutheran tradition. Once again both had studied on the continent during the Adamson/Reuchlin period and seem to be included in the 1525 confirmation of degrees.⁷⁴

Another of the Dominican scholars who appeared on the 1525 appeal, and also probably studied at Cologne during the Reuchlin debates, was friar John Macdowell. This must be the same 'Macdwell' who is mentioned by John Knox as one of several refugee reformers on the continent.⁷⁵ John Macdowell, sub-prior of the Dominican friary in Glasgow, appears to have been incorporated in the University of Glasgow in February of 1530, and then greatly paralleled the life of John MacAlpine (Maccebaeus), with whom he is occasionally confused.⁷⁶

72 Knox, Works, i, 47.

73 Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals" in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', RSCHS, XXI (1982).

74 Boece, Vitae, 92; McRoberts, Essays, 200n; see above p. 77.

75 Knox, Works, i, 55.

76 Calderwood, History of the Church of Scotland, i, 69. See Currie, Order of the Friar Preachers in Scotland, 139, for Glasgow.

Like this contemporary, he too fled to England at about the same time as the Straiton and Gourlay trial, and ended up at Salisbury. When Henry VIII turned against the Lutherans in 1540, Macdowell joined Alesius, Maccebaeus, Fife and quite possibly other Scottish reformers in a second migration, this time to Germany and the Low Countries.

The Dominican priory at Sterling also contributed several notable heretics to the Scottish scene during the 1530s. Friar John Keillor and friar John Beveridge who were executed alongside Thomas Forrat in 1539, have already been mentioned. A colleague of theirs at Stirling, John Rough, appeared in the royal court in 1543 as chaplain or court preacher to the Earl of Arran during Hamilton's regency. During this short Protestant period, Rough shared his responsibilities as chaplain with another reform-minded Dominican from Lothian named Thomas Williams, whom Knox praises and refers to as being a man of "reasonable letters". This does not appear to be an attribute which Knox uses indiscriminately so that this could indicate that Williams was one of those who had been influenced by the continental magisterial reformation movement.⁷⁷

It is interesting that the return to court of Angus, Bothwell and several others of the 'English Party', during the governorship of the Earl of Arran, nearly resulted in the Reformation of Scotland in 1543. Certainly this must even have seemed likely when only two days after their return, the archbishop of St. Andrews was arrested and effectively imprisoned for two months.⁷⁸ If James Hamilton, earl of Arran was not exaggerating when he declares that for five years he

77 Knox, Works, i, 95.

78 It is worth remembering that seven years earlier Christian III of Denmark had also imprisoned most of the senior bishops and used the Reformation as a means to increase his power and swell the royal coffers at the expense of the church.

had considered the pope to be no more than a bishop, it seems likely that such ideas existed elsewhere in the 'English' court of the early Arran regency.⁷⁹

Unfortunately for the reformers, this temporary ascendancy of the Protestant supporters was short-lived. Within six months Beaton was once again restored to a leading political position and the religious reaction began. Once Arran decided that the archbishop made a better ally than enemy the reformers were again forced to flee. Soon friar Williams, and later John Rough, who served as chaplain to the Protestants besieged in the Castle of St. Andrews for a few months, joined the ever growing number of Dominicans who travelled south to England seeking refuge.⁸⁰

In 1544, yet another Dominican friar, named John Roger, whom Knox also describes as being 'learned', was seized and put on trial for travelling around Angus and the Mearns, and preaching in favour of church reform.⁸¹ Given the desire of Archbishop Beaton to enforce his will on the lands north of the Tay where his own family interests lay, it is not surprising that this unfortunate friar joins the growing list of Dominican martyrs soon after he was interred in the Sea Tower of the Bishop's Castle at St. Andrews.

A final Dominican who should be mentioned as a Reformer of the 1530s, although he is better known for his activities after 1560 is John Willock. Like MacAlpine, Willock fled Ayr for England about 1535, and then continued on to the continent. There, like Knox, he is later influenced by the Calvinist teachings which were adopted by

79 Donaldson, James V - VII, 64.

80 Knox, Works, i 95 and 105; Lorimer, Precursors of Knox, 189.

81 Knox, Works, i, 119.

many of the Marian exiles and in this way becomes an important source for the introduction to Scotland of progressive ideas of the 1550s.⁸²

The arrest of Friar Roger seems to be a signpost in the shift of factions in the Dominican order. As pointed out by Anthony Ross, between 1528 and the mid 1530s the 'Class of 1525' seemed to be in the ascendancy. However, by 1545 the younger generation were dead or in exile and the now 'old guard' Aberdeen circle returned to control.⁸³ From 1545 to 1559 the Dominican order in Scotland can be seen in a somewhat defensive or caretaking role waiting for a new generation to provide leadership.⁸⁴ This was destined not to be. In the long run though, the Dominican friars, and especially John Roger, may have been quite important in preparing the way for the return of George Wishart in 1544, and through him a new era of the Reformation in Scotland.

What about the Dominicans in Montrose?

John Roger would certainly have depended upon the hospitality of the local landed families during his itinerant preaching, which means that they must have been at least receptive to what he had to say. The large Protestant following which developed in Angus and the Mearns soon afterwards hints that many of the lairds in this area were in some way influenced by the earlier Dominican attempts to reform their order and already accepted the general ideas behind the development of the Reformation. Indeed, the reforms of the Dominican order were probably common knowledge simply because of the proximity

82 See D. Shaw, "John Willock", Reformation and Revolution, 42-69.

83 Ross, Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 34.

84 See below p.101, for Dominican links to Archbishop Hamilton.

and recentness of the foundation of the Dominican house at Montrose. Since the Dominicans were not a monastic order and were therefore part of everyday life, it is likely that more than just a few students in this area were also aware of the Reuchlin Controversy events in Cologne.

For example, John Erskine of Dun would quite likely have been familiar with the discussions taking place within the Dominican order in Scotland, since in 1516, Secretary Patrick Paniter had re-founded the Dominican priory on the north-west corner of Montrose on the Brechin road.⁸⁵ This would have made it a near neighbour to the Dun family home just when the young laird was reaching maturity. Also much of the land which had belonged to the earlier thirteenth-century foundation on that site, had to be recovered by Secretary Paniter from the Erskine of Dun family. Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, uncle and guardian of the laird of Dun after Flodden, tried to 're-recover' these lands in the young laird's name.⁸⁶

There is no record of where the future superintendent was educated, but given the Italian academic background of his uncle, it can be assumed that the education of the young laird must have been taken quite seriously. John Erskine of Dun is not known to have attended any of the established universities, either in Scotland or on the continent; however, since he was considered well enough trained in theology in 1560 to be accepted, first as a minister in the Reformed Kirk, and then as a superintendent who was charged with the examination of other ministers, his basic education must have been quite advanced. It is possible, and perhaps even likely, that

85 RMS, iii, 113; for map see Adams, Celtic and Medieval Religious Houses in Angus, 32.

86 Bardgett thesis, Appendix, p. 535.

despite the lands which were being contested by the Dun family, Thomas Erskine, like Prior Hepburn at St. Andrews, would have seen the academic potential of the nearby Dominican house. Indeed under Adamson the Scottish province had achieved international renown at about the same time the future Secretary would have studied in Italy.

Certainly once the order was re-established in Montrose it provided a source of educated friars which the local landed families would not have ignored, especially since this was the only house of any of the established religious orders which was active in the area between Arbroath and Aberdeen. When the fact that this area around Montrose provided many of the early reformers is combined with the presence of Lutheran, or at least suspected Lutheran, Black Friars at Perth and Dundee, the likelihood that many in the Montrose house were at least sympathetic, seems quite high. Indeed the heretic friar, John Roger, may even have been a member of the Dominican chapter at Montrose, and it is worth noting that Alexander Barclay, prior of Montrose in the late 1520s or early 1530s, and James Crichton, subprior in 1531, were both contemporaries of Seton, MacAlpine, Macdowell and Craig and had been included in the 1525 list of students educated abroad.⁸⁷

The possible influence of the new Dominican foundation on John Erskine of Dun could have been quite great considering events which are known from his youth. Certainly Erskine does not seem to have been overawed by the secular priests of Montrose since he murdered one in the Montrose church tower in late 1529 or early 1530.⁸⁸ This could have been a case in which a young man simply lost control of

⁸⁷ Ross, Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 34.

⁸⁸ Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 62.

himself on one isolated occasion and forgot how serious murdering a priest could be in Reformation Europe, although this seems unlikely since moderation and reason were important characteristics of his later life. Another interpretation is that this was the response of a young man who was already a convert to the reforming party and therefore more easily provoked. Certainly if the age-old competition between the Dominicans and the secular church, aggravated locally by the Montrose refoundation a decade earlier, is considered alongside the academic and political background of Thomas Erskine, who was a Humanist and the first lay Secretary in a century, then this conflict could have had a quite deeply-founded origin.

The proposition that the Erskine of Dun family had maintained contact with the progressive academic world seems to be confirmed by the fact that Richard Melville of Baldovy and John Erskine, apparent of Dun, left Scotland when Cardinal Beaton began a new campaign against the reformers in 1541 and travelled first to Denmark and then to Wittenberg.⁸⁹ Their first contact in Denmark was with Johannes Maccebaeus, or John MacAlpine to them, the former prior of the Dominican friary at Perth, which again may reflect a previous Dominican connection. Maccebaeus then sent them on to study under his former mentor at Wittenberg, Philip Melanchthon, who was a favourite nephew of Johann Reuchlin and a renowned Greek scholar in his own right. The fact that the laird of Dun had established his own Greek teacher at Montrose some years before this, could possibly mean that Wittenberg was actually their original goal.

Therefore, through Johannes Maccebaeus it may be possible to continue to trace the role of the Dominican order in the early reform

⁸⁹ Melville, Diary, 14.

movement in Scotland and to tie the Reuchlin period at Cologne to Greek scholarship and Philip Melanchthon. Certainly this former Dominican prior of Perth does become one of the most important, and sadly one of the most neglected, of the Scottish reformers during the first generation of the Reformation.

Maccebaeus had been personally chosen by Melanchthon and Martin Luther to become the primary theologian at the recently restructured University of Copenhagen in 1542. However, to hold such an important and influential position it was necessary for him to hold the title of Doctor of Theology. This honour was duly bestowed upon the Scottish exile even though he had been at Wittenberg for less than two years. We can assume that he must have been academically qualified for this post even though he does not seem to have ever progressed through the normal academic hierarchy at any university. The only reference to any previous study by Maccebaeus is the entry made upon his arrival at Wittenberg in the university matriculation roll, in which it is stated that he received his Bachelor's degree from Cologne.⁹⁰

Johannes Maccebaeus is not identifiable with any individual name in the Cologne matriculation roll, but since he becomes prior of the Dominican chapter at Perth in approximately 1530, we can assume that he must have been in Germany at about the same time as Thomas Forrat and Patrick Hamilton. It has been suggested that he is the Johannes Makcap who appears in the 1525 list of Dominican theology graduates who appeal to Rome for confirmation of their degrees.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Peterson, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 108.

⁹¹ Makcap does seem to be a likely spelling for MacKalp or MacAlpine, especially considering the later translation of his surname as Maccebaeus. This could indicate that the 'l' was not strongly pronounced; see McRoberts, Essays, 200.

This would mean that he must have obtained his degree sometime before that date and since it usually took at least six years to study for a theology degree, it would follow that he must have arrived at Cologne in the midst of the Reuchlin Controversy. If he did not matriculate at the University, then the Dominican school at Cologne provides a possible alternative, and this would merely have increased his awareness of the academic disputes. It has also been estimated that he was born approximately 1500, which would also give credence to his entering university level studies some time around the year 1515.⁹²

The fact that MacAlpine fled to England in 1534, as a result of the same campaign in which David Straiton and Norman Gourlay were summoned to trial for heresy, and was then closely associated with Alexander Alesius in England and in Germany, makes it possible that he had some connections with the other early adherents of the reform movement while still in Scotland during the 1520s. It is conceivable that some of early reformers joined with a small group of sympathetic Dominican friars and academics to form a broad, though probably still informal, reform circle as early as 1530.

Twenty years after his death, Johannes Maccebaeus was portrayed as a Crypto-Calvinist when one of his former students in Denmark, Niels Hemmingson, was examined by conservative 'orthodox' Lutheran theologians.⁹³ It is doubtful that Maccebaeus ever attempted to conceal any Calvinist beliefs after having been so closely connected with Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg. What is more likely is that he was one of the slightly radical, progressive students of the fifteenth-century realist tradition who had followed the development

92 Peterson, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 1.

93 Ibid., 303.

of sixteenth-century Humanism into early Lutheran reform.⁹⁴ This progressive approach then allowed him to be one of the Lutheran academics who followed Philip Melanchthon's example of attempting to accommodate more radical ideas as they appeared during the 1540s. If he consciously tried to pass this conciliatory attitude on to his students, it seems worthwhile to once again examine the academic tradition which had produced Johannes Maccebaeus.

The international Scottish scholars of the sixteenth century

Scottish academics had built quite a reputation as lecturers and students at universities and schools throughout Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Indeed a Scottish lecturer taught in almost every university in northern Europe during this period.⁹⁵ In the German Nation at Paris University alone, there were at least thirty-five Scottish procurators and over fifty Scottish masters who appear as lecturers during the last half of the fifteenth century.⁹⁶ This in itself may not seem surprising, given that possibilities for advancement in Scotland could be limited. What is surprising though, is the number of Scottish scholars during the first half of the sixteenth century who either teach Greek or are recognized as being accomplished students of that language.

Through this interest in the Greek language by Scottish students, it once again becomes possible to see the neo-realist

94 Alexander Alesius seems to confirm this; McNeill, Alesius, 188-9.

95 Forbes Leith, Pre-Reformation Scholars, 6. An interesting example which has not been dealt with here but who almost certainly bears further research is magister Johannes Gray, who after apparently appearing at Paris (1486) and Vienna (1494), finally ends up at Tübingen (1500) as a contemporary of Gabriel Biel and Staupitz, which makes him a possible influence on Melanchthon after 1514.

96 Auct. Chart. Paris.; see Appendix under Paris.

tradition at Cologne in the 1440s as providing, via the Scottish Humanists of the later fifteenth century, a foundation for the next generation of progressive academics. The only problem with this suggestion is that, at first glance anyway, the connection between the neo-realist Scholastic and Humanist traditions of the western universities of Louvain, Cologne and Paris, and the more nominalist heritage of the southern and eastern German universities, (which influenced Luther), seems a difficult barrier to overcome.

The answer to the question of what it was that unified the progressives of the nominalist and realist schools probably lies in the very nature of Humanism, with its desire for purity and accuracy in interpretations when dealing with original sources, whether in Latin, Hebrew or Greek. For Scottish Humanists of the Athilmer tradition, it would have been quite natural to follow the example of the most famous of the realist philosophers, Thomas Aquinas, who had made the study of Aristotle in its original Greek form the basis for many of his original arguments.

It was probably largely because of the Albertist and Thomist reliance on Aristotle that several talented German Humanists of the eastern nominalist schools, including a young scholar named Philip Melanchthon, also began to study these works in their earliest Greek form. They even considered a joint effort to produce a re-edited version of the original, so that they could illustrate perceived corruptions which were being used by the Dominicans at Cologne and other conservative Scholastics to attack 'new learning' in general, and leading Humanist individuals, such as Johann Reuchlin and Erasmus of Rotterdam, in particular.⁹⁷

When the progressive Humanist reformers of both academic camps

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Manschreck, C.L., Melanchthon: The Quiet Reformer, 37.

found themselves on common ground in their struggles with the now entrenched conservative church hierarchy, Humanist studies provided an important route to intellectual unity. Therefore, through this Greek philosophical tradition and the reintroduction of Greek into northern Europe by Humanists such as Erasmus and Reuchlin, it becomes possible to take the connection one step further and tie the Cologne academics of the fifteenth century to the more progressive Humanists of the sixteenth century, and then to the growing circle of students who begin to gather around a young Professor of Greek at Wittenberg University in far-off Saxony.⁹⁸

This temporary period of unification between the progressives of the nominalist and realist traditions of Germany and France becomes important when, during the 1520s, Erasmus became involved in debates with some of the early reformers about their attacks on the traditions and ceremonies of the established church. This began to cause a fragmentation, and in some cases alienation, among the Humanist academics who had previously been united in their admiration for the most prominent Humanist of them all. After the Peasants War of 1524-1525, when Erasmus declared himself an opponent of the Lutheran confrontation with the Church, he, perhaps unwillingly,

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The fact that Gabriel Biel and Johann von Staupitz, two important Augustinian academics of the pre-Reformation era, studied at Cologne (1453 & 1483) and later became associated with the 'neo-nominalist' faction at Tübingen, provides an intriguing parallel for the Scottish academic tradition. (Obermann, The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and late Medieval nominalism, 11; Graf zu Dohna, "Staupitz and Luther", Via Augustini, 116.) The appearance that the theology of Staupitz was "reformational" and sought to "overcome the old controversy between the schools" may have been crucial to the later appearance of Scottish students of the realist tradition at Wittenberg since Staupitz and Philip Melancthon tied Tübingen directly to Wittenberg. Since both Carlstadt and Luther acknowledged their debt to the theological guidance they received from Staupitz, it seems that through him other Augustinians of the next generation, such as Alesius and Forrat, may also have been building upon this source of recent academic development; Graf zu Dohna, Staupitz and Luther, 120-27.

assumed a position of leadership among the conservatives.⁹⁹ As an academic, his ability was never doubted, even by the most radical of the reformers; however many did not accept his condemnation of social and religious reform and the progressives divided into semi-estranged camps centred on Paris, Louvain, Zürich and Wittenberg.

The arrival of Greek in Scottish academic circles

Latin, Greek and Hebrew were viewed by most adherents of Humanism as being crucial to eventually achieving an understanding of nature and man. The works of the ancient authors were valued not only because of their ability to survive centuries of debate and discussion, but also because in their original form, they had not been corrupted and influenced by the medieval church as had the writings of the church fathers and the Scholastic philosophers. Humanist scholars wanted to reach for a higher degree of purity in their understanding by getting back to their intellectual origins. This meant that then, just as now, reading a work in the original language was valued more highly than using a translation. In this way subtle interpretation could be left to the reader and accuracy could be improved by continued study. In a world where man himself has increased in importance and where the human mind could reveal new truths, knowledge of Greek and Hebrew became almost an identifying characteristic for a sixteenth-century progressive Humanist, hence the tri-lingual schools at Paris and Louvain in the 1520s.

In Scotland, because of the radical and progressive tradition of the Athilmer academic school, it is possible to see neo-realism as the predecessor of Scottish Humanism. It is not at all surprising

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Erasmus-Luther, Discourse on Free Will. ed. E.F. Winter (New York, 1961).

to find that Archibald Whitelaw, the neo-realist Secretary to the courts of James III and James IV, who has already been identified as possibly the first of the Humanists in Scotland, was one of the earliest scholars in Scotland who is known to have had some knowledge of Greek.¹⁰⁰ Indeed it seems likely that Whitelaw had quite a good foundation in the study of Greek grammar, since it is recorded that Whitelaw was able to explain the etymological history of the word 'amnesia' to the English king, Richard III. If John Ireland can also be identified as an early student of Greek, as John Durkan has suggested, then Ireland's contemporaries at Paris provide a possible link between the Cologne/Basle/realist tradition of Whitelaw and Athilmer, and the Humanism of Bishop Elphinstone.¹⁰¹

As has already been mentioned in connection with Johann Reuchlin, Rudolf Agricola (1444-85) is recognized for establishing the study of Greek north of the Alps. His most famous student, Alexander Hegius (1433-98), became rector of the Brethren of the Common Life school in Deventer in 1483 and directly influenced a number of prominent sixteenth-century scholars including Erasmus and Herman von Busch, (who went on to teach at Cologne University between 1507 and the early 1520s).

There certainly must also have been a Greek tradition at Paris in the 1490s since that is where Erasmus of Rotterdam developed his proficiency. This may be in part traceable to a recent arrival from Heidelberg University (where Rudolf Agricola had introduced the study of Greek in the 1480s), named 'magister Jacobi Maetzler de Lindow', who was elected procurator of the German Nation of Paris University in

¹⁰⁰ Brown (ed.), Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, 194.

¹⁰¹ McRoberts, Essays, 289; also see Appendix under Paris.

December of 1490.¹⁰² In his opening inscription as procurator in the Auctarium Chartularii, Maetzler declares himself to be from Lindow, part of the Swabian League and in the diocese of Constance. What makes this minor entry interesting is that he writes 'of the Swabian League' first in Greek and then translates it into Latin. This appears to be the first instance of the Greek language in the Paris University rolls. The potential for this master to have had an indirect influence on Scotland seems quite great since there were at least twenty Scottish students in the German Nation at the time.¹⁰³ One Scottish student of particular interest is dominus Hector Boece, who received his baccalaureate approximately one year later and therefore probably entered Paris University during Jacobi Maetzler's procuratorship.¹⁰⁴ Certainly the presence at Paris of this Greek literate magister from Heidelberg, between 1486 and 1491, would have had some influence of Humanist students such as Erasmus and Boece.

Since two other notable Scottish students of this period, John Major and David Cranston, are both known to have had some ability in Greek and were at Montaigu College and studied virtually in the same years that Erasmus was a master, it seems likely that other Scottish contemporaries, such as Hector Boece, William Hay and George Lockhart, would also have had some exposure to Greek in their study of classical philosophy. Since all eventually returned to Scotland to teach, the

102 This name is spelled variously, with 'Mätzler' probably being the most modern form. In the printed version of the Paris records, however, the 'Maetzler' spelling is the one used for the entry cited here and may be the best contemporary form. There is also a Johannes Metzler at Cologne in 1512/14 who is probably related. He becomes Professor of Greek at Leipzig in 1519 and is cited as being a friend of Philip Melanchthon: Keussen, Matrikel, iii, Ntr. 1572.

103 see Auct. Chart. Paris., iii, 744.

104 Ibid., iii, 722; see Appendix under Paris.

Greek language may well have been present in Scotland as early as 1500. Certainly most of the first half of John Durkan's provisional list of Scottish Greek scholars were members of this Paris circle.¹⁰⁵

This Paris connection during the 1490s seems to be further substantiated by the appearance of James Hepburn as a classmate of Boece at Paris in 1493-4.¹⁰⁶ After he became bishop of Moray in 1516, this same James Hepburn is credited with founding a bursary for training Scottish students at Paris University in the Greek tongue.¹⁰⁷ Bishop Hepburn died in 1524 but it seems likely that he was involved in the establishment of the Humanist circle which developed at Kinloss under the direction of Giovanni Ferreri (Ferrerius) in the 1530s. It is believed that Ferreri lectured on works of Erasmus while at Kinloss and used Melanchthon's Latin Grammar. It seems reasonable to assume that Ferreri would have included the Greek connection as well.¹⁰⁸

Similar to James Hepburn is Alexander Stewart, the young archbishop of St. Andrews who died at Flodden and is also known to have been educated in Greek and studied under Erasmus personally. It seems logical that Stewart's companion and tutor, Patrick Paniter, in addition to being an accomplished Latin scholar, must also have trained in the other dominant classical language, either at Paris or Louvain, and that this was encouraged by Erasmus. When Alexander Stewart returned from his studies on the continent, the study of the Greek language would have received a degree of royal approval and

105 McRoberts, Essays, 289. Another of John Major's 'school' at Paris who seems to have known Greek is Gilbert Crabb; Johnson, "Scots Carmelites and the French Reform" IR, v (1955), 141.

106 Auct. Chart. Paris., vi, 718; see Appendix under Paris.

107 Warrender Papers, (SHS) i, 275-6.

108 Ferrerius, Historie Abbatum de Kinlos, 44.

gained in prestige among educated members of the court circle. Also, the Greek literacy of Whitelaw and the probability of Patrick Paniter also having had some exposure to Greek studies, again raises the possibility of an academic heredity in the office of Secretary.

In 1512, Alexander Stewart, archbishop of St. Andrews, seems about to realize the appearance that he had been groomed as a sixteenth-century imitation of James Kennedy who was intended to lead a new reformation of academia in Scotland. Certainly in April of that year he managed to arrange new funding for the improvement of the Pedagogy of St. Andrews University, and in August he granted a charter for the foundation of a new college named St. Leonard's. This establishment of St. Leonard's College has been described as a political compromise between the imposed archbishop, Alexander Stewart, and his prior, James Hepburn.¹⁰⁹ However, whatever the political goals of these two ecclesiastics may have been, it is safe to assume that both would have seen the benefits of establishing a college in Scotland which imitated the Standonck tradition of Montaigu College since that school had influenced them both.¹¹⁰

Academic development in Scotland, 1525-1560

The general reform of St. Andrews University begun by Alexander Stewart was continued by his successors through the first half of the

¹⁰⁹ St. Andrews Acta, xliii-xlvi. It is important to note that this is not James Hepburn, bishop of Moray, mentioned previously.

¹¹⁰ Johannes Standonck became head of Montaigu College in 1483 and instituted a strict reform program which produced some of the greatest scholars of the age. After his exile from Paris in 1499 he established similar houses for poor students at Valenciennes, Cambrai, Mechlin and Louvain which were all subject to Montaigu College. "...organized almost like a monastic congregation" the foundation of a house in Louvain may have influenced the Dominican reforms of Cardinal Caijetan and the later developments at Louvain University itself. Ijsewijn, Universities, 129, 132.

sixteenth century, although perhaps with differing motivations. In 1525, Archbishop James Beaton sent a petition to Rome seeking the foundation of a new College (St. Mary's). This may have started out as a combined attempt to remedy the obvious shortcomings of the old Pedagogy and at the same time imitate the prestigious foundations of St. Salvador's and St. Leonard's by Beaton's predecessors. However, the renewal of this petition in 1537 probably reflects the necessity to do something about the decline of the Pedagogy and at the same time limit the corruption of the Reformation among the secular clergy in Scotland. The grant of a Papal Bull of 1538 was implemented with the assistance of Archibald Hay, a recent graduate at Paris, but hindered by the death of the archbishop soon afterwards.¹¹¹ David Beaton allowed his cousin (Hay) to continue his efforts to establish the new school in the Humanist tradition of the Royal Trilingual College at Paris until the political and religious turmoil of the 1540s distracted the attention and the resources of the Cardinal.¹¹²

This rather uncertain beginning for what would become the College of St. Mary's was finally stabilized by Beaton's successor, John Hamilton. By the 1550s however, the direction of 'progressive' academic development had altered and become associated with broader reforms deriving from the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. This foundation, however, can still be used as an illustration of how the academic past helped to guide later development.

Archbishop Hamilton is probably best remembered for his attempt to reform the Scottish church from within which is characterized by the publication of Hamilton's Catachism in 1552. The similarities between this and other Catholic reform efforts on the Continent,

¹¹¹ See Appendix under Paris (1530, 1536).

¹¹² Cant, The University of St. Andrews, 34-6.

particularly that of Hermann von Wied at Cologne which went so far as to ask Melanchthon and Bucer for advice, have already been examined.¹¹³ These Catholic reform efforts of the 1540s and 50s, however, were the continuation of the Humanist reform ideas of the early 1500s, and while they might have appeased the Lutherans twenty years before, by 1552 it was unable to prevent the onslaught of Knox three years later.¹¹⁴

The possible authorship of Hamilton's Catechism by Richard Marshall, an English Dominican at St. Andrews, would fit the model described earlier in which the Blackfriars in Scotland had continued the internal reform program of Cajetan and Adamson into the Humanist Reforms of the 1520s; remained progressive through 1540 (becoming involved with Lutheran Humanists such as Melanchthon and Bucer); and then, after coming to terms with Catholic reality, avoid the radical tendencies of Zwingli and Calvin.¹¹⁵ This reasoning, however, while perhaps explaining the trial of Walter Myln in 1556, and the ability of a large number of Augustinians and Dominicans to conform after 1560, would also indicate relative retrenchment within the academic community in Scotland for more than a decade. Where then were the educated middle class supporters of the Reformation finding their ideological guidance? It seems that the secular magistrates who emerge as supporters of reform during the first half of the sixteenth century may provide an alternative introduction to 'progressive', or in this case slightly more radical, intellectual opinions after 1540.

113 Cameron, "Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Lutheran Reformation 1528-1552", RSCHS, xxii (1986), 10; Cameron, "The Cologne Reformation and the Church of Scotland", JEH, xxx (1979)

114 Dickinson, Scotland: from the Earliest Times to 1603, 327.

115 Ross, Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 13, 34.

Some such as Henry Balnaves of Halhill, advocate and Lord of Session by 1538, were members of families with prior connections to the continent.¹¹⁶ Balnaves, who joined John Knox and a number of Protestant sympathisers from Fife in the castle of St. Andrews, is a useful example here because of his education in Cologne.¹¹⁷ However, his compatriots in French captivity afterwards are probably more typical in that lairds and noble families such as Leslie, Kirkcaldy and Melville of Raith would have relied on local educators such as mendicant friars and recent graduates.¹¹⁸

If an academic connection existed behind those of the educated elite who were chosen to fill high secular offices such as court Secretary, as discussed in the first chapter, then it is reasonable to expect some indication of this extending into the middle of the sixteenth century since there is no apparent interruption in the academic 'succession'. Certainly David Paniter, who eventually follows the elder Patrick Paniter into the office of Secretary, is included in Durkan's list of Greeks. Similarly, Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, who was Secretary from 1526 to 1542, studied in Pavia at the peak of the Italian pre-Reformation Greek revival and it is his nephew and ward, John Erskine of Dun, who is credited with bringing the first known Greek teacher in Scotland to Montrose.¹¹⁹

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- 116 Balnaves wrote one of the few Protestant essays written by a Scot to survive entitled, "The Confession of Faith, conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God, thereto led by Faith: with the Declaration of the article of Justification at length"; Knox, Works, i, 226.
- 117 Calderwood, History, i, 128; see above p. 72.
- 118 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, 87. It is unfortunate that more is not known about the education of these early reformers in Fife, however it seems likely that the situation in Angus, as detailed below and in Chapters 6 and 7, would have been similar.
- 119 Hannay, Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs Scotland 1501-54, xxxviii; L. and P. Henry VIII, v, 125.

The presence of Greek at Montrose as early as 1534, may reflect an Aberdeen/Dominican or Whitelaw/Paniter/Erskine Humanist influence on local education in the burghs and countryside in Angus and the Mearns, which could in turn indicate an alternative path for academic development.¹²⁰ This seems to become a viable proposition when we recall that George Wishart was also a student at Montrose in the 1530s. It is reasonable to assume that Wishart must have been somewhat affected by the appearance of a Greek teacher at Montrose since he himself became a teacher there. Certainly his study at Louvain and later visit to Zürich, where he was exposed to Zwinglian ideas, only supports the possibility that he was following in the classicist tradition of Erasmus.¹²¹

After Wishart returned to Scotland, it is no surprise that his primary defender in the Montrose area was Erskine of Dun. So when Richard Melville of Baldovy and the son of the laird of Dun travel to study under Maccebaeus in Copenhagen and Melanchthon in Wittenberg, the possibility of Greek study providing a connection between the Humanist Reformation circles at Zürich and Wittenberg begins to seem even more likely.¹²² The fact that Bucer (a former Dominican) and Melanchthon (a Humanist of the first order), who were compromisers and academics slightly outside of the orthodox Zwinglian and Lutheran circles, were reaching their greatest prominence in the 1540s only adds to this possibility.

120 See Chapters 6 and 7.

121 See Appendix under Louvain.

122 Melville, Diary, 14.

CHAPTER THREE

SCOTLAND AND ITS WITTENBERG CONNECTION

The evolution of the Reformation from Humanism and Philip Melanchthon

The Scholastic attacks on Humanism and Johann Reuchlin had done much to promote a degree of unity among Humanists across Germany by forcing them on to the defensive. This loose Humanist coalition was important in that it temporarily united progressive scholars of the more neo-realist western tradition of Cologne, Louvain, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, with individuals from the old nominalist universities of the east, such as Tübingen, Heidelberg and Erfurt. In effect, the battles at Cologne effectively cleaved the Humanist scholars from established academic prejudices and thereby helped to reduce the effect of existing intellectual and international barriers.

The Reuchlin Controversy also helped to contribute to the ranks of scholars who would be willing to support the reforms proposed by the Lutherans a few years later, by unifying individuals who had many dissimilar reasons to rebel against the medieval ideas and privileges which were also being defended by the conservative Scholastic academics. In this way it is possible to view the progressive Humanists when they were challenged by reactionaries, as following in the footsteps of the fifteenth-century Conciliarists at Basle since both provided an opportunity for the discontented to join forces. This academic world, disrupted by a schism which was soon to cause what is arguably the greatest split in the history of western Christian civilization, is the one which received a young boy from Bretten (in modern day Baden-Württemberg) named Philip Schwartzerd in 1509. This Philip Schwartzerd, or Philip Melanchthon, in its better

known Greek equivalent, was a grandson of Johann Reuchlin's sister.

Although Philip Melanchthon was only thirteen years old when he entered the University of Heidelberg, he was already fluent in both Greek and Latin, thanks partly to his virtual adoption by his great-uncle in 1508, after Philip's father and grandfather died within two weeks of each other. As the grandson of a wealthy merchant and the son of a royal craftsman, Melanchthon had been able to enrol in the town school at a young age, but it was not until after his arrival in the town of Pforzheim, where Reuchlin was president of the Swabian Court of Confederates, that Melanchthon came under the tutelage of Humanists of the Reuchlin school.¹

At Heidelberg the boy scholar may have been involved in the academic fights between the two great Scholastic philosophies, which still broiled on within the German universities and occasionally erupted in actual combat.² It is interesting to note that while he was at Heidelberg, Melanchthon supported the nominalists, probably partially because of the increasing attacks on his great-uncle by the realists at Cologne. This affiliation with the nominalists would have allowed him to understand the development of Luther's ideas in the coming years, since Luther had also been exposed to Humanist reform by way of the nominalist tradition which was prevalent at the Augustinian school in Erfurt and also in that university.

In 1511, while still only fifteen years of age, Philip received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Heidelberg University. When the doctors at Heidelberg declined to promote him to the level of master because of his youthful appearance, he transferred to the University

¹ Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 31-2. See above p. 97 (Maetzler) for Heidelberg connection with Scots at Paris.

² Ibid., 36.

of Tübingen where he would have been influenced by the Humanist circle of August Bebel.³ It was at Tübingen that Philip finally entered the world of academic masters when he incepted in January of 1514.⁴ This was a fairly significant accomplishment since he was not yet eighteen.

After achieving the status of 'magister', Melanchthon continued his own studies and also began teaching within his former bursa or college. Melanchthon proved to be popular with his students and began to build a name for himself. However after Bebel died in 1516 the University of Tübingen gradually began to increase its support for the conservatives, perhaps partially in response to the ongoing conflict involving Reuchlin at Cologne. Therefore the university regents and young Philip Melanchthon were now at crossed purposes.

In 1517, the Elector of Saxony decided to enlarge the language department of his own university at Wittenberg, which was growing quite rapidly as a result of the rising popularity of an Augustinian monk named Martin Luther. It was quite natural for Elector Frederich to write to Johann Reuchlin asking for his recommendations. When Reuchlin's first choice among the promising young Greek masters was his nephew, the Elector accepted the word of the most prominent of the German Humanists and a formal invitation was issued.

When Philip Melanchthon arrived in Wittenberg in 1518, he was still most commonly recognized as Johann Reuchlin's talented nephew. At twenty years of age, however, he was just beginning to be recognized by others in his field as one of the more talented Greek

³ H. Hermelink, Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen, 191,46; Paulsen, Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts, 97.

⁴ Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 39.

scholars of the age. Reuchlin had already praised his nephew to the Elector in his recommendation, stating that he "knew of no one else who excels him among the Germans, except Erasmus of Rotterdam", and this is probably an opinion which was shared by almost everyone who knew the young 'grammarian'.⁵

Erasmus himself had recognized the young man's ability several years before, and even went so far as to write in 1515, only one year after his promotion, "Yet eternal God, what expectations does not Philip Melanchthon raise, undertaking both 'litteratura' (Latin and Greek) almost equally, though only a youth, scarcely more than a boy!"⁶ It was certainly because of Melanchthon's academic abilities that Erasmus retained his great respect for Melanchthon and remained in contact with his Greek colleague even after the Dutch Humanist had broken with Martin Luther and the rest of the Wittenberg heretics.⁷

It may be important that there were at least forty-three Scots who matriculate at Louvain in the four years after Erasmus moved temporarily to that university in 1517 and then leave after his retreat to Basle.⁸ It seems likely that any scholar who was so highly regarded by Erasmus as Melanchthon was, must also have had at least some attraction to the followers of the former. This 1515 quote about Melanchthon by Erasmus may even have been restated and expanded upon by the Dutch master when he was at Louvain in 1517-18, and could have been quite important to the Scottish Humanists in general and to Scottish Humanist reformers in particular. Indeed,

5 CR, i, 34.

6 Ibid., i, cxlvi.

7 Allen, Erasmi Epistolae, xii (indices), 138.

8 See Appendix under Louvain and the chart for Louvain on p. 135 for the years 1517-1521.

this could help to explain some seemingly inconsistent aspects of the Scottish academic situation during the second decade of the sixteenth century.

The process of academic evolution which eventually led to the rise of the reformers originated in the early Humanism which first began to make an impression on Scotland during the first decade of the sixteenth century and is personified by Erasmians such as Alexander Stewart and Patrick Paniter. Then, by way of the Reuchlin Controversy in Cologne, the academic world became more clearly split, with a fracture between the medieval Scholastics and the Humanists which greatly resembles the animosity between the nominalists and the realists in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In the 1520s, however, many and perhaps most, of the masters at Paris and Cologne can be counted among the religious conservatives and academic reactionaries instead of the reforming progressives. The progressive Scottish academics of the period were thus seemingly left to either temper their Humanism and adjust to the new 'neo-scholasticism' of the conservative school, or break with the old universities and look elsewhere for a continuation of the progressive tradition which had most recently been centred around Erasmus and his fellow Parisian academics nearly a generation before.

The violence of the Peasants War of 1525 seemed to reinforce the arguments of the conservatives, and the academic world was split once more; this time with a split between the radical Zwinglians in Switzerland, who sympathized with the social reformers, and the relatively moderate Lutherans, who supported the existing status quo. The academic situation on the continent was thus polarized into three broad factions, which became even more widely separated after Erasmus was virtually forced by his patrons to condemn those who

supported the Reformation, and Luther in particular. It is this turmoil which encouraged talented Scottish scholars such as John Major, George Lockhart and William Manderston, to retreat home to Scotland and St. Andrews and work against both the seemingly out-of-control academic progressivism, and the religious reform movement, which often became confused with social radicalism. Soon these otherwise progressive academics begin to seem almost regressive in their approach to reform, especially when they become associated with Beaton politics. In this way St. Andrews in the 1520s starts to resemble the St. Andrews of Laurence of Lindores in the 1420s.

Thus, the returning Humanists now found themselves persecuted in much the same way as their neo-realist 'ancestors' had been, and once again the young generation had to look abroad for academic freedom. By the third decade of the sixteenth century, Humanistic study of the Greek language, which had been a distinctive feature of the Erasmians at Paris and Louvain, had relocated and divided between circles based in Basle and Zürich in Switzerland, and Wittenberg in Germany. In this way progressive Humanism now became directly associated with the Reformation, and given the difficulties in reaching Switzerland, it seems natural that Scottish students in particular begin to become more strongly influenced by the greatest progressive Greek grammarian in Northern Europe during this period, Philip Melanchthon.

Philip Melanchthon and Wittenberg in the 1520s

In 1520 only 333 students were entered in the Wittenberg matriculation roll; however Spalatin, the Secretary for the Elector of Saxony, reported that 600 listeners attended one of Melanchthon's lectures in the autumn of that year. Another witness wrote that

occasionally the young Greek master had "nearly two thousand hearers".⁹ This difference is probably mostly due to visiting and itinerant scholars who came to Wittenberg as the reputation of that University increased. Melanchthon thus became familiar to many academics for his lectures at Wittenberg, while Luther's fame arose mostly from his broader struggle against the church in Rome. When Luther went into protective seclusion at the Wartburg near Eisenach, after the Edict of Worms in 1521, Melanchthon emerged as the primary spokesman for both Luther and Wittenberg, in the European arena.

As a respected educator and recognized Humanist, Melanchthon was in many ways better qualified than Luther to conduct the academic disputations and negotiations which became an important aspect of the Reformation during the 1520s and '30s. Indeed, he was probably the only academic at Wittenberg who retained the respect of the Erasmian Humanists, the Roman theologians, the Swiss Radicals, the English Anglicans and the orthodox followers of Luther. His reputation as a scholar lifted him above most of the factional divisions which were developing so that when attempts were made at reconciliation, Melanchthon was frequently an influential correspondent. After his triumph at the diet of Augsburg in 1530, in which Melanchthon was a guiding force in the construction of a confession which nearly united the various factions of the reform movement, he was the obvious choice to become the religious spokesman for the Protestant alliance known as the Schmalkald League.¹⁰

Similarly, in the academic world Melanchthon had built an international reputation for his lectures on the classical languages, philosophy and theology, which was quite separate from the reputation

⁹ Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 43.

¹⁰ Ibid., 226.

of Wittenberg University which stemmed from Luther's confrontation with the Roman Church. By 1526 Melanchthon was emerging as the voice of the progressive academics and probably would have remained so even if he had changed universities. Therefore, it must be true that for virtually all of the Scottish academics and students who became interested in the ideas of the Reformation between 1518 and the early 1540s, the academic reputation of Philip Melanchthon played an important role in their interpretation of these ideas.

The first recorded direct connection between Scotland and Philip Melanchthon was through Patrick Hamilton in 1526, however two other Scots do appear in the Wittenberg matriculation rolls in 1519 and 1524. They are a Johannes Nutrisen from St. Andrews diocese, of whom little more is known, and a Nicholas Bothwinni who has been identified as Nicholas Borthwick, and of whom more later.¹¹ Their very presence at that university is quite significant since the town and University of Wittenberg are nearly as inaccessible from Scotland as Switzerland and this was during a period when Scottish students were beginning to decline in number on the continent.

This could indicate that there was some interest in Wittenberg University by Scottish scholars several years before the anti-Lutheran legislation of 1525. In which case the absence of any evidence that Lutheran ideas affected Scotland before this date could mean that it was the Greek circle at Wittenberg which drew attention to this centre of the Reformation. Certainly the Scots who can be associated with Wittenberg after Parliament had effectively banned the study of Lutheran ideas, must be appraised with this in mind.

¹¹ See Appendix under Wittenberg; also John Durkan's, 'Scottish "Evangelicals" in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', RSCHS XXI (1982); see below pp. 124-26.

Patrick Hamilton as a Melanchthonian

Patrick Hamilton began his academic career by following exactly in the footsteps of several dozen earlier Scottish students when he journeyed first to Paris University and then to Louvain. As has previously been mentioned, the draw of Erasmus at Louvain had already made an impression on this generation of Scottish students, with at least forty-seven appearing in the matriculation rolls of that university between the arrival of that great Humanist scholar in 1517, and 1522.¹² Erasmian Humanism may have had a direct influence on Patrick Hamilton as well since even though he does not appear in the matriculation rolls of Louvain University, he would have been there during this period or soon afterwards.

The number of Scottish students at the continental universities declines drastically between 1522 and 1529. This was probably due, at least in part, to an increase in the influence of James Beaton, the new archbishop of St. Andrews, and with him those who supported a pro-French policy, including his young nephew, David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath. To this can be added the apparent revival of attacks upon Humanism by the Scholastic masters of Cologne and Paris, and the sympathy for these attacks which existed in other universities.

In Scotland it is worth noting that also during this period, the 1512 attempt to revitalize Scottish academics by establishing a new college at St. Andrews nearly came to fruition under the guidance of Archbishop Beaton and his nephew. The threat of the Reformation may have encouraged such action at this particular time, however it must be remembered that this endeavor was originally planned by Archbishop Stewart, so it may also have been a parallel of the three

12

See Appendix under Louvain and below p. 135 (chart).

language school created at Louvain. Unfortunately, this foundation did not succeed during the 1520s, but had to wait until the 1550s when St. Mary's College was finally established as a part of Archbishop Hamilton's reforms.¹³ However, the long road to the realization of St. Mary's College can be seen as a continuation of the same Humanist academic movement which had led to the creation of Aberdeen University and St. Leonard's College.

The Beaton intention to proceed with the effort to found a new college may in part explain the return to Scotland by such notable scholars as John Major, George Lockhart and William Manderston from Paris. However, these Scottish masters had also been associated with the recent attacks on the works of Erasmus at Paris and therefore can not be seen as full supporters of 'progressive' Humanism.

At the same time there would probably have been considerable official and popular doubt in Scotland about the wisdom of studying on the continent during this period. Certainly there would have been a broad awareness of the unsettled social and economic conditions which existed in many of the cities and states of the German empire for several years after the Peasants War of 1524-5, through existing trade contacts. The Low Countries were naturally strongly influenced by the events in central Germany and Austria, and even France had some potential for civil unrest. Therefore, it is possible to see that Patrick Hamilton's return to the continent would have been a notable undertaking for 1525, and raises the question of why he undertook such a hazardous course of action.

It could be that since this trip roughly coincided with the first attempts to restrict the importation of Lutheran texts into

¹³ Donaldson, James V-James VII, 82; Cant, The College of St. Salvator, 36-46.

Scotland, the young master Hamilton may have already begun to feel some persecution due to ideas he had picked up as a student. John Knox certainly seems to give that impression in his History:

Maister Patrick ... left Scotland, and passed to the schoollis in Germany; for then the fame of the Universitie of Wittinberge was greatlie divulgate in all countreis, where, by Goddes providence, he became familiare with the lyghtis and notable servandis of Christ Jesus of that tyme, Martyne Luther, Philipp Melancthon, and the said Franciss Lambert ...¹⁴

However, in Scotland during the 1520s, unless Patrick Hamilton was a remarkably provocative young man with a unique devotion to the Reform movement, at least a few other individuals would be expected to have followed a similar path. Since they do not, it is necessary to look for an alternative motivation.

It is possible that since he travels to Germany with James Hamilton of Linlithgow and Gilbert Wynram of Edinburgh, the Hamilton family could have been under some pressure from other political factions at home. This could have been enough of a reason for the young Hamilton students to ignore continental troubles and decide on a short period of voluntary exile, during which Patrick could continue the course of education he had begun in Paris and Louvain.

Erasmus, however, was no longer at the cutting edge of progressive, European academics after he had broken with Luther and the Wittenberg reformers in 1524. Academically the Humanists were split just as clearly by this break as the Reuchlin Controversy had split the Humanists from the Scholastics a decade before. The reformed Humanists of Germany now saw Luther and Melanchthon as the

¹⁴ Knox, Works, i, 14-15; It has been determined that Hamilton probably travelled to Marburg directly from St. Andrews in 1527 and that his study of Lutheran ideas must therefore have been undertaken at St. Andrews itself, see Wiedermann, Martin Luther versus John Fisher, 16-17.

new progressives, and while Erasmus remained an important figure, his age of dominance had passed.

Martin Luther was fortunate in that he was a progressive reformer yet still moderate enough in his political beliefs not to be too closely associated with the radicalism and bloodshed of the Peasants War. Indeed he openly condemned Carlstadt and Münzter for provoking a class struggle which threatened social stability (and ipso facto the same nobles who were currently protecting the reform movement). In this way Luther managed to please both the academics and his noble patrons by temporarily separating one branch of the progressives from the 'dangerous' radicals.

Luther himself can not be considered too much of a Humanist, even though his name had topped the list of Wittenberg academics which published "Die Bedeutung der humanistischen Studien für die zukünftigen Theologen" in 1523.¹⁵ It was principally his opposition to the church, when combined with the words and scholarly reputation of Melanchthon, which gave Wittenberg such a high degree of academic respectability among young Humanists. This may have been the primary reason behind Patrick Hamilton's visit, for Knox continues:

...: For he (Hamilton) was, besydes his godlie knowledge, weill learned in philosophie: he abhorred sophistrye, and wold that the text of Aristotelis should have bene better understand and more used in the schoolles then than it was: for sophistrie had corrupted all as weil in divinitie as in humanitie.¹⁶

When Patrick Hamilton went to Germany in 1526 it was probably not with the intention of obtaining a degree there, since he had already completed his required studies at Paris and it seems unlikely

15 "The importance of the Humanistic studies for the Future Theologians".

16 Knox, Works, i, 15.

that he would pursue a life in the academic world as a long-term career, simply because as a cousin of the royal family and nephew of the Earl of Arran he could hope for patronage similar to that bestowed upon Alexander Stewart and James Kennedy in previous generations, although the status of bishop was almost certainly beyond his expectations.¹⁷

When he does appear in the first matriculation list at Marburg University in Hesse, it was probably for symbolic purposes since a member of a powerful Scottish noble family and former student at Paris and Louvain Universities, would make the new foundation seem more prestigious.¹⁸ Since the primary academic figure at Marburg was Francis Lambert, this may indicate that Patrick Hamilton was more closely associated with that academic master than with Melanchthon, even though Knox obviously believed that Hamilton 'knew' the Greek scholar as well.¹⁹

Certainly Hamilton's attachment to Lambert does not mean that he was not influenced by the Philipist circle since the Marburg doctor had himself studied with Melanchthon. It is probably not coincidental that Hamilton's Loci Communes, which is also known as "Patrick's Places", was written less than two years after Philip Melanchthon's first version of his renowned work of the same title.²⁰

It may also be significant that it was Melanchthon who had

17 See Appendix under Paris, and McNeill, Scottish Entries in the Paris Acta, SHR XLIII (1964), 75; for general biographical details see also Lorimer, Precursors of Knox: Patrick Hamilton, (1857).

18 See Appendix under Marburg.

19 Knox, Works, i, 15.

20 See Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, 81-5; and McGoldrick, Luther's Scottish Connection, for a recent printing and discussion of "Patrick's Places".

first introduced Philip of Hesse to the Reform movement. Indeed even during the 1520s the Hessian position on reform began to become slightly more radical than the orthodox Lutheran doctrine of the period. It is thus possible to see both Patrick Hamilton and Philip of Hesse as followers of Melanchthon as much as of Luther. This in turn could have been an influencing factor for many of those who came into contact with Hamilton after his return from Germany in 1527.

On the continent, Melanchthon's influence on the Reformation continued to increase in the years which followed Patrick Hamilton's execution. In 1529, Melanchthon was one of the major figures at the Marburg Colloquy. Since the other participants were Oecolampadius, Bucer, Zwingli and Luther, it was as much a meeting of the leading reformed Humanists as an attempted reconciliation of two separate Reformation factions. In the end they agreed on every point of discussion but one, the nature of the Eucharist, in which Luther and Wittenberg faction were more conservative. Eventually even this point was mostly settled, thanks largely to a change or evolution in the views of the more conciliatory Melanchthon. The final result of this was the signing of the Wittenberg Concord by the Swiss and Lutheran parties, in 1536.

Through the person of Philip Melanchthon it is possible to compare the Marburg Colloquy of 1529 with a broader attempt at reconciliation between the Protestants and the Roman Church which occurred at Augsburg in 1530. Once again Melanchthon played an important role and is given credit for having written most of the Augsburg Confession, which was probably the closest the reformed parties came to an agreement on doctrine prior to the Wittenberg Concord. Indeed, with Luther's enforced absence, Melanchthon was easily the most prominent figure at the Augsburg Diet and at least

temporarily, the most influential Reformer in Germany. This fact may be quite important for Scotland since Luther criticized Melanchthon slightly for having been rather too conciliatory at Augsburg in his attempts to achieve unity.²¹

Melanchthon and Alexander Alesius, the 1530s

Alexander Alesius, who was born Alexander Alane in Edinburgh, was perhaps destined to play a role in the events of the Reformation in Scotland simply because his birth in 1500 meant that he was of the right age to become one of the earliest students at St. Leonard's College in St. Andrews and was therefore an early beneficiary of the pre-Reuchlin Controversy progressive academic tradition. With an international scholar such as John Major as one of the masters of this new college, it is reasonable to assume that Alane must have been a rather talented student in his own right, since he is also listed among the first determinants of St. Leonard's while he was still only fourteen.²² Alane went on to become a canon of the Augustinian priory at St. Andrews soon after receiving his bachelor degree, and probably continued his studies within his priory. The fact that he was called upon to debate with Patrick Hamilton during the latter's trial for heresy in 1528 indicates that Alesius must already have had an outstanding reputation as a theologian in the religious and academic circles at St. Andrews.²³

If Alexander Alesius seems to have remained a conservative academic during the period when Humanist reform was the fashion

21 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 195 (n.38.)

22 Anderson, Early Records, 104.

23 Theologische Realenzyklopädie (TRE), ii, 231-235.

across Europe, as his opposition to Hamilton suggests, it is probably due to the continued arrival of Scholastic and reactionary masters and Professors at St. Andrews from Paris during the 1520s. Indeed, Alesius was close to the same age as Patrick Hamilton and would quite likely have been similarly affected by the academic developments on the continent, had he been able to study there. Certainly Alesius specifically credits Hamilton to opening his eyes to the ideas of the Reformation. Within months of the execution of Patrick Hamilton, Alesius was also suspected of supporting some of that martyr's teachings and was therefore imprisoned by the same prior Hepburn who had helped to establish St. Leonard's College almost twenty years earlier.

When Alesius was freed from St. Andrews by some of his fellow canons, after being imprisoned for almost a year, he managed to make his way to Dundee where he found passage on a ship to the continent. After an unplanned diversion to Denmark and the Reformation centre at Malmø, Alesius finally reached France and then Belgium, sometime around 1532. From there he travelled first to Cologne, and then on along one of the established student and merchant routes to Wittenberg where he becomes a lecturer in October of 1533.²⁴

It is interesting at this point to compare Alesius with his famous English contemporary, Robert Barnes, former prior of the Augustinian chapter at Cambridge. The leading roles played by both Alesius and Barnes in their respective chapters and universities

²⁴ TRE, ii, 232; and Foerstemann, Album Academiae Vitebergensis, 151b, 8; see Appendix under Wittenberg. It has been suggested that Alesius initially resumed his academic career at Wittenberg by enrolling in the faculty of philosophy as early as 1532, although this would be something of a step down for an individual who had already proved himself as a theologian. see Pearson, "Alesius and the English Reformation", RSCHS, X (1949), 58.

during the 1520s seems to confirm the appearance that intellectual progressivism is associated with a tendency to support reforms within the religious orders.²⁵ The reaction against this tendency is quite similar in both Scotland and England, with the first proscriptions against Lutheran books being introduced in 1524 and 1525 respectively and the persecution of suspected reformers beginning soon after. When Barnes and Alesius become colleagues at Wittenberg in 1532-3, this can be seen as an early point of commingling or path-crossing between the English and Scottish Reformations.²⁶

Given the fact that Alesius had been introduced to the reform movement by Patrick Hamilton, who himself had been influenced by the Melanchthon circle, and add to it the importance of Melanchthon on the international scene after the Diet of Augsburg, it seems quite reasonable that Alesius would attend his lectures on the Greek language and writers as part of his studies while at Wittenberg. Certainly by the end of 1533, Alesius can be considered a member of the Greek circle, since in December of that year he appeals to Spalatin, who was probably Melanchthon's closest associate after Luther, to ask for his assistance in obtaining funds from a prebend which had been arranged for him by Luther and Melanchthon.²⁷

At about the same time Alesius enters the international stage by writing a pamphlet addressed to James V concerning the necessity of making the New Testament available in the Scots vernacular.²⁸

25 see above pp. 74-82 (n.51 and n.69 in particular).

26 See Clebsche, England's Early Protestants, 48, 54. Compare the confinement of Barnes within the Augustinian house at London in 1526 and his matriculation at Wittenberg in 1533 with Alesius.

27 CR, ii, 690-1.

28 Pearson, Alesius, 58.

This provoked a response from John Cochlaeus which led to a personal vindictive exchange between the two over several years. The works published by Alesius have been closely studied in the past because they contain quite a number of biographical passages. One of the most interesting of these was in answer to an accusation by Cochlaeus written in 1534 in which Alesius claims that, "so far he has not yet come to know Luther".²⁹ After having spent nearly two years in Wittenberg, Alesius must certainly have come to know Luther, indeed in that year Alesius was even elected dean of the arts faculty of the University of Wittenberg. This may mean that he was still pursuing a course of Humanistic studies and had not become deeply involved with current theology discussions.³⁰ In which case Alesius must have had a closer association with Melanchthon, since it was he and Luther, whom Alesius claims he does "not know", who were responsible for requesting a prebend in Altenburg for the Scottish master.

In 1535, King Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England attempted to entice Melanchthon to leave Wittenberg and enter their own academic service. However, he was now probably too important to the work of the Wittenberg reformers, so even if Melanchthon and Luther had entertained thoughts about Philip travelling to another country, it is doubtful that this would have been arranged quickly; indeed, negotiations dragged on for almost a year.³¹ Therefore it would have been logical to find at least a temporary alternative who could demonstrate the good will of the Lutherans and also act as a personal envoy from Melanchthon until a decision had been made.

29 Ibid., 61.

30 See Wiedermann, "Alexander Alesius' Lectures on the Psalms at Cambridge, 1536", JEL XXXVII (1986), 16n.

31 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 226-7.

When Cochlaeus turned his pen against England, and Henry VIII in particular, early in 1535, the writings of Alexander Alesius, the most recent combatant of Cochlaeus would certainly have had a sympathetic reception in the English court. If an envoy was being sought in Wittenberg at the same time, Alesius would have been an obvious choice since he was now a senior figure at the university, having been a lecturer for two years; also his Scots dialect would have been understandable to an English ear. The ongoing emigration of Scottish reformers to England provides another reason why Alesius would have been a logical choice since his fellow Scots could prove to be good contacts. Therefore, it is no surprise that Alesius was the individual selected to act as an envoy from Philip Melanchthon in August of 1536. He was dispatched as a virtual ambassador from Wittenberg to London, complete with a recent copy of Melanchthon's Loci Communes and a letter of introduction to Henry VIII.³²

The English period of Scottish Lutheranism

Alesius must have arrived in England late in September 1535, since the letter from Henry VIII which answers the one carried by the Scot for Melanchthon is dated the first of October.³³ Soon after Alesius is named as 'the King's scholar' and sent to Cambridge as a lecturer in divinity. This post may even have been suggested by the Greek doctor in his letters to the king and Cranmer since this assignment to Cambridge seems to parallel the Copenhagen, Leipzig and Frankfurt-on-Oder attempts by the Wittenbergers to aid young reform movements by restructuring the universities, and providing approved,

32 Pearson, Alesius, 65.

33 CR, ii, 947-8.

Wittenberg-trained, professors of Theology to keep doctrine in line. Indeed Philip Melanchthon is as renowned for his connections with the reform of the universities of Germany as with religious reform.

At Cambridge, though, this effort was neither as successful nor as important as it would later prove to be in northern Germany and Denmark. After only six months, Alesius encountered opposition from a number of the established masters at that university, possibly as a result of the recent influx of Scottish refugees who were competing for clerical positions. Things certainly did not move smoothly for Alesius at Cambridge where, it has been suggested, Alesius became uncomfortable with his position because he could not accept the new university statutes, and then became disillusioned when Queen Anne fell into disfavour. Similarly, it may also be important that once again he does not seem to receive the stipend he had been promised. Whether it was one of these reasons, or several, or one of which we are not aware, it is perhaps understandable that he decided to resign his teaching position in the spring of 1536.³⁴ By May 1536 he was back in London as theological assistant to Thomas Cromwell, which was quite an influential position since Cromwell was still Vicar General to the court of Henry VIII. At the same time, it seems likely that Alesius would also have been a natural advisor to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, since the latter was a regular correspondent of Melanchthon.³⁵

It was at this point that acquaintances were made which would form the core of the continental circle of Scottish reformers in the 1540s. The large number of Scottish 'Evangelicals' who were members

³⁴ Pearson, *Alesius*, 69; Wiedermann, *Alesius in Cambridge*, 18.

³⁵ Pearson, *Alesius*, 70, 67; for this correspondence with England see Melanchthon's Opera (Corpus Reformatorum).

of the Cromwell circle has already been well covered in an article by John Durkan. There are several of these individuals, however, who must be mentioned once again because of their additional contact with the Melanchthon academic circle.³⁶

Perhaps most important of these of these dozen or so refugees, is Sir John Borthwick, whose relative, Nicholas Borthwick had been at Wittenberg in 1528. By 1540, Sir John Borthwick was recognizably an Anglophile, but he also seems to have been an academic reformer in the Humanist tradition, since when he was forced to flee Scotland under threat of being tried for heresy, his seized library contained works by Oecolampadius, Melanchthon and Erasmus as well as a copy of the New Testament in English.³⁷

It would be interesting to know if Sir John was also related to the Dominican Prior at Perth in the 1540s, named Robert Borthwick, who had a 1537 edition of a book by John Fisher in his library.³⁸ John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a renowned theologian who had been executed along with Thomas More in 1535, and although the two works contained in this volume were in opposition to Luther, they still discussed his views in detail. This would have been a subject of interest to the head of a chapter which had lost its previous prior to the Reformation, particularly if the new prior was also related to the Nicholas Borthwick who had studied at Wittenberg a dozen years earlier and the John Borthwick who had recently returned from England only to be tried for heresy and burned in effigy.

Sir John Borthwick was merely one of a virtual wave of Scots

36 Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals" in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', RSCHS XXI (1982), 127-156.

37 Ibid., 132.

38 Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, 79.

who left Scotland in 1535 and 1536. That a large proportion of these new arrivals were Dominican friars was probably the result of the fact that the idea of continuing reform now ran contrary to the aims of John Grierson. At the beginning of May 1534, John Grierson, as the Dominican Provincial of Scotland, joined with his Franciscan equivalent and requested the assistance of James V in a new attack on Lutheran heresy.³⁹ It is this campaign which eventually resulted in the executions of Norman Gourlay and David Straiton, and certainly this was almost exactly when Johannes (MacAlpine) Maccebaeus, the prior of the Perth Dominicans, seems to have arrived in England and entered the service of the reformed bishop of Salisbury, Nicholas Shaxton.

The Scottish attacks on the reformers also happened to coincide with the final break with Rome by Henry VIII which is characterized by the execution of Thomas More and John Fisher, and the subsequent removal of unsympathetic bishops. In February of 1535, Nicholas Shaxton replaced Lorenzo Campeggio as bishop of Salisbury and thereby became one of the "radical" bishops (in the words of Dr. Durkan) who were appointed by Cromwell during the 1530s. Therefore it is possible to see MacAlpine/Maccebaeus as an associate and colleague of Alesius, since they both played approximately the same advisory role to an English bishop during King Henry's short flirtation with the Lutherans.⁴⁰

The presence of James Macdowell at Salisbury after 1537 and his retreat to the continent soon after Alesius and Maccebaeus do likewise, provides another example of a Dominican friar from Scotland

39 ADCP, 422.

40 Durkan, "Evangelicals", 139.

who becomes clearly identifiable with the Lutheran reformers in England. To these can be added John Craig, who was also connected with the Dominican order in Scotland, and in 1535 would have been passing through the north of England, and probably London as well, looking for a position either at Cambridge or an episcopal court.⁴¹ All five of these individuals, John Borthwick, Alesius, Maccebaeus, Macdowell and Craig, go on to become members of the international academic community of Humanistic reformers over the next two decades.

The 1540s

The struggle for reconciliation and peaceful coexistence can be identified as a common characteristic of both Erasmus and Melanchthon which may in turn, be reflected in the lives of several important individuals who were involved with the Scottish Reformation. This is probably understandable when placed in context, since in 1540, which was just when the supporters of the Reformation were becoming more numerous in Scotland, Philip Melanchthon was involved in negotiations which resulted in an informal agreement reminiscent of the Wittenberg Concord, between John Calvin and Luther in 1541. It was for this reason that the Variata of the Augsburg Confession was written.⁴²

As is apparent from the matriculation list for Wittenberg University, there was an increase in the number of Scottish students at almost the same time as this revised Wittenberg Concord. Many of the Scots who appear at Wittenberg during this period had gone there in search of a refuge. In 1539, Henry VIII had turned against the Lutherans in England and had several executed, including Barnes, his

⁴¹ Kerr, "The early life of John Craig, Scottish Reformer, 1512-1560", RSCHS XVII, 69-70.

⁴² Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 241.

former chaplain and emissary to Wittenberg, and Thomas Cromwell, the patron of most of the Scottish emigrés. This is why Alesius, Maccebaeus and Faithius abandoned their positions in the Anglican Church and fled to one of the few places where they were almost certain to be welcome.

It was coincidental that the sudden decline and death of the relatively enlightened James V in 1542 also allowed Cardinal Beaton to move against those of the Scottish reform party who had gained during that reign and the short reformed regency which followed. This was probably the primary motivation behind the 'voluntary' temporary exile of the Erskines of Dun, and other individuals from the Montrose and Dundee areas, which in several cases included a short visit to Wittenberg.

The fact, however, that there was suddenly an increased number of Scots at Wittenberg during the early 1540s does not, in itself, mean that they were influenced by Philip Melanchthon any more than they were by other leading reformers who were there. To determine if in fact he was an important force, it is necessary to look at what happened to these Scottish students during the next few years and see if there are any associations with a 'Melanchthon party'.

Scots in the 'Melanchthon Party' and the Reformation of north-east Germany and Denmark

The role of Philip Melanchthon in the spread of the Reformation has long been recognized, particularly in the case of Hesse where he is credited with having personally 'converted' Philip, duke of Hesse, to the Reforming cause. However, his influence on Denmark and the north German states of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and the presence of Scottish theologians in each, has not been as closely

examined. In the past Johann Bugenhagen of Pommerania has often been identified as the Wittenberg influence most directly responsible for the Reformation of the northern principalities. However, the international doctrinal leadership of Drs. Luther and Melanchthon was still quite important. Therefore the decision to send Scottish academics to the north German and Danish universities to oversee these new doctrinal centres may have major implications regarding the role of Scots in the Reformation as a whole.

The argument for this apparent coincidence being intentional is based on the general importance which Melanchthon placed on academic study and his Humanist approach to understanding theology. His reform of teaching in the schools and universities was quite separate from the religious reform which is associated with Luther and Wittenberg, and it is for this aspect of his life work that Philip Melanchthon has been remembered as the "Praeceptor Germaniae".⁴³ Therefore it is almost certain that whatever changes were made in the universities of the newly reformed German states can be attributed to a significant degree to Melanchthon.

The recently arrived Scottish emigrés from England would have benefitted from an image which Scottish scholars in general still enjoyed on the continent which portrayed them as inheritors of Alquin, who reintroduced lost classical learning into the court of Charlemagne in the ninth century; of Duns Scotus, who was one of the foremost philosophers in the nominalist tradition; and of the monks of the 'Schottenklöster', which were well known in several areas of Germany. It was probably to all three of these sources that Philip Melanchthon was referring when he first addressed the students of

⁴³

Ibid., 144: Paulsen, The German Universities, 43.

Wittenberg University in 1518 and said:

During that period not one of our men (Germans), it seems gave any distinguished book to posterity. In contrast, up to this time in Scotland and Ireland peace had nourished letters for a long while, and they, among others, shone: especially the venerable Bede, uncommonly expert in Greek and Latin, and moreover so learned in philosophy, mathematics and religion that he can be compared to the ancients.⁴⁴

It should perhaps also be remembered that John Scotus Erigena was an Irish contemporary of Bede and would have been just as familiar to Melanchthon as a great Greek scholar of the medieval period.

When Alexander Alesius journeyed to England in 1535, the notion that the 'British' were 'great thinkers' had become almost a popular perception is strengthened by a poem discussed by John T. McNeill and attributed to John Stigel, an admirer of Melanchthon, in which:

Alesius is a distinguished example of true piety, the ornament and great glory of his country, and he goes to the land of the unconquered Britons of noble mind, a land that Venus raised as a daystar from the Western waves, and a nation that breeds unnumbered geniuses (vates).⁴⁵

This seems to confirm awareness of the disproportionately large number of Scottish masters who were present in the continental universities during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as well.⁴⁶

Similar to the 1518 quotation is an address to the Wittenberg Academy in February 1542, on the occasion of the promotion of Maccabaeus before he went to Denmark, in which Melanchthon stated:

We owe something to the Scottish nation, for although disciples of the apostles established churches in Germany, they were afterwards destroyed by the Hone*t*i and Huns, and the Scots with great labour restored them.⁴⁷

The use of the term 'Scottish nation' is quite important in that it

44 Keen, Melanchthon Reader, 49.

45 McNeill, "Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran (1500-1565)", ARG 55 (1964), 174.

46 see p. 92 above including n.95.

47 CR, iv, 770.

describes the continental uncertainty over the use of the word 'Scot' and the nationality of those identified as 'Scotus'. By the end of the fifteenth century 'Scot' and 'Scotus' certainly pertained to natives of Scotland. However, at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Irish monks in Germany, who had referred to themselves as 'Scoti' for nearly four centuries, were still in control of the few remaining Schottenklöster.⁴⁸ Again Melanchthon would almost certainly have been aware of the existence and nationality problems of these Scottish cloisters simply because of their relatively close proximity to Saxony, Pfortzheim, Heidelberg and Tübingen. Indeed there were Schottenklöster in Erfurt (with a Scottish abbot after 1515) and Nürnberg, both of which towns had extensive contact with Melanchthon and Wittenberg.⁴⁹

When a university was reformed rather than created anew, this almost mystical intellectual tradition of the 'Scots' may have proved useful in overcoming some of the animosity which masters would feel towards an imposed academic supervisor. Therefore when Melanchthon helped revise the statutes at Copenhagen and a number of German universities, the presence of several Scottish students and masters at Wittenberg may have seemed quite opportune.

The clearest example of direct Melanchthonian influence on the use of the Scottish students at Wittenberg is of course through the former Dominican prior of Perth, Johannes Maccebaeus, who became Doctor of Theology at Copenhagen University after 1542. Certainly he is acknowledged to have studied directly under Melanchthon and to have been personally recommended to King Christian III by the Greek

⁴⁸ Dilworth, The Scots in Franconia, 11-21.

⁴⁹ An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, 80-81, 192.

professor. Although MacAlpine was formally promoted to the rank of Doctor by Luther, it was Melanchthon who prepared the graduation address.⁵⁰ There are also transcripts of personal letters which were exchanged between Alesius at Leipzig and Melanchthon in which they speak about their friend Maccebaeus.⁵¹

There can be little doubt that Maccebaeus was a protégé of the Greek master at Wittenberg and the influence of Melanchthon seems to be reflected in Maccebaeus' later life. Melanchthon's desire for rapprochement which is the basis of the Wittenberg Concord, seems to have had an effect on the beliefs of Maccebaeus as well, since in 1553 he condemns the orthodox Lutheran rejection of John á Lasco's band of Calvinist influenced refugees from England when they wished to settle in Denmark.⁵² This impression is further reinforced when in the 1570s his protégé, Niels Hemmingsen, is accused of being a Crypto-Calvinist and he defends himself by saying that he taught exactly the same ideas that he had always taught and had been taught by Maccebaeus before him.⁵³ This statement can probably be taken one generation further back, academically, since during the latter half of the sixteenth century, the notion of Crypto-Calvinism and Philipism were virtually synonymous. Certainly Melanchthon was labelled a Crypto-Calvinist by conservatives at Wittenberg after the death of Luther.

Similar to Maccebaeus is Alexander Alesius, who has already been identified as a student and associate of Melanchthon's, who was

50 see p.129, quote for n.46.

51 CR, iv, 793.

52 Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 253-56.

53 Ibid., 303.

sent to Frankfurt-on-Oder as Professor of Theology soon after his return from England.⁵⁴ It is significant that his opening address in Frankfurt was "On the Restoration of the Schools" which would again support the impression that the Scottish theologian was there principally as an academic reformer.⁵⁵ When Alesius had a falling out with the magistrates and faculty of Frankfurt-on-Oder and left that university, it was against the advice of Melanchthon.⁵⁶ However, this certainly did not cause any serious problems in the relationship between Alesius and his former mentor since after leaving Frankfurt the Scottish academic went on to become Professor of Theology at Leipzig University. This must be seen as a promotion since in the world of German academia, Leipzig was older and more important than Wittenberg, even during the lifetimes of Luther and Melanchthon.

Soon after Alesius arrived in Leipzig, another Scot named Johannes Faithius was sent to Frankfurt-on-Oder to replace him.⁵⁷ It has been thought this Scot was the John Fife who was in England with Alesius and Maccebaeus, and this may still be the case. However, it seems just as likely, and perhaps more so, that John Durkan is correct in identifying two Dundee schoolmasters, John Fethy and Walter Spalding, with the Johannes Faithius, Scotus, and Gulerus Spalatinus, Scotus, who appear in the list of Scottish students at

54 CR, iv, 760; L. and P. of Henry VIII, xiv, part 1, No. 1353.

55 McNeill, Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran, 183-188, provides the best discussion in English of his academic career in Germany. This article also looks at the apparent Calvinist sympathies of Alesius during the 1550s.

56 Kaweran, "Alexander Alesius' Fortgang von der Frankfurter Universität", Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte, XVI (1916), 94-5.

57 See Appendix under Frankfurt-on-Oder.

Wittenberg University in 1544. In which case he is probably also correct when he traces Fethy to Frankfurt-on-Oder.⁵⁸ This would help to place Fethy within the Melanchthon circle as well since this was also where Melanchthon's son-in-law, George Sabinus (who had been recommended to Wittenberg by Erasmus) had been sent as a lecturer in literature between 1538 and 1544.⁵⁹ It should perhaps also be noted here that Sabinus then went on to become the first rector of the University of Königsberg, which was another merchant town familiar to Scottish Baltic traders.

These Scottish lecturers in the Baltic university towns must actually have been quite important in their day. The Frankfurt-on-Oder illustration makes this particularly clear since it was already the academic centre for Brandenburg, and in the Wittenberg tradition, it was intended to become the driving force behind the Reformation by providing the core of a new generation of ministers. In this way the Reformation of Brandenburg had been organized along much the same lines as in Denmark, and just as in Copenhagen, the University at Frankfurt-on-Oder was also intended to be the doctrinal centre for the new Reformed Church.

In Pomerania, which lies literally in between Brandenburg and Denmark, it seems that the usefulness of a Scottish academic is demonstrated once more. In 1545, the University of Greifswald was established on the Wittenberg example, with the official charter referring to Philip Melanchthon as "our highly esteemed and venerated teacher".⁶⁰ It is probably not a coincidence that an Alexander Dume

58 Durkan, "Henry Scrymgeour, Renaissance Bookman", Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society (1978), 1-2.

59 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 304.

60 Ibid., 144; Paulsen, The German Universities, 237.

heads the list of Scottish students at Greifswald in the same year. Dume is cited as being a master of Liberal Arts who is "superior in piety and doctrine".⁶¹ This would certainly describe a scholar in the Melanchthon tradition so it is no surprise that he soon becomes Professor of Theology at that university. It is even possible that he filled that post from the founding of the university and might have arrived at Greifswald with this arrangement understood. It is also interesting to note that he was joined at Greifswald in 1545, by another Scot, Alexander Sinapius, who was described as a learned man and a talented master of Arts.⁶² Alexander Sinapius had previously studied at Paris (1537) and Cologne (1542), and would therefore have been an eminent travelling scholar in the tradition of Hamilton, Alesius and Maccebaeus.⁶³

It would be interesting to know more about this particular Scottish connection, since in 1546 a Richard Melving and a David Pedi, Scoti, also enter Greifswald University. It has been suggested that this is the Richard Melville who accompanied the young John Erskine, apparend of Dun, to study under Maccebaeus and Melanchthon in 1542.⁶⁴ However, this seems unlikely since the son of the laird of Dun was his responsibility and the trip back to Scotland would have been difficult for a young man who was, at most, nineteen years of age. Also, if Richard Melville of Baldovy had indeed studied for any length of time in Greifswald, which an entry in the matriculation role would suggest, it seems likely that his son, James Melville, would have mentioned that in his diary as well.

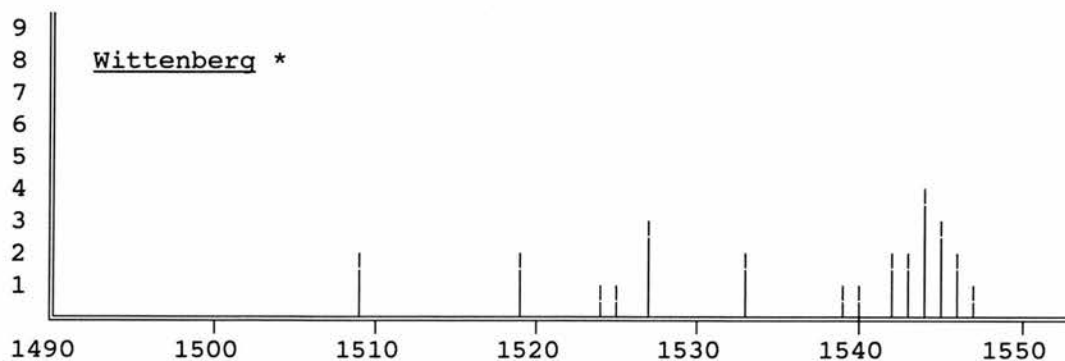
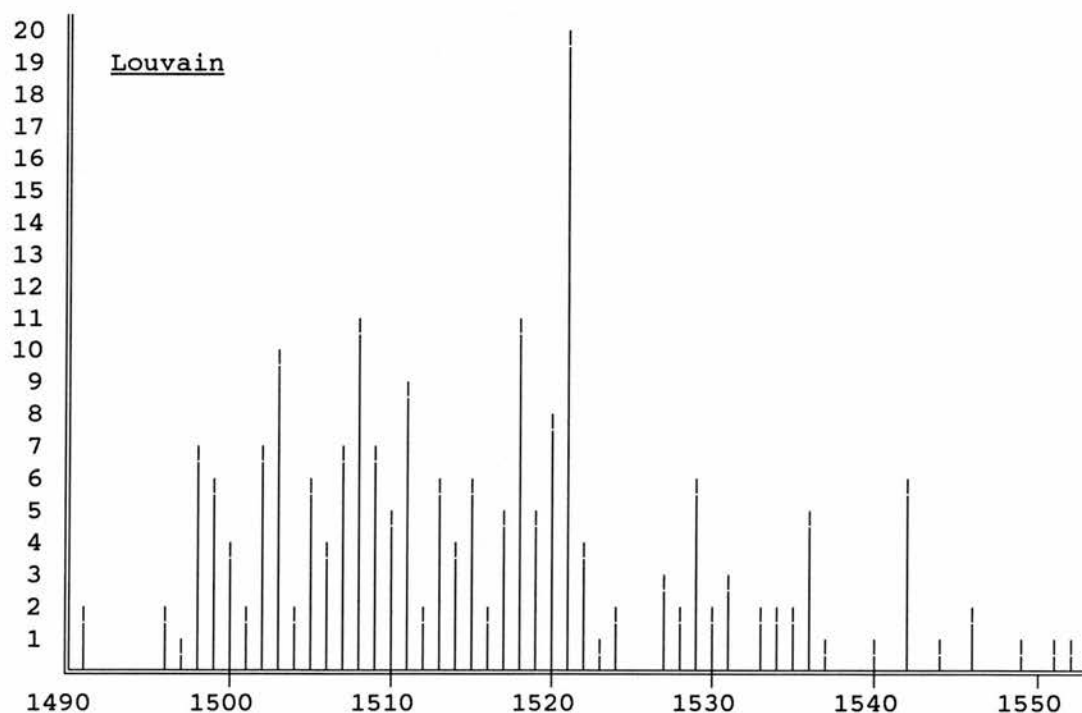
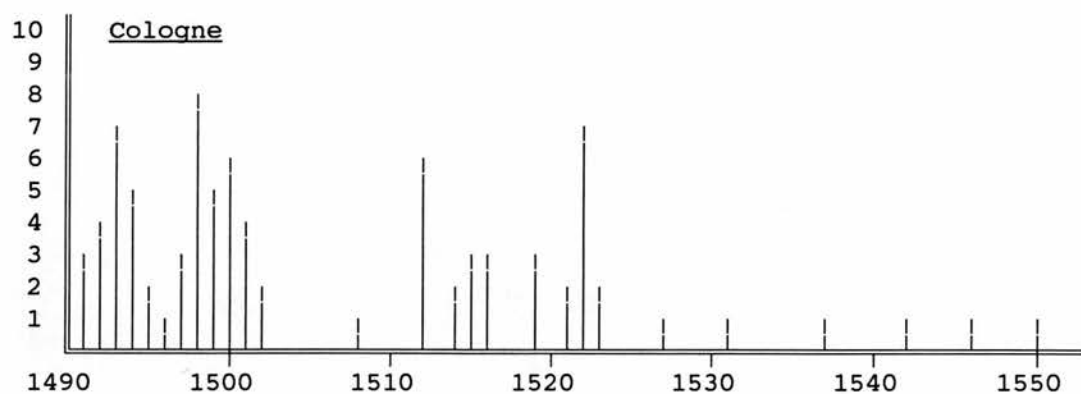
⁶¹ Fischer, Scots in Germany, 313; see Appendix under Greifswald.

⁶² Ibid., 314.

⁶³ see Appendix under Paris, Cologne and Greifswald.

⁶⁴ Melville, Diary, 14.

Distribution of Scottish students at northern universities to 1550



*- includes presence of Richard Melville, John Erskin apparand of Dun and a Scot mentioned by Melanchthon to Alesius in 1543, and Scottish students at other Lutheran influenced universities in the region, specifically Marburg and the Baltic coast universities at Frankfort/Oder, Greifswald, and Rostock.

The appearance of Melanchthonian moderate progressivism in Scotland

In Scotland, those areas which traded most with the Baltic region would probably have been much more familiar with the teachings and name of Philip Melanchthon than any other leading reformer, with the exception of Luther himself. This seems to be reflected in the moderation and willingness to listen to ideas and find a compromise which becomes virtually a characteristic of Scottish reformers from the north-east of Scotland during the next two decades.

Both John Erskine apparend of Dun and Richard Melville of Baldovy are included among the names of Ministers and Commissioners of Kirks of Scotland in 1560.⁶⁵ As such they must have been able to at least work with the Knoxian Calvinists and gain their approval, despite their strong Lutheran education. If their ideas developed like those of Philip Melanchthon, then it would have been possible for them to make minor concessions to the first Helvetic Confession and still be within the broad parameters of the revised Augsburg Confession of 1540, with which they must have been familiar.⁶⁶

A connection with the Crypto-Calvinist reputation of Johannes Maccebaeus would also help to explain why John Erskine of Dun, the first Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, could be so acceptable to the progressive Reformers in 1560 but then be criticized for not being in favour of creating presbyteries in his diocese during the 1580s.⁶⁷ The only book which has survived from the library of John

⁶⁵ Peterkin (ed.), The Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland, 3.

⁶⁶ Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 241.

⁶⁷ V. Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 112-114; Woodrow's Biographical Collections, i, 66-67; Spottiswood, History, ii, 412. See also the view that Alesius also reflected the moderate, perhaps Crypto-Calvinist, leanings of Melanchthon and Maccebaeus after 1555, McNeill, Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran, 188-190.

Erskine of Dun is a work by Oecolampadius; however, a corresponding Erasmian/Melanchthonian humanist influence, which must have existed since his eldest son and heir was sent to study with Maccabaeus and Melanchthon, in the universities of Northern Europe would explain why the laird of Dun imported a Greek teacher to Montrose in the 1530s.⁶⁸ Certainly the spirit of reconciliation embodied in the Wittenberg Concord and the Augsburg Confession compares closely to the mediating the laird of Dun attempted between Mary of Guise and the Protestant Lords in 1559, and between Knox and Mary Stewart in 1565.⁶⁹

Melanchthon's supposedly Crypto-Calvinist Lutheran beliefs would also explain how John Knox could come to revile James Balfour twenty years after they had been in the castle of St. Andrews and Knox had described him as the "chief and principal Protestant that was then to be found in the realm". The Calvinist preacher claims that Balfour had sworn himself as believing in the doctrine that John Knox had taught, while Sir James is condemned in the 1560s for stating that he had never adhered to the more radical religion, having been raised as a follower of "Martin's" view of the Sacrament of Communion.⁷⁰ This discrepancy seems quite logical given that Balfour was moving in

68 Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, 95.

69 Knox, Works, i, 317-18; ii, 386, 388, 482; Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 93.

70 Knox, Works, i, 202; Knox, History, i, 91, 219; - It has been suggested that by "Martin's opinion", James Balfour was referring to his uncle, Martin Balfour, who was at St. Salvator's College in St. Andrews (Lynch (ed.), Mary Stewart, IR, XXXVIII [1987]). However, if the opinions of this uncle are accepted as being orthodox Catholic, this would be a strange claim for a former reformer and a politician to make at a time when the Protestants are in the ascendancy. It seems more likely that since James Balfour appears to have studied at Wittenberg in 1545, this "Martin" does in fact refer to Martin Luther. Certainly the 'Lutheran' opinion of the Sacrament of Communion between 1540 and 1560 was the most flexible of the major schools of Protestant religious thought, thanks largely to Philip Melanchthon, and one which could even accommodate some views of the Catholic court.

political circles and was named Clerk Register in 1566, and Erskine of Dun had already shown how non-confrontational progressivism, as taught by Melanchthon at Wittenberg from the 1520s and used frequently in international attempts at political and religious reconciliation since then, was far more practical and political for a magistrate or holder of court office than Knoxian partisanship.

It happened that this was also a period when Melanchthon's teachings were probably as well known as those of Luther or Zwingli, perhaps even more so, simply because Philip remained a university lecturer right up until his death in 1560.⁷¹ However, this must be kept in perspective, for although Melanchthon taught a more liberal doctrine than did his gradually more entrenched friend and colleague, the Wittenbergers had for some time been gradually forced to reduce their involvement with international discussions. By 1540, Luther was spending a great deal of time writing and clarifying his beliefs and lecturing less so that by Luther's death in 1546, Melanchthon had already taken over much of the leadership of the university. As the head of Wittenberg University, Melanchthon was forced to spend most of the last two decades of his life attempting to defend himself from the accusations of a new group of restrictive orthodox Lutherans, and fleeing the occupation of Wittenberg after the defeat of the Elector of Saxony by the armies of the Emperor and the Duke of Saxony.

However, long before the death of Luther, Philip Melanchthon's mark had already been made on the Reformation. Particularly in the two decades which preceded his death in 1560, the Lutheran world of eastern Germany, the Baltic and Scandinavia was strongly influenced by this nephew of Johann Reuchlin. When Scotland is seen in this context, the early Scottish Reformers appear in a different light.

71 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 315.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK

Scholasticism, Humanism and the Magisterial Reformation in Denmark

The founding of the University of Copenhagen and Peter David Scotus

As was briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, Denmark was influenced by the same Paris-oriented academic tradition as was Scotland during the fifteenth century. The university records which have survived make it clear that the direct academic connections between Denmark and Scotland were limited. However, the importance of Humanist university magisters to the development of ideas in the early years of the Reformation means that this similarity in their academic background must be established before attempting to discuss each separately. Therefore it is useful to take another look at the late medieval scholastic world from this dual perspective.

The establishment of the University of Copenhagen in 1479 seems to provide a smaller, and perhaps clearer, illustration of how the parallel academic development of philosophical and theological ideas at Paris and Cologne influenced nearly all of the northern European universities in the years which preceded the Reformation. Indeed, the Danish academic tradition, in several ways, closely parallels Scottish experience and can be seen as an important aspect of "the Danish example" in the sixteenth century.

The similarity first becomes apparent in the second decade of the fifteenth century, when Scandinavian scholars join the Scots in becoming deeply involved with the rising wave of neo-realism at Paris University. This becomes particularly noticeable after 1419 and the virtual exodus of the Scottish students from the German Nation, when

it was primarily through individuals such as Laurencius Olavi de Dacia, Jacobus Petri [Roodh] of Åbo (Finland) and Arnoldus Helie that the teachings of Johannes Novo Domo were preserved in the nearly abandoned university.¹ Of these, Jacobus Roodh went on to become the leading figure in the German nation at Paris during the 1420s, and was a colleague and contemporary of the last remaining Scottish master of the John Crannoch era, Rogeri de Edynburgh.²

It must have been an easy transition when during the middle years of the fifteenth century Cologne University became the most popular centre for Danish students to complete their educations. When Christian I assigned Peder Albretsen the task of bringing the initial group of teachers and students to Copenhagen for the establishment of a new university, it was probably understood that the majority of these would come directly from the hundred-year-old university on the Rhine. For this reason it is possible to trace most of the early teachings at Copenhagen University back to the 'Obscurantist Scholasticism' which was dominant at Cologne during this period.³

The high concentration of Danish students at Cologne is similar to Paris in the second decade of the fifteenth century in that it coincided with a peak in the presence of Scottish students at that university as well.⁴ It is therefore no surprise that one of the individuals who was brought to Denmark in 1479 was a Scottish magister who had matriculated at Cologne in 1467 as 'Petrus David de

1 Auct. Chart. Paris, ii, 264.

2 See Appendix under Paris and above p.16n.

3 Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 11.

4 See Chart A, p. 25b.

Scocia'.⁵ This Peter David had been promoted to Bachelor of Arts in 1470 and elevated to the rank of magister in 1477.⁶ He seems to have continued his studies in theology in Denmark since he eventually licensed in theology in 1487 and was finally named Doctor of Theology at Copenhagen by Dr. jur. Erik Nielsen (Rosenkrands) in 1498.⁷

Peter David soon became one of the most prominent scholars in the new university, serving first as dean of the faculty of letters and then later as vice-chancellor, filling this higher office six times during his career.⁸ He may have been prominent in court as well if he was one of the Danish ambassadors to Russia in 1496.⁹ Certainly in Denmark as in Scotland it was quite normal for academics to be included as emissaries in just such an official party.¹⁰

It has been suggested that Peter David was a supporter of the Thomist Aristotelian theology, according to an obituary which was included in the Skibby Chronicle.¹¹ This is what would be expected of a student who had spent nearly ten years in the Kuyck Bursa at Cologne University during a period when the Dominican Thomists were dominant. When a comparison is made with contemporary events at Cologne, Louvain and Paris, the academic and theological beliefs of Peter David must have been typical of many late fifteenth-century

5 Keussen, Matrikel, 131:97; see Appendix under Cologne.

6 Christensen, "Scots in Denmark", SHR XLIX (1970), 130.

7 Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 13.

8 Riis, Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot..., i, 113. Since the source for this citation is not given I can only assume that the faculty of letters equates with the faculty of arts.

9 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 130, 132.

10 See Chapter 1, p. 33-34.

11 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 130.

Scholastics and also of lecturers at Copenhagen.

Certainly the fact that Peter David is sometimes portrayed as having been too old-fashioned to tolerate the rise in Humanist influence during the first decades of the sixteenth century corresponds exactly with the forces in Cologne which instigated the Reuchlin Controversy. In which case it is possible and perhaps even quite likely that Dr. Peter David, Professor of Theology at the University of Copenhagen, was in regular correspondence with his closest counterpart and colleague at Cologne University, 'Rektor Thomas Lyell de Scocia'. This could have been an important influence on Danish academics, and Scottish academia as well, since this Thomas Lyle was also the theology professor who was assigned to oversee much of the Reuchlin disputation.¹²

The likelihood that there was this additional connection between Copenhagen and Cologne is increased by the observation that Lyle and David had been contemporaries at Cologne and both fit the pattern of progressive Scottish academics during the 1460s and 1470s. Indeed Lyle in particular seems to be a good example of a Scottish continental scholar of the period since he had started his education at Paris University and then gone to Louvain for a short while before matriculating at Cologne in 1461.¹³ It is not recorded which Bursa, if any, Lyle was associated with at Cologne, but given the popularity of the Kuyck with Scottish students and masters at that time, including Peter David, it is entirely possible that Lyle would have

¹² Lyall, Scottish students at Cologne and Louvain, 64; Keussen, Matrikel, i, 66 and entry 291:66n.

¹³ See Appendix under Paris (1458), Louvain (1459) and Cologne (1461); These dates suggest that Lyle was probably a first generation academic 'descendant' of the Cologne realists who had returned to Scotland in 1449-50.

been one of the arts lecturers associated with the Kuyck since he did not become a professor of theology at Cologne until 1486. Indeed, they may even have been students together in the theology faculty in the late 1470s since Peter David licensed in theology only one year after his countryman.¹⁴

Thus, the presence of these two Scottish theologians at Cologne and Copenhagen may have been quite important since it seems unlikely that Peter David would not have maintained his contacts with Cologne during the first two decades of the sixteenth century. The very existence of this academic relationship between Cologne and Denmark makes it almost inconceivable that events in western Europe did not have significant influence on the academic development of northern Germany states and Scandinavia during the Reformation. Also, through the lives of these two senior Scholastic theologians it is possible to establish a connection between Cologne and Copenhagen which is useful in explaining some parallel aspects of the Scottish academic environment during the early Reformation period.

The similarities between Peter David and Thomas Lyle continued right up to their deaths in 1520 and 1518 respectively, at which point they provide a convenient termination point for the discussion of Scholasticism.¹⁵ This end to the presence of two Scottish realist academics of the Athilmer tradition as the dominant figures in both Cologne and Copenhagen means that the second decade of the sixteenth century also provides a reasonable starting place for a discussion of the rise of Humanist academic influences and the beginning of the Reformation in Denmark.

¹⁴ Keussen, Matrikel, i, 66.

¹⁵ Ibid., i, 66; Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 15.

The arrival of Humanism and the Reformation in Denmark

Denmark paralleled most of northern Europe in that new ideas about philosophy, politics, religion, and society followed the gradual appearance of Renaissance ideas north of the Alps during the fifteenth century. The Renaissance period encouraged a revival of classical pre-Christian learning which allowed for a reinterpretation of the role of man and is broadly described by the term 'Humanism'. In the early years of the sixteenth century, Humanism reached the highpoint of its popularity under the leadership of Erasmus, Reuchlin and a handful of other academics who have been mentioned earlier.¹⁶ Within a generation, however, this school of thought was beginning to be overshadowed by the more emotional and popular ideas concerning the reform of religion which are now collectively identified as 'the Reformation'.

It seems that Denmark was destined to become directly involved largely as the result of King Christian II's personal interest in developments and innovations in philosophical and political fields. This interest by Christian II is understandable since Humanism and the teachings of Erasmus and others had become popular among the educated circles of society, and perhaps more importantly, among many of the courtiers who surrounded the rulers of each country. Certainly Christian II and all of the early development of the Reformation in Denmark must be seen in the context of this Humanist foundation.

Historians have always had some difficulty with Christian II since although he was overthrown at a fairly young age he should have been one of the most notable monarchs of his day. As a result of a series of arranged marriages this ruler of Norway, Denmark and Sweden

¹⁶ See Chapter 2, p. 63.

was also related to several of the most powerful families in Germany. King Christian himself had made the most important of these when he married Isabella, sister of Emperor Charles V. Thus, his political connections and family ties placed him close to the top of European society. Domestically, Christian II, probably as a result of his education, also seems to have been honestly concerned with bettering the lives of his subjects. This combination of a secure political position and a Humanist influenced education created what was the most promising possibility for the evolution of a modern enlightened ruler. However, this same man worked determinedly to create an absolute, hereditary kingdom and is also remembered for his role in the suppression of rebellious Swedish nobles which has become known as "the Bloodbath of Stockholm".

This contradiction meant that even in the sixteenth century, contemporaries, even amongst the Humanist community, could be sharply divided in their opinion of Christian II. In August of 1521, which was only six months after the massacre, Erasmus expresses respect and possibly admiration for Christian when he addresses him as "invictus Danorum rex Christiernus", on the occasion of the Danes visit to the Netherlands.¹⁷ Similarly, when Christian II visited Antwerp in that same year, the painter Albrecht Dürer describes the admiration shown by the people upon his arrival.¹⁸ At the same time, however, some Humanists viewed the Danish king quite differently. For example Jacob Ziegler, who was a correspondent and friend of Erasmus, later includes quite condemnatory statements in his description of the events in Sweden.¹⁹ This discrepancy makes it seem as if both Dürer

17 Allen, Erasmus Epistolae, iv, 568.

18 Dürer, Tagebuch der Reise in die Niederlands, 72.

19 Allen, Erasmus Epistolae, iv, 568 n; v, 17; x, 254.

and Erasmus had meekly chosen to play down the killings in Sweden while the Danish king was in the Netherlands. However, it is also possible that they were reflecting a commonly held opinion that Christian II was still a figure worthy of respect. Certainly in later years the Danish people remembered his attempts towards law reform more than they did what is today considered a rather brutal elimination of his opponents.²⁰

It is important to remember that even though the Stockholm massacre was singularly ruthless and also rather spectacular, the execution of rebellious nobles was still a fairly commonplace occurrence. If anything made this occasion unusual, it would only have been the method, the number of nobles and the inclusion of Swedish bishops. In the long run, the Humanist reputation of Christian II does not seem to have been seriously damaged by this event. This historical clemency can perhaps be partially attributed to the importance of Christian's royal support for the academic community, which, needless to say, usually influences the historical depiction for the better.

The academic atmosphere which King Christian attempted to create around himself in Denmark is a striking contrast to the distinctly unenlightened violent suppression of the Swedish nobles. Christian II seems to have made a conscious effort to improve the image of the Danish court and was always attempting to collect people and ideas from other parts of Europe which might bring a more cultured appearance to his surroundings.²¹ It is this which helped

²⁰ Arup, Danmarks Historie, ii, 396.

²¹ Kai Hørby has suggested that it was the Humanistic cultural benefaction of Christian II which was his greatest contribution to posterity. Hørby, "Humanist Profiles in the Danish Reform Movement", Die dänische Reformation vor ihrem internationalen Hintergrund, 34-7.

to bring the ideas of Humanists who were teaching throughout Europe in the early years of the sixteenth century into Denmark. An important illustration of this is the establishment by Christian II of a Carmelite College, under the leadership of Paulus Helie, which was associated with Copenhagen University in 1519.²²

It may well be that his attempt to implement an enlightened Humanist-influenced legal code did actually help Christian II to gain a degree of popularity among the Danish people for attempting to improve the lives of the less privileged members of the society.²³ However, it is not coincidental that much of what can be attributed to his desire to help the common man also contributed to his efforts to reduce the power of the nobles and the church and increase his own personal control.

In general, Christian II was interested in creating a society in which he could rule as a strong king, independent of his nobles, and yet still be respected by the scholars and philosophers he admired. Thus, the Erasmian goal of trying to dampen extreme or violently held beliefs, must have seemed the only logical way to deal with what were still basically academic disagreements about religious reform after 1517. In this way the moderate approach to philosophy

22 Hørby, "Humanist Profiles in the Danish Reform Movement", and Grell, "The Emergence of Two Cities: The Reformation in Malmø and Copenhagen", *Ibid*, 35-6, 131. Paulus Helie and the Carmelites in Denmark are usually credited with playing an important role in the transition from Scholasticism to the Reformation in that country, Andersen, "The Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic", *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ii (2nd edition), 144. Also see below p. 163.

23 Dunkley, *The Reformation in Denmark*, 37; Indeed a reevaluation of early-modern political forces is the basic premise behind many modern revisionist histories of 'Reformations from above'. See Grane/Hørby, *Die dänische Reformation vor ihrem internationalen Hintergrund*, (1990); and Haigh, *The English Reformation Revisited*, (1987).

which is reflected in the life of Erasmus can be seen as a likely basis for the relative toleration of religious views which prevented the outbreak of religious wars and general persecution in both Denmark and Scotland during the early years of the Reformation.

Scots in the court of Christian II

Some six months before Luther lit the spark which changed the political and religious environment of Europe, Erasmus had written to Capito of his admiration for the writings being, "cultivated and embraced by Scots, by Danes and by Irishmen".²⁴ This is reminiscent of Melanchthon's statement at Wittenberg just over a year later about an ancient academic tradition of Scotland and Ireland which "nourished letters for a long while". These comments on nations which were known for their reputation in the field of scholarly pursuits are quite interesting on the eve of the Reformation. This ability to identify talented scholars with these particular nationalities may even reflect a general perception which already existed on the Continent and could even refer to individuals such as Peter David, Thomas Lyle and John Ireland.²⁵

Soon after his election to the Danish throne, Christian II was able to begin gathering about himself an impressive circle of learned men. Initially the king of Denmark restricted himself to a few talented Danes, such as Hans Mikkelsen, a former burgomaster of Malmø who became one of his closest advisors, and later Paul Eliaesen and Christian Pedersen. However, he soon began to look for men of other nationalities as well, and it seems significant that a fairly large

²⁴ Allen, Erasmus Epistolae, ii, 489.

²⁵ See above p. 96.

number of Scots join the predominately German scholars who are appointed to some of the most important court positions during his reign.

As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, David Cochran, the Danish king-of-arms under Christian II, and Thomas Lummesden, the Sjælland herald, had been leading members of the Danish diplomatic circle since the 1490s.²⁶ After the coronation of Christian II in 1513, Scots seem to become even more prominent in Danish foreign relations. Not only do both Cochran and Lummesden continue to serve as diplomats, but they are soon joined by John Elgin, who comes to Scotland as an emissary of the Danish king in 1517, and by Dr. Alexander Kinghorn in 1519.²⁷ Of the Scots who appear in the court of Christian II, Dr. Kinghorn probably played the most important part.

As physician-in-ordinary to the king, Dr. Kinghorn was able to accumulate considerable wealth and influence. In addition to his holding the position of royal physician, he was made dean of the cathedral at Roskilde and recipient of the income from that office. His standing in court was further confirmed by his appointment as rector of the University of Copenhagen, where he was also listed as a lecturer in medicine.²⁸ Indeed Kinghorn seems to emerge as one of Christian II's closest consultants, appearing as 'councillor' in his relations with Scotland by 1523.²⁹ It seems likely that Kinghorn's friendship with the king contributed to the success of other Scots in

26 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 31; see below p. 204-06.

27 Hannay, Letters of James V, 53.

28 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 132-3.

29 Riis, Auld Acquaintance, i, 22.

Denmark. For example, it is almost certain that as rector of the university, and advisor to the king, Kinghorn would have had some influence in the selection of Thomas Alane as a new lecturer in philosophy in 1520, possibly as a replacement for the recently deceased Professor of Theology, Dr. Peter David.³⁰

It seems unlikely, however, that Thomas Alane, or 'Thomas Scotus' or 'Skotte' as he usually appears, would have been chosen purely because of his Scottish connections. He must also have possessed the qualifications required to fill the position of lecturer in philosophy since he was appointed during a reign when Humanism and new religious philosophies were highly valued. Since Alane continued to lecture through at least most of the period when Frederik I was on the throne, this Scottish master must also have been able to distance himself somewhat from the political turmoil which existed within the academic world during the 1520s. Once again the moderate Erasmian Humanist approach to philosophical disputation may have proved to be a useful point of view.

Christian II and his Wittenberg scholars

Christian II was probably aware of the teachings of Martin Luther and a supporter of many of his ideas almost from the very beginning, as were most Humanists until after the Diet of Worms. It is therefore not surprising that many of the scholars he imported to improve the image of the Danish court came directly from Wittenberg since it was probably seen as one of the most progressive locations in Europe at the time.

30

See also Riis, Auld Acquaintance, 113-4. This may even be another illustration of a general desire to have at least one 'British' lecturer in the faculty in order to draw on the ancient academic tradition discussed above p. 128-130, 92.

The Danish king seems to have followed the Lutheran bandwagon more enthusiastically than most of his princely contemporaries, perhaps because his mother was a sister of the Elector of Saxony. In December of 1520, Martin Reinhard appears at the University of Copenhagen as a student of theology, after having come from Wittenberg.³¹ It has been suggested that he came to Copenhagen to study under the Danish Humanist, Paul Eliaesen or Elie, but within a few months he is listed as a royal chaplain and allowed to preach in public and in court. It therefore seems more likely that he was one of the individuals whom Christian brought to his court to introduce and explain new ideas.

Within a month or two of the arrival of Martin Reinhard at Copenhagen, another Wittenberg student, Mathias Gabler, makes his appearance at the Danish university. He almost certainly had been invited by Christian II as one of his Humanists since Gabler is cited as the first lecturer in Greek at Copenhagen in 1521.³² Since Gabler had received his bachelor degree in 1519 he must have been seen as a Humanist reformer, one who would most likely have begun his studies at Wittenberg in 1517 or earlier. As a student of Greek he would have spent at least a year with Melanchthon and it is to him that the new arrival in Copenhagen writes of King Christian II's high regard for Luther.³³ It is therefore perfectly natural that the only remnant of Mathias Gabler's work in Denmark, which is a Latin letter of 1521 in commemoration of Christian II, also praises prominent Danish Humanists such as Christiern Morsing and Eliaesen, who were

31 Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 23.

32 Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 19.

33 CR, i, 107

not Lutheran reformers.³⁴

Christian II must have liked what he was hearing from his new Wittenberg acquisitions, since Reinhard had been in Denmark for just over three months, when he was sent as an envoy to the Elector of Saxony to ask for one of the lecturers at Wittenberg to return with him to lecture and probably restructure Copenhagen University.³⁵ It happened that this was exactly the time that Luther, after leaving the Diet of Worms, was 'kidnapped' by the Elector of Saxony and hidden at the Wartburg, a fortress/palace, for his own safety. The theologians still at Wittenberg were under threat from the edict of Worms as well. Under such turbulent conditions it is somewhat surprising that a figure as important as Andreas Carlstadt would have accepted the invitation of Christian II, however he arrived in Denmark at the end of May.³⁶ His stay of three weeks and quick departure, however, was less surprising than his arrival. If he came to Copenhagen to promote his views on Lutheran religious reform and try to shape the Danish Church he was never likely to find much royal sympathy.

Carlstadt had already disagreed with several of his colleagues at Wittenberg and wanted to push for greater changes than most were willing to accept at the time. This was well illustrated soon after

34 Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 21.

35 Ibid., 24.

36 It is interesting to wonder to what extent the association with Wittenberg by Christian II was based upon political motivations. It is certainly dangerous, however, to place too much emphasis on this with regards to the presence of Reinhard and Carlstadt since the mere threat of alliance with the reformers was usually enough to extract significant concessions from Rome. Lohse, "Humanismus und Reformation in norddeutschen Städten in der 20er und frühen 30er Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts", Die dänische Reformation vor ihrem internationalen Hintergrund, 12.

Carlstadt's return to Wittenberg in the summer of 1521 when he became associated with iconoclasm and 'the Zwickau prophets' with their 'divinely inspired' dreams of social reform which laid the foundation for the Peasants War of 1524-5. Eventually his outspokenness and frustration led to his rejection of both Wittenberg and Luther.³⁷

No matter how strongly Christian II may have supported the concept of religious reform he was not likely to support ideas such as Carlstadt's simply because they were too potentially disruptive and a threat to the status quo. The Danish king must always be seen first as a young Humanist ruler and secondly as an academic Humanist reformer who was interested in contemporary ideas.

Until 1524, many Humanists accepted Luther as a fellow critic of the obvious shortcomings of the Roman Church. Luther himself had not yet considered breaking away to form a new church even though he had condemned the power of the pope and the corruptions of the Mass. It was not until Erasmus was virtually forced to write his De Libero Arbitrio against Luther and his followers in August of 1524, that a rift developed between the neo-realist western tradition Humanists and those of the eastern nominalist tradition of which Wittenberg was a part. Therefore in 1521-2, when the two progressive leaders were still basically sympathetic, Christian II would have had few problems in pursuing Lutheran ideas from a Humanist point of view.

Christian II must have considered himself to be in a stable position in Denmark, for he travelled to the Netherlands in June of 1521 with his "box full of Lutheran books" and a full retinue to visit the court of his brother-in-law, Emperor Charles V.³⁸ He met

37 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 71, 77, 80.

38 Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 24.

with leading figures and scholars, including Erasmus, and became involved in discussions about philosophy and religion in what was one of the leading academic and cultural centres of Europe.³⁹ However, while he may have made a good impression on Erasmus and the people of the Netherlands, the Danish king was not as secure in his own country as he needed to be.

After he returned to Denmark, sometime towards the end of 1521, Christian II and his personal advisors completed the drawing up of his new law codes. They were ready for publication in January of 1522 and dealt greatly with the structure and role of the Church in Denmark. Many of the provisions which were contained in these laws were aimed at a reformation which, if implemented, would probably have postponed or even prevented the broader Reformation of 1536. However, it was not long after this, and possibly exactly because of these codes, that Christian II began to experience serious opposition from some of his most powerful subjects.⁴⁰

In December of 1522, a number of prominent nobles and several Danish bishops joined together to ask Duke Frederik of Holstein, uncle of Christian II, to march into Denmark and seize the throne. Duke Frederik, with the backing of Lübeck, marched north and received homage from the gathered estates of Jutland at Viborg in March of 1523. Christian was unable to raise adequate forces to resist the rebels so he and his family left for the Netherlands in April 1523, hoping to gain the assistance of the Emperor in settling the fight

³⁹ It is again worth noting that there was a significant increase in the number of Scottish students who were at Louvain University in 1521 with at least twenty Scots appearing in the matriculation rolls for that year; see Appendix under Louvain.

⁴⁰ Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 29-30; Oakley, The Story of Denmark, 92.

for the Danish crown.

The Emperor would certainly have wanted his Danish relative to forgo his connections with the supporters of Luther, and this the exiled king does not seem to have been prepared to do. This area of contention was important enough that it could help to explain the next movements of Christian II and his court. In June of 1523, Christian went to England to see Henry VIII and ask for his support in regaining his kingdom. This trip may even have been suggested by Erasmus himself since he had had long and friendly relations with Thomas More, Wolsey and a number of other learned figures, both laymen and ecclesiastics, who were now advisors to King Henry.⁴¹ As it happened, this journey failed completely and Christian did not even get the opportunity to meet with the English king. This is probably partially due to English hopes that they could play the two Danish factions off against each other, and partially due to the political danger of supporting Christian II when the Emperor and the Church would not.

Certainly it is at this point that Christian II seems to most clearly identify himself with the Lutheran following, since in October of 1523 he travelled to Wittenberg to visit his uncle, the Elector of Saxony. While there he also met with the Lutheran academics who were probably still among the progressive figures he most wished to be associated with. When Christian II returned to the Netherlands after his visit to Wittenberg, he began another campaign to gather support for his attempt to regain the Danish throne.

At the same time as Christian II was in England, Germany and the Netherlands, his envoys had been active in most of the royal and

⁴¹ Allen, Erasmus Epistolae, iii, 72, 116n; iv, 12-23; v, 313.

ecclesiastical courts of Europe. Scotland in particular received special attention because of its long standing economic involvement with Denmark, the dynastic link between the royal families and the presence of so many Scots among the Danish royal envoys. Both Dr. Kinghorn and the Danish king-of-arms, David Cochran, established themselves as almost permanent representatives of King Christian at the court of James V.⁴²

It is interesting to note that at the time when the Scottish parliament passes its first prohibition of Lutheran heresy and its importation, Christian II was one of the most prominent Lutheran partisans and his representatives were in Scotland looking for Scottish support. This act of 1525 has traditionally been assumed to have been intended for use against merchants from the Netherlands. However, it may be that this legislation was also aimed against Robert Barton, who was serving as Comptroller and at the same time supporting the exiled Danish king. Indeed, jealousy of the personal wealth and power of this merchant of Leith could actually have contributed to the problems which awaited the representatives of Christian II.

Certainly individuals who had disagreements with Barton politically or economically would have tried to use this Danish connection to their advantage. For example, when the Scottish bishops began working to repress Lutheran influence, they would probably have found friends in Parliament who were quite willing to work towards anything which could cause problems between Scotland, and therefore Barton, and Christian II.

When Christian II was at Wittenberg in 1523 he undertook to

⁴² Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 131-35; Acts of Parliament, [APS], ii, 302

have Luther's German New Testament and a number of Lutheran texts translated into Danish. This work was largely accomplished by Hans Mikkelsen and Christian Vinter by 1524 and sent to Antwerp for publication and shipment to Denmark. One of these may have been Christiern Pedersen's Danish version of a Lutheran tract which John Gau, the Scottish chaplain in Malmø, later translated into Scots as The Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heuine.⁴³

It seems that completion of this project in early 1524 was probably the peak of Christian II's Lutheran aspirations. Certainly it was about this time that Erasmus began to change his attitude towards Luther and therefore probably would have encouraged the Danish king to reconsider the wishes of the Emperor. Thus, the exiled king now had both philosophical and political reasons for changing his public stance on Lutheran reform.

Up until this stage in his life, Christian II does seem to have been honestly sympathetic with the religious doctrines being taught by Luther and the Wittenberg reformers. After 1525, though, his situation would have become more complicated as the political world continued to change about him so that his progressive views became a greater liability to his goal of returning to the throne of Denmark. Also, during his exile in the Netherlands, Christian was more likely to be influenced by Erasmus and his followers than by Luther. It seems likely, however, that the intellectual forces which were encouraging Christian's support of the more conservative Erasmian Humanists in preference to the Lutherans were relatively moderate compared to the political forces acting towards the same goal.

When Queen Isabella, the wife of Christian II, died in 1526,

⁴³ Mitchell (ed.), The Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heuine, STS (1888), p. xxxi.

Charles V would have felt less obligated to tolerate his brother-in-law's difficult religious views. Since Christian II was living in the Netherlands as a guest of the Emperor and was dependant upon his support for regaining the Danish throne, the death of Isabella left him open to a form of political blackmail.

At the same time, back in Denmark, Christian II's opponent, Frederik I, had begun to show a degree of sympathy towards increasing popular support for the Reformation in several Danish towns. In the royal courts of Europe, however, the fear which the Peasants War uprisings of the previous year had provoked, was still quite real. This meant that for men like Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France to assist Christian II, the former Danish king would be more acceptable if he returned to the Catholic Church and worked to help counter the popular Lutheran movement which was being allowed to spread by his successor.⁴⁴ Thus it is no surprise that after 1526 Christian II began to emerge as a conservative in comparison to his more tolerant uncle, Frederik I, and that it was the usurper who could offer the Danish progressive Humanists and reformers greater opportunities.

The emergence of popular support in Denmark for the Reformation during the reign of Frederik I

If anything, Frederik I helped to make the development of

⁴⁴ The fear of a precedent being established in which a king could be replaced by a disgruntled populace would have made the Lutherans seem even more threatening, particularly for Charles V who was also an elected ruler. It is important to remember that the German electors were almost equally split as to their position on the reformers. This combination of a dangerous political precedent and spreading Lutheran ideology help to explain why Charles V and Henry VIII at one point threatened to enter Denmark by force to restore the rightful Danish king.; see L. and P. of Henry VIII, III, part 2, no. 3287.

Lutheran ideas continue more smoothly in Denmark than might have been the case under the rule of a progressive prince such as Christian II. Indeed, royal Humanist inspired reform would now have been impossible due to the restrictions placed on King Frederik by his 'Håndfæstning' or coronation charter which attempted to eliminate most of the changes made by Christian II and thereby return power to the church and nobility. Because of the dominant position of the nobility he was not able to rule much like a king at all, and it has been said that in his thinking and style he resembled the neighbouring north German princes more than he did the monarchs of other European kingdoms.⁴⁵ However, northern Germany may actually have provided a more useful pattern for Denmark since the Lutheran influence which was spreading across northern Europe would probably have been more pervasive than Christian II's more academic Humanist orientation.

Certainly during the 1520s, German merchants in the Hanseatic towns and trading centres of northern Europe had quickly seized upon the development of the Lutheran church as a community establishment through which they could increase their standing and decrease the traditional power of the nobility and high clergy. In Denmark, the nobility had reduced the power of the monarchy and at the same time repressed any progress made towards improving the lives of those who were below them in society. Therefore, when Frederik I tried to increase his own personal power he was able to gain popular support by permitting Lutheran preachers and ideas to have some degree of official acceptance in the kingdom.

The Lutheran goal of eliminating the oppressive economic traditions of the Roman Church brought it into the social struggles

⁴⁵Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 38.

of the peasant class. Death dues, indulgences and the enforced payment of the tithe regardless of the harvest, made the tremendous property holdings of the church a source of broad resentment. There had been a number of peasant risings throughout the closing years of the fifteenth century and the intellectual questioning of the church by the reformers gave peasant leaders justification for their attacks upon social superiors who had always been able to turn to the church for its spiritual control of the populace.

When the Peasants War erupted in Thuringia and other parts of Germany in 1524-5, many rulers were justifiably afraid that similar circumstances would result in parallel uprisings in their own lands. This is exactly what did happen in Denmark when early in 1525 the peasants of Skåne joined with supporters of Christian II to rise against the nobility and King Frederik. A Danish army crushed the rebellion, but the disruptive forces were still present.

An assembly or 'Herredag' was held in July to try and bring peace by reducing the problems which had provoked feelings of frustration among the people of Denmark. However, the 'Herredag' was dominated by a few nobles who demanded the desecularization of the church and the revocation of church lands in favour of the nobility. The bishops were naturally reluctant to make any such concessions so in the end the assembly accomplished little other than to further divide the powerful into factions.

At the same time, Frederik I was showing himself to be more tolerant of the Lutherans than his 'Håndfæstning' had demanded. Among the first indications that Frederik might continue some of his deposed nephew's ties to the Lutheran world was the marriage of the king's eldest son, and presumed successor, to a daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg in 1525. Saxe-Lauenburg was a thirteenth-century

minor house of the ruling family of Saxony located between Holstein, Brunswick and Mecklenburg, which meant that it was natural for the Duke to become one of the early Lutheran partisans.⁴⁶ This marriage was soon followed by the betrothal of Frederik's daughter, Dorothea, to Duke Albert of Brandenburg, who had himself renounced the Roman church the year before.⁴⁷

By 1527, popular support for Lutheran inspired reforms had spread deep enough into Danish society that circles of adherents were beginning to appear in most Danish towns of any size. Perhaps the most significant of these circles was one which developed within the University of Copenhagen and was composed of an important group of lecturers and students.

In June of that year, Bishop Lage Urne, the Chancellor of the University, wrote a letter to the Senate in which he stated that a number of students had turned toward heresy and the teachings of Luther.⁴⁸ Also in 1527, Olaf Chrysostomus was appointed as the new Professor of Theology. However, before long he and a fellow lecturer, Franz Vermordsen, became recognized as supporters of the reform movement. In an attempt to control the spread of heresy

46 Most of the German states which made up the north-east quarter of the Empire formally joined the reform movement in a fairly orderly progression. Saxony was naturally the first to adopt a reformed church ordinance, closely followed by Prussia in 1525; Brandenburg and Hesse in 1526; Luneburg in 1527; Brunswick (Braunschweig) in 1528 and Pomerania in 1536. Most of the free cities in this region did the same; Hamburg in 1529; Frankfurt, Gottingen and Rostock in 1530; Lübeck in 1531; and Bremen and Hannover in 1536. All of these would have had an influence on the Danish Ordinatio Ecclesiastica, which was composed in 1537, and on the new church ordinance written for Schleswig\Holstein in 1542. See Richter, Die evangelischen kirchenordnungen des sechszehnte Jahrhunderts.

47 Grell, "The City of Malmø and the Danish Reformation", AR (1986), 313.

48 Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 53.

within the university, lectures in theology were closed to students who were not already in orders or had not previously received a bachelor's degree. This restriction of the academic freedom resulted in a general decrease in the number of students who attended lectures and as disturbances continued, the university was forced to virtually close down in 1531.⁴⁹

Two similar circles of reformers seem to have benefitted from this turmoil within Copenhagen University. In 1526, the burgomaster and citizens of Viborg, in central Jutland, appealed to the king for royal protection for their Lutheran preacher, Hans Tausen. Frederik issued a letter of protection in October and named Tausen as a royal chaplain with the freedom to continue preaching. It should perhaps be mentioned here that Hans Tausen is a good example of how the Magisterial Reformation had an effect in Denmark as well since Tausen had been in Cologne in 1515, which was still during the Reuchlin Controversy, and then studied at Rostock University from 1516-21. After finishing there he moved on to the University of Copenhagen and Wittenberg and became a supporter of the Lutheran teachings.⁵⁰ Similarly, Jorgen Sadolin, who was Tausen's assistant at Viborg, had also studied at Wittenberg from 1521 to 1523 and then went on to become the first Lutheran bishop in Fünen. It is interesting that Sadolin also established a school in Viborg which was intended to be for students who were unable to go to Copenhagen University.⁵¹

Similarly, the town of Malmö in Skåne, which lies directly

49 Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 26.

50 Keussen, Matrikel, ii, 515:19n. Tausen may have visited Louvain as well, see below p.164.

51 Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 43. It is worth noting that Tausen and Sadolin are products of Denmark's Humanist era and are at Wittenberg during Christian II's contact with that university.

across the sound from Copenhagen, provided another focus for Lutheran preachers and supporters despite the local peasant uprising of the previous year which had ended just as bloodily as those in Germany. The strength of the Reformation in Malmø was probably largely due to the influence of Hanseatic merchants who were trading quite heavily with the south coast of the Swedish peninsula. It must also be remembered, that this was approximately the same time as Christian II completed his transcriptions of Lutheran texts into Danish. Malmø was the most important town which still had contact with the Danish court in the Netherlands so it certainly would have received some of the "thousands" of Lutheran texts in Danish.⁵²

By 1527 Lutheran preachers had begun to have an important influence on popular opinion. Probably the most important of these preachers was Claus Mortensen, who had previously been prohibited from preaching in Copenhagen by the same Bishop Lage Urne of Sjælland who had written to the University Senate. The Skibby Chronicle goes so far as to claim that by 1528 most of the city of Malmø had left the established church.⁵³

Danish Carmelites as a parallel to the Scottish Dominican Reformers

Earlier in this thesis the role of internal reform movements among the Dominican and Augustinian religious orders was discussed in an attempt to better understand the literally dozens of monks and friars who emerged during the 1520s and 30s as early supporters of the Reformation.⁵⁴ In Denmark the Humanist innovations of Paulus

52 Ibid., 41.

53 Grell, Malmø and the Danish Reformation, 317.

54 See above Chapter 2, p. 74-5.

Helie at the Carmelite chapter of Copenhagen University provide a similar foundation for Lutheran reformers, perhaps following the example of the internal reform program of Master-General Audet (and more recently Urbanus Rhegius, who seems to have been a Carmelite as well and who had emerged as the leader of the reform movement in Augsburg).⁵⁵ Certainly it is interesting that Hans Tausen is cited as a student of Helie at Copenhagen before the great Reformer continued on to Louvain and Wittenberg in the 1520s.⁵⁶ The Carmelite members themselves, however, yielded leaders for the reform movement which are nearly as important as 'Denmark's Luther'.

In February of 1529, Franz Vormordsen, who was a Carmelite friar and a Humanist lecturer at the University, was brought to Malmø in an apparent attempt to moderate radical beliefs and counteract the Lutheran preachers. However, Vormordsen soon emerged as one of the foremost Reformers in Denmark. He was soon joined by another former Carmelite lecturer from the Copenhagen University, Peder Laurentsen, and the city fathers appointed them masters at a new school in Malmø which provided an alternative to the schools and university which were dominated by the church. Not long after this Oluf Chysostomus, the recently appointed professor of Theology at Copenhagen, also left the university and joined his reformed colleagues across the sound in Skåne.⁵⁷ The reputation of Malmø must have spread quickly since so

55 This Urbanus Rhegius of Augsburg was invited, along with Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Hedio of Strassburg, Brentz of Swabian Hall and Schwebel of Zweibrücken, to attend the Marburg Colloquy with Luther and Melanchthon. Richard, Philip Melanchthon, 185. See McGoldrick, Luther's Scottish Connection, 62, for Rhegius as a Carmelite "monk" (friar), he is not noted as such in TRE entry. See McRoberts, Essays, 210, for Audet.

56 Andersen, "The Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic", The New Cambridge Modern History, ii (2nd edition), 146.

57 Grell, Malmø and the Danish Reformation, 321.

many of the university lecturers had relocated there. This would have been supplemented by the work of one of the teachers at Malmø, Oluf Gyldenmund, had delivered a public attack on the Roman clergy as early as 1529, from the pulpit of the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen.⁵⁸

At about the same time, Jorgen Kock, who was probably the most important merchant magistrate in Malmø, asked King Frederik to empty the towns two religious houses and turn them over to the town council to be used as a hospital and town hall. The king was willing to allow the conversions, but politically it was not yet possible to sanction the expulsion of the mendicants from their friaries. However permission in principal had been given so it was no great surprise when in the autumn of 1529 the citizens of Malmø used a conflict with one of the religious houses to virtually force the friars to surrender their houses.⁵⁹ By the end of 1529, the house of the Holy Spirit had become the new Rådhus and soon afterwards the Greyfriars chapter house was seized and converted into a hospital and clergy school.

These events were probably quite important for developments in Scotland since this was the situation when Alexander Alesius arrived at Malmø on his way from Dundee to Wittenberg in 1530 and received a warm welcome from the large Scottish community in that town. Also it is approximately this same point in time that Scottish merchant involvement in the Baltic and Denmark reaches a peak so that there was a great deal of contact with the merchant towns of the north-east of Scotland, specifically the coastal burghs between St. Andrews and Aberdeen.⁶⁰ This was also about the time when John Gau, the

58 Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 53.

59 Grell, Malmø and the Danish Reformation, 321-2.

60 See Chapter 5, 182, 192-4.

future author of The Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heuine, arrived to become chaplain of the same Scottish community which had welcomed Alesius.⁶¹

It has been suggested that parts of this work are drawn from the writings of Urbanus Rhegius as well as Luther's Betbüchlein.⁶² If we look at Malmø in broader perspective circa 1530 this would seem possible since the writings of Urbanus Rhegius were familiar to the Reformed circle at Oxford by 1528 and his Latin catechism seems to have been quite popular among the reformed clergy in Denmark after the Reformation.⁶³ The popularity of Rhegius in Denmark may be due in part to the fact that he was a relatively local figure by this point, having become associated with Lüneburg by 1527 and appointed as Superintendent of Celle in 1531, both of which are fairly near Hamburg and Lübeck.⁶⁴ It therefore may be worthwhile keeping this in mind with respect to Scotland as well.

The return of Christian II and the Counts War

For Frederik I and Denmark as a whole, however, there was an additional factor which would now emerge to slow the reform process which had become so strong in Malmø and Viborg. In October of 1531, after having finally obtaining financial support from the Emperor,

61 Mitchell, The Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heuine, p. xvii and xix-xx.

62 The importance of the Carmelite theologians may once more be relevant if Rhegius was actually a member of that order. For his contribution to Richt Vay see Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, 256.

63 Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, 80; Grane, "Teaching the People - the Education of the Clergy and the Instruction of the People in the Danish Reformation Church", Die dänische Reformation vor ihrem internationalen Hintergrund, 178.

64 TRE, xvi (1905), 739-40.

Christian II sailed from the Netherlands with a fleet of twenty-five ships and an army of nearly 7,000 men.⁶⁵

Unfortunately for Christian, storms scattered and damaged this fleet with the result that he arrived on the southern coast of Norway with a much weaker force. Christian's fleet was no longer strong enough to force a return to Denmark so he had to remain in Norway and try to regroup. However, this was not a disaster since he was at least back in the kingdom and was now a much stronger threat to his uncle than he had been. Frederik turned to Lübeck once again for assistance and by May 1532 was able to send a large combined Danish and Hanseatic force to Norway and block Christian II.⁶⁶

In July, the exiled king was forced to look for a negotiated settlement and travelled to Copenhagen under a safe conduct issued by Frederik's representative. The actual presence of Christian II in Denmark proved to be even more likely to spark a rebellion by his supporters than when he was in Norway. Frederik I was thus virtually forced to ignore the safe conduct and imprison the former king. When Christian II's only son died only one month later it seemed that Frederik might no longer be under threat from his brother's family. However, less than a year later the struggle was reborn in an even more violent form following the death of King Frederik. The former supporters of Christian II and Frederik's eldest son, Duke Christian, now joined with partisans of the established church and the Reform movement in allying themselves with various powerful nobles to start a war of succession in Denmark.⁶⁷

Denmark was one of the few elective monarchies in Europe and

⁶⁵ Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 65.

⁶⁶ Oakley, The Story of Denmark, 95.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 97.

on this occasion, this tradition proved to be most unfortunate. A 'Herredag' was assembled for the election in Copenhagen in June 1533 with the bishops supporting young Prince Hans, in the hope that he could be raised in the old church, and the Lutherans favouring his older brother who had already proved himself to be an adherent of the Reformed Church. There were also a few nobles who supported the still imprisoned Christian II. It soon became apparent that the assembly could not reach a majority. The 'Herredag' was recessed for a year until the Danish and Norwegian Councils could be summoned for a combined meeting. As the assembly broke up, a final Recess was issued by a minority of the representatives which temporarily placed the government in the hands of the bishops. This resulted in a total collapse in negotiations between the Lutherans and Roman Catholics.⁶⁸

After several months of confusion, a few of the more powerful factions began looking for outside help in establishing their choice as the rightful king. The first outsider to make an attempt to force an end to the stalemate was Count Christopher of Oldenburg, who wished to restore Christian II to the throne. In alliance with Lübeck, Count Christopher managed to land troops in Sjælland, and take control of Copenhagen in July of 1534. He was also welcomed by the town of Malmø, possibly because of Count Christopher's personal support for the Reformation. Soon he was able to claim control of both Sjælland and Skåne. When Fyn and much of northern Jutland also fell to his troops and supporters, it must have seemed as if the struggle over the succession was nearly over. However, the efforts to release Christian II from Sonderborg in southern Jutland were not successful and the opposition was able to gather its forces again.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 67-8.

⁶⁹ Oakley, The Story of Denmark, 97-99.

Duke Christian of Holstein had not thus far attempted to force his claim to the throne, but now a partial 'Herredag' was formed by nobles of Jutland, and the crown was offered, according to tradition, to the eldest son of Frederik I. He accepted and began the task of reconquering Denmark as the rightful King Christian III. By the end of 1534, Christian's forces had regained control of the entirety of Jutland and were threatening the alliance of Lübeck and Count Christopher. However, despite the additional assistance of Gustav Vasa and Sweden, it took another year and a half for Christian III to finally occupy Copenhagen and truly begin his reign.

The religious issue had virtually been settled as soon as Christian III became king since he had been a Lutheran most of his life. When he needed funds to pay his troops after taking control of Denmark, the Roman Church was the obvious political, philosophical and economic loser. The bishops were imprisoned, their lands seized and the Lutherans given power to establish a new national church.

The Rigsråd which was called in October 1536 to confirm the election of Christian III also had to formally settle the terms of the 'Håndfæstning'. Christian was in a stronger position than his father had been and was therefore able to strengthen the overall position of the monarchy as opposed to the church and council. The church, in the end, lost all its rights and privileges to the crown and this provided for a new start for the Lutheran followers.

Christian III showed that he was more than merely wanting to take over the powers of the church, when he asked the elector of Saxony to send a theologian from Wittenberg to guide the course of the Reformation in Denmark. In July 1537, Johann Bugenhagen arrived in Copenhagen where he was received both as the official emissary from the Elector of Saxony and as the approved spokesman of Luther

and Wittenberg on the establishment of the Reformed Church in Denmark. Thus Denmark now became the example of how a kingdom, as opposed to a principality, could be organized according to the ideas set forth by the Wittenberg academics. Twenty years after the posting of the Ninety-five Theses, Denmark was the new proving ground for a second generation of Lutherans and the Lutheran equivalent to John Winthrop's "city set upon a hill".⁷⁰

Denmark and the international Reformation movement of the 1540s.

The philosophical divisions between the continental reformers which eventually split local reform movements into factions did not cause any serious alienation until the middle decades of the sixteenth century. The reformers were initially more united by their struggle against the Roman church and their fear of Charles V as an adversary than they were separated by their differences. When Christian III formally established the Reformation in Denmark in 1536 virtually all German Reformers had some connection with the Lutheran academics of Wittenberg.

During the 1530s and 40s the doctrinal and political leaders of the early Reform movement spent a great deal of time and effort trying to reduce their differences and unite in a Protestant alliance which was based on areas of doctrinal agreement. Some important examples of this were the Marburg Colloquy between Luther and Zwingli in 1529, the Augsburg Confession of 1530, the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, a revised version of the Confession in 1541 which attempted to find some accommodation between the Lutherans and Calvin, and the accord of Zürich of 1549 which enabled the formation of a Zwinglian-

Calvinist accommodation in Switzerland.

Many of the doctrinal disagreements which these early attempts at reconciliation attempted to resolve hinged upon the practical interpretation of Christ's use of the phrase "this is my body", in the commemoration of the Lord's Supper.⁷¹ Indeed a fairly standard method of distinguishing between each group or faction in this period concentrates on their interpretations of the Sacrament of Communion. However, this Eucharist method of classification is often based on which religious leader, school or geographic region an individual happened to be most closely associated with. This can be misleading since the spread of religious ideas locally was usually guided by scholars and theologians who often tended to modify minor aspects of the teachings of their doctrinal leaders to suit their own background and ideas, especially when the local magnate or social customs placed restrictions on what was a wise or practical belief.

Philip Melanchthon is traditionally identified as a Lutheran because of his presence at Wittenberg and close friendship with Luther. Indeed, Melanchthon always considered himself a faithful follower of Luther and disagreed very strongly if anyone described him as being anything else. However, he was also a widely recognized Humanist and classical scholar, and could, just as easily, have been connected with the academics of sixteenth-century Europe who usually look to Erasmus as their leader.⁷² During Luther's disputations with the Catholics, Zwinglians and Calvinists, Melanchthon was a strong supporter of his doctrinal leader. However, as a scholar he was not closed to the possibility that Luther's ideas could evolve or their

71 Luke 22, 19.

72 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 37-41.

ramifications be further explored.

Before the Marburg Colloquy in 1529, at which Zwingli and Oecolampadius were to meet with Luther, Melanchthon stated quite clearly that the Zwinglian writings were wrong. However, before the end of 1528 Melanchthon had already begun to show a divergence from the strict Lutheran interpretation of the Eucharist when he began to consider the possibilities of 'Divine appointment' in which "Christ is in the Church wherever the Church is." In 1537 he wrote that, "not a single day or night has passed for ten years in which I have not thought on this subject."⁷³

Melanchthon has been attacked for his seemingly contradictory beliefs almost continuously since the 1520s. This derives from a lack of sympathy and understanding for a moderate academic who wished for two things: constructive academic discussion, and the avoidance of close-minded factional extremism. It is this which has made it possible for Melanchthon to be accused of Zwinglianism in 1530, Catholicism in 1536-7 and Calvinism in the 1540s and later.⁷⁴ In studying the character of the Lutheran Church in Denmark, and its possible influence on the Reformation in Scotland, this flexibility in interpreting Luther's teachings is important.

When Denmark became a focus of the Reformation in 1536, the Protestant world was in one of its most active periods of debate and development. It is therefore understandable that there were numerous ideological differences between the leaders of the Danish Lutheran Church which continued to cause ripples for another half century. In 1557 and during the mid-1570s, some members of the Danish church

73 Ibid., 168-69.

74 Ibid., 239.

leadership began campaigns to discredit those of their colleagues who seemed to have strayed too far from the orthodox beliefs of Luther. However, the roots for what were called "Crypto-Calvinist" beliefs can be traced directly to Wittenberg itself.⁷⁵

When Christian III chose to support the reformed cause, he also had to rebuild the university system which was to provide ministers and community leaders, using Electoral Saxony as his model. With the help of Johannes Bugenhagen, the nearly abandoned University of Copenhagen was reorganized and an effort made to gather and train scholars from around Europe in order to reconstruct it according to the Wittenberg example.

Particularly close attention was to be placed upon structuring the department of theology because the men who filled these positions would be responsible for educating the next generation of churchmen and for advising king on religious matters when the interpretation of doctrine was involved. There were to be three lecturers in theology and the first two chosen, in addition to Bugenhagen, were Dr. Peder Palladius and Dr. Tileman von Hussen. Both had been students at Wittenberg who had come north to Denmark at about the same time as Bugenhagen, so they may even have accompanied him.⁷⁶

Peder Palladius had studied at Wittenberg for seven years and was one of the few Danes considered well trained enough to guide the Danish Church. It is for this reason that he was also consecrated as the new Superintendent of Sjælland by Bugenhagen in 1537. Oluf Chrysostomus, who had been Professor of Theology at Copenhagen in 1527 and had been considered an adherent of the Reformation even

75 Petersen, *Macchebaeus thesis*, 276-78, 299-305.

76 Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie*, i, 47-8.

before he appeared in Malmø, now reappears as a supplementary lecturer when Bugenhagen and Palladius find their time taken up by other responsibilities. Soon, however, the shortage of qualified reformers forced the Reformed Church to appoint Tileman von Hussen as Superintendent of Schleswig in 1542, so that once more the teaching situation at the University was greatly weakened.⁷⁷

Bugenhagen was an important figure in the reforming of other lands in northern Germany and he soon felt compelled to return to Wittenberg, explaining that he had much work to do elsewhere. This was understandable but Christian III wanted a Wittenberg reformer as the primary lecturer in the University in order to maintain Lutheran influence and authority. He therefore tried once again to convince Bugenhagen to return and stay in Denmark. When this finally proved impossible a request was sent to Wittenberg and to Luther himself for a recommendation as to who could fill the vacant post.⁷⁸

Luther and his closest advisor, Philip Melanchthon, were quick to suggest Melanchthon's protégé Johannes Maccebaeus, a reformed Scottish Dominican who had recently arrived from England, as their best available candidate. Maccebaeus was promoted to the rank of Doctor of Theology at Wittenberg in 1542 and immediately travelled to Copenhagen to take up his new position.⁷⁹

It does not seem unreasonable to claim that it is through Johannes Maccebaeus that Copenhagen University and the Danish Church, and ultimately some parts of Scotland, became familiar with the teachings of Wittenberg in the period after 1540. As we shall see,

77 Ibid., i, 144-45, 150.

78 Petersen, Macchabaeus thesis, 156.

79 Ibid., 118-21.

from 1542 until his death in 1557 he was a relatively senior theologian and therefore an important figure in the international development of Reformed thought. Indeed this Scottish academic can even be seen as virtually a northern counterpart to Melanchthon and Calvin, and instrumental in the interpretation and continuation of Lutheran theology in the north after Luther's death.

Johannes Maccebaeus and the Danish Reformation in context after 1542

As discussed in a previous chapter, Johannes Maccebaeus had found it advisable to flee to Scotland and seek the 'protection' of England and Henry VIII in 1536.⁸⁰ Thus, after already having established himself as a relatively senior figure in the Scottish church hierarchy, he now began to develop a reputation as a reformed theologian in England too. This time as a chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury in 1539-40.

However, it happened that 1539 was also the year that the English Parliament enacted six articles which became "An Act abolishing Diversity of Opinion". Perhaps better known as The Act of the Six Articles or Statutes, the Lutherans were now attacked as strongly as the Roman Catholics had been before. Suddenly many of the reformers who had fled Scotland found themselves once more in danger of martyrdom. Thomas Cromwell, who was chief of the English ministers, at first seemed able to provide reasonable protection, but in July of 1540 he became another victim of Henry VIII's basically conservative politics and was impeached and executed. Two days later, on 30 July 1540, King Henry had Dr. Robert Barnes and two associates, Garret and Jerome, who were all Lutherans and probably

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See Chapter 2, p. 91.

acquaintances of Maccebaeus', burnt at Smithfield.⁸¹

It is not surprising that Maccebaeus once again decided to look abroad for a refuge and early in 1540 made his way to Germany. On the 25th of November 1540 he appears in the matriculation register of the University of Wittenberg as "D. Johannes Maccebaeus, Scotus", and began a new life which would give him a more prominent role in the course of the Lutheran Reformation.⁸²

Maccebaeus must have been received as an acknowledged reformer since he is cited as 'Doctor' in the above entry but is not believed to have previously reached that academic rank. It seems reasonable to assume that Maccebaeus would have been received with respect as a virtual hero merely for having survived being persecuted in Scotland and now was one of the first arrivals from England after Henry VIII's attacks on the followers of Luther.⁸³

The impression that he was highly thought of by Luther and his colleagues is confirmed by the fact that he was officially promoted to the rank of Professor of Theology at Wittenberg in 1542 and sent to Denmark specifically as the successor to Bugenhagen as advisor on doctrinal matters, less than a year and a half after his arrival. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this appointment when we consider the political tension of the 1540s. It is certain that Luther and Melanchthon would not have recommended anyone who was not qualified for such an important post.⁸⁴

81 See Glyn Redworth's, "A Study in the Formation of Policy: The Genesis an Evolution of the Act of the Six Articles", AR XXXVII (1986), 42-67; Lindsay, History of the Reformation, ii, 348, 249.

82 See Appendix under Wittenberg.

83 Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 108.

84 Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 150.

While Maccebaeus was at Wittenberg, Philip Melanchthon was the most active, and probably most influential, figure at the University. Luther was beginning to show his age and suffered a gradual decline in health, and although he continued to write a great deal he was no longer as deeply involved in the religious discussions with other theologians around Europe. Therefore it was left to Melanchthon to deal with the new and more radical beliefs then developing in Switzerland which came to be associated with John Calvin and Geneva. In an attempt to maintain the relatively peaceful relations between the Swiss and the Lutherans, Melanchthon produced an accommodating Variata of the Augsburg Confession in 1540. When Calvin was recalled to Geneva in September of 1541, it must have seemed that the Lutherans and Swiss were closer to smoothing over their differences than they had been since 1530. However, it was Melanchthon's leading role in these continued efforts to unite the Reformed Church which eventually led to his being described as a 'Crypto-Calvinist'.⁸⁵

Thus, after having been thoroughly indoctrinated in the beliefs of the Lutheran circle during the latter stages of Luther's career, Maccebaeus left Wittenberg and travelled to Jutland in Denmark where he met with Christian III for the first time. There he received his official letter of introduction to the University and finally arrived in Copenhagen in April or May of 1542.⁸⁶ Maccebaeus, like his mentor at Wittenberg, was not required to be one of the primary evangelical preachers in Denmark; that role was competently filled by Danes such as Hans Tausen. The Scottish theologian's primary responsibilities were to be the teaching of Theology and the doctrinal guidance of the

85 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 237, 241.

86 Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 159-60.

University, of which he was made rector in 1542.⁸⁷

It is important at this stage to remember the significance which Melanchthon placed on the role of schools and universities in the Reformation. Indeed, Melanchthon personally served as an advisor to the Universities of Cologne, Tübingen, Leipzig, Heidelberg and Greifswald, and helped to establish entirely new universities at Königsberg, Jena and Marburg.⁸⁸ His books have had an effect on the teaching of Greek, Latin and Logic in almost every university in Europe right up to the present day.

The Ordinance drawn up by Bugenhagen which established the structure of the University in Copenhagen made it quite clear that Melanchthon was to have considerable influence on Denmark as well. The main source for instruction was, of course, the study of the Bible in a Lutheran manner. This was to be supplemented by Luther's interpretation of the Letter of the Galatians and Exegesis of the Sermon on the Mount, along with Melanchthon's Loci Communes, comments on the Letter to the Romans and Apology of the Augsburg Confession. Indeed Maccebaeus was known for his lecturing on Melanchthon's Loci Communes and notes of his lessons were kept and referred to by several of his students.⁸⁹

Maccebaeus was certainly now a member of the uppermost rank of influential reformers in Denmark, although his name may not be as prominent in political events as those of his Danish colleagues. However, his extensive travelling and experience made him probably

⁸⁷ Ibid., 157, 173; Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 382.

⁸⁸ Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 144-45.

⁸⁹ Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 300; Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 162.

the most important authority in the country when difficulties over the variations in Reformed thinking appeared in Denmark. Thus, it may be useful once again to consider the possible effect of the Humanist academic dislike of extremism and conflict, which had been championed by Erasmus, adapted to Lutheran ideas by Melanchthon, and then incorporated into the mainstream of Reformation thought with the production of the Variata of the Augsburg Confession while Maccebaeus was in Germany.

The influence of Maccebaeus on Denmark and Scotland

It seems important that only one year after Maccebaeus was invited to Copenhagen, the young heir to John Erskine of Dun and his tutor, Richard Melville, apparently came to Denmark to study for a few months and then went on to Wittenberg and Melanchthon. This means that the eldest son to the first Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns was also at Wittenberg and studying during the period of closest contact between the Lutherans and Calvin. The presence of Richard Melville, one of the first reformed ministers and also eldest brother and guardian of Andrew Melville, would have increased the likelihood that Melanchthon's ideas on Lutheran teachings would have made an appearance in the discussions soon to be sponsored by the laird of Dun at his home in Scotland.⁹⁰

Similarly, William Christison, the primary minister for Dundee for nearly forty years after the establishment of the Protestant Church of Scotland, would have been exposed to the teachings of a fellow Scot. Indeed it is even possible that Christison studied with Maccebaeus in Copenhagen during the 1550s. It does not seem quite so

⁹⁰ Melville, Diary, 14.

difficult for a minister educated in the Lutheran Church of Norway and Denmark to make a transfer to Dundee, when a Philipist approach to an alternate doctrine is considered. The academic flexibility of the Philipists allows for the co-existence of Lutheran ideas in a church which was shaped by convinced believers in Calvinist and English doctrines.⁹¹

Across Europe, as the more extreme versions of Reformed beliefs continued to develop in a continued digression from early Lutheran doctrines, antagonism between the factions became more apparent. Just as the English advisors of Henry VIII had turned against the Lutherans because they threatened the establishment of an independent yet conservative national church under the leadership of the king, so too did other kingdoms and independent cities attempt to exclude diversity. Denmark in the early 1550s began to adhere more closely to the strict orthodox Lutheran School due to the influence of Bugenhagen and the two new royal chaplains, Poul von Nimwegen and Heinrich von Brockhoff.⁹²

Small groups of Protestants and Anabaptists had been forced to leave towns in Germany and the Netherlands, and they moved from country to country looking for a place to settle. Some regions of Poland and Germany were willing to accept Anabaptists, and the Netherlands and England, under Edward VI, were sometimes willing to tolerate Calvinist beliefs. Several groups therefore used the Baltic trade routes when looking for a new home because they were among the easiest and safest transportation possibilities. Some attempts were made to settle in Denmark but these were usually unsuccessful.

91 Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 243-45; Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 138-9.

92 Petersen, Johannes Maccebaeus thesis, 248.

One group was made up of followers of John à Lasco, a Polish-born reformer who had left Emden in 1548 and then fled from temporary sanctuary in England in 1553. In October of that year, 170 of these refugees stopped in Elsinore, hoping to find, if not a welcome, at least toleration. However, the Lutheran advisors to the king made it clear that a Lutheran king should not accept any Calvinists, because they too could now be classed as 'Sacramentarians'. John à Lasco and two of the pastors who were accompanying him met with Christian III to plead their case but were ordered to accept the Danish Church Ordinance or be expelled. On 19 November, 1553 they disappointedly left Jutland and travelled through Schleswig into Germany.⁹³

The rest of à Lasco's company had moved on to Copenhagen, where they were given the same option. A former Scottish Dominican named David Simson, who was travelling with the group, met with the town leaders, and possibly even Dr. Maccebaeus, to ask for permission to stay in Denmark, at least through the winter. Unfortunately for them, the royal order would not be altered, so on December 16 the ship had to move on to the North German territories in search of a place which would accept them.

After their departure Christian III asked the University to confirm his action and denounce the followers of Calvin, and John à Lasco in particular. Peder Palladius immediately did just that, but on January 14, Maccebaeus issued a reply to Palladius' statement which showed that the Scottish theologian had a much different attitude towards the treatment of those who were not orthodox Lutherans than did the royal chaplains and advisors.

An interesting parallel may be found in Melanchthon's thoughts

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Ibid., 246, 248, 251.

at the second Diet of Speyer in 1529 when it appeared that the Roman Church and the Emperor were attacking the Zwinglians more harshly than the Lutherans had done. Although he too had agreed that the Zwinglians were wrong at the Marburg Colloquy in that same year, at the diet Melanchthon was one of those who declared that no man should be condemned unheard.⁹⁴

The à Lasco affair was one of the first serious disagreements within the uppermost level of Danish theologians involving the Communion controversy, which was already causing sharp divisions within the Protestant world. Even Wittenberg had internal rumblings between those who clung to a strict adherence to Luther's belief in the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and supporters of a more flexible interpretation which was credited to Melanchthon and is a characteristic of the Philipist school.

In his reply to Palladius' denunciation of Sacramentarians, Maccebaeus said that he was unable to condemn people who were not present to defend their beliefs and would not sign a declaration against the English refugees. He went one step further and said that he believed in adherence to the "Word of the Holy Scripture without all sophistries", which could have left him open to accusations of Calvinist sympathy.⁹⁵

Two years later Maccebaeus again proves himself to be a tolerant theologian when he becomes the primary sponsor for the appearance of another English religious refugee. This time Miles Coverdale, the author of a famous translation of the Bible into English, was received as a royal guest rather than as an outcast.

94 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 165.

95 Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 253-54.

Coverdale arrived in Denmark in 1555, following a special plea by Christian III to Queen Mary to allow him to emigrate rather than face trial as a heretic in England.⁹⁶

Miles Coverdale seems to have had almost no ties to the Lutherans and as an Anglican bishop of Exeter and later supporter of Calvinism he would probably have been as great a threat to Danish Lutheran purity as the previous refugees had been. It is possible that his acceptance in Denmark and the fact that he received a benefice are due to the family relationship between Maccebaeus and Coverdale. However, this need not be the only reason since Coverdale was certainly welcomed as a leading reformer just as Maccebaeus had been at Wittenberg fifteen years earlier.

Nearly twenty years after Maccebaeus died, the Danish Church began another campaign to eliminate what the orthodox Lutherans perceived as heresy, or in other words any diversity of opinion among the church hierarchy. Niels Hemmingsen became the focus of this investigation when some of his fellow lecturers denounced him for what were believed to be Crypto-Calvinist teachings. During his questioning in 1575, Hemmingsen said, "I have not taught differently in the last thirty-three years. I have in the past disputed here at the University, and when I became doctor Maccebaeus employed the same argument".⁹⁷

The identification of Maccebaeus as a Crypto-Calvinist does not have any solid evidence to support it. He has left no works or writings in which he shows himself to be hiding Calvinist beliefs or supporting those with Calvinistic interpretations of the Sacraments,

96 Ibid., 267-72.

97 Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 303.

church organization or predestination. What he did demonstrate was the ability to accept the personal opinions of others, tolerate them and try to avoid becoming restricted by set unchangeable Lutheran doctrine. He was a product of the Philipist school of thought which used the moderation of Erasmian Humanism to avoid confrontation and look for agreement through discussion and flexibility.

Therefore the presence of Maccebaeus at Copenhagen University and his position within the Scottish community which was present in Denmark may have had a significant effect upon the spread of reformed ideas in Scotland. Certainly Johannes Maccebaeus is known to have had direct or indirect contact with three of the most important reformers in the area between Dundee and Aberdeen: Erskine of Dun, Melville of Baldovy, and William Christison. If these individuals are viewed from this perspective, then the possible influence of 'Philipism' in the area which has been called the "conservative northeast of Scotland" becomes apparent.⁹⁸

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Donaldson, "Scotland's Conservative North in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries", Scottish Church History, 191-203.

CHAPTER FIVESCOTS IN DENMARK**The fifteenth-century background of Scottish-Danish relations**

The establishment of the Kalmar Union in 1397 had united the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden and Denmark under the rule of the Danish king. Through this unification, the Danish monarch also assumed control of the Norwegian colonies in Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe, Orkney and Shetland Islands. Several dynastic marriages in the fifteenth century also provided the Danish royal family with control over the North German province of Holstein-Gottorp and influence over several neighbouring provinces which was further reinforced by family ties to the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg and the Palatinate.

Each of these kingdoms and the German dukedom which owed allegiance to the Danish monarch retained much of their ancient identities and some degree of autonomy. However the political situation in Europe through the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries meant that the subjects of the king of Denmark formed a Northern Empire of somewhat neglected importance. In order to understand the means by which Denmark may have influenced society in Northern Europe during the early Reformation period, this extended sphere of influence is important. However, if the search is limited to the extent of Danish influence upon Scottish society during the same period, it is perhaps simpler to confine the discussion to the geographic area which lies at the heart of the Danish territories. Specifically, the merchant towns and burghs which line the coast of the Kattegat and the Øresund, the stretch of water which separates

the modern countries of Sweden and Denmark.

Through this relatively narrow passage between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, a dramatic increase in trade between Western Europe and the Baltic continued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1420, King Erik of Denmark recognized Denmark's potentially dominant geographic position and set about attempting to share in the profits of the Baltic trade. The construction of twin fortresses at Helsingør and Helsingborg, on either side of the narrowest point in the main strait past Denmark, enabled the Danes to stop all shipping until a tax or toll had been charged. The town of Helsingør, or Elsinore as it appears in English, soon grew in size and importance to become the second city of Denmark, similar in many ways to the ports of the North Sea which have been affected by the oil industry in the last quarter century. Certainly the Sound Duties, and the trading community which developed within a port shared by most of the trading nations of Europe, provided a significant boost to the Danish economy and treasury.

It is not surprising that direct Scottish involvement with Denmark closely paralleled this general growth of trade. A gradual increase in Scottish trade with the Baltic reached significant levels by the middle of the fifteenth century. Scottish merchants had been trading in Denmark and in the Baltic before this, but the period of greatest interaction begins to become evident in the 1470s. (In his recent thesis on Scottish trade with northern Europe during the late medieval period, David Ditchburn presents a partial explanation for this by citing the Flemish-Hanseatic hostilities of the 1450s and the French and English conflicts with the Hanse in the 1470s, and then presenting Scotland as a useful trading partner which was unlikely to provide uncomfortable competition to the Hanseatic monopolies). This

increase in merchant contacts also coincides with the marriage of James III of Scotland to Princess Margaret, daughter of Christian I of Denmark, in 1469. Therefore this event provides a convenient point at which to begin a study of Scots in Denmark during the Reformation period.¹

A general study of the history of Scottish-Danish relations from 1469 through the sixteenth century is far too broad a topic to undertake, even superficially, in this thesis. Therefore it is probably more useful for this discussion to limit the parameters of the study to the Scottish communities and specific individuals in Denmark during this period and show how they may have contributed to the introduction of Reformation ideas into Scotland.

It was certainly natural that along with the increase in contact between Scotland and Northern Europe came the settlement of a growing number of Scottish natives in the towns of Denmark and the rest of the Baltic coast. This later becomes quite important to the general population of Scotland since it increased local awareness of events on the continent in the years leading up to the development of the Lutheran reformation in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century. This seems quite important to this study since the possibility of an introduction of religious reform ideas from Denmark into Scotland is largely based on the increasing activity of Scots within Danish society while still retaining close contact with their home country.

¹ See Ph.D. thesis by David Ditchburn, "Merchants, Pedlars and Pirates: a history of Scotland's relations with Northern Germany and the Baltic in the later Middle Ages", Edinburgh (1989), 257, 260, 264-65, 300. This work is extremely useful in the way it covers the development of Scottish trade from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century and then attempts to place it in regional and European political context.

Scottish merchant communities in Denmark during the first half of the sixteenth century

The records which survive from the early years of the sixteenth century indicate the presence of Scots in most of the coastal towns of Denmark. The largest and best documented concentrations are, as would be expected, in Malmø, the main trading center for south-west Scania or Skåne; in Elsinore, the town which was virtually created by the imposition of the sound toll; and in Copenhagen, which was the main political centre and largest city of Denmark. However, many other merchant towns such as Horsens, Roskilde and smaller towns such as Ystad, Landskrona, Nykøbing, Halmstad and many others whose names are frequently difficult or impossible to recognize, also record the presence of Scottish merchants or residents.²

Throughout the sixteenth century, Scots continue to maintain a fairly constant presence in the region. It seems that of all the minority groups in Denmark, the Scots had a much greater influence than has been traditionally attributed. The suggestion by James Dow some twenty years ago, that the Scottish merchant was so commonplace within Swedish society that the very word 'skott' came to be used to describe small traders of other nationalities, has been supported by the ongoing study of Scots in this area during this period.³

² Thorkild Lyby Christensen, "Scots in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century", *SHR*, XLIV (1970), 126; Thomas Riis has just recently published his nearly exhaustive work on this subject entitled Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot...: Scottish Danish relations c. 1450-1707, which lists several thousand Scots or individuals of Scottish descent who visited Denmark, including more than a thousand merchants and civilian figures who settled in various Danish towns.

³ Ibid., 128; James Dow, "Skotter in Sixteenth-century Scania", *SHR* XLIV (1965), 34-43; and also Thomas Riis' new book, Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot...: Scottish-Danish relations c. 1450-1707.

The community which has some of the most accessible records, and therefore received the most attention, is Malmö, on the south-western coast of modern day Sweden. This is most fortunate because Malmö was one of the larger merchant towns of the sixteenth century and at that time even rivalled Elsinore and Copenhagen as an important population centre in Denmark. From a religious history point of view this is all the more fortunate since Malmö was also a principal focus for the early stages of the Reformation in Denmark. Certainly a Scottish merchant community in that town could easily have acted as a channel for the flow of German or Lutheran ideas through Scandinavia to Scotland.

James Dow was the first historian to use the Burial Register of St. Peter's church in Malmö in a study of sixteenth century Scots, in the course of which, he proposed the presence of more than forty individuals who are identifiable as Scots in the volume which begins in 1538.⁴ This alone can be put forth as an indication of a possibly significant presence within a small area, but other sources would be desirable to make this supposition stronger.

The most recent figures covering the presence of Scots in Denmark have been published by Thomas Riis and do help to reinforce the argument for the appearance of a community of Scottish nationals. Riis used the treasurer accounts for Malmö for 1518 to show that 2.6 per cent of those assessed in that year were identifiable as Scots and that those individuals paid 3.8 per cent of the taxes collected (indicating that they were above average in their economic standing within the larger community).⁵ Taking into account the fact that

⁴ Dow "Skotter", Appendix A, 43-4.

⁵ Thomas Riis, "Scottish Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century", Scotland and Europe 1200-1850, (ed. Smout), 1986, 88-9.

most Scots are also identified at various times by Scandinavian forms of their names, it is possible that sixteen individuals contributing to this collection may be a conservative estimate. However, it is interesting that none of the Scottish names cited in 1518 can be identified with any of those which appear in the burial records of St. Peter's. The militia muster of 1555 which Riis also used to estimate the Scottish population of Malmø, continues to show a level of approximately three per cent participation, in this case, 20 Scots in a total listing of 679 men.⁶

As has already been mentioned, in 1531, Alexander Alesius was forced by a storm to land at Malmø during his flight from accusations of heresy in Scotland. He later commemorated the presence of a group of Scots whom he encountered in that town in the dedication to one of his few surviving tracts. In this work he speaks of "hospitium habui apud meos populares qui sunt in celebri urbe vestra Malmogia".⁷ This passage certainly seems to imply the presence of Scottish families, or at least householders with sufficient ties to Scotland that they were extending their hospitality to a 'fellow countryman'.

The appearance of John Gau in Malmø at about the same time as Alesius visits that town, and his undertaking to translate 'The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine' into Scots, which is not known to have appeared in Scotland until after the Reformation, adds credence to the presence of a Scottish community. Gau is cited as a chaplain in the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen when the Church was reformed in 1536, and as he held the same title in Malmø, it seems likely that in both instances he was serving a Scottish altar or endowment in

⁶ Ibid., 89.

⁷ Mitchell, The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine, STS (1888), p. xix.

these churches which provided a focus for what Alesius refers to as 'populares'.⁸

If some surviving records from Scotland and Denmark for this part of the sixteenth century are compared, the period 1520-1540 appears to have been the one of greatest Scottish presence in Malmø. It seems important that during the period in which Malmø was the centre of reform in Scandinavia, there was also a concentration of as many as thirty Scottish or partially Scottish families in that same community. Therefore there may have been up to a hundred individuals who can be identified as Scots.

In considering the position of Scots in the rest of Denmark, there is no reason to believe that Malmø is unique in having a sizable number of Scottish inhabitants. Certainly Copenhagen and Elsinore are known to have also had Scottish communities which were probably larger and more important than Malmø's, though contemporary records, such as those which are available for Malmø, do not seem to have survived. Luckily, however, there is a great deal additional evidence that the Scots were indeed present in Danish society, and in significant numbers.

This is perhaps most strikingly illustrated in the case of Elsinore, where during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries at least, the Scottish presence is reflected in placenames which were in use for many years after the decline of an identifiable Scottish community. The best known of these are 'Skottebakken', 'Skottehuset' and 'Skottestrade' which are usually listed in their Danish forms so that their significance in context is frequently overlooked.⁹

⁸ Ibid., pp. xix, xxii.

⁹ Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 126; Lauritis Pedersen, Helsingør i Sundtoldstiden, 2 Vol., (1931)

The most visible of these, and therefore possibly the most important, is 'Skottebakken', which translates as 'the Scottish bank' or hill, and which, after the sea itself, was one of most prominent topographical features of sixteenth-century Elsinore. Indeed, it was this rise which pretty much defined the south-western limit of the town by determining the path of the outer ring of the town. Its face formed a natural arc between 'Fiolgade' and 'Kongensgade', the two streets which were developing to the south and west of the old town, and which continued to be recognizable as the town edge for the next hundred years.¹⁰

The area which immediately bordered the base of this rise became the new church grounds and the main environs for the less prosperous members of the society with the establishment of work houses and poor houses.¹¹ The Scottish house, or 'Skottehuset', was one of the first established and also one of the best remembered of these poor houses. It seems quite probable that this poor house was actually built by Scottish merchants in Elsinore for their less fortunate countrymen. Certainly a large part of the Scottish population in Scandinavia was composed of sailors, soldiers and small-time merchants who would always have been living close to the limit of their means and liable to hard money shortages.

The fact that the endowment for the Scottish altar in St Olaf's Church was used to finance sick beds for impoverished Scots after the Reformation seems to confirm a community responsibility for exactly this sort of underprivileged countrymen. It is also worth noting

¹⁰ Ibid., i, 91-5.

¹¹ The 'Ny Kirke Gaard' is a prominent feature of modern day Elsinore as a cemetery which rises up above the main western approach of the old town.

that there was a Scottish poor 'yard' or land in Elsinore which also belonged to the altar in St. Olaf's and was located next to the Scottish house.¹² Since these three sites are all in the south-west corner of the old town there may even have been some connection between the Scottish poor house and the naming of the Scottish hill.

The last of the three placenames with a Scottish connection is 'Skottesstræde' which translates as Scottish street. The other two, 'Skottebakken' and 'Skottehuset', are easily identified, but the circumstances of their appearance are relatively obscure. The 'Skottestræde', on the other hand, is more difficult to locate, but easier to explain. It seems to have been a popular name attributed to a short passage named the 'Bramstræde', which runs between the two main streets of old Elsinore, 'Strandgade' and 'Stengade' (Strand Street and Stone Street). Originally Bramstræde would have connected the high street of Elsinore with the harbour and was probably in the vicinity of the primary Scottish landing. It is certainly not very far from the block of houses and yards on 'Stengade' which belonged to Alexander Lyle and David Hanson. It is interesting that these were two of the most influential families with Scottish ties in Elsinore and that their homes were virtually across the street from St. Olaf's church in what was the upper class area of what was arguably Denmark's most important merchant town.¹³

The rising importance of the Scottish merchant families in Denmark and in Elsinore in particular

The several hundred individual Scots for whom some record is extant are merely representatives of a much larger group of Scots who

12 Peterson, Helsingør i Sundtoldenstiden, i, 103, 148, 340; ii, 446.

13 Ibid., i, 426n; ii, 33.

spent some time in this region. Even these individuals, however, have left no more than a few superficial biographical details and only fragmentary physical and documentary evidence, so that it is not possible to use more than one or two unrepresentative figures as illustrations. It is much more useful, in this context, to group these individuals into categories based upon their activities in Denmark and then to use elements from each individual's experiences to build a picture of the community as a whole.

Certainly almost all of the Scots who appear in the Danish sources can be assumed to have had some connection with trade, but it is possible to classify only a few as merchants when identifying their primary role in society. Instead it is useful to place these individuals into more representative groupings, such as those who served as government officials, those who were drawn to the region as soldiers and sailors, and finally, those who left Scotland as exiles or refugees. Within these classifications, however, circumstances can still vary as some individuals settle in Denmark, a few merely spend a short period of time in Denmark before continuing on to other parts of northern and central Europe, and others only visit Denmark for a specific reason and then return to their native land almost immediately. When it is possible for individuals to be included in more than one of these categories, they have been placed in the one which relates most clearly to their involvement with Scottish society or history.

It is of course necessary to deal with trade in the first instance for the simple reason that this was the original and primary source of interaction between Scotland and Denmark and everything must be understood in that context. The fact that both Denmark and Scotland retain financial records more conscientiously than other

documentary sources, also makes it possible to learn more about the lives of individual merchants than we can about most of those included in other categories. For this reason the merchants of the Scottish community in Denmark can provide a foundation for the reconstruction of events of the Reformation period.

One characteristic of Scottish merchant communities which has already been mentioned is the dedication of chapels and altars in local churches. Other Scottish communities, such as those in the Netherlands, are believed to have had dedications which parallel ones in Denmark. There appears to have been Scottish altars in all three of the primary Danish merchant centres and of these, an altar piece from St. Olaf's church in Elsinore is the most notable relic to have survived. This altar piece is important in that it provides an insight into the parish for which it was created. Commissioned by David Thomeson in 1521, it is one illustration of how the Scottish residents adapted themselves to Danish society yet still managed to preserve a separate Scottish identity as well. It is worth noting that this altar piece is dedicated to and bears the painted figures of St. Ninian, St. Andrew and St. James, the latter being the patron saint of the Scottish kings.¹⁴

David Thomeson was the founder of one of the wealthiest and most influential of the Scottish families in Denmark during the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Thomeson is known to have been a 'borgmeister' or mayor of Elsinore at some stage during his life and was certainly one of the more successful of the merchants among the early Scottish arrivals. However, he is probably better known

14

Thomas Riis, "Should auld acquaintance be forgot... Skotsk-danske forbindelser ca. 1450-1700", Ny Carlsbergfondet Årsskrift (The Carlsberg Fund Annual Report), 1984, 38-9.

for having also been the father of Elline Thomeson who, at about the same time as the altar piece for St. Olaf's was commissioned, married another Elsinore Scot named Alexander Lyle.¹⁵ This marriage united two of the wealthiest Scottish immigrant families and helped to establish a virtual dynasty which would control the positions of power in Elsinore for most of the rest of that century and the first few decades of the next.¹⁶

Alexander Lyle, or 'Sander Leiel' as it most often appears in Danish sources, must have begun his career sometime circa 1520, when he begins to appear in Danish sources. It has been suggested that he was a second generation immigrant but this need not be the case, although it would have made his continued contacts and assistance to Scotland all the more significant. In 1538, James V writes a letter of recommendation to the new Danish king, Christian III, mentioning Alexander's 'well known' business ability.¹⁷

Apparently, Alexander Lyle serves as borgmeister of Elsinore for the first time in 1536, and in doing so sets an interesting and perhaps important precedent by holding the same position as his father-in-law had done several years previously. This rise in his political status may be partially due to the general disruptions in hereditary succession caused by the civil war of 1533-36. Certainly this would be understandable since during this period he appears in the exchequer rolls of both Denmark and Scotland as a purchasing agent for both monarchs. For example in the case of Scotland he

15 David Thomeson's son, Hans Davidsen, married the daughter of another former customs officer and went on to become a prominent merchant in Elsinore, occasionally in partnership with Alexander Lyle, see Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 222.

16 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 136.

17 Letters of James V, ed. Hannay, 344.

receives £20. 18s. to reimburse him for expenses in purchasing copper and saltpeter in 1542, significant in that the Battle of Solway Moss took place no more than a few months after this entry.¹⁸ At about the same time Lyle became a close financial advisor to Christian III as well.

This influential position in the economic relations between his two 'homelands' probably contributed to the longevity of the Lyle dynasty. In 1548 Alexander Lyle was elevated to and given the additional responsibility of custom-house officer in charge of the Elsinore toll collection. He seems to have been well qualified for this post and his period of administration is credited with an important restructuring of the toll system.¹⁹ This royal political office explains why in 1549, when the earl of Rothes travelled to Denmark for negotiations over the renewal of treaties which were threatened by Danish efforts to redeem the Northern Isles, the earl of Arran as Governor provided letters to Alexander Lyle and Johannes Maccebaeus, hoping for their assistance in the talks.²⁰ This would indicate that both were thought likely to have some chance of getting a hearing for the Scottish arguments within the higher levels of Danish government and possibly the king as well. Another indication of the position of favour enjoyed by Alexander Lyle in the Danish court is that Christian III is named as godfather to one of his sons at about this time.²¹ If this honour is not to be interpreted as a token of actual friendship, it is certainly an expression of

18 Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. VIII (1541-1546), 154.

19 Pedersen, Helsingør i Sindtoldstiden, i, 72; ii, 256.

20 Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. IX (1546-1551), 387.

21 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 136.

familiarity and high esteem.

When Lyle died in 1560 he was acknowledged to be one of the wealthiest men in Denmark, with extensive land holdings, diverse trading connections and great personal influence. He seems to have been highly regarded by the citizens of Elsinore with a reputation for being an 'honest and christian man', which is perhaps more than would ordinarily be expected from a merchant as wealthy and powerful as Lyle. This is especially true when it is remembered that he was also a town official who had maintained and even increased his standing through a thirty year period of religious, political and economic upheavals.²²

His family continued to play a prominent role in the political and economic life of Elsinore throughout the rest of the century.²³ Most notably Alexander Lyle's nephew and neighbor, David Hanson, and his son Frederik Lyle, both of whom served as 'borgmeister' and toll collectors. David Hanson was the first of these cousins to be named as toll administrator but he was involved in a reshuffle of offices by the king in 1579 in which Frederik II apparently attempted to separate town councilors from the collection of the toll revenues, possibly because of conflict of interest. This is probably the reason that Frederik Lyle appears as 'Tolder' by 1583, and David Hanson reappears in the town council.²⁴ This attempt to separate these offices however, does not seem to have been very effective since Frederik Lyle becomes borgmeister in 1591 and retained the

22 Pedersen, Helsingør i Sundtoldstiden, ii, 257.

23 For genealogy of this family see Riis, Auld Acquaintance, 188-93.

24 Thomas Riis differs slightly in his account on this point in that he cites David Hanson as 'Tolder' from 1583 until his death in 1597, however he also refers to Frederik Lyle as "the leading director of the Sound Toll" from 1583, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 230.

titles of both 'Borgmeister' and 'Tolder' until his death in 1601. However he was the last man to hold both offices and this exception to the 1579 separation of royal and local offices may have been due, at least partially, to the reputation of the Lyle surname and the fact that Frederik had also been a godson of Christian III.²⁵

Subsequently, David Hanson's son became an alderman and then toll clerk and eventually he too appears as a town councillor.²⁶ Similarly, David Lyle, a brother of Frederik Lyle, also served as a town councillor during the 1580s. This makes it appear that in this way the Lyle family found a way around the royal restrictions by accepting lesser posts in the toll house while still retaining the locally more important town leadership positions. Certainly for the family as a whole this combination would have retained many of the economic advantages which had previously been enjoyed by the family patriarch, Alexander Lyle.

Within the merchant society of Elsinore there are at least a dozen other individuals of Scottish origin who are described as burgesses of the town. It is not surprising that this group included sons and daughters of the well-known Scottish merchant families of Kinnaird, Kinloch and Wedderburn. However, many continue to appear in Scottish sources long after they become established citizens of Elsinore. The way in which they continue to act as agents for Scots involved in politics and trade while maintaining their own family links, makes it seem as if they had been sent abroad intentionally in order to establish themselves as a foreign base for family business interests. Possibly the best example to illustrate this would be

25 Pedersen, Helsingør i Sundtoldstiden, ii, 256.

26 Ibid., 256.

Richard Wedderburn of Dundee.

The Wedderburn family had been among the leading families of Dundee society for over a century before Richard became a burghess of that town in 1560.²⁷ He appears several times in the Scottish records of that decade and does not appear to have had any obvious connection with international trade or merchants. Then in 1568 he appears in Elsinore and is admitted as a burghess of that town soon afterwards.²⁸ The Wedderburn family must certainly have had previous experience of trade through Denmark with the Baltic but those links would have been rather indirect with regards to Richard.²⁹ He does not appear very often in the Wedderburn Compt Book, which covered the business activities of his cousin, but the few entries are quite interesting. It is obvious that Richard had the ability to act as his cousin's representative in Denmark and was probably in frequent contact with his Scottish relations.

One entry from 7 July 1589, records an obligation made by George Querreour to Richard Wedderburn in Denmark. It is interesting that the witness list appears as, "My assignatione subscriyvit befor Robert Fyf in Campher Robert Wedderburn Bartil Browning Alexander Trumpit at Elsinor". Since the assignation was settled in the port of Veere or Campvere in the Netherlands, it shows that a Wedderburn family settlement could be transacted at any port where the brothers or cousins might be trading. This is confirmed by the next entry

²⁷ Millar, Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee, 1513-1886, 13.

²⁸ Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 143; Families of Scottish descent may have assisted Wedderburn's admission as a burghess of Elsinore since David Hanson was made guardian of Richard Wedderburn's son, Thomas, in 1576. See Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 216.

²⁹ Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 251 (David Wedderburn I of Dundee in Denmark in 1548), see i, 179-81 for Richard Wedderburn's life and economic activities in Elsinore.

from 24 July 1589, which shows Richard Wedderburn acting as witness to an obligation by the previously listed George Querreour to Robert Fife in Campvere.³⁰

In 1587, Richard Wedderburn's brother Patrick, who is still in Dundee, writes to Patrick Waus of Barnbarroch to collect a debt owed to Richard by John Lermonth in Elsinore, in connection with a recent trip to Denmark, probably in connection with the negotiations for the marriage of James VI.³¹ This letter shows that Richard Wedderburn could assist other Scots while they were in Denmark, secure in the knowledge that his relatives would be willing to see to his affairs in Scotland. Thus, there almost seems to have been an informal network, or perhaps even a consciously established one, which linked Scottish merchants to their overseas interests and which soon proved useful to other Scots as well.

Scottish merchant communities and the political relations between Denmark and Scotland in the sixteenth century

The preserved correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus also contains references to the hospitality shown to him personally, and his party, by Richard Wedderburn upon their arrival in Elsinore. Waus had been chosen to assist Peter Young in the arrangements for the marriage of James VI and Princess Anne and made at least three trips to Denmark between 1587 and 1589. This is interesting because Waus does not seem to have had much experience with this type of responsibility. It is therefore important to note that Peter Young was a native of Dundee and that he was closely related to Henry Scrimgeour and Andrew Melville. It is therefore possible that he was distantly related to

30 Wedderburn Compt Buik, 19.

31 Waus, Correspondance of Sir Patrick Waus of Barnbarroch, ii, 404.

Richard Wedderburn as well.³²

The personal level of contact between Richard Wedderburn and the Scottish embassy of 1587 was repeated many times in the sixteenth century; indeed this type of interaction was an important aspect of the political relations between Scotland and Denmark during this period. In this case, Patrick Waus was a courtier from south-central Scotland who was of necessary rank but he needed to rely upon the trading families of the north-east and their extensive experience in the Baltic region in order to make his journey to Denmark successful. On other occasions the usefulness of family connections is even reflected in the choice of the courtiers who represent Scotland in diplomatic missions to Denmark, and also who these representatives contact while they are in Denmark. The primary qualification was, of course, still the candidates status in the Scottish court, however frequently the courtier selected had the additional qualification of being a man of some importance in the north-east of Scotland.

This indicates a practical view of foreign relations since even if these representatives had no personal experience in the region they would probably have had a more sympathetic reception from Scots already there. They would also probably have had a slightly greater general knowledge of the political and merchant situation through the activities of their neighbors and relatives. One example of this was the selection of the Earl of Rothes to conduct negotiations over the redemption of the Northern Isles in 1549.³³ The fact that he was a

³² *Ibid.*, 396; There was an Alexander Young living in Elsinore in the 1550s who left £10 to the Dundee almhouse when he died in 1560 and may have been related. Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, ii, 253 (he cites "Dundee City Archives, Burgh and Head Court Book IV, fol. 104r.")

³³ Thorkild Lyby Christensen, "The Earl of Rothes in Denmark", Institut for Kirkhistorie, Aarhus Universitet, 1983.

powerful nobleman of Fife combined with his religious credibility, (derived through the Lesley role in the seizure of St. Andrews castle), gave him a solid ground for approaching Johannes Maccebaeus and Alexander Lyle on behalf of Governor Arran.³⁴ The choice of Captain John Fotheringham of Dundee as the individual responsible for transporting Rothes to and from Denmark also seems to be more than chance, considering the strong ties between his cousin, Fotheringham of Powrie, and the Earl of Crawford, and well as his own family's experience with the Norwegian timber trade.³⁵ Indeed only a decade earlier in 1536, a Thomas Fotheringham, who may well have been a close relative of Captain John Fotheringham, had received letters of recommendation from the chancellor before beginning a "trading voyage to Denmark."³⁶

When James VI began his search for a queen in the mid-1580s, Princess Anne of Denmark soon became the most likely candidate. The subsequent selection of the marriage delegation headed by the earl Marischal, whose power base around Aberdeen is easily recognized, and including his kinsman, Sir Andrew Keith, and John Scrimgeour, the hereditary Constable of Dundee, seems to indicate the continuation of a north-eastern bias.³⁷ The coronation of Christian IV, Queen Anne's brother in 1596 provides another example of this in the appointment of James, Lord Ogilvie as the representative of the Scottish king.³⁸

³⁴ Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. IX (1546-1551), 387; Indeed the Earl of Rothes had himself visited Denmark in 1546 seeking refuge from persecution which followed his family's involvement in the murder of Cardinal Beaton; Riis, Auld Acquaintance, i, 33, 141-3; ii, 66.

³⁵ Ibid., 377.

³⁶ Letters of James V, ed. Hannay, 330.

³⁷ Sir James Melville's Memoirs (1565-1593), Bannatyne Club, 368.

³⁸ Scots Peerage, i, 117-119; Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 72.

In addition to well-established family ties to several merchants who traded regularly in the Baltic region, Lord Ogilvie himself may have visited Denmark previously.

Similarly, David Lindsay of the Mount, who was a Fife laird and a kinsman to Lindsay, earl of Crawford, made at least two journeys to Denmark on behalf of the Scottish crown.³⁹ Although he was regularly involved in travel throughout Europe as the Lyon herald, Sir David Lindsay seems to have been particularly successful with his work in Denmark. The support of Johannes Maccebaeus in publishing Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World (1554), and the subsequent popularity of Lindsay's works in Denmark illustrates the position of high esteem he enjoyed in that country.⁴⁰

Another contemporary of Lindsay's who should be mentioned in this context was John Borthwick. It is not clear what his official role in any of the political contacts of the period was but he too was greatly admired by the Danes, and like Lindsay, his writings remained popular in Denmark long after his death.

The method of selecting emissaries in Denmark differed somewhat from that which was practised in Scotland. The Danish king was inclined to choose his representatives on the basis of ability and then give them title or position as necessary. Here again, the Scots make their presence in Danish society known by achieving distinction in this field in greater numbers than any other nationality. Indeed during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, it seems as if the Danish foreign service was almost wholly comprised of Scots.

³⁹ Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. IX (1545-1551), 259, 347.

⁴⁰ Hamer (ed.), The Works of David Lindsay, STS (1930), i, 198.

As early as 1496, David Cochran, (who is frequently identified simply as 'Master David' and can therefore be confused with Peter David, the academic), appears as the first of a series of Scots involved in foreign relations on behalf of the Danish king. Cochran served primarily as the Danish representative to Poland and Russia and led at least eight delegations to those two countries between 1497 and 1523. He was named Danish king-of-arms, equivalent to Scotland's Lord Lyon, and most senior of that country's heralds.⁴¹

After Christian II was forced into exile in 1523, David Cochran continued to work as a representative of the deposed king in the royal courts of both England and Scotland. As the king-of-arms he would have been in close contact with at least three other Scots who served as diplomats for the Danish king at the time of his exile. Possibly the best known of these was Dr. Alexander Kinghorn, the 'physician-in-ordinary' to Christian II.

Alexander Kinghorn was probably the most influential of the Scots in the Danish court in that he was also named as dean of the cathedral at Roskilde and was rector of the University of Copenhagen, in addition to his primary responsibilities as physician and diplomat. He was the official Danish representative to Scotland in 1519 and 1522, during which time he established himself as a popular figure in Scottish circles.⁴² When Christian left Denmark, Kinghorn took up residence in Leith and spent the rest of his life and most of his personal fortune working in opposition to the representatives of Frederik I.⁴³

⁴¹ Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 131.

⁴² Ibid., 132-33. It is worth mentioning that this was also the period of Christian II's closest contact with Wittenberg.

⁴³ Ibid., 133; Riis, Auld Acquaintance, i, 21-25, 30, 113; ii, 65.

Previous to Alexander Kinghorn, the most frequent Danish representative to the Scottish court was Thomas Lummesden, who often appears under his title as Denmark's Zealand or Sjælland herald. His work as a herald seems to have begun in 1502 when he first comes to notice in the court of James IV.⁴⁴ He then appears in at least five more delegations to Scotland over the next two decades. Lummesden is remembered as one of the most senior of Christian II's officials to survive the siege of Copenhagen in 1523, at the surrender of which, he received a special amnesty. He apparently retired from political life after the victory of Frederik I and remained in Copenhagen until his death in 1528. The fact that he was then buried in Roskilde cathedral indicates that he still enjoyed a considerable degree of royal esteem.⁴⁵

Perhaps the career of the fourth Scot in this group, John Elgin, is more indicative of most of the Scots who appear in the service of the Danish king. Ordinarily, heralds would be very careful to maintain their diplomatic reputation regardless of the political turmoil around them, even in the case of civil war. This sort of adaptability, which was a characteristic of many of the Scots who found success in foreign lands, is certainly evident in John Elgin. In 1517 and again in 1518 he came to Scotland in the service of Christian II and then, unlike his colleagues, he reappears in the service of Frederik I as his representative to the Scottish court in 1525, 1527, 1528 and 1529.⁴⁶ It is interesting that Elgin now became the direct opponent of Cochran and Kinghorn in their efforts on

⁴⁴ Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. II (1500-1504), 373.

⁴⁵ Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 131-132; Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 67 (under Lumsdale).

⁴⁶ Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 132.

behalf of the deposed Danish king. The documents which might explain Elgin's thoughts and actions during this period do not survive, but it seems likely that since Elgin was also a merchant and burgess of Copenhagen he was more dependant upon the power on the throne than on the king who was abroad.⁴⁷ In this Dundee, Montrose and the rest of the north-east of Scotland must have been similar to John Elgin.

After the reputation of the Scots had been established by Cochran, Kinghorn, Lummesden and Elgin, it is not surprising that this precedent is continued. The most notable examples of this are Alexander Mure, who makes several journeys to Scotland in the 1530s, and a Charles Houston who is listed as herald to the king of Denmark at the time of the Earl of Rothes' trip in 1549.⁴⁸ The appearance of Christian Maccebaeus, the son of the great reformer, in the courts of England and Scotland during the 1570s and '80s, would certainly not have been unusual simply on the basis of his fathers reputation. The fact that the younger Maccebaeus received a title and was therefore a member of the nobility in his own right may, however, mean that his Scottish ancestry had somewhat less importance in his selection as an emissary to Britain.⁴⁹

Scottish military involvement in Denmark during the sixteenth century

Most embassies were dispatched for a specific purpose or in answer to a specific problem, and in the early years of the sixteenth century, both countries were primarily concerned with questions of military alliance and the acquisition of the troops, ships, money,

⁴⁷ Riis, Auld Acquaintance, 227-8.

⁴⁸ Treasurers Accounts, Vol. V (1515-1531), 440; Vol. VI (1531-1538), 46, 153, 263; Vol. IX (1546-1551), 337.

⁴⁹ Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 314-19.

and military supplies needed for their increasingly strategic roles in Northern Europe. In the event, Denmark benefitted more than Scotland in so far as they were able to make use of the developing tradition of Scots seeking their fortune in military service abroad. Indeed, it was principally in the employ of Denmark and Sweden during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the Scottish mercenary soldier achieved a reputation for military prowess.

In many ways, the development of a Scottish military tradition in Denmark can be traced through the person and career of Robert Barton of Leith during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. His involvement as a merchant, privateer and later as political advocate, made him a principal figure in Scottish-Danish relations during this particularly stormy period.

As early as 1494, Robert Barton and his brother John received letters of marque which allowed them to capture Portuguese merchant ships in recompense for a previous attack upon a ship belonging to their father. Coinciding with this, Robert appears in the records as a source of naval stores who became increasingly involved in the construction of James IV's fleet.⁵⁰ Both factors considered, Robert Barton emerges as one of the few individuals with the attributes necessary for the naval conflicts which King James envisaged.

Since the marriage of James III and Margaret of Denmark in 1496, Denmark and Scotland had periodically renewed treaties of friendship and support. In accordance with one such treaty of 1499, King Hans asked his nephew to send him aid in order to put down an uprising by the Swedes in 1501-2. This was the first opportunity for James to use his new naval power and he set about provisioning four

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Reid, Skipper from Leith, Robert Barton of Over Barnton, 41.

ships which sailed for Sweden in June 1502.

It has been suggested that John and Robert Barton commanded two of these ships but, although this seems likely, there is no evidence to that effect other than the fact that they do not appear in any other records for the duration of the expedition and they had had some previous role in equipping the vessels.⁵¹ However, several sources are clear in placing their younger brother, Andrew Barton, in Denmark as a privateer for King Hans by 1508.⁵² It is likely that at some time previous to this, Robert had indeed built a reputation in Denmark because in December of 1509, the Danish king sent another request to his Scottish kinsman in which he asks for the loan of the 'Margaret' and three other ships, and permission for Andrew and Robert Barton to serve him with their own ships.⁵³

Both brothers must have had some success in fulfilling their commission of 1509 since the Danish king later defended their actions as legitimate privateering under his authority and not piracy as was claimed in several German complaints.⁵⁴ Robert, seemingly the oldest and most diplomatic of the brothers, gains royal favour from both monarchs at this time and carries several letters for Hans when he returned to Scotland in 1510.

In 1511, another letter arrived asking for the help of Andrew Barton in the ongoing conflict with Lübeck and her German allies.⁵⁵

51 Reid, Skipper from Leith, 73.

52 Ibid., 93.

53 Ibid., 93.

54 Letters of James IV, no. 310; ADC, Vol. XXII, 54; Reid, Skipper from Leith, 94.

55 Letters of James IV, no. 387, 412; Exchequer Rolls, Vol. XIII, p. clxxxiii.

Andrew soon returned to raiding German shipping as he had previously done but this time he managed to displease his Danish employer and lost his commission, possibly as the result of politically sensitive and unauthorized attacks on shipping in the North Sea. It was soon after this dismissal from Danish service that Andrew was attacked and killed by an English force as he returned from raiding Portuguese and English merchant shipping.⁵⁶

Robert seems to have continued where his brother had left off, in that Henry VIII's representative in Edinburgh objected to his attacks on English shipping and the Hanseatic towns sent several complaints about unnamed Scottish raiders in 1513. His connection with the attacks on the Hanse ships is supported by a suit brought against him concerning the seizure of a German owned cargo of copper from a Dutch ship in July of 1513.⁵⁷ Although he was acquitted, Robert acted as surety for several defendants who were found to be in possession of this copper. It may be significant that one of those listed was John Barton's widow and the Robert was executor of his brother's estate.

In July of 1516, the Duke of Albany made Robert Comptroller of the Royal Household and Custumer of the city of Edinburgh, and in this way also effectively ended his activities as a privateer by elevating him to an important political position. However, this did nothing to diminish his involvement with Denmark and her need for Scottish military support.

The new Danish king, Christian II, renewed Denmark's request for help against the Swedes in 1515, 1517 and 1518, but was always

⁵⁶ Reid, Skipper from Leith, 96.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 118; ADC, Vol. XXVII, 45, 54.

met with the response that Scotland's own difficulties were too great following the disaster of Flodden field and could not afford to send any assistance.⁵⁸ Christian's position had become more difficult early in 1519/20 when he sent Alexander Kinghorn with a somewhat more urgent plea to the Scots.⁵⁹ Once again it seemed as if the Danish efforts would be in vain, however, it was finally agreed that individuals under sentence of banishment could receive remission of their sentence if they would volunteer to serve in Sweden. The two officials given the task of organizing this force were Dr. Kinghorn and Robert Barton, which indicates that the Comptroller probably had some involvement in convincing the Lords of the Council to authorize this force.⁶⁰

When Kinghorn leaves Scotland soon afterwards in an attempt to gain French support for both Denmark and Scotland, Robert Barton is left with almost sole responsibility for the attempt to raise this army of Scottish outlaws. The fact that he sold the 'Lion', which was only five years old, to the Danes, and later used another of his ships to transport more materials and men reflects his rather strong interest in the raising of these Scottish volunteers.⁶¹

Christian II, however, was beginning to have problems with his Danish nobles not long after this and after being forced into exile in 1523, he fled to Holland and tried to gain support for an attempt to regain the Danish throne. The Scottish government in general was anxious to avoid making a firm commitment to either side, but when

58 Exchequer Rolls, Vol. XIV, cxxxii (n).

59 Riis, Auld Acquaintance, i, 84.

60 Exchequer Rolls, Vol. XIV, cxxxiii; ADCP, (1501-1554), 144.

61 Exchequer Rolls, Vol. XIV, cxxxiv, 459, 461; Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii(i), no. 268.

Alexander Kinghorn returned once again to Scotland on behalf of the exiled Christian II, Robert Barton and David Falconer both offered their services and the loan of their ships. By June of 1525, Barton and Falconer are included in a complaint by Frederik I's Danish forces that their sea communications were under attack by Christian's ships, although Barton himself almost certainly remained in Edinburgh due to his Scottish responsibilities.⁶²

As a reward for his valuable support, Christian commissioned his king-at-arms, presumably still David Cochran, to appoint Robert Barton as his agent, and as such he set about raising another small squadron of ships and men to serve with his patron's existing fleet. He also made use of his influence and position on the Council to help Christian's representatives in the Scottish court.⁶³

This was apparent when Claude Kniphoff appeared in Scotland with several ships which he had seized under letters of marque issued by Christian II, and King Frederik I's supporters protested that they were illegal prizes. The Lords of Council took up the matter for discussion and Robert Barton, who had appeared as Captain Kniphoff's guarantor, convinced his colleagues that Christian was at war with the states whose ships had been seized and that they were indeed legal prizes.⁶⁴

The Comptroller may now have been too caught up in his various conflicting interests for his own good, as the political situation in Scotland continued to make collection of money owed to the crown difficult. It has been suggested that his personal involvement in

62 Reid, Skipper from Leith, 197.

63 Ibid., 197.

64 ADCP, 224-226

the Danish civil war, and the corresponding neglect of some of his other responsibilities which would naturally result, combined to lead to his removal from office at this point.⁶⁵ His wealth and contacts, however, would still have made him a prominent political figure in Scotland as Christian continued his efforts to return to Denmark.

For example, Barton was a major influence in securing the release of some of Christian II's sailors who were imprisoned in 1528, and also assisted the exiled king by accepting Danish munitions as surety for a loan, possibly for safekeeping.⁶⁶ Frederik I was quite clear in stating that Robert Barton was one of his nephew's chief allies when in 1528 he asked Francis I of France for help in countering Barton and Falconer's activities and influence.⁶⁷ It seems that Barton's position must have been quite considerable to have played such a role in diplomatic relations between the kings of Denmark, France, England and Scotland.

Thus, Robert Barton was personally involved in the political, merchant and military relations between Scotland and Denmark through the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It is important to remember though, that while he is illustrative, Barton is by no means typical of the Scots who appear in Denmark for military reasons.

It is difficult to estimate how many Scots did serve in Denmark during this period because there are few muster rolls or pay records remaining, and indeed may never have been. However, it does seem relatively safe to assume that the number is in the thousands rather

65 See Reid, Skipper from Leith, 205, for discussion of circumstances behind Barton leaving his position as Comptroller.

66 ADCP, 253; Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv(ii), nos. 2547, 2548.

67 Ibid., iv(ii), no. 3803; Reid, Skipper form Leith, 223.

than hundreds.⁶⁸ For the period before the "Seven Years War" of 1563-1570, names survive for only a few dozen individuals who were important enough to appear in other types of documents and they were usually captains, or at least officers in the various units which were raised.

Perhaps typical of the Scots who served in Scandinavia were 'Dauid Scotte, Sander Skotte and Jacob Vallatz' who are mentioned by the Bishop of Roskilde in 1511, and were possibly part of one of the Barton expeditions.⁶⁹ They seem to have been naval captains as well although not nearly as prominent as the Bartons. Like most of the other Scottish soldiers of the period in Denmark they remain obscure and seem to settle into a more or less permanent situation.⁷⁰ Few of these lesser individuals ever appear in surviving records although it seems as if the number who eventually returned to Scotland was fairly small. Many died in the course of their period of service, due as much to disease and quarrels as actual battle. Most were never paid their full wages and received appointments as guards or were granted disputed land in leu of currency which was always in short supply. This seems to have been the fate of many of the soldiers in northern Europe, particularly those who later entered Swedish service and were given land in the pre-Baltic countries of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia so that they could supplement the local garrisons in defence of their newly granted homes.

68 Here Thomas Riis has compiled an important listing of Scottish soldiers and sailors who entered Danish service between 1500 and 1660. For the sixteenth century alone he has found references to just over a thousand, see Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 81-147.

69 Christensen, "Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century", SHR, XLVIII (1968), 92.

70 Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 94, 95, 96.

For the period after 1563 there are existing muster rolls, although the vast majority of names are nearly as anonymous since they do not appear in other documents. There are two officers from this period, however, who are perhaps worth mentioning. The first of these, John Clark, fought in Danish service during the Seven Years War and was praised for his abilities, but was imprisoned with the Earl of Bothwell in Denmark in 1570 for supposed neglect of duty in wartime.⁷¹ The second was a contemporary of theirs, Sir William Stewart of Houston, who commanded the Scottish garrison at the fortress of Kronborg at Elsinore in the 1580s.⁷² He appears to be the same individual who later accompanied the Scottish embassy to Denmark in 1586 and later became quite involved in both the Scottish and the Danish royal circles.⁷³

Possibly the most successful of the Scottish captains was Andrew Sinclair who came to Denmark some time around 1590. He was probably a member of one of the senior lines of the Scottish family of that name since he was accepted as a courtier in the Danish court in 1591.⁷⁴ By 1600 he had served as an ambassador and seems to have been a personal friend of Christian IV. As a reward for his military service against the Swedes in the ongoing series of wars, he was granted lands in Scania, which at that time was still Danish. He was appointed to the 'Rigsråd' in 1617, and served repeatedly as a Danish emissary to Scotland and England between 1590 and 1620. Sir Andrew

71 Ibid., i, 86-94; ii, 102.

72 Christensen, Scoto-Danish Relations, 93.

73 Riis, Auld Acquaintance, 78-79.

74 Certainly the Sinclairs had been prominent in the Northern Isles for much of the fifteenth century and may have been viewed as a family of Norwegian nobility.

Sinclair died in 1625 but his descendants are known to have continued to prosper and the Sinclair family in Sweden remained influential for much of the seventeenth century.⁷⁵

All in all, however, despite the large numbers of Scots who came to Denmark as soldiers or mercenaries, they had relatively little direct impact on Danish society as a whole, although a few can be found settling in various towns. Their greatest importance, particularly during the Reformation period, can be seen in the bargaining process through which Scottish military assistance was exchanged for the granting of favoured trading rights to Scottish merchants. It was in this way that Scottish soldiers contributed most to the increasing cultural interaction between Scotland and Denmark.

A short review of the Scottish academics in Denmark for comparison

Of the broad categories of individuals which can be studied in the same way as the 'merchants', 'political envoys' and 'military figures', the 'academics and exiles' are the only ones with no direct connection to trade between Scotland and Denmark or the Baltic. This area of contact, which was quite important during this period, owed its existence more to factors of belief and happenstance than to the economic situation. The clearest examples of the type of individual which should be included in this group are the Scots who appear in conjunction with the University of Copenhagen throughout the first seventy-five years of its existence.

'Petrus David de Scotia' was one of the founding lecturers of the University in 1479 and was named the first Dean of the Faculty of

⁷⁵ Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 144; Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 74-6.

Arts.⁷⁶ In 1498, Peter David was promoted to the post of Doctor of Theology, which made him one of the most senior and influential figures in Copenhagen.⁷⁷ He continued to lecture in the University until shortly before his death in 1520, and must certainly have been prominent in discussions concerning church doctrine in the years which preceded the Reformation.

It seems as if it might be more than a coincidence that Thomas Alane first appeared as a lecturer in the Faculty of Arts in the same year that Peter David died. Certainly it is worth remembering that Dr. Alexander Kinghorn was also a senior figure in the University of Copenhagen and could have presented the young scholar as a possible replacement for his elder countryman. It is probable that Thomas Alane can be identified with the 'Thomas Scotus' who is mentioned in the university records for 1527 and 1530, and who must, therefore, have been part of the academic society which was active in Copenhagen during the early years of the Reformation.⁷⁸

Unrest developed within the University following the exile of Christian II and contributed to an increase in religious uncertainty and the spread of Lutheran ideas, which Frederik I did little to discourage. The University of Copenhagen was virtually closed after 1531 and with the death of King Frederik, and the subsequent outbreak of the Count's War, this must have seemed almost permanent.⁷⁹

The triumph of Christian III was followed by an official declaration of the supremacy of the Reformed Church and his intention

76 See beginning of Chapter 3 for more of Peter David.

77 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 129-31.

78 Ibid., 134.

79 Rørdam, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie, i, 23-28.

to create the first state religion based upon the teachings of Luther and Wittenberg. Just as would be the case in Scotland some thirty years later, the replacement of the established church required the services of a large number of new ministers who could implement the adoption of the newly sanctioned faith. Christian III turned to Wittenberg for help in reorganizing the University of Copenhagen along the same lines as their own. As part of this goal, he made repeated attempts to bring Johannes Bugenhagen, who was one of Luther's closest associates, and the guiding force in bringing the Reformation to the states of northern Germany, to Denmark as a resident theologian.

However, Bugenhagen had prior commitments elsewhere, but he did agree to supervise the reorganization and reopening of the University of Copenhagen in 1537. The Danish king persisted in his attempts to obtain a lecturer who had trained at Wittenberg who could head the department of theology. In response to this appeal Bugenhagen, Philip Melanchthon and Martin Luther were agreed in proposing a Scot, Johannes Maccebaeus, as their choice for the position.⁸⁰

John MacAlpine/Maccebaeus seems to have been particularly well versed in Lutheran teachings by the time he arrived in Germany since he was awarded the title of Doctor within a year of beginning his studies at Wittenberg. The attempts to entice Bugenhagen to remain in Denmark had meant that the senior post in theology at the University of Copenhagen had virtually been left vacant until 1542, when Maccebaeus finally arrived. For fifteen years, until his death in 1557, he served as the senior Professor of Theology at the University and as such was intended to be the final authority on

matters of doctrine for the Danish church. His son, Christian Maccebaeus, followed the great reformer into academics and appears as a lecturer at the University in 1565 and 1567, before eventually becoming master of the school at Sorø from 1586 to 1597.⁸¹

Johannes Maccebaeus retained strong ties with Scotland despite his forced exile and was well known for opening his home to students as a lodging or simply as a meeting place. One of these is thought to have been John Erskine of Dun, the eldest son of the Scottish reformer, and Richard Melville, his tutor/guardian, before they continued on to Wittenberg in 1542-3.⁸² Another student named as William 'the Scot', attends the University in 1556, and would have been another likely visitor in the Maccebaeus home. It may even be that this was William Christison who, after living in the patronage of the Bishop of Bergen, returned to Scotland and was appointed as the Reformed minister of Dundee in 1560.⁸³

When John à Lasco asked for permission for his followers to stay in Denmark in 1553, David Simson, a fellow former Dominican from Scotland who was with à Lasco, met with Maccebaeus to ask for his help in putting their case to Christian III.⁸⁴ Add to this Johannes Maccebaeus' association with Sir David Lindsay and the fact that other Scottish emissaries were instructed to look to the Scottish professor and Alexander Lyle as important men who could help Scottish negotiators, and his potential for influencing religious development in Scotland becomes apparent.

81 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 138; Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 68-9.

82 Melville, Diary, 14.

83 Christison, Scots in Denmark, 139.

84 Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 245-257.

Maccebaeus, Christison and Simson are among the few individual Scottish exiles who can be traced to Scandinavia after leaving their homeland. In most cases circumstances encouraged similar religious exiles to journey to more established havens such as France, England and the Netherlands or to the prominent religious centres of Germany or Switzerland. The established trade routes to the Baltic could, however, have played a role in the appearance of Scots in Denmark.

When Alexander Alesius was compelled to leave Scotland in 1531, storm damage to his ship resulted in his spending a period of time in Malmø while it was being repaired. In a reference to this stay many years later, the two dominant recollections he had were the warm hospitality he found among his fellow countrymen in that merchant town, and the degree of open support which was allowed for those preaching the reformed faith.

Malmø was the best known of the Danish ports to become an early centre for the Reformation and in some histories is referred to as the Wittenberg of Denmark. If Alesius was forced to land at Malmø it seems possible that other exiles may have done likewise, or even chosen to go there intentionally.

It is not known how active the Scottish community of Malmø was in the establishment of the Reformation. However, it is interesting that John Gau appears as a chaplain at St. Peter's Church in Malmø at about the same time as Alesius made his stop there. It is reasonable to assume that Gau would have served as a minister for the Scottish community and that this was the motivation for his translation of 'The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine', which was published in Malmø in 1533 and is one of very few Lutheran tracts in the Scottish language to have survived to the present.⁸⁵

After the arrest of the bishops of Denmark in 1536, Gau became a chaplain in the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen, replacing a 'Petrus Scotus' who was a vicar in the church before the Reformation. Here he probably became a familiar associate of many of the leading figures in the Danish Reformation including Peder Palladius and Johannes Maccebaeus and was probably also well known to many of the Scottish merchants.⁸⁶

It may be that John Gau is an example of a religious exile from Scotland who ended up in Denmark by chance while heading for Germany. He may also have been a layman with a university degree who arrived in conjunction with the Baltic trade and found a religious calling in the Scottish community of Malmø. Whatever the case, Gau provides another illustration of how the merchant trade of the area could have an incidental connection with the Scottish exiles who supported the Reformation.

⁸⁶

Ibid., p. xxiv; Riis, Auld Acquaintance, ii, 164.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPORT OF THE REFORMATION: DUNDEE

The role of merchants in the transmission of academic ideas

It is generally acknowledged that the east coast ports were the primary source of the Reformation in Scotland.¹ It is also usually recognized that Dundee was foremost among the east coast burghs in embracing the Reformation. This is usually explained in terms of merchant involvement with the continent similar to that which is described by John Knox when he relates:

... the knowledge of God did wonderouslie increase within this realme, partlie by reading, partlie by brotherlye conferance, which in those dangerous dayis was used to the comferte of many; but cheaflye by merchantis and marinaris, who, frequenting other cuntries, heard the trew doctrin affirmed, and the vanitie of the Papisticall religioun openlye rebucked; Amongis whome war Dundy and Leyth principalles...²

However, while merchant contact was certainly one of the factors, it is too simplistic in itself to explain the transmission of ideas, especially ones which had their foundation in the rarified academic atmosphere of the continental universities. It is therefore necessary to look for an interaction within the Scottish burghs between these merchants and mariners, and those educated individuals who had a familiarity with the ideas which were topical in European society.

Dundee was certainly the most Reformed town in Scotland by 1560 and may indeed have been the only burgh which could claim a Reformed

¹ See An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, ed. McNeill and Nicholson, 84-5 and Map 94.

² Knox, Works, i, 61.

majority at the time of the actual political transfer of power. As such it provides the most important illustration. It was the second largest port in Scotland and the merchant hub around which much of Angus carried out trade with Europe. It was largely because of this that Reformation ideas were able to spread among the population of Dundee quite quickly, and then gradually filter out into a large proportion of the surrounding countryside.³

However, the fact that Dundee was able to assimilate these unconventional ideas so easily, is probably the result of two related aspects of Dundee society. The first aspect was Dundee's geographic position which meant that it was nearly as easy to trade with the Baltic and the Low Countries as it was to trade with the rest of Scotland. Therefore, continental contacts were strong, with several families becoming involved in a trade network resembling that of many Hanseatic towns where sons were sent abroad to live and represent family interests in other trading centres.

Secondly, because of the ease of finding passage to the Low Countries, Dundee students develop an early preference for the universities of Cologne and Louvain. This meant that Dundee students also developed a tendency to absorb north-west German academic views more readily than those which originated at Paris. Thus, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, Dundee was already being prepared socially and academically, to deal with the Reformation ideas which its sea trade was about to bring back from Northern European merchant communities and Dutch/German academic institutions.

This plurality is important since Reformation ideas commonly

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See A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation, 35, for a good example of the transmission of half-understood Reformation ideas by seamen from Bremen to England.

spread across Europe in two ways, both of which have already been mentioned by Knox. These methods were: first, by way of printed materials, such as books and pamphlets, and second, by word of mouth. The merchants and mariners would probably have been able to relate only some of the opinions and news of what was taking place in the lands with which they were trading. In this way the merchants would have provoked much local interest and discussion, and thereby provide an audience who wanted to hear more about what was creating such a stir elsewhere. However, the individuals who would be most able to explain these ideas and place them in a Scottish context, were the large number of academics who naturally depended upon the merchants for transportation. Certainly it was the students who most often had the books and it was also the students who were most likely to be listened to when they did speak, because of the somewhat mystical aura which surrounded clerics and academics during the medieval period.

The scholastic academics of Dundee

Dundee was sending students to the most prestigious academic centres of Europe from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century. Many individuals in the academic records are difficult to identify because they are usually listed by diocese rather than by town. In Dundee's case most are merely identified as being from the diocese of Brechin. However, some names are characteristic enough to be fairly certain of their place of origin. This is particularly true when dealing with rather uncommon names, such as Spalding, Fotheringham and Scrimgeour which are still quite localized in the sixteenth century.

All of these families appear regularly in the university

records of the fifteenth century and several of these individuals deserve a short comment since they help to build an image of a well educated circle which existed among some of the most influential families of Dundee. Probably the best of person to start with is one James Scrimgeour, of Brechin diocese, who along with Nicholas Atholl matriculated at Cologne University in 1419.⁴

The assumption that Scrimgeour and Atholl were already part of a radical element of Scottish academia, seems quite straightforward since they were the first Scots to rebel against the realist ban which had been imposed on Scottish scholars by Laurence of Lindores and the bishop of St. Andrews.⁵ Of the two, Scrimgeour had almost certainly already been exposed to progressive, neo-realist academics since he went to Cologne only after he had incepted at Paris. Indeed Scrimgeour may have been seen as a promising young academic since he was promoted 'primo incipiens' by magister John Crannoch, in 1414.⁶

While at Paris, Scrimgeour would have been influenced by the same neo-realist reaction which had alienated St. Andrews from the continental universities and left her isolated in her conservative nominalism. Since it was normal that new masters would lecture at Paris for a short period of time after receiving their second degree, it is interesting to note that ~~the~~ Paul Cramer (Craw) from Bohemia who was destined to be tried and executed in Scotland twenty years later, began his studies in the German Nation at Paris in 1415. This would be just when Scrimgeour might have joined John Crannoch as a lecturer and Cramer is known to have sub-determined under another

4 Keussen, Matrikel, 124:8.

5 St. Andrews Acta, i, p. xxi, 12.

6 Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 175.

Scot from Dundee, William Spalding, of whom more later.⁷

When Scottish students abandon Paris University not long afterwards, it seems logical that students who might have been influenced by the first generation of Scots at Cologne would follow them abroad to avoid persecution by the St. Andrews nominalists. The class which entered Louvain in 1430 and contained James Kennedy, William Turnbull and William Elphinstone, also included magister Robert Scrimgeour. This Robert Scrimgeour had studied at St. Andrews in 1428 and was therefore a contemporary of John Athilmer and James Kennedy. His matriculation at Louvain could indicate that he too was a realist exile.⁸

Given the importance of academic success and clerical positions to a noble family who, like the Scrimgeours, did not possess the large landholding which normally accompanied noble rank, it is not too surprising to see twenty-one Scrimgeours in the records of St. Andrews University during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹ It is not surprising that like the Paniters, the Scrimgeour family continues to follow the progressive developments of continental academics as well. For example, there is a Johannes Scrimgeour who matriculates at Cologne in 1478 and probably reflects the influence of the second generation of neo-realists in Scotland.¹⁰ Similarly,

7 Ibid., 188, 42.; see below p. 227.

8 Reussens, Matricule, i, 222:34.

9 See St. Andrews Acta. In the sixteenth century the Scrimgeour family may not yet have actually been of 'noble rank'. However the position they held in society in and around Dundee was such that they were certainly at the top level of the baronial ranks and at least equal in status to many of those who were legitimate peers. This situation was recognized in the next century when the head of the Scrimgeour family was granted the titles of Viscount Dudhope in 1641 and then Earl of Dundee: see Scots Peerage, iii.

10 Keussen, Matrikel, 358:21.

in 1538, Henry Scrimgeour joins Robert Wedderburn to provide an identifiable Dundee presence in the abnormally large and important group of students who are at Paris between 1538 and 1542.¹¹

The Scrimgeours, however, are not alone among Dundee families in demonstrating an ongoing adherence to progressive academics. A comparable example are the Spaldings who also keep reappearing in the vanguard of Scottish scholars on the continent. Perhaps the first member of this family to demonstrate this is William Spalding, of Brechin diocese, who like James Scrimgeour, also determines under John Crannoch at Paris.¹² It is even possible that he was one of Scrimgeour's regents since this Spalding incepted under yet another Scot, Thomes de Lyn, in 1413 and then became procurator of the German Nation in 1415 and 1418. This means that both Spalding and Crannoch were certainly regents of the German Nation when Paul Cramer was there in 1415, and also means that magister William Spalding was one of the last Scots to appear in the records of Paris University during the Johannes de Novo Domo realist period.¹³

After the decline of the German Nation during the English wars and its gradual restoration during the 1430s and '40s, another member of the Spalding family is among the first Scots to return to Paris. In 1449, a Walter de Spalding, again from the diocese of Brechin, is among the list of determinates.¹⁴ This Walter Spalding licensed a year later, during the procuratorship of John Kennedy, and thereby

11 W.A. McNeill, "Scottish Entries in the Acta Rectoria Parisiensis, 1519-1633" [Acta Rect. Paris.], SHR, XLIII (1964), 66-86, entry 9953:89v; see Appendix under Paris.

12 Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 143.

13 See Appendix under Paris.

14 Auct. Chart. Paris., ii, 758.

became a contemporary of the neo-realist masters who returned to Scotland with John Athilmer and David Guthrie to refashion the Scottish university system.¹⁵

It is quite possible that Walter Spalding was guided in his choice of Paris by magister John Spalding, who was dean of Brechin cathedral under Bishop John Crannoch and would eventually become councillor and confessor to James III during the Kennedy-dominated regency. The role of John Spalding in the education of another member of that family also seems to be a distinct possibility.

In the same progressive tradition, Thomas Spalding de Dundee matriculates at Louvain in 1473 and quite likely studies under magister Richard Muirhead, who arrived from Paris in 1474 and eventually succeeds Archibald Whitelaw as Secretary.¹⁶ This would have exposed Thomas Spalding to the second generation of neo-realists who introduced Humanism into Scotland two decades later.

Finally, in 1544 Walter Spalding, who was a former schoolmaster in Dundee, demonstrates how this progressivism could sometimes border on radicalism when he enrolls in Wittenberg University.¹⁷ This must be the same Walter Spalding who determined at St. Leonard's in 1530 and received his licence a year later. While at St. Andrews he too would have been influenced by the teachings of Gavin Logie, and when he returned to Dundee as a young magister he would have been another likely contact of friar James Hewat and the Wedderburn brothers, giving the impression of another academic circle.¹⁸ After the

15 See Chapter 1, pp. 30-32.

16 See Appendix under Louvain.

17 See Appendix under Wittenberg.

18 St. Andrews Acta, ii, 365, 368.

crackdown on Lutherans in Scotland in the early 1540s, Spalding becomes one of a large number of individuals from Dundee and Angus who find it wise to endure a short exile on the continent.

Since the first three of these Spalding students are all separated by an approximate gap of thirty years, and the last by sixty, it almost seems as if one member of each generation of the Spalding family promoted or sponsored the pursuit of progressive academia in the next. One would almost expect to find a Spalding in the lost records of Paris University during the first decade of the sixteenth century. However, even without this final stepping stone, the academic tradition of the Spalding family is certainly comparable with other families where academics are encouraged as a path to a better future. This is supported by the fact that even though the Spaldings are not a large family, there are eight individuals of that surname in the student lists of St. Andrews alone. In this way the Spalding and Scrimgeour families are both reminiscent of the Paniters of Montrose.

There is one other family with Dundee connections which should be included in the study of students at continental universities and these are the relatives of Fotheringham of Powrie and Dundee. The Fotheringhams are quite similar to the Scrimgeour family in that they are limited in their landholding and depend upon marriage connections and relatives in the Dundee merchant community to reinforce their social position. The Fotheringham family are also not far behind the Spaldings as far as their involvement with academics goes. There are ten Fotheringhams at St. Andrews during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the family compares in number of students sent to continental universities, since there is a James Fotheringham at Paris in 1462, Richard and Carolus Fotheringham (the future rector of

Edzell) at Cologne in 1479-80, and dominus Alexander Fotheringham at Louvain in 1509.¹⁹

In the fifteenth century, the Fotheringhams of Powrie become established as one of the closest supporters of the Lindsays, earls of Crawford. This connection is reflected by the appearance of magister Charles Fotheringham as vicar of Edzell in 1496. Similarly the Dundee connection may be important to the transfer of Mr. Charles to Brechin in 1530 where he succeeded magisters Patrick and Arthur Boece as treasurer of that diocese. It may also be significant that this Charles Fotheringham joins John Barre and Robert Wedderburn in a witness list of 1525. This association between the Fotheringhams, Dundee and the continental academic tradition could also help to explain the Protestant conformation of Mr. James Fotheringham, brother of the laird of Powrie and pre-Reformation parson of Ballumbie, after 1560.²⁰

Similar to the characteristic names mentioned above, there are also a large number of students with the surnames Anderson, Young and Ramsay which can probably also be associated with the town of Dundee. However, these names are not as area specific as Scrimgeour or Spalding, and cannot be cited as confidently, although there are exceptions such as the James Anderson of Dundee who is at Cologne with a Thomas Young and Henry Anderson in 1512,²¹

In addition to the names which can be confidently associated

19 See Appendix under Paris (1462), Cologne (1479), and Louvain (1509).

20 James Fotheringham incepted at St. Andrews in 1555 and appears as minister in Inverrairitie, Methie, and Kynnetles in the Register of Ministers for 1567. See Anderson, Early Records, 263; Register of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers and their stipends after the period of the Reformation, Maitland Club (1830), 14.

21 Keussen, Matrikel, 484:108.

with recognizable Dundee families, there are also a small number of names which are identifiable only as being from Dundee. In attempting to get an overall view of the academic scene, these may be just as important since they can help to give an impression of the number of students from Dundee specifically, who travel abroad and also to which academic centres.

It is unfortunate that for most of the fifteenth century, the backgrounds of the Scottish students at Cologne and Louvain are difficult to assess. This difficulty is the result of the frequent lack of any description in the matriculation rolls other than the christian name and country of origin. Even the diocese is only occasionally mentioned. However, it may be possible to make a rough estimate of the percentage of Dundee students by looking at the period from 1510 to 1520, when, for some unknown reason, the town of origin does seem to be more regularly included.

As has already been mentioned in a previous chapter, there was a significant number of Dundee students who matriculate at Cologne University during the Reuchlin Controversy. For example, among the new matriculants at Cologne in 1512, there is the James Anderson of Scotland who is also identified with Dundee. When Thomas Young 'de Scotia' and Henry Anderson 'de Scotia' succeed him chronologically in the matriculation roll, it can be assumed that they accompanied him on the whole of the long journey to Cologne and were probably also from Dundee and possibly even related. In 1514, they were joined first by a John of Dundee, and then in the next year by a Thomas of Dundee and a David of Dundee. This second group of students is the largest concentration of purely 'Dundee' individuals and although they do not tell us much, they do establish that during this period almost one third of the Scottish students who are listed at Cologne

can be associated with Dundee.²²

Similarly, Louvain University also began to cite individual towns of origin more frequently during this period and again the matriculation rolls record a substantial Dundee presence. In 1513 there is a 'Robert de Conde (Dundee) de Angusia, St. Andree diocese' who appears in the matriculation roll.²³ He is followed by William Flasseer of Dundee, Brechin diocese, in 1515; John Hay of Dundee, in 1516; and a James 'de Wittande de Dunde', St. Andrews diocese, in 1517.²⁴

After Erasmus of Rotterdam arrives at Louvain in August of 1517, students from Edinburgh and Aberdeen swell the number of Scots at Louvain considerably.²⁵ However, this influx did not seem to have had any influence on the number of students from Dundee. In 1518 there is a Hugo de Dundi who enters the University, and three years later, in what would prove to be the largest class of Scottish students at Louvain during the sixteenth century, a John Doutry and a David Til, are listed as being both from Dundee and affiliated with the diocese of Brechin.²⁶

When these figures for Cologne and Louvain Universities are combined, the end result is that almost ten per cent of all Scottish students are identifiable with Dundee. The actual number may have been even higher since several are still listed only as 'de Scotia'. In comparison, Edinburgh, which had nearly twice the population,

22 Ibid., 494:108, 507:57 and 59, Ntr. 1622; see Appendix under Cologne and Graph, p. 135.

23 Reusens, Matricule, iii, 471:247.

24 See Appendix under Louvain.

25 See Graph, p. 135.

26 Reussens, Matricule, iii, 657:275 and 276.

sends about the same number or perhaps even slightly less, and this includes a block of five Edinburgh students at Louvain in 1518. Aberdeen, which had about the same population as Dundee and also had a similar dependence on the North Sea for transportation, sends about two thirds as many students in total and virtually none to Cologne.²⁷

Thus the impression that Dundee students are at continental universities during their more progressive academic periods, seems to be at least somewhat substantiated. Certainly there are members of Dundee families at Paris during its first neo-realist period, at Louvain in 1430, at Paris when the Scottish students return, at St. Andrews in the 1450s, and finally at Paris once again during the period of Scholasticism's evolution into early Humanism. When this academic tradition is considered in context of the development of Humanism after the 1490s, it is possible to visualize a Dundee which had already been prepared academically to follow the intellectual developments of the sixteenth century.

Dundee's introduction to Humanism

It has never been possible to separate the history of ideas into simple or precise periods, and in Dundee's case, to actually identify the beginning of a Humanist period is probably impossible. Certainly there is no University of Dundee at this time which might make it possible to trace academic teachings through its students, and the texts which survive from educated members of Dundee society are usually practical documents and not likely to reflect any Humanist influence. Indeed, this shortage of documents makes attempting to identify the introduction of Humanism difficult

27

See Appendix under Louvain (1521).

throughout the whole of Scotland. All of this is aggravated by the fact that there is an absence of complete records for Paris and Aberdeen Universities during the 1490s and also the first decade of the sixteenth century. However, there are still a few individuals during this period who make it possible to guess that Dundee was probably one of the first areas in Scotland to show some connection with the "new learning".

If the neo-realists from Cologne are to be seen as precursors of the progressive academics who are identified as Humanists and then as Reformers in later generations, then the example of magister James Scrimgeour at Paris and Cologne in 1419 should be reflected in future events in Dundee. This supposition seems to be confirmed by an entry in the records of John Crannoch, bishop of Brechin, when it is recorded that in 1435, Laurence Lownan, then master in Dundee, was responsible for the building of a new schoolhouse.²⁸ The erection of this school seems to be the direct result of a conscious attempt to reform the system of education in Dundee by a realist bishop and is reminiscent of the broader reforms which were instituted by Bishop Kennedy fifteen years later.

In 1434, Sir William Knycht, priest, who had been appointed as schoolmaster of Dundee by the abbot of Lindores, was suspended by the bishop of Brechin. This is unusual since the school was historically in the patronage of the monastery at Lindores, however it was also located in the diocese of Brechin and therefore was also subject to direct supervision by the chancellor of that bishopric. In August 1434, the suspended priest appeared before Bishop Crannoch and admitted his 'defects' and asked to be pardoned for challenging the

bishop's authority by appealing to the abbot. Knycht resigned all of his rights to the school to the bishop who then granted them to a more qualified master, Laurence Lownan.²⁹

Since Laurence of Lownan had matriculated at Cologne as recently as 1432, Dundee must have been one of the first places in Scotland to have a Cologne realist master as a teacher.³⁰ This is even a little surprising since this is almost exactly the same period when Laurence of Lindores was in the midst of the campaign against Lollards and Hussites which soon resulted in the execution of Paul Crawler.³¹ The suspicious attitude with which continental realists would have been viewed, may even have been part of the reason why the bishop of Brechin, the same John Crannoch who had been a lecturer at Paris twenty years earlier with Paul Crawler, publicly censured Magister Lownan for not consulting with the bishop before building his new school.³² The abbot of Lindores and the church hierarchy in St. Andrews would certainly have been able to cause problems if any disrespect of church authority could be attributed to either of these neo-realist partisans.

From this start, however, progressivism may have begun to play a more important role in the education of some young Dundee students. This would certainly not have been discouraged by magister Richard Craig, the new vicar of Dundee in the 1440s, who had matriculated at

29 Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, 21; Reg. Epis. Brechin., i, 62.

30 Keussen, Matrikel, 173:31; If 'Lownan' and 'Loenen' (Lönen) are contemporary spellings of the placename 'Lunan' near Montrose then this individual may also be one of the earliest neo-realist scholars who is clearly associated with the sheriffdom of Angus.

31 Scotichronicon, Watt (ed.), viii, 277.

32 Reg. Epis. Brechin., i, 62.

Cologne in 1421.³³ One possible example of progressivism affecting the next generation is the Walter Spalding who determines at Paris in 1449 and would probably have been educated in Dundee, during the early 1440s. He would most likely have been the a nephew of the magister John Spalding who was deacon of Brechin diocese and was probably a son of either David Spalding senior, who was a town councillor for Dundee in 1438, or his brother Thomas, who was provost of Dundee in 1459.³⁴ It is therefore almost certain that the young Walter Spalding was trained by Laurence Lownan or one of the other recently returned neo-realists.

It seems that magister John Spalding, the likely uncle of Walter Spalding, may have been one of the much sought after neo-realists as well, or at least been strongly influenced by them, since he became councillor and confessor to James III and master of the royal chapel during the 1460s.³⁵ Certainly he rose to prominence in the episcopal court of John Crannoch, bishop of Brechin, and his presence in the minority court of James III would have made him, at the very least, an acquaintance of Bishop Kennedy, Archibald Whitelaw and David Guthrie.

In 1467, John Barre (Berri, Barry), who was once again from Brechin diocese and is almost certainly descended from a family of Dundee burgesses, receives a Bachelor degree at Paris while Robert Blackadder, future archbishop of Glasgow, was procurator of the German Nation.³⁶ Two years later, magister John Barre follows in

33 Keussen, Matrikel, 130:68.

34 Millar, Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee 1513-1886, 23.

35 Req. Epis. Brechin., ii, 415.

36 Auct. Chart. Paris., iii, 32.

Blackadder's footsteps and become procurator himself.³⁷ This would place John Barre, the academic, at Paris during the period which was most strongly influenced by the teaching career of John de Ireland, who has already been identified as a possible Greek scholar.³⁸ Indeed John de Ireland was rector of Paris University in the same year that John Barre was procurator of the German Nation³⁹

John seems to be a fairly uncommon christian name in the Barre family, and because of the diocese of origin and the dates of his stay at Paris, it is probable that this is the same John Barre who becomes vicar of Dundee in the 1480s, and is obliged to pay a pension to John Spalding.⁴⁰ Since both families are of Dundee origin it may be that Spalding, who seems to have been at St. Andrews in the 1430s, arranged for John Barre to fill the vicarage position after his return from France as a result of previous academic or family connections.

The vicarage of Dundee does seem to have become a possession of the deacons of Brechin after Gilbert Forster, archdeacon of Brechin, received a papal grant of the vicarage of Dundee upon the death of Richard Craig in 1453 or 1454.⁴¹ This benefice was then held by Richard Wyly, archdeacon of Brechin, until he decided to become a Benedictine monk in 1467, at which time it was bestowed on John Spalding who was then dean of Brechin and royal confessor. As a condition of this grant, magister Spalding was obliged to resign this

37 Ibid., 104.

38 McRoberts, Essays, 189.

39 See Appendix under Paris; Auct. Chart. Paris., vi, 458.

40 The Protocol Book of James Young, 88.

41 Jervise, Memorials of Angus and the Mearns, 251-252.

'incompatible benefice' after three years, however this stipulation had not been taken very seriously by his predecessors.⁴² The grant to John Barre was therefore probably a financial arrangement with a Dundee merchant family which would guarantee at least part of the deacon's income. It may not be a coincidence that there was also a John Barre who appears as a chaplain in the choir at Brechin a decade earlier, in 1456, and joins Spalding in a witness list.⁴³

The appearance of this being a matter of family business seems to be confirmed by the 1492 instrument which cites this obligation, since it also states that Andrew Barre, burgess of Dundee, was procurator for the vicar of Dundee. This would indicate that magister John Barre was probably an uncle, brother or cousin, most likely the latter, to the Dundee merchant.⁴⁴ Also the appellant, Thomas Steuart of Mynto, claims to be a nephew of John Spalding, which means that the obligation for this benefice must have included descendants and heritors.⁴⁵ All of this is possible since church offices would certainly have seemed just as desirable to merchant families as they were to landed ones.

It is interesting at this point to note that John Barre was also an uncle of the Wedderburn brothers who contributed so much to the spread of Reformation ideas in Dundee and that he passed this benefice on to his nephew, Robert Wedderburn.⁴⁶ Also if the vicar of Dundee had any influence on the educated community in Dundee, and

42 Reg. Epis. Brechin., ii 415.

43 Ibid., i, 182.

44 The Protocol Book of James Young, 124.

45 Ibid., 88.

46 Wedderburn Compt Book, p. lii-liii.

since he was a former university master it seems likely that he would, then the importance of John Barre's earlier Paris experience could be quite great.

Hector Boece, Dundee's greatest Humanist

In 1491 or 1492, a ship probably set sail from Dundee with a young scholar on board who was to become that town's most renowned academic. This student was one "Hector Boece vel Boethius, de Dundee", who appears among the names of new bachelors in the German Nation of Paris University in 1492.⁴⁷ It has been said that Boece was educated "in his native town, which at that time and for a long time after was celebrated for its schools".⁴⁸ Therefore it may be that Dundee actually provided the original foundation for the rise in Humanism in Scotland, through Boece and his early education.

It may be important that magister William Hay, who eventually succeeded Boece as principal of Aberdeen University. had also been a Dundee student and was a colleague of Hector Boece at Paris.⁴⁹ This would seem to support the suggestion that there was something special about the Dundee school. Certainly at Paris during this period there were many more students from Aberdeen diocese than from Brechin, yet none of these Aberdonians were recalled with Boece and Hay to teach at Elphinstone's new university.⁵⁰

The schoolmaster at Dundee during this period does not seem to be known, although the presence of the Paris-educated vicar of the

47 Auct. Chart. Paris., vi, 722.

48 Maxwell, Old Dundee, 87.

49 Boece, Vitae, 90; Auct. Chart. Paris., vi, 718.

50 See Appendix under Paris (1490s).

burgh could have brought another Paris-influenced academic to Dundee. When Boece incepted in 1493 and became a magister at Paris, he must already have had some sort of a reputation in Scotland, since only two years later he was recruited by Bishop Elphinstone to become the first principal of Aberdeen University. It seems likely that since the bishop of Aberdeen would have been looking for a progressive young academic, he would have listened to recommendations from others of a similar background to himself. Since Elphinstone had been a lecturer at Paris in the late 1460s, he would certainly have known magister John Barre, vicar of Dundee, who was procurator of the German Nation at the beginning of 1469.⁵¹

The Boece family may also have had some connection with one or more influential members of the church hierarchy as well, since a magister Patrick Boece was treasurer of Brechin diocese in 1493.⁵² Indeed this Patrick Boece may have been one of the sponsors of the young Hector and Arthur Boece in their education. It is certainly no coincidence that magister Arthur Boece succeeds Patrick as treasurer of Brechin diocese in 1527. Similarly, the exchange of benefices between Arthur Boece and magister Charles Fotheringham, parson of Edzell, in 1532-3 probably reflects a prior connection, either through family relations in the Dundee area or academically.⁵³

"but chiefly by merchantis and marinaris"

The academic tradition in Scotland and Dundee must certainly have played a role in the eventual course of the Reformation in

51 Auct. Chart. Paris., iii, 104.

52 Bardgett thesis, Appendix, p. 449, p. 479.

53 Ibid., pp. 449, 479, 501.

Scotland. However, by themselves, the academics would have failed to bring about more than a modest reform of the church, similar to that which was attempted by Archbishop Hamilton in the 1550s. The driving force which assisted the radicals and the progressives in reforming the entire religious situation in Scotland drew much of its strength from within the merchant community and from the local lairds who depended upon dealings with these merchants for much of their income. In Dundee, probably the most powerful of these families was that of the hereditary Constable of Dundee, the Scrimgeours of Dudhope, and through the Scrimgeour family it is possible to tie the progressive academics to the local magistrates.

It happens that the Scrimgeour family had become quite large by the end of the fifteenth century. However, family connections were still very close, even after a three or four generation divergence. The family did not have a large landholding, at least in comparison to some of their equals in the social hierarchy, so that young members of the Scrimgeour family depended on a variety of methods to improve their positions. Since the family was very much concentrated in the region in and around Dundee, the most important of these were participation in the burgh's trade and acquisition of land through arranged marriages. Both of these would naturally have influenced the political and religious stance of the Scrimgeour family during the first half of the sixteenth century.

Certainly the James Scrimgeour who became Constable of Dundee in 1503 can be associated with the Reforming party from a fairly early date, simply because he was responsible for enforcing, or rather not enforcing, the anti-Lutheran law, in the region around Dundee. Thus, after 1525 it is probably due to him more than any other single individual that this is the area in Scotland that the

Reformation spread most freely. James Scrimgeour was probably one of the first of the important magnates to openly support the Reformers and was certainly the first to personally oppose the ecclesiastical authorities. In late 1529 or early 1530, an Observantine friar from Aberdeen named Alexander Dick, after being challenged about his beliefs, fled to Dundee where he was sheltered by the Constable and his bailies.⁵⁴ The sympathy of the Constable of Dundee is apparent when he decides to escort Friar Dick all the way to St. Andrews to prevent him being seized on the road and then, when the Constable could not reach an agreement with the archbishop, escorted him back to Dundee again.

At about the same time, Alexander Alesius was secretly freed from his imprisonment in St. Andrews and fled to Dundee for protection, perhaps because of the reception given to Alexander Dick.⁵⁵ When Alesius reached Dundee, sympathetic merchants sheltered him as well, and provided passage for him to leave the country and travel to the continent. The fact that Alexander Alesius, after an unplanned trip to Denmark, eventually ended up in Cologne and then Wittenberg, also demonstrates the routes which would have been open to Dundee students and merchants.⁵⁶

The Constable himself must have played an important role in the protection of both of these controversial friars since he too was soon being interrogated by church authorities. However James Scrimgeour must have been fairly sure of himself and his protective

54 McLennan, "The Reformation in the burgh of Aberdeen", Northern Scotland, ii (1977), 125, n; ADCP, 371-2.

55 Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 14-5.

56 Mitchell, Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heuine, p. xviii; see Chapter Four.

support, both locally and in royal circles, since he supposedly answered:

If I had known that Alexander was preparing to go away, I would with the greatest of pleasure have furnished him both with a ship and with provisions for his voyage, that he might be put in safety beyond the reach of your cruelty.⁵⁷

The outspoken wording of this statement makes it seem likely that James Scrimgeour was one of the early supporters of the Reformation rather than merely a sympathetic magistrate. Given the example of the execution of the equally well-born Patrick Hamilton only two years before, the beliefs of James Scrimgeour must have been nearly as strong.

Of course the effectiveness of this open support was only made possible by the importance of the Constable in the area around Dundee. Since the Scrimgeour family was not over-endowed with wealth or property, much of this importance was derived from the kinship bonds which resulted from arranged marriages. These can be seen as being especially important to the Scrimgeour family during the Reformation period since through these marriages they were linked to other merchant and noble families, and thereby became part of a network of affiliations which could mount a viable opposition to the tremendous power and influence of the church. The most notable of these marriages included ones with the Haliburtons of Dundee, Graham of Fintree, Sandilands of Calder, Arbuthnot of that ilk, Maitland of Lethington, Erskine of Haltoun and Stewart of Buchan.⁵⁸ The variety of these marriages is particularly important in that they reflect how merchant considerations and religious ideas could intermix and become nearly as important politically and socially as the traditional ties

⁵⁷ Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 15.

⁵⁸ Scots Peerage, iii, 306-311.

of kinship.⁵⁹

Because arranged marriages were of such importance to the Scrimgeour family, it is possible to see the marriage between Isobel Scrimgeour of Glaswell and Richard Melville of Baldovy in the 1540s, as another indication of Scrimgeour family support for the reform movement.⁶⁰ The hereditary Constable was chief among those who shared the Scrimgeour name and therefore his approval would almost certainly have been requested and possibly even required. Since James Scrimgeour of Dudhope's wife had thus far born only daughters, everyone would have been aware of the possibility that the Glassary and Glaswell branches might soon rise in importance, and that this marriage was an important one. Indeed in 1565, James Scrimgeour of Glaswell was second in line to inherit the title of constable, being junior in seniority only to the unmarried brother of James of Dudhope and Glassary. Richard Melville was certainly a known supporter of the Reformation by the time of his marriage so that this may have been as much a union of two reformed factions as it was the joining of two family groups.

Politically, the Constable of Dundee had also been closely associated with another merchant magistrate, James Wedderburn. This affiliation may have been quite important since Wedderburn was the founder of a family which was soon to provide several important

⁵⁹ The tie to Thomas Erskine of Haltoun/Brechin in particular may have been quite important to the development of a reformed 'party' in Angus and the Mearns, since it bound the families of the Constables of Dundee and Montrose at such a crucial time. This is all the more significant since the Scrimgeours do not seem to appear in any bonds of manrent during this period which might have clarified the relationships between the reformers in the early stages of the reform movement in Angus. Wormald, Lords and Men in Scotland, Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603.

⁶⁰ Melville, Diary, 14.

participants in the Reformation movement in Scotland.⁶¹ This James Wedderburn died in 1514, but through this branch of the Wedderburn family it is possible to see how the merchant community and its foreign contacts could have direct connections with the primarily academic discussions which were taking place in the universities.

The Wedderburn family and the educated circle of Dundee after 1530

In 1514, the eldest son of James Wedderburn, who was also named James, matriculated at St. Andrews University. His earlier education would almost certainly have been supervised by his mother's brother, magister John Barre, vicar of Dundee, and may well have been similar to that which produced Hector and Arthur Boece and William Hay. As the eldest son of the Wedderburn family it probably would have been expected that James would eventually join his father's business. For this reason it seems doubtful that when he was sent to study at St. Andrews this was intended to prepare him for a clerical position. Certainly James Wedderburn did become a merchant after university and spent some time in France.⁶² However, James seems to have had a natural literary ability which was to cause his university education and foreign experiences to put an end to his merchant plans.

On his return to Dundee, the young James seems to have been influenced by the recent arrival of friar James Hewat, who had been one of the continentally educated Dominicans who appealed to the General Council in 1525.⁶³ Some degree of discussion between two university graduates in the same community would be quite natural.

61 Wedderburn Compt Book, p. li.

62 Mitchell, The Gude and Godlie Ballats, p. xx.

63 McRoberts, Essays, 200n.

However, in this case, the academic subjects which were topical were the religious ideas and intellectual events of the continent. It happened that James Wedderburn had a particular talent for writing social comedies and tragedies and when these ideas began to appear in his plays the result was his denunciation and flight to France.⁶⁴

James Wedderburn's two brothers seem to have followed a very similar academic and reforming path. In 1525, John Wedderburn, the second son, also enters St. Andrews University, and in 1527, Robert Wedderburn follows in the footsteps of his two brothers.⁶⁵ These younger Wedderburns would have had the extra influence of having been at St. Andrews when Patrick Hamilton returned first from Louvain, and then from Wittenberg and Marburg. The youngest of the three, Robert, studied under Gavin Logie at St. Leonard's College and would probably have been present during the trial and execution of Patrick Hamilton.

The public burning of Patrick Hamilton may well have had an influence on future developments, since Robert Wedderburn returns to Dundee in 1528 to become chaplain of St. Katherine. When educated members of Dundee society began discussing the ideas of friar Hewat a couple of years later, Robert, who was now the nominee for the vicarage of Dundee due to a resignation in Robert's favour by his uncle in 1531, would have been a primary source of information.⁶⁶

64 Mitchell, The Gude and Godlie Ballats, p. xx.

65 St. Andrews Acta, 354, 363.

66 Mitchell, The Gude and Godlie Ballats, p. xix, xxiv; Robert Wedderburn's position on the reform issue has been quite difficult to assess because of his continued possession of this vicarage and the provisions which he made for his illegitimate children by Isobel Lovell. It has been suggested that he remained a supporter of the established church right up until his death in 1552 or 1553. However this does not necessarily mean that he was against reform, and the fact that he is the likely author of the Complaynt of Scotland even makes it likely that he sympathized with the writings of his brothers. See Stewart, "Robert Wedderburn's Feu-Charter", Aberdeen University Review, XLIII, 4 (1970), 403-407.

Another Dundee academic who had studied at St. Leonard's was the new schoolmaster, magister Walter Spalding. He had determined in 1530 and licensed in 1531, which would place him at St. Andrews during the period when Alexander Seton and Alexander Alesius were criticizing the inadequacies of the bishops.⁶⁷ If Spalding was one of those who was influenced by Alesius, this would help to explain why he eventually followed him to Wittenberg. It is even possible that Walter Spalding's family were among those who helped Alesius to escape from Scotland. Certainly the Spaldings were quite influential in the merchant community since magister Walter Spalding seems to have been the first rector of the grammar school to be made a brother of the guild in November of 1539.⁶⁸

It now begins to become apparent that educated members of Dundee society have potentially important connections with the magistrates and the merchant community during the 1530s. Indeed the combined merchant and academic circle seems to be almost complete when the university graduates who were at Dundee at this time are considered together.

The most senior of the masters was almost certainly John Barre, vicar of Dundee, who had been at Paris with Elphinstone and had known the Boece brothers in their youth. Around Barre were gathered his nephews, James, John and Robert Wedderburn, all of whom had studied at St. Andrews, and two would soon become known for their support for the Lutheran reforms.

They were joined in 1531 by magister Walter Spalding, the schoolmaster who was soon to travel on to Wittenberg with another Dundee schoolmaster, magister John Fethie. Other members of this

67 St. Andrews Acta, 365, 368.

68 Millar, Eminent Burgesses of Dundee, 23.

circle were Mr. James Scrimgeour, who was chaplain of St. Savior in Dundee in 1532-3, and Mr. Henry Scrimgeour who was at Paris in 1538, and held several chaplaincies in Dundee after 1530.⁶⁹ This Henry Scrimgeour is the same individual who goes on to become a prominent Greek scholar on the continent and tutor for the Fugger family in Geneva. He also became an important correspondent of Andrew Melville and Peter Young in the 1570s.⁷⁰

Since all of these academics are members of merchant families, the actual source of the Reformation ideas in Dundee society can only be seen as a combination of Knox's "merchantis and mariners who, frequenting other countries, heard the trew doctrine affirmed", and the local university graduates who had adopted these ideas closer to home. Since these two sources depended upon and were influenced by each other, it is useful to look at how they both fit into the larger international scene.

The merchant trade with the Baltic in perspective

The period in European academic history which is associated with Humanism and the arrival of the Renaissance in Northern Europe also coincides with a general increase in the amount of merchant shipping which travels through the North Sea and past Denmark to reach the Baltic. Where before this trade had been dominated by merchants from the Hanseatic towns, now the Low Countries, England and Scotland began to assume a greater proportion of the shipping in and out of the Øresund, and of these, Scotland in particular began

69 Bardgett thesis, Appendix p. 545-6.

70 Durkan, "Henry Scrimgeour, Renaissance Bookman", Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, v, 1. See below p. 326, for discussion of Robert Wedderburn, notary, at Wittenberg in 1574 and the connection between the Wedderburns and Young as a member of the Danish wedding negotiations in 1587, see above p. 202.

to play a disproportionately important role.⁷¹

The geographic relationship between Scotland and Scandinavia which facilitated this economic contact is readily apparent from any map of northern Europe. Indeed only three centuries earlier most of the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland were part of a greater Scandinavia and owed allegiance to the Norwegian king. The transfer of fealty was not completely settled even when Orkney and Shetland were included as guarantee for the dowry of Princess Margaret of Denmark in 1469. The marriage between Margaret and James III did, however, manage to raise the consciousness of both governments to the fact that the North Sea trade would tie them more closely together in the future. Certainly by the beginning of the sixteenth century virtually all of the east coast burghs of Scotland were appearing in the Øresund toll book.⁷²

Naturally the two largest burghs in Scotland, Edinburgh and Dundee, appear most frequently as port of origin. However, Scottish trade with the Baltic is not always proportional to the relative sizes of the burghs involved. Aberdeen is nearly absent from Danish records and Edinburgh and Dundee sent approximately the same number of ships, even though Edinburgh/Leith was significantly larger. In general, the area north of St. Andrews, with the exception of Aberdeen, trades more heavily with the Baltic, while Fife and Lothian burghs trade extensively with England, France and the Low Countries.

The importance of the Baltic trade to Dundee can be seen more clearly in the trade figures which have been compiled for the

71 See D. Ditchburn thesis, "Merchants, Pedlars and Pirates: a history of Scotland's relations with Northern Germany and the Baltic in the Later Middle Ages", 251-66.

72 Bang, Øresund toll Register, i, 2-3.

sixteenth century. In this period Leith sends almost half of her total shipping to the Netherlands, while for the same period, Dundee sends only about ten percent.⁷³ Dundee is also known to have participated heavily in the Norwegian timber trade: so much so that by the 1580s it was sometimes as much as one third of Dundee's total trade.⁷⁴ The number of ships from Dundee and Leith which pass through the Danish straits throughout the sixteenth century are roughly equal, which means that there must be an imbalance in which nearly half of the total shipping from Dundee is involved with the Baltic trade, whereas for Leith the percentage is much smaller.⁷⁵

The end result of this is that trade with Denmark and the Baltic is more important to the merchants and merchant families of Dundee and its surrounding environs than it is to any other part of Scotland. So, as emigration from Scotland to the main Danish and north German merchant towns reaches its peak between 1480 and 1530, a large proportion of the Scottish settlers have connections to Angus families. Therefore, when during the 1520s, Denmark and the German towns experience unsettled political periods as a result of the Reformation and overthrow of Christian II, Dundee maintains closer connections to the political forces which are in control of the Baltic, than do Leith or Aberdeen.

Political forces during the 1520s

In 1518, Christian II of Denmark married Isabela of Hapsburg, sister to King Charles of Spain, and the granddaughter of Emperor

73 Lythe, The Economy of Scotland in its European setting, 1550-1625, 155, 244.

74 Lythe and Butt, An Economic History of Scotland, 60.

75 Bang, Øresund toll register, i, 4-164.

Maximillian. This broke most of the connections between Denmark and France and helped to reinforce the German Humanist reform movement which had already been established in Denmark. When Christian was forced into exile in 1523, he travelled first to Netherlands and then to Wittenberg. After finally returning to Amsterdam, he continued to contribute to the development of early Lutheran influence in Denmark by commissioning a translation of the New Testament into Danish. It was only when he began to look for assistance in regaining his throne that his previous support for the Reformers declined. By this time, however, the Reformation had already affected most of the Hanseatic towns and had established itself in the Danish merchant community as well.

It is therefore important that it was with Denmark itself and not with Christian II that Dundee had its strongest connections. When the exiled king was forced to distance himself from the Reform groups which were developing in the Danish towns, this parallels a regional divergence of partisanship among the east-coast Scottish burghs. Dundee continued to have contact with whoever controlled the Danish sea lanes and towns, while Leith and Aberdeen were willing to support Christian in hopes of future gains, particularly with regard to the Norwegian timber trade.

Because of this conflict of interest, the Scottish royal court could not afford to cease contacts with either Danish king during the regency of Douglas, earl of Angus. In June of 1525, the balance was slightly in Christian II's favour when the Leith merchants, under the leadership of Robert Barton, were temporarily allied with Archbishop James Beaton, who was a relative of the exiled king's representative, Alexander Kinghorn, and interested in using Christian II's improving

connections with the Emperor and the Pope.⁷⁶ However, the official protests which the piracy of Barton, Fogo and several Danish skippers drew from the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic, combined with the interests of the Baltic traders who feared reprisals, soon resulted in a moderation in the support given to Christian II by the Douglas controlled court. Indeed Robert Barton himself declined in influence in 1526, when just a few days after the court formally reassured the Hanse representatives, he was replaced as Comptroller.⁷⁷

The Leith merchants and the supporters of Christian II did not disappear from power for long though and soon there were new attempts to arrange Scottish support for the restoration of the exiled king. However, this effort would have been tempered somewhat by the appointment of Thomas Erskine of Haltoun as royal Secretary in March of 1526.⁷⁸ Erskine can probably be seen as a supporter of Frederik I and Denmark proper since he had most of his connections with the lands around Montrose Brechin and Dundee. It is also probably important to note in reference to Dundee that Thomas Erskine was also married to a member of the Scrimgeour family.⁷⁹

When the earl of Angus was removed from power in 1528, it was almost certainly with the assistance of the Secretary, since Thomas Erskine is one of the primary benefactors of the Douglas forfeitures which followed.⁸⁰ A combination of the protective powers of Thomas Erskine in the royal court, and James Scrimgeour in the local sector,

76 Reid, Skipper from Leith, 194; Christenson, Scots in Denmark, 133.

77 Reid, Skipper from Leith, 198.

78 "Pittodrie Papers", Spalding Club Miscellany, ii (1842), 177-80.

79 See Chapter 7, p. 259-60.

80 Bardgett, Scotland Reformed, 49.

could explain why Dundee was a favourite port of refuge for Lutheran supporters who were under threat as heretics in the 1530s and early 1540s. The division of the lands of the earl of Angus after his fall in 1528 becomes quite important when they are seen in terms of the sheriffdom of Angus.

Two important factions now begin to emerge in this area of which one, headed by the earl of Crawford, Fotheringham of Powrie and Erskine of Dun, becomes linked with the Reformation, while the other, which looks to Lindsay of Edzell, Wood of Bonnyton, Ogilvy of Airlie and David Beaton for leadership, depends upon the suppression of the reform movement.⁸¹ Of these two factions, Dundee seems to be more closely tied to the first, for obvious reasons.

An explanation of this factionalization of Angus is quite easy to find: the secondary landed families of Edzell and Clova now saw the possibility of surpassing the established Lindsay of Crawford superiority with the help of the ambitious abbot of Arbroath. When the earl of Angus fell from power the two groups struggled for dominance and were played off against each other. In the end the support of Erskine of Brechin, Erskine of Dun and Fotheringham of Powrie made the difference in the burghs and restricted the Beaton alliance.

Dundee merchants and their contact with Danish and German Reformers

The Reformation in Denmark in 1536 and the north German states in the 1520s had already exposed Scottish merchants to some of the advantages which the Reformation had brought to the Hanseatic towns. Many aspects of the Reformation doctrines which existed in Germany

⁸¹ Ibid., 13-4.

had been drafted with the growing merchant class in mind. For the Scots, the decline in the financial demands of the church and the elevation of civic leaders into positions of honour and importance within the Reformed church hierarchy would have had great appeal.

The Dundee merchants would also have had contact with the Scottish communities which had grown up in several of the Baltic towns. Malmö in particular may have been quite important since it had a population which could have been as much as one tenth Scottish, and by the late 1520s was already one of the Reformed areas of Denmark. This could have been one of the reasons why Alexander Alesius visited Malmö on his way from Dundee to the Low Countries. He reports that the ship was damaged and blown off course, however there were certainly many other ports which were closer to their intended route.⁸² Perhaps Malmö was already known to the Dundee merchants as a safe town for fugitive Lutheran heretics where they could expect sympathy and assistance.

The fact that 'the Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heuine' was translated by John Gau in Malmö only two years after Alesius received a 'hospitable' welcome from a thriving Scottish community in that town, confirms that this was a centre which would probably have had substantial contact with Scottish traders. In the 1540s this would have played a major role in the perception of the Reformation which was brought back to Scotland from the continent. As has already been mentioned, two of the most influential Scots in Denmark, Alexander Lyell and Johannes Maccebaeus, had Angus connections and both would probably have had personal contacts with Dundee merchants and with the town of Dundee as well. The presence of Alesius as professor of

82

Mitchell, The Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heuine, p. xviii-xix.

Theology in Frankfurt-on-Oder and his eventual replacement there by a Dundee schoolmaster would also certainly not have escaped the notice of Scottish merchants in this area. The presence of John Gau as a Scottish chaplain in Malmø and Copenhagen may have Dundee importance too since the Gau surname is local to Dundee and Fife.⁸³

When the Gude and Godlie Ballats record a ballad intended to be a warning for Cardinal Beaton in which one stanza recites:

All the exempillis of the Law
 Ar written, with greit diligence,
 For our saikis, that we stand aw,
 Of Goddis hie Magnificence,
 Of this we haif experience
 Of diuers Nationis round about,
 For Inglis Prelates, Duche and Dence,
 For thair abuse ar rutit out.⁸⁴

the author's awareness of English and Baltic experiences is clear. This is exactly what would be expected of an educated Dundonian who was writing in the early 1540s, perhaps before the Zwinglian lessons of George Wishart had entered popular discussion. The references to the English, Germans and Danes as examples also adds evidence to the likelihood of a Melanchthonian influence of this individual's view of Reform. In this Dundee and Montrose were linked once again.

83 Ibid., p. xi, xli-xlv.

84 Dence= Dansk, Danish; Duche= Deutsche, German; Mitchell, The Gude and Godlie Ballats, 182.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REFORMATION OF THE MONTROSE REGION

The progressive tradition and the ancient diocese of Brechin

The geographic region which the pre-Reformation bishopric of Brechin largely encompassed contained two distinct concentrations of supporters of reform during the decades which preceded the formal Reformation of Scotland in 1560. The most recognized of these concentrations was centred on Dundee, but the area between Brechin and Montrose forms a second region which must be examined as an independent entity, and one which differs in several ways from its larger neighbour.

The parishes of the diocese of Brechin were intermingled with those of St. Andrews and the bishop of Brechin occasionally seems to have served as a slightly subordinate administrative assistant to his more powerful neighbor. However, despite appearances Brechin was still distinctly independent from St. Andrews diocese and it is in the 'general area' and jurisdiction of Brechin that both Dundee and Montrose lie.¹ This could explain some of the freedom which the reformers of Angus and the Mearns seem to have been able to achieve from the anti-Lutheran persecutions of Cardinal Beaton.

It is noticeable that John Hepburn, who was bishop of Brechin for nearly twenty-five years before his death in 1557, seems to have made fewer attempts to restrict the influx of Reformation ideas into the lands of Angus and the Mearns. He does seem to have sponsored a half-hearted search for heretics in Dundee and Montrose during the

¹ Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, 36.

1530s, but without much success.² It may be possible to attribute some degree of this apparent tolerance to a tradition of progressive academic influence which could date from the days of Bishop John Crannoch and the second decade of the fifteenth century. Certainly the Hepburn family had a great deal of contact with the progressives during this period since James Hepburn, who was bishop of Moray from 1516 to 1524, and George Hepburn dean of Dunkeld and younger brother of the prior of St. Andrews, had been at Paris University with Boece and Erasmus in the 1490s.³ They seem to have been an important influence on John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, since it was he who founded St. Leonard's College in 1515, supposedly in imitation of Montaigue College at Paris.⁴

If there was any philosophical connection between the early neo-realists and Bishop Hepburn of Brechin it could be in the degree of intellectual independence which Bishop Crannoch displayed in his appointment of a realist master for the grammar school in Dundee in opposition to the candidate of the abbot of Lindores during the 1430s.⁵ This could have allowed a tradition of separate regional jurisdiction to develop which reduced the domination of St. Andrews north of the River Tay, even in its own parishes. It is worth noting that James Hepburn, bishop of Moray, had already claimed to be exempt from the primatial and legislative authority of Archbishop Beaton after he succeeded to that position in 1516.⁶

2 Knox, Works, i, 37, 155.

3 Auct. Chart. Paris., iii, 768; vi, 718.

4 St. Andrews Acta, p. xlvi.

5 See previous chapter, pp. 234-35.

6 Dowden, Bishops of Scotland, 168.

It may therefore be significant that the 'general area' of the bishopric of Brechin conforms closely to the area which was later designated as the 'diocese' of the Superintendent for Angus and the Mearns after the Reformation.⁷ It does not seem to be a coincidence that for many years after the recognition of the Reformed church in Scotland, this area exhibited conservative reformed views which probably have their origin in Lutheran ideas introduced several decades earlier.⁸

Brechin had probably been chosen for the seat of the bishopric because it was situated close to the centre of an area which was virtually separated from the rest of Scotland by the River Tay to the south and the highlands of Strathmore in the northwest. These were almost certainly the same limits which made this area the centre of power for the most important of the noble families in the area, the Lindsays, earls of Crawford.

However the success of the Reformation in this area shows that neither the church nor the greater nobility had much control over the opinions of the populace. Therefore, it is necessary to look for other influences and the most likely sources for social and religious leadership are the lesser landed families. In the sheriffdom of Angus these include the families of Ogilvy of Clova, Gray, Lord Gray, Graham of Fintry, Scrimgeour of Dundee and Fotheringham of Powrie.⁹ For the area between Montrose and Brechin, the rise in the importance of the Erskines of Dun during the sixteenth century is especially significant. When reformed ideas first begin to make an appearance

7 Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, 201.

8 Donaldson, "Scotland's Conservative North in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", Scottish Church History, 191-203.

9 Bargett thesis, i, 7-9.

in Montrose and in the area which surrounds it, the toleration and even sympathy of the laird of Dun would have been important and probably even crucial to their acceptance.

Thomas Erskine of Haltoun and the minority of the fifth laird of Dun

The first laird of Dun was created by Robert II towards the end of the fourteenth century, and as a grandson of Erskine of that ilk he inherited a portion of the power and influence of that family. However, the fortunes of the family do not improve much and may even declined a little during the fifteenth century. Indeed in the records of the first decade of the sixteenth century the Erskines of Dun appear most commonly in complaints lodged by the citizens of Montrose concerning raids by Erskine or his retainers. The laird of Dun must still be seen as an important figure though since the townsmen were apparently unable to resist the superior numbers of the laird's force. A rebuke by the king seems to have improved relations between Dun and Montrose, although the confused events of 1513 make it difficult to be sure.¹⁰

Like most of the landed families in lowland Scotland, the Erskines of Dun were present at the disastrous battle of Flodden with the result that the fourth laird, his brother and two sons were all slain. The new laird was a grandson of approximately four years of age who inherited a household run by two widows and under the guardianship of the young laird's uncle.

From such a seemingly low point, three circumstances combined to establish the young laird as one of the most promising figures in the area. First, because so many of the main families had lost their

10

Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 37-42.

head of house at Flodden, the young heir was not taken advantage of by more powerful neighbours as would otherwise have been the case. Second, the previous generations of the Erskine family had made good marriages which provided some protection, the most significant of which was his father's second marriage, to Margaret Ruthven, countess of Buchan. Finally, and probably the most important, was the assistance and guidance which his well educated uncle, Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, was able to give the young laird as he was growing into his responsibilities.

Within just a few years of the battle at Flodden, Thomas was able to work his way into the royal court and eventually become a court messenger and an advisor to the young king and his regents. In March 1524/5, with the advice and consent of the queen dowager and the lords of lords of the secret council, Thomas Erskine of Haltoun was made Secretary to James V, during "the tyme of his les age and further at his hieness will to indure", and named as the official keeper of the royal signets.¹¹ This was unusual in that 'Maister' Thomas Erskine was the first layman to fill the office of Secretary in more than a century.¹²

Thomas Erskine's marriage to Elizabeth Scrimgeour of Dudhope, daughter of the Constable of Dundee, probably improved his position nearly as much as did the royal connections that he was beginning to develop.¹³ Possibly the best supporting evidence of Thomas Erskine's rise in political importance and social standing, is the number of lands which he now begins to accumulate. Already by the time he was

11 "Pittodrie Papers", Spalding Club Misc., ii (1842), 177-78.

12 Donaldson, James V - James VII, 42.

13 Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 55.

married in 1525, he had received the lands of Bringhill in Brechin, and the larger holding of Haltoun, which was located near the border of Angus and the Mearns. Indeed until 1532 he is usually titled as 'Thomas Erskine of Haltoun' in official documents.¹⁴

In September 1526 he received formal social confirmation of his position during the regency of the Earl of Angus when he was made "gentleman and squire in our soverane Lordis hous".¹⁵ Soon after this, in a grant of 5 October 1526, James V, under the supervision of the Earl of Angus, "makkis, creatis and ordinis, the said Maister Thomasoure first secretar for all the dais of his liffe". In May of 1527, Parliament ratified and approved a royal charter of feuferm for the lands of Kincrag.¹⁶

At this stage in Thomas Erskine's career it is interesting how closely his life parallels that of David Lindsay of the Mount, tutor to King James and soon to be Lyon king-of-arms. Both would certainly have had close personal interaction with the young king and would also have made up the core of the educated royal court since both were progressive academics of the second decade of the sixteenth century. Like Lindsay, Erskine must have been able to avoid the struggles between the noble factions vying for control of the king since although his career had flourished under the Douglas regency his advancement continued after James V achieved his independence.

As a result of his position of favour in court, Erskine soon began to add to his holdings, receiving control of the customs of Montrose in 1527, the feu of the castle of Brechin, and the

14 Reg. Sec. Sig., i, 468; Pittodrie Papers, 186.

15 Reg. Sec. Sig., i, 532.

16 Pittodrie Papers, 179; Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 95.

possession of a number of lands in the area around Brechin, along with a few near Monifieth.¹⁷ Thus, it appears that Thomas Erskine was trying to keep his holdings mostly in Angus and generally grouped close to the lands of the family of Dun. However, he also seems to have been trying to avoid any conflict with the holdings of his nephew, because these new lands were concentrated more towards the area around Brechin.

It seems that Thomas Erskine of Haltoun played some role in the liberation of James V from Douglas control since several of the lands he received in 1528 had been Douglas forfeitures.¹⁸ The fact that he was confirmed as the new Keeper of Tantallon, the main Angus castle, and receives the grant of the feu of its lands in 1529 is quite significant politically and could be a reward for assistance given to the king during his escape from his regency.¹⁹ The general political reputation of the Secretary must have been improving during this period as well, largely because Erskine was not affiliated with the Arran and Albany factions and seems to have broken with Angus. It may be that Erskine now became one of James V's closest advisors, for he begins to appear more frequently in official documents.

Thomas Erskine of Haltoun's favoured status is clearly illustrated in 1531 by the significant role he plays in Scottish marriage and alliance negotiations. He was first sent to Rome with the authority to apply to the pope for permission to arrange for an

17 Reg. Sec. Sig., i, 566; Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 115; Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 51.

18 See thesis by William K. Emond, The Minority of James V 1513-1528, for the distribution of lands after the freeing of James V from Douglas control and for international contacts and political factions during this period.

19 Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 176; M.G.R. Kelly, Edinburgh PhD thesis, The Douglas earls of Angus, 478.

imperial alliance through a marriage between the pope's ward and kinswoman, Catherine de Medici, and James V.²⁰ It seems that in connection with this trip to the court of Pope Clement VII, Erskine was granted charters for the lands of Pitheidlie, Kirkbuddo and Ethiebeaton, and Morphy-Fredale or Fraser with its fishings on the North Esk. This grant may well have been intended to help finance his trip, since in February he sells Haltoun and its fishing rights on the North Esk to his nephew, the laird of Dun.²¹

After his return from Rome, Thomas is almost immediately dispatched, along with David Lindsay of the Mount to make enquiries regarding a marriage between James V and a French princess.²² In recognition of this royal service, or perhaps in order to make the embassy one of more appropriate rank, Thomas is elevated once again. In the charter which changes his holding of Tantallon from grant of feu possession to one of fee, in 1531, he is named for the first time as a knight.²³ In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts entry in which he receives expenses for the embassy, he appears as, "Schir Thomas Erskyne of Haltoun, knyght, secretare and Ambassatour in France".²⁴

In 1532 he made a second trip to France for which he was promoted to the nobility through the grant of the lordship of Brechin and Navar. That this was intended as a merely titular elevation is shown by the fact that he was entitled to use the title and arms of Brechin but did not actually receive possession of the royal lands

20 Donaldson, James V - James VII, 45.

21 Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 249.

22 Treasurer's Accounts, v, p. lxviii, 434; Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 52.

23 Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 239.

24 Treasurer's Accounts, vi, 43.

which were associated with the lordship.²⁵ However, in compensation he did receive the lesser lands of Newbigging in Inverarity, which were close to his recent acquisitions of Kirkbuddo and Ethiebeaton.²⁶ Perhaps coincidental to this, is the fact that these were also near to lands which were controlled by the Fotheringhams of Powrie, one of the closest supporters of the earl of Crawford.

Sir Thomas Erskine received another prestigious appointment when, as court secretary, he was named as a member of the new College of Justice in 1532. It seems as if he may even have been personally responsible for its foundation and organization since, having been educated in Pavia, he was familiar with the Italian colleges of Justice it was to imitate, and also in a position to arrange for papal approval of the church levy of 1531.²⁷ This was supposedly intended to finance the establishment of the College of Justice, although it has been suggested that this taxation of Scottish church lands was understood by all parties to be a form of compensation for the failed Medici marriage negotiations.²⁸

In 1534, Thomas surrendered possession of Tantallon castle to

25 Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 53.

26 Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 294.

27 L. and P. of Henry VIII, v, 62, no. 125. As one of the first Scots to be associated with an Italian university in the sixteenth century it is quite tempting to equate Thomas Erskine with other scholars from northern Europe who served as personal couriers of the Italian Renaissance, such as Agricola and Reuchlin in Germany during the 1480s or Grocyn and Linacre in England in the 1490s. It can be ascertained, however, that his Renaissance credentials fit the progressive academic tradition of the office of Secretary and follow in the continental neo-realist/Humanist footsteps of John Benyng (Paris 1415), Wm. Foulis (Paris 1411), Wm. Turnbull (Louvain 1430), Nicolas Otterburn (Louvain 1431), Thomas Vaus (Paris 1446), Archibald Whitelaw (Cologne 1440), Richard Muirhead (Paris 1472, 76; Louvain 1475) and Patrick Paniter (Louvain 1498).

28 Donaldson, James V- James VII, 46.

the king so that it could be granted to the eldest bastard son of James V. In recompense the Secretary received a further grant for five years of a pension from the lands of Brechin and Navar, thus strengthening his hold on the title of that lordship.²⁹ Sir Thomas appears in the Parliament of 1535 when the acts against heresy and in favour of the Catholic church were confirmed. He was also present at the Parliaments of 1540 and 1541. In 1540 he was made constable of Montrose, and thereby reached the height of his career and the peak of his influence in Angus.³⁰

The Secretary may have begun to decline quite soon after this since only one year later he transfers his rights as Constable of Montrose to his nephew in liferent and John Erskine, younger, in fee. After James V died in 1542, Sir Thomas does not continue as Secretary to the young queen and rarely appears in later references. Indeed he may have been unwell since by 1544 he has transferred most of his lands to the laird of Dun.³¹ His last charter seems to have been one from 1550 in which he exchanges the lordship of Brechin and Navar for the lands of Balhaggarty in Aberdeenshire, the home of his direct descendants, the Erskines of Pittodrie.³²

Thomas Erskine was not the only member of that generation to find an important position in the north-east. His brother Robert followed the other path of advancement which was open to younger sons of landowners by entering the church. In 1500 he first appears as rector of Murtle parish near Aberdeen, then in 1502 he is listed as

29 Pittodrie Papers, 188.

30 "Dun Papers", Spalding Club Mis., iv (1849), 38-40; Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 53.

31 Dun Papers, 40, 44.

32 Reg. Mag. Sig., iv, 98, 100.

rector ar 'Ferne', which seems more likely to have been the parish of Fern, near Brechin, and not the Fearn in Ross where Patrick Hamilton later received the benefice of the abbot.³³

It is probably not coincidental that in 1526 Robert Erskine became rector of Glenbervie, which lies about fifteen miles north of Dun and Brechin and in lands which were controlled by the Douglas family. The existence of a connection between the Erskines of Dun and Douglas of Glenbervie seems to be confirmed by an obligation between Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie and Master Thomas Erskine of Haltoun for the loan of a sum of money in exchange for a gold chain.³⁴ Indeed this could be associated with the appointment of Thomas Erskine as Secretary in that same year.

This was just the period when James Beaton was in the process of increasing the role of the church in Scottish politics and soon Robert Erskine begins a rise in his position within the church, significantly almost in parallel with his brother's advancement in court. At about the same time as Sir Thomas was reaching the highest levels of secular politics, Robert received an important promotion by being named provost of the collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh. The collation of this provostry in 1539 is interesting since it presents a slight connection between the Erskine of Dun family, the Cistercian monastery of Kinloss and the Humanist circle at Aberdeen.³⁵ If there had been an earlier association then this could also tie the foundation of a Greek teacher in Montrose to the Ferreri circle, James Hepburn in Moray diocese and other former

33 Ibid., ii, 540, 561.

34 Pittodrie Papers, 177; Protocol Book of Sir John Christison 1518-1551, ed Lindsay, SRS lxvi (1930), 64.

35 Dun Papers, 31.

students of Montaigu College.³⁶

Thus, during the period of complex and often bitter political manoeuvring which existed during the minority of King James V, the Erskine brothers greatly increased the family standing. In this way the uncles of the young laird of Dun opened up an even greater number of opportunities than he could have expected from his birthright, but still, it took a remarkable man to achieve as much as the fifth laird eventually did.

John Erskine of Dun and the academic tradition of Montrose

The Education Act of 1496 had ordered that the eldest sons of the greater landowners should be educated so that they would be literate in Latin and qualified to attend university. It is safe to assume the laird of Dun fulfilled this requirement, even though no record of John Erskine's education has survived, since the education of the young laird would have seemed an important obligation to his uncles, particularly to Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, who is listed as one of his tutors.³⁷ In this instance the term 'tutor' is probably used in the legal context of guardian or curator, however this does not mean that he would not have been directly involved with the education of his charge. It may even be that before entering the royal court in the early 1520s, Thomas Erskine would have had the opportunity to instruct the young heir himself.

Certainly Thomas Erskine would have been well qualified to serve as a role model and supervisor in the education of his nephew since in his own youth academics had been quite important. Thomas

36 See Durkan, "The beginnings of Humanism in Scotland", Innes Review, IV, 14-15.

37 Report V, Historical MSS Commission, 639, 633.

does not appear in any of the records of the universities which were frequently visited by Scots; however, it is likely that he would have spent at least some time in France. This could have provided an introduction to the continental legal community which then may have encouraged him to finish his education in Italy where he appears to have studied at the University of Pavia.³⁸ Since this must have been before his entering court service in the early 1520s, we can assume that Thomas Erskine would have been familiar with the humanistic examination of Greek works which had started at Padua and soon spread to many of the north Italian universities.³⁹

The fact that Thomas studied in Italy also be an indication that Patrick Paniter's experience in that country with Erasmus and Alexander Stewart a decade earlier, still had a residual influence on young scholars of Montrose during the second decade of the sixteenth century. Certainly Secretary Paniter was active in Montrose affairs during this period since this is when he sponsored the refoundation of the Dominican friary in his home town.⁴⁰ It is worth noting that one of the witnesses to this foundation was Paniter's adopted son, Mr. William Lamb, author of Ane Resonyng of Ane Scottis and Inglis Merchand betwix Rowand and Lionis, who was a Montrose native and held the benefice of Logy-Montrose as vicar. This William Lamb was a contemporary of Thomas Erskine in several other ways since he too

38 L. and P. of Henry VIII, v, 62, no. 125. See above p. 264 (n).

39 Rashdall, Medieval Universities, ii, 20n.

40 Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 23-4, no. 113; see also Report V, Historical MSS Commisiion, 633-4, for close connections between Paniters and Erskines of Dun. Similarly, in the important year of 1555 when Wm. Paniter assists John Erskine of Dun, provost of Montrose, as a commissioner representing Montrose at the Convention of Royal Burghs in Edinburgh, Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1295-1597, (CP), 6, 7, 8, 15.

became a Senator of the College of Justice and like his father had experience in Italy.⁴¹

The Paniter connection with Erasmus could be the result of an association between Montrose and the progressive academic tradition of western Europe which is similar to that of Dundee. There is no record of a burgh school like the one which Laurence Lownan or Lunan was affiliated with in the 1440s and the Boece brothers attended in the 1480s, but the development of a cell of academics in the Montrose area which parallels that of John Barre and the Wedderburn, Young and Scrimgeour families is readily apparent. Certainly not long after the arrival of the Reformation in Scotland there is an active school system in the Montrose area and the laird of Dun seems to have been one of its sponsors.

Thus, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century some degree of continental Humanist influence is identifiable with the careers of Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, Patrick and David Paniter and possibly John Erskine of Dun. In the next generation of Montrose students, Lutheran influenced progressivism plays a major part in the education of several other family groups including the Melvilles of Baldovy, Wishart of Pitarrow and Gray of Dunninald. This academic tradition also provides the foundation for appearance of more radical reformed ideas, such as those which were championed by Andrew Melville in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In order to understand the way in which the transition between academic generations affected the development of the Reformation in the Montrose area, and Scotland in general, it is useful to look once again to the fifth laird of Dun whose life spanned all three eras.

⁴¹ Lamb, Ane Resonyng of Ane Scottis and Inglis Merchand Betuix Rowand and Lionis, ed. R. Lyall, ix-xvii.

It seems likely that John Erskine of Dun must also have had a well-founded education in order for him to have become a leader of the reformers so early. As has already been mentioned, the presence of Paniter's Dominican friary in Montrose may have been important.⁴² It has been suggested that as a young man, the laird of Dun studied either in France or at the University of Aberdeen, but he does not appear in any of the existing records.⁴³ However, if the tradition that he was responsible for the bringing of a Greek teacher to Montrose in the 1530s is correct, then there must have been a degree of Humanist sympathy or involvement, wherever it was he studied.

The progressivism which the Greek language was associated with during the Humanist period continues to make its presence felt when George Wishart was summoned and condemned by the bishop of Brechin for teaching from the Greek New Testament in Montrose in the 1530s.⁴⁴ It seems likely that this was a legacy from the previous Paniter contact with Erasmus since Wishart eventually visits Basle and Zürich, and is influenced by Zwingli and Oecolampadius who were also students of Greek and part of the western Paris-centred academic tradition. It is also interesting that the only book which remains from the library of the laird of Dun is a 1558 edition of a work by Oecolampadius.⁴⁵ This would indicate that this moderate Humanist reforming influence was present in Scotland into the 1560s despite the dominance of Knox's Genevan teachings.⁴⁶

⁴² See Chapter 2, pp. 78 and 87.

⁴³ Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 59-60.

⁴⁴ Knox, Works, (Laing Appendix), i, 535.

⁴⁵ Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, 95.

⁴⁶ See Bardgett, "John Erskine of Dun: A Theological Reassessment", Scottish Journal of Theology, 69-71, for discussion of Johannes Oecolampadius' likely influence on the laird of Dun in 1559-60.

The probable influence on Scotland by the greatest sixteenth-century Greek scholar after Erasmus, Philip Melanchthon, should also not be ignored, especially since Richard Melville of Baldovy and John Erskine, apparend of Dun are cited as having studied under him in Wittenberg.⁴⁷ It has previously been noted that Melanchthon's Book of Visitation was for Germany what the Book of Discipline was in Scotland in that it provided the basis for church government and school organization.⁴⁸ This possible German connection seems even more important when James Melville records the unusual establishment of a girls' school in Montrose during the 1560s.⁴⁹ The likelihood that the laird of Dun had a role in this seems quite great since he had recently been appointed Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, and the influence of Melanchthon must be suspected when this is compared with the Brunswick Church Ordinance of 1528 which called for the superintendent to establish schools for boys and girls.⁵⁰

Similarly, as a Superintendent, John Erskine of Dun was responsible for the examination of ministers and schoolteachers in his 'diocese'. Therefore the quality of his education must have been well above merely average, especially when it is remembered that he was given the commission of examining and reforming the principal and masters of Aberdeen University in 1569.⁵¹ These aspects of the career and character of the laird of Dun make the example of Philip Melanchthon, and his academic and supervisory example as expressed in

47 Melville, Diary, 14.

48 Edgar, History of Education in Scotland, 168.

49 Melville, Diary, 20-21.

50 Edgar, History of Education in Scotland, 167-68.

51 BUK, i, 135, 141.

the Instructio Visitatorum, seem almost unavoidable.⁵²

John Erskine, the fifth laird of Dun: his political youth, 1520-1550

John Erskine of Dun made his entrance into the political scene of the northeast through his marriage into what was still the most powerful family in Angus, the Lindsays, earls of Crawford. It seems as if this was principally a political arrangement since the marriage contract signed by his uncle Thomas in December 1522, provided for John Erskine of Dun to marry Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of the Earl of Crawford, the next year when the laird reached his fourteenth birthday.⁵³ Even taking into account the recognition of adulthood at a much younger age, the laird of Dun would certainly not have been expected to manage his own affairs at this stage of his life.

John Erskine's position continued to increase as he reached maturity in the late 1520s and early 1530s. In connection with his marriage in 1523, the laird of Dun received a charter of the customs of Montrose from the Earl of Crawford and a precept of infeftment in 1525, for himself and 'his heirs'.⁵⁴ He also received a precept of Clare from David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath in 1529.⁵⁵

Things must have seemed to be progressing well for the laird of Dun until Elizabeth Lindsay died in 1538. As may be expected of a young man in his late twenties with two or three sons to raise, he remarried fairly quickly. This second marriage, which took place in 1539 or 1540, shows that, like his uncle Thomas, the laird of Dun

52 CR, xxvi, 51-96; "Unter richt de visitation an die Pfarrherren um Kurfurstenthum zu Sachsen" (1528).

53 Dun Papers, 38; Report V, Historical MSS Commission, 639.

54 Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 84.

55 Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 61.

must also have had personal connections with the royal court since Barbara de Berle was one of the ladies-in-waiting who arrived in Scotland with Mary of Guise in 1538 and may have been a daughter of a French noble, Sieur de Camnecourt.⁵⁶

This period was also one of land acquisition for the laird of Dun, according to a royal charter of confirmation from 1542. In addition to scattered lands throughout much of Angus, he also held title to the lands of Arrat, Leightonhill, Balwylo and Hedderwick, as well as Dun itself. When Haltoun and other lands along the North Esk, which had belonged to his uncle are included, it becomes apparent that he was in control of most of the land between Brechin and Montrose.⁵⁷ Earlier in 1542, John Erskine of Dun also gained a greater degree of influence within Montrose itself when Sir Thomas Erskine sold his rights as Constable of Montrose to his nephew.⁵⁸

It soon begins to appear that the Erskine of Dun family had become nearly as important in this area as the Lindsays. It is interesting that when James V was raising the Scottish host before the battle of Solway Moss, he commanded the Sir Thomas Erskine and David Lindsay of Edzell should, "put ordour to our lieges of the Earldom of Crawford, Dun, Brechin, Edzell and Montrose anent thair furthcuming to our army and oist and to caus the unable personis to make the coist and furnissing upon mair able personis that may nocht furnys thameself, to pass for thaim in our service".⁵⁹ When the

56 Ibid., 66.

57 This is perhaps best visible using an Ordinance survey map of the area between Montrose and Brechin. Also see map 2.1 of Bardgett, Ph.D. thesis, "Parishes of Angus and the Mearns", i, 50.

58 Dun Papers, 40.

59 Ibid., 44.

eighth earl of Crawford died in November 1542, the succession to the earldom came into dispute and as the rivals fought between themselves the Erskines became even more influential in this area.

When Charles Fullarton of 'Cragy' angered James V in 1542, by leaving the battle of Fala Muir without orders, Sir Thomas Erskine receives the escheat of his lands.⁶⁰ Since the Fullartons of Craigo and Ardo appear as clients of the Erskine family both before and after this incident, this was probably intended to be a temporary revocation to the king's local representative. However this also shows the position of the Erskine family in relation to others which could be viewed as their clients.

In addition to direct land holdings, John Erskine of Dun was able to depend upon the support of many neighboring landowners. At one time or another most of the landed men of the Mearns and north Angus appear either as witnesses or as principals in the charters and agreements still preserved in the Dun papers and the Protocol Book of David Lyall. The families who appear most often in witness lists and therefore seem most likely to be either friends or retainers include Melville of Baldovy, Fullarton of Craigo, Wishart of Pitarrow, Fullarton of Ardo and the Keiths and Ogilvies of Montrose. The relationship begins to resemble one of dependance or subservience when they appear listed as 'servand' to the laird of Dun, as does 'William Fullartoun of Ardo' in 1552. The Melvilles of Baldovy are also described as 'servand' to the laird in two documents, and Richard Melville of Baldovy is listed as 'curator' in 1526.⁶¹

Therefore, Erskine of Dun, in terms of sixteenth-century

60 Pittodrie Papers, 196.

61 Report V, Historical MSS Commission, 634.

loyalties and obligations, could claim control of the lands of Logie-Pert, Dun, Montrose, Maryton and parts of other neighboring parishes, even if he did not actually own them. Merely being the most powerful landowner, however, would not necessarily have enabled Erskine to influence the lives and ideas of the people in the towns and lands of this area. It is therefore useful to look for alternative sources of the popular Reformation of which the laird of Dun would soon emerge as a leader.

Montrose and the early years of the continental Reformation

Through most of Europe there were waves of Lutheran support after each conflict between Luther and his opponents. These varied in strength in different areas at different times, however, there were two periods during which popular awareness of Luther's cause increased noticeably. It is not clear exactly when the Reformation first began to make an appearance in Montrose and in the area around it, but there is no reason to think that this part of Scotland should not have been affected by the same two waves.

The initial spread of Luther's ideas seems to have reached all of northern Europe within a few months of the posting and publication of the Ninety-Five Theses, in 1517-18. In this first surge of interest in religious and social transformation, support was broad, but still primarily limited to the people and rulers of the German states which already had nationalistic and local disagreements with the Roman Church. In much of the rest of Europe though, support, and probably even awareness, of Luther and his theological debates, was probably still limited to a relatively small number of merchants and those individuals who could travel, such as academics or political emissaries. Luther's ideas and disputations were also available to

literate members of society such as those in the church, universities and upper classes, however, probably only for academic discussion and consideration.⁶² Certainly, despite the fact that there are almost no references to Luther in Scottish records of this period, the discussion of Lutheran ideas at Paris must have been reflected in the Scottish universities as well.

The second burst of enthusiasm for Lutheran inspired reforms came after the Diet of Worms in 1521 when the Emperor issued an edict against Luther and his writings. Luther burned the papal bull and openly declared his break from the Roman Church and independence from imperial restraint. Such a rebellion against established authority was unprecedented and made him a symbol for a variety of individuals who wished for diverse church and social reforms. This was certainly a much broader group than he would originally have wished to lead and included many who did not share his religious views. However, this coalition made this second wave stronger and much more effective in reaching a greater number of common people within countries which had not previously been involved in the conflicts within the Holy Roman Empire.

In Scotland this second wave of Reformation ideas probably did not fully arrive until 1523 or 1524, and was probably largely based upon the return of students from continental universities. Certainly there were nearly fifty Scots who first appear at the Universities of Paris, Cologne and Louvain between 1520 and 1522 who would have been returning to Scotland during this period.⁶³ This possibility is

62 see G. Wiedermann, "Martin Luther vs. John Fisher: Some ideas concerning the Debate on Lutheran Theology at the University of St. Andrews, 1525-1530", *RSCHS* XXII (1986), 15, 21.

63 See Appendices under Paris, Louvain and Cologne between 1520-1522.

probably best illustrated by Patrick Hamilton who is believed to have been at Louvain before entering Paris in 1520.⁶⁴

In Montrose there are not any similar individuals who can be compared with Hamilton, except perhaps the unidentifiable 'Thom. de Monte rosarum, Scotus' who matriculates at Cologne in 1519.⁶⁵ There are no surviving records which give any hint of direct involvement with the Reformation in this area before about 1530. However, Montrose was an active port during this period and at least five of the fifty students mentioned above are identifiable with the diocese of Brechin, although two of them are listed as being 'de Dundee'.⁶⁶

It is perhaps worth mentioning that there is also a 'Hugo de S. Andrea Scotus' at Louvain in 1520 and John 'de Huyo alias Wickart' who enters Louvain in 1523 and is therefore not included in this grouping. These students could have had a Montrose connection since it has been suggested that the surname of the first of these is Wishart, and 'Wickart' is a common spelling of the same surname.⁶⁷ It is therefore possible that one or both of these individuals could have been relatives of George Wishart of Pitarrow, the reformer and martyr of the 1540s who picked up where Patrick Hamilton left off in the 1520s.

Scottish trade with the merchant communities of northern Europe would almost certainly have helped to increase general awareness of Luther's teachings. This, combined with knowledge of events on the continent, is probably what caused the Scottish parliament to pass an

64 Lorimer, Precursors of Knox, 28.

65 Keussen, Matrikel, 523, 73 (1519).

66 Reussen, Matricule, 657:275, 276; see Appendix under Louvain.

67 Ibid., 639,68 and 702,224; Durkan, "George Wishart: His Early Life", SHR XXXII (1953).

act against the importation and circulation of Lutheran works in 1525. Indeed they were probably specifically aimed at preventing any imitation of the German social uprising which is now known as the Peasants War of 1524-5.

When attempting to get an overall view of the progress of the Reformation in Angus and the north-east during this period, it is interesting to note that John Erskine of Dun was just eighteen or nineteen years old in 1528 when Patrick Hamilton was brought to trial. This could have been a very influential occurrence for a young man such as the laird of Dun who was just finishing what would have been at least a Humanist, and possibly even a reform based, education. It may also be significant that John Erskine had a serious conflict with a priest in Montrose soon afterwards in which the cleric was killed within the church tower.⁶⁸ Along similar lines it is also recorded that in 1534 John Erskine gave surety for the release of four men imprisoned for freeing George Gilbert from Bishop Hepburn's prison in Brechin after he had been accused of marrying while in Germany.⁶⁹ These events, combined with the role attributed to the laird of Dun in the education of David Straiton before 1534, make it difficult to dismiss the appearance that the laird of Dun was linked with anti-clericalism, and therefore probably 'Lutheranism' while still in his 20s.⁷⁰

Perhaps a more telling illustration of the strength of the Reformation in the north-east is the fact that, after the death of Patrick Hamilton, Angus and the Mearns provide some of the most

68 Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 62.

69 Bardgett, Erskine of Dun: a Reassessment, 60; ADCP, 426-28.

70 See below p. 283.

prominent of those individuals whose beliefs also lead to their deaths. It seems that when Henry Forrest followed Hamilton to the stake in the early 1530s and was burnt "at the Northchurch stile of the Abbey church of S. Andrews, to the entent that all the people of Anguishe [Angus] might see the fire", it really did serve more as an inspiration to people on the other coast of the Firth of Tay, than as a deterrent.⁷¹

The martyrs of Angus and the Mearns

David Straiton, a younger son of the laird of Lauriston, a town and castle approximately five miles north of Montrose, was apparently the first man from the Montrose area to be tried for heresy during the Reformation era. In 1534, he was called to answer for his refusal to pay a teind of his fishings to the vicar of Ecclesgrieg. Knox says that Straiton was a stubborn man who, instead of giving a portion of his catch to the church collector, had "his servants cast the tenth fische into the sea agane", and thereby added insult to what had been merely an economic injury.⁷²

Knox goes on to say that David Straiton openly "hated the pride and avariciousness of the priests" and when the king appealed for him to recant he remained unrepentant. When questioned about his religious beliefs he supposedly 'denied the existance of Purgatory but accepted the Passion of Christ and the tribulations of this world', which was one of the basic planks of the Reformed platform. This would suggest that it was religious conviction which sent Straiton to the stake with Norman Gourlay rather than mere greed or stubbornness.

71 Knox, Works, i, 518.

72 Ibid., i, 58.

Ten years later John Roger joined John Knox's list of martyrs when he died in the Sea Tower of St. Andrews castle.⁷³ He was yet another of the long list of Dominican friars who had become a little too well known for preaching in support of church reform during this period. Knox says that Friar Roger spent much of his time preaching in Angus and Mearns which means that he must also have been at least acquainted with the supporters of the Reformation around Montrose, including the most famous of the region's martyrs, George Wishart of Pitarrow.

George Wishart began his career within the established church, as did many of the early proponents of reform. Nothing is known about his early schooling but after finishing his education in Louvain in the early 1530s, he returned to Scotland and became associated with the grammar school in Montrose. It seems that it was not until after Straiton's death that he became a prominent preacher in Mearns on the shortcomings of the church. In 1538, intolerance seemed to be increasing when John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin summoned Wishart on a charge of heresy for teaching Greek. The result of this was Wishart's joining the growing group of exiles who were taking refuge in England during the 1530s.⁷⁴

In 1543 he felt that it was time for him to return to Scotland, and upon landing at Montrose was welcomed by John Erskine and invited to stay at Dun and teach in Montrose again. For two years George Wishart actively preached throughout Angus and the Mearns, possibly using Dun as his primary location and refuge. In 1546 Knox recalls that the 'Lard of Dun' advised Wishart not to leave Montrose on the

73 Ibid., i, 119; McLennan, "The Reformation in the Burgh of Aberdeen", Northern Scotland, ii, (1974-77).

74 Knox, Works, i, 535.

trip which eventually led to his arrest.⁷⁵

Wishart had always been in danger of denunciation or attack by supporters of the Catholic church. In Ayr he was prevented from preaching by the arrival of the bishop of Glasgow and was also 'inhibited' from preaching in Dundee several times. He was nearly ambushed by partisans of Cardinal Beaton in Angus and claimed to have been saved by divine providence. However, despite this fortunate escape, the only reason he was able to journey through so much of Fife and Perthshire with impunity was because of the support of many local lairds.

Perhaps Wishart became over-confident of his ethereal ability to avoid persecution, but soon after he arrived to speak in Leith and Edinburgh, he was arrested at the home of the laird of Ormiston. He was then taken to St. Andrews, tried and executed for heresy on the first day of March 1546. It is possible that if he had not left the protection of the circle of Dun and carried his ministry into Ayr and finally Lothian, that Wishart would have established a Reformed Church in Scotland a decade before the Lords of the Congregation were successful in doing so in 1560.

The last of the famous martyrs from Angus was Walter Myln of Lunan, who again was a probable familiar of the laird of Dun.⁷⁶ Although he was an aged cleric by the time he was tried in 1558, he could well have been involved in the spread of 'heresy' in the area around Montrose for some time. Indeed it is recorded that he had spent some time in Germany years before and that he had married, and

75 Ibid., i, 132.

76 Ibid., i, 308; Calderwood, History, i, 337; one also wonders about the possibility of Mr. Andrew Myln, who is listed as a qualified minister in Montrose in 1560 (see Register of Ministers), being related to this last Protestant martyr.

that it was this which made him suspect! His trial and execution were crucial for the success of the 'gentlemen of Mearns' since it took place during a critical period for the establishment of the Reformed Church and served as a focus for those who opposed the regent, the French influence or the over-mightiness of the Catholic Church. It seems that this one additional martyr helped to unite enough opposition to the church and its royal allies so that the rebellious forces were able to organize and become the Lords of the Congregation.

The laird of Dun as a reformed magistrate, 1535-1550

As has already been mentioned, it would have been natural for the port of Montrose to be aware of the religious controversy on the continent, particularly with respect to events in Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands since these were her primary trading connections. However, before any reformed ideas could find much acceptance or support in and around any town in Scotland the agreement of the local social and political leaders was important and probably crucial. For Montrose, during the sixteenth century, this leadership was focused in the figure of John Erskine, the fifth laird of Dun.

The relatively close proximity of Straiton, Wishart and Myln to Montrose and to the lands of the laird of Dun suggests at least the possibility that there may have been some connection between their heretical beliefs. It certainly seems likely that the execution of David Straiton strengthened the opinions of Wishart and Erskine. The fact that Wishart eventually shared the same fate may have further hardened the beliefs of the laird of Dun and finally inspired him to take a more active role in the Reformation. However, it may also be that the flow of influence was in the opposite direction, with the

laird of Dun as one of the principal sources of the heretical ideas of Straiton and Wishart.

In his History of the Reformation in Scotland, Knox relates that David Straiton had "frequented much the company of the Lard of Dun, whome God, in those dayis, had marvelously illuminated".⁷⁷ This is not too surprising since the laird of Dun would have been in the social and educated circles which would have been likely to discuss the Reformation on the continent. In comparison, however, it is recorded that David Straiton could not even read, therefore he must have had a weaker education, and his exposure to Reformation ideas was indirect. For those who were not members of educated society, the teaching of travelling reformed preaching friars like John Roger and John Hewat would have been quite important.

It is interesting that both John Erskine of Dun and his uncle, Thomas Erskine, like Straiton, also held properties which comprised a substantial portion of the salmon fishings on the North Esk.⁷⁸ It could be that this was the source of a direct relationship between David Straiton and the Erskine family, so that any opinions about the fish tithe may have originated with his influential neighbors. When the salmon fishings of the South Esk also begin to appear in the possession of the laird of Dun and his family, this could also have provided a basis for developing trade relations with international merchants trading through Montrose.⁷⁹

If John Erskine was already sufficiently involved with the Reformation in 1534 to influence David Straiton's conversion, as Knox

⁷⁷ Knox, Works, i, 59.

⁷⁸ Reg. Mag. Sig., iii, 249.

⁷⁹ David Lyall Protocol Book, fos. 9, 18.

seems to suggest, then he may also have had an early association with George Wishart.⁸⁰ During the turbulent days of the 1550s and 1560s, it is interesting to note that the laird of Pitarrow is almost always in the company of Erskine of Dun and seems to be 'second-in-command' of the gentlemen of Mearns.⁸¹ It may be that a social or political attachment of the Wisharts of Pitarrow to the Erskines of Dun also influenced their religious and intellectual lives.

It is not clear when George Wishart became a reformer, although it is quite likely that he was in contact with the same individuals as Straiton and Erskine of Dun. Therefore it is possible that the laird of Dun may have been a factor in Wishart's conversion as well, since he was the sponsor of the teaching of Greek in Montrose and this was the reason why Wishart was compelled to leave Scotland in 1538.⁸²

The laird of Dun has been credited with bringing a Pierre de Marsilier to Montrose to teach Greek as early as 1534.⁸³ The date of de Marsilier's arrival has not always been agreed upon, but the fact that a Greek scholar was imported at any time during this period to Montrose is still interesting. This would certainly seem to indicate an attempt to imitate the humanist scholars who were using classical texts to explore religion and philosophy elsewhere in Europe. Also this would provide a source for increasing local awareness of what

80 It is of course possible that George Wishart and John Erskine of Dun were even educated together in Montrose. Certainly they were nearly the same age since Erskine would have been about nineteen years of age when Wishart matriculated at Louvain in 1529.

81 Knox, Works, i, 337, 347, 369.

82 Ibid., i, 535.

83 Grant, Burgh Schools of Scotland, 47; McCrie, Life of Knox, i, 343.

continental academics were arguing about, especially professors of Greek such as Erasmus and Melanchthon.

The introduction of this new approach to education probably also reflects an interest in improving the general atmosphere for the consideration of contemporary ideas and discussions. The study of Classical authors, and of the Humanists who were responsible for encouraging this method of education, would also ordinarily have had connections with the religious controversies of the period. The most obvious confirmation of this would be the appearance of a religious study group or evangelical leader.

If there was a single location in the area around Montrose which could be identified as such a focal point for the spread of reform ideas, it would probably have to have been the chapel of Dun. The parish of Dun would naturally have been subject to a great deal of influence from the laird, so it is not surprising that the vicar of the parish was usually a member of an associated family, for example, between 1517-1553, a sir George Fullarton was the vicar perpetual.⁸⁴ For many years after the Reformation the parson of the parish was always a member of the Erskine family and it may be that this was a continuation from as early as the 1540s.

When the laird of Dun is described by John Knox as having been "marvelously illuminated" by God and being in the company of David Straiton, he makes it appear that there was a group of like-minded associates who supported the Reformation in the area near Montrose. Similarly when Knox describes Straiton saying that after he was accused, "he dellyted in nothing but in reading, (albeit him self could not reid') and was ane vehement exhorter of all men to concord"

84

Bardgett thesis, Appendix, ii, 453.

and that he "frequented the company of those who were godlie" it does seem to indicate that in the area around Montrose there were more than just a few isolated individuals who supported reform.⁸⁵

In 1542, the laird of Dun allowed, or possibly even sent his eldest son, John Erskine apparent of Dun, and Richard Melville of Baldovy, his tutor, to study in Copenhagen and then in Wittenberg, probably with the understanding that they would concentrate on religious studies. James Melville says in his diary that his father "remained at the studie of letters, namely Theology; first with Doctor Macabeus, in Denmark, and thairefter a heirar of Philip Melancton in Wittenberg, be the space of twa yeirs".⁸⁶

It seems reasonable to suggest that when George Wishart came to Dun in 1543, he would probably have preached from what may already have been a reformed pulpit. This may even have been where the laird of Dun and John Knox first became acquainted. Certainly when the young Erskine of Dun and Richard Melville returned to Scotland in 1544, they would have been expected to recount stories of their time in Wittenberg and to relate and explain continental ideas to the laird and his retainers. Dun would also have been a convenient place for a travelling preacher such as John Roger to find shelter and an interested audience. Indeed there almost must have been a succession of 'guest' ministers in the pulpit of Dun, even if they were not all personal guests in the laird's house.

John Erskine of Dun as a leader of the Reform Party, 1555-1560

John Knox in his History mentions that after his return to

85 Knox, Works, i, 59.

86 Melville, Diary, 14.

Edinburgh in 1555, he was asked by the laird to come to Dun and preach to the principal men of the area around Montrose. The two men became close friends and Knox made a number of visits to the Montrose area. Perhaps the most famous of these visits was in 1556 when, after a service by Knox, the gentlemen of Mearns, "band thame selfis, to the uttermost of there poweris, to mantane the trew preaching of the Evangell of Jesus Christ".⁸⁷ Soon afterwards Knox found himself in danger of being summoned to defend his views and returned to Geneva and France for three years, apparently leaving the direction of the reformers largely in the hands of Erskine of Dun.

It is obvious that Erskine's social and political position did not decline as a result of his support of the Protestant religious reformers. In 1558 he was included as one of the nine Commissioners chosen to attend the marriage of Mary Stewart and the Dauphin in France.⁸⁸ Indeed the presence of such prominent supporters of the Protestant faction as John Erskine of Dun, Lord James Stewart, and the future Regent Morton, in such a prestigious commission seems to indicate the Reformation had forced its way to respectability.

When the laird of Dun returned from France he may have felt even more confident so that he could be more open in his support, and began to read and discuss the Scriptures publicly. In the words of Knox, "onlie did certne men (amonges whome war the Lard of Dun, David Forres, Maister Robert Lokharte, Maister Robert Hammylton, William Harlay, and otheris,) exhorte thare brethrein, according to the girtes and graces granted unto thame".⁸⁹ By definition, the fact

⁸⁷ Knox, Works, i, 250-51.

⁸⁸ Calderwood, History, i, 330.

⁸⁹ Knox, Works, i, 300.

that he was 'exhorting', meant that he was only one short step from being a preacher.

John Erskine was one of those chosen in early 1558 to present an appeal to the Queen-Regent and the bishops that the Sacrament and religious services might be conducted in the vulgar tongue.⁹⁰ It seems as though this would have been a test of his conviction as well as of the apparent immunity of his position, considering the trial and execution of Walter Myln at almost exactly the same time.

Similarly, according to Knox, John Erskine was one of the first men of influence to add his name to the Covenant and the Articles of Reformation. He also had a direct role in the organization of the Protestant Lords of the Congregation and may have been responsible for introducing Knox to Maitland of Lethington and other sympathetic members of the court. It is therefore certainly easy to see how it is possible to suggest that the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns were the source from which "arose that body which came to be called the Congregation".⁹¹

When John Erskine of Dun and the "gentlemen of Mearns" pledged themselves in a formal bond to uphold their reformed beliefs, they made the first known public declaration of adherence to the reformed church since the occupation of the Bishop's castle at St. Andrews in 1546.⁹² The combined gentry of Angus and Mearns continued to be the greatest source of support for the reformed ministers through the decade before 1560. On several occasions, usually with Erskine of Dun as their 'spokesman', this virtual army of gentry came very close to

⁹⁰ Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 83.

⁹¹ Crockett, Erskine of Dun Thesis, 75; Buchanan, History, ii, 232.

⁹² Wormald, Lords and Men in Scotland, 155-56, 412; Knox, Works, i, 250-51.

open conflict with the forces of the Queen-Regent, Mary of Guise.⁹³

The most important of these confrontations was in 1559 when the Queen-Regent summoned the ministers of Angus to Perth so that their religious teachings could be explained. A large group of men from Angus and Mearns, under the general leadership of the laird of Dun, accompanied their ministers towards Perth where they were joined by another gathering from Dundee. John Knox, who had only recently returned from France, rushed to Dundee and asked to accompany that group to Perth. The size of this combined gathering and attitude of some of its more emotional members led the Queen-Regent to see them as a challenge to royal authority.

The Queen-Regent threatened to send French troops to take Perth and the Protestant 'army' chose John Erskine as their representative to travel on to Stirling and meet with the Queen. The reported approach of reinforcements under the leadership of Glencairn forced the Queen to back down and gave this first significant gathering of Protestant supporters a bloodless victory over the supporters of the Church. Negotiations over the teachings of the ministers were to be continued at St. Andrews, but the presence of the men of Angus and Mearns in the Protestant party led by Erskine of Dun and Lord James Stewart again left the established church in retreat.⁹⁴

The Lords of the Congregation managed to gain control of much of eastern Scotland before they were temporarily routed by a French force. However, the English now entered the conflict and forced a stalemate in the struggle to control Leith and Edinburgh. The death of the Queen-Regent in June 1560 and the withdrawal of foreign troops

⁹³ Ibid., i, 317, 341; Jacob, The Lairds of Dun, 84.

⁹⁴ Knox, Works, ii, 388.

under the treaty of Edinburgh in July left the Protestant party in control of most of the major towns and the government. Now the reformers had to begin to reinforce their political victory with a campaign for acceptance by the general population.

John Erskine of Dun as a Superintendent and a moderate

In his occasionally somewhat self-centred view of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox apparently seems to find his friend lacking in forcefulness when he describes John Erskine as being 'a man of meek and gentill spreit'.⁹⁵ However, for a reformer of the laird of Dun's reputation, this description finds an interesting parallel in Martin Luther's reprimand of Melanchthon at Augsburg in 1530 in which he is unhappy because his friend is being overly careful in attacking their shared opponents.⁹⁶

In December 1564, John Erskine, the new Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, was chosen to be the Moderator of that 'General Assembly', probably in the hope that his status and demeanor could control the almost inevitable, unruly disagreements which appear in any large meeting of idealists.⁹⁷ The laird of Dun had already proved himself to be a master of diplomacy in previous confrontations with the Queen-Regent and this quality made him one of the best candidates to fill what was possibly the most senior position in the Reformed Scottish Church. It is not too surprising that the laird of Dun was chosen as Moderator more frequently than any other leading reformer between 1563 and 1573. Indeed the fact that John Erskine of

95 Knox, Works, ii, 388.

96 Manschreck, The Quiet Reformer, 195.

97 BUK, i, 52.

Dun played such a leading position in the Reformed Church during the first decade of its existence could have helped to restrain a more radical Reformation during this period.

The responsibilities of being Moderator would only have made his task as Superintendent that much more difficult, especially since in addition to his obligations to the Assembly, he was also directed to conduct a visitation through Nithsdale, Galloway, Kyle, Cunningham and Clydesdale in 1564.⁹⁸ He must have been active in court as well since he seems to have been knighted in 1564 and was made Provost of Montrose.⁹⁹

The ongoing difficulties between Mary and the Protestant church leaders meant that the non-confrontational talents of John Erskine were useful for mediation. When the Superintendents were asked to preach before the Queen, she is reported to have said, "of all others I would gladly hear the Superintendent of Angus, for he is such a mild and sweet-natured man with true honesty and uprightness".¹⁰⁰ This seems to be just the sort of description one might expect of a loyal subject who had been educated as a Humanist, joined the Reformation early as a progressive Lutheran and was now one of the leading figures in the Scottish Protestant Church.

It is exactly this non-antagonistic approach to religious and political disagreement which probably explains why Erskine was elected as Moderator of the General Assembly four times during its five meetings between December 1564 and June 1566. Certainly since

98 Ibid., i, 54.

99 This ~~was~~ growing number of obligations was almost certainly one of the contributing factors behind his lack of visitation and correction in Angus and Mearns during this period. See note 101. †

100 Knox, Works, ii, 482.

Mary was still solidly in control of the throne these were the years which were probably most difficult for relations between the Reformed Church and the crown. Indeed the period in which John Erskine was most active in the General Assembly (1564-1575) was also one of ongoing political turmoil in Scotland. Therefore it may be that Erskine of Dun's skills in diplomacy were now too valuable for him to have been relieved of the offices of Superintendent and Moderator, as he requested in 1568.¹⁰¹

In the General Assembly of August 1571, 'Johne Erskine of Dun, Knyght, Superintendent of Angus and Mearns" appears in the records in a new, but equally important position. He is now included as one of the Commissioners assigned to present the decisions of the General Assembly to the Lord Regent, Privy Council and Parliament. Indeed his name appears more frequently than any other, as one of these Commissioners and since he is almost always listed first and by his complete title, Erskine seems to have been the senior member of this delegation.¹⁰²

John Erskine of Dun and the conflict between being a reformer and a landed magistrate

As has already been mentioned, one of the first tasks of the Assembly was to see that new ministers were placed in established parishes as quickly as possible. It is therefore no surprise that almost all of the known educated adherents of reform were approached and examined as possible ministers with some, such as David Forrest, General of the Mint, being pressured persistently to give up their

101 BUK, i, 120.

102 Ibid., i, 200, 204, 208.

professions and join the ministry.¹⁰³

During the first years of the reformed kirk, the administrative leaders often found it difficult to maintain high preaching and moral standards among their new ministers. Most of the Superintendents were reprimanded at some time or other by the General Assembly for not being able to eliminate some of these shortcomings. While serving as Moderator in the Assembly of December 1565, John Erskine acknowledged that he had not visited any kirk for two months, but also claimed that this could not have been very profitable anyway since "it behoved him to lodge in time of visitation with his friends for the most part, who had most need of correction and discipline."¹⁰⁴

Indeed almost all of the ministers in Angus and Mearns would have been friends, relatives or acquaintances of his. This may seem to indicate that Erskine of Dun had corruptly entered associates of his who were not qualified to be ministers into parishes under his supervision. However this was not necessarily so, since these parishes were the same ones which had heard the teachings of the Reformation for almost twenty years and would likely have been more knowledgeable and more demanding than most other regions of Scotland. It is important to remember that these friends and acquaintances of John Erskine of Dun were usually members of the same families as the 'gentlemen' of Angus and Mearns who had fought for the Reformation, and the client landowners around Dun who would have learned their religious views from the preaching of Wishart, Knox and possibly Erskine himself.

The "Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers and of their

103 Ibid., i, 28; Knox, Works, i, 563-64.

104 BUK, i, 65.

Stipends for 1567", gives an indication of how important the early converts of the 'circle' of Dun seem to be to the success of the Protestant Church in Angus and Mearns.¹⁰⁵ Certainly the family names of the ministers which are listed for parishes throughout much of the diocese make it clear that most of the families with connections to the laird of Dun before the Reformation are represented.

North-west of Brechin, where Strathmore borders the Highlands of Braemar, it is possible to begin to demonstrate this correlation between the families which were the principal associates of the laird of Dun and the individuals who were named as ministers. For example, the first reformed minister of Menmuir, Kynnell and Fern was Master James Melville of Baldovy. He was one of four brothers from that family to find a position in the Reformed Church, including Richard Melville who had been tutor to the eldest son of the Superintendent, and Andrew Melville. The fact that the Superintendent's uncle, Robert, had been rector at Fern earlier in the century may indicate that there was already a Dun family connection to these lands.¹⁰⁶

The possibility that a similar family connection may have existed for the neighboring parishes of Navar and Lethnot seems quite good. Certainly they were part of the grant of the lordship of Navar and Brechin which Thomas Erskine received in 1531. Therefore it may not be a coincidence that the first occupant of this ministry after 1560 was Mr. James Fullarton, whose family had had long standing relations with the Erskines of Dun and were strongly linked with the new church.¹⁰⁷

105 Register of Ministers, Maitland Club (1830).

106 Ibid., 15.

107 Ibid., 16.

The Erskine social and family connections are linked once more in this region when Mr. Andrew Myln is given responsibility for preaching in Stracathro and Dunlappie, the parish which includes the family homes of Lindsay of Crawford and Lindsay of Edzell. Master Andrew Myln seems to have been a Montrose native if he is the same Andrew Myln who resigns a plot of land to his brother, Robert Myln, in 1574. This would mean that he was also a likely acquaintance of Erskine of Dun.¹⁰⁸

North-east of Brechin, in the very heart of Mearns and the territory most strongly influenced by the Erskines of Dun, it is possible to find other individuals who have secular ties to the laird. Perhaps the most important of these can be found in the parishes of Pert and Logy-Montrose, which included the Fullarton lands of Craigo and Ardow. Mr. William Gray was named as minister by 1567 and is particularly interesting since he seems to have been the primary schoolteacher for the area around Dun. His students included James Melville, son of Richard Melville of Baldovy and quite possibly the youngest children or grandchildren of the Superintendent himself. It is interesting to note that the benefice of Logy-Montrose had previously been held by William Lamb, adopted son of Patrick Paniter, from 1529-1550.¹⁰⁹

Considering the involvement of the Superintendent in governing the parishes of Angus and Mearns, it is not surprising that through the first decades of the Reformation the parish of Dun is reserved for a member of the laird's own family. Initially this position was

108 Ibid., 15; David Lyall Protocol Book, fo. 2; see next page under Montrose discussion.

109 Register of Ministers, 15; Melville, Diary, 16; Lamb, Ane Reasoning, p. xv, xvii; Bardgett Appendix, 464, 519.

probably occupied by the John Erskine apparend of Dun who had studied under Melanchthon in Wittenberg, and was included in the 1560 list of men who were qualified to be ministers. However, he dies in 1563 and by the time of the first surviving register from 1567 the minister was one of the Superintendent's younger sons, James Erskine. Then after the death of James in 1574, the position is filled first by another son, Thomas Erskine, who dies soon afterwards, and then finally by the Superintendent himself. It is also interesting that the pre-Reformation vicar perpetual of Dun was a James Fullarton who was probably a member of the neighbouring Fullarton families.¹¹⁰

Montrose itself is included in the Booke of the Universal Kirk list of 1560 when the laird of Dun and Mr. Andrew Myln are listed as qualified ministers. Like Mr. William Gray in Logy-Montrose, Master Andrew Myln also doubled as the schoolmaster for Montrose: a position which had been closely associated with the laird of Dun for more than thirty years. It seems likely that this Andrew Myln is identical to the minister of Stracathro listed previously, especially when James Melville states that the school had to close when the schoolmaster was called to the ministry. This is entirely possible since the shortage of ministers and stipends during the 1560s meant that some 'benefices' had to be redistributed as the financial resources of the kirk became more apparent. Certainly there is only one Andrew Myln in the registers of ministers for 1567 and 1576 and in the latter he is associated with Dunottar. This would fit since Melville also identifies the former schoolmaster as the minister of "Fedresso" which must be Fettresso in Dunottar parish.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Bardgett thesis Appendix A.1, 453, 503; see also Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, v, 388-89.

¹¹¹ BUK, i, 3; Register of Ministers, 14; Melville, Diary.

The school in Montrose seems to become more firmly established after the successful founding of the Reformed Church in Scotland and it is worth mentioning again that this period also saw the creation of a girl's school in Montrose which was run by Marjory Gray, sister of Mr. William Gray, minister and schoolmaster of Logy-Montrose. By the end of the 1570s, a Mr. Thomas Anderson is listed as the minister of Montrose and it is likely that he too was a product of the Dun circle. It seems that he attempted to fill in for Andrew Myln after his reassignment since in his diary, James Melville recalls that the minister called the young student to his chambers "to instruct and admonish me untherways". Melville also identifies him as the brother of Richard Anderson who was an elder in the church where Melville took communion, which was probably Montrose or Maryton. Certainly he seems to have been frequently in the laird of Dun's company after the Reformation if he is the Thomas Anderson who appears in witness lists with Fullarton of Ardo and Maule of Panmure.¹¹² He may also be the "thomas andirson", who is listed as a 'servand' to the laird of Dun, in numerous lists of the 1570s.¹¹³

South-east of Brechin on the southern edge of Dun is the parish of Maryton, which contains the Melville family lands of Baldovy, Dysart and Wester Mains of Rossie. The location of the Baldovy home less than one mile from Maryton kirk leaves little doubt as to why Richard Melville, the head of that family and former tutor to the Superintendent's son, is named minister of Maryton, Inchbrayock and Lunan. The early appearance of so many of the Melvilles of Baldovy in the reformed ministry, and their continued role in the new church,

¹¹² Register of Ministers, 14; Melville, Diary, 22.

¹¹³ David Lyall Protocol Book, fos. 16, 18, 27, etc.

indicates that they were convinced Reformers and truly qualified to preach and not merely friends of the laird of Dun.¹¹⁴

In 1571, John Melville, a younger brother of Richard Melville of Baldovy, is listed as reader for the parishes of Montrose, Logy-Montrose and Maryton. By 1576, Mr. James Melville has moved from Menmuir and Fern to become the minister for Arbroath. Similarly, a son of Richard Melville who was also named James became a well-known minister in Fife not long after this, although he is probably better known for his Autobiography.¹¹⁵ The youngest brother of Richard, the famous Andrew Melville, may not have been a supporter of Erskine of Dun as Superintendent/bishop, but he too had grown up in the circle of Dun and was certainly just as committed in his efforts to reform the Church of Scotland in a 'progressive' manner as his slightly older contemporaries.¹¹⁶

Another family which reflects the importance of the circle of Dun are the Fullartons of Ardo, who also continue to be active in the Reformed Church throughout the rest of the century. In later years, when the Superintendent's failing health was beginning to hinder his ability to examine the ministers of Angus and Mearns, it became necessary to select assistants to help him complete his visitations. In 1585, the 'Bretherin of Montrose, Brechin and Mearns', recommended agents who were capable of summoning ministers to an 'exercise' to be held by Erskine of Dun.¹¹⁷ These agents were Mr. James Fullarton for Brechin, Mr. James Melville or Mr. John Fullarton for Montrose and

114 Register of Ministers, 16; BUK, i, 4, 13.

115 Melville, Diary, xiii; Register of Ministers, 76.

116 McCrie, Andrew Melville, 5, 59.

117 Dun Papers, 71-2.

Patrick Bonkill or Mr. John Cullane for Mearns. Thus it seems that in 1585, twenty-five years after the political triumph of the Reformation in Scotland, the successors to Erskine of Dun began to assume leadership positions. The role of the Melville and Fullarton families in this apparent transfer of power shows that there was a continuity in the leadership of the landed families around Dun and an ongoing northern influence within the Reformed Church.

The conservative north-east

The north-east of Scotland has been viewed as a conservative region before, although in a slightly different sense since this was largely based upon continued Catholic support in the area dominated by the Gordon, earls of Huntly.¹¹⁸ However, the word 'conservative' can also be applied to the reformed diocese of Angus and Mearns through much of the latter half of the sixteenth century. In this case it refers to a conservative approach to reform, possibly as a direct result of the fact that it has a different history of exposure to Reformation ideas than other parts of Scotland, one that is more conservative because it is based on a Lutheran and Humanist approach and is embodied in John Erskine of Dun.

Certainly the early Reformed Church in Scotland was not formed in imitation of any single foreign example of how to implement the practical Reformation of Scottish society and at this stage was not restricted by one set of beliefs or interpretations. It is important to remember that there were many different approaches as to how to effect a reformation of religion, and the leaders of the Protestant party had a broad spectrum of experience in other lands. This was

¹¹⁸ Donaldson, "Scotland's Conservative North in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", Scottish Church History, 191-203.

clearly spelled out in 1558 when the Lords of the Congregation sent a letter to Parliament in which they set forth their plan for trying to prevent a seemingly unavoidable confrontation with the Regent and the Church. The first point of the letter reads,

Seing that the contraversie in religioun, which long hath continued betuix the Protestants of Alman, Helvetia, and the other provinces, and the Papisticall Churche, is not yit decyded by lauchful and General Councall; and seing that our consciences are lyikwyes towcheit with the fear of God, as was thares in the begynnyng of thare contraversie, we most humlie desyre, that al such Actes of Parliament, as in the tyme of darknes gave power to the Churche men to execute thare tyranny aganis us, be reasoun that we to thame wer delated as Heretiques, amy be suspended and abrogated, till a Generall Councall lawfullie assembled have decided all contraverseis in religioun.¹¹⁹

It was not really until the last decades of the sixteenth century that the admirers of Calvinist Geneva and Presbyterianism actually gained ascendancy in Scotland. However, once this did occur, variant Protestant views also became discredited and almost heretical. It is this emergence of a dominant faction which has helped to obscure some of the first few decades of the history of the Reformation in Scotland. The strongest reaction was aimed toward the Reformed episcopacy and opinions on church doctrine which were conservative and had Lutheran or Catholic origins. This suppression of different religious views has particularly influenced the way in which the relative importance of the north-east, and John Erskine of Dun in particular, have been dealt with, or rather not dealt with.

In trying to discover what the personal views and opinions of John Erskine were, it is helpful to keep in mind that even though he was one of the leading reform figures, he was also deeply involved socially, economically and politically as a landed magistrate. His experience as a manager and director in this position would naturally

119 Knox, Works, i, 310.

have influenced his beliefs concerning the supervision of the diocese of Brechin and his role within the Reformed Church.

Thus, despite his close connections with Knox and Wishart in the years before the Reformation Parliament, the laird of Dun would not have been an easy convert to the views of the radical churches. It is probably true that the towns of southern Germany were, in some ways, more Zwinglian than Lutheran because a reformed church drafted for the needs of Zürich, suited their municipal system better than the territorial orientation of the larger Lutheran states of North Germany. Similarly, the goals of John Knox in Edinburgh would not have suited much of Scotland, because it was generally sparsely populated and agrarian. John Erskine of Dun, on the other hand, would certainly have been familiar with the demands of regional management and therefore probably interested in the more organized Lutheran church structure than he would have been with the more egalitarian/republican populist ideals of Geneva or Zürich.

When Calderwood sets out to show his own disapproval of the concept of an episcopacy, he attempts to show the laird of Dun as a well-meaning, but unenlightened, leader of the Reformed Church who could not grasp the importance of reducing the office of bishop. One of his most revealing comments says, "We find that the Superintendent of Angus could not distinguish between a Superintendent and a Bishop; that he taketh Titus for a Bishop; which error he acknowledged afterwards when the second Book of Policie was contrived".¹²⁰ However, in the letter to the earl of Mar which this refers to, the Superintendent of Angus seems quite specific. He says, "As to the question, If it be expedient a superintendent to be where a qualified bishop is, I

¹²⁰ Calderwood, *History*, iii, 162.

understand a bishop or superintendent to be but one office".¹²¹ This had long been the view of the Lutheran churches of northern Europe, who quickly made no distinction between the titles because they were intended to be the same thing in practice.

The First Book of Discipline does make an attempt to set down the differences between superintendents and bishops. However, the circumstances under which this book of an ideal situation was to be implemented, meant that in effect, one office was indeed replaced by the other. For John Erskine the first Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, his styling himself as a reformed bishop, in a manner which was almost certainly based upon established Lutheran precedent, may even have been borrowed from the Danish example.

This seems a reasonable possibility since his eldest son and Richard Melville of Baldovy had been in Denmark and Germany just after the Danish Reformed Church had been organized.¹²² With the uncertainty of the dates of their arrival and the arrival of Johannes Maccebaeus, they may even have been with Maccebaeus in Copenhagen when Bugenhagen consecrated the former professor of Theology, Dr. Tileman von Hussen, as Superintendent of Schleswig in 1542.¹²³ It seems that since both the younger Erskine and Richard Melville were included in the list of individuals who were thought 'apt and able' to be ministers and commissioners at the time the First Book of Discipline was being composed, they could have been consulted or asked to contribute to discussion and interpretation. So too would William Christison, the new minister of Dundee, who had trained under

121 Ibid., iii, 160.

122 Melville, Diary, 14.

123 Petersen, Johannes Macchabaeus thesis, 156.

the first Lutheran Bishop of Bergen.¹²⁴

In his letter to the Regent in 1571, the laird of Dun has certainly not yet begun to accept any idea of a presbyterian system. To him, "the administration of the power is committed by the kirk to bishops or superintendents. Wherefore, to the bishops and superintendents perteaneth the examinatioun and admissioun of men to offices and benefices of spirituall cure".¹²⁵

As has already been discussed, John Erskine's attitude towards episcopacy can not be attributed to a lack of education or awareness, but instead must reflect an entirely different understanding of the role and importance of the offices of bishop and superintendent in church polity. This must have been compatible with the contemporary understanding of that office in the Reformed Church of Scotland as well. Indeed Knox had been present at Erskine's installation into the office of Superintendent and almost certainly approved of the managerial and examination role of superintendents and bishops. When Beza wrote to Knox after the inauguration of a bishop of St. Andrews that, "as bishops did breed Poprie, so, false bishops, the relics of Poprie, did breed Epicureisme", he did not say anything different to what Knox had said when he refused to inaugurate the archbishop.¹²⁶

The revival of the authority of bishops in Scotland may have been one of the reasons behind the reappearance of the laird of Dun in the front line of the political battles within both the church and government hierarchies in the 1580s. Once again, it is possible to see that Erskine has a different attitude to doctrine than Knox or

124 Christensen, Scots in Denmark, 138-38.

125 Calderwood, History, iii, 157.

126 Ibid., iii, 212, 206.

the later Presbyterians. In his eyes, the church and state were separate spheres which could not always be tied to religious ideals.¹²⁷ However, he was still the voice of moderation and it seems likely that when all the church commissioners were changed in 1589, with the exception of the laird of Dun, this was in recognition of the lifetime service which an old man had given to both church and king.¹²⁸

When the life of John Erskine of Dun is compared to the way the Scottish Reformed Church developed after 1560, it seems that once more the same differences which separated the Swiss and German reform movements on the continent were reflected in Scotland. In the early years of the twentieth century, the Scottish theologian T.M. Lindsay, in his History of the Reformation wrote, "Owing doubtless to [Swiss] republican training, Zwingli had none of the aloofness from political affairs which was a marked characteristic of Luther. He believed that his mission had as much to do with politics as with religion, and that religious reformation was to be worked out by political forces".¹²⁹

John Erskine of Dun, as both baron and church leader, had always been known as a man who was able to mediate between political and religious positions and still not lose his respectability, most notably in relations with the Queen-Regent in 1559, with Mary Stewart in 1563-5 and the regents of the 1570s. In the period between 1571 and 1574 in particular, this ability would have been tested to almost

127 As Frank Bardgett points out, this struggle over church and civil jurisdiction is one which troubled Oecolampadius in dealing with the Swiss protestants some thirty years before. Bardgett, Erskine of Dun: a Reassessment, 70-1.

128 Ibid., v, 58.

129 Lindsay, History of the Reformation, i, 349.

to the breaking point, perhaps in much the same way that many of the more moderate theologians in Denmark and Germany were being tested by similar arguments about the political responsibility in deciding doctrinal issues.¹³⁰

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See Chapter 4 above p. 183 for orthodox Lutheran persecution of Niels Hemmingsen in Denmark and the Philipists in Wittenberg.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PHILIP MELANCHTHON AND THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

Twentieth-century studies of continental examples

It seems that only in the last three generations of historians has the suggestion that there might have been specific continental examples which influenced the path of the Scottish Reformation really been taken seriously. This thesis has undertaken to show how the Scottish academic tradition combined with sixteenth-century trade patterns to guarantee that Scotland was aware of the continent to such an extent that it could not help but to have been influenced by events and ideas in Germany and Denmark. However, like the framers of the First Book of Discipline, this work owes much to the works of others and it is important to recognize these as the foundations upon which this discussion has been built.

The analysis of church polity or organization provided the opening of a new approach to the study of Reformation history which could be separate from the study of theology and more free from the bias of religious prejudice than had been possible before. Janet MacGregor's book, The Scottish Presbyterian Polity (1926), may be somewhat dated now, however this has not reduced its importance.¹ It is still useful when continental examples of church polity are used to break down myths like the First Book of Discipline was based purely upon Geneva, or was not based upon foreign examples at all.²

¹ This book is the result of Janet MacGregor's 1923 Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis entitled "An Inquiry into the origins of the Presbyterian Church Polity in Scotland, as devised by the Reformers of the sixteenth century".

² MacGregor, The Scottish Presbyterian Polity, p. xiii-xiv.

Of particular interest is the recognition of an early blending of Swiss and German Reformation ideas in Lambert's Hessian constitution, which Dr. MacGregor quite rightly presents as a precursor of later church ordinances.³

However it is striking that Dr. MacGregor makes no attempt to associate the period when Francis Lambert was at Wittenberg, with near-contemporary developments in the neighbouring German states of Saxony and Brunswick (Braunschweig). More importantly, Philip Melanchthon and Johannes Bugenhagen are hardly mentioned at all which effectively excludes two of the most influential doctrinal advisors of the period and ignores virtually half of Reformed Europe. This seems particularly odd since Philip Melanchthon was credited with having personally converted Philip, Duke of Hesse, to the reformed cause and the "praeceptor of Germany" would almost certainly have been consulted about the new church ordinance, if not by his former colleague then by his noble correspondent.⁴

Dr. MacGregor also fails to notice that Dundee and north-east Scotland had close ties to Scandinavia and the Baltic during the sixteenth century and therefore misses out the ordinances of Denmark, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburg and the Hanseatic towns in her discussion. This study of the polity of the Scottish Presbyterians does, on the other hand, provide a good introduction to the French, Swiss and western Reform examples and makes good use of Richter's collection of sixteenth-century church ordinances, which has not always been the case with more recent authors.⁵

3 Ibid., p. ii.

4 Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 100-101.

5 Richter, Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnung des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, i, 248.

When Gordon Donaldson published his article, "'The Example of Denmark' in the Scottish Reformation", in 1948, he, in effect, merely extended Dr. MacGregor's premise to Reformed lands which had been missed by the earlier concentration on precursors of the Presbyterian Church. The discovery of a sixteenth-century folio in the Balcarres Papers led to a side by side comparison of the structure of the First Book of Discipline and the Danish Ordinatio Ecclesiastica. This showed such a clear similarity that it was no longer possible to dismiss the likelihood that the German and Scandinavian Reformations were nearly as important to the Scottish Reformers as those of France and the Swiss cantons, particularly in the north-east of Scotland where the northern trade routes were significantly more important.⁶

In 1953 Professor Donaldson presented another essay entitled, "The Polity of the Scottish Church, 1560-1600", which broadened his argument to include the Lutheran Churches in general and illustrated the differences between the ideas and backgrounds of the reformers of 1560 and the 1580s. No longer was John Erskine of Dun necessarily sympathetic to the Presbyterian aims or John Knox a Melvillian.⁷ The existence of a progressive evolution of ideas and factions was now acceptable and the way clear to open the parameters even more.

Duncan Shaw was able to further illustrate the diversity in the doctrinal backgrounds of the early Scottish Reformers when he took up the study of how Ulrich Zwingli and the pre-Calvinist Swiss Reformers

⁶ Donaldson, "'The example of Denmark' in the Scottish Reformation", SHR, XXVII (1948), 57-64; this was edited and slightly lengthened by Professor Donaldson when he included it in his 1985 collection of essays entitled Scottish Church History. Also included in this volume is the article on "Scotland's Conservative North in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" which provides part of the argument for a regional diversity of Reformation ideas.

⁷ Donaldson, "The Polity of the Scottish Church, 1560-1600", RSCHS, XI (1953), 212-226.

may have influenced the Scottish Reformation.⁸ Certainly the arrival of George Wishart from Zürich in 1544, does provide a conduit for the introduction of Zwinglian ideas into Scottish Reformed circles which was probably then reinforced by imported literature either by him or as a result of his teaching. In the period before 1544, however, the Zwinglian example is not so easily identifiable in Scotland. Indeed many of the Zwinglian characteristics which the Very Rev. Dr. Shaw has identified during this period can just as easily be attributed to the progressive Humanist reformers and to their educated associates among the early Lutheran adherents.⁹

On the other hand it is reasonable to assume that there would indeed have been an awareness of Zwinglian ideas in Scotland from the early 1520s since he was one of the leading Humanist figures of the western European academic community. Scottish students at Cologne and Louvain, in particular, may well have been susceptible to this influence since there were still connections between these cities and their universities and Basle, where both Zwingli and Oecolampadius had studied and Erasmus was soon to settle. Certainly between 1528 and 1533, which is approximately when George Wishart was at Louvain, there were five other students identified with Brechin diocese and three others from Dundee who attended that university.¹⁰ Thus when Zwingli's ideas were at the height of their influence, which was just before and just after his death in 1530, nine of the fifteen Scots at

8 Shaw, "Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation", RSCHS XXII (1985), 119-139.

9 Certainly the teachings of Carlstadt and Münzer in the 1520s had promoted the idea of a populist church in Germany which paralleled Zwinglianism and what was developing in Switzerland.

10 Durkan, "George Wishart: His Early Life", SHR XXXII (1953), 98-99; see Appendix under Louvain.

Louvain were from Angus. This could have been important in providing the foundation upon which Wishart was able to build when he returned to the north-east of Scotland in the 1540s.

It must also be remembered though, that if direct contacts with Cologne were made difficult by the low level of Scottish trade with that town, then Basle and Zürich must have been all the more so.¹¹ Certainly there are very few examples of Scottish merchants having had much contact at all with south-western Germany, which had the strongest association with Zwingli and German Switzerland. Added to this is the fact that only three Scots are known to have studied at Cologne between 1523 and 1542.¹² Also, at Louvain, Zwinglian ideas would have been greatly moderated by the less controversial Humanist teachings of Erasmus and Melanchthon. Certainly the matriculation rolls of Cologne and Louvain show that there was no surge in Scottish students entering these universities after George Wishart's preaching campaign of 1544-45.¹³ Indeed if there was a Zwinglian influence in Scotland during the 1540s, it probably would have been by way of England, and the international reformers such as Martin Bucer and John à Lasco who visited that country. However, since Edward VI did not come to power until 1547 and Henry VIII had been quite intolerant of the Swiss reformers, this source must have been relatively late.

Thus, while the influence of Zwingli and Zürich may have been important to a few Scots, popular Zwinglianism would probably not have been a dominant force. It is therefore possible to accept this Swiss example and yet still continue looking for other continental

¹¹ See Chapter 1, p. 21.

¹² See Appendix under Cologne.

¹³ See Chart p. 135.

forces which would have shaped the ideas of Reformation Scotland.

Roughly contemporary to this examination of possible Zwinglian influences has been the increased awareness of the attempts to bring about a reformation from within the established church in the decades before 1560. Professor James Cameron has presented another approach to the search for continental examples with his work on "The Cologne Reformation and the Church of Scotland" and "'Catholic Reform' in Germany and in the pre-1560 Church of Scotland".¹⁴

In this model, Hermann von Weid, the Bishop Elector of Cologne, and his attempted reformation of the city-state of Cologne with the assistance of Melanchthon and Bucer, provides a useful connection between the fifteenth-century academic tradition, the Humanists and the progressive reformers of the 1550s. The fact that he was a Catholic bishop who apparently did not wish to abandon his ties with Rome, meant that his efforts would have been attractive to many of the Scottish progressives of the period, especially those who had been influenced by the Humanist academic tradition and may earnestly have wanted to reform the church's shortcomings but wished to avoid breaking with the established system.

Certainly the radicalism of the Swiss and their dominance of a branch of the western academic tradition threatened the Roman Church. At the same time it would have been difficult for many academics who had been trained in France and Scotland to accept some aspects of the eastern German 'Augustinian nominalist' philosophical associations of the Wittenberg Lutherans.¹⁵ This Cologne alternative would allow

¹⁴ Cameron, "The Cologne Reformation and the Church of Scotland", JEH XXX (1979), 39-69; and "'Catholic Reform' in Germany and in the Pre-1560 Church of Scotland", RSCHS XX (1979), 105-117.

¹⁵ McGrath, Introduction to Reformation Thought, 61-63.

known supporters of progressive academics, such as John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, Dominicans of the John Adamson tradition, and academics such as John Major and his students, to be sympathetic with well intentioned church reform while still being against the ideas and actions of the Protestant Reformers.

When this perspective is combined with Professor Cameron's analysis of The First Book of Discipline, it also supplies the most plausible explanation for the sudden conversion of individuals within the previous church hierarchy, such as John Winram and John Douglas, to the reforming party.¹⁶ The suggestion that the Consultation of Bishop Hermann von Wied of Cologne was the model for the reform programme of Archbishop Hamilton in the 1550s, is only made stronger by additional comparisons with other attempts at rapprochement and reform which were managed by Melanchthon.

The recognition of the possible influence which reformers such as Melanchthon and Bucer may have had on Catholic attempts at reform leads naturally back to the academic tradition which allowed for the discussion of ideas without adhering to their doctrinal bias. During the last forty years, John Durkan has been one of the most prominent of modern researchers studying Scotland's intellectual and academic contacts during the sixteenth century. In a series of articles, including notably, "The Cultural Background of the Reformation" and "The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland" and his contributions to Early Scottish Libraries and Glasgow University 1451-1577, Dr. Durkan has made Scotland's experience of the Renaissance much clearer.¹⁷

¹⁶ Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, (Edinburgh 1972).

¹⁷ Durkan, "The Cultural Background of the Reformation", Essays on the Scottish Reformation, ed. McRoberts, 174-331; "The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland", IR IV (1953), 5-24; Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, (Glasgow 1961); Durkan and Kirk, Glasgow University 1451-1577, (Glasgow 1977)

When this Humanist academic approach is combined with the work of Drs. Donaldson, Shaw and Cameron, the basic platform for the study of continental influences on Scotland during the Reformation period is nearly complete. The only missing plank is one which will hold these approaches together, and once again Dr. Durkan has contributed a vital connection.

In the past the Reformation has, understandably, been studied primarily from a religious point of view rather than as part of a much broader social and intellectual development. However, while this has allowed theologians and doctrinal leaders such as Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and Knox to become familiar figures, the emergence of their ideas and the spread of these ideas has not been dealt with as completely. Dr. Durkan has pointed out that in the period which saw the decline in the importance of the Humanists and the rise of the Reformers there was one individual who united both schools and was probably more influential in the intellectual world of Reformation Europe than any of these doctrinal leaders. This was the Greek grammarian at the University of Wittenberg, Philip Melanchthon.

Philip Melanchthon as a common denominator

Each attempt to reform local or national churches during the sixteenth century was inevitably unique in some way simply because political and social circumstances varied considerably across all of northern Europe. When a special 'Reformation Parliament' met in Scotland in 1560, it was important to implement the ideas of the Reformation quickly before the unity and enthusiasm of the reform party, which had developed from their opposition to the old church, disappeared into factionalism or apathy. The committee which was appointed to formulate the beliefs and structure of the Protestant

Church of Scotland was therefore forced by pressures of time and political events to compose a patchwork doctrine which would be acceptable to a large number of magistrates and ministers, who frequently had different opinions.¹⁸

This was not uncommon in this period and as has already been briefly mentioned in an earlier chapter, there were literally dozens of church ordinances which were available for consultation by the framers of the Scottish Book of Discipline in 1560.¹⁹ It is perhaps not surprising that there are many similarities in the content and form of these ordinances since the problems and needs of a reformed church would have been much the same. It is therefore often quite difficult to determine if any single ordinance had a significant influence on Scotland. A better approach may be to assume that all of these documents had some influence on one another and try to follow their development.

It is only natural that the authors of church ordinance would look to earlier examples to avoid repeating mistakes or omitting an important point. Indeed in several of the German ordinances it is known which documents they had before them. For example, the church ordinances of Pomerania (1535) borrowed a great deal from the church ordinances of Brunswick (1528), Hamburg (1529) and Lübeck (1531).²⁰ Similarly, the Brunswick church ordinance had drawn heavily from Francis Lambert's Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae of 1526 and the Instructio Visitorum of 1527. These in turn are based upon nearly ten years of discussion and attempts at reforming church organization

18 Hazlett, "the Scots Confession 1560", AR LXXVIII (1987), 302.

19 See Chapter 3, 154.

20 Richter, Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnung des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, i, 248.

and doctrinal form.²¹ By 1560 more than forty years had passed so that it is easy to see that the path of this evolution became quite involved. However if these church ordinances are viewed for what they are, an attempt to put current theological ideas into practice, then the progressive academic thread can be introduced to place these diverse documents in perspective.

By definition all of these Protestant declarations must, in some way, logically derive from the original protest against the 1529 revocation of the 1526 recess, and the Augsburg Confession which was designed to present the common beliefs of the protestors. Since this unifying declaration was composed, presented and defended by Philip Melanchthon at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 and this same individual was also a primary consultant for most of the church ordinances, this seems like a reasonable connection. As an academic and grammarian first and theologian second, Melanchthon would have been an obvious choice when it became necessary to formulate religious beliefs in a written document.

The first ordinances which Luther and Melanchthon prepared for Electoral Saxony were clear enough on matters of doctrine but weak on advice for their implementation. This is probably due to the rapid changes in the structure of religious practice as events developed and therefore it had not been necessary or perhaps even possible to formally set them down. As other states and regions also began to restructure their own churches along the lines of the Wittenberg model it became important to put the structure and beliefs of the Lutheran followers into a usable form, hence the publication of the Instructio Visitorum of 1527 which was composed largely by Philip

²¹ Ibid., i, p. iii.

Melanchthon.²² Dr. Janet MacGregor proposed that the ordinance which was prepared by Francis Lambert for Hesse in 1525 was original and based upon the Swiss ideas of Zwingli. However, even though the Hessian church ordinance of 1525-6 may seem to precede Melanchthon's articles on visitation, there is nothing which could not have originated in Wittenberg before this and it is important to remember that it was at Wittenberg that the theologians of Marburg had been trained.²³

Certainly Philip Melanchthon had been the primary international voice of Wittenberg and the Lutheran Reformers from as early as 1520, when Luther was forced into seclusion by the Edict of Worms. On literally dozens of occasions during his forty-two year association with Wittenberg and the Reformation, Philip Melanchthon played the politician, always discussing and negotiating in an attempt to defend and spread the German-Lutheran concept for the Reformation of the Christian Church, while at the same time promoting reunification with both the conservatives and the radicals.

This moderate political role meant that Melanchthon, probably more than anyone else, was in a position to influence virtually every one of the various reformation movements, particularly in northern Europe and Scandinavia. His lifelong attempts to mediate and find agreement between the often outspoken and confrontational positions of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and the representatives of seven papal administrations, reflect an academic approach to problems in which the use of the right word or phrase could greatly reduce much of the disagreement. This was quite important in that his subtle approach

²² Ibid., i, 77-101; CR 26:51-96.

²³ MacGregor, The Scottish Presbyterian Polity, 11.

to preaching in favour of church reform combined with his academic reputation as the "preceptor of Germany" and allowed his ideas on the Reformation from the point of view of an academic to carry Lutheran ideas on the Reformation to places where Luther himself was still an anathema.²⁴

In Scotland, because of his reputation as a Greek and Latin grammarian, his connections with the established academic circles of Europe, and his political involvements, Philip Melanchthon must have been one of the best known of all of the continental Reformers at the time of his death in 1560. Certainly all of those sections in the Reformation church ordinances, including the Scottish First Book of Discipline, which deal with schools and the examination of ministers are based in some way on the teachings of Melanchthon. It is from this perspective that the search for continental influence on the Scottish Reformation through church polity should be viewed.

Melanchthon and the Reformation in Scotland

It is somewhat surprising that the possible influence of Philip Melanchthon on the course of the Reformation in Scotland has not been examined more closely before. Certainly Melanchthon is mentioned in the primary sixteenth-century Scottish sources as much as any of the other leading Reformers and his name is probably superseded only by Calvin and Luther as far as frequency is concerned. It is also probably significant that Melanchthon is the only foreign influence which keeps reappearing in contemporary references through forty years of Reformation history.

John Knox includes him as one of the individuals who influenced

²⁴ Manschreck, Quiet Reformer, 88.

Patrick Hamilton in 1526-27 when he,

passed to the schoolis in Germany; for then the fame of the University of Whittinberge was greatly divulgat in all countries, whare, by Goddis providence, he became familiar with these lyghtis and notable servandis of Jesus Christ of that time, Martyne Luther, Philip Melanthon, and the said Francis Lambert.²⁵

This mention of Melanchthon's association with Patrick Hamilton is made more interesting by the fact that Hamilton's short work which is known by the title of Patrick's Common Places is contemporary with a more famous work of the same title, Loci Communes, which was written by Melanchthon.

Indeed most of Europe had been influenced by the written work of the Greek lecturer at Wittenberg and John Row in his Historie of the Kirk of Scotland indicates that he too was aware of this when he records,

As also, the Lord stirred up, in Luther's awin tyme, notable theologians who set out excellent books clearing God's trueth from all Papisticall errours, as Calvin, Melancton, Oecolampadius, ect., whereby the Pope's Kirk gott a great wound, and this part of Europe was greatlie inlightened.²⁶

If Row's knowledge of the works of Melanchthon had been passed down to him from his father, who was one of the framers of the First Book of Discipline, then this could be one of the sources of the moderate elements of that ordinance.

The written work of Melanchthon certainly seems to have had some circulation among the reforming circles of Scotland during the 1530s and 1540s. Early Scottish Libraries cites one work in the library of Robert Stewart, nominated bishop of Caithness, who conformed to the Reformed Church in 1560, and two grammars by Melanchthon which belonged to a pre-Reformation rector of Glasgow

25 Knox, Works, i, 15.

26 Row, Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, 5.

University and a John Forman who was probably the pre-Reformation schoolmaster of Cupar of the same name.²⁷ To these can be added the Cistercian abbey at Kinloss where Ferrerius seems to have taught from works by Erasmus and Melanchthon.²⁸ These purely academic works may well have been accompanied by more controversial ones since it is also noted that,

John Borthwick had ... diverse books suspected of heresie, condemned as weill by the Papall, as also regall and ordinarie authoritie, and prohibited by the law; that is to say, speciallie the New Testament, commounlie printed in English, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, and diverse treatises of Erasmus, and other condemned hereticks:²⁹

The influence of the Wittenberg circle of reformers on Scotland during this period is apparent from the path which the religious exiles of the 1530s take after Henry VIII turned against the Lutherans in 1539.

Alexander Alaesius, Maistir Johnne Fyfe, and that famous man Doctor Machabaeus departed unto Duch land, where by Goddis providence thei war distributed to several places ... Alesius was appointed to the Universitie of Lipsia; and so was Maister Johnne Fyff, whare, for thare honest behaveour and great erudition, thei was halden in admiration with all the godly. And in what honour, credite, and estimatioun, Doctor Machabeus was with Christianus King of Denmark Copmanhoven, and famowse men of diverse nationis, cane testifie.³⁰

The connection of Alesius and Maccebaeus with Melanchthon at Wittenberg is mentioned by Calderwood when he relates that Alesius "remained for the most part in the Universitie of Lipsick and was in great account with Luther and Melancton".³¹ This relationship

²⁷ Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, 63, 98, 146.

²⁸ Ferrerius, Historia Abbatum de Kynlos, 44.

²⁹ Calderwood, Historie, i, 116.

³⁰ Knox, Works, i, 55.

³¹ Calderwood, Historie, i, 94.

between exiled Scots and Wittenberg became quite important after Cardinal Beaton renewed his campaign against the reformers in 1543. Among the Scots who visited Germany in the early 1540s are lesser individuals such as William Ramsay, James Balfour and John Wedderburn who were to return to Scotland and spread Lutheran and Melanchthonian ideas further.³²

What may have been the most important contact between Scotland and Wittenberg during this period is illustrated in the Diary of James Melville when his father, Richard Melville of Baldov,

past with him (John Erskine, apparend of Dun) to Germanie, whar he remeaned at the study of letters, namlie, Theology; first with Doctor Macabeus, in Denmark, and thairefter a heirar of Philip Melancthon in Wittenberg, be the space of twa yeirs.³³

This contact would have had a significant influence on the reform circle in Montrose and its surrounding hinterland and would thereby also have had an effect on the Scottish Reformation in general.

The reputation of Philip Melanchthon remained a factor in Scotland even after his death in 1560 since Knox records that in a debate which he had with Maitland of Lethington, Mr. Robert Maitland, dean of Aberdeen,

began to read with greit gravitie the judgements of Luther, Melanchthon, the myndis of Bucer Musculus and Calvin, how Christianis shoulds behaffe thame selffis in tyme of persecution...³⁴

It is therefore probably worthwhile taking another look at the intellectual environment of Scotland at the time of the Reformation Parliament and the composition of the First Book of Discipline.

³² See Appendix under Wittenberg.

³³ Melville, Diary, 14.

³⁴ Knox, Works, ii, 442.

The presence of 'Lutheranism' in Scotland in the 1560s

The religious situation in Scotland between 1555 and 1565 was somewhat confused and disorganized and certainly not as yet confirmed in the Calvinist form which John Knox had introduced when he returned from Geneva after a twelve year exile. This was not to occur until after Andrew Melville took up the leadership of the Reformed Church after the death of Knox. In 1560 there was still a strong Lutheran influence among most of the primary Scottish Reformers simply because German Reformers had played such an important role in discussions of Reformation ideas in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The combined religious and political environment which existed in 1560 was a *mélange* or melting-pot of ideas adopted by individuals who had been influenced by many different examples. Indeed in almost an exact duplication of the continental situation, about the only thing this relatively small group of individuals had in common was that they could call themselves 'Protestants', for this was an ambiguous term which merely meant that in some way they objected to the supremacy of the Roman Church.

This was the atmosphere in which "The Protestants of the Realme of Scotland" wrote a letter to Parliament in 1558 which began:

First, Seing that the controversie in religioun, which long hath continued betuix the Protestants of Almany (Germany), Helvetia (Switzerland), and the uther provinces, and the Papistical Churche, is not yitt decyded by a lauchful and General Councall; and seing that our consciences are lyikwyes towcheit with the fear of God, as was thares in the begynnyng of thare controversie, we most humlie desyre, that all such Actes of Parliament, as in the tyme of darknes gave power to the Churche men to execute the tyranny againis us, be reason that we to thame were delated as Heretiques, may be suspended and abrogated, till a General Councall lawfullie assembled have decided all controversies in religioun.³⁵

This statement of the lack of conformity within the Protestant

faction does not seem to have receded much in the next four years. It is probably an understatement when Knox says that, "dyverse men war of dyverse jugements" in connection with the adoption of the Confession of Faith.³⁶

When the responsibility for the composition of a book of Church order was given to a commission of six men who all had entirely different backgrounds and experience, it is surprising that they were able to produce as coherent a document as is recorded in Knox's History of the Reformation. It was probably to be expected that additions were bound to be required before the ordinance was finally accepted. The process of the expansion of the original six heads into nine and the addition of three important 'interpolations' which were not in the same form as the rest of the work has already been explored in the 1972 edition of the First Book of Discipline.³⁷ What is worth mentioning, though, is that the subjects covered by these interpolations are exactly the ones which would have been of greatest concern to students of Melanchthon, namely: Of the Superintendents, For the Schools, and Of the Erection of Universities.

The First Book of Discipline, may not have been formally recognized by the Reformed Church of Scotland in 1560/1 but much of it was put into operation regardless, simply out of necessity.³⁸ Of the supporters of the Reformed Church in Scotland during this period John Erskine of Dun has been named as being second only to John Knox in his actions in establishing the Reformation in that country.³⁹ It

³⁶ Ibid., ii, 92; Hazlett, The Scots Confession 1560.

³⁷ Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 49-62.

³⁸ Ibid., 70-75.

³⁹ Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, ed. H. Scott, v, 388.

is interesting to wonder what role Erskine of Dun, who played such an important role in the composition of the Second Book of Discipline, had in the revision of the 1560 ordinance. Certainly it is apparent that in his offices of Superintendent of Angus and Mearns between 1561 and 1589, Visitor in Aberdeen in 1569, and Moderator in 1564, 1565 and 1572, the laird of Dun was personally involved with the topics covered by the three interpolations, perhaps more so than any other leader in the Church of Scotland. Given the diversity of the fledgling Protestant Church during this period and the connections between the north-east of Scotland and the Lutheran countries of Scandinavia and the Baltic, the possibility that the example of some form of Melanchthon's Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherren im Kurfurstentum zu Sachsen had a direct influence on the laird of Dun and through him on Angus and the Mearns and Scotland as a whole, seems almost unavoidable.

Lutheran influences on the Scottish Reformation during the last quarter of the sixteenth century

The death of John Knox in 1573 merely ended the first phase of the attempt to establish a Reformed Church in Scotland. It took at least two generations before the kirk fully adopted the Calvinist presbyterian beliefs which eventually became a characteristic of the Scottish national church. Until that period there were still several groups and individuals who wished to see less radical reforms of the old church, or the establishment of something like a conservative reformed church instead.

However, there does not seem to have been much in the way of a direct Lutheran connection with the Scottish Reformation after the disappearance of the first generation of Scottish Reformers in the

1570s. Indeed as the second generation of Reformed ministers in Scotland, who had been more directly influenced by Knox and his Genevan orientation, came to power, the current historical model sees the popular view of reform moving increasingly away from its Lutheran origins. Any Lutheran characteristics which can be identified in Scotland during the last twenty-five years of the sixteenth century are then attributed to residual ideas and teachings left over from the 1540s and 1550s. This being said, however, it is worth noting that between 1570 and 1600, fourteen Scottish students and masters appear in the matriculation rolls of Wittenberg University.⁴⁰ It is thus apparent that academically there was still significant contact with the Lutheran tradition during this period. This is all the more interesting because this was the same era which saw the increasing Lutheran orthodoxy of Wittenberg University described in connection with the attacks on Philipism at Wittenberg and Niels Hemmingsen in Denmark.

A closer examination of these Scottish students at Wittenberg however, begins to raise some questions about the rising dominance of the Presbyterians during the 1580s since several seem to have had ties to influential Scots of the time. One individual in particular, the William Walwood who appears at Wittenberg in 1573, is almost

40

A general decline in the number of Scottish students in the continental universities is apparent between 1546 and the mid-1560s. Approximately thirty Scots appear at Paris during this period but this is also a marked decrease. It does not seem possible to identify any particular academic focus for Scottish students since there is a fairly even distribution of names at the various universities. Even developments such as the religious turmoil in England after 1550 did not upset the balance of the Scottish distribution since only one Scot is identifiable among the Marians at Basle. (See notation in Appendix under Basle for biographical resources). Purely religious motivations seem to have decreased by this time since of the nine Scots who appear at Basle during the rest of the sixteenth century, at least two had also attended Wittenberg.

certainly associated with the Master William Walwood or Welwood who appears as a regent at St. Andrews University in 1577/8.⁴¹ Since he received his license from St. Leonard's in 1570 it seems likely that this student then continued his education on the continent.⁴² This becomes striking when, after the New Foundation of St. Andrews University in 1579 by Andrew Melville, Master William Walwood is identified as 'the lawyer' who was transferred from St. Mary's College to St. Salvator's where he remained, despite being on bad terms with Provost William Skene, until he resigned in 1611.⁴³ It is intriguing that two other dominant lawyers of the era, William Skene and Thomas Craig, also may have had some tie to Wittenberg since a John Skene and John Craig both appear at that University in 1570.⁴⁴ Since the John Skene who is at Wittenberg may also be the examiner of that name who appears at St. Andrews in 1565 and then disappears, it is possible that this student reappears as the Sir John Skene of Curriehill who rises to prominence in the late 1580s and goes on to play an important role in Scottish jurisprudence and political philosophy during this period.⁴⁵ Indeed, taken together it does seem that there was an important Wittenberg connection for

41 Förstemann, Album Vitebergensis, ii, 241b,16; Kirk, Second Book of Discipline, 289. Walwood seems to be a better approximation of this name than the common current form of Welwood.

42 St. Andrews Acta, 434; It may be important that George Buchanan was Principal of St. Leonard's from 1566 to 1570.

43 Ibid., lxxi, clvi. See also Donaldson, James V - James VII for Welwood as lawyer, inventor and author of Abridgement of all Sea Lanes (1613), and Reg. Sec. Sig. Vol. II, 542, 561-63.

44 St. Andrews Acta, clvi; Förstemann, Album Vitebergensis, ii, 170b,17 & 182b,7. This John Craig may be the same individual as the John Craig who appears at Basle in 1580.

45 As an author, John Skene of Curriehill is credited with having edited a collection of the Acts of Parliament, an edition of Regiam Maiestatem, and composed a legal dictionary entitled De Verborum Significatione; Wormald, Court, Kirk, and Community, 178.

virtually all of the Scottish legal community after 1570.

The 'intellectual ferment' identified with St. Andrews in the 1560s and 1570s would also facilitate the visiting of both Lutheran and Catholic universities on the continent, somewhat along the lines of the Grand Tours of the Continent during seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An example which lends itself specifically to the status of Scottish Lutheran contact in the 1470s can be found in the James Turnet who graduates from St. Andrews in 1476 and like Walwood travels on to Wittenberg as Master James Turnet in 1579.⁴⁶ He is followed by a Master William Lovius or Low who enters Rostock University in 1580, Wittenberg in 1584 and Basle in 1585.⁴⁷ This Rostock path is nearly duplicated by Alexander Arbuthnot who appears at that university in 1589, at Wittenberg in 1590 and as Master at Heidelberg University in 1594. This last example is interesting since his namesake is an Examiner at St. Andrews in the 1550s and Principal of Aberdeen and reformer of Aberdeen University with Andrew Melville.⁴⁸ Another interesting name association can be found between the William Strang who licenced at St. Leonard's in 1566 and the William Strang of Edinburgh who appears at Wittenberg in 1590. Both of these surnames are uncommon enough to imply some relation.

In general it seems that there is a rise in the number of Scots who show up at universities in Lutheran Germany between 1580 and the mid 1590s. It is perhaps natural to ponder the possibilities of an association between this and the marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark in 1589/90, especially with regard to Rostock where eleven

46 St. Andrews Acta, 444, 460. Turnet seems better than Turner since as such he is consistently identified in matriculation records.

47 Refer to Appendix B for citations for these students. See n.47 above for similar possible Basle connection.

48 St. Andrews Acta, lxxiv.

students and masters from Scotland appear during this era. Indeed it may be significant that John Skene of Curriehill appears as a member of the official delegation to Denmark in May of 1590 and is cited as royal advocat and a senator of the College of Justice.⁴⁹ Even if he is not identical with the John Skene who was at Wittenberg in 1570, this apparent family contact with the continent is reminiscent of those political representatives selected earlier in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who also had academic associations with the continent.

An important family connection during the Danish wedding negotiations with a Wittenberg association which is perhaps more tangible, is through the Robert Wedderburn who is listed as being at Wittenberg in January of 1574.⁵⁰ The welcome shown to Patrick Waus of Barnbarroch and Peter Young by Richard Wedderburn at Elsinore in 1587 and 1589 may reflect the academic experience, and prominence in Dundee after leaving Wittenberg, of Richard's first cousin.⁵¹ This may be another avenue worthy of closer examination since this Robert Wedderburn, uncle of the Wedderburn Compt Buik author, also appears frequently in local documents as a notary between 1580 and 1610, and may provide another link with the Scottish legal world as well.⁵²

For purely illustrative purposes it may perhaps be useful to compare these Wittenberg scholars with the realist students of the 1430s, the Reformers of the 1530s and even the Catholic exiles of the

49 RMS, v, 1733; vi, 164. He was Clerk Register from 1594 to 1612.

50 See Appendix under Wittenberg.

51 See above pp. 201-203.

52 Wedderburn Compt Buik, lxv, lxvii, 2n.

1560s, since all would have faced opposition in their homeland. However it may be possible to identify a significant point where they differed from their Catholic contemporaries in that by the end of the 1580s, they would prove to be politically useful against the presbyterians. It is therefore worthwhile taking a last short look at the situation in Scotland during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

As has already been mentioned, the German Reformation provided a more pragmatic approach to reform in a rural or agrarian society where the social hierarchy was traditional. Thus, for the Scottish nobility and monarchy, the Lutheran example was probably viewed with greater sympathy than the Swiss models. When the leadership of the Scottish Reformed Church fell to Andrew Melville and the Genevans after the death of John Knox in 1572 the peaceful coexistence of the reformed nobility and the Scottish kirk must have been strained. It may be that the radical reformers eventually came to recognize the basic difference between population centres of the south and the north, and the corresponding influence of the continental reforming contacts when it was suggested that the first presbyteries be established at thirteen towns in Central and Southern Scotland in 1581 as an example, rather than throughout the whole of Scotland.⁵³

King James VI was still a minor during this period and the object of the characteristic Scottish struggle for the possession of the young king's person and the title of regent. In 1578 the Earl of Morton was overthrown and a new Catholic influence established at court in the person of Esmé Stewart, who was soon created Duke of Lennox. It was probably this development which encouraged the

General Assembly to confirm its independence from the government of Scotland by accepting the Second Book of Discipline in 1578. A year later the young king was seized by a Protestant faction in what has become known as the "Raid of Ruthven", much to the relief of the General Assembly. However in June of 1583, the seventeen-year-old king achieved his independence and with the assistance of several of the more conservative northern magnates, including the earls of Crawford, Montrose, Rothes and Marischal, he retaliated against his most recent captors.⁵⁴

Although James VI seems to have been a convinced Protestant he was certainly not a Presbyterian. This was probably due, at least in part, to his Humanist education by his tutor, George Buchanan, and to his political training during the regency of the Earl of Morton. Also, the fact that the presbyterians had been associated with the Ruthven faction established them as early adversaries of the king.

It has been said that the government of Scotland under the Earl of Arran, who became chancellor in 1584, resembled the "via media" of the earl of Morton a decade before in which the extremism of the Genevans and the English partisans was carefully avoided. As part of this new administration's attempts to regain dominance, the so called "Black Acts" were passed in May of 1584. These spoke specifically against "the new pretended presbyteries" and in favour of the episcopal organization of the Reformed Kirk in Scotland, in effect resurrecting a system of religious polity which had been established in 1560.⁵⁵

This return to more moderate doctrinal beliefs would only have

54 Donaldson, James V-James VII, 180-181.

55 Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 211-214.

been strengthened by the international political developments of the 1580s. As James VI became increasingly likely to succeed to the English throne in the mid-1580s the prospect of his marriage became more important. Because of the animosity of the Catholic nations of France and Spain to England a Protestant bride was sought. However, the possibility of a marriage with the sister of the protestant Henry of Navarre included too great a probability of military and political entanglement. The next most promising princess was a daughter of the Danish royal family, for which appeals were made in 1585 and 1587.⁵⁶

The possibility of Scotland imitating the 'example of Denmark', however, virtually disappeared with the fall of Arran in 1585 and the return of the Presbyterian exiles from England. In 1587, the Act of Annexation was perhaps a last reflection of the Danish model in that it deprived the bishops of the majority of their wealth and placed it under royal control. The end result of this though was the decline in the power of the bishops and the rise of the General Assembly and the Presbyterians.⁵⁷ In 1592, the Scottish Parliament passed an act which officially authorized the established Presbyterian polity and belatedly recognized what apparently had already taken place - the practical end of Lutheran influence on the Scottish Reformation.

However this does not mean that the broader tradition of Lutheran ideas and doctrine did not continue to influence Scotland well into the next century. Indeed the presence of individuals such as William Welwood and Sir John Skene in royal and legal circles may have been important during the royal repression of Presbyterian influence after 1594. Similarly the shift of the General Assembly to

⁵⁶ Ibid., 185.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 216-219.

Perth, Dundee and Montrose by James VI, "where the ministry was more conservative", during this period, also bears consideration with this in mind.⁵⁸

In general, however, as Scottish identity begins to merge with that of England to form Great Britain in the seventeenth century, what remained of the Lutheran memories of the north-east fades in historical importance amidst the rising conflict between the increasingly polarized royal and Puritan/Presbyterian factions. In the broad perspective of British history, it seems that the academic legacy of the Humanist and Lutheran traditions in Scotland becomes associated with the political and philosophical developments to the point that a continuation of this work could feasibly tie individuals such as William Welwood and Sir John Skene of Curriehill to Thomas Hobbes and figures of the Enlightenment like David Hume. For this current thesis, however, the separation of the Lutheran tradition from the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century provides a distinct point at which to conclude this discussion.

CONCLUSION

The evolution of Protestant ideas and the Humanist academic tradition in Scotland

John Knox, in his History of the Reformation, seems to acknowledge a relationship between education and the spread of the Reformation when he relates that Patrick Hamilton "did so grow and advance in godly knowledge" and "was, besydes his godlie knowledge, weill learned in philosophy". Similarly, Friar Alexander Campbell, who "secretlie consented with him alмест in all thingis", was a man "of good wytt and learning, butt yitt corrupt by the warld".¹

The connection is maintained in the description of the lives of Alexander Seton, who was "of good learning and estimation"; and John Macdowell, who became a magistrate on the continent because of 'his good learning and godliness'; and Jeronimus Russel, another man of good letters, who was executed along with young Thomas Kennedy in 1539.² To these must be added reformers who spent much of their lives as teachers in the schools and universities, such as Alexander Alesius, John Fife, William Spalding, John MacAlpine and George Wishart.³

It is of course possible to argue that Knox was merely praising the erudition of the reformers in order to establish their image of respectability. However, Knox also cites examples of reformers who were less well educated such as John Rough, who was not so learned, and Thomas William, a man of merely "reasonable letteris", and David

¹ Knox, Works, i, 15-16.

² Ibid., i, 47, 55, 63-4.

³ Ibid., i, 55.

Straiton, who could not even read.⁴ Therefore it may be that in this aspect at least Knox has remained objective, since there are other sources which seem to support the importance of men 'of good letters' to the Reformation.

It is significant that Scots were in the forefront of European literary achievement during the Reformation period, and that this was probably due to the previous generation of scholars which had boasted men such as Hector Boece and John Major. The academic standard of the time is illustrated by the works of authors such as David Lindsay of the Mount, Buchanan and the Wedderburn brothers, many of which have survived and are highly regarded today. It is probably not a coincidence that James Wedderburn and Friar Keillor were accused of heresy largely because of social comments in their plays.⁵ Certainly these plays were not dissimilar from those of their contemporaries, and it followed that they too were often at least suspected of heretical sympathies.

This academic link is not surprising since the Reformation of the Christian Church in the sixteenth century had its foundations in the social and intellectual developments of the fifteenth century. By tracing the path of travelling Scottish scholars it is possible to follow an academic tradition which ties Scotland to the continent throughout this crucial period and at the same time connects the Conciliarist tradition of the medieval period with the Humanist academic reformers and the early Lutherans. This is particularly well demonstrated by the major role a significant number of Dominican friars play in the early years of the Reformation in Scotland.

⁴ Ibid., i, 96, 59.

⁵ Wedderburn Compt Book, p. li; W.M. Bryce, "The Black Friars of Edinburgh", The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 54.

The Dominicans had traditionally maintained a prominence among the university masters of the continent which involved them in the intellectual developments of the latter years of the Scholastic era. When the nominalist academic school achieved an ascendancy at the end of the fourteenth century, the realist Dominicans bore the brunt of the persecution. After being expelled from Paris University many of the realists settled in Cologne near the Dominican school, which had long been a shrine to Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, and developed a neo-realist interpretation of philosophy and religion which would become the progressive academic path of the first half of the fifteenth century. When Scottish scholars began to follow this progressive example and matriculated at Cologne University during the period when papal opposition united the Wycliffites and the Hussites of the neo-realist tradition with the Conciliarists, they adopted an academic approach which allowed Scotland to become involved in the progressive academic community just as Humanism made its appearance in the second half of the fifteenth century.

When Humanism reached its peak at Paris University in the 1490s, there was an important core of Scottish students who parallel the life of Erasmus of Rotterdam. It was from this core of students that Bishop Elphinstone chose Hector Boece and William Hay and brought them back to his new University of Aberdeen from Paris and established a Humanist academic centre in Scotland. It is important that the Black Friars became involved in the progressive tradition once again when the majority of the 'Aberdeen circle' became members and leaders of the Scottish Dominican order in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century.⁶

⁶Boece, *Vitae*, 91-2.

The first lecturer in theology at Aberdeen University was John Adamson who went on to become provincial of the Scottish Dominicans at the time of a 'reformation movement' within that religious order.⁷ Parallel to this Humanist centre at Aberdeen there was a similar Humanist influence in Moray diocese, possibly as the result of Bishop James Hepburn's Paris education. The connection between these two cells is demonstrated when a Cistercian monk from Kinloss goes to Aberdeen to study under John Adamson.⁸ Certainly this Humanism, and therefore possibly progressivism, becomes firmly established in the Abbey of Kinloss in the next generation under the influence of an Italian scholar named Ferrerius.

When Lutheran ideas began to reach Scotland in the 1520s they would have been received by an academic tradition which was already familiar with the Humanist reform of Erasmus, Reuchlin and Reuchlin's nephew, Philip Melanchthon, who was professor of Greek at Wittenberg. When Scottish reformers of the 1530s, of which the Dominicans made up a large part, fell under suspicion of heresy, the progressive academic tradition meant that England during Henry VIII's Lutheran/Melanchthon period was a natural haven. When the situation suddenly changed in 1539, the Scottish exiles were forced to move on, and for many Wittenberg and eastern Germany became the next destination.

In Saxony and the Baltic states several of the exiled Scottish reformers found positions as doctors of theology in the universities of this region, the most notable of which was Johannes Maccabaeus, the former Dominican prior of Perth, who became a professor of

7 "Approbus reformationem in provincia Scotia a reverendo eius provinciali factam et volumus eam ab omnibus illius fratribus observari"; Reichert, Acta Capitulorum Generalium, Ordinis Preadicatorum, iv, 173.

8 Ferrerius, Historia Abbatum de Kynlos, p. x.

theology at the University of Copenhagen in 1542. This fact combined with the prevalent trade patterns of the period to bring moderate Reformed ideas to the merchant towns of north-east Scotland. Indeed there were also quite significant communities of Scots living in some of the Baltic towns, particularly in Elsinore, Copenhagen and Malmö. When the Reformation gained popular support in Scotland during the 1550s the 'Danish example' contributed to the regional diversity in the opinions of the early Scottish reformers.

Through the life of John Erskine of Dun, first Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, and personal friend and colleague of John Knox, all of these contributory factors combine to produce a moderate progressive example of the neo-realist/ Humanist academic tradition which reflects the ideas and teachings of Philip Melanchthon and provides an alternative to the Calvinist tradition which has so long restricted the study of Scottish Reformation history. When Erskine's eldest son and the elder brother and guardian of Andrew Melville travel to Copenhagen and Wittenberg between 1542 and 1544 to study under Maccabaeus and Melanchthon, the progressive academic tradition of Humanism and Protestantism provides an opportunity for a blending of these two academic eras. From this example it is also possible to see how a Scandinavian/Lutheran influence could become important. Thus, as Professor Gordon Donaldson put it in his revision of the article which inspired this study, "Reviewing all of the evidence is it possible to doubt that, at least for the east-coast burghs of Scotland, for every man who knew what was happening in Geneva a score or more knew what was happening in Denmark?"⁹

⁹

Donaldson, Scottish Church History, 64.



- a.- Dundee
- b.- Montrose
- c.- Edinburgh/Leith
- d.- Elsinore
- e.- Malmo

APPENDIX A

A listing of Scottish students and masters at continental universities during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

This list began as a by-product of this work which has become more useful as it grew in size. It is drawn from several printed sources and categorized by year to facilitate comparisons, with a supplement index of family names and places. These sources are:

Album Academiae Vitebergensis, 1502-1602, Three vol. reprint of original C.E. Förstemann edition of Album (Leipzig 1841), (Tübingen 1976)

Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis, Liber Procuratorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae), 1333-1492, ed. C. Samaran, A.A. van Moé and others (Paris 1935-37)

Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis, Liber Receptorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae), 1333-1494, ed. A.L. Gabriel, G.C. Boyce and others (Paris 1964)

Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, ed. H. Keussen (Cologne 1928-31)

Matricule de l'Université de Louvain, ed. E. Reusens and A. Schillings (Brussels 1903-1963)

Die Matrikel der Universität Basel, ed. H.G. Wackernagel and others (Basel 1951-1980)

Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock, ed. A. Hofmeister (Rostock 1889-1922)

Die Matrikel der Universität Tübingen, ed. H. Hermelink (Stuttgart 1906)

Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, ed. L. Santifaller and others (Cologne 1957-75)

Catalogus Studiosorum Scholae Marpurgensis, ed. J. Caesar (Marburg 1875-84)

Fischer, T.A., Scots in Germany, Appendix pp. 313-314.

McNeill, W.A., "Scottish Entries in the Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis", SHR xliii (1964), 66-86.

Taylor, W.C., "Scottish Students at Heidelberg, 1386-1662", SHR v (1908), 67-75.

Abbreviations and Conventions

bacc.	:	baccalaureate
d., dyoc.	:	diocese
det.	:	determinate
dom.	:	dominus
fr.	:	fratre
incip.	:	incipiate
lic.	:	licenciate
mag.	:	magister
presb.	:	presbyter
S.	:	Saint, Sanct, St. - or in some cases, due to space, 'Scotus'

- textual context should make this distinction clear since students can rarely be described as saints.

Symbols

Note: The first three symbols apply to the University of Paris only.

- * first appearance in Paris records as a student.
- + at the end of an entry indicates that it was taken from the Liber Receptorum of Paris University. All other Paris entries are from the Liber Procuratorum.
- after year indicates that this individual was a procurator, magister or member of the teaching staff at Paris in that year.
- ? after the year indicates questionable date, name, nationality or diocese (the diocese was frequently used to determine the nationality of a student if a name was potentially Scottish).
- ! after the year indicates an individual of note mentioned in the text of this thesis.

AUCTARIUM CHARTULARII UNIVERSITATIS PARISIENSIS, 1333-1492GERMAN NATION, VOL. 1

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page/line</u>
1399*	Thom. de Grenlav, det. sub Joh. Boutbourt	790,13
1399*	Joh. Elwald Scotus, det. sub Joh. Boutbourt	790,33
1399*!	Jac. de Lyndesay, det. sub Joh. Boutbourt	790,39
1399*	Joh. de Tuloch, det. sub Joh. Boutbourt	791,1
1399	Nycholas Pueri Scotus, subdet. sub Joh. Boutbourt	792,1
1399	dom. Joh. Elwald, lic. sub Joh. de Francfordia	797,40
1399	dom. Joh. Ydil, [S. Andree dyoc.], lic. sub eodem	797,47
1400	dom. Joh. Ydil, incep. sub Joh. de Francfordia	798,16
1400	dom. Joh. Eluwald, incep. sub Arnoldo Wtwiic	812,7
1400	Thom. de Grilla [Grenlaw], lic. sub Arnoldo Wtwiic	814,44
1400	dom. Thom. de Grilla, incep. sub Arnoldo Wtwiic	815,27
1400*	Guill. Bel, [Brechin. dyoc.], det. sub Joh. Botbur	823,19
1401	Jac. Lyndesay, lic. sub Arnuldo Wytwyke	827,1
1401-	mag. Joh. Eluvald Scotus, procurator (Nov.)	836,30
1401	dom. Jac. Lyndesay, incip. sub Laur. de [Lindores]	837,37
1401*	dom. Rob. de Merton de S., det. sub Joh. Eluvald	839,42
1401*	dom. Jac. de Pebllys de Scotia, det. sub Eluvald	840,1
1401*	dom. Guilh. Glendenuwyn de Scotia, det. sub eodem	840,4
1401*	dom. Thom. Adougan de Scotia, det. sub Eluvald	840,16
1401*	dom. Alex. de Villa Johannis [Perth?], det. eodem	840,19
1401*	dom. Joh. Laverok de Scotia, det. sub Joh. Boburth	844,24
1401*	dom. Joh. Dalketh de Scotia, det. sub Joh. Eluvald	840,37
1402	dom. Rob. de Merton, incip. sub Arnoldo Wtwiic	844,17
1402	dom. Joh. de Tulach (Scotus), incip. sub Boutburth	844,24
1402*	dom. Joh. Gyl Scotus, det. sub Arnoldo Vytwyck	853,44
1402*	dom. Steph. Bugly, det. sub Joh. Elwald	854,4
1403-	Thome de Monte Verdi, Scoti, procurator (Jan.)	850,43
1403	dom. Jac. de Peblis, lic. sub Arnoldo Wtwiic	858,16
1403	dom. Joh. Laveroch, lic. sub eodem	858,18
1403	dom. Thom. Adaugan, lic.	858,20
1403	dom. Steph. Bigli, lic.	858,25
1403	dom. Guill. Glendonwyn, lic.	858,26
1403	dom. Jobannes Dalket, lic.	858,28
1403	dom. Jac. de Peblis, incep. sub Arnolado	859,1
1403	dom. Joh. de Laveroch, incep. sub eodem	859,3
1403	dom. Thom. de Adaugan, incep. sub eodem	859,5
1403	dom. Guill. Bel, lic. sub Arnoldo Wtwiic	859,33
1403	Steph. Bigli, incep. sub [Arnoldo Wtwiic]	859,43
1403	Guilh. Glendenvoyn, incep. sub eodem	859,44
1403	Joh. Dalketh, incep. sub eodem	859,47
1403	dom. Guill. Bel, incep. sub Hermanno Ummen	860,4
1404*	dom. Guil. Balnavis, det. sub Arnoldo Wtwiic	876,44
1404!	JERONIMUS DE PRAGA, lic.	880,39
1405	JERONIMUS DE PRAGA, incep.	894,7

1405*!	dom. Joh. Creannach, det. sub Godscalco Vries	897,33
1405*	dom. Thom. de Lin, det. sub Paulo Gloterer	897,35
1405*	dom. Donaldus Macnachten, det. sub Arnoldo Wtwiic	897,37
1405*	dom. Gaffridus de Abirbroeth, det. sub de Alcmaria	897,39
1405	Wilh. de Balnavis, lic.	899,32
1405	Golfridus de Abirbroeth, lic.	899,39
1405	Donaldus Macnathan, lic.	899,46
1405	Wilh. de Balnavis, incep.	900,4
1405	Donaldus Macnachtan, incep.	900,11
1405	dom. Joh. Gyl, incep. sub Henr. de Herwen	901,27
1405	dom. Goffridus Abirbroeth, incep. sub Wilh. Bloc	901,29
1405-	mag. JERONYMUS DE PRAGA, regent (Aug.)	906,32
1406*	dom. Guilh. Oterburn, det. sub. Guilh. Bloc	917,20
1406*	David Hamylton, subdet. sub Guill. Bloc	919,38
	sub princ. det., scilicet Joh. Hyaig ?	919,39
1406	dom. Joh. de Crannath, lic. sub Guill. Bloc	925,13
1406	dom. Joh. de Sagittis Scotus, lic.	925,21
1406	dom. David Hamylton, lic.	925,27
1406	dom. Thom. de Linea, lic.	926,1
1406	dom. Joh. Cramach, incep. sub Wylh. Block	926,27
1406	dom. Joh. de Sagittis Scotus, incep. sub Conrado Lubeck	926,40

AUCTARIUM CHARTULARII UNIVERSITATIS PARISIENSIS, 1333-1492GERMAN NATION, VOL. 2

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page/line</u>
1407*	Joh. de Alen, det. sub mag. ?	5,6
1407*	David de Narn, det. sub mag. ?	5,8
1407*	Joh. Glen, det. sub mag. Joh. Crannak	5,14
1407*	Joh. Senescalli, det. sub mag. ?	5,16
1407*	Wilh. Croyser, det. sub Joh. Crannach	5,27
1407*	Thom. de Angus, sub det. sub Joh. Gleng	5,38
1407	dom. Wilh. Otterburn, primo lic.	11,33
1407-	mag. Joh. Crannack, regent, fidejussor mag. Joh. Barberii	20,41
1407-	mag. Joh. Barberii, Scoti, procurator (Oct.)	20,45
	-continuacio mag. Joh. Barberii Scoti, can. Aberdonensis	21,14
1407	mag. Joh. Laverok Scotus	21,30
1408-	mag. Joh. Gray, Scoti, procurator (Jan.)	22,22
	-Continuatio ejusdem Joh. Gray	22,46
1408*	dom. Joh. Dalgles Scotus, det. sub Guil. Bloc	27,33
1408*	dom. Joh. de Bron Scotus, det. sub Joh. Crannack	27,36
1408*	dom. Thom. Erskyn Scotus, det. sub Wilh. Bloc	27,39
1408*	dom. Andr. de Geddes det. sub Joh. Crannack	27,42
1408*	dom. Rob. Clerici Scotus, det. sub Guil. Bloc	28,13
1408-	mag. Joh. Crannack, regent, fidejussor mag. John Laverock	31,30
1408	dom. David de Narn [Scotus], primo lic. (Oct.)	34,31
1408	dom. Thom. Erskyn, 3 ^o lic.	34,35
1408	dom. Dav. de Narn, primo incip. sub Guil. Ploc (sic)	35,35
1408	dom. Thom. Erskyn, tertio incip. sub Joh. Crannac	35,39
1408	dom. Joh. de Allen, secundo lic. (Nov.)	36,17
1408	dom. Robertus Clerici, quinto lic.	36,23
1408	dom. Joh. Glen Scotus, lic.	36,27
1408	dom. David Hamilton Scotus, incip. (Dec.)	37,9
1408	dom. Rob. Clerici, incip. sub Joh. Cranack	37,11
1408	dom. Joh. Glem, incip. sub eodem	37,13
1409	Jacobus [de Lindesay] Scotus	44,34
1409*	Joh. Legati, det. sub Gwil. Bloc	48,19
1409	mag. Thom. Scotus	51,46
1409	dom. Joh. Legati, lic. sub Wil. Bloc (June)	55,8
1409	dom. Guil. Croyser, lic. sub Wil. Bloc	55,11
1409	dom. Joh. Dalgles, lic. sub Joh. Crannack	55,29
1409	dom. Guil. Croysier, incip. sub Guil. Bloc	55,44
1409	dom. Joh. Legati, incip. sub eodem	55,46
1409-	mag. Joh. de Crannach, procurator (Aug.)	59,18
1409-	mag. Joh. Crannach, regent, fidejussor mag. Jac. Lyndesay	61,13
1409-	mag. Thom. Erskyn, regent, mag. Jac. Stoer; fidej. mutuo	61,21
1409-	mag. Jac. Stoer (Scot ?), regent, fidejussor Thom. Erskyn	61,26
1409*	dom. Nich. Tunnok, det. sub Joh. de Crannach	62,35
1409*	Alex. Lyndesay, det. sub Joh. de Crannach	63,7
1409*	Rob. Strabrok, det. sub eodem	63,9
1410	Joh. de Halis [pres. St. Andrews d.], det. sub Cranach	69,2
1410-	mag. Jac. Lyndesay, Scoti, procurator	70,34
1410	dom. Joh. de Allen, incip. sub Joh. Cranack	71,5

1410	dom. Alex. Lindezay, primo lic. sub Joh. Cranack	73,33
1410	dom. Alex. Lindezay, primo incip. sub Joh. Cranack	74,16
1410	dom. Rob. Strabrock, lic. sub Joh. Cranack	74,42
1410	dom. Nych. Tunnok, lic. sub Joh. Cranak	76,24
1410	dom. Rob. Strabrok Scotus, incip. sub Joh. Cramak	77,12
1410	dom. Nic. Tunnok Scotus, incip. sub eodem	77,14
1410-	mag. Joh. Cramack, regent, fidejussor mag. Dav. de Naeren	82,11
1411-	mag. Alex. Foulertoun, Scoti, procurator (Feb.)	98,2
1411*	dom. Doncanus de Striveling Scotus, det. sub J. Cranok	99,19
1411*	Geo. de Hauden Scotus, det. sub Joh. Crannok	99,25
1411*	dom. Alex. de Guthry Scotus, det. sub Joh. Crannok	99,27
1411*	dom. Henr. de Ogilvy Scotus, det. sub Joh. Crannok	99,29
1411*	dom. Will. Thome Scotus, det. sub Joh. Crannok	100,3
1411*	dom. Patr. Juvenis Scotus, det. sub eodem	100,5
1411*	dom. Will. Foulis Scotus, det. sub Joh. Crannock	100,17
1411*	dom. Edward. de Lawedre Scotus, det. sub Joh. Crannok	100,37
1411*	dom. Joh. Holmyne Scotus, det. sub Joh. Crannok	101,7
1411	dom. Henr. Ogylvy, lic. sub Joh. Cranack	103,32
1411	dom. Joh. Homlyne, lic. sub Joh. Crannack	104,14
1411	dom. Alex. de Guthry, Scotus, lic. sub Joh. Crannoc	105,6
1411	dom. Will. de Foulis, Scotus, lic. sub Joh. Crannok	105,17
1411	dom. Joh. Homlyne, Scotus, incip. sub Joh. Crannoc	106,5
1411	dom. Will. de Foulis, incip. sub eodem	106,7
1411-	mag. Joh. Cranack, cujus fidejussor mag. Joh. Philippi	110,3
1411-	mag. Joh. Cranack, procurator (Oct.)	111,?
1412	Alex. Guthry	114,2
1412	Will. de Rossis, Scotus (Foulis?)	114,6
1412	mag. Thom. de Herskyn (Erskine)	114,8
1412	mag. Joh. Lawerok	114,9
1412*	dom. Jac. Mador [Maidier], det. sub Joh. Cranack	115,5
1412*	dom. Thom. de Sancto Claro*, det. sub Joh. Cranack *[Quidam Alex. de Sto. Claro fuit Moraviens. d.]	115,26
1412	Thomas Arskyn	116,21
1412	David de Narn	116,22
1412	dom. Eduardus de Lawedere, primo lic. sub Joh. Cranac	117,20
1412	dom. Alex. de Guthri, incip. sub Joh. Cranac	117,38
1412	dom. Eduardus de Lawedre, incip. sub Joh. Cranac	117,42
1412	dom. Jac. Madour, lic. sub Joh. Cranac	119,38
1412	dom. Jac. Madour, incip. sub Joh. Cranack	120,20
1412	dom. Thom. de Sancto Claro, lic. sub joh. Cranac	120,37
1412-	mag. Joh. Kranac, fidejussor mag. Heynricus Gorkam	127,7
1413*!	dom. Wilh. Spaldyng, det. sub Joh. Cranac [Brechin. d.]	143,16
1413*	dom. Geo. de Nova Villa, det. sub eodem	143,18
1413*	dom. Gobertus Macbrayer, Scotus, det. sub eodem	143,20
1413*	dom. Wilh. Rollo [Rollock?], det. sub eodem	143,22
1413	dom. Geo. de Nova Villa, Scotus, lic. sub Joh. Cranac	146,11
1413	dom. Guill. Spaldyng, lic. sub Joh. Cranack	146,47
1413	dom. Geo. de Nova Villa, incip. sub Eduardo de Lawedre	148,5
1413-	mag. Eduardi de Lawedre, Scoti, procurator (May)	148,28
1413	dom. Jac. de Fausyd [Fawside], incip. sub Joh. Crannach <u>1396</u>	149,3
1413	dom. Joh. de Halis, lic. sub Joh. Cranach	151,18
1413	dom. Guil. Rollo, incip. sub Guill. de Lochem	151,33
1413	dom. Joh. de Halis, incip. sub eodem	151,35
1413	dom. Gobertus Makbraier, lic. sub Joh. de Cranach	151,39
1413	dom. Guill. Spaldyng, incip. sub Thom. de Lyn {S. Claro?}	153,20

1413-	mag. Joh. de Crannach, procurator (Aug.)	157,3
1413-	mag. Joh. de Crannach, fidejussor mag. Thom. Lyn	
1413-	mag. Guill. Spaulding, fidejussor mag. Joh. Johannis	
1414-	mag. Thome de Lyn, [Scotus], procurator (Feb.)	161,5
1414*!	dom. Jac. Skrymmegeour, Brechen. d., det. sub J. Crannak	168,26
1414*	dom. Thom. Lawedre, S. Andree d., det. sub Joh. Crannok	168,31
1414*	dom. Guill. Clerici, Brechin. d., det, sub Joh. Crannok	168,38
1414*	dom. Joh. Blont, S. Andree d. det. sub Joh. Johannes	168,44
1414-	mag. Joh. de Crannach, procurator (April)?	
1414	dom. Gill. Clerici, lic. sub Joh. de Crannach	175,30
1414	Jac. Scrymmegeour, primo Incip. sub Joh. de Crannach	175,40
1414	dom. Thom. de Lawedre, lic. sub Joh. Crannach	176,40
1414	dom. Duncanus de Stirling, lic. sub Joh. Cranac	177,1
1414?	dom. Wilh. Scut, lic. sub Wil. Lochem	177,8
1414?	dom. Joh. Bloc [Blont?], lic. sub Joh. Johannis	177,23
1414	dom. Wilh. Clerici, incip. sub Joh. Cranac	177,30
1414	dom. Thom. de Lawedre, incip. sub Joh. Cranac	177,32
1414	dom. Duncanus de Striling, incip. sub eodem	177,34
1414	dom. Wilh. Scut, incip.[?]	
1414	dom. Joh. Bloc, incip.[?]	
1415	Wilh. Thome, Scoto	184,12
1415	Alex. de Guiethe, Scoto	184,14
1415	Patr. et Edewardo Scotis	184,16
1415	Geo. de Novo Villa, Scoto	184,18
1415*	dom. Joh. Bortwik, det. sub Joh. de Crannach	188,37
1415*	dom. Wilh. Scot, det. sub Joh. Johannis	188,40
1415*	dom. Galterus Blaer, det. sub Wilh. Spalding	188,42
1415!	dom. PAULUS CRABER [Crawler, Craw], subdet. sub Wilh. Lochem	190,9
1415-	mag. Guillelmi Spaldin, Scoti, procurator (11 May)	191,38
1415	dom. Wilh. Scot, lic. sub Joh. Johannis	194,33
1415	dom. Wilh. Scot, incip. sub Joh. Johannis	195,31
1415	dom. Joh. Bortwyc, lic. sub Joh. Cranac	196,20
1415	dom. PAULUS CRAVER, lic. sub Joh. Wenck	196,22
1415	dom. PAULUS CRAVER, incip. sub Joh, Wenck	197,3
1415-	mag. Joh. de Crannach, procurator (26 May)	199,5
1415-	mag. Joh. de Crannach, fidejussor mag. Andreas.	201,31
1415-	mag. Guill. Spaldyng, fudejussor mag. Guill. Clerici	201,33
1415-	mag. Guill. Clerici, fidejussor mag. Guill. Spaldyn	201,36
1415*	dom. Joh. Benyng, det. sub Joh. Wenk	206,30
1415*	dom. Geo. Ker, det. sub Joh. Wenk	206,32
1415*	dom. Jac. de Stramyglot, det. sub Guill. Spaldyn	206,38
1416-	mag. Guillelmi Scot, procurator	207,13
1416*	dom. Rob. de Crannach, det. sub Guill. Spaldyn	207,39
1416*	dom. Jac. Roberti, det. sub Guill. Spaldyn	207,41
1416	dom. Joh. Bortdwik, incip. sub Guill. Spaldyng	208,26
1416	dom. Geo. Ker, lic. sub Will. Lochem	209,1
1416	Geo. Kar, incip. sub Joh. Johannis	209,27
1416	Galt. Blar, lic. sub Guill. Spaldin	209,33
1416	Joh. Bening, lic. sub Guill. Spaldin	209,35
1416	Galt. Blar, incip. sub Guill. Spaldin	210,10
1416	Joh. Bening, incip. sub eodem	210,12
1417*	Joh. Frostar [Forestarii, Forster], det sub Joh. Cranac	220,13
1417	dom. Rob. de Chranach, primo lic. sub Joh. Chranach	224,35
1417	dom. Jac. Roberti, lic. sub Will. Spalding	225,3

1417	dom. Rogerius de Edinburkh, lic. sub Joh. Chranach	225,13
1417	dom. Rob. de Chranach, incip. sub Joh. Chranach	225,40
1417	dom. Jac. Roberti, incip. sub Will. Spalding	226,7
1417	dom. Rogerus de Edinburkch, incip. sub Joh. Chranach	226,11
1417	mag. Thom. Labatre [Lawedre]	226,35
1417-	mag. Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (Sept.)	230,37
1417-	mag. Johannis Homlyne, Scoti, procurator (Dec.)	236,43
1418*	dom. Guil. Sperk, det. partibus sius, et fuit admissus -{fuit Scotus et in Uni. st. Andrews an. 1415 det.}	239,39
1418	Joh. Forestarii juravit pro licencia	241,42
1418	dictus dom. Joh. Forestarii incep. sua in art. juravit	241,44
1418-	mag. Willelmi de Spaulding, procurator (Dec.)	257,2
1419-	mag. Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (Feb.)	262,25
1419	dom. Guillelmus Sperk, lic. (dom. Laurencius Olavi de Dacia)	264,10 264,11
!	(dom. Jacobus Petri, [Roodh], {Åboensis}) (dom. Arnoldus Helie)- notable increase in Scandinavians	264,13 64,14
1419-	mag. Roberti de Crannach, procurator (April)	264,43
1420	Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (April)	272,43
1420	Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (Aug.)	275,18
1421	Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (June)	283,3
1423	Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (Nov.)	306,23
1424	Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (Apr.)	310,19
1425	Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (June)	324,37
1425	Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (Sept.)	333,14
1426	Rogeri de Edynburgh, procurator (Dec.)	355,37
1428	Rogeri de Edynburgh, receptor nat. alemanniae ? (Sept.)	390,3

AUCTARIUM CHARTULARII UNIVERSITATIS PARISIENSIS, 1333-1492GERMAN NATION, VOL. 2

<u>Name</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>page/line</u>
1437!	dom. Andreas de Durisder, d. Glasguens. [Scotia]	501,16
1437*	dom. Andrea de Durisder, det. sub Roberto Esschinck	501,32
1438	dom. Andr. de Durisdar, lic. sub Rob. Esschinck	504,26
1438	dom. Andr. de Durisdar, incip. sub Rob. Esschink	504,34
1444*	dom. Joh. Cameron sen., d. S. Andree, det. sub Scriptoris	589,1
1444*	dom. Joh. Cameron jun., d. prefate, det. sub eodem	589,4
1444*	dom. Rob. de Lacu, d. S. Andree, det. sub Jac. de Gouda	589,10
1444*	dom. Gilb. Hervy, clerico Aburdonens., det. sub Scriptoris	589,19
1445*	dom. Wilh. Hog, Scoto, det. [Glasguens. d.], {1444 Cologne}	615,27
1445*!	Joh. Kennedy, Scoto, [nepoto Jac. Kennedy], det.	615,35
1445	dom. Joh. Cameron senior, d. S. Andree, lic.	616,9
1445	dom. Joh. Cameron junior, d. S. Andree, lic.	616,13
1445	dom. Rob. de Poele, [Lacu], d. S. Andree, lic.	616,15
1445	dom. Gilb. Hervey, Abordanens. d., lic.	616,27
1445	dom. Joh. Cameron senior, incep. sub Alberto Scriptoris	617,3
1445	dom. Joh. Cameron junior, incep. sub Henr. de Marxem	617,7
1445	dom. Rob. de Poele, incep. sub eodem	617,9
1445	Gilb. Hervey, incep. sub Lamberto Scout	617,18
1445*!	dom. David Lindesay de Scotia, filius comitis Crawfordie, det. sub Alberto Scriptoris	644,42
1445*	Andreas Coudenc, presbyter d. S. Andree in Scotia, det.	645,24
1446*!	David Guthere, d. S. Andree, [accepted as a det. elsewhere]	645,41
1446*	Hugo de Arbutmow [Arbuthnot], d. S. Andree, ["]	646,1
1446*	Martinus Vaus, d. Aberdonens., ["]	646,3
1446*	Thom. Vaus, [ejus frater], d. Aberdonens., ["]	646,5
1446	dom. Joh. Kanedy, d. Glasguensis, lic.	652,41
1446	dom. Andr. Crodedayn [Crouden], d. Glasguensis, lic.	652,43
1446	dom. Adam [Baron], ejusdem d., lic. sub [Scriptoris?]	652,45
1446	dom. Joh. Canedy, d. Glasguensis, incip. sub Jac. de Gouda	653,21
1446	dom. Andr. Crodedane, ejusdem d., incip. sub eodem [?]	653,22
1446	dom. Adam de Baro, incip. sub Scriptoris	653,29
1446-	mag. Rob. de Poele, alias de Lacu, procurator (June)	657,3
1446-	mag. Joh. Cameron, d. S. Andree, procurator (Oct.)	667,3
1447*	Jac. Gray, d. S. Andree, det. sub Joh. Kanedy	681,35
1447*	Jasper Smytht, d. S. Andree, det. sub Joh. Kanedy	681,37
1447*	Thom. Careron, d. S. Andree, det. sub Joh. Cameron	681,39
1447*	David Crannoch, d. S. Andree, det. sub Joh. Cameron	681,41
1447*	Joh. Lech, dioc. Glasguensis, det.	681,43
1447	dom. David Lindesay, d. Brechin., lic. sub Ev. de Herlem	691,31
1447	dom. David Guthre, d. S. Andree, lic. sub Alb. Scriptoris	691,42
1447	dom. Hugo de Arbuthnow, eusdem dioc. et sub eodem (lic.)	691,44
1447	dom. Martinus Vaus, Abirdunens. d., sub eodem (lic.)	691,46
1447	dom. Thom. Vaus, Abirdonens. d., lic. sub Alb. Scriptoris	692,10
1447	dom. David Lindesay, incip. sub Ev. de Harlem	692,17
1447	dom. David Guthre, d. S. Andree, incip. sub Scriptoris	692,28

1447	dom. Hugo de Arbuthnow, ejusdem d., incip. sub eodem	692,30
1447	dom. Martinus Vaus, Abirdonensis d., incip. sub eodem	692,32
1447	dom. Thom. Vaus, Abirdonensis d., incip. sub Scriptoris	692,40
1447-	mag. Joh. Kanedy, procurator (July)	694,17
1448*?	dom. Guillermo de Crennoch antiquiore	713,34
1448*	dom. Guillermo de Crennoch	714,1
1448-	mag. Joh. Cameron, procurator (Aug.)	737,39
1448-	mag. Joh. Kanedy, procurator (Sept.)	742,26
1448	dom. Thom. Cameron, lic.	744,32
1448	Joh. Lec, d. Gleanensis [Glasgow], lic.	744,35
1448	David de Crannoch, d. S, Andree, lic.	744,37
1448	dom. Jac. Gray, lic.	745,5
1448	dom. Jaspardo Smit [Zint, Smith], lic.	745,39
1448	dom. Thom. Cameron, incip. sub Scriptoris	746,10
1448	dom. David de Crennoch, incip.	746,12
1448	dom. Joh. Lech, incip.	746,18
1448	dom. Jac. Gray, incip.	746,22
1448	dom. Jaspardo Smit, incip.	747,11
1449*	Johanne Kello [Kelyn], d. S. Andree, det.	758,11
1449*	Alex. MacAlexander, d. Glasguensis, det.	758,13
1449*	Alex. Bothuil, d. S. Andree, det.	758,23
1449*	David Abrecrumbi, d. S. Andree, det.	758,31
1449*!	Galt. de Spaldyng, d. Brechinensis, det.	758,37
1449	dom. David de Crannoch, incip.	763,1
1449	dom. Guilh. de Cranoch junior, lic.	763,8
1449	dom. Guilh. de Cranoch senior, lic	763,16
1449	dom. Guilh. de Crenoeck junior, incip. sub Scriptoris	764,20
1449	dom. Guilh. de Crenoch senior, incip. sub Joh. Kennedi	764,28
1449-	mag. Thome Cameron, can. Glas., rector. de Gowayne [Govan] procurator (Aug.)	772,10
1450*	Robertus Forest de Scotia, d. S. Andree, det.	795,41
1450-	mag. Joh. Kanedy, procurator (May)	807,18
1450	dom. David de Abricumbi, lic.	812,42
1450	dom. Gwalterus Spaldin, lic.	813,8
1450	dom. Joh. Kello, lic.	813,10
1450	Alexander Mac Alexandri, lic.	813,21
1450	dom. David de Abricumbi, incip.	813,36
1450	Gwalterus Spaldini, incip.	813,47
1450	dom. Joh. Kello, incip.	814,4
1450	dom. Alexander Mac Alexandri, incip.	814,22
1450-	mag. Jasparris Smyt, procurator (Aug.)	816,25
1451*	dom. Joh. Blaber, Albordonensis d., det.	850,38
1451*	dom. Joh. Creton, d. S. Andree, det.	850,44
1451*	dom. Alex. Moravie [Murray], d. Glasguensis, det.	851,1
1451*	dom. Alex. Aldhoch, d. S. Andree, det.	851,4
1451*	dom. Joh. Lyon, d. S. Andree, det.	851,13
1451*	dom. Joh. Eduartsoen, d. S. Andree, det.	851,16
1451*	dom. Joh. de Hyli [Lyle], d. S. Andree, det.	851,24
1451*	dom. Joh. Liis, Arbipolensis d., [det. elsewhere]	851,46
1451*	dom. Guilh. Ogelby, d. S. Andree, [det. elsewhere]	852,6
1451*	dom. Joh. Ruck, d. S. Andree, [det. elsewhere]	852,8
1451-	mag. Jacobi Gray, procurator (Apr.)	852,13
1451	Robbertus Forest, lic.	856,27
1451	Joh. Ruch, lic.	857,4

1451	Rob. Forest, incip.	857,46
1451	Joh. Ruch, incip.	858,7
1451	Guilelmo Ogylby, lic.	858,15
1451	eodem in inciptione [Ogilvy]	858,17
1451-	mag. Joh. Kanedi, regent	863,4
1451-	mag. Jac. Gray, regent	863,7
1451-	mag. Jaspas Smit, regent	863,8
1451-	mag. Alex. Maec Alexandri, regent	863,33
1452*	Nicolayus Touris, d. S. Andree, det.	875,7
1452*!	Georgius Monypeny, det.	875,9
1452-	mag. Jaspas Smit, procurator (Feb.)	875,34
1452	Joh. Crechtown, lic.	890,23
1452	Alex. Murray, lic.	890,29
1452	Joh. Lys [Liis], lic.	890,32
1452	Joh. Lyl [de Lyle], lic.	890,33
1452	Joh. Eduardson [d. S. Andree], lic.	890,34
1452	Joh. Blabyr, lic.	890,36
1452	Joh. Crethtoun, incip.	891,4
1452	Alex. Murray, incip.	891,6
1452	Joh. Lys, incip.	891,11
1452	Joh. Blabyr, incip.	891,18
1452	Joh. Eduardi, incip.	891,19

EXCERPTA E LIBRO RECEPTORUM NATIONIS ALEMANNIAE

1452-	Jacobi Gray, receptoria	895,2
1452?-	mag. Labertus Skotus	898,34
1452-	mag. Joh. Canedi	898,42
1452-	mag. Joh. Ruche [Ruck]	899,4
1453*	David Kanedi, Glasguensis d., bacc.	899,20
1453*	Guill. Forbes, d. Abordonensis, bacc.	899,24
1453*	David Archas, d. S. Andri, bacc.	899,32
1453*	Jac. Inglis, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	899,34
1453	Joh. Leonis, d. S. Andree, lic.	899,41
1453	Nic. Tours [Touris], lic.	900,5
1453-	mag. Joh. Kanedy, receptor	901,26
1454-	mag. David Crannoch, procurator	902,6
1454*	Arthurus Kynidi, bacc.	903,3
1454	David Harkas [Archas], lic.	904,5
1454	David Kanedy, lic.	904,6
1454	Guill. Forbas, lic.	904,7
1454	Jac. Inglis, lic.	904,9
1455-	mag. Guillermus Forbes, procurator (April)	905,18
1455*	Hugo de Dugles, bacc.	905,28
1455	Arturus Kinidi, lic. et incip.	907,23
1455-	mag. Guill. Ogelbii, rectoris (Dec.- Mar.)	909,38
1455*	Roberto Bronn [Brun] de Scotia [det. elsewhere- Cologne]	910,9
1456*!	Walterus Lindesay, nobilis, d. S. Andree} Fratres, bacc.	910,23
1456*!	Jacobus, Lindesay, nobilis, d. S. Andree}, bacc.	910,25
1456*	Joh. Mathei, Glasguensis d., bacc.	911,15
1456*	Guill. Liel, d. Brechtanensis, bacc.	911,17
1456	Rob. Broon, lic.	912,42

1457-	mag. Hugonis Dugles, procurator (Feb.)	914,17
1457	Hugho Dugles, recept. in receptoria	914,31
1457	Robertus Broon, recept. in receptoria	914,38
1457*	Patr. Blaklok, bacc.	915,18
1457*	Geo. Storiswaude, bacc.	915,25
1457*	Guill. Galteri, bacc.	915,27
1457*	Guill. Patricii, bacc.	915,28
1457*	Thom. Numen, bacc.	915,32
1457*	Joh. de Soravia, bacc.	915,35
1457*	Andr. Martini, bacc.	916,3
1457	Guill. Liel, lic.	916,36
1457	Joh. Mathei, lic.	916,37
1458*	Guill. Mudi, d. S. Andree, bacc.	918,17
1458*	Thom. Tulloch, Rossensis d., bacc.	918,25
1458*	Patr. Scoti, d. S. Andree, bacc.	918,39
1458*!	Thom. Liel, d. S. Andree, bacc.	918,42
1458*	Thom. Kanedy, d. S. Andree, bacc.	918,44
1458*	Guill. Vinfra, d. Abirdenensis, bacc.	919,34
1458*	dom. Adam Otterburnn, Arisboldenensis, bacc.	919,40
1458-	mag. David Archas, procurator (Jan.)	920,14
1458	Guill. Galteri, d. Glasguensis, lic.	920,36
1458	Patr. Blaklok, Glasguensis d., lic.	921,5
1458	Guill. Patricii, S. Andree d., lic.	921,7
1458	Andr. Martini, S. Andree d., lic.	921,11
1458	Thom. Numen, S. Andree d., lic.	921,17
1458	Geo. Storiswaude, d. S. Andree, lic.	921,19
1458	Joh. de Soravia, S. Andree d., lic.	921,21
1459*	Patr. Leicht, Glasguensis d., bacc.	924,7
1459*	Allexander Ffyff, d. Abordonensis, bacc.	924,11
1459*	Joh. Stuet, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	925,17
1459*	Geo. Huntays, d. Brichgenensis, bacc.	925,19
1459*	Guill. Moet, d. Aburdunensis, bacc.	925,21
1459*!	Joh. de Yrlandya [Ireland], d. S. Andree, bacc.	925,25
1459*	Alex. Napper, bacc.	925,31
1459	Thom. Kanedy, lic.	925,37
1459	Andr. Otterborn, lic.	925,38
1459	Guill. Vinfra, lic.	926,3
1459	Patr. Scoti, lic.	926,5
1459	Guill. Mudi, lic.	926,6
1459	Thom. Tulloch, lic.	926,16
1459	Thom. Liel, lic.	926,17
1459-	mag. Joh. de Lyle, receptor (Sept)	926,21
1460?*	Thom. Glasfurde, bacc.	927,30
1460*	Duncanus Stherar [Scherar?], Aberdonensis d., bacc.	927,42
1460*	Nych. Alexandri, bacc.	928,1
1460-	mag. David Harcas, procurator (April)	930,14
1460	Joh. de Yrlandia, lic.	930,44
1460	Patr. Leyche, lic.	931,1
1460	Geo. Huntar, lic.	931,2
1460	Guill. Mouat, lic.	931,11
1460	Alex. Naper, lic.	931,12
1460	Joh. Stut, lic.	931,24
1460	Alex. Fyff, lic.	931,25
1460	Thom. Glasfurde, [d. S. Andree], lic.	931,26

1461*	Joh. Hum, nobilis, d. S. Andree, bacc.	932,39
1461-	Thom. Kanedi, procurator (Jan.)	933,4
1461*	Joh. Baianoth, d. Abordonensis, bacc.	933,29
1461-	Joh. de Yrlandia, procurator (April)	940,1
1461	Duncanus Sterar, d. Abordonensis, lic.	941,7
1461	Nic. Alexandri, d. S. Andree, lic.	941,35
1462*!	Jac. Fodigrem, bacc.	943,23
1462	Joh. Hum, nobilis, lic.	944,11
1462	Thom. Glasfurde, incip.	944,40
1462	Joh. Hum, nobilis, incip.	944,41
1463*	David Levyingston, d. S. Andree, bacc.	946,27
1463*	Magnus Boy, d. S. Andree, bacc.	946,33
1463*	Joh. Petkernen, d. S. Andree, bacc.	947,1
1463*	Guill. Bysset, d. S. Andree, bacc.	947,9
1463*	Rob. Lok, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	947,13
1463*	Alex. Cullen, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	947,17
1463	Jac. Fodryngam, lic.	948,9
1463-	mag. David Harkas continues his study in theology	948,36
1463-	mag. David Archas, rector (Dec.)	381,43
1464*	Jac. Canedi, d. S. Andree, bacc.	950,7
1464*	Geo. Lamp, d. S. Andree, bacc.	950,33
1464*	Adam Spensz, d. S. Andree, bacc.	951,1
1464*	Guill. Jameson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	951,9
1464*	Rubertus Blacatir, d. S. Andree, bacc. receptus	952,28
1464*	dom. Joh. Loren [Logan], d. [Glasguensis], bacc.	
1464	David Levyingston, d. S. Andree, lic.	953,5
1464	Magnus Boy, d. S. Andree, lic.	953,35
1464	Joh. Petkernen, d. S. Andree, lic.	953,37
1464	dom. David Levyingseon, d. S. Andree, incip.	389,35+
1464	dom. Magnus Boy, d. S. Andree, incip.	390,11+
1465	Joh. Kello	955,4
1465*	Joh. Kanide, S. Andree, recept.	396,10+
1465*	Andr. Stevart, [det. elsewhere]	955,46
1465*	Thom. Giffort, [det. elsewhere]	956,1
1465*	Guill. Lenax [Lenoch], d. S. Andri, nom. bacc.	956,17
1465	Jac. Kanedi, lic.	957,7
1465	Adam Spense, lic.	957,22
1465	Rob. Lock, lic.	957,24
1465	Rob. Blakadir, lic.	957,30
1465	Geo. Lam, lic.	958,1
1465	Guill. Jameson, lic.	958,2
1465	dom. Joh. Logen, [d. Glasguensis], lic.	399,38+
1465	dom. Guill. Beset, lic.	400,10+
1465	dom. Jac. Kanedy, incip.	958,9
1465	dom. Rob. Blakadir, incip.	958,13
1465	dom. Adam Spense, incip.	958,25
1465	dom. Geo. Lam, incip.	958,26
1465-	mag. Patricii Leiche, can. Glasguensis, procurator (June)	960,29
1466-	mag. Guilh. Biset, d. S. Andree, incip.	982,16

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>page/line</u>
1466!	ALBERTO SCRIPTORIS obitt anno 1466	5,1
1466-	mag. Joh. Kennedy, se Scotia	5,30
1466	dom. Andr. Stebart [Stewart], d. Glasgwensis, incip.	6,26
1466	dom. Guill. Lenax, d. Gualuwidiensis, [Candidae Casae], (Whithorn-Galloway), incip.	6,28
1466	dom. Nic. ...[Ros], d. S. Andree, incip.	16,3
1466*	Robt. Brichen, civitatis Brichenensis, bacc.	411,27+
1466*	Thom. Coan, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	412,17+
1466*	Thom. de Lapide, d. Abredunensis, bacc.	412,25+
1466*	Joh. Crumme, d. S. Andree, bacc.	412,27+
1466*	Andr. Nicholai, d. Abredunensis, bacc.	413,9+
1466*	Joh. Walas, d. S. Andree, recept. (bacc. Glasgow)	413,42+
1466	dom. Rob. Lok, d. Glasguensis, incip.	415,4+
1466	Guill. Lenax, d. Galudiensis, lic.	415,19+
1466	Andr. Stewart, d. Glasguensis, lic.	415,22+
1466	dom. Thom. Geffort, d. S. Andree, lic.	416,7+
1466	dom. Nic. Ross, d. S. Andree, lic.	416,19+
1466-7	mag. Patricii Lethe, electi rectoris	17,30
1466-7	dom. Thom. Giffert, d. S. Andree, incip.	426,40+
1467-	mag. Roberti Blakadyr, d. S. Andree in Scotia, sub ducatu Albanie natu, procurator	28,27
1467*	Thom. Smalem, recept. [b. elsewhere]	29,23
1467*	Thom. Stevart, Scotus, d. Glaskovensis	29,31
1467*	Henr. Lauson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	31,29
1467*	Vedastus Athinlethi, [d. Glasguensis], bacc.	31,33
1467*	Dionisius Athinlethi, [d. Glasguensis], bacc.	31,35
1467*!	Joh. Barre, [d. Brechenensis], bacc.	32,5
1467*	David Bosvel, d. S. Andree, bacc.	427,38+
1467	dom. Thom. de Lapide, d. Abberdinensis, lic.	41,9
1467	dom. Joh. Walas [Wallace], d. Glasguensis, lic.	41,21
1467	dom. Andr. Nicholai, d. Abberdinensis, lic.	41,31
1467	dom. Thom. Coan, d. Glasguensis, lic.	429,23+
1467	dom. Joh. Walas, d. Glasguensis, incip.	42,8
1467	dom. Thom. de Lapide, Abredunensis, incip.	431,23+
1468*	dom. Heinr. Eliphantis, d. S. Andree, bac.	72,23
1468*	dom. Joh. Gibson, d. Aberdenensis, bac.	72,27
1468*	dom. Rob. Daloquhy, d. Moraviensis, bac.	72,29
1468*	dom. Cuthbertus Kar, d. Glasguovensis, bac.	72,31
1468	dom. Robt. Bresen [Brechin], lic.	440,12+
1468	dom. Joh. Crumme, lic.	76,10
1468	dom. Andr. Nicholai, incip.	440,18
1468	dom. Rob. Bresin [Brechin?], incip.	76,17
1468	dom. Joh. Logan, [Glasgow], incip.	76,19
1468	dom. Joh. Crumme, incip.	76,21
1468	dom. Joh. Berri, d. Brichenensis, lic.	443,6+
1468	dom. David Boswel, d. S. Andrews, lic.	82,36
1468	dom. Joh. Barre, d. Brachenensis, incip.	83,9

1468	dom. Thom. Smalhem, lic.	86,48
1468	dom. Thom. Smalhem, d. [S. Andree], incip.	87,4
1468	David [Boswell, d. S. Andree], incep.	91,12
1468-	mag. Joh. de Lapide, regent	94,41
1468-	mag. Thom. Kennidi, regent	94,42
1468-	mag. Ade de Scotia [Adam Spens] capellanus nation.	95,1
1469-	mag. Joh. Barry, Brechen. d., procurator (Jan.)	104,15
1469*	Alex. Hog, d. S. Andree, bac.	106,34
1469*	Alex. Moray, d. [Moraviensis], bac.	107,16
1469*	Joh. Falcuner, d. S. Andree, bac.	107,18
1469*	Bartholomus Crawford, d. Glasguensis, bac.	107,28
1469*	Galt. Stevart, d. S. Andree, bac.	107,30
1469*	Rob. Abyrnety, [d. Glasguensis], bac.	107,32
1469*	Galt. Abyrnety, [d. Glasguensis], bac.	107,34
1469-	mag. David Bosvel, d. S. Andree, procurator (Feb.)	109,18
1469	dom. Dyonisius Achinlek, d. Gransguensis, incip.	115,29
1469	dom. Dyonisius Achinlek, d. Gransguensis, lic.	115,37
1469	dom. Joh. Gilberti [Gibson?], d. Abberdenensis, lic.	115,43
1469	dom. Joh. Gybson, d. Alburdenensis, lic.	454,1+
1469	dom. Heinr. Elephantis, d. S. Andree, lic.	116,3
1469	dom. Cuthbertus Kar, d. Glasguensis, lic.	116,5
1469-	mag. Adam Spens, d. S. Andree, procurator (Aug.)	123,25
1469-	mag. Dionisii Athinlek, d. Glasguensis, procur. (Oct.)	126,1
1469	dom. Vedastus Athinlek, d. Glasguensis, lic.	127,9
1469	dom. Guill. Jameson, (see 1464-5), incep.	127,14
1469	dom. Vedastus Achinlek, incep.	127,16
1469	dom. Cuthbertus [Kar], d. Glasguensis, incip.	455,8+
1469-	mag. Joh. de Irelandia, rector (Oct.)	458,32+
1470*	Jac. Boid [?], admissi ad gradum bacc.	130,39
1470*?	dom. Rob. Strabrock, d. Cataniensis, bacc.	132,20
1470*	dom. David Karal [Caral], [d. Brechensis], bacc.	132,26
1470*	dom. Andr. Michaelis, [d. Brechensis], bacc.	132,30
1470*	dom. Guilh. Tours [Towris], [d. S. Andree], bacc.	132,32
1470*	dom. Thom. Clerici, [d. S. Andree], bacc.	132,38
1470*	dom. David Michaelis, [d. Brechenensis], bacc.	132,42
1470*	dom. Michael Kar [Kerr], [d. Glasguensis], bacc.	133,9
1470*	dom. Galterus Lichtowne, [d. Aberdonensis], bacc.	133,13
1470*	dom. Martinus Tullo, d. Brechen., [bacc. elsewhere]	133,23
1470*?	dom. Rob. Stubel, d. Cannidiquasi, bacc. recept.	461,21+
1470	dom. Rob. Daloghuy, lic.	140,7
1470	dom. Rob. Daloghuy, incip.	140,7
1470	dom. Joa. Faucunar, d. S. Andree, lic.	143,38
1470	dom. Galt. Stewart, d. S. Andree, lic.	143,42
1470	dom. Galt. Abrenecte, d. S. Andree, lic.	144,7
1470	dom. Rob. Abrenecte, d. S. Andree, lic.	144,9
1470	dom. Alex Moray, d. Moraviensis, lic.	144,11
1470	dom. Joa. Falcunar, d. S. Andree, incip.	146,41
1470	dom. Alex. Moray, incip.	149,13
1470-	mag. Joh. Logane, d. Glasg., procurator (Sept.)	152,20
1470	dom. Henr, Elephantis, d. S. Andree, incip.	462,7+
1470	dom. Galt. Stowart, d. S. Andree, incip.	469,40+
1470	dom. Rob. Aberneti, d. Glascoensis, incip.	469,44+
1470	dom. Galt. Aberneti, d. Glascoensis, incip.	470,3

1471*	dom. Jac. Elephantis, d. Dunkelden [bac. elsewhere] [Oliphant], promotus in universitate S. Andree in Scotia	162,27
1471*	Guill. Wawen, d. S. Andree, bacc.	169,10
1471*	Alex. Morrey, d. S. Andree, bacc.	169,12
1471*	Guill. Roberti [Robertson], d. S. Andree, bacc.	169,16
1471*	Patr. Brand [?], d. ?, bacc.	169,18
1471*	Henr. Rora, d. Aburdinensis, bacc.	170,7
1471	Ja. Oliphantis, bacc. receptus, d. S. Andree	170,15
1471-	mag. Joh. Faucunar, de comitatu Mernie, procurator	170,19
1471	dom. Galt Lython, d. Abirdonensis, lic.	174,8
1471	dom. Andr. Michaelis, d. Brechenensis, lic.	174,12
1471	dom. David Carale, d. ejusdem, lic.	174,14
1471	dom. Rob. Srabrok, d. Catheniensis, lic.	174,16
1471	dom. David Michaelis, d. Brechenensis, lic.	174,18
1471-	mag. Rob. Daloguhy, d. Moravien., procurator (Apr.)	175,29
1471	dom. Andr. Michaelis, d. Brechenensis, incip.	178,13
1471	dom. David Carale, d. ejusdem, incip.	178,15
1471	dom. Thom. [Galt.?] Lichton, d. Aberdonensis, incip.	178,18
1471	dom. David Michaelis, d. Brechen., lic. et incip.	178,20?
1471	dom. Martinus Tullow, d. ejusdem, lic. et incip.	178,22
1471	Buillelmus Thurs [Guil. Tours], lic.	180,14
1471-	mag. Joh. Peckarn, d. S. Andree in Mernie, procurator	181,34
1472*	dom. Joh. Lech, d. S. Andree, bacc.	196,3
1472*	dom. Alex. Cockborn, d. S. Andree, bacc.	196,5
1472*	dom. Hugo Lauson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	196,7
1472*	dom. Joh. Dobi, d. S. Andree, bacc.	196,9
1472*	dom. Clemens Ferle, d. S. Andree, bacc.	196,11
1472*	dom. Adam Lochert, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	196,25
1472*!	dom. Ric. Murede [Muirhead], d. Candidecasensis, bacc.	196,29
1472*	dom. David Balbirmi, d. Brechenensis, bacc.	196,33
1472*	dom. Joh. Quitfurd, d. Glasuensis, bacc.	196,35
1472*	dom. Andr. Cadoen, d. Aberdinensis, [det. elsewhere]	197,1
1472-	mag. Joh. Crumme. d. S. Andree, procurator, (Mar.)	197,8
1472	dom. Gillermus Towrs, d. S. Andree, incip.	199,32
1472	dom. Gillermus Vaven, d. S. Andree, lic.	201,22
1472	dom. Jac. Elephantis, d. S. Andree, lic.	201,26
1472	dom. Michael Car, d. S. Andree, lic.	201,34
1472	dom. Gill. Roberti [Robertson], d. S. Andree, lic.	202,4
1472	dom. Gill. Vaven, d. S. Andree, incip.	202,25
1472	dom. Jac. Olyphantic, d. Dunkeldensis, incip.	202,33
1472	dom. Michael. Car, d. Glascuensis, incip.	202,43
1473-	mag. Robert. Dalaquoy	223,44
1473-	mag. Guill. Wawen, d. S. Andree, procurator (Feb.)	227,19
1473*	dom. David Sibbald, d. S. Andree, bacc.	500,22+
1473*	dom. Geo. Jung [Young], d. Brixinensis, bacc.	501,3+
1473*	David Sires, d. Barginensis, bacc.	501,13+
1473	dom. Alex Murray, d. S. Andree, lic.	228,33
1473-	mag. Jac. Olyphantis, d. Dunkeld., procurator (Apr.)	229,26
1473	dom. Ric. Murhede, d. Candide Case, lic.	231,10
1473	dom. Joh. Qwhitfurde, d. Glasguensis, lic.	231,12
1473	dom. Joh. Leich, d. S. Andree, lic.	231,14
1473	dom. Adam Lochart, lic.505,3+ 1473dom. Joh. Douby, lic.	505,5+
1473	dom. Joh. Leich, d. S. Andree, incip.	232,7
1473	dom. Joh. Qwhitfurde, d. [Glasguensis], incip.	232,18
1473	dom. Adam Lockart, [d. Glasguensis], incip.	232,20

1473	dom. Joh. Dobii, d.S. Andree, incip.	237,20
1473	dom. Alex. Murray, d. S. Andree, incip.	237,22
1473	dom. Adam Lochart, d. Glasguensis, incip.	237,32
1473-	mag. Adam Lochart, d. Glasguensis, procurator (Sept.)	245,40
1473-	mag. Rob. Dalaguhy, receptor	249,27
1473	Rob. Glassin Wrycht, nuncii Glasguensis, receptus	249,40
1473	Ricardus Murheide, d. Candide Case, lic.	256,12
1473	dom. Rich. Murhed, d. Candide Case, incip.	510,12+
1474	dom. Clemens Ferle, d. S. Andree, lic.	261,29
1474*	dom. Guill. Hindesel [Lindsay], d. Brachenensis, bacc.	262,12
1474*	dom. Guill. Rettran [Rattray], d. S. Andree, bacc.	262,17
1474*	dom. Rob. Owthtree, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	262,21
1474-	mag. Joh. Quhytfurde, d. Glasguen., procurator (Aug.)	279,10
1474-	mag. Henr. Elephantis, d. S. Andree, procurator (Dec.)	288,1
1475*	dom. Ladislaus Murray, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	292,40
1475*	dom. Patr. Jonson, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	293,17
1475	dom. Gwill. Lyndensaey, d. Brickanensis, lic.	297,33
1475	dom. Bwill. Lyndensel, d. Brickanensis, incip.	298,10
1476-	mag. Henr. Elephantis, d. S. Andree, procurator (Jan.)	316,32
1476-	mag. Rob. Lok, d. Glasguensis, procurator (Mar.)	320,44
1476-	mag. Galt. Fostar, d. S. Andree, uni. Lovan., recept	321,46
1476	dom. Ladislavus Murray, d. Glasguensis, lic.	323,33
1476	dom. Ladislaus Murrau, incip.	324,8
1476-	mag. Ric. Murhed, d. Candide Case, procurator (Sept.)	331,13
1476-	mag. Ladislai Murray, d. Glas., procurator (Nov.)	335,41
1476-	mag. Joh. Pitcairn, d. S. Andree, sub. proc. (Dec.)	343,10
1477*	Laurencius Purdi, d. Abbudonensis, bacc.	348,23
1477*	Guilh. Scildyn, d. S. Andree, bacc.	348,35
1477	dom. Patr. Janson, d. Glascuensis. lic.	350,3
1477	Hugo Douglas	369,10,33
1478*	dom. Joh. Owcheltre, d. S. Andree, bacc.	381,9
1478	Laur. Purdi, d. Abbiridonensis, lic.	387,44
1478	dom. Laur. Purdi, d. Abbiridonensis, incip.	388,42
1478*	Kennicus Sutherland, d. Cathinensis, bacc. recept. (S. Andrews det. 1475)	407,24
1479	Joh. Petkarn, pro d. Candidecase, nuncii	408,12
1479*	David de Lummsden, bacc.	410,38
1479*	Joh. Herny [Harvey], bacc.	410,39
1479*	Galt. Lesley, d. Aberdonen, det.	432,3
1480*	Heinr. Ramsa, d. S. Andree, bacc.	437,3
1480*!	Gwil. Kwolbis [Knowles], d. S. Andree, bacc.	437,5
1480*	Galt. Forster, d. S. Andree, bacc.	437,7
1480*	Rob. Schau, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	437,9
1480	Heinr. Ramsay, d. S. Andree, bacc. (same as above)	437,38
1480	dom. Cennicus Sutherland, d. Cathinensis, lic.	441,17
1480	dom. Joh. Herwy, lic.	441,19
1480	dom. Tunicus [Sutherland], incip.	449,40
1480	dom. Joh. Harvy, Abbredonensis, incip.	449,42

1481*	Andr. Silbat [Sibald], d. S. Andree, bacc.	466,2
1481*	Joh. Matuland [Maitland], d. S. Andree, bacc.	466,4
1481*	Thom. Black, d. S. Andree, bacc.	466,8
1481*	Jac. Leadell, d. S. Andree, bacc.	466,10
1481	Galt. Lesley. d. Aberdonensis, bacc. (see 1479)	466,12
1481	dom. Galt. Forestar, presbiter d. S. Andree, lic.	469,33
1481	dom. Rob. Schaw, d. Glasguensis, lic.	469,39
1481	dom. Henr. Ramsay, d. S. Andree, lic.	469,41
1481	dom. Guilh. Knollis, d. S. Andree, lic.	469,45
1481	dom. Guilh. Knollis, d. S. Andree, incip.	470,19
1481	dom. Henr. Ramsay, d. S. Andree, incip.	470,23
1481	dom. Galt. Forester, d. S. Andree, incip.	470,27
1481	dom. Rob. Schaw, d. Glascoensis, incip.	470,31
1481*	dom. Jac. Murray, d. Glasguiensis, bacc. recept.	480,14
1481-	mag. Guill. Knollys, d. S. Andree, procurator (Oct.)	483,13
1481*	Alex. Symson [Simson], bacc.	488,14
1481*	Thom. Rouquart [Urquhart], bacc.	488,14
1482-	mag. Patr. Jonson, procurator (Feb.)	493,7
1482	dom. Andr. Dilbat [Sibald], d. S. Andree, lic.	500,8
1482	dom. Galt. Leslie. d. Aberdonensis, lic.	500,10
1482	dom. Joh. Matuand [Maitland], d. S. Andree, lic.	500,12
1482	dom. Andr. Dilbat [Sibald], d. S. Andree, incip.	500,22
1482	dom. Galt. Lesley, d. Aberdonensis, incip.	500,24
1482	dom. Joh. Matuland [Maitland], d. S. Andree, incip.	500,28
1482	"Primus erat super restitutione librorum Nominalium"	501,9
1482-	mag. Joh. Harwy, d. Aberdonensis, procurator (Sept.)	509,13
1483-	mag. Rob. Schaw, d. Glascuensis, procurator (Jan.)	518,1
1483*	dom. Michael Stratonis, d. S. Andree, bacc.	521,40
1483*	dom. Geo. Cant, ejusdem d., bacc.	521,42
1483*	dom. Nic. Trumbil, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	522,30
1483*	dom. David Gramm, d. ejusdem, bacc.	522,32
1483	dom. Alex. Symson, lic.	524,21
1483	dom. Jac. Petel [Lidel], [S. Andree], lic.	524,25
1483	dom. Alex. Symson, incip.	525,17
1483	dom. Jac. Petel [Lidel], [S. Andree], incip.	525,21
1483-	mag. Joh. Herwy, d. Aberdonensis, procurator (May)	526,35
1483-	mag. Henr. Elephantis, procurator (Aug.)	531,21
1484*!	dom. Dav. Hwm, nobilis, d. S. Andree, bacc. recept.	541,36
1484*	dom. Thom. Lanson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	541,43
1484*	dom. Patr. Lauson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	542,7
1484*	dom. Guilh. Bonkyl, d. S. Andree, bacc.	542,19
1484*	dom. Guilh. Irland, d. S. Andree, bacc.	542,21
1484*	dom. Hugo. Arbuchnor [Arbuthnot], d. S. Andree, bacc.	542,23
1484*	dom. Guil. Strdochhawhyn, d. Brethenensis, bacc.	542,25
1484*	dom. David Monjzes [Menzies], S. Andree d., bacc.	542,27
1484*	dom. Thom. Sloe, d. Candide Case, bacc.	542,33
1484*	dom. Jac. Harrison, d. S. Andree, bacc.	543,3
1484-	mag. Jac. Ledel, d. Aberdonensis, procurator (Feb.)	544,5
1484	dom. Michael Straton, d. S. Andree, lic.	548,7
1484	dom. Geo. Kant, ejusdem d., lic.	548,9
1484	dom. Jac. Murray, d. Glascuensis, lic.	548,27
1484	dom. Nic. Trumbull, d. ejusdem, lic.	548,29
1484	dom. David Gramm, ejusdem d., lic.	548,31
1484	dom. Michael Straton, d. S. Andree, incip.	548,39

1484	dom. Geo. Cant, ejusdem d., incip.	548,41
1484	dom. David Gramm, d. Glascuensis, incip.	549,9
1484	dom. Nic. Trumbull, ejusdem d., incip.	549,11
1484-	mag. Michael Straton, Scoti, d. S. Andree, proc (Apr.)	549,20
1485-	mag. Nic. Trunbul, d. Glasguensis, procurator (Jan.)	564,10
1485*	dom. Hugo Greynlav [Greenlaw], d. S. Andree, bacc.	569,35
1485*	dom. Geo. Anderson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	569,37
1485*	dom. Andr. Richardi, d. Abordinensis, bacc.	570,5
1485*	dom. Joh. Macbeth, d. Dunkelensis, bacc.	570,7
1485*	dom. Joh. Cristinson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	570,19
1485*	dom. Thom. Alexandri [Alexanderson], d. S. Andree, bac.	570,23
1485-	mag. Galt. Forester, S. Andree d., procurator (Mar.)	571,1
1485	dom. David Huym, incip.	576,25
1485	dom. Jac. Herison, incip.	576,29
1485	dom. Patr. Lauson, incip.	576,30
1485	dom. Guill. Bonkill, incip.	576,39
1485	dom. Hugo Arbuchnor, d. S. Andree, incip.	578,18
1485-	mag. Patr. Lauson, d. S. Andree, procurator (Aug.)	586,1
1485-	mag. Jac. Ledail, (Sept.)	588,35
1485-	mag. Patr. Lauson, (Sept.)	588,38
1485-	mag. Jac. Hendrison, d. S. Andree, procurator (Dec.)	593,33
1486*	dom. Rob. Cokburn, d. S. Andree, bacc.	597,4
1486*	dom. Joh. Gray, d. Rossensis, bacc.	597,8
1486*	dom. Andr. Tyndall, d. S. Andree, bacc.	597,12
1486	dom. Joh. Machbecht, d. Dunckaldensis, lic.	604,45
1486	dom. Thom. Allexandri, d. S. Andree, lic.	605,1
1486	dom. Thom. Sloen, d. Candidicasensis, lic.	605,3
1486	dom. Hugo. Grinla, d. S. Andree, lic.	605,9
1486	dom. Jeorius Andrison, d. S. Andree, lic.	605,11
1486	dom. David Megnes, d. S. Andree, lic.	605,13
1486	dom. Andr. Richardi, d. Abordonensis, lic.	605,19
1486	dom. Hugo Greynlaw, d. S. Andree, incip.	605,44
1486	dom. Guill. Strathawghane, d. Brechinensis, incip.	605,46
1486	dom. Guill. Stradacel, d. Brethinensis, incip.	607,36
"	(this surname identified as Strachan in <u>Early St. Andrews</u>	
"	<u>Records</u> , see mag. James Strachauchin, rector in the 1530's.)	
1486-	mag. Hugo Greynlaw, de Scotia, procurator (Aug.)	613,10
1486-	mag. Patr. Jonsone, (Sept.)	616,1
1486-	mag. Jac. Ledele, (Sept.)	616,2
1486-	mag. Patr. Lausonem, (Sept.)	616,4
1486	dom. Jorgius Androson, d. S. Andree, incip.	619,15
1486	dom. Andr. Richardi, d. S. Andree, incip.	619,17
1486*	dom. Guill. Creckton [Crichton], recept. bacc.	621,44
1487*	dom. Jac. Lyndesay, d. S. Andree, bacc.	629,11
1487*	dom. David Gardenar, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	629,13
1487-	mag. Andree Sibald, d. S. Andree, procurator (Feb.)	629,17
1487	dom. Joh. Cristison, d. S. Andree, lic.	633,14
1487	dom. Andr. Temdal [Tyndale], d. S. Andree, lic.	633,16
1487	dom. Joh. Gray, d. Rossensis, lic.	633,18
1487	dom. Rob. Kokburn, d. S. Andree, lic.	633,24
1487	dom. Guill. Crethon [Crichton], d. S. Andree, lic.	633,40
1487	dom. Guill. Crechton, incip.	634,21
1487	dom. Rob. Cokburn, incip.	634,24
1487	dom. Andr. Tandal, d. S. Andree, incip.	637,15

1487	dom. Joh. Gray, d. Rossensis, incip.	642,40
1487	dom. Joh. Cristison, d. S. Andree, incip.	642,42
1487	dom. David Mengzeis, d. S. Andree, incip.	650,10
	" (nom. cujus dam incip., saltem volentis incip., quamvis non incept)	
1488-	mag. Andree Ricardi, Aberdon. d., procurator (Jan.)	660,1
1488*	dom. Utridus Adouel, d. Glascuensis, bacc.	663,16
1488*	dom. Joh. Lory [Lawrie], d. S. Andree, bacc.	663,20
1488*	dom. Galt. Marcher [Marshall], d. S. Andree, bacc.	663,24
1488*	dom. Thom. Volf, d. S. Andree, bacc.	663,35
1488*	dom. Geo. Foster [Forrester], d. Glascuensis, bacc.	664,5
1488*	dom. Joh. Maculloch, d. Rossensis, bacc.	634,17
1488-	mag. David Homm, d. S. Andree, procurator (Mar.)	670,35
1488	dom. Jac. Lyndesay, d. S. Andree, lic.	671,30
1488	dom. Dav. Gardenar, d. Glasguensis, lic.	671,32
1488	dom. Jac. Lyndesay, incip.	672,23
1488-	mag. And. Tendalle, S. Andree d., procurator (Oct.)	684,43
1489*	dom. David Zong [Young], d. S. Andree, det. sive bacc.	692,38
1489-	mag. Joh. Gra, d. Rossensis, procurator (Feb.)	693,10
1489	dom. Galt. Marcher, d. S. Andree, lic.	697,26
1489	dom. Geo. Foster, d. Glascuensis, lic.	697,28
1489	dom. Uthredus Adunuel, d. Glascuensis, lic.	697,30
1489	dom. Thom. Wolf, d. S. Andree, lic.	697,38
1489	dom. Galt. Mersar, incip.	698,11
1489-	mag. Pat. Jonson, (Apr.)	700,35
1489-	mag. Joa. Gray, (Apr.)	700,37
1489-	mag. Andr. Tendal, (Apr.)	700,46
1489	dom. Thom. Wolf, d. S. Andree, incip.	704,33
1489-	mag. Joh. Hervei, qui rotulum nuntiorum	707,22
1489	nomina nuntiorum nationis - Scotorum (June)	
	Franciscus Centoxis pro d. S. Andree	711,21
	Rob. Flemmyn pro d. Glasguensi	711,22
	Joh. Cader pro d. Breginensi	711,23
	Joh. Petkern pro d. Candidecase	711,24
	Geo. Huisson [Honeson] pro d. Abberdonensi	711,25
	Rob. Goddes pro d. Moraviensi	711,26
	Jac. Elephantis pro d. Rossensi	711,27
1490*	dom. Gilb. Hay, d. Beati Andree, bacc.	726,26
1490*	dom. Rob. Hay, d. S. Andree, bacc.	726,27
1490*	dom. Rob. Schaw, d. S. Andree, bacc.	726,28
1490*	dom. Thom. Willensen, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	726,32
1490*	dom. Andr. Baedenagh, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	726,34
1490*	dom. Joh. Lelborn [Linburn], d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	726,36
1490*	dom. Joh. Doles [Dolees]. d. Moraviensis, bacc.	727,1
1490	Jac. Down [Dun] {recept. pro nunciis magistrorum }	727,24
1490	Thom. Liechton {et scholarium in provincia }	727,24
1490	Joh. Machabre {Scotorum. (Feb.) }	727,24
1490-	mag. Rob. Schaw, d. Glasguensis, procurator (Mar.)	729,1
1490*	dom. Geo. Lander, d. S. Andree, det.	731,47
1490*	dom. Joh. Maxwell, d. S. Andree, det.	732,1
1490	dom. David Zong [Young], d. S. Andree, det.	732,7
1490	dom. Joh. Maculloch, d. Roscensis, det.	732,9
1490	dom. Geo. Lander, d. S. Andree, incip.	732,25
1490	dom. Joh. Maxwell, d. S. Andree, incip.	732,37

1490!	mag. JACOBI MAETZLER de Lindow, dioc. Constantiensis, (4 word Greek identification), alias alemanica suevorum liga, recept. from Heidelberg in 1489, procurator (Dec.)	744,40
1491*	dom. Arsbaldus Stuart, nobilis, d. Candidecasensis	750,24
1491*	dom. Heinr. Macollow [MaCulloch], d. Rosensis, d.s.b.	751,13
1491*	dom. Adam. Gwillemsen, d. Candidecas., det. sive bacc.	751,15
1491*	dom. Joh. Clerck, d. Aberdonensis, det. sive bacc.	751,19
1491*	dom. Thom. Muier, d. Glasguensis, det. sive bacc.	751,23
1491*	dom. Geo. Dundas, d. S. Andree, recept. bacc. (S.A.)	687,22+
1491	dom. Rob. Schaw, d. S. Andree, lic.	759,43
1491	dom. Joh. Doles, d. Moraviensis, lic.	760,11
1491	dom. Joh. Lilherey [Lilburn], d. Aberdonensis, lic.	760,13
1491	dom. Andr. Baydenegech, d. Aberdonensis, lic.	760,15
1491	dom. Thom. Wilzeansun, [d.] Aberdonensis, lic.	760,37
1491	dom. Gilb. Hage, d. S. Andree, lic.	761,3
1491	dom. Rob. Chau, incip.	761,12
1491	dom. Jhoannes Makulloi, d. Rossensis, incip.	690,27+
1491	dom. Utrედus Adunvil [Makdoel], d. Glascuensis, incip.	766,15
1491*!	dom. Geo. Hepburn, nob., recept. bacc. S. Andree Uni.	768,37
1491-	mag. Rob. Schaw, S. Andree d., procurator (Sept.)	773,11
1492*	dom. Nynianus Hinglis [Inglis], d. Glasguensis, bacc.	789,15
1492*	dom. Andr. Niglis, [Inglis], d. Glasguensis, bacc.	789,17
1492*	dom. Joh. Gordonne, d. Abuenerdonensis, bacc.	789,19
1492*	dom. Jac. Muret [Murray], d. Glasguensis, bacc.	789,23
1492*	dom. Reigardus Verguere [Ferguson/Farquar], d. Glas., b.	789,27
1492*	dom. Thom. Andri, d. S. Andree, bacc.	789,29
1492*	dom. Vilhelmus Scot, d. S. Andree, bacc.	789,31
1492*	dom. Geo. Dumber, d. Moraviensis, recept. bacc. (S.A.)	697,4+
1492*	dom. Galt. Lang, d. Abuerdonensis, recept. bacc.	697,6+
1492	dom. Geo. Hipprun, nobilis, d. S. Andree, lic.	792,16
1492	dom. Arch. Stewart, nobilis, d. Candidecasensis, lic.	792,18
1492	dom. Henr. Macollow, d. Rosensis, lic.	792,44
1492 -	dom. Joa. Clerck, d. Aberdonensis, lic.	793,1
1492	Robertus Hay, d. S. Andree, lic.	793,17
1492	dom. Geo. Hipprun, nobilis, incip.	793,29
1492	dom. Arch. Stevart, nobilis, incip.	793,30
1492 ?	dom. Joa. Clarck, incip. (see below 802,2 & 804,8)	793,38
1492	dom. Rob. Hay, incip.	793,39
1492	dom. Henr. Makcowlo, incip.	793,40
1492	Andr. Baidenacii, d. Abuerdonensis, incip.	703,39+
1492-	mag. Geo. Cant, ex Scotia, d. S. Andree, proc. (May)	795,36
1492*	Barnardus Haldensis [Holde], d. Dunblane., bacc.	801,23
1492*	David Hantar, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	801,29
1492*	Henr. Galbracht, d. S. Andree, bacc.	801,31
1492*	Geo. Focart, d. S. Andree, recept. bacc.	703,23+
1492 ?	dom. Joh. Clerk, d. S. Andree, incip.	802,2
1492 ?	dom. Joh. Klerch, d. Aberdonensis, incip.	804,8
1493-	mag. Joh. Macculo, procurator (Feb.)	714,34+
1493-	mag. Joh. Gordon, procurator (May)	719,36+
1493*	Guill. Philipson, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	715,26+
1493*	David Subot [Sibbald], d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	716,11+
1493*	Andreas Stiewart, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	716,29+
1493*!	dom. Jac. Hepburn, d. S. Andree, bacc.	718,1+
1493*	Jac. Schaw, d. Candide Case, bacc.	718,3+

1493*	Alex. Schirer, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	718,8+
1493*	Joh. Anant, d. S. Andree, bacc.	718,12+
1493*	Guill. Macculo, d. Rossensis, bacc.	718,16+
1493*	Thom. Cutis, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	718,20+
1493*!	Wilh. Haye, d. St. Andree, bacc.	718,26+
1493*	Walt. Steward, d. Glasguensis, bacc. recept.	718,33+
1493*	Hector Boecii [de Dundee], d. Brictionensis, bacc.	722,32+
1493*!	Matheus Kerg [Kirk], d. Glasguensis, bacc.	722,38+
1493*	Alex. Ogelweii, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	722,40+
1493*	Joh. Scot, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	723,3+
1493*	Joh. Kennerdi, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	723,5+
1493*	Reginaldus Strang, d. Moraviensis, bacc.	723,7+
1493*	Patr. Bogil, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	723,9+
1493*	Wilh. Robertson, d. Dunkeldensis, bacc.	723,11+
1493*	Joh. Porter, d. Aberdonensis, bacc.	723,13+
1493*	Duncanus Chawmer, d. Aberdonensis, bacc. recept.	723,20+
1493	dom. Bern. Holden, d. Dumblanensis, lic.	723,41+
1493	dom. Guil. Scot, d. S. Andree, lic.	723,43+
1493	dom. Ninian Inglis, d. Glasguensis, lic.	724,23+
1493	dom. Andr. Inglis, d. Glasguensis, lic.	724,25+
1493	dom. Joh. Gordon, d. Aberdonensis, lic.	724,27+
1493	dom. Galt. Lang, d. Aberdonensis, lic.	724,37+
1493	dom. Adam Wilzanson, d. Glasguensis, lic.	724,39+
1493	dom. Joh. Gordon, d. Aberdonensis, incip.	725,26+
1493	dom. Bern. Halden, d. Dumblanensis, incip.	725,39+
1493	dom. Galt. Lang, d. Aberdonensis, incip.	725,47+
1493	dom. Adam Wilzanson, d. Glasguensis, incip.	725,50+
1493	dom. Guill. Scot, d. S. Andree, incip.	726,5+
1493	dom. Andr. Inglis, d. Glasguensis, incip.	727,4+
1493	dom. Joh. Doles, d. Moraviensis, incip.	727,7+
1493	dom. Joh. Lilburn, d. Aberdonensis, incip.	727,10+
1493	dom. Gisbertus Haye, d. S. Andree, incip.	727,19+
1494-	mag. Archibald Stuart, procurator (Jan.)	731,25+
1494*	Guill. Asson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	734,15+
1494*!	Joh. Major, d. S. Andree, bacc.	734,17+
1494*	Guill. Simson, d. Moraviensis, bacc.	734,19+
1494*	Joh. Cadion, d. Glascovensis, bacc.	734,21+
1494*	Adam Elphinston, d. Glasguensis, bacc.	734,23+
1494*	Alex. Levinson, d. S. Andree, bacc.	734,25+
1494*	David Vocat, d. S. Andree, bacc.	735,2+
1494*	David Sceton [Setone], d. S. Andree, bacc.	735,4+
1494*	Rolandus Blacadir, d. S. Andree, bacc. recept.	735,32+
1494*	Alex. de Corrur, d. Abordonensis, bacc.	736,21+
1494	Jac. Hepb[u]rn, d. S. Andree, lic.	737,1+
1494	Duncanus Chawmar, d. Aburdonensis, lic.	737,3+
1494	David Sibbald, d. Aburdonensis, lic.	737,5+
1494	Hector Boecy, d. Brictionensis, lic.	737,7+
1494	Andr. Stewart, d. Glasguensis, lic.	737,15+
1494	Vaulterus Stewart, d. Glasguensis, lic.	737,17+
1494	Joh. Anant, d. S. Andree, lic.	737,19+
1494	Jac. Sawt [Shaw], d. Candidicasensis, lic.	737,21+
1494	Geo. Dundas, d. S. Andree, lic.	737,23+
1494	Joh. Kennerdi, d. Aburdonensis, lic.	737,25+
1494	Thom. Cutis, d. Aburdonensis, lic.	737,33+
1494	Joh. Potier, d. Aberdonensis, lic.	737,41+
1494	Wilh. Macculo, d. Rossensis, lic.	737,43+

1494	Joh. Scot, d. Aburdonensis, lic.	737,45+
1494	David Hunter, d. Aburdonensis, lic.	738,3+
1494	Joh. Monro, d. Rossensis, lic.	738,5+
1494	Wilh. Hay, d. S. Andree, lic.	738,19+
1494	Patr. Bogil, d. Glasguensis, lic.	738,23+
1494	Wilh. Philipson, d. Aburdonensis, lic.	738,37+
1494	Jac. Hepburn, d. S. Andree, incip.	739,11+
1494	Hector Boecy, d. Brictionensis, incip.	739,14+
1494	Joh. Anand, d. S. Andree, incip.	739,23+
1494	Jac. Sawt [Shaw], d. Candidicasensis, incip.	739,38+
1494	Vuilh. Hay, d. S. Andree, incip.	739,41+
1494	Vualterus Stewar, d. Glasguensis, incip.	739,44+
1494	Joh. Monro, d. Rossesnsis, incip.	740,14+
1495	Reginaldus Strang, d. Moraviensis, lic.	723,6n+
1495	Guill. Asson, d. S. Andree, lic.	734,15n+
1495	Guill. Simson, d. Moraviensis, lic.	734,17n+
1495	Joh. Cadion, d. Glascovensis, lic.	734,19n+
1495	Alex. Levison, d. S. Andree, lic.	734,25n+
1495	David Vocat, d. S. Andree, lic.	735,2n+
1495	Adam Elphinston, d. Glasguensis, incip.	734,23n+
1495	Rolandus Blacadir, d. S. Andree, incip.	735,32n+
1496	Joh. Major, d. S. Andree, incip.	734,17n+
1498	Ninian Inglis, d. Glasquensis, incip.	697,20n+
1498	Joh. Cadion, d. Glascovensis, incip.	734,21n+
1498-	Joh. Major, d. S. Andree, procurator	734,17n+

ACTA RECTORIA UNIVERSITATIS PARISIENSIS, 1519-1633taken from SHR xliiii (1964)

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>vol.</u>	<u>fo.</u>
1519?	Joa. Couden, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9951	54r
1519?	Doncanus Bernet, Magister, Aberdeen, 16 Dec.	9951	54r
1520	Joa. Duncane, Glasgow, 10 Oct.	9951	27v
1520!	Patr. Hamelton, Nobilis, Glasgow, 10 Oct.	9951	29v
1520?!	Geo. Locard, Preceptor, 16 Dec.	9951	17v
1520?!	Guillermus Manderston, Preceptor, 16 Dec.	9951	18r
1520?	Pat. Hamelton, Dom. Incip.(under William Manderston)	9951	19v
"	St. Andrews, 16 Dec.		
1521	Guillelmus Dyngles (Douglas), Dominus, 23 Mar.	9951	6v
1521	Joa. Coii, Dominus, (St. Andrews?), 23 Mar.	9951	6v
1521	Joa. Hay, Incipiens, 23 Mar.	9951	6v
1521	Franciscus Martin [?], Dominus, 23 Mar.	9951	6v
1521	And. Hendreson, Dicoldensis (Dunkeld?), 10 Oct.	9951	8r
1521	Symon Saison (Simpson), Dunkeld, 10 Oct.	9951	11r
1522	Geo. Ban, Dominus Incipiens (German nation), 24 Mar.	9951	40v
1522	Richardus Marchale, Preceptor, 23 June	9951	43v
1522	Pat. Troup, Aberdeen, 10 Oct.	9951	49r
1522	Rob. Wacoup, Magister Preceptor, 10 Oct.	9951	49r
"	(R. Vaucop art. mag. bac. form. in theo. actu regens-1529)		
1523	Dauid Hendreson, Bichanensis, (Brechin?), 24 Mar.	9951	61r
1523	Galterus Abrecomy, St. Andrews, 24 Mar.	9951	61v
1523	Dauide Cranston, Preceptor, Glasgow, 24 Mar.	9951	64v
1523	Joh. Maguer [?] (Major?), Preceptor, 14 Mar.	9951	67r
1524?	Gulliellmus Brethr, Dominus, Glasgow, 18 Mar.	9951	102v
1525	Joa. Beothin, Preceptor, 12 Jan.	9951	119r
"	(also)	9951	120v
1525	Jac. Annant, 25 June	9951	128r
1525	Thom. Lander, Dunblane, 25 June	9951	129v
1525	Geo. Todrick, Paris, 15 Dec.	9951	136v
1525	Joa. Maioris, alias Mayr, Aberdeen, 15 Dec.	9951	137r
1525	Guilliellmus Furd, Dunkeld, 15 Dec.	9951	137r
1525	Joa. Lauson, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9951	137r
1525	Joa. Forus, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9951	137r
1525	Alex. Hamilton, Magister, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9951	138r
1525	Gauinus Dumbar, Magister Nobilis Beneficatus,	9951	138r
"	Incipiens, (G. nat.), 15 Dec. {2 enties}	140v	
1525	Henr. Sanster, Magister Nob. Beneficatus, S. Andrews	9951	138r
1525	Jheronemus Tourneboulle [?], Nobilis, Paris, 15 Dec.	9951	138r
1525	Rob. Heriot, Nobilis, Glasgow, 15 Dec.	9951	139r
1525	Thom. Rausay (sic), Nobilis, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9951	139r
1525	Renatus Scot [?], Nobilis, Paris, 15 Dec.	9951	139r
1526	Guilliellmus Manderston, [RECTOR] 15 Dec.-23 Mar.	9951	136r
1526?	Alex. Hamilton, Dominus Incipiens, (G. nat.), 23 Mar.	9951	145v

1526?	Thom. Bron, St. Andrews, 23 Mar.	9951	145r
1526	Rich. Bothuel, St. Andrews, 23 June	9951	151v
1526!	David Painter, Nobilis, St. Andrews, Oct.	9951	155v
1526	Rob. Malcuson, St. Andrews, Oct.	9951	159v
1526	Rob. Fortgushil, Magister, Glasgow, (Dec.)	9952	5v
1526	Rob. Wauchopt, Magister Preceptor, (Dec.)	9952	8r
"	also	9952	9r
"	Fortgushil as Dom. Incip. (under Rob. Wauchop), (Dec)	9952	9r
1526	Joa. Lokert, Dominus Incipiens (under Rob. Wauchop)	9952	9r
"	Glasgow, (Dec.)		
1526	Jac. Strachachin, Dominus Incipiens, Brechin, (Dec.)	9952	9r
1527	Joa. Douglas, Dunkeld, 23 Mar.	9952	17v
1527	Joh. Stenton, Dominus Incipiens, St. Andrews, 23 Mar.	9952	17v
1527	Adam Muyr, Glasgow, (June)	9952	18r
1527	Dauid Scot, Glasgow, (June)	9952	18r
1527	Thom. Broun, Incipiens (under William Manderston)	9952	18v
"	St. Andrews, (June)		
1527	David Broun, St. Andrews, (June)	9952	18v
1527	Geo. Bachanan, Glasgow, (June)	9952	19v
1527	Joa. Alexander [?], Throuanne, Oct.	9952	20v
1527	Rob. Douglas, Glasgow, (June)	9952	21v
1527	Symon Schau, Glasgow, (June)		
1527	Steph. Chalton, Incipiens (G. nat.), 15 Dec.	9952	35r
1527	Dauid Henrison, Dominus Incipiens (G. nat.), 15 Dec.	9952	35r
1527	Rob. Maluison, Dominus Incipiens, 15 Dec.	9952	35r
1527	Dauid Spuard [?], Dominus Incip. (G. nat.), 15 Dec	9952	35r
1527	Galterus Weston [?], Dominus Incipiens, 15 Dec.	9952	35r
1528	Joh. Heriot, Dominus Incipiens, Glasgow, (Mar.)	9952	38r
1528	Geo. Bauchenel, Dom. Incipiens (under Robert Wauchop)	9952	41r
"	Glasgow, (Mar.)		
1528	Jac. Scot, St. Andrews, 23 June	9952	46r
1528	Joa. Sincler, St. Andrews, 23 June	9952	46r
1528-	Symon Syason, Dom. Incip. (under Bernardinus Georgius)	9952	47r
"	Dunkeld, 23 June		
1528	Rob. Heriot, Nobilis Dom. (licence?), Glasgow, 10 Oct.	9952	52v
1528	Dauid Scot, Dominus Incipiens, Glasgow, 17 Dec.	9952	58v
1529	Theophilus Stouart, Aberdeen, 15 Dec.	9952	76v
"	also entry- Dominus, Ross, 15 Dec.	9952	78r
1529	Rob. Heriot, Dom. Incipiens 'post licentias', Glasgow	9952	78r
"	10 Dec.		
1530	Arch. Hay, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	119r
1530	Clement Marchant, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	119r
1530	Alex. Steuard, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	119r
1530	Thom. (Brotherton)?, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	119r
1530	Jac. Montray, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	121r
1530	Nauianus Tempolton, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9952	122v
1530	Pat. Steuard, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	123r
1530	Thom. Car, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	123v
1530	Joa. Douglas, Preceptor, 16 Dec.	9952	124r
1530	Rob. Fortgushil, Preceptor, 16 Dec.	9952	124v
1530	And. Boythic, Dom. Incip. (under John Douglas), 16 Dec.	9952	125v
1530	Joa. Bylinus [?], Incip. (under John Douglas), 16 Dec.	9952	125v
1530	Rob. Douglass, Incipiens (under John Douglas), 16 Dec.	9952	125v
1530	Adamus Muar, Incipiens (under John Douglas), 16 Dec.	9952	125v

1530	Simon Schau, Incipiens (under John Douglas), 16 Dec.	9952	125v
1530	Galtherus Stural, Dom. Incip. (under J. D.), 16 Dec.	9952	125v
1530	Alex. Wot, Incipiens (under John Douglas), 16 Dec.	9952	125v
1531	Joa. Douglas, Intrans (preceptor Collegii Preslarum)	9952	132r
1531	Guillelmus Leuyngston, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9952	141r
"	<u>also</u> entry- Dominus Incipiens, 16 Dec.	9952	145r
1531	And. Blakstok, Incipiens, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9952	145r
1531	Alex. Duudas(Dundas), Dom. Incip., St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	145r
1531	Joa. Sincler, Dom. Incipiens, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	145r
1531	Alex Steuard, Incipiens, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	145r
1531	Pat. Steuard, Incipiens, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9952	145v
1532	Guillielmus le Bog, St. Andrews , 23 Mar.	9952	147r
"	(Lettres de Naturalité accordées à G. Bog, MA, régent de l'Université de Paris, juin 1539- Paris Arch. Nat.)		
1532	Guillelmus Cranston, Glasgow, 10 Oct.	9952	157r
1532	Joa. Matheson, Brechin, 10 Oct.	9952	158r
1532	Joa. Cantuli, Dom. Incipiens (German Nation) 10 Oct.	9952	160r
1532	Joa. Cogburne, Dom. Incipiens (German Nation) 10 Oct.	9952	160r
1533	Adam Etdar, St. Andrews, 24 Mar.	9952	167r
1533	Guillielmus (Hayre)?, Dunkeld, 10 June	9952	173v
1533	Geo. Tednet, St. Andrews, 10 Dec.	9952	183r
1533	Pet. Tednet, St. Andrews, 10 Dec.	9952	185v
"	<u>Also</u>	9952	186r
1533	Thom. Rudreford, Aberdeen, 10 Dec.	9952	187r
1533	Guillielmus Cranston, Dom. Incipiens, 10 Dec.	9952	188r
1533	Joa. Stenton, Dom. Incipiens, St. Andrews, 10 Dec.	9952	188v
1533	Ninianus Tempilton, Dom. Incipiens, 10 Dec.	9952	188v
1534	Joa. Cambron, Argyll, 10 Oct.	9953	3r
1534	Marcus Car, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 10 Oct.	9953	3r
1534	Joh. Stuart, Glasgow, 10 Oct.	9953	3r
1534	Thom. Lier, Dominus, Glasgow	9953	14r
1535	Duncanus Forbes, Nobilis, Aberdeen, 11 Oct.	9953	28v
1535	Henr. Laungstonus,, Dominus, St. Andrews, 11 Oct.	9953	28v
1535	Gilbertus Hostar (Fostar?), St. Andrews, 11 Oct.	9953	29r
1535	Dominicanus Forbes, Dominus, 13 Dec.	9953	37v
1535	Marcus Kaer, Dominus Incipiens, 13 Dec.	9953	37v
1535	Andr. Locart, 13 Dec.	9953	37v
1535	Jac. Manstraye, Incipiens, St. Andrews, 13. Dec.	9953	37v
1535	Joa. Stuart, Dom. Incipiens, 13 Dec.	9953	37v
1536	Gulielmus Let [?], 'Scotiensis', (Mar.)	9953	40r
1536	Joh. Bothunen, Dominus, Aberdeen, 11 Oct.	9953	49v
1536	David Matelant (Maitland), Glasgow, 15 Dec.	9953	53v
1536	Jac. Fullarton, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9953	54r
1536	Guillielmus Haye, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9953	54r
1536	Guibertus Jonston, Glasgow, 15 Dec.	9953	54r
1536	Joa. Mosico(rum)?, Glasgow, 15 Dec.	9953	54r
1536	Jac. Bachelier, Dominus Incipiens, Brechin, 15 Dec.	9953	58r
1536	Dun. Braydurd, Dom. Incipiens (under Simon Simpson)	9953	58r
"	Dunblane, 15 Dec.		
1536	Guillielmus Haye, Incipiens (under Simon Simpson)	9953	58r
"	St. Andrews, 15 Dec.		
1536	Arch. Hayus, Incipiens (German Nation), 16 Dec.	9953	58r

1536	Gilbertus Jhonston, Dom. Incipiens (under S. Simpson)	9953	58r
"	Glasgow, 15 Dec.		
1536	Henr. Leuyngstine, Dom. Incipiens (under S. Simpson)	9953	58r
"	(German Nation), 15 Dec.		
1536	Symone Synson (Simpson), Preceptor, 15 Dec.	9953	58r
1537	Joa. Otterburn, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 10 June	9953	63r
1537	Alex. Synape, St. Andrews, 10 Oct.	9953	67r
1537	Rob. Rayt, St. Andrews, 10 Oct.	9953	69r
1537	Alex. Gordonus, Nobilis Scotus, Aberdeen, 15 Dec.	9953	71r
1537	Thom. Erskine, Nobilis Beneficatus, Glasgo, 15 Dec.	9953	74v
1537	Guillelmus Cranston, Preceptor, 15 Dec.	9953	76r
"	<u>also</u> 76v, 89v, and 9954: 70v, 76r, 76v, 77r, 77v and 84r		
1537	Thom. Erskyne, Incipiens (under William Cranston)	9953	76v
"	St. Andrews, 15 Dec.		
1537	Alex Gordon, Incipiens, Aberdeen, 15 Dec. (sub W.C.?)	9953	76v
1538!	Henr. Scrymgeour, Nobilis Beneficatus, Brechin, 23 Mar.	9953	78v
1538	Nic. Crauffort, Beneficatus, St. Andrews, 23 Mar.	9953	80r
1538	And. Bogue [?], Officer, Rouen, 23 Mar.	9953	81v
1538	Arch. Betoun, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	84r
1538	Alex. Cambel, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	84r
1538	Arch. Graymen (Graham), St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	84r
1538	Anthonius Kenedus, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	84r
1538	Adamus Stevard, Nobilis, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	84r
1538	David Dumbar, Nobilis Beneficatus, Ross, 22 June	9953	84v
1538	Guilbertus Kenedus, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	85r
1538	Nicolaus Kenedus, Dominus Nobilis, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	85r
1538	Rob. Straloch, Dominus, Aberdeen, 22 June	9953	85r
1538	Guilielmus Fleming, Nobilis, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	85v
1538	Geo. Hayus [?], Nobilis, St. Flour, 22 June	9953	85v
1538	Geo. Nesbyt, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	85v
1538	Hercules Berclay, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	86r
1538	Jac. Bertan, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	86r
1538	Jac. Betoun, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	86r
1538	Jac. Blakader, Nobilis, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	86r
1538	Henr. Frulus, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	86r
1538	Joa. Somerual, Nobilis, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	86r
1538	Joa. Steuard, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	86r
1538	Joa. Steuard (minor), Glasgow, 22 June	9953	86r
1538	Joa. Rouam, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	86v
1538	Joa. Arthure, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	87r
1538	Joa. Berden, Mag. Nobilis Beneficatus, St. Andrews	9953	87r
1538	Jac. Brionne, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	87r
1538	Jac. Douey, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	87r
1538	Jac. Leuyngston, Magister Nobilis, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	87r
1538	Joa. Thorictolone (Thornton), St. Andrews	9953	87r
1538!	Rob. Wedderburn, Mag. Beneficatus, Brechin, 22 June	9953	87r
1538	Pat. Tod, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	88r
1538	Symon Jhonstoun, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	88v
1538	Rob. Lokart, Nobilis Beneficatus, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	88v
1538	Thom. Blaye, Dunkeld, 22 June	9953	89r
1538	Thom. Haye, Nobilis Beneficatus, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	89r
1538	Thom. Kenedus, Nobilis, Glasgow, 22 June	9953	89r
1538!	Thom. Lyndsaye (Lindsay), Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	89r
1538	Arch. Beaton, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	89v
1538	Thom. Hayus, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 22 June	9953	89v
1538	Rob. Heriot, Rector, 22 June-10 Oct.	9953	89v

1538	Gilb. Osteler, Dom. Incipiens (under Simon Simpson)	9953	89v
"	St. Andrews, 22 June		
1538	Henr. Scryngeur, Incip. (under William Cranston)	9953	89v
"	Brechin, 22 June		
1538	Simone Simesson, Preceptor, 22 June	9953	89v
1539	Joa. Matesson, Dom. Incip., Brechin, 24 Mar.	9953	105v
1539	Joa. Tornton, Dom. Incipiens, St. Andrews, 23 Sept.	9953	110v
1539	Guillebertus Kenety, Dom. Incip., Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	121r
1539	Andr. Loquart, Intrans 'Collegii Preslarum Logicus'	9953	121r
"	16 Dec.		
1539	Pat. Tod, Dom. Incipiens, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	121r
1540?	Rob. Les, Aberdeen, (Oct.)	9953	137r
1540	Galterus Pyille, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	139v
1540	Joa. Arskini, Dominus Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	143v
1540	Galterus Dualson, Dom. Incipiens, (G. nat.), 16 Dec.	9953	143v
1540	Galt. Pyille, Incipiens, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	143v
1540	Joa. Raoult, Incipiens, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	143v
1541?	Guillielmus Roberton, St. Andrews, (Oct.)	9953	154r
1541?	Rob. Keciht (Keith?), Scotus Bene., St. Andrews, (Oct)	9953	156r
1541	Pat. Tod, Preceptor, St Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	163r
1541	Guillielmus Bog, Preceptor, 16 Dec. {other entries}	9953	163v
"	165v, 166r, 168v and 170r.		
1541	Rob. de Lyon, Dom. Incip. (u. Bog) Aberdeen, 16 Dec.	9953	166r
1541	Joa. Steuard, Preceptor, 16 Dec.	9953	166r
-	John Stuart, Preceptor		166r
1542	Rob. Pitcarnen, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 24 Mar.	9953	169r
1542	Walt. Ould, Dom. Incip. (u. Wm. Bog) Brechin, 24 Mar.	9953	170v
1542	Guillielmus Cranston, <u>SCOTUS RECTOR</u> , 16 Dec-23 Mar	9953	183r
1542	Adam Cranston, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	183r
1542	Alex. Dumbar, Nobilis, Moray, 16 Dec.	9953	183r
1542	Adamus Lithen, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	183r
1542	Archebaldus Seton, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	183r
1542	Alex. Sinclair, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	183r
1542	Edmundus Haye, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	183v
1542	Nic. Haye, Dominus, Ross, 16 Dec.	9953	183v
1542	Dauid Lindesay, Nobilis, Dunkeld, 16 Dec.	9953	183v
1542	Dauid Suenton, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	183v
1542	Joa. Botuel, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Gilb. Armour, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Henr. Barten, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Guillielmus Baylze, Nobilis, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Guillielmus Douglas, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Henr. Dury, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Geo. Foster, St. Andrews. 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Guillielmus Guinygem (Cunningham), Nob. Epis. Ergadie	9953	184r
"	Glasgow, (10 Dec.)		
1542	Jac. Heppardio, Frater, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Guillielmus Maitland, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Jac. Malyune, Frater, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Geo. Medilton, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Geo. Ogilby, Nob. Beneficatus, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Geo. Seton, nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Gilb. Sinclair, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r
1542	Geo. Tailzefaer, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184r

1542	Jac. Adamson, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Joa. Adamson, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Joa. Bog, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Joa. Carncross, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	___ de Coulerous, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Jac. Hamylton, Nobilis, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Joa. Henderson, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Jac. Jhonston, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Joa. Marioribanks (Major), St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Joa. Marioribanks (Minor), St. Andrews. 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Thom. Marioribanks, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Guil. Roberton, Incipiens, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Joa. Roul, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Jac. Tornton, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Joa. Tornton, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	184v
1542	Nic. Hay, Magister Nobilis, Aberdeen, 16 Dec.	9953	185v
1542	Steph. Beton, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	186r
1542	Rob. Botuel, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	186r
1542	Pe ? Dury, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	186r
1542	Quintinus Kennedii, Nobilis, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	186r
1542	Rob. Lumisdail, Nobilis, Aberdeen, 16 Dec.	9953	186r
1542	Thom. Kyrcauld, Nobilis Bene., St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	186v
1542	Thom. Scot, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	186v
1543	Gilb. Tournebulle [?], Nobilis, Paris, Oct.	9953	208r
1543	Joa. Donbart, Dominus, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	217r
1543	Eduardus Henricius, Dominus, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9953	217r
1543	Thom. Veston, Dominus Incipiens, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9953	217r

1544	Guillielmus Bog, Preceptor, 16 Dec. {other entries} 6r, 51v, 52v, 53r and 84r	9954	5r
1545?	Joa. Douglas, Preceptor, (Mar.)	9954	12r
1545	Joa. Granger [?], Incipiens, (June)	9954	17r
1545	Gilb. Bard, Scotus, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9954	24r
1445	Patr. Lisset (Bisset?), Scotus, Aberdeen, 16 Dec.	9954	26r
1546	Geo. Crechton, Dominus Incipiens (under William Bog)	9954	52v
"	St. Andrews, (Dec.)		
1546	Joa. Stouard, Preceptor, (Dec.)	9954	52v
1547	Alex. Mauchan, St. Andrews, 23 June	9954	60r
1547	Joa. Eldar, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9954	71v
1547	Thom. Vinterhopeus (Winterhope), Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9954	75r
1547	Petrus Trauerse{?}, Dominus Incipiens, Moray, 16 Dec.	9954	77r
"	(in French nation)		
1547	Petrus Burneus [?], Preceptor, 16 Dec.	9954	77v
1548	Alex. Mauchan, Incip. (under William Bog), St. Andrews	9954	84r
"	24 Mar. 1548Guillermus Cranston, Preceptor, 15 Dec.	9954	95r
1549	Joa. Dempster, Dunkeld, 24 June	9954	113r
1549	John Stuart(2) , Intrans, 10 Oct	9954	117r
1550	Joh. Stuard, <u>SCOTUS RECTOR</u> 'in Collegio Calvico'	9954	133r
"	23 June-10 Oct. 1550Duncan Magrudere, Dunblane, 23 June	9954	133v
1550	Geo. Rouam, Galludiensis (Galloway?), 23 June	9954	134v
1550	Hugo Rose, Nobilis, Glasgow, 23 June	9954	134v
1550	Jac. Martin, Dunkeld, 23 June	9954	135v
1550	Henr. Steyrlin, St. Andrews, Dec.	9954	140v
1550	John Stuart, Preceptor, Dec.	9954	149r
1551	David Crythenii, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 6 May	9954	157r
1551	Galterus de Carnege, Nobilis, Brechin, 6 May	9954	158v
1551	Guillielmus Lindsay, Glasgow, 6 May	9954	158v
1551	Jac. Annan, Nobilis, Aberdeen, 6 May	9954	160v
1551	Joh. Rhetorfortis (Rutherford), Incipiens?, Glasgow	9954	168v
"	10 Oct. 'Magister Joh. Rhetorfortis Glasguensis etc.'		
1551	Alex. Coyle, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9954	170r
1551	Joa. Dempsteus (sic), Preceptor, 15 Dec.	9954	175r
1552	Geo. Hay, St. Andrews, 25 Mar.	9954	178r
1552	Joa. Stuart(2), Nobilis, St. Andrews, 25 Mar.	9954	179r
1552	John Stuart, Preceptor, 25 Mar.	9954	183r
1552	Nicolaus Campbel, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 10 Oct.	9954	190r
1552	Alex. Thornton, St. Andrews, 17 Dec.	9954	190r
1552	David Scot, Dunblane, 17 Dec.	9954	190v
1553	Guilliermus, Nobilis, Aberdeen, 24 Mar.	9954	195v
1553	Alex Thornton, Dom. Incipiens (under John Rutherford)	9954	202v
"	St. Andrews, (June)		
1553	Guillielmus Dauerson, Dom. Incip. (under John Dempster)	9954	202v
"	Aberdeen, (June) "Demster was 'REGENS in Collegio Bellouaco'"		
1567?	Geo. Dury, Nob. (iterum juravit), St. Andrews, (Dec.)	9955	2v
1567?	Joa. Dury, Nob. (iterum juravit), St. Andrews, (Dec.)	9955	2v
1567?	(Adam) Blaguodeus, Dom. Preceptor, (St. Andrews)(Dec)	9955	4v
"	{possibly Henricus below?}		

1567?	Geo. Blaguodeus, Incipiens (under 'Blacout'), " St. Andrews, (Dec.)	9955	4v
1567?	Guillermus Daidson, Dom. Preceptor, Aberdeen, (Dec.)	9955	4v
1567?	Geo. Duri, Incipiens (under Blaguodeus), St. Andrews " (Dec.)	9955	4v
1567?	Joa. Dury, Incipiens (under Blaguodeus), St. Andrews " (Dec.)	9955	4v
1567?	Themistoris (Dempster), Dominus, Preceptor, (Dec.)	9955	4v
1568	Jac. Gibboune, Scotus, St. Andrews, (June)	9955	8v
1568	Henr. Blacuodeus, <u>RECTOR</u> , (St. Andrews), 16 Dec-25 Mar -'Baccalaurius medicus, Humaniorum disciplinarium et philosophus professor annos tredecim'	9955	14r
1568	Gulielmus Bellenden, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9955	14v
1568	Gulielmus Chesome, Nobilis, Dunblane, 16 Dec.	9955	14v
1568	Gulielmus Dure (Dury), Nobilis, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9955	14v
1568	Jac. Adamson, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9955	15r
1568	Jac. Chesome, Nobilis, Dunblane, 16 dec.	9955	15r
1568	Joh. Meschel, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9955	15r
1568	Richardus Valkair, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9955	15v
1569	Jac. Langeus, Preceptor, 24 Mar.	9955	20r
1569	Jac. Blacuot [?], Frater, Le Mans, (June)	9955	22v
1569	Jac. Hepburnus, Scotus, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9955	33v
1571	Alex. Dicsonus, Galloway, 23 June	9955	57r
1571	Rollandus, Makymeneus, Scotus, Galloway, 23 June	9955	57r
1574	Joa. Stuart(2) , Dominus Magister Intrans, 24 Mar.	9955	88r
1574	Joa. Stuart, Intrans, 16 Dec.	9955	98r
"	'... rector, decanus Scotorum, philosophus'.		
1575	Joa. Hunter, Predicator, Glasgow, 24 June	9955	109v
1575	Guillielmus Vualcalart, Aberdeen, (Oct)	9955	112v
1575	Renatus Archibal, Scotus Nobilis, St. Andrews, (June)	9955	113r
1575	Robertus (sic) Archibal, Incip., St. Andrews, 17 Dec.	9955	115r
1575	Guilelmus Valcart, Aberdeen, 17 Dec.	9955	115v
1576	Alex. Hamilton, Glasgow, 23 June	9955	120r
1577	Archibaldus Hamilton, Glasgow, (22June)	9955	132r
1577	Archibaldus Jordanus, Aberdee, (22 June)	9955	132r
1577	Valterus Seton, Glasgow, (22 June)	9955	133r
1577	Michael Fraser, Magister Incipiens, Aberdeen, 15 Dec.	9955	140r
1578	Jac. Ceineius, Aberdeen, 24 Mar.	9955	142v
1578	Thom. Ceineus, Aberdeen, 24 Mar.	9955	143v
1579	Joh. Cuthbertus, Scotus, 24 Mar.	9955	164v
1579	And, Care [?], Nobilis, Quelse (Kelso?), 23 June	9955	166r
1579	Joh. Hamilton, Scotus, 23 June	9955	166v
1579	Jac. de Seton, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 10 Oct.	9955	167v
1579	Jac. Cadanus, Scotus, Brechin, 16 Dec.	9955	171r
1579	Guillermus Curly, Nob. Bene., St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9955	171r
1579	Guillermus Vallaceus, Scotus, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9955	171r
1579	Guillelmus Curly, Incipiens (under John Hamilton)	9955	173v
1579	Joh. Cuthbertus, Incipiens (under John Hamilton)	9955	173v

1579	Guillelmus Wallaceus, Incipiens (under John Hamilton)	9955	173v
"	St. Andrews, 16 Dec. {Curlu, Cuthbert and Wallace noted as 'in Scotia Montanus'}		
1579	Joh. Hamilton, Preceptor, 16 Dec.	9955	173v
1580	Andr. Galloway, Aberdeen, 24 Mar.	9955	175r
1581	Archebaldus Hil, St. Andrews. (Oct.)	9955	190r
1582	Alex. Gibson, Dunkeld, 10 Oct.	9955	204r
1582	Joh. Hamilton, Nobilis, Glasgow, 10 Oct.	9955	205r
1582	Thom. Hamilton, St. Andrews, 10 Oct.	9955	206v
1583	Joh. Hamilton, Intrans, 24 Mar.	9955	209v
1583	Jac. Duiry, 23 June	9955	213r
1583	Alex. Hubertus [?], 16 Dec.	9955	220r
1584	Joh. Hamilton, <u>SCOTUS RECTOR</u> , 16 Dec.-21 Mar. 1585	9956	1r
"	other entries- 9955, fo. 190v and 9956, fo. 117		
1584	Geo. Criton, 'Secundo notatus', St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9956	2r
1584	Joa. Hamilton, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9956	3r
1584	Robertus Brus, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9956	3v
1586	Joa. Fraser, Aberdeen, 25 Mar.	9956	22v
1586	Geo. Criton, Intrans, St. Andrews, 17 Dec.	9956	31r
1588	Jac. Nasmyt, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9956	46v
1589	Thom. Barclaius, Scotus, Aberdeen, 16 Dec.	9956	68r
1589	Thom. Barclayus, Scotus Incipiens, Aberdeen, 16 Dec.	9956	68v
1590	Jac. Letus (Leith), Aberdeen, 24 Mar.	9956	70v
1590	Arthurus Panton, Moray, 24 Mar.	9956	70v
1595	Joh. Phasel (sic), Aberdeen, 15 Dec.	9956	127r
1595	Michael Christi, Beneficatus, St. Andrews. 15 Dec.	9956	128r
1597	Joa. Fraser, <u>SCOTUS RECTOR</u> , Aberdeen, 25 Mar- 10 Oct.	9957	10v
"	"Fraser a Phillorthe"		
1597	Guilielmus Angus [?], Paris, 10 Oct.	9957	11v
1597	Thom. Scot, Aberdeen, 10 Oct.	9957	12v
1599	Guilielmus Hegait, Scotus, Glasgow, 16 Dec.	9957	30v
	- "Procureur de la nation allemande, 1602" (note)		
1599	David Sanclair, St. Andrews, 16 Dec.	9957	30v
1601	Dauid Echelin, Scotus, St. Andrews, 23 June	9957	47r
1601	Thom. Dempsterus, Scotus, 23 June	9957	48v
1601	Dauid Echelin, Scotus, St. Andrews, 23 June	9957	48v
"	'cooptatus' among 'nom. eorum qui in celebri artium facultate Lauream Magisterii adepti sunt vel eorum qui fuerint cooptati'		
1603	Jac. Laetus (Leith), <u>RECTOR</u> , Aberdeen, 15 Dec-23 Mar.	9957	67r
"	"Bachelor of Medicine;'in Collegio Becodiano'"		
1603	Alex. Logan, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9957	67r
1603	Adam Scot, Aberdeen, 15 Dec.	9957	67r
1603	Rob. Logan, Nobilis, St. Andrews, 15 Dec.	9957	68r

1603	Rich. Maitland, Nobilis, Glasgow, 15 Dec.	9957	68r
1603	G. Galloway, Magister, 15 Dec.	9957	68r
"	'sub resignatione Magistri G. Galloway cuius capellaniarum de Savoia in gratiam D. de Buisson'		
1605	Geo. Strachanus, Brechin, 10 Oct.	9957	87r
1608	Geo. Latus, Beneficatus, Aberdeen, 16 Dec.	9957	125v
1609	Gulielmus Lumisdail, Scotus, Aberdeen, 23 June	9957	129v
1610?	Rob. Philippus, Presbyter, Glasgow, (24 Mar.)	9957	141r
1616	Guillelmus Phelipps [?], (Mar.)	9958	2r

- Taken from "Scottish Entries in the Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis 1519 to c. 1633", Scottish Historical Review, xliii (1964), 66-86.

DIE MATRIKEL DIE UNIVERSITÄT KÖLN

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>fo., line</u>
1419	Nic. de Athcolia [Atholl, d. Dunkeld]	124,7
1419!	Jac. Scrimgeour, [Breachin d.]	124,8
1421	Dav. de Haye, Donkelnensis d.	130,63
1421	Galter. Stewort, d. S. Andree	130,67
1421!	Rycard de Crag, eiusdem d.	130,68
1421	Patr. de Symonton, Candide Case d.	130,69
1422	Rob. Stewort, Scotus, S. Andree d.	132,113
1422	David de Setoun, Abbredonensis d.	134,27
1423!	dom. Thom. Lewyngston de Scotia, d. S. Andree	137,10
1424	Joh. Scoti, can. man. S. Crusis de Edynburgh in Scot.	141,9
1428	mag. Rob. de Esse de Schotia, cl. d. S. Andree	158,50
1428!	David de Ogylby de Schotia, S. Andree (Louvain 1428)	158,51
1429	Andr. Lech de Scotia	161,9
1429	fr. Allex. de Mylros de Scotia, Cist.	161,17
1429	fr. Volt. de Peblis de Scotia, Cist.	161,18
1429	fr. Patric. Fresel de Scotia, Cist.	161,19
1429!!	dom. Joh. Aylmar de Scothia, cl. d. S. Andree	164,31
1430	mag. Dav. Seraes de Scotia	165,42
1430	dom. Alex. Ogilbey de Scotia	165,43
1430	dom. Alex. [Bowmacar], can. reg. eccl. S. Andree	166,24
1430	Jac. Inglis, can. Glascuensis de Scotia	166,37
1430	Wolt. Ledehuys de Scotia	166,38
1431	Wilh. de Kynghorn de Scotia, S. Andree d.	169,11
1431	Andr. Purio [Purrok] de Scotia, dioc. S. Andree	169,37
1431	Joh. Raperlae de Scotia, dioc. S. Andree	169,38
1432	Wilh. Kier, Scotus, d. S. Andree	173,13
1432!	Laur. Loenen de Scotia, d. S. Andree	173,31
1432	Jac. de Ogyvby, clericus Brichensis	176,2
1433	mag. Alanus Kant de Scotia	180,8
1433	Sim. de Schotia	180,25
1434	Mathe. de Scotia, Glasguensis d.	182,44
1435	mag. Jac. de Scocia	Ntr. 435a
1435	fr. Andr. Bell, Schotus, Cist.	186,7
1435	Thom. Laurentii de Schosia, d. S. Andree	187,4
1435	Rob. Fansyd [Fawside?] de Schot(ia)	187,33
1436	Rob. Hackerstuyll [Halcarstown], d. S. Andree, Scotia	188,5
1436	Wilh. Wodman eiusdem d. S. Andree in Scotia	188,6
1436	Jac. de Crage, can. eccl. S. Andree in Scotia	189,2
1436	Rob. Letsco, cl. eiusdem d. S. Andree	189,3

1437	Joh. Kavraeis [Cavers] de Scotia, cl. D. S. Andree	193,67
1437	Andr. de Moravia de Scotia (bacc. S. Andree)	194,20
1437	mag. Wilh. Bell de Scotia (mag. S. Andree)	194,21
1438	Thom. Londi de Scotia, Bernardus	197,1
1438	Joh. Barei de Scotia	197,5
1438	dom. Patr. de Scotia, Benedicti	197,20
1438	Thom. Lech de Scotia	197,37
1438	Joh. Colsteyn de Scotia, [d. Candide Case]	198,23
1438	dom. Hugo Scotus, regularis d. S. Andree	199,4
1438	Dav. [Crannoch] de Scotia, Brekensis d.	199,5
1438	Walt. Schuyt, d. S. Andree	199,6
1438	Georg. de regno Scotie, cl. Gliscuensis	200,21
1439	Jac. Croser de Scotia, cl. d. S. Andree	201,32
1439	Henr. de Parkle mag. art. S. Andree in Scotia	201,43
1439	dom. Wilh. Rotzvey de Scotia	202,52
1439	Sym. Red de Scotia, [Brechinensis d.] (Louvain 1436)	204,7
1439	fr. Joh. Huntar, Scotus, Cist. [Candide case d.]	204,20
1439	dom. Joh. Crak, can. reg. Aug., Scotus	204,21
1439!	Joh. Pameer [Panater] de Scotia, [d. Brechinensis]	204,32
1440!	mag. Archibaldus Inhetlaw de Scotia	205,113
1440!	mag. Thom. Baron de Scotia	205,114
1440	dom. Willelmus Andree de Scotia	205,115
1440	Patr. Veter [Mader] de Schotia, d. Aberdonensis	205,76
1440	Wilh. Cornoelle de Scotia	206,12
1440	dom. Dav. Hamilton, Abbredonensis	206,40
1440	mag. Joh. de Camera de Scotia	206,111
1440	dom. Joh. Avinar de Scotia	206,112
1440	Joh. Juvenis [Young] de Scotia	206,139
1440-41	ALBERTUS SCRIPTORIS (see Paris)	Ntr. 555
1441	dom. Joh. de Scothya, mon. monast. de Melros	209,17
1441!	Joh. [de Atholia] de Scothya, Dunkeldensis d.	209,58
1441	Rych. [Guthry] de Schothya, S. Andree d.	209,59
1441	Adam Hepburen [de Scotia]	210,7
1441	Cristof. de Genis de Scotia	210,125
1441	dom. Dav. Herdghet de Scotia, Cist.	210,135
1441	Joh. de Balfour de Scotia	210,140
1442	Ryc. Crak [Craig] de Scotia	212,76
1442	Wilh. Tonson de Eydenburgh in Scotia	215,9
1442	Adam Baron de Eydenburgh in Scotia	215,10
1442	Walt. Stewart, can. Glescuensis	215,67
1442	Allex. Torenton de Scotia	215,70
1443	mag. Joh. de Scocea, bacc. alterus universitatis	Ntr. 591a
1443	Dav. Cranach de Scotia, mag. art. (at Paris in 1447)	217,32
1443	Hinr. Murreff de Scotia, presb. d. Dumblanensis	217,33
1443	Jac. de Douglos ill. fil. comitis de Scotia	217,46
1443	Rich. Kuninghen, famil. eiusdem	217,47
1443	Rob. Suyft de Scotia, d. S. Andree	218,2
1443	dom. Wilh. Gyllaspy, d. Abardonensis in Scotia	218,32
1443	Jac. de Nefa, d. S. Andree in Scotia	218,58
1443!	Dunkanus Bonsch [Bunch], d. S. Andree in Scotia	218,59

1443	Andr. Black de Scotia, presb. Abordonensis d.	219,12
1443	Rob. Colston(a) [Colstayn], Brichinensis d.	219,22
1443!	Joh. Zhoman [Athilmer] de Scotia, d. S. Andree	219,63
1443!	Dav. Guthtre de Scotia, d. S. Andree (Paris in 1446)	219,64
1443	Andr. de Croudan de Scotia, d. Glas. (Paris in 1445?)	219,68
1444	Jud. Schotus	Ntr. 614a
1444	Wilh. Hog de Schotia, Glasuensis d.	221,6
1444	Joh. Medezi [Lindesi?], Glasuensis d.	221,10
1444	Guilh. Cassy Brechenensis d. de Scotia	223,17
1444	Laur. Goffridi Moraviensis d. in Scotia	223,18
1445	dom. David Bona, cl. d. S. Andree	225,8
1445	Thom. de Kanneit de S.	225,9
1445	Heinr. de regno Scotie, cl. d. Aduvernensis	225,64
1445	Dav. [Man] de Scotia, cl. d. Rossensis	227,17
1445	Nyc. Ker de Scotia, Moravensis d.	227,26
1446	Joh. Lech de Scocia	Ntr. 633a
1446	Rob. Broon de Scotia. [d. S. Andree] (Paris 1455)	231,41
1446	Archib. Dixson de Scotia, d. Glaschuensis	232,1
1447	Joh. Boyman de S(c)otia	235,44
1447	Andr. Strael de S(c)otia	235,45
1447	Patr. Rogerii de Scotia	235,84
1450	mag. Geo. de Cupero, presb., de Scotia	245,3
1450	Joh. Rychardi de Scotia	246,25
1451	Wilh. Wales de Scotia, cl. d. S. Andree	249,12
1451	dom. Joh. Guedmani de Schotia, o. regularium	250,16
1452	Alex. de Scocia, presb.	Ntr. 673a
1452	Patr. de Scocia, presb.	Ntr. 673b
1452	Joh. Menthe de Scotia, cl. Dumblenensis d.	252,20
1452	Joh. de Scotia, cl. d. Aberdinensis	253,105
1452	Wilh. Bonkil, religiosus d. S. Andree	255,34
1452	Jac. Money penny, d. S. Andree	255,35
1453	Joh. de Scotia	Ntr. 679a
1453	dom. Wolt. de Scotia	259,43
1454	Andr. de Scotia	261,66
1454	dom. Thom. Ledhus de Scotia	262,7
1454	Rob. [Stodart] de Scotia	262,8
1454	dom. Thom. de Scotia	262,62
1454	Ric. de Scotia	262,63
1455!	Walt. Lindizae de Scotia (at Paris in 1456)	264,16
1455!	Jac. Lindizae de Scotia (at Paris in 1456)	264,17
1455	Henr. Broen de Scotia	265,65
1455	Thom. Madour de Scotia	265,69
1455	Wilh. Wayrd de Scotia	266,28
1457	Joh. Hoy de Scotia, d. S. Andree	273,54
1457	Thom. Kamelock, d. S. Andree	273,98
1457	Alex. de S. Claro [Sinclair], d. S. Andree	273,99

1457	Rob. de Kraeck [Craig], d. S. Andree	273,100
1457	Magnus de Boy, d. S. Andree	273,101
1458	Wilh. Cameron can. ecclesie S. Andree in Scotia	278,2
1458!	Wilh. de Melros de Scotia	278,3
1458	Allex. Bercla de Scotia	278,4
1458	Jac. Jorkston de Scotia	278,5
1458	Allex. Sollert de Scotia	278,8
1459	Joh. Doby ex Scotia	281,59
1460	Thom. Bonar, presb., de regno Scotie	286,12
1461	mag. Adam [de S. Claro] de Scotia, d. S. Andree	288,3
1461	Patr. Hebborn de Scotia, d. S. Andree	288,4
1461	Geo. Carebris, presb., de Scotia, d. S. Andree	288,26
1461	Joh. de Woer de Scotia, cl. d. S. Andree	290,13
1461	Patr. Louthian de Scotia, cl. d. S. Andree	290,14
1461	Petr. Lowijs de Scotia, d. S. Andree	291,9
1461	Joh. Dalrumpell de Scotia, d. S. Andree	291,59
1461 !	Thom. Lyel de Parisius, [d. s. Andree]	291,66
1461	Heinr. Lilborn, presb., de Scotia, d. S. Andree	291,67
1462	Wilh. Fergusii de Scotia, cl. d. S. Andree	293,87
1462	Patr. Craffort de Scotia, cl. d. S. Andree	294,3
1462	Jac. Roberti de Scotia, cl. d. S. Andree	294,4
1462	Andr. Foret, cl. S. Andree	294,23
1462	Andr. Plackbuel, cl. S. Andree	294,24
1462	Allex. Jackson de Schotia	294,37
1462	Jac. Magod de Schotia, cl. d. S. Andree	294,38
1462?	Joh. Schoitte, de Buchen, cl. Col. d.	295,7
1462	Thom. Wijss de Scotia, cl. Torn. d.	295,60
1462	Joh. Lochmaloni de S(c)otia, cl. civitatis S. Andree	295,67
1463	Wilh. Kersuyll de Schotia, cl. d. Dunblenensis	297,103
1463	Wilh. Chaumer [Camerarii] de Schotia, d. Clesuyensis	297,140
1463	Alex. Suymson de Schotia, d. Dyabyldensis	297,141
1463	Wilh. de Archadya, frat. de Ybernea	298,9
1463	Thom. de Archadia, frat. de Ybernea	298,10
1464	Walt. de Orchadia, d. Abberdonensis	300,30
1464	Nic. de Orchadia	300,31
1464	Wilh. de Scotia	300,32
1464	Allex. Harde de Scotia	301,5
1465	Wilh. Thazlifer de Schotia, d. S. Andree	304,24
1465	Wilh. Ramsay de Schotia, d. S. Andree	304,27
1465	Thom. Ramsay de Schotia, d. S. Andree	304,28
1465	Jac. Lodyan de Schotia, d. S. Andree	304,32
1465	Joh. Rogery de Schotia, d. Aberdonensis	304,33
1465	Geo. Stredayn de Myrntz de Schotia	306,24
1465	Thom. Bartholomei de Schotia	307,5
1465	Wilh. Sparck de Schotia	307,6
1465	Wilh. Bortweck de Schotia	307,7
1466	dom. Petr. de Clyspyndia de Schotia	308,31
1466	Laur. Krumme de Schotia	308,37

1466	fr. Petr. Sluychman de Reubotille in Schotia, Cist.	309,21
1466	Luc. Katnes de Schocia, Aberdonensis d.	310,8
1466	Joh. Blaickaeder de Scocia, militaris	311,4
1466	Joh. de Scocia	311,25
1466	Adam de Scocia	311,26
1466	Joh. de Scocia	312,8
1467	Joh. Wijss de Scocia	313,16
1467	Joh. Gray de Scocia	313,24
1467	Ryc. de Scocia	313,55
1467	Allex. [Buschet] de Scocia	313,87
1467	Jac. Pleynamours de Scocia, presb. d. S. Andree	313,90
1467	Allex. Johannis de Scotia	313,92
1467	Joh. Praet de Scocia	313,96
1467	! Petr. David de Scocia (Davidsen)	313,97
1467	Thom. Gerwes de Scocia	313,104
1467	Rob. de Scocia [Morison?] (bacc. Louvain)	313,108
1467	Thom. de Scocia [Durchem?] (bacc. Louvain)	313,109
1467	dom. Jac. Straton de Scocia	314,46
1467	Jac. Kumynck [Cumin] de Scocia	315,48
1467	Joh. [Stanton] de Scocia	315,51
1467	Alex. de Lanarck de Scocia	316,6
1468	Wylh. Enburgis de Scocia	316,48
1468	Jac. Duyn, cl. Alberdinensis	317,2
1468	Andr. de Abberdyn de Ybernia	317,55
1468	Petricius de Ybernia	317,56
1468	Joh. de Mar	317,57
1468	Thom. de Scocia	317,75
1468	Ghysb. Abberdonie, b. art. Lovan	317,131
1468	Joh. [Roger] Witvoirt cl. Glasgwensis de Scocia	319,34
1468	Henr. Crukstanck, cl. S. Andree, de Scocia	319,42
1468	Jac. Lyell, cl. d. S. Andree in Scocia	319,48
1469	Georg. Bornet , cl. Aberdinensisd. in Scocia	320,29
1469	Rob. Narn de Scocia	322,26
1469	Jac. Comiin de Scocia	322,27
1469	Alex. Slijch de Scocia	322,32
1469	Andr. Fychat de Abardonia, cl. Abardonensis	322,33
1469	Thom. Lichx de Scocia	322,34
1469	dom. Wilh. Hoywy, presb. d. Aderdonensis	322,74
1469	Joh. de Eberdonya, cl. Aberdinensis d.	323,55
1470	Alex. Smael de Scocia, d. S. Andrea	326,35
1470	Joh. Hoborn de Scocia, d. S. Andree	326,55
1470	Thom. Branston de Scocia	328,67
1471	Wilh. de Ladonia ex Scocia	330,127
1471	Patr. de Ladonia ex Scocia	330,128
1471	Thom. de Dondye de Scocia	331,1
1471	Ryc. de Scocia	331,25
1471	Tylm. [Crabb] de Scocia	331,31
1471	Thom. Bartholomei de Scocia	332,39
1471	Jeorg. Affleck de Scocia	332,40
1471	mag. Thom. Heclis de Scocia	332,47
1471	dom. Joh. Staeffeni de Scocia	332,53
1471	Thom. Synkaler de Scocia	332,60

1471	Joh. [Domus] de Moravia	332,67
1471	Wilh. de Scocia	333,8
1471	Alex. de Scocia	Ntr. 794
1472	Wijlh. de Insula ex Scocia	334,20
1472	Mart. de Scocia	334,54
1472	Rop. Stodart de Scocia	334,97
1472	Rob. Heyrzoit de Scocia	335,16
1472	Joh. Bransten [Angucie] de Scocia	335,36
1472	Thom. Kar de Scocia	335,37
1473	dom. Allex. de Scocia	Ntr. 802
1473	dom. Alex. de Scocia	Ntr. 808
1473	Steph. [Scot] de Scocia	338,100
1473	Dav. de Scocia	339,4
1473	Nic. de Moravia	339,8
1473	Ric. de Scocia	339,64
1474	Dav. de Scocia	Ntr. 822
1474	Rob. Tollideff de Aberdonia in Scocia	343,2
1475	Joh. de Scottia	Ntr. 835
1475	Jac. de Scocia	347,26
1475	Wilh. [Simonis] de Scocia	347,27
1475	Thom. de Scocia	347,39
1475	Wilh. Carmichel, can. reg. S. Andree in Scotia	347,77
1475	Wilh. Moeray, can. reg. S. Andree in Scotia	347,78
1475	Thom. Urnoes de Mirnia in Scotia	347,79
1475	Ryc. de Scotia	347,130
1475	Joh. Lijtster de Abordonia in Scotia	347,136

1475-79	mag. Joh. de Scocia	Ntr. 845
1476	Joh. Strawaquin [Strachen] de Scocia, d. S. Andree	350,5
1476	Patr. Wilhelmi de Scocia, Dumblanensis d.	350,95
1476	Hugo Foulles de Scocia, d. S. Andree	351,1
1476	Andr. Yvet de Scocia	351,11
1476	Georg. Howyseren de Scocia	351,16
1477	Archib. Londier de Noitberwik ex Scocia	353,1
1477	Nic. Patricii de Scocia	353,13
1477	David Schoet (Scot or Scott)	355,53
1477	David Stracheran [Strachen] [de Scocia]	355,54
1477	Joh. Purnes de Scocia [maior]	355,60
1477	Jac. Kunynghen	356,25
1477	Patr. Kuylant de Scocia	356,28
1477	Nic. Quhyttet de Scocia	356,29
1478!	Joh. Scryngoer de Scocia	358,21
1478	Alex. Bride de Scocia	358,25
1478	Joh. Cristiani de Foeruyss, Moronensis d. [Moray?]	360,28
1479	David de Scottia	Ntr. 888
1479	Rop. Lasgu de Scocia, d. Lasluensis	361,12
1479	Jac. Lasgu de Scocia, d. Lasluensis	361,13
1479	Wylh. de Angusia, d. Brixenensis	361,19
1479!	Ryc. Foderinckem de Scocia, d. Bergenensis	362,124
1479	Jac. Blyntschyl de Scocia, d. Aberdonensis	363,7
1479	Andr. Edanzen de Scocia, d. Abberdonia	363,45
1479	Walt. Gutheri de Scocia, d. Brygynensis	364,79
1480	mag. Rich. Schotten, o. pred.	Ntr. 912
1480	Andr. Dickson [Smycht] de Schocia, Aberdonensis d.	366,86
1480	Joh. Anguss de Schocia, Murraniensis d.	366,87
1480	Joh. Guthre de Schocia, d. S. Andree	366,109
1480	Wilh. Lauson de Schocia, Brechenensis d.	366,110
1480	Andr. Donaldi de Abardonia, Aberdonensis d.	366,120
1480	Rich. Wathson de Baniff, Aberdonensis d.	366,121
1480	Joh. Ductor de Scotia	368,46
1480	Joh. Schoert de Schotia [major]	368,47
1480!	Kar. Fodergyn [de Scocia]	368,68
1480	Dav. Gutturi de Schocia	368,69
1480	Mart. Donaldi de Schocia	368,70
1480	Rop. Flemink, Lexquiensis (Glasquensis)	368,84
1481	Petr. Wathson de Scocia	370,73
1481	Thom. Harweer de S. Andrea ex Scocia	370,80
1481	Jac. de S. Andrea ex Scocia	370,83
1481	Joh. de Angusia [de Scocia]	370,175
1481	Andr. de Abberdonia	371,144
1481	mag. Rop. de Boeswyl de Sco(cia)	371,178
1481	Jac. Ogelwij de Sco(cia)	371,179
1481	Patr. de Sco(cia) al. de Monte	371,194
1482	Joh. Anchuef de Scocia [minor]	373,14
1482	Andr. de Scocia	373,23
1482?	Th. de Monte	373,118

1482?	Laur. de Cupro	373,119
1482	Joh. Nacht de Schocia	375,87
1482	Jac. de Moravia	375,121
1482	Dav. Banff, Abodonensis d.	375,122
1483	fr. Andr. de Scocia (Dominican)	Ntr. 942
1483	Joh. Schord de Scocia, d. S. Andree	379,2
1483	Thom. Fyff de Scocia	380,22
1483	Rop. Fare de Aventhonia ex Scocia	380,70
1483	Wilh. Friw de Scocia	380,105
1483	Andr. Arbeke de Moravia de Scocia	380,106
1483	David Joci [Cowe] de Laudonia ex Scocia	380,108
1483	Allex. Byssat de Abdonia de Scocia	380,110
1483	dom. Rich. Michaelis de Scocia	380,114
1484	dom. Malcomus Ramzay de Scocia	381,67
1484	Rob. Roegerssoen de Schachia	382,66
1484	Jac. Watson de Scocia	382,120
1484	Wilh. Rolandi de Scocia [minor]	382,144
1484!	Thom. Cheld de Dunde [de Scocia]	382,193
1484	Wilh. Barber de Dunber [de Scocia]	382,194
1484	Joh. Thoemsoen de Scocia	383,9
1484	Wilh. Andree de Scocia	384,16
1484	Joh. Bulle, Schoti, d. S. Andree	384,88
1484	Thom. Faulus, Schoti, d. S. Andree	384,89
1484	Joh. Bruyn, Schoti, d. S. Andree	384,90
1484	Joh. Loghe [Edenburge] de Scocia	384,91
1484	dom. Archiboldus Renten de Schocia	384,100
1485	mag. Alex. de Scocia	Ntr. 964
1485	Thom. [Heyder, Edinburg] de Scocia	386,150
1485	Dav. de Coleana (?) [de Scocia]	386,151
1485	dom. Rop. de Scocia	387,57
1485	Dav. Moncour de Scocia	387,62
1485	Andr. Dogghe de Scocia	387,63
1485	dom. Thom. Sog de S(c)ocia	388,1
1485	Wilh. Marsa [de Aberdonia] de Scocia	388,77
1485	Joh. Scarp de Schocia	389,7
1486	Alex. Geordon de Scocia	389,41
1486	Andr. de Schocia	390,63
1486	Laur. de Schocia	390,170
1486	Rich. de Schocia	390,171
1486	Joh. Sier de Scocia	391,6
1486	dom. Thom. Penven de Scocia	391,21
1486	dom. Joh. Melroess de Scocia, o. Cist.	392,87
1486	dom. Joh. de Kalco [Kelso] de Scocia, o. B.	392,88
1486	Rob. Forman de Scocia	392,89
1486	Wilh. Weddel de Scocia	392,90
1487	mag. Jac. Forman de Scocia	Ntr. 1001
1487!	Joh. de Monte rosarium	Ntr. 1002
1487	Thom. Vercker de Schocia	393,27
1487	Jac. de Scocia	396,120
1487	Alex de Scocia	396,121
1487	Gilbertus de Scocia, [alias Browyn]	396,122
1488	Jac. Bleer de Schotia	398,83

1488	Andr. Donaldi de Schotia	398,84
1488	Domin. Denseti de Schotia	398,85
1488	Petr. de Schotia	398,155
1488	Andr. Grafer de Schotia	398,170
1488	Henr. de Angusia	398,214
1488	Joh. Edenburge	399,24
1488	Mart. de Moravia	400,82
1488	Rop. de Scochia	400,117
1488	Dav. Haij de Scotia	401,6
1489	Rich. Eghenheiden de Scotia	402,16
1489	Andr. [Gariach] de Scotia	402,49
1489	Hugo de Ratri de Scotia	402,82
1489	Joh. Pasleti de Scotia	402,120
1489-!!	mag. Thomas Lyel de Scotia, Rector	403,-
1489	Joh. Archadi de Scotia	403,21
1489	dom. Joh. Jacobi [Lewingtenem] de Scotia	403,86
1489-	mag. Thomas Lyel de Scotia, Rector	404,-
1489	Joh. Angusie de Scotia	404,39
1489	Joh. Moravie de Scotia	404,40
1489	Thom. de Scotia	404,41
1489	Joh. minor de Scotia	404,59
1489	Wylh. de Moravia	404,60
1489	Joh. de Moravia [de Scotia]	404,61
1490	Andr. de Scotia	Ntr. 1066
1490	Alex. de Scotia	Ntr. 1075
1490-	mag. Robertus Stodart de Scotia, Rector	405,-
1490	Patric. de Moravia	405,7
1490	Alex. de Scotia	405,8
1490-	[Robertus Stodard de Scotia], Recto	r406,-
1490	Alex. de Scotia	406,15
1490	Ric. de Scotia	406,34
1491	Jac. de Scotia	410,36
1491	Jac. Wilhelmi de Aberdonia	410,65
1491	Thom. de Schotia	411,24
1492	Dav. Hey de Scotia	413,31
1492	Dav. Edwarsum de Scotia	414,155
1492	Joh. Poertyer de Scotia	415,13
1492	Gwilh. de Angwsia	415,65
1493	Andr. Wyck (de Scosia)	Ntr. 1125
1493	Adam de Scotia	419,19
1493	Thom. de Scotia	419,20
1493	Patr. de Scocias	419,21
1493	Dunckanus [Cristison de Moravia alias] de Scotia	419,22
1493	Wilh. de Scotia	419,116
1493	Thom. [de Apertonia] de Scotia	420,70
1494	Wilh. Lam de Scotia	422,9
1494	Jac. Edenem de Scotia	422,10
1494	Joh. Roederfoes de Moravia, Moraviensis d.	424,26
1494	Malcolmus Errater de Schocia, Cathenensis d.	424,50
1494	Andr. Symson de Aberdonia, Aberdonensis d.	424,51
1495	Ryc. Herner de Scotia, Brixenesis d.	426,60

1495	Dav. Trepotrich de Scotia, Brixenensis d.	426,61
1496	Rob. de Scotia	431,38
1497	Thom. maior de Scochia (Aberdonie)	434,4
1497	Thom. minor de Scochia	434,5
1497	Alex. de Scotia	436,101
1498	Joh. Wylhelmi de Aberdonia, d. Abordonensis	438,51
1498	Rop. Thome de Scotia	438,198
1498	Joh. Kolden de Scotia	438,227
1498	Gwyllermus de Angwisia, [Bochonia]	438,228
1498	Alex. Straeden de Bochonia (Buchan?)	438,229
1498	Andr. de Angwisia	438,230
1498	Dav. de Cremoria sita in Scotia	438,250
1498	Rop. de Angwisia	438,256
1499	Thom. Waelkarde Scotia	442,31
1499	Georg. Lanarka	442,100
1499	Georg. de Edenburgo	442,101
1499	Dav. de Scotia	442,125
1499	Thom. Wijss de Schocas, Bardonensis d. (Aberdeen)	444,116
1500!	Wylh. [de Monte rosarum] de Scotia (Montrose)	446,143
1500	Andr. de Scotia	446,144
1500	Dav. Abordonie	446,164
1500	Andr. de Aberdonia	447,27
1500	Wilh. de Schotia	449,3
1500	Joh. [Lethan] de Schotia	449,4
1501!	Jac. de S. Maria de regno Schotie (Dundee?)	450,154
1501	Patric. de Aberdonia	451,26
1501	Alex. de Aberdonia	451,27
1501	Petr. de Ijdenburgo (Georg de Edinburgh)	452,124
1502	Andr. de Morenia, Scotus	453,19
1502	Alex. [Hendershem] de Schocia	455,11
1508	Dav. de Angusia, Scotus	477,9
1509-	Thom. Lyell de Scotia, rector	483,-
1512!	Jac. Andersson de Scotia [de Dundee]	494,108
1512!	Thom. Tzang de Scotia	494,109
1512!	Henr. Anderzoyn de Scotia	494,110
1512	Thom. Fernus de Scotia, Aberdonensis dioc.	495,35
1512	Joh. Watzum de Scotia, S. Andree dioc.	495,36
1512	Wilh. Philippi de Scotia, Aberdonensis dioc.	495,51
1514!	Joh. de Dondo	Ntr.1622
1514	Thom. de Schotia	505,4
1515!	Thom. de Donde	507,57
1515!	Dav. de Donde	507,59
1515!	Thom. Forrayt	508,57
1516	mag. Rych. Douglas de regno Scocie	512,8
1516	mag. Andr. Douglas de Scocie	512,9

1516	mag. Ninianus Duglas de Scocie	512,10
1519!	Thom. de Monte rosarum, Schotus (Montrose)	523,73
1519	Thom. Clerck de Scotia	524,67
1519	Joh. de Megloe, Scotus	524,68
1521	Rop. Kelemuir, Scotus, dioc. S. Andree	532,65
1521	Andr. Hontge de Ydenburgo, Scotus, d. Leskennensis	532,66
1522	Joh. Baburne } Scoti	533,16
1522	Wilh. Turnur }	533,17
1522	Quittinus de Lanarca } Scoti	534,72
1522	Thom. de Arberdonia }	534,73
1522	Wilh. de S. Nicolo, d. Moraviensis	534,83
1522	Thom. de S. Andrea	534,850
1522	Leon de Littonia, d. S. Andree	535,13
1523	dom. Dav. Hays	{from Durkan} 537,16
1523	Dav. Thome de Scotia	540,5
1527	Andr. Hutten ex Scotia	555,4
1531	Joh. Jacobi de Scotia	569,7
1537	Andr. Kraeffort ex Scotia	593,44
1542!	Alex. Senapius ex Scotia (at Greifswald in 1545)	611,32
1546	mag. Ninianus Tempelton, Schotus	631,53
1550	Jac. Panthon, Aberdonensis	645,118
1551?	Gualtherus Schotus, Revignyensis	650,129
	{identified as a Walter Ruthven by Dr. Durkan but there are other citations for Revignyensis which do not have any apparent Scottish connotation, for example 650,138}	

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<u>year</u>	<u>names</u>	<u>page/ no.</u>
1427	Alex. Lichton, clericus Abbredonensis d.	4,28
1428!	David Ogewy, Scotus, d. S. Andree	30,7
1428	Duncanus Lychton, Abbirdonensis d.	30,12
1428	mgr. Joh. Lichton, mag. in art., d. S. Andree	93,14
1428	mgr. Rob. Lich, d. S. Andree de Schotia	222,24
1429	dom. Walt. Balduini de Schotia, presbiter Cam. d.	245,30
1429	dom. Walt. Lithoy, presbiter d. S. Andree	245,35
1430	Anneredus Quasnelli, presbiter Bargensis d.	6,32
1430!	Guil. Elsomsten, d. S. Andree (Elphinston?)	49,20
1430!	mgr. Guilh. Turnbull, d. Glesgenis	49,21
1430	dom. Joh. de Luchris, presb. de Scotia Bargensis d.	106,11
1430!	mgr. Jac. Kenedij, Glasgensis d.	106,34
1430	mgr. Joh. Forestarii, d. S. Andree	106,35
1430!	Joh. Monypeny, S. Andree d.	106,36
1430!	mgr. Rob. Stryngmoeur, d. S. Andree	222,34
1431	Joh. Cadzon de Schotia, Abberdonensis d.	108,35
1431	Joh. de Dun, d. S. Andree	108,40
1431	Malensius de Loge Schotus studens in art.	185,4
1431	mgr. Nic. Ottirburmen, Glasguensis d.	194,10
1432	And. Purrok, d. S. Andree	7,16
1432	Gilbertus Forstaer, Brechinensis d.	50,7
1432	Joh. Caldoris, Moraviensis d.	110,2
1432	Ric. Bullock, Rossensis d.	223,9
1432	Steph. Augusse de regno Schotie Abirdonensis (Angus)	230,29
1432	Thom. de Lochmalony, Rossensis d.	237,10
1432	dom. Thom. de Thula, Kathenensis d.	238,17
1433	David Man de Schotia, Rossensis d.	31,20
1433	dom. Joh. Clatte, Abordinensis d.	116,11
1433	mgr. Thom. Brome, d. S. Andree	238,27
1433	mgr. Thom. Bruyn, lic. in decretis	238,28
1433	Wilh. Keyr de Schotia, Kethinensis d.	247,1
1434	Thom. Laurentii Schotus, d. S. Andree	238,31
1434	Wilh. Gordonin Schotus	248,15
1435	Gilb. Horne, Abbordinensis d.	54,30
1435	mgr. Joh. Medylmast, Glascuvensis d.	128,37
1436	dom. Symon Redde de Schotia, Brechinensis d.	232,30
1436	Walt. Foularton, Berginensis d.	249,4
1437!	Joh. Beire, Glasguensis d.	135,3
1437	Joh. Cauers, d. S. Andree	135,21
1439	Lanceslaus Ros, Moraviensis d.	180,25

1440	Andreas Blac de Schotia, Moraviensis d.	12,32
1440	Joh. Vyly de Schotia Dulcadensis d.	142,7
1441	Jac. Wijc de Schotia Moraviensis d.	146,18
1441	Joh. Red de Schotia, Rocensis d.	146,19
1445	Nic. Char de Swecia (lege: Scotia), Moraviensis d.	199,11
1445	Thom. Cameroen alias de Schotia Ettenborgensis d.	240,40
1445	Wilh. de Tornel, presbiter d. S. Andree in Schotia	253,13
1446	dom. Patr. Mador, ordinis Cisterciensis, de Schotia	217,29
1448	dom. Joh. de Tyri de Schotia, d. S. Andree	162,19
1448	Joh. de Schotia, studens in artibus	162,22
1448	Wilh. de Schotia, d. S. Andree	254,36
1448	Walt. Fostar de Schotia, Dumblanensis d.	254,37
1449	Joh. Blaker de Schotia, Aberdonensis d.	166,40
1450	Joh. Camsi de Schotia, Moraviensis d.	167,38
1451	Rob. Bruen, d. S. Andree de Schotia	228,8
1452	Andr. Man, Moraviensis d.	18,30
1452	Andr. Johannis de Schotia Moraviensis d.	18,31
1452	Joh. de Monte, Moraviensis d.	173,14?
1452	Jac. Toullous, d. S. Andree	173,38

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<u>date</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page/ no.</u>
1454	Joh. Alvis de Scotia	9,86
1454	Andr. Johannes de Scotia	11,109
1455	dom. Dav. Hesylden, presbyter de Scotia, d. S. Andree	16,105
1456	Gwilh. Leonis, Scotus S. Andree d.	31,65
1456	Rob. Muncoec, Scotus S. Andree	31,66
1457	Andr. Menthet de Scocia	36,75
1457	Dav. Knox de Scocia. Gleskuensis d.	36,81
1457	dom. Henr. Broen bacc. form. in theo. in Universitate S. Andree in Scocia, d. ejusdem S. Andree	40,33
1457	Nic. Alexander de Scocia, d. S. Andree	45,121
1457	Alex. Andree de Scocia, Rocenensis d.	45,122
1458!	Jac. Lyndesay de Scocia	48,79
1458	Alex. Club de Scocia, d. Episcopi Abdoneren	53,30
1459	dom. Daniel de Scocia d. Rossen.	66,53
1459!	Thom. Liel de Scocia, d. S. Andree	68,69
1460	Ghijsbertus de Scocia, d. S. Andree	74,101
1461	Joh. Gordon de Scocia, d. Mordaviensis	79,68
1461	Thom. Matheus de Scocia, Abordonien d.	79,69
1461	dom. Thom. Grant, Scotus presbyter Moraviensis d.	80,72
1461	dom. David Telling, Scotus, presbyter Moraviensis d.	80,73
1463	Joh. de Aberdin, Scotus, Abredunen.	117,170
1463	Georg. de Moravia, Scotus	117,174
1463	Alex. Lodon, Scotus S. Andree d.	120,223
1463	Walt. Morissi, Abredunensis d.	120,238
1463	Thom. Toderic, S. Andree d.	120,239
1463	Joh. Waelwot, presbyter, d. S. Andree in Scotia	122,20
1463	Joh. Tolch, d. Aberdanen., in Scotia	122,21
1464	Frat. Alex. Leys, Scotus, ord. Fratrum Carm.	126,112
1464	Thom. Durchem civitatis S. Andree in Scotia	127,130
1464	Joh. Huuter de Scocia, Aberdunensis d.	128,4
1464	Wilh. Ramsay, S. Andree in Scocia d.	134,110
1464	Rob. Morison, Scotus, d. S. Andree	137,163
1464	Alex. Frayser de Scocia, Moraviensis d.	138,206
1464	Wilh. Waddat de Scocia, d. S. Andree	139,207
1464	Laur. Johannis de S., Glascoviensis d.	139,208
1464	Thom. Frisal, Scocia, d. S. Andree	144,84
1464	Wilh. Arthurle, Glausguensis d.	144,93
1465	Joh. Deothle, Scotus d. S. Andree	145,118
1465	Frat. Thom. Straten, can. reg. S. Andree in Scocia	153,96
1465	Thom. Herni de Scocia, d. S. Andree (Also 177)	157,173
1465	dom. Gilb. Tyri de Scocia, presb. d. Glasquen. in S.	158,197

1465	Thom. Mirhede de Scotia, d. Glasquensis, in Scotia	158,198
1465	Ghilbertus Egmondio, Abberdonensis d.	160,232
1466	Rob. Foullarton de Scotia, S. Andree d.	166,102
1466	David Michaelis de Scotia, Brechinensis d.	166,103
1466	Rob. Quhippa, S. Andree d.	167,129
1466	Jac. Forster, Glencinensis d.	167,130
1466	Thom. Moden, S. Andree d.	167,131
1466	dom. Walt. Blichon, presb. de regno S., Abberdonensis	171,68
1466	Andr. Dalton de Scochia, Rossenensis d.	174,153
1466!	Andr. de Dandi ex Scothia, Berghenensis d.	176,202
1466	Wilh. Andersom de Scotia, Moraviensis d.	176,205
1466	Allex. Scuel de Scochia, S. Andree d.	176,206
1466	Tussanus Dirboruch de Scotia, Abberdonensis d.	176,215
1466	Joh. Car de Scotia, d. S. Andree d.	177,217
1466	Rich. Michaelis de Scochia, Bretinensis d. (Brechin)	177,218
1467	Joh. de Lochresk, Scotus, d. S. Andree	186,55
1467	dom. Thom. Forsyth, d. Glasconensis	187,104
1467	Vedastus de Murhed, d. Glasconensis	187,105
1467	dom. Andr. de Murhed, d. Glasconensis	187,106
1467	Joh. Vylson, Scotus, S. Andree d. (Wilson)	191,183
1467	Joh. Strade, Scotus, Aberdonensis d.	191,184
1467	Jac. Tollu, Scotus, Berghinensis d.	191,186
1467	Thom. Gardenaer, d. S. Andree	193,231
1467	Wihl. Bell de Odenburgo, d. S. Andree	193,232
1467	Joh. Lyndersay, Brechinensis d.	194,257
1467	Joh. Scort de Scotia, d. S. Andree	194,258
1468	mag. Alex. de Lyndesay de Scotia	197,75
1468	Wilh. Baxtin de Scotia, d. S. Andree	200,21
1468	Joh. de Cupio de Cona, d. S. Andree	206,217
1468	Alex. de Jongere, d. S. Andree	207,240
1468	Joh. de Angusia, d. S. Andree	207,245
1468	Inghelramus Woutelets, clericus, d. S. Andree	214,30
1468	mgr. Patr. Napar, presbyter, d. S. Andree	214,31
1469	Andr. Hog de Scotia, d. S. Andree	223,237
1470	Rob. Giliani de Scotia, d. Dunckeldensis	230,135
1470	Adrianus Gordyn, d. S. Andree	232,187
1470	Damianus de Cunynghem de Scotia	234,47
1470	Joh. Hobbe de Scotia	234,48
1472	mag. Joh. Fusel de Scotia, d. S. Andree	269,94
1472	mag. Ric. Ramsa, d. S. Andree	269,95
1472	Jac. Kaijmmont, Scotus, d. S. Andree	273,190
1473!	Thom. Spalding de Dundee	283,224
1473	David de Moravia de Scotia, S. Andree d.	291,175
1473	Lucas de Abordonio, d. Abordoniensis	292,179
1473	Thom. Gordon, Bardenensis d.	292,208
1473	Joh. Veyltre, S. Andree d.	292,209
1475	Andr. de Boen, Aberdonensis d.	334,303
1475	Guill. Knolles, d. S. Andree in Scotia	338,104
1475	(Juravit pro eo mag. Ric. Muret de Scotia)"	
1475!	mag. Rich. Murhede de Scotia	339,129

1476	Ricardus Bauf de Scotie Aberdonensis	342,222
1476	And. Donaldi maior, Aberdonensis	342,223
1476	dom. Wilh. Laurencii archdiaconus Brichinensis, ejusdem d., in Scotia	348,134
1476	David de Donde, d. S. Andree	352,231
1477	Alex. Symonis de Abordonia, Abordoniensis d.	359,176
1480	Patr. Knelant de Scotia, Dunblanensis d.	415,3
1480	Wilh. Fresel de Scotia, Glascuensis d.	425,292
1482	dom. Robartus Episcopus Abordanensis, in Scotia	456,68
1482	Jhoa. Blackator de Scotia	465,44
1484	Laur. de S. Andrea, de Scotia, Leod. d.	478,91
1485	Jac. Watzan scotus de Anchozia, d. S. Andree	496,175

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<u>date</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page/ no.</u>
1486	Joh. Rede de Thains, Rosensis d.	18,145
1486	Wilh. Cowth de Aberdonia, Allidonensis d.	18,146
1487	Thom. Coutes de Aberdonia, Aberdonensis d.	24,129
1488	Thom. Gray de Rossia, Rossensis d.	33,192
1488	Wilh. Gurlay de Villa S. Joannis, d. S. Andree	33,193
1489	Joh. Scenet de S. Andrea, d. S. Andree	43,159
1489	Rob. Kynmount de Villa S. Marie, Bregenensis d.	43,160
1489	Bern. Halden de Villa S. Joh., Dumblanensis d.	43,161
1490	Thom. Graan de Villa S. Andrea in Scotia	58,26
1490	David Carel de Angusia, d. Brekenensis	58,40
1491	Rev. in Christo pater Wilh. S. Andree, archiepiscopus regni	
"	Scotie primas et apos. sedis leg. natus, in fac. theologie.	
"		68,101
1491	Walt. Drummondus, art. Mgr., Dunkeldensis	68,102
1496	Joh. de Stropghey ex Scotia, Aberdinensis d.	134,98
1496	And. Grays de S. Nycholao, ejusdem d.	134,99
1497	Thom. de Donde alias Clama, Bremensis d.	152,114
1498	Frulayns de Angusia	168,184
1498!	mag. Patricus Panter Scotus	171,78
1498	mag. Adam Willa Scotus	171,79
1498	Johanne, Juvenis Scotus	172,128
1498	mag. Robertus Forman Scotus	173,143
1498	Guillemus Struken de Moravia	175,211
1498	Jacobus Stierlant de S. Andrea	176,252
1499	dns. Alex. Inglis, Scotus	184,8
1499	Joh. Suterlaten de S. Cruce, Scotus, Morinen	184,215
1499!	mag. Geo. Hepbuenen, Dunkendensis d., Scotus	186,51
1499	mag. Rolandus Blacader, cl. S. Andree, Scotus	189,136
1499	Walt. Slich de S. Maria, d. S. Andree	191,226
1499	Jac. Spanck de S. Maria, d. Brighenensis	191,227
1500	Joa. de Moravia, Scotus	196,125
1500	Petr. Walteri de S. Nicolao, Aberdonensis d.	198,197
1500	Wilh. Vaix de S. Nicolao, Aberdonensis d. [Vain]	198,198
1500	Pet. Darsel de Emburghe, d. S. Andree	204,199
1501	Joa. de Addinton [Haddington]	213,215
1501	Rob. de Angusia de Scotia, d. Brigenensis	227,66
1502	Simon Simonis die Jong, S. Andree d. [Simpson de Long]	231,170
1502	Thom. Chieras de Angusia, d. Brichenensis [Culross]	235,42
1502	Thom. Coutes de Scotia, S. Andreae d.	240,207
1502	Andreas de Sancto Andrea, S. Andree d.	241,241

1502	Steph. Zester, S. Andree d. [Yester]	241,252
1502	Pat. Moer de Linevoers, S. Andree d. [Mure]	241,253
1502	Wilh. Cresk de Ladonia (Lothian), S. Andree [Craig]	241,254
1503	Rob. de S. Johanne in Scotia	249,223
1503	Wilh. de Abordonia	249,224
1503	Wilh. Spens de S. Maria	249,225
1503	Joh. de Augusta	250,226
1503	Jac. Clerck de Angusia	251,267
1503	Joh. Grant de Archadia	251,268
1503	Joa. Berri de Augusta [Urie, Vury]	251,269
1503	Thom. Athii de Landonia, d. S. Andree in Anglia	264,276
1503	Joh. Zong de Tannelles, d. S. Andree in Anglia	264,277
1503	Joh. wier de S. Constantino, d. Gliscurensis	264,278
1504	Thom. Chrechten de S. Johann, Glasquensis d.	270,146
1504	Joh. Ritzaerth (Ritzaertsen) de Aberdonia, d.	272,193
1505	mag. Rob. Blakadair, nobilis, Lascuensis d.	295,144
1505	mag. Jac. Herioth, Lascuensis d.	295,145
1505	Thom. de Moravia	300,314
1505	Joh. Elder de Enchusia	300,315
1505	David Dugles de Moravia [Inglis]	301,370
1505	dom. David Bermanche, d. S. Andree, in S. [Learmouth]	305,67
1506	Laur. Thome de Landonnet, S. Andree [Thomson]	309,235
1506	Thom. Carintors de S. Andrea [Carruthers]	310,260
1506	Alex. Bysset de Abordonia	310,261
1506	Robertus Browuer de Augusta [Brown]	310,262
1507	Alex. Aton de Hadinton	329,220
1507	Joh. Ternert de S. Johanne, S. Andree d. [Carver]	338,230
1507	Joh. Marcelis de S. Johanne, S. Andree d. [March]	338,231
1507	Adrianus Merra de S. Johannis, S. Andree d. [S. Mure]	338,246
1507	Jac. Ros de Londonio, S. Andree d.	338,247
1507	Andr. Imen de S. Johanne [Innes]	340,307
1507	Joh. Olivier de Angusia	340,308
1508	David Quyt de S. Johanne	347,142
1508	Wilh. Blacque de Bretenis in Scotia	350,221
1508	Thom. Barust de Adincto de Scotia	350,223
1508	Helyas de Scoet [Elias]	354,138
1508?	Joh. Le Tassier de Monte S. Andree [casuer]	354,151
1508	Jac. Staent de Abordonia, Aberdonensis d.	356,234
1508	Joa. Malisen de Moravia, Moraviensis d.	356,235
1508	Theod. Olivier de Cupro	356,236
1508	Jac. Blacwod de s. Joanne	360,378
1508	Thom. Olifer de Cupero	365,161
1508	Wilh. Haye de Abberdonia	367,237
1509	Ancreas Patricii de S. Johanne, d. S. Andree in Scotia	370,25
1509	Geo. fil. Andr. de Bonche de S. Johanne, d. S. Andree	370,26
1509	dom. Alex. Fochringham de s. Andree in Scotia (maior)	373,107
1509	Thom. Ray de Pert, Scotus	376,204
1509	Mart. Huechison de Hibernia	377,227
1509	Jac. fil. Thome Ogellwye de Angusia	379,287
1509	Robb. fil. David Anderson de Angusia, Brixinensis d.	379,290

1510	Petr. Hilson de Idenburgo, d. S. Andree	396,201
1510	Georg. Breyn de s. Beiano, d. S. Andree in Scotia	396,202
1510	Jac. Hu de Carner, d. S. Andree in Scotia [James Lin]	396,203
1510	Joa. de S. Johanne fil. Wilh. Hukiptihel, d. S. Andree	398,250
1510	Alex. de Pert fil. Joa. scot, d. S. Andree	402,54
1511	Wilh. de Lauda, d. S. Andree [Lauder?]	410,319
1511	Joh. Moat de Abberdonia, Lasquensis d. [Mowat]	412,22
1511	dom. Geo. Fernandi, [archd. Dunkeld] (nobilis) [Ferne]	414,105
1511	Layr. Rynd de Forgudia, (d. S. Andree)	418,219
1511	Henr. Cant de Angusia, (d. S. Andree)	418,220
1511	Joh. Roch de Angusia, (d. S. Andree)	418,221
1511	Joh. Gherden de S. Andrea [Garden]	419,422
1511	Ghysbertus de Edenburgo {see 418,223-4}	420,279
1511	Greg. Lindecha de S. Cruce, nat. Scotia, cl. S. Andree (George Lindsay of Holyrood)	428,66
1512	Henr. Delarri sub Epis. S. Andree [Henr. Alan]	445,204
1512	Albertus Pelcii de Connyel, d. Rossensis	445,221
1513	Nic. de Angusia	448,343
1513	Joa. de Cupro fil. Thome Harde, d. S. Andree	463,381
1513	Nic. de S. Andrea fil. Alex. Guilmourt, d. S. Andree	463,382
1513	Laur. de Fourcondia fil. Joa. Rentsen, d. S. Andree	463,383
1513!	Rob. de Conde de Angusia, S. Andree d. (Dundee)	471,247
1513	Rich. de Cupre, S. Andree d.	476,381
1514	Joh. Rent de Rossentia, S. Andree	482,170
1514	Joh. Wihelmi de Robertsoen, S. Andree	484,228
1514	Jac. Vrwin de Abordonia in Schocia	494,244
1514	Joh. Forestanus, Edimburgensis ex Scotia	501,53
1515	David Artur de S. Andrea, sub epis. S. Andree	505,190
1515	Joa. Annan de Moravia, d. Moraviensi	516,220
1515	Galterus Mathei de S. Joanne, d. S. Andree	516,221
1515	Carolus Henderson de S. Joanne, d. S. Andree	516,222
1515!	Guil. Flasseer de Doudy, Brigenensis d.	520,374
1515	Camus Pighet de Diekelennier, d. S. Andree [Gavin]	520,375
1516	Rob. Fulfurd de Vilvordia in S.(sub ep. de Aberdonia)	536,227
1516!	Joh. Hay de Dundi	537,284
1517!	Jac. de Wittande de Dundee, d. S. Andree in Scotia	549,168
1517	Petr. Rey de S. Andrea d.	552,221
1517	Wilh. Spinge de Vergundia, d. S. Andree de Scocia	555,277
1517	Joh. fil. Codberti Thomson de Idenburgo, Glas. d.	566,259
1517	Andr. fil. Joh. Robertson de Aberdonia in Scotia	566,263
1517!!	Magister ERASMUS DE ROTERDAMMIS, Sacre Theologie, professor, (ille nominatissimus)(I) 30 August 1517	566,264
1518	Eduardus Stratori de Idenburgo, S. Andree	579,236
1518	Joa. de Ellem, Scotus, S. Andrea	580,279
1518	Allaendus fil. Joh. Conte de Idenbergo	590,277
1518	Jac. Thome Paterson de Ederen	590,278
1518	Thom. fil. Davidis Mompane d. S. Johanne, Atrebatensis	590,279
1518	Guil. de Cumpero	592,329
1518	Thom. de S. Joanne	592,338

1518	Andr. Forman de Edenburgo, d. S. Andree	594,408
1518	Geo. Forman de Edenburgo de S. Andree	594,409
1518	Thom. Forman de S. Andree, d. S. Andree	594,410
1518!	Hugo de Dundie	595,435
1519	Joh. Sas de S. Johanne sub epis. S. Andree	602,237
1519	Gilb. Roberti de S. Andrea, S. Andree d.	603,262
1519	Laur. Johannis de S. Margareta, S. Andree d.	603,263
1519	Geo. Clerck de Abredonia	614,317
1519	Guilh. de Cupro fil. Laurentii	616,392
1520	Andr. Crom de Moravia	623,239
1520	Joa. Kaer de Remys, Morinensis	632,220
1520	Rob. Gibson de Handenbino sub ep. S. Andree	632,221
1520	Thom. Goether de Lens, Morinensis 632,222	
1520	Joa. Andenson de S. Andree sub ep. S. Andr.	632,223
1520	Joa. Mackcresin de Dunfris sub ep. Glacuensi	632,224
1520	Jac. Scoti de Curtraco	636,354
1520!	Hugo de S. Andrea, Schotus [Wishart]	639,68
1521	Wilh. Damson [Davison]	642,169
1521	Thomas Doff	642,171
1521	Wilh. fil. Pat. Anderson de S. Johanne (S. Andree d.)	644,225
1521	Joh. Craeck de Aberdonia	644,232
1521	Joh. Kuson de Archadia [Tenson?], Aberdonensis d.	645,267
1521	Alex. Spens de S. Andrea, S. Andree d.	645,268
1521	Joa. Masse de Aberdinia, Aberdinensis	657,272
1521	Laurentius Cardinne de Cardinis, S. Andree	657,273
1521	Jac. Key de Baghenen S. Andree	657,274
1521!	Joh. Doutry de Dundie, Brixinensis	657,275
1521!	David Til de Dundie, Brixinensis	657,276
1521	Andr. Clameroes de Dumfris, Murastinensis	657,277
1521	Alex. Digwal de Digwal sub ep. S. Bonifacii	657,278
1521	Walt. de Clinnier, d. S. Andrea	657,279
1521	Geo. Joustin, Abardonensis	660,364
1521	Thom. Faber, Abardonensis	660,365
1521	Guilbertus Sincter, Abardonensis	660,366
1521	Rob. Hoireel, S. Andree	660,367
1521	Joh. Robertsiin, S. Andree	660,368
1521	Jac. Slegim, S. Andree	660,369
1522	Hector Bene de Novo Ponte, Briggenensis d.	668,178
1522	Thom. Danisonus de Marovia, Abordinensis d.	668,179
1522	mag. Thomas Kincragi, Scotus, d. Duncildensis (maior)	673,21
1522	Thom. Aerman, Scotus, Norwicensis d.	674,60
1523!	Joa. de Huyo alias Wickart	702,224
1524	Alex. fil. Joh. Cockerem de Aberdonia	718,219
1524	Math. Patersen de Corinteudo S. Andree	739,172
1527	Hugo Ryg Dunfronensis, Glascunensis	772,147
1527	David menzes de Abordonia, sub epis. Aberdonensi	772,148
1527	David Foreth de Cupro	774,214

MATRICULE DE LOUVAINVol. 4

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page/ no.</u>
1528	Allex. fil. Joannis Damessen de Aberdonia	7,173
1528!	Jac. fil. Danielis Ferrier de Dono Dei, sub ep. Brich.	8,193
1529	Joh. Monepin de Edenburgo	17,139
1529	Joh. Goldja, Brechinia [Holdi, Holdane]	18,182
1529	Joh. Joffray a Brechinia	18,183
1529	Joh. de Habordinia Verberator	18,184
1529	Joa. Lau fil. Tho. Lauui, Briggonensis in Scotia	27,190
1529!	Geo. Wischert de S. Andrea in Scotia	27,191
1530!	Geo. fil. Georgii Wijtz de Dono Dei	34,126
1530	Joa. Durem de Odenburgo, S. Andree	44,227
1531	Joa. fil. Wilh. de S. Petro, d. Brichinensis	62,297
1531	Walt. fil. Joh. Gal de S. Petro, d. Brichinensis	62,298
1531	David fil. Wilh. Robert de S. Andrea, sub ep. S. Andree	62,299
1533	Joa. Stewart de S. Michaeli, Scotus d. Moraviensis	84,117
1533!	dom. Geo. Liel de Dono Dei	87,201
1534	Guil. Blaccadar, d. Glasguensis, ex regno Scotie	105,24
1534	Patr. Buchananus, ejusdem d., ex regno Scotie	105,25
1535	Joa. de Schotlandt fil. Walteri	124,109
1535	dom. Thom. Hey fil. Joannis de Mornea, Scotus	124,118
1536	Alex. Cock de Barionson S. Andree	134,129
1536	Rob. Dunlop de Idenbergis, Lasconiensis	134,130
1536	Alex. Ray de Partho S. Andree in Scothia	142,233
1536	Joh. Abercrummy, Scotus, d. S. Andree	147,25
1536	Math. Chishoeline, Scotus, d. Dumblanensis	147,41
1537	Joa. Wan de Therwez, Scotus	166,70
1540	Guil. De Ryc, Scotus	205,174
1542	Joa. Erskyn	247,110
1542	Guil. Erskyn, Scoti, nobiles	247,111
1542	Guil. Cheisholme, Dumblanensis, Scotus	247,129
1542	mag. Thomas Stranck	247,131
1542	Ric. Stranck, fratres, Scoti	247,132
1542	David Scotus de Angusia	252,293
1544	Geo. Ogulbe, Aberdonensis, Scotus, nobilis	285,260
1546	Clemens Parvus, Scotus	324,131
1546	mag. Guil. Herwe, Scotus	326,174
1549	dom. Joh. Colnyn, Scotus d. S. Andree	387,44

1550?	dom. Rich. Hilliardus, Andlus, Lincolxensis d.	401,71
1551	rev. dom. Guilh. Gordoti, ep. Aberdonensis (nobilis)	433,195
1552	dom. David Brun, Scotus	453,110
1553	Steph. Wilsonne, Schotus	478,314
1553	Jac. Saundelanden, Schotus	478,315
1553	Thom. Coy, Scotus	481,414
1554	Guil. Chysim, Schotus	498,312
1557	Alex. Hum, Edenburgensis (nobilis)	540,61
1560	Duncanus Aberdoniensis [Norie]	597,145
1560	Eymondus Hayus, Scotus	601,44
1560	Joa. Melvil	602,69
1560	Gibbertus Fokeni, Scoti [Skein]	602,70
1560	mag. Rob. Haijus, Aberdonensis, Scotus	612,94
1561	dom. Car. Schalmer, Scotus	612,106
1561	Wilh. Christen, Scotus	628,61
1562	Tomas Can, Aberdoniensis	632,194
1562	dom. Jac. Gordon, Scotus nobilis	646,93
1562	mag. Rob. Abercromme, Scotus	646,94
1562	mag. Henr. Keijr, Scotus	646,95
1563	mag. Arch. Cumineus, Scotus	647,120
1563	mag. Alex. Cheijn, Scotus	647,121
1563	mag. And. Middelton, Scotus	647,122
1563	Jac. Taijne, Parthensis, Scotus, Anglus [Layne]	647,132
1563	Guilh. Murdocheus, Scotus	647,133
1563	mag. Andr. Ins, Scotus	654,34
1563	dom. mag. Joa. Seton, Anglus, presbiter	654,38
1563?	mag. Rich. Smitheus, Lincolniensis, Angli	654,40
1563	Joa. Hayns, Abridonensis	661,283
1564	Arch. Aog, Schotus Aberdonensis	685,58
1565	Joh. Cheesne, Scotus, Aberdonensis	702,57
1566	Jac. Friserius, junior, Scotus	706,207
1566	Jac. Friserius, senior, Scotus, Aberdonensis	706,208
1567	Joh. Ogiluij, Schotus	730,28
1567	Thom. Ogiluij, Schotus	730,29
1568	Geo. Duriij	737,35
1568	Joh. Duriij, theologie, Scoti	737,36
1568	dom. Reynoldus Huruleus	739,96
1568	dom. Mauricus Kenrotte, Scoti	739,97

MATRIKEL DER UNIVERSITÄT BASEL

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page/no.</u>
1465	Thom. de Archadia- baccalarius Coloniensis	56,63
1465	Wilh. de Archadia	56,64
1502	ULRICH ZWINGLI de LIECHTENSTEIG	266,4
1515	JOHANNES OECOLOMPADIUS	327,45
1555	Alex. Cogburnus S. (Cockburn of Ormiston)	95,52
1568	Joa. Sreneus S. (Sceneus- Skene of Curriehill)	181,71
1575	Joa. Davidsonis S. [In Verbindung mit J. Knox]	237,54
1580	Joa. Craygus (physician)	280,16
1580	Gulielmus Andersonius S.	286,88
1584	Gulielmus Papius, Aberdonensis S.	325,17
1585	Wilh. Lovius S.	337,51
1587	Rob. Hovaeus S. (Howe of Aberdeen)	361,78
1592	mgr. Jac. Cargillus, Abredonensis S.	402,10
1598	Jac. Maccullo, Edinburgensis, S.	466,18
1598	Joa. Maccullo	466,19
1601	Thom. Mortonius, Edimburgensis S.	505,123

- Die Matrikel der Universität Basel, ed. H.G. Wackernagel and others (Basle 1951-80)

- See C. Garret, The Marian Exiles, (Cambridge 1938, 1966) and M. Sieber, Die Universität Basel im 16. Jahrhundert und ihre englischen Besucher", in Basler Zeitschrift, Vol. 55 (1956), 75-112, for biographical details

UNIVERSITY OF FRANKFURT-ON-THE-ODER

<u>date</u>	<u>name</u>
1547!	Joannes Fidelis, magister, Doctor Theology et Professor Francofurd.
1549	Andreas Lowson, Scotus
1555	Joannes Fidelis, egregiū doctoris... filius.
1576	Patr. Dayrs (Dyce?), Scotus.
1579	Duncanus Liddell, Scotus (see Rostok, 1585)
1582	mag. Jac. Turnebus (Turnbull), Scotus
1587	mag. Jac. Helbron (Hepburn), Scotus
1589	mag. Joa. Uddvart (Edward or Urqhart?) } Scoti
1589	mag. Alexander Raedus (Reid) }
1598	mag. Rob. Henrisonus, pauper, Scotus (see Greifswald, 1596)
1656	David Lindse

- taken from The Scots in Germany, by Th. Fisher

UNIVERSITY OF GREIFSWALD

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>
1519	Alexander Russael, clericus Aberdin
1545!	Alexander Dume, pietate et doctrina praestans
"	liberalium artium magister, Divi Jacobi Pastor.
"	(later Professor of Theology)
1545!	Alexander Sinapius, doctissimus vir, ingenuarum artium magister. (see Cologne, 1542)
1546	Richardus Melving, } Scoti
1546	David Pedi } }
1596	Robertus Henrisonus, Scotus, magister artium
1622	Alexander Person, Scotus
1649	Robert Kunigem (Cunningham), Scotus

- taken from The Scots in Germany, by Th. Fisher

UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>
1423	Joh. Maluil de S.
1434	Duncanus de Lythonn, d. Abberdonensis
1568	Joh. Menteyt, S.
1570	Gulielmus Silvius, S. (Wood)
1570	Olivarius Colt, S.
1587	Joh. Jonstonus, S.
1589	Jac. Robertson, Edinburgensis, S.
1593	Rob. Uimierus, S. (Wemyss or Hume)
1593	Thom. Moravius, S.
1594	mag. Alex. Arbuthnot, S.
1596	mag. Thom. Landelus, Glascoviensis, S.
1597	David Duramenus, Bacholdensis, S.
1599	mag. Gwalterus Donaltsonus, Aberdonensis, S.
1599	mag. Arturus Jonstonus, Abredonensis, S.
1603	Gulielmus Jonstonus, S., mgr. art.
1603	mag. Andr. Aidius, Abredianus, S. (prof. at Danzig, Aberdeen)
1603	Alex. Forbosius, S.
1603	Patr. Lyndesius, S.
1605	Alex. Andersonus, S., Abreptonensis
1605	Patr. Kymerina, Germanensis, S. (Cameron)
1606	Alex. Ramsaeus, S. Baronis de Bamff filius tertio-genitus
1607	Patr. Dunaeus, S.
1607	Joa. Camero, S. (Cameron)
1609	David Nerneus, Andreapolitanus, S. (Nairn)
1609	Thom. Sincerf, S. (M.A. at Edin. in 1602)
1611	Joh. Hogesius, S. (Hogg or Hodge)
1613	Joa. Forbesius, Scoto. Bryttanus, Nobilis
1613	Thom. Knoxius, Ramberlaeus, S. (Ranfurly)
1613	Thom. Meluinus, Disartius, Scoto. Brittanus (Dysart)
1614	Thom. Cumingius, Belga. S.
1660	Rodericus Maclennan, Scoto. Britannus

-taken from SHR V (1908), pp.67-75, W. Caird Taylor, which includes important short biographies.

DIE MATRIKEL DER UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG

<u>date</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>nation/number</u>
1441	Archibaldus Nicolai de Scocia	B,55
1441	Johannes Vodai de Scocia	B,56
1542	Alexander Alesius Scotus doctor theology	B,2
1555	Rector Alexander Alesius von Edinburgh	
1561	Alexander Alesius von Edinburg, Rector	

CATALOGUS STUDIOSORUM SCHOLAE MARPURGENSIS

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page, fo.</u>
Part 1		
1527!	Patr. Hamilton, a Litgau, Scotus, mgr. Paris.	2,5.b
1527	Joa. Hamiton, a Litgau, Scotus	2,5.b
1527	Gilb. Winram, Edinburgensis	2,5.b
1533	Petrus Bauckbeus, Scotus	10,24.a
Part 2		
1560	Daniel Scotus	43,6.a
Part 3		
1595	David de Andressonia, Scotus	99,18.b
1596	David Oromoenius, Scotus	106,25.a
Part 4		
1605	Guil. Cochranus, Scotus	2,89.a
1608	Johannes Hdges, Scotus	37,122.a

-Catalouqus Studiosorum Scholae Marpurgensis, ed. Julius Caesar,
(Marburg, 1875-84), Edin. Uni. Lib., Zp 2.12

MATRIKEL DER UNIVERSITÄT ROSTOCK

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page, no.</u>
1433	Laurencius Magni, Scotus	I, p.45
1509	Alexander Bruen de Scotia (bacc. 1511, mag. 1513)	180,8
1509	Andreas Bruns ex Schotzia	180,131
1542	Wilhelmus Scroder Scotus	245,10
1545	Guilielmus Joannes Scotus	253,2
1563	Gilbertus Walcarus Scotus	287,62
1580	mag. Guilelmus Lou Scotus	323,1
1584	mag. Johannes Jhonstonus Scotus	330,78
1584	mag. Robertus Houaeus Scotus	330,79
1585	Duncanus Liddel Scotus [Postea professor med. & math. Helmaestadii, unde rediit in Scotiam]	332,121
1587	(D. Liddelle S.) Dr. medicinae et professor Helmstadiensis fuit.	
1588	mag. Archibaldus Honterus Scotus	338,67
1589	Patricius Gordoneus Scotus	341,79
1589	Alexander Arbuthnot Scotus	341,80
1592	David Camerarius Scotus	346,46
1592	Thom. Mongunoreus Scotus	346,47
1592	Johannes Schrinaeus, Abredonensis Scotus	346,53
1593	Jacobus Faber Scotus	348,45
1597	mag. Robertus Henrichsonus Scotus (see Greifswald, 1596 and Fankfort-on-Oder, 1598)	356,23
1609	Andreas Jacchaeus, Scotus	
1615	Franciscus Gordonius, Scotus	

-Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock, ed. Adolf Hofmeister,
Rostock, 1889-1922.

DIE MATRIKEL DER UNIVERSITÄT TÜBINGEN

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>roll/number</u>
1479?	Johannes Mur de Mur	5,9
1482	M. JOHANNES RÖCHLIN DE PFORTZEM (Reuchlin)	9,68
1484	M. GABRIEL BYEL s. theol. lic. (rector 1485/6)	14,22
1497	M. JOHANNES DE STAPITZ M. a et s. theol. lector	39,20
1500	M. Joa. Gray de villa Gigantis ex Scotia theo. formatus Alexander Graü de Hadenton in Scotia	45,2 45,37
1512	PHILIPUS SCHWARTZERD EX PRETEN (Melanchthon)	63,46
1513	M. JOHANNES ICOLUMBADIUS DE WINSPERG (Oecolompadius)	63,112
1536	Thomas Theoboldus de Sele Anglus	107,15
1541	Joannes Walkerus Anglus	116,41
1556?	Georgius Knollius Utenwylensis	146,7
1583	Guilhelmus Rutcliffius Anglus	198,139
1592	Sebaldus Artnerus Edenburgensis	216,47

DIE MATRIKEL DER UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

* note- Scottish students are listed as members of the Saxon nation

<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>page/no.</u>
1382	Rev. pater dom. Donaldus abbas Scotorum	10,39
1382	Donaldus Scotus de monasterio Scotorum	11,61
1383	Rev. pater dom. Donaldus abbas Scotorum, rector	12
1394	Nicolaus Oceanrig Scotus	4,2
1398	Donaldus Ograda Ybernicus	52,2
1398	Donatus Maclancada	52,3
1399	dom. Dermicius ordinis S. Benedicti mon. Scotorum	56,1
1401	Leonhardus nacionis Scotorum monachus	62,9
1450	dom. Jac. Ogilbi, mag. in art. ac bac. in theol.	279,17
Vol. 2		
1455	Andeas de Scotia	36,1
1456	Jac. Frisel de Imbernis de Scoca	44,6
1459	Alex. Gray de Rosamaria	64,3
1469?	Andreas Seyuart [Stewart?] de Newnburgk	
1494	mag. Joa. Greii Scotus univ. S. Andree in Scotia	238,1
1498	Allex. Kymte Scotus	265,3
1507	mag. Geo. Ryethart de Scoca	344,2
1515	Patritius Fort de regno Scotie	426,1
1516	Wilh. Barrar de Sancto Andrea	437,1
1516	dom. Andres Helm Glasguensis	437,3
Vol. 3		
1521	Geo. Barkla [Barclay?], ex Monte Rosarum	25,1
1531	mag. Geo. Reichart Schotus juris pontif. lic. eccle. Viennensis et Brunnensis canon., Rector (April)	49
1569	Iacobus Gordanus Scotus, theo. dr. societ. Jesu.	155,1
- <u>Die Matrikel der Univeritat Wien</u> , ed. L. Santifaller and others (Cologne 1956-1975)		

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<u>year</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>pg/line</u>
1502?	Dom. Goswinus de orsoy (Orsay, Argyll?) preceptor in claro monte, primus huius studij Cancellarius	1a,5
1502	Fr. JOANNES de STAUPITZ, doctor Tuwingensis	1a,9
1508	Fr. MARTINUS LÜDER de Mansfelt } Augustani	28a,5
1518	PHILIPPUS MELANCTON (Aug.)	73a,6
1519	Joa. Nutrisen Scotus dioc. S. Andree (Oct.)	86a,5
1525?	And. Tharda ex urbe s. Johannis [Perth?] (June)	125b,32
1528!	Nic. Botwynnj Scotus (Jan.)	133a,12
1533!	D. Alex. Alesius Scotus Edenbergensis, mag. S. Andrea (Oct)	151b,8
1534?	Rodoricus Hector ex Hibernia	157b,6
1536?	Joa. Duncanus ex hibernia	161b,26
1539	Joannes Scotus } ex Plawen ¹	178a,28
1540!	D. Joa. Maccabeus Scotus (Nov.)	186a,20
1544!	Joa. Faithus Scotus (May)	213a,25
1544!	Gualt. Spalatinus Scotus (May)	213a,25
1544!	Vilhelmus Ramsius Scotus artium mag. S. Andreae (Sep.)	216a,5
1544!	Jacobus Balfureus Scotus (Sep.)	216a,7
1555	Christianus Maccabeus Alpinas, filius D. Joh. Maccabei Doctoris Theologiae et prof. in Academia Haffniensi (July)	309b,4
1555	Joh. Lyn Scotus (Aug.)	312b,2
<u>Volume II</u>		
1562	And. Schwartz (Black) Scotus (Dec.)	48a,20
1570	Joh. Sckeneus Scotus (Mar.)	170b,17
1570	Joh. Cragus Scotus (Oct.)	182b,7
1573?	Andr. Niger (Black?) Britannus (July)	240b,18
1573	Guliel. Waluodt Scotus (Oct.)	241b,16
1574	Rob. Vodderburn Scotus (Jan.)	242b,34
1579	M. Jac. Turnetus Scotus (Mar.)	280a,29

¹ This association with Plawen may be accidental since there are four names grouped by a bracket identified as 'ex Plawen'. It may be that the bracket carried too far although Joa. Scotus would then become one of very few entries with only two names.

1584	Wil. Lovius Scotus magister (June)	322b,10
1588	Arch. Andersovius Scotus (Dec.)	362b,4
1589	M. Philip Hospolus Scotus Edenbergensis (Oct.)	369a,38
1589	M. Jac. Bannazinus Scotus Augusianus (Angus?)	369a,39
1590	Alex. Arbuthnot Scotus (Sept.)	376a,36
1590	Guliel. Strang Edenburgensis Scotus (Oct.)	377a,2
1590	M. Thom. Nicolsonus Scotus (Dec.)	378b,19
1591	M. Joh. Murdisonus Scotus (July)	383b,12
1595	Joh. Machabaeus Alpinas Danus (Aug.)	424a,23
1595	Claudius Machabaeus Alpinas Danus	424a,24
1597	Patr. Sillus natione Hybernus	445b,7
1600	Jac. Meldrum Scotus (Dec.)	474b,7

Förstmann, Album Academiae Vitebergensis, 3 Vols.
(Tübingen 1976 reprint of Leipzig 1841)

see also; Lorimer, Precursors of Knox, p. 232 Note K

APPENDIX BAn index of student names appearing in Index A, including suggested crossindex

This list attempts to modernize some of the contemporary variants of family names in order to facilitate identification of individuals in Appendix A. In general, reference to Black's Scottish Surnames where possible. This is only intended to help in the use of the preceding index and should not be taken to be authoritative. There is certainly a great deal more work to be done on identifying these Scottish students, perhaps along the lines of D.E.R. Watt's, A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410. It is also recommended that users of this Appendix rely on their own interpretation of the citations as they appear in Appendix A.

Citations in this listing appear with first letter or two of University name and year of entry. For example:

Lp1545 = 1545 appearance at Leipzig

W1545 = 1545 appearance at Wittenberg

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Abercrombie, Dav.	P1449, P1450
Abercrombie, Galt,	P1523
Abercrombie, Joh.	L1536
Abercrombie, Rob.	L1562
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Aberdeen, And. de	C1468
Aberdonia, And. de	C1481
Aberdonia, And. de	C1500
Aberdonia, Dav.	C1500
Aberdoniensis, Duncan.	L1560
Aberdonia, Guisb.	C1468
Aberdin, Joh. de (following?)	L1463
Aberdonia, Joh. de	C1469
Aberdonia, [Habordonia] Joh. de	L1529
Abordonio, Lucas de	L1473
Aberdonia, Pat. de	C1501
[Aberdonia], Tho. de	C1493
Aberdonia, Tho. de	C1522
Abernethy, [Abernecte] Galt.	P1469, P1470
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Adamson, Jac.	P1568
Adamson, Joh.	P1542
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Adunnale, Utridus	P1488, P1489, P1491
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Affleck, [Achenlek] Vedastus	P1467, P1469
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Aldoch, Alex.	P1451
Alesius, {Alan} Alex.	W1533, Lp1542, Lp1555, Lp1561
Alexander, Joh.	P1527
Alexander, Nic.	L1457, P1460, P1461
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Anderson, Henr.	C1512
Anderson, Jac.	C1512
Anderson, [Andenson] Joh.	L1520
Anderson, Rob. fil. Dav.	L1509
Andree, Alex.	L1457

¹ Black, Scottish Surnames, 9.

² Eliseus Adougan became Bishop of Galloway in 1406, ibid. 9.

Andree, Guil.	C1484
Andri, Tho.	P1492
Andree, Guil.	C1440
Angus, [Angwisia] And. de	C1498
Angus, Dav. de	C1508
Angus, Frulayns de	L1498
Angus, Guil. de	C1479
Angus, Guil. de	C1492
Angus, Guil.	P1597
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Angus, Henr. de	C1488
Angus, Joh.	C1480
Angus, Joh. de	C1481
Angus, Joh.	C1489
Angus, Joh. de	L1468
Angus, Nic. de	L1513
Angus, Rop. de	C1498
Angus, Rob. de	L1501
Angus, Steph.	L1432
Angus, Tho. de	P1407
Annan, [Anant] Joh.	P1493, P1494
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Aog - see under {Hog}	
Arbroath, Gaffridus de	P1405
Arbekie, And.	C1483
Arbuthnot, Alex.	R1589, W1590, H1594
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Archibald, Renatus	P1575
Armour, Gilb.	P1542
Arthur, Dav.	L1515
Arthur, Joh.	P1538
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Athilmer, [Zhoman] Joh. (jr.)	C1443
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Atholl, [Athcolia] Nic. de	C1419
Aton, {Haddington?} Alex. de	L1507
Avener, [Avinar] Joh.	C1440
Baburne, Joh.	C1522
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Balbirnie, [Balbirmi] Dav.	P1472
Baldwin, Galt.	L1429
Balfour, Jac. ⁴	W1544
Balfour, Joh. de ⁵	C1441

³ Lord President of the Court of Session 1566-67; Handbook, 198.

⁴ Lord President of the Court of Session; Handbook, 198.

⁵ Probably John Balfour, bishop of Brechin 1465-88.

Ballantine, [Bellenden] Guil.	P1568
Balnavis, Guil.	P1404, P1405
Ban, Geo.	P1522
Banff, Dav.	C1482
Bannazinus, Jac.	W1589
Barber, Guil. de Dunbar	C1484
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Baron, Tho.	C1440
Barrar, Guil	V1516
Barrie, [Barei] Joh.	L1437, C1438
Barrie, [Barri] Joh.	P1467, P1468, P1469
Barrie, [Berri] Joh.	L1503
Barton, Henr.	P1542
Bartholomei, Tho.	C1465
Bartholomei, Tho.	C1471
Barust, Tho.	L1508
Batchelor [Bachelier] Jac.	P1536
Bauchanel, {Bucknell?} Geo.	P1528
Bauckbeus, Petr.	M1533
Bauf, {Banff?}, Ric.	L1476
Baxtin, Guil.	L1468
Beaton - see Beothin	
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Beaton, Jac.	P1538
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Bell, Guil.	P1400, P1403
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Bennie, [Bene] Hector	L1522
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Beothin, {Beaton?} Joh.	P1525
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Bermanche, [Learmouth?] Dav.	L1505
Biglie, [Bugly, Bigli] Steph.	P1402, P1403
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Bisset, Alex.	L1506
Bisset, [Bysset] Guil.	P1463, P1465, P1466
Blaber, Joh.	P1451, P1452
Black, And.	L1440, C1443
Black, [Schwartz] And.	W1562
Black, [Niger] And.	W1573
Black, Guil.	L1508
Black, Tho.	P1481
Blackadder, Guil.	L1534

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Secretary to the court of James I in 1426, Handbook of British Chronology, 192.

Blackadder, Jac.	P1538
Blackadder, Joh.	C1466
Blackadder, Joh. ⁷ (preceding?)	L1482
Blackadder, Rob.	P1464, P1465, P1467, L1482, L1505
Blackadder, Rol.	P1494, P1495, L1499
Blacklock, Pat.	P1457, P1458
Blackstock, And.	P1531
Blackwell?, [Plackbuel] And.	C1462
Blackwood, Jac.	L1508
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Blichon, Galt.	L1466
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Blyntschyl, Jac.	C1479
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Bog, Joh.	P1542
Bogil, Pat.	P1493, P1494
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Bonar, Tho.	C1460
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Bothwell, Rob.	P1542
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Boyd, [Boid] Jac.	P1470
Boyman, Joh.	C1447
?Brand, Pat.	P1471
Branston, Joh.	C1472
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Braydurd, Dum.	P1536
Brechin, [Brichen/Bresin] Rob.	P1466, P1468
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[Brotherton], Tho.	P1530
Breyn, {Brain?} Geo.	L1510
Bride, Alex.	C1478

Brionne, {Brian} Jac.	P1538
Brown ⁸ , [Bruen] Alex.	R1509
Brown, [Broun] Dav.	P1527
Brown, [Brun] Dav.	L1552
Brown, [Browyn] Gilb. de S.	C1487
Brown, [Broen] Henr.	C1455, L1457
Brown, [Bron] Joh. de	P1408
Brown, [Bruyn] Joh.	C1484
Brown, [Bronn] Rob.	C1446, L1451, P1455, P1456, P1457
Brown, [Bron/Broun] Tho.	P1526, P1527
Brown, [Brome] Tho.	L1433
Brown, [Bruyn] Tho.	L1433
Browuer, {Brewer?} Rob.	L1506
Bruce, Rob.	P1584
Bruns, {Burns?} And.	R1509
Buchanan, Geo.	P1527
Buchanan, Pat.	L1534
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Bullock, Ric.	L1432
Bunch, [Bonsch] Dun.	C1443
Bunch, [Bonche] Geo. fil. And.	L1509
Burns?, [Burneus] Pet.	P1547
Burton, [Berton] Jac.	P1538
Burton, [Berden] Joh.	P1538
[Buschet], Alex.	C1467
Bylinus, Joh.	P1530
Cadder, ⁹ [Cader] Joh.	{P1489}
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Cairncross, ¹⁰ [Carncross] Joh.	P1542
Caithness ¹⁰ , [Katnes] Luc.	C1466
Calder, [Caldoris] Joh.	L1432
Cameron, [Camerarius] Dav.	R1592
Cameron, Guil.	C1458
Cameron, Joh. mag.	C1440, mag.? P1446, P1448
Cameron, Joh. jr.	P1444, P1445
Cameron, Joh. sen.	P1444, P1445, mag.? P1446, P1448
Cameron, [Cambron] Joh.	P1534
Cameron, Tho.	L1445, P1447, P1448, P1449
Campbell, Alex.	P1538
Campbell, Nic.	P1552
Campsie, [Camsi] Joh.	L1450
Can, {Cant?} Tho.	L1562
Cant, [Kant] Alan.	C1433
Cant, [Kant] Geo.	P1483, P1484, P1492
Cant, Henr.	L1511
Cantley, [Cantuli] Joh.	P1532
Car - see Kerr	
Care, And.	P1579

⁸ Scottish Surnames cites all Brun and Bron surnames under Brown.

⁹ Black, Scottish Surnames, 123.

¹⁰ Ibid., 124.

Cardinne, {Cardean?} Laur.	L1521
Carebris, {Carberry?} Geo.	C1461
Cargill, Jac.	B1592
Carintos, {Curruthers?} Tho.	L1506
Carmichael, Guil.	C1475
Carnegie, Galt. de	P1551
Carrol, [Karal] Dav.	P1470, P1471
Carrol, [Carel] Dav.	L1490
Cassie, [Cassy] Guil.	C1444
Cavers, [Kavraeis] Joh.	L1437, C1437
Ceineius - see Scenes	
Centoxis, Francis	{P1489}
Chalmer, [Schalmer] Car.	L1561
Chalmer, [Chawmer] Dun.	P1493, P1494
Chalmer, [Chaumer] Guil.	C1463
Char, Nic. {lege:Scotia}	L1445
Charlton, [Chalton] Steph.	P1527
Cheld, Tho. de Dundee	C1484
Cheyne?, [Cheijn] Alex.	L1563
Cheyne ¹¹ , [Cheesne] Joh.	L1565
Chieras, {Culross?} Tho.	L1502
Chisholm, [Cheisholme] Guil. ¹²	L1542
Chisholm, [Chysim], Guil.	L1554
Chisholm, Guil.	P1568
Chisholm, Jac.	P1568
Chisholm, [Chishoeline] Math.	L1536
Christie, Michael	P1595
Christon, Guil.	L1561
Christiani de Foeruyss, Joh.	C1478
[Christison], Dun. de Moravia	C1493
Christison, [Christinson] Joh.	P1485, P1487
Clameroes, {Claverhouse?} And.	L1521
Clamma, Tho. de Donde	L1497
Clatte, Joh.	L1433
Clerk, Jac.	L1503
Clerk, Geo.	L1519
Clerk, [Clerici] Guil.	P1414
Clerk, Joh.	P1490, P1492
Clerk, [Clerici] Rob.	P1408
Clerk, [Clerici] Tho.	P1470
Clerk, Tho.	C1519
Clinnier, Galt. de	L1521
Club, Alex.	L1458
Clyspyndia, Pet. de	C1466
Coan, Tho.	P1466, P1467
Cock, Alex.	L1536
Cockburn, Alex.	P1472
Cockburn, Alex.	B1555
Cockburn, Joh.	P1532
Cockburn, Rob. ¹³	P1486, P1487
Cockerem, Alex. fil. Joh.	L1524

11 Ibid., 149.

12 Probably William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane 1561-89.

13 Bishop of Dunkeld 1524-26.

Coleana, Dav. de	C1485
Colnyn, Joh.	L1549
Colsteyn, Joh.	C1438
Colstayn, Rob.	C1443
Colt, Olivarius	H1570
Comyn, [Cumineus] Arch.	L1563
Comyn, [Kumynck], Jac.	C1467
Comyn, [Cumiin] Jac.	C1469
Conte, Allaendus fil Joh.	L1518
Cornoelle, {Cornwall?} Guil.	C1440
Correr, {Courier?} Alex.	P1494
Couden, {Cadion/Crouden?} Joh.	P1519
Coulerous, ___ de	P1542
Coutes, Tho. {Cowth?}	L1487
Coutes, Tho.	L1502
[Cowe], Dav. Joci de Laudonia	C1483
Cowth, Guil.	L1486
Coy, [Coi] Joa.	P1521
Coy, Tho.	L1553
Coyle, Alex.	P1551
[Crabb], Tylm. de Scotia	C1471
Craig, Jac. de	C1436
Craig, Joh.	C1439
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Craig, [Cragus] Joh.	W1570
Craig, [Craygus] Joh.	B1580
Craig, Rich. de	C1421
Craig, Rich.	C1442
Craig, [Kraeck] Rob. de	C1457
[Crannoch], Dav.	C1438
Crannoch, Dav. ¹⁴	C1443
Crannoch, Dav.	P1447, P1448, P1449, P1454
Crannoch, Guil.	P1448, P1449
Crannoch, Joh. ¹⁵	P1405, P1406, P1407, P1408, P1409, P1410, P1411, P1412, P1413, P1414, P1415
Crannoch, Rob.	P1416, P1417, P1419
Cranston, Adam	P1542
Cranston, Dav.	P1523
Cranston, Guil.	P1532, P1533, P1537, P1542, P1548
Crawford, [Kraeffort] And.	C1537
Crawford, Bartholomew	P1469
Crawford, Nic.	P1538
Crawford, [Craffort] Pat.	C1462
Cremora sita, Dav de	C1498
Cresk, {Craig?} Guil.	L1502
Crichton, [Crechton] Geo.	P1546
Crichton, Geo.	P1584, P1586
Crichton, [Creckton] Guil.	P1486, P1487
Crichton, [Creton] Joh.	P1451, P1452
Crichton, Tho.	L1504

¹⁴ This David Crannoch (C1443) is identified with one at Paris (P1447) by Keussen, however the latter is cited as det. while the Cologne student is magister. David [Crannoch] de Scotia (C1438) may be a better match.

¹⁵ Bishop of Caithness 1422-26, Bishop of Brechin from 1426-53.

Crouden, [Crodedane] And.	C1443, P1445, P1446
Croyser, Jac.	C1439
Croyser, Guil.	P1407, P1409
Crukshank, [Crukstanck] Henr.	C1468
Crumme, [Crom] And.	L1520
Crumme, Joh.	P1466, P1468, P1472
Crumme, [Krumme] Laur.	C1466
Crythenii, Dav.	P1551
Cullen - see Kello	
Cullen, [or Culane] Alex.	P1463
Cumpero, Guil. de	L1518
Cunningham, Damian.	L1470
Cunningham, [Guinygem] Guil.	P1542
Cunningham, [Kunynghen] Jac.	C1477
Cunningham, Rich.	C1443
Cupar, [Cupero] Geo. de	C1450
Cupar, [Cupro] Guil. de	L1519
Cupar, [Cupro] Joh. de	L1513
Cupar, [Cupre] Ric. de	L1513
Cupar, [Cupro] Laur. de	C1482
Cupio de Cona, Joh. de	L1468
Curlu, Guil.	P1579
Cuthbert, Joh.	P1579
Cutis, Tho.	P1493, P1494
Dalgles, Joh.	P1408, P1409
Dalkeith, Joh.	P1401, P1403
Daloquy, Rob.	P1468, P1470, P1471, P1473
Dalrimple, [Dalrumpell] Joh.	C1461
Dalton, And.	L1466
Damessen, Alex. fil. Joh.	L1528
Damson, {Davison?} Guil.	L1521
Danisonis, {Davison?} Tho.	L1522
Darsel, {Darsei?} Pet.	L1500
Dauerson, [Davidson] Guil.	P1553, P1567
Davidson, Joh.	B1575
Davidson, [David] Pet.	C1467
Days, {Dyce?}	F1576
Delarri, Henr.	L1512
Dempster, [Demptester] Joh.	P1549, P1551
Dempster, Tho.	P1601
Denseti, Dom.	C1488
Deothle, Joh.	L1465
Dickson, [Dicsonus] Alex.	P1571
Dickson, [Smycht] And.	C1480
Dickson, [Dixson] Arch.	C1446
Dingwal, [Digwal] Alex.	L1521
Dirboruch, Tussanus	L1466
Dobi, [Doby] Joh.	C1459
Dobi, [Douby] Joh.	P1472, P1473
Doff, Tho.	L1521
Dogghe, And.	C1485
Doles, Joh.	P1490, P1491, P1493
[Domus], Joh. de Moravia	C1471
Donald, Galt.	P1538
Donaldi, And. maior	L1476
Donaldi, And.	C1480
Donaldi, And.	C1488

Donaldi, Mart.	C1480
Donaldson, Galt.	H1599
Douey, Jac.	P1538
Douglas, And.	C1516
Douglas, Dav.	L1505
Douglas, Guil.	P1521
Douglas, Guil	P1542
Douglas, Hugo de	P1455, P1457, P1477
Douglas, Jac. de ¹⁶	C1443
Douglas, Joh.	P1527, P1530, P1531, P1545
Douglas, Nin.	C1516
Douglas, Ric.	C1516
Douglas, Rob.	P1527, P1530
Doutry, Joh.	L1521
Drummond, Galt. ¹⁷	L1491
Dualson, Galt.	P1540
Ductor, Joh.	C1480
Dumfries, [Dunfrone.] Hugo Ryg	L1527
Dun, [Duyn] Jac.	C1468
Dun, [Down] Joh.	P1490
Dun, Joh. de	L1431
Duncan, Joh.	P1520
Dunbar, [Dumbar] Alex.	P1542
Dunbar, [Dumbar] Dav.	P1538
Dunbar, Gavin. ¹⁸	P1525
Dunbar, Geo.	P1492
Dunbar, [Donbart] Joh.	P1543
Dume, Alex.	G1545
Dundas, Alex.	P1531
Dundas, Geo.	P1491, P1494
Dundee, [Dandi] And. de	L1466
Dundee, Dav. de	L1476
Dundee, Dav. de	C1515
Dundee, Hugo de	L1518
Dundee, Joh. de	C1514
Dundee, [Conde] Rob. de	L1513
Dundee, Tho. de	C1471
Dundee, Tho. de	C1515
Dunlop, Rob.	L1536
Durchem, {Dirkan?} Tho. de S.	L1464, ?C1467
Durem, Joh.	L1530
Duramenus {Drummond?} Dav.	H1597
Durisdeer, [Muirhead] And. de ¹⁹	P1437, P1438
Dury, [Duri] Geo.	P1567, L1568
Dury, Guil.	P1568
Dury, Henr.	P1542
Dury, [Duri] Joh.	P1567, L1568
Dury, Jac.	P1583
Dury, Pe.	P1542

¹⁶ Conciliar bishop of Aberdeen in 1441, Handbook, 302.

¹⁷ Clerk Register 1497-1501; Handbook, 197.

¹⁸ Clerk Register 1501-32, bishop of Aberdeen 1518-32; Handbook, 197.

¹⁹ Bishop of Glasgow 1455-73.

Echelin, Dav.	P1601
Edanzen, And. (d. Aberdeen)	C1479
Edenem, Joh. de	C1494
Edinburgh, Geo. de	C1499
Edinburgh, Guis. de	L1511
Edinburgh, Joh.	C1488
Edinburgh, Rog. de	P1417, P1419, P1420, P1421, P1423,
P1424, P1425, P1426, P1428	
?Edinburgh, [Enburgis] Guil.	C1468
Edinburgh - see Heyder	
Edinburgh, Pet. de	C1501
Edwardson, [Edwarsum], Dav.	C1492
Edwardson, Joh.	P1451, P1452
Eghenheiden, Ric.	C1489
Egmondio, Gilb.	L1465
Elder, Joh.	L1505
Elder, Joh.	P1547
Ellem, {Allen?} Joh. de	L1518
Elphinstone, Adam	P1494, P1495
Elphinstone, [Elsomsten] Guil.	L1430
Elwald, Joh.	P1399, P1400, P1401
Errater, Malc.	C1494
Erskine, Galt.	P1540
Erskine, Guil. ²⁰	L1542
Erskine, Joh.	L1542
Erskine, Tho.	P1408, P1409, P1412
Erskine, Tho.	P1537
Esse, Rob. de	C1428
Etdar, Adam	P1533
Faber, Jac.	R1593
Faber, Tho.	L1521
Faithus, Fethie - see Fidelis	
Falconer, Joh.	P1469, P1470, P1471
Fare, Rop.	C1483
Fawside, [Fausyd] Jac. de	P1413
Fawside, [Fansyd] Rob.	C1435
Fergusii, Guil.	C1462
Ferguson, [Verguere] Rich.	P1492
Ferier, Jac. fil. Dan.	L1528
Ferle, Clemens	P1472, P1474
Fernandi, {Ferne?} Geo.	L1511
Fidelis, Joh. (see following)	W1544, F1547
Fidelis, Joh.	F1555
Fife, [Ffyff] Alex.	P1459, P1460
Fife, Tho.	C1483
Flasseer, Guil.	L1515
Fleming, Guil.	P1538
Fleming, [Flemmyn] Rob.	C1480, {P1489}
Focart, Geo.	P1492
Fokeni, Gilb.	L1560
Forbes, Alex.	H1603
Forbes, Dominicanus	P1535
Forbes, Duncan.	P1535

Forbes, Guil. ²¹	P1453, P1454, P1455
Ford, Guil.	P1525
Foret, [Forret] Andr.	C1462
Foret, [Forrayt] Tho.	C1515
Foreth, Dav.	L1527
Forestanus, Joh.	L1514
Forestar, [Forster] Galt.	P1480, P1481, P1485
Forestar, [Forstaer] Gilb.	L1432
Forestar, [Forster] Jac.	L1466
Forestar, [Frostar] Joh.	P1417, P1418, L1430
Forest, Rob.	P1450, P1451
Forman, And.	L1518
Forman, Geo.	L1518
Forman, Jac.	C1487
Forman, Rob.	C1486, L1498
Forman, Tho.	L1518
Forsyth, Tho.	L1467
Fort, Pat.	V1515
Fortgushil, Rob.	P1526, P1530
Forus, Joh.	P1525
Foster, Galt.	L1448, P1476
Foster, {Forrestar?} Geo.	P1488, P1489
Fostar, Geo.	P1542
Fotheringham, Alex.	L1509
Fotheringham, Carol.	C1480
Fotheringham, Jac.	P1462, P1463
Fotheringham, Ric.	C1479
Foulis, Guil. ²²	P1411
Foulis, [Foules] Hugo	C1476
Foulis, [Faulus] Tho.	C1484
Fraser, [Frayser] Alex.	L1464
Fraser, [Phasel] Joh.	P1586, P1595, P1597
Fraser, Mich.	P1577
Fresel, Guil.	L1480
Frisel, Jac.	V1456
Fresel, Pat.	C1429
Frisal, Tho.	L1464
Frisarius, {Frazier?} Jac. jr.	L1566
Frisarius, {Frazier?} Jac. sr.	L1566
Friw, Guil.	C1483
Frusus, {Foulis?} Henr.	P1538
Fulford, {Failford?} Rob.	L1516
Fullarton, Alex.	P1411
Fullarton, Galt.	L1436
Fullarton, Jac.	P1536, P1537
Fullarton, Rob.	L1466
Furnus, Thom.	C1512
Fusel, Joh.	L1470
Fychat, And.	C1469
Gal, Galt. fil. Joh.	L1531
Galbraith, [Galbracht] Henr.	P1492

²¹ Elected but not confirmed as bishop of Aberdeen in 1459.

²² Secretary and Privy Seal to the court of James I, 1427-33 and 1427-39, Handbook, 193.

Galloway, And.	P1580
Galloway, G.	P1603
Galteri, [Walters] Guil.	P1457, P1458
Garden, [Gherden] Joh.	L1511
Gardner, Dav.	P1487, P1488
Gardner, [Gardenaer] Tho.	L1467
[Gariach], And.	C1489
Geddes, And. de	P1408
Geddes, Rob.	{P1489}
Genes, Chris. de	C1441
Gerwes, Tho.	C1467
Gibbon, Jac.	P1568
Gibson, Alex.	P1582
Gibson, {Gilbert?} Joh.	P1468, P1469
Gibson, Rob.	L1520
Giffort, Tho.	P1465, P1466
Gillespie, Guil.	C1443
Gillian, [Giliani] Rob.	L1470
Glasfurde, Tho.	P1460, P1462
Glasgow, [Lasgu] Jac.	C1479
Glasgow, [Lasgu] Rop.	C1479
Glen, Joh.	P1407, P1408
Glendenuwyn, Guil.	P1401, P1403
Godfried, [Goffridi] Laur.	C1444
Goether, Tho.	L1520
Goldja, {Haldane?} Joh.	L1529
Goodman, [Guedmani] Geo.	C1451
Gordon, Adrianus	L1470
Gordon, Alex.	C1486
Gordon, Alex. ²³	P1537
Gordon, Guil.	L1434
Gordon, [Gordoti] Guil.	L1551
Gordon, Jac.	L1562, V1569
Gordon, Joh.	L1461
Gordon, Joh. (mag.)	P1493
Gordon, Joh.	P1492, P1493
Gordon, Pat.	R1589
Gordon, Tho.	L1473
Graan de Vil. S. And., Tho.	L1490
Grafer, And.	C1488
Graham, [Gramm] Dav.	P1483, P1484
Granger, Joh.	P1545
Grant, Joh.	L1505
Grant, Tho.	L1461
Gray, Alex.	V1459
Gray, Jac.	P1447, P1448, P1451, P1452
Gray, Joh.	P1408
Gray, Joh.	C1467
Gray, Joh.	P1486, P1487, P1489
Gray, Joh. (previous?)	V1494
Gray, Tho.	L1488
Graymen, {Graham?} Arch.	P1538
Grays de S. Nycholao, And.	L1496
Greenlaw, Hugo	P1485, P1486

Greenlaw ²⁴ , Tho. de	P1399, P1400
Guilmourt, Nic. fil. Alex.	L1513
Gurlay de Vil. S. Joh., Guil.	L1488
Guthrie, Alex. de	P1411, P1412, P1415
Guthrie, Dav. ²⁵	C1443, P1446, P1447
Guthrie, [Gutturi]	C1480
Guthrie, Galt.	C1479
Guthrie, Joh.	C1480
[Guthrie], Rich.	C1441
Gyl, Joh.	P1402, P1405
Haddington, [Addinton] Joh. de	L1501
Haddington - see Aton?	
Halcarstown, [Hackerstuy] Rob.	C1436
Haldane, Barnardus {Perth}	L1489, P1492, P1493
Halis, Joh. de	P1410, P1413
Hamilton, Alex.	P1525, P1526
Hamilton, Alex.	P1576
Hamilton, Arch.	P1577
Hamilton, Dav.	P1406, P1408
Hamilton, Dav.	C1440
Hamilton, Jac. ²⁶	P1542
Hamilton, Joh.	M1527
Hamilton, Joh.	P1579, P1582, P1583, P1584
Hamilton, Pat.	P1521, M1527
Hamilton, Tho.	P1582
Harrison, Jac.	P1484, P1485
Hardy, {Harvy?} Alex.	C1464
Harvy, [Hervy] Gilb.	P1444, P1445
Harvy, [Herwe] Guil.	L1546
Harvy, [Herny] Joh.	P1479, P1480, P1482, P1483, P1489
Harvy, [Herni] Tho.	L1465
Harweer, Tho.	C1481
Hay, [Hayus] Arch.	P1530, P1536
Hay, Dav.	C1421
Hay, [Haij] Dav.	C1488
Hay, [Hey] Dav.	C1492
Hay, Edmund.	P1542
Hay, Geo.	P1552
Hay, [Hage] Gilb.	P1490, P1491, P1493
Hay, Guil.	P1493, P1494
Hay, Guil.	L1508
Hay, Guil.	P1536
Hay, Joh. de Dundee	L1516
Hay, Joh. (previous?)	P1521
Hay, Nic.	P1542
Hay, Rob.	P1490, P1492
Hay, [Hey] Tho. fil. Joh.	L1535
Hay, Tho.	P1538 (2)
[Hayre], Guil.	P1533

²⁴ Probably related to Bishop Grenlaw of Aberdeen (1390-1421).

²⁵ Treasurer 1461-68, Comptroller 1466-68 and 1470-71, Clerk Register 1468-73; Handbook, 187, 190, 196.

²⁶ Probably James Hamilton, bishop of Argyll 1553-80.

Hays, Dav.	C1523
Hayus - see Hay	
Hayus, Geo.	P1538
Hayus, Joh.	L1560
Hayus, [Haijus] Rob.	L1560
Hayns, {Hayus?} Joa.	L1563
Heclis, {Halis?} Tho.	C1471
Hegait, Guil.	P1599
Helm, And.	V1516
Henderson, And.	P1520
Henderson, Dav.	P1523, P1527
Henderson, Carl.	L1515
Henderson, Joh.	P1542
Henrichson, Rob.	R1597
Henricius, Eduard.	P1543
Hepburn, Adam	C1441
Hepburn, [Hepbuenen] Geo. ²⁷	P1491, P1492, L1499
Hepburn, Jac. ²⁸	P1493, P1494
Hepburn, Jac.	P1569
Hepburn, [Helbron] Jac.	F1587
Hepburn, Pat.	C1461
Heppardio, {Hubbard?} Jac.	P1542
Herdghet, {Herriot?} Dav.	C1441
Herny - see Harvy	
Herriot, Jac.	L1505
Herriot, Joh.	P1528
Herriot, [Heyrzoit] Rob.	C1472
Herriot, Rob.	P1525, P1528, P1529, P1538
Henderson, [Hendershem] Alex.	C1502
Henrisonus, {Henderson?} Rob.	G1596, F1598
Hesltine, [Hesylden] Dav.	L1454
Heyder, [Edinburgh] Tho.	C1485
Hibernia, Pet. de (s. Aberdeen)	C1468
Hill, Arch.	P1581
Hilson, Pet.	L1510
Hobbe, Joh.	L1470
Hoborn, Joh.	C1470
Hog, Alex.	P1469
Hog, [Aog] Arch.	L1564
Hog, And.	L1469
Hog, Guil.	C1444, P1445
Hoireel, Rob.	L1521
Hoy, [Hog or Hay] Joh.	C1457
Holmyne, [Homlyne] Joh.	P1411, P1417
Honeson, [Huisson] Joh.	{P1489}
Honterus, Arch.	R1588
Hontge de Edinburgh, And.	C1521
Horne, Gilb.	L1435
Horner?, [Herner] Ric.	C1495
Hospolus, Phil.	W1589
Hoster, {Foster?} Gilb.	P1535
Houden, Geo. de	P1411
Howe, [Hovaeus] Rob.	R1584, B1587

27 Treasurer 1509-10, bishop of the Isles 1510-13; Handbook, 188.

28 Treasurer 1515-16, bishop of Moray 1516-24; Handbook, 188.

Hoywy, {Howe?} Guil.	C1469
Hubertus?, Alex.	P1583
Hukiptihel, Joh. fil. Guil.	L1510
Hume, Alex.	L1557
Hume, Dav.	P1484, P1485, P1488
Hume, Joh.	P1461, P1462
Huntar, Dav.	P1492, P1494
Huntar, [Huntays] Geo.	P1459, P1460
Huntar, Joh.	C1439
Huntar, [Huuter] Joh.	L1464
Huntar, Joh.	P1575
Huruleus, {see Hoireel?} Reyn.	L1568
Hutchison, Mart.	L1509
Hutten, And.	C1527
Huyo, Joa. de (alias Wickart)	L1523
Imen, And.	L1507
Inglis, Alex	L1499
Inglis, And.	P1492, P1493
Inglis, Jac.	C1430
Inglis, Jac.	P1453, P1454
Inglis, Ninian	P1492, P1493, P1498
Ins, [Innes] And.	L1563
Insula, Guil. de (ex Scotia)	C1472
Ireland, Guil.	P1484
Ireland, Joh. de	P1459, P1460, P1461, P1469
Irwin, [Vrwin] Jac.	L1514
Jackson, Alex.	C1462
Jacobi, [Lewingtenem] Joh.	C1489
Jacobi, Joh.	C1531
Jameson, Guil.	P1464, P1465, P1469
Joffray, Joh.	L1529
Johannis, Alex.	C1467
Johannis, Alex. de Vil. (Perth)	P1401
Johannis, And.	L1452
Johannis, And. (previous?)	L1454
Johannes, Guil.	R1545
Johannis, Laur.	L1464
Johannis, Laur.	L1519
Johnston, Arthur	H1599
Johnston, Gilb.	P1536
Johnston, Guil.	H1603
Johnston, Jac.	P1542
Johnston, Joh. (following?)	R1584
Johnston, [Jonstonus] Joh.	H1587
Johnston, Sym.	P1538
Jonson, [Tonson] Guil.	C1442
Jonson, [Janson] Pat.	P1475, P1477, P1482, P1486, P1489
Jordan, Arch.	P1577
Jorkston, Jac.	C1458
Joustin, Geo.	L1521
Juvenis - see Young	
Kant - see Cant	
Kanneit, Tho. de	C1445
Keith, [Keciht] Rob.	P1541
Kello, {[Kelyn, Culane?]} Joh.	P1449, P1450, P1465

Kelso, [Kelco] Joh. de	C1486
Kennedy, Anthon.	P1538
Kennedy, Arthur	P1454, P1455
Kennedy, Dav.	P1453, P1454
Kennedy, Gilb.	P1538, P1539
Kennedy, Jac. ²⁹	L1430
Kennedy, Jac.	P1464, P1465, P1466
Kennedy, [Canadus] Jac.	P1579
Kennedy, Joh.	P1445, P1446, P1447, P1448, P1450, P1451, P1452, P1453
Kennedy, Joh.	P1465
Kennedy, Joh.	P1493, P1494
Kennedy, Nic.	P1538
Kennedy, Tho.	P1458, P1461, P1468
Kennedy, Tho.	P1538
Kennedy, Quintin.	P1542
Kenrotte, Mauricus	L1568
Kerr, Cuthbert	P1468, P1469
Kerr, Geo.	P1415, P1416
Kerr, Guil. ³⁰	L1433
Kerr, [Car] Joh.	L1466
Kerr, [Car] Joh.	P1534
Kerr de Remys, [Kaer] Joh.	L1520
Kerr, Michael	P1470, P1472
Kerr, Nic.	C1445
Kerr, Tho.	C1472
Kerr, [Car] Tho.	P1530
Kersuyl, Guil.	C1463
Key, Jac.	L1521
Kier, {Kerr?} Guil.	C1432
Keir, [Keijr] Jac.	L1562
Keir, [Kaer] Marc.	P1535
Killimuir, [Kelemuir], Rop.	C1521
Kincragi, Tho.	L1522
Kinghorn, Guil.	C1431
Kincardine? - see Cardinne	
Kinmont?, [Kaijmmont] Jac.	L1472
Kinmont, [Kynmount] Rob.	L1489
Kinloch?, [Kamelock] Tho.	C1457
Kirk, Matheus	P1493
Kirkcaldy, Tho.	P1542
Knelant, Pat.	L1480
Knowles, Guil.	L1475, P1480, P1481
Knox, Dav.	L1457
Kolden, Joh.	C1498
Kuylant, {Cullen/Gillian?} Pat.	C1477
Kuson, Joh.	L1521
Kymte, Alex.	V1498
Lacu, [Poele] Rob. de	P1444, P1445, P1446
Ladonia, {Lothian?} Guil. de	C1471
Ladonia, [Littonia] Leon de	C1522
Ladonia, Pat. de	C1471

²⁹ Bishop of Dunkeld 1437-40, Bishop of St. Andrews 1440-65.

³⁰ This may well be the same individual as Kier C1432

Laing, [Lang] Galt.	P1492, P1493
Laing, [Langeus] Jac.	P1569
Lam, Guil.	C1494
Lamb, [Lam, Lamp] Geo.	P1464, P1465
Lanarck, Alex. de	C1467
Lanarck, [Lanarka] Geo.	C1499
Lanarck, [Lanarca] Quittin. de	C1522
Landelus, Tho.	H1596
Lander, {Lauder?} Geo.	P1490
Lander, {Lauder?} Tho.	P1525
Lapide, Tho. de	P1466, P1467, P1468
Lasgu - see Glasgow and Linlithgow	
Lau, Joh. fil. Tho. Lauii	L1529
Lauder, [Lauda] Guil.	L1511
Laverok, Joh.	P1401, P1403, P1407, P1412
Lawedre, Ed. de	P1411, P1412, P1413
Lawedre, Tho. de	P1414, P1417
Lawrie, [Lory] Joh.	P1488
Lawrence, [Laurencii] Guil.	L1476
Lawrence, [Laurentii] Tho.	L1434, C1435
Lawson, [Lowson] And.	F1549
Lawson, [Lauson] Guil.	C1480
Lawson, [Lauson] Henr.	P1467
Lawson, Hugo	P1472
Lawson, Joh.	P1525
Lawson, Pat.	P1484, P1485, P1486
Lawson, [Lanson] Tho.	P1484
Lech, And	C1429
Lech, Joh.	C1446, P1447, P1448
Lech, Joh.	P1472, P1473
Lech, [Lich], Rob.	L1428
Lech, Tho.	C1438
Ledehuys, Wolt.	C1430
Ledhus, Tho.	C1454
Legati, Joh.	P1409
Leitch, [Leicht, Leyche] Pat. ³¹	P1459, P1460, P1465, P1466
Lennox, [Lenax] Guil.	P1465, P1466
Leonardus	V1401
Les, Rob.	P1540
Leslie, Galt.	P1479, P1481, P1482
Let, Guil.	P1536
[Lethan], Joh. de Scotia	C1500
Letus, Jac.	P1590, P1603
Lewingtenem {Livingston?} - see Jacobi	
Lichton?, [Lithen] Adam	P1542
Lichton, Alex.	L1427
Lichton, [Lithonn] Dunc.	L1428, H1434
Lichton, Galt.	P1470, P1471
Lichton, Joh.	L1428
Lichton, Tho.	P1490
Lichx, Tho.	C1469
Liddel, Dunc.	F1579, R1585, R1587
Liddel, Jac.	P1481, P1483, P1484, P1485, P1486
Lier, Tho.	P1534
Lilburn, Henr.	C1461

Lilburn, Joh.	P1490, P1491, P1493
Lin?, [Hu de Carner] Jac.	L1510
Lin, [Lyn] Joh.	W1555
Lin, Thom. de	P1405, P1406, P1414
Lindsay, Alex.	P1409, P1410
Lindsay, Alex.	L1468
Lindsay, David	P1445, P1447
Lindsay, Dav.	P1542
Lindsay, Galt.	C1455, P1456
Lindsay, Greg.	L1511
Lindsay, Guil.	P1474, P1475
Lindsay, Guil.	P1551
Lindsay, Jac.	C1455, P1456, L1458
Lindsay, Jac.	P1487, P1488
Lindsay, Jac. de	P1399, P1401, P1409, P1410
Lindsay, Joh.	L1467
Lindsay, Pat.	H1603
Lindsay, Tho.	P1538
Linlithgow?, [Letsco] Rob.	C1436
Lijtster, Joh. (de Aberdonia)	C1475
Lisset, {Bisset?} Pat.	P1545
Lithon/Lithen - see Lichton	
Lithoy, {Littow/Lichton?} Galt.	L1429
Livingston, [Levinson] Alex.	P1494, P1495
Livingston, Dav.	P1463, P1464
Livingston, Guil.	P1531
Livingston, Henr.	P1535, P1536
Livingston, Jac.	P1538
Livingston, Tho. ³²	C1423
Lochart, Adam	P1472, P1473
Lochart, And.	P1535, P1539
Lochart, Geo.	P1520
Lochart, Joa.	P1526
Lochart, Rob.	P1538
Lochmaloni, Joh.	C1462
Lochmalony, Tho. {Ross d.}	L1432
Lochresk, Joh. de	L1467
Lodyan, {Lothian?} Jac.	C1465
Lodon, Alex.	L1463
Logan, Alex.	P1603
Logan, [Loren] Joh.	P1464, P1465, P1468, P1470
Logie, Joh. {Edinburgh}	C1484
Logie, Malensius de	L1431
Lok, [Lock] Rob.	P1463, P1465, P1466, P1476
Londi, Tho.	C1438
Londier, Arch.	C1477
Lothian - see Lodyan and Lodon	
Lothian, [Louthian] Pat.	C1461
Lou, [Lovius] Guil.	R1580, W1584, B1585
Luchris, {Luechers?} Joh. de	L1430
Lummesdail, Rob.	P1542
Lummesden, Dav. de	P1479
Lyle, Geo. (de Dundee)	L1533
Lyle, Guil.	P1456, P1457
Lyle, Jac.	C1468

Lyle, [Hyli] Joh. de	P1451, P1452, P1459
Lyle, Tho.	P1458, P1459, L1459, C1461, C1489, C1509
Lyon, [Leonis] Guil.	L1456
Lyon, [Leonis] Joh.	P1451, P1453
Lyon, [Leonen] Laur.	C1432
Lyon, Rob. de	P1541
Lys, [Leys] Alex.	L1464
Lys, [Liis] Joh.	P1451, P1452
Machabre, {Macabee?} Joh.	P1490
MacAlexander, Alex.	P1449, P1450, P1451
Macbeth, Joh.	P1485, P1486
Macbrayer, Gobertus	P1413
MacCresin, Joh.	L1520
MacCulloch, Guil.	P1493, P1494
MacCulloch, Henr.	P1491, P1492
MacCulloch, Jac.	B1598
MacCulloch, Joh.	P1488, P1490, P1491, P1493
MacCulloch, Joh.	B1598
MacDowell - see Adunvil 1491	
MacMehon, [Makymeneus] Rol.	P1571
Macnachten, Don. ³³	P1405
Macchebaeus, Joh.	W1540
Mador, [Maidor] Jac.	P1412
Mador, [Veter] Pat.	C1440, L1446
Madour, Tho.	C1455
Magod, Jac.	C1462
Magni, Laur.	R1433
Maguer, {Major/Maguire?} Joh.	P1523
Magrudere, Dunc.	P1550
Maitland, [Matelant] Dav.	P1536
Maitland, Guil. ³⁴	P1542
Maitland, Joh.	P1481, P1482
Maitland, Ric.	P1603
Major, Joh. (see Maguer)	P1494, P1496, P1498, P1523, P1525
Malcuson, [Maluison] Rob.	P1526, P1527
Malisen, Joh.	L1508
Malyune, [Malone?] Jac.	P1542
Man, And.	L1452
Man, Dav.	L1433
[Man], Dav.	C1445
Manderston, Guil.	P1520, P1526
Mar, Joh. de	C1468
Marcelis, Joh.	L1507
Marchant, Clement	P1530
Marjoribanks, Joh. (major)	P1542
Marjoribanks, Joh. (minor)	P1542
Marjoribanks, Tho. ³⁵	P1542
Marshall - see Meschel?	
Marshall, [Marcher] Galt.	P1488, P1489

33 Perhaps elected bishop of Dunkeld in 1437.

34 Secretary to the courts of Mary I and James VI 1558-71; Handbook, 193-4.

35 Clerk Register 1549-54; Handbook, 197.

Marshall, [Marsa] Guil.	C1485
Marshall, [Marchale] Ric.	P1522
Martin, Franciscus	P1521
Martin, Jac.	P1550
Martini, And.	P1457, P1458
Masse, Joh.	L1521
Mathei, Galt.	L1515
Mathei, Joh.	P1456, P1457
Matheson, Joh.	P1532, P1539
Matheus, Tho.	L1461
Mauchan, Alex.	P1547, P1548
Maxwell, Joh.	P1490
Medezi, [Menzies/Lindsay] Joh.	C1444
Medylmast, Joh.	L1435
Megloe, Joh. de	C1519
Meldrum, Jac.	W1600
Melrose, Alex. de	C1429
Melrose, Guil. de	C1458
Melrose, Joh.	C1486
Melville, [Maluil] Joh.	H1423
Melville, Joa.	L1560
Melving, Ric.	G1546
Menthe, Joh.	C1452
Menthet, And.	L1457
Menthet, [Menteyt] Joh.	H1568
Menzies, [Monjzes] Dav.	P1484, P1486, P1487
Menzies, [Menzes] Dav.	L1527
Merra, Adr.	L1507
Merton, Rob. de	P1401, P1402
Meschel, {Marshall?} Joh.	P1568
Michaelis, And.	P1470, P1471
Michaelis, Dav. (following?)	L1466
Michaelis, Dav.	P1470, P1471
Michaelis, Ric.	L1466
Michaelis, Ric.	C1483
Middleton, And.	L1563
Middleton, Geo.	P1542
Moat, [Mouat] Guil.	P1459, P1460
Moat, Joh.	L1511
Moden, Tho.	L1466
Moncour, Dav.	C1485
Moncour?, [Muncoec] Rob.	L1456
Mongunoreus, Tho.	R1592
Monstraye, Jac.	P1535
Monte, Joh. de {Moraviensis}	L1452
Monte, Patr. de Scotia al. de	C1481
Monte, Tho. de	C1482
Monte rosarium, Guil. de	C1500
Monte rosarium, Joh. de	C1487
Monte rosarum, Tho. de	C1519
Monte Verdi, Thom. de	P1403
Montray, Jac.	P1530
Montrose - see Monte rosarium	
Monypenny, Geo.	P1452
Monypenny, Jac.	C1452
Monypenny, Joh.	L1430
Monypenny, [Monepin] Joh.	L1529
(Monipane), Tho. fil. Dav.	L1518

Moravia, Dav. de	L1473
Moravia, Geo. de	L1463
Moravia, Guil.	C1489
Moravia, Jac. de	C1482
Moravia, Joh.	C1489
Moravia, Joh. de	C1489
Moravia, Joh. de	L1500
Moravia, Mart. de	C1488
Moravia, Nic. de	C1473
Moravia, Pat. de	C1490
Moravia, Tho. de	L1505
Moravius, Tho.	H1593
Morenia, And. de	C1502
Morison, [Morissi] Galt.	L1463
Morison, Rob. de Scotia	?C1467, L1464
Morton, Tho.	B1601
Mosico(rum)?, Joh.	P1536
Mudy, [Mudi] Guil.	P1458, P1459
Muir, Adam	P1527, P1530
Muir, [Moer] Pat.	L1502
Muir, Tho.	P1491
Muirhead - see Durisdeer	
Muirhead, [Murhed] And. de	L1467
Muirhead, Rich. ³⁶	P1472, P1473, L 1475, P1476
Muirhead, [Mirhede] Tho.	L1465
Muirhead, Vedastus de	L1467
Munroe, Joh.	P1494
Murdison, Joh.	W1591
Murdock, Guil.	L1563
Murray, [Moray] Alex.	P1469, P1470
Murray, [Morrey] Alex.	P1471, P1473
Murray, [Moravie] Alex.	P1451, P1452
Murray, [Moravia] And.	C1437
Murray, [Moeray], Guil.	C1475
Murray, [Murreff] Henr.	C1443
Murray, Jac.	P1481, P1484
Murray, Jac.	P1492
Murray, Ladislaus	P1475, P1476
Nacht de S., {Knight?} Joh.	C1482
Nairn, [Narn] Dav. de	P1407, P1408, P1412
Nairn, [Narn] Rob.	C1469
Napier, [Napper] Alex.	P1459, P1460
Napier, [Napar] Pat.	L1468
Nasmith, [Nasmyt] Jac.	P1588
Nefa, Jac. de	C1443
Nesbit, [Nesbyt] Geo.	P1538
Nicholai, And.	P1466, P1467, P1468
Nicolai, Arch.	Lp1441
Nicolson, Tho.	W1590
Nova Villa, Geo. de	P1413, P1415
Numen, Tho.	P1457, P1458
Nutrisen, Joh.	W1519
Ochiltree, Joh.	P1478

Ochiltree, Rob.	P1474
Ogilvie, Alex	C1430
Ogilvie, Alex.	P1493
Ogilvie, Dav. de	C1428, L1428
Ogilvie, Geo	P1542, L1544
Ogilvie, Guil.	P1451, P1455
Ogilvie, Henr. de	P1411
Ogilvie, Jac.	C1432, V1450
Ogilvie, Jac.	C1481
Ogilvie, Jac. fil. Tho.	L1509
Ogilvie, Joh.	L1567
Ogilvie, Tho.	L1567
Oliphant, [Eliphantis] Henr.	P1468, P1469, P1470, P1474, P1476, P1483
Oliphant, Jac.	P1471, P1472, P1473 {P1489}
Olivier, Joh.	L1507
Olivier, Theod.	L1508
Olivier, [Oliver] Tho.	L1508
Orkney, [Orchadia] Galt.	C1464
Orkney, [Archadya] Guil.	C1463, B1465
Orkney, [Archadi] Joh.	C1489
Orkney, [Orchadia] Nic.	C1464
Orkney, [Archadia] Tho.	C1463, B1465
Ormond, [Oromoenius] Dav.	M1596
Orsay, [Orsoy] Goswinus de	W1502
Osteler, Gilb.	P1538
Otterburn, Adam	P1458, P1459
Otterburn, Guil.	P1406, P1407
Otterburn, Joh.	P1537
Otterburn, Nic. ³⁷	L1431
Ould, Galt.	P1542
Panater, [Painter] Dav.	P1526
Panater, [Pameer] Joh.	C1439
Panater, [Panter] Pat. ³⁸	L1498
Panthon, [Panton] Arthur.	P1590
Panthon, Jac.	C1550
Patterson, Jac. Thome	L1518
Patterson, Math.	L1524
Parkle, Henr. de	C1439
Parvus, Clemens	L1546
Pasleti, Joh.	C1489
Patricii, Ancreas	L1509
Patricii, Guil.	P1457, P1458
Patricii, Nic.	C1477
Pedi, Dav.	G1546
Peebles, Galt. (Volt.)	C1429
Peebles, Jac. de	P1401, P1403
Pelcii, Alb.	L1512
Penven, Tho.	C1486
Perth, Alex. de (fil. J. scot)	L1510
Perth - see Villa Johannis, Gurlay and Haldane	

³⁷ Clerk Register 1454-60, Secretary to the court of James II 1449-52; Handbook, 193, 196.

³⁸ Secretary to the courts of James IV and James V 1506-17; Handbook, 193.

Philippi, Guil.	C1512
Philipson, Guil.	P1493, P1494
Pighet, Camus	L1515
Pitcairn, [Petkarn] Joh.	P1463, P1464, P1471, P1476, P1479 {P1489}
Pitcairn, Rob. ³⁹	P1542
Plackbuel - see Blackwell?	
Pleynamours, Jac.	C1467
Poele - see Lacu	
Porter, [Potier/Poertyer] Joh.	C1492, P1493, P1494
Praet, Joh.	C1467
Pueri, Nic.	P1399
Purdi, Laurencius	P1477, P1478
Purnes, Joh.	C1477
Purrok, [Purio] And.	C1431, L1432
Pyille, Galt.	P1540 (2)
Quasnelli, Anneredus	L1430
Quhippa, Rob.	L1466
Quhyttet, Nic.	C1477
Quitfurd, {Whiteford?} Joh.	P1472, P1473, P1474
Ramsay, Guil.	L1464, C1465
Ramsay, Guil.	W1544
Ramsay, Henr.	P1480, P1481
Ramsay, Mal.	C1484
Ramsay, Ric.	L1472
Ramsay, Thom.	C1465
Raperlaw, Joh.	C1431
Rattray, [Rettran] Guil.	P1474
Rattray, [Ratri] Hugo	C1489
Raoul, [Rouam, Raoult] Joh.	P1538, P1540, P1542
Raoul, [Rouam] Geo.	P1550
Rausay, {Ramsay/Rothesay?} Tho.	P1525
Ray, Alex. (de Partho =Perth?)	L1536
Ray, [Rey] Pet.	L1517
Ray, Tho.	L1509
Rayt, {Reid?} Rob. ⁴⁰	P1537
Reid, [Raeus] Alex.	F1589
Reid, Joh.	L1441
Reid, [Rede] Joh.	L1486
Reid, [Red, Redde] Symon	L1436, C1439
Rent, Joh. (see Rentsen?)	L1514
Renten, Arch.	C1484
Rentsen, Laur. fil. Joh	L1513
Richardi, And.	P1485, P1486, P1488
Richardi, Joh.	C1450
Richart, Geo.	V1507, V1531
Richardson, [Ritzaerth] Joh.	L1504
Robert, Dav. fil. Guil.	L1531
Roberti, Gilb.	L1519

³⁹ Secretary to the court of James VI 1571-83; Handbook, 194.

⁴⁰ If this is the Robert Reid who went on to become bishop of Orkney from 1541-58 then it is also worth mentioning that Bishop Reid was also Lord President of the Court of Session during the eventful years of 1549-58; Handbook, 198.

Roberti, Jac.	P1416, P1417
Roberti, Jac.	C1462
Robertson, [Roberti] Guil.	P1471, P1472
Robertson, And. fil. Joh.	L1517
Robertson, Guil.	P1493
Robertson, Guil.	P1541, P1542
Robertson, Jac.	H1589
Robertson, Joh. Wihelmi de	L1514
Robertson, [Robertsii] Joh.	L1521
Roederfoes, {Rutherford?}, Joh.	C1494
Rogeri, Joh.	C1465
[Rogeri], Joh. Witvoirt	C1468
Rogerii, Pat.	C1447
Rogerson, [Roegerssoen] Rob.	C1484
Roland, Guil.	C1484
Rollo, {Rollok?} Guil.	P1413
Rora, Henr.	P1471
Rose, Hugo	P1550
Ross, Jac.	L1507
Ross, Lanceslaus	L1439
Ross, Nic.	P1466
Rossis, Guil. de (Foulis?)	P1412
Roth?, [Roch] Joh.	L1511
Rothsay, [Rotzvey] Guil.	C1439
Ruch, [Ruck] Joh.	P1451, P1452
Russel, Alex.	G1519
Rutherford, Joh.	P1551
Rutherford, Tho.	P1533
Ryc, Guil. de	L1540
Ryethart - see Richart	
Ryg - see Dumfries	
Rynd, [Ryiid/Reid?] Laur.	L1511
S. Andrews, And. de	L1502
S. Andrews, Guil. (archbishop Scheves?)	L1491
S. Andrews, [Wishart] Hugo de	L1520
S. Andrews, Jac. de	C1481
S. Andrews, Laur. de	L1484
S. Andrews, Tho. de	C1522
S. Claro, Tho. de	P1412
S. Johanne, Rob. de	L1503
S. Johanne, Tho. de	L1518
S. Johannes - see Perth	
S. Maria - Dundee?	
S. Maria, Jac. de	C1501
S. Marie - see Kinmont	
S. Petro, Joa. fil. Guil.	L1531
S. Nicolo, Guil. de (Morav.)	C1522
S. Nicolo - see Grays	
Sagittis, Joh. de	P1406
Saison, Sim.	P1521
Sanster, Henr.	P1525
Sas, Joh.	L1519
Scenet, {Skene?} Joh.	L1489
Scenes, [Ceineius] Jac.	P1578
Scenes, [Ceineus] Tho.	P1578
Sceneus = Skene?	

Schaw - **See Shaw**
 Scherar, [Stherar] Duncan P1460, P1461
 Schirer, Alex. P1493
 Scherer - **see Sier**
 Scheves?, Archbishop William - **see S. Andrews**
 Schoitte, Joh. C1462
 Schotten, Ric. C1480
 Schrinaeus, {Schrivner?} Joh. R1592
 Scilden, Guil. P1477
 Scoet, Helyas de L1508
 Scort/Schoert - **see Short?**
 Scot, Adam. P1603
 Scot, [Schoet] Dav. C1477
 Scot, Dav. P1527, P1528
 Scot, Dav. P1552
 Scot, Guil. P1492, P1493
 Scot, Jac. P1528
 Scot, Joh. P1493, P1494
 [Scot], Steph. de Scotia C1473
 Scot, Renatus P1525
 Scot, Tho. P1542
 Scot, Tho. P1597
 Scotland, Joa. de [] fil. Galt. L1535
 Scoti, Jac. L1520
 Scotia, Adam de C1466
 Scotia, Adam de C1493
 Scotia, Alex. de C1452
 Scotia, Alex. de C1471
 Scotia, Alex. de (2) C1473
 Scotia, Alex. de C1485
 Scotia, Alex. de C1487
 Scotia, Alex. de (2) C1490
 Scotia, Alex. de C1497
 Scotia, And. de C1454
 Scotia, And, de (previous?) V1455
 Scotia, And. de C1482
 Scotia, And. de (previous?) C1483
 Scotia, And. de C1486
 Scotia, And. de C1490
 Scotia, And. de C1500
 Scotia, Dan. de L1459
 Scotia, Dav. de C1473
 Scotia, Dav. de (see previous) C1474
 Scotia, Dav. de C1479
 Scotia, Dav. de C1499
 Scotia, Galt. de C1453
 Scotia, Geo. de C1438
 Scotia, Gilb. de - **see Brown**
 Scotia, Gisb. de L1460
 Scotia, Guil. de L1448
 Scotia, Guil. de C1462
 Scotia, Guil. de C1471
 Scotia, Guil. de C1493
 Scotia, Guil. de C1500
 Scotia, Henr. de C1445
 Scotia, Jac. de C1435
 Scotia, Jac. de C1475
 Scotia, Jac. de C1487

Scotia, Jac. de	C1491
Scotia, Joh. de	C1441, C1443
Scotia, Joh. de	L1448
Scotia, Joh. de	C1452
Scotia, Joh. de	C1453
Scotia, Joh. de	C1466
Scotia, Joh. de (2)	C1466
Scotia, Joh. de	C1475
Scotia, Joh. minor de	C1489
Scotia, Laur. de	C1486
Scotia, Mart. de	C1472
Scotia, Matheus de	C1434
Scotia, Pat. de	C1438
Scotia, Pat. de	C1452
Scotia, Pat. de	C1493
Scotia, Pet. de	C1488
Scotia, Ric. de	C1454
Scotia, Ric. de	C1467
Scotia, Ric. de	C1471
Scotia, Ric. de	C1473
Scotia, Ric. de	C1475
Scotia, Ric, de	C1486
Scotia, Ric. de	C1490
Scotia, Rob. de - see Morison	
Scotia, Rob. de	C1496
Scotia, Rop. de	C1485
Scotia, Rop. de	C1488
Scotia, Sim. de	C1433
Scotia, Tho. de	C1454
Scotia, Tho. de - see Durchem	
Scotia, Tho. de	C1468
Scotia, Tho. de	C1475
Scotia, Tho. de	C1489
Scotia, Tho. de	C1491
Scotia, Tho. de	C1493
Scotia, Tho. maior de (Aberd.)	C1497
Scotia, Tho. minor de	C1497
Scotia, Tho. de	C1514
Scoti, Joh.	C1424
Scoti, Pat.	P1458, P1459
Scotus, Dan.	M1560
Scotus, Dav. (de Angusia)	L1542
Scotus, Ed.	P1415
Scotus, Hugo	C1438
Scotus, Joh.	W1539
Scotus, Jud.	C1444
Scotus, Labertus	P1452
Scotus, Pat.	P1415
Scotus, Tho.	P1409
Scroder, Guil.	R1542
Scrivner? - see Schrinaeus	
Scuel, Alex.	L1466
Scut, [Schuyt] Galt.	C1438
Scut, Guil.	P1414, P1415, P1416
Scrimgeour, Henr.	P1538
Scrimgeour, Jac.	P1414, C1419
Scrimgeour, Joh.	C1478
Scrimgeour, Rob.	L1430

Seaton, Arch.	P1542
Seaton, Dav. de	C1422
Seaton, [Sceton] Dav.	P1494
Seaton, Galt.	P1577
Seaton, Geo.	P1542
Seaton, Jac. de	P1579
Seaton, [Seton] Joh.	L1563
Seraes, Dav.	C1430
Senapius - see Sinapius	
Seyuart - see Stuart	
Sharp, [Scarp], Joh.	C1485
Shaw, Jac.	P1493, P1494
Shaw, [Schau] Rob.	P1480, P1481, P1483
Shaw, Rob. ⁴¹	P1490, P1491
Shaw, Simon	P1527, P1530
Short?, [Scort] Joh.	L1467
Short?, [Schoert] Joh.	C1480
Short?, [Schord] Joh.	C1483
Sibbald, And.	P1481, P1482, P1487
Sibbald, Dav.	P1473
Sibbald, [Subot] Dav.	P1493, P1494
Sier, Joh.	C1486
Silvius, {Wood?} Guil.	H1570
Simons, [Symonis] Alex.	L1477
Simons, [Simonis] Guil.	C1475
Simons, [Simonis] Simon	L1502
Simonson, [Symonton] Pat.	C1421
Simson, And.	C1494
Simson, [Suymson] Alex.	C1463
Simson, Alex.	P1481, P1483
Simson, Guil.	P1494, P1495
Simson, [Syason, Synson] Sim.	P1528, P1536, P1538
Sinapius, [Synape] Alex.	P1537, C1542, G1545
Sinclair, [S. Claro] Adam de	C1461
Sinclair, [S. Claro] Alex. de	C1457
Sinclair, Alex.	P1542
Sinclair, Dav.	P1599
Sinclair, Gilb.	P1542
Sinclair, Joh. ⁴²	P1528, P1531
Sinclair, [Synkaler] Tho.	C1471
Sincter, Guilb.	L1521
Sires, {Seraes?} Dav.	P1473
Skene - see Sceneus	
Skene, [Sckeneus] Joh.	W1570
Slegim, {s. Sluychman?} Jac.	L1521
Slich, [Slijch] Alex.	C1469
Slich, Galt.	L1499
Sloen, [Sloe] Tho.	P1484, P1486
Sluychman, Pet.	C1466
Smalem, [Smalhem] Tho.	P1467, P1468
Small, [Smael] Alex.	C1470
Smith, [Smit] Jasper	P1447, P1448, P1450, P1451, P1452

⁴¹ Possibly Robert Shaw, bishop of Moray 1525-27.

⁴² Lord President of the Council of Session 1565-66, bishop of Brechin 1565-66; Handbook, 198.

Sog, Tho.	C1485
Sollert, Alex.	C1458
Somerual, Joh.	P1538
Soravia, Joh. de	P1457, P1458
Spalding, Galt.	P1449, P1450
Spalding, [Spalatinus] Galt.	W1544
Spalding, Guil.	P1413, P1415, P1418
Spalding, Tho. {Dundee}	L1473
Spank, Jac.	L1499
Spens, [Spensz] Adam	P1464, P1465, P1468, P1469
Spens, Alex.	L1521
Spens, Guil.	L1503
Sperk, Guil.	P1418, P1419
Sperk, [Sparck] Guil.	C1465
Spinge, Guil.	L1517
Spuard - see Stuart	
Sreneus, {Sceneus/Skene?} Joh.	B1568
Staent, Jac.	L1508
[Stanton], Joh.	C1467
Stanton, [Stenton] Joh.	P1527, P1533
Stepheni, [Staeffeni] Joh.	C1471
Stirling, [Striveling] Dun. de	P1411, P1414
Stirling, [Stierlant] Jac.	L1498
Stirling, [Steyrlin] Henr.	P1550
Storiswald, [Storiswaude] Geo.	P1457, P1458
Strabrock, Rob. ⁴³	P1409, P1410
Strabrock, Rob.	P1470, P1471
Strachan, [Stracheran] Dav.	C1477
Strachan, [Strachauchan] Guil.	P1484, P1486
Strachan?, [Struken] Guil.	L1498
Strachan, [Strachachin] Jac.	P1526
Strachan, [Strawaquin] Joh.	C1476
Strade, Joh.	L1467
Straeden, ⁴⁴ Alex.	C1498
Strael, And.	C1447
Straiton, Jac.	C1467
Straiton, Michael	P1483, P1484
Straiton, [Straton] Tho.	L1465
Straloch, Rob.	P1538
Stratori, Ed.	L1518
Stramgyglot, Jac. de	P1415
Stranck, Ric.	L1542
Strank, Tho.	L1542
Strang, Guliel.	W1590
Strang, Reg.	P1493, P1495
Stredayn de Myrntz ⁴⁵ , Geo.	C1465
Stroghey, Joh. de	L1496
[Stoddard], Rob.	C1454, C1490
Stoer, {Scot?} Jac.	P1409
Stuart, [Steward] Adam.	P1538
Stuart, Alex.	P1530, P1531

43 Bishop of Caithness 1427-46.

44 This surname could be either Strachan, Straiton or Stredane.

45 ibid.

Stuart, [Stevart] And. ⁴⁶	P1465, P1466
Stuart, [Seyuart] And.	V1469
Stuart, [Stiewart] And. ⁴⁷	P1493, P1494
Stuart, Arch.	P1491, P1492, P1494
Stuart, [Spuard] Dav.	P1527
Stuart, [Stewart] Galt.	C1421
Stuart, [Stewart] Galt. ⁴⁸	C1442
Stuart, [Stevart] Galt.	P1469, P1470
Stuart, [Stiewart] Galt.	P1493, P1494
Stuart, [Stewart] Joh.	L1533
Stuart, Joh.	P1534, P1535, P1541, P1546, P1549, P1550, P1552, P1574
Stuart, Joh.	P1538
Stuart, Joh. (minor)	P1538
Stuart, Joh.	P1552
Stuart, Pat.	P1530, P1531
Stuart, [Stewart] Rob.	C1422
Stuart, [Stouart] Theophilus	P1529
Stuart, [Stevart] Tho.	P1467
Stubel, Rob.	P1470
Stuet, [Stut] Joh.	P1459, P1460
Stural, Galt.	P1530
Suenton, Dav.	P1542
Sutherland, [Saundelanden] Jac.	L1553
Sutherland, [Suterlaten] Joh.	L1499
Sutherland, Ken. [Cennicus]	P1478, P1480
Swift, [Suyft] Rob.	P1443
Taijne, {Laing?} Jac.	L1563
?Tassier, Joh. le	L1508
Telling, Dav.	L1461
Tempelton, Nin.	P1530, P1533, C1546
Tennent, [Tednet] Geo.	P1533
Tennent, [Tednet] Pet.	P1533
Tharda, And.	W1525
Thazlifer, Tho.	C1465
Thome, Dav.	C1523
Thome, Guil.	P1411, P1415
Thome, Jac. - see Patterson	
Thome, Laur.	L1505
Thome, Rop.	C1498
Thomson, Joh.	C1484
Thomson, Joh. fil. Codbert,	L1517
Thornton, Alex.	P1552, P1553
Thornton, Jac.	P1542
Thornton, [Thorictolone] Joa.	P1538, P1539
Thornton, Joh.	P1542
Thornton, [Torenton] Alex.	C1442
Thula, {Tullo?} Tho. de	L1432
Til, Dav.	L1521

⁴⁶ Possibly Andrew Stewart, bishop of Moray 1482-1501.

⁴⁷ Possibly Andrew Stewart, bishop of Caithness 1501-1517. See also previous note.

⁴⁸ Elected but not confirmed as Bishop of Dunkeld in 1447.

Tiree, [Tyri] Joh. de	L1448
Todd, Pat.	P1538, P1539, P1541
Toderick, Geo.	P1525
Toderic, Tho.	L1463
Tolch, Joh.	L1463
Tollideff, Rob.	C1474
Tollifer, [Tailzefer] Geo.	P1542
Tollu - see Tullo	
Tornel, Guil. de	L1445
Toullous, Jac.	L1452
Tours, [Towris] Guil.	P1470, P1471, P1472
Tours, [Touris] Nic.	P1452, P1453
Traverse, Pat.	P1547
Trepotrich, Dav.	C1495
Troup, Pat.	P1522
Tullo, [Tollu] Jac.	L1467
Tullo, [Tullow] Martinus	P1470, P1471
Tulloch, Joh. de	P1399, P1402
Tulloch, Tho.	P1458, P1459
Tunnoch, Nic.	P1409, P1410
Turnbull?, [Tournebulle] Gilb.	P1543
Turnbull, Guil. ⁴⁹	L1430
Turnbull, [Turnebus] Jac.	F1582
Turnbull, Jerome.	P1525
Turnbull, Nic.	P1483, P1484, P1485
Turner, Guil.	C1522
Turner, [Turnetus] Jac.	W1579
Tyndale, And.	P1486, P1487, P1488, P1489
Uddvart, Joa.	F1589
Uimierus, {Wemyss/Hume?} Rob.	H1593
Urnoes de Mirnia, Tho.	C1475
Urquhart, [Rouquart] Tho.	P1481
Valcart, [Vualcalart] Guil.	P1575
Valcart, [Waelkarde] Tho.	C1499
Valkair, Rich.	P1568
Vaus, [Vaix] Guil.	L1500
Vaus, Mart.	P1446, P1447
Vaus, Tho. ⁵⁰	P1446, P1447
Vaven, [Wawen], Guil.	P1471, P1472, P1473
Veyltre, Joh.	L1473
Verker, Tho.	C1487
Vinfra, Guil.	P1458, P1459
Vocat, Dav.	P1494, P1495
Vodal, Joh.	Lp1441
Vyly, Joh.	L1440
Wacoup, [Wauchopt, Vaucop] Rob.	P1522, P1526
Waddat, Guil.	L1464
Walcarus, Gilb.	R1563

⁴⁹ Secretary to the court of James II 1441-42, Keeper of the Privy Seal 1440-48, bishop of Glasgow 1447-54; Handbook, 193.

⁵⁰ Keeper of the Privy Seal 1455-56, Secretary 1456-58; Handbook, 193.

Wallace, [Wales] Guil.	C1451
Wallace, Guil.	P1579
Wallace, [Walas] Joh.	P1466, P1467
Walteri, Pet.	L1500
Walwood, [Waluodt] Guliel.	W1573
Walwood, [Waelwot] Joh.	L1463
Wan, Joh.	L1537
Watson, Jac.	C1484, L1485
Watson, Joh.	C1512
Watson, Pet.	C1481
Watson, [Wathson] Ric.	C1480
Wayrd, Guil.	C1455
Weddel, Guil.	C1486
Wedderburn, Rob.	P1538
Wedderburn, [Vodderburn] Rob.	W1574
Weston, Galt.	P1527
Weston, [Veston] Tho.	P1543
Weymss - see Uimierus	
White, [Quyt] Dav.	L1508
Whiteford - see Quitfurd	
Whitelaw, Arch. ⁵¹	C1440
Wier, Joh.	L1503
Wick, [Wyck] And.	C1493
Wiitz, Geo. fil. Geo	L1530
Wijc, [Wijss or Wick] Jac.	L1441
Wijss, Joh.	C1467
Wijss, Tho.	C1462
Wijss, Tho.	C1499
Wilhelmi, Jac.	C1491
Wilhelmi, Joh.	C1498
Wilhelmi, Joh. - see Robertson	
Wilhelmi, {Williams?} Pat.	C1476
Wilson, [Vylson] Joh.	L1467
Willa, Adam	L1498
Williamson, Adam.	P1491, P1493
Williamson, Tho.	P1490, P1491
Winram, Gilb.	M1527
Wischart, Geo.	L1529
Wishart, Hugo - see Scoti	
Wishart, Joh. - see Huyo	
Wittande, Jac. de (de Dundee)	L1517
Witvoirt - see Rogeri	
Woer, Joh. de	C1461
Wolf, Tho.	P1488, P1489
Woodman, [Wodman] Guil.	C1436
Wot, Alex.	P1530
Woutelets, Ingram.	L1468
Wright, Rob. Glassin	P1473
Ydil, Joh.	P1399, P1400
Young, [Zong] Dav.	P1489, P1490
Young, [Jung] Geo.	P1473
Young, [Juvenis] Joh.	C1440
Young, [Juvenis] Joh.	L1498

⁵¹ Secretary to the courts of James III and IV, 1462-93; Handbook, 193.

Young, [Zong]	L1503
Young, [Juvenis] Pat.	P1411
Young, [Tzang] Tho.	C1512
Younger, [Jongere] Alex. de	L1468
Yvet, And.	C1476
Zester, {Yester?} Ste.	L1502

INDEX OF PLACENAMES ASSOCIATED WITH SCOTTISH STUDENTS - 1400-1603

- listed by year, university and (no. of individuals at that university).

Aberdeen ¹	1432 L; 1440 C; 1463 L; 1466 L; 1473 L; 1476 L; 1477 L; 1481 C; 1483 C(2); 1485 C; 1486 L; 1487 L; 1491 C; 1493 C; 1494 C; 1497 C; 1498 C; 1500 C; 1501 C(2); 1503 L; 1506 L; 1508 L(2); 1511 L; 1514 L; 1519 P,L; 1521 L(5); 1522 P,C; 1525 P; 1527 L; 1528 L; 1529 P; 1533 P; 1535 P; 1536 P; 1537 P; 1538 P; 1540 P; 1541 P; 1542 P(2); 1544 L; 1545 P; 1550 C; 1551 P; 1553 P(2); 1560 L; 1562 L; 1563 L; 1564 L; 1565 L; 1566 L; 1567 P; 1575 P; 1577 P(2); 1578 P(2); 1580 P; 1584 B; 1586 P; 1589 P; 1590 P; 1592 B,R; 1595 P; 1597 P(2); 1599 H(2); 1603 P(2),H
Aberdeen d.	1422 C; 1427 L; 1428 L; 1431 L; 1433 L; 1434 H; 1435 L; 1440 C; 1443 C(2); 1444 P; 1445 P,C; 1446 P(2); 1447 P(2); 1449 L; 1451 P(2); 1452 C; 1453 P; 1458 P(2),L; 1459 P(2); 1460 P; 1461 P(2),L; 1463 P,L(2); 1464 C,L; 1465 C,L; 1466 P(2),C,L; 1467 P(2),L; 1468 P,C(2); 1469 P,C(4); 1470 P; 1471 P(2); 1472 P; 1473 L; 1474 C; 1475 C,L; 1477 P,L; 1478 P; 1479 P,C(2); 1480 P,C(3); 1481 P; 1482 P(2),C,L; 1483 P; 1484 P; 1485 P; 1486 P,L; 1487 L; 1488 P; 1489 P; 1490 P(3); 1491 P(4); 1492 P(5); 1493 P(12); 1494 P(9),C; 1496 L(2); 1498 C; 1499 C; 1500 L(2); 1504 L; 1512 C(2); 1516 L; 1519 F; 1521 L(2); 1522 L; 1524 L; 1527 L; 1551 L
Angus	1407 P; 1468 L; 1472 C; 1479 C; 1485 L; 1488 C; 1490 L; 1492 C; 1498 C(3),L; 1501 L; 1502 L; 1503 L(3); 1505 L; 1506 L; 1507 L; 1508 C,L; 1509 L(2); 1511 L(2); 1513 L(2); 1542 L, 1589 W
Arbroath	1405 P
Argyll	1534 P
Banff	1480 C
Brechin	1466 P; 1468 P; 1523 P; 1526 P; 1529 L(3); 1532 P; 1536 P; 1538 P(2); 1539 P; 1542 P; 1551 P; 1579 P
Brechin d.	1400 P; 1413 P; 1419 C; 1430 L(2); 1432 C; 1436 L(2); 1438 C; 1439 C(2); 1443 C; 1444 C; 1447 P; 1449 P; 1456 P; 1459 P; 1466 L(3); 1467 P,L(2); 1468 P; 1469 P; 1470 P(3); 1471(3); 1472 P; 1473 P(2); 1474 P; 1475 P; 1476 L; 1479 C(3); 1480 C; 1484 P; 1486 P; 1489 P,L; 1490 L; 1493 P ² ; 1494 P; 1495 C(2); 1497 L; 1499 L; 1501 L; 1502 L; 1509 L; 1515 L; 1521 L(2); 1522 L; 1528 L; 1531 L(2)

¹ Unfortunately Dr. McNeill's article on Scottish students at Paris in the sixteenth century does not distinguish between geographic and diocese names. However it is probably safe to assume that most of these references after 1519 refer to the diocese.

² Hector Boecii [de Dundee], d. Brictionensis

Buchan	1462 C; 1498 C(2); 1597 H
Caithness d.	1432 L; 1433 L; 1470 P; 1471 P; 1478 P; 1480 P; 1494 C
Cam. d.?	1429 L
Candide Case d. ³	1421 C; 1432 L; 1438 C; 1439 C; 1466 P; 1470 P; 1472 P; 1473 P; 1476 P; 1479 P; 1484 P; 1486 P; 1489 P; 1491 P(2); 1492 P; 1493 P; 1494 P
Carden	1521 L
Clyspyndia?	1466 C
Coleana (Cologne?)	1485 C
Connel	1512 L
Cremoria?	1498 C
Cupar	1450 C; 1482 C; 1508 L(2); 1513 L(2); 1519 L; 1527 L
Cupio de Cona?	1468 L
Curtraco?	1520 L
Diekelennier	1515 L
Dingwall	1521 L
Dumfries	1520 L; 1521 L; 1527 L
Dunbar	1484 C
Dunblane	1525 P; 1536 P; 1542 L; 1550 P; 1552 P; 1568 P(2)
Dunblane d.	1443 C; 1448 L; 1452 C; 1463 C; 1476 C; 1480 L; 1489 L; 1492 P; 1493 P; 1536 L
Dundee	1466 L; 1471 C; 1473 L; 1476 L; 1484 C; 1497 L; 1512 C; 1513 L; 1514 C; 1515 C(2),L; 1516 L; 1517 L; 1518 L; 1521 L(2); 1528 L; 1530 L; 1533 L
Dunkeld	1491 L; 1499 L; 1521 P(2); 1525 P; 1527 P; 1528 P; 1533 P; 1538 P; 1542 P; 1549 P; 1550 P; 1582 P
Dunkeld d.	1419 C; 1421 C; 1440 L; 1441 C; 1470 P,L; 1472 P; 1473 P; 1486 P; 1493 P; 1511 L; 1522 L
Edinburgh	1417 P; 1419 P; 1420 P; 1421 P; 1423 P; 1424 P,C; 1425 P; 1426 P; 1428 P; 1441 C(2); 1467 L; 1484 C; 1485 C; 1488 C; 1499 C; 1500 L; 1501 C; 1511 L; 1514 L; 1517 L; 1518 L(4); 1521 C; 1527 M; 1529 L; 1530 L; 1533 W; 1536 L; 1555 Lp; 1557 L; 1561 Lp; 1589 H,W; 1590 W; 1598 B; 1601 B
Edinburgh d. ⁴	1445 L
Fawside	1413 P
Foeruyss (Foyers?)	1478 C
Forgudia? ⁵	1511 L; 1513 L; 1517 L
Failford	1516 L
Galloway	1550 P; 1571 P(2)
Glasgow	1480 C; 1516 V; 1520 P(2); 1523 P; 1524 P; 1525 P; 1526 P(2); 1527 P(5); 1528 P(4); 1529 P; 1530 P; 1531 P(2); 1532 P; 1534 P(2); 1536 P(3); 1537 P; 1538 P(13); 1539 P; 1540 P; 1542 P(14); 1543 P; 1545 P; 1547 P; 1550 P; 1551 P(2); 1575 P; 1576 P; 1577 P(2); 1582 P; 1584 P; 1588 P; 1596 H; 1599 P;

³ Candide Case and Galloway diocese are grouped together here.

⁴ probably from Edinburgh, St. Andrews diocese.

⁵ Appears as Forgudia, Fourcondia, Vergundia. (Forgan?)

Glasgow (con't)	1603 P
Glasgow d.	1430 C,L(2); 1431 L; 1434 C; 1435 L; 1437 P,L; 1438 C; 1442 C; 1443 C; 1444 C(2); 1445 P; 1446 P(3),C; 1447 P; 1448 P; 1449 P(2); 1451 P; 1453 P(2); 1456 P; 1457 L; 1458 P(2); 1459 P(2); 1463 P,C; 1464 P,L; 1465 P(2),L(2); 1466 P(3),L; 1467 P(5),L(3); 1468 P(2),C; 1469 P(6); 1470 P(4); 1472 P(3); 1473 P(3); 1474 P(2); 1475 P(2); 1476 P(2), 1477 P; 1479 C(2); 1480 P,L; 1481 P(2); 1483 P(3); 1484 P(3); 1485 P; 1487 P; 1488 P(3); 1489 P(3); 1490 P; 1491 P(2); 1492 P(4); 1493 P(6); 1494 P(5); 1495 P(2); 1498 P(2); 1503 L; 1504 L; 1505 L(2); 1511 L; 1517 L; 1520 L; 1521 C; 1527 L; 1534 L
Haddington	1501 L; 1507 L; 1508 L
Hibernia	1456 V; 1463 C(2), 1468 C(2); 1509 L; 1534 W; 1536 W; 1597 W
Huyo (Howe?) ⁶	1523 L
Isles	1472 C
Kelso	1486 C; 1579 P
Lanark	1467 C; 1522 C
Lauda?	1511 L
Lithgow (Litgau)	1527 M(2)
Lindores?	1502 L
Le Mans	1568 P
Lens	1520 L
Lochresk?	1467 L
London (Lothian?)	1507 L
Lothian (Ladonia)	1471 C(2); 1483 C; 1502 L; 1503 L; 1522 C
Mar	1468 C
Marovia?	1522 L
Mearns	1465 C; 1475 C
Megloe?	1519 C
Melrose	1429 C; 1441 C
Merton	1401 P; 1402 P
Monte	1481 C; 1482 C
Monte St. Andrews?	1508 L
Monte Verdi	1403 P
Montrose	1487 C; 1500 C; 1519 C; 1521 V
Mornea? ⁷	1535 L
Murray	1463 L; 1471 C; 1473 C,L; 1482 C; 1483 C; 1488 C; 1489 C(2); 1490 C; 1493 C; 1494 C; 1498 L; 1499 L; 1500 L; 1502 C; 1505 L(2); 1508 L; 1515 L; 1520 L(3); 1542 P; 1547 P; 1590 P

⁶ Since this entry is associated with the surname of Wishart, Huyo may be Howe of the Mearns which lies just west of the Pitarrow family seat.

⁷ Most likely Murray or the Mearns.

- Murray d.⁸ 1412 P; 1432 L; 1439 L; 1440 L; 1441 L; 1444 C;
1445 C,L; 1450 L; 1452 L(3); 1461 L(3); 1464 L;
1466 L; 1468 P; 1469 P; 1471 P; 1478 C; 1480 C;
1489 P; 1490 P; 1491 P; 1492 P; 1493 P(2);
1494 P,C; 1495 P(2); 1508 L; 1515 L; 1522 C;
1533 L
- Nairn 1408 P; 1412 P
Newbridge⁹ 1522 L
Northberwick 1477 C
Norwich 1522 L
Novo Villa¹⁰ 1413 P; 1415 P
- Orkney/Archadia 1463 C(2); 1464 C(2); 1465 B(2); 1503 L; 1521 L
- Paris 1461 C; 1525 P(3); 1543 P; 1597 P
Peebles 1401 P; 1403 P; 1429 C
Perth/Villa S.Joh. 1401 P; 1488 L, 1489 L; 1509 L; 1510 L; 1525 W; 1536 L;
1563 L
- Ratray 1489 C
Remys? 1521 L
Reubotille? 1466 C
Robertson 1514 L
Rosamaria (Ross?) 1459 V
Ross 1412 P; 1488 L; 1514 L; 1529 P; 1538 P; 1542 P
Ross d. 1432 L(2); 1433 L; 1441 L; 1445 C; 1457 L; 1458 P;
1459 L; 1466 L; 1486 P,L; 1487 P; 1488 P,L;
1489 P(2); 1490 P; 1491 P; 1492 P; 1493 P;
1494 P(2); 1511 L
- Rouen 1538 P
- St. Andrews 1428 C; 1456 L; 1463 L; 1465 P; 1481 C; 1484 L; 1489 L;
1490 L; 1498 L; 1502 L; 1506 L(2); 1509 L; 1511 L;
1513 L; 1514 L(2); 1515 L; 1516 V; 1518 L(3);
1519 P,L; 1520 P,L(2); 1521 L(4); 1522 C; 1524 L;
1525 P(5); 1526 P(4); 1527 P(3); 1528 P(2); 1529 L;
1530 P(7); 1531 P(4),L; 1532 P; 1533 P(4); 1534 P;
1535 P(3) 1536 P(2); 1537 P(5); 1538 P(17);
1539 P(3); 1540 P(2); 1541 P(3); 1542 P(25);
1543 P(2); 1544 W; 1546 P; 1547 p(2); 1548 P;
1550 P; 1551 P(2); 1552 P(4); 1553 P; 1567 P(4);
1568 P(7); 1569 P; 1575 P; 1579 P(3); 1581 P;
1582 P; 1584 P(2); 1586 P; 1595 P; 1599 P;
1601 P(2); 1603 P(2)
- St. Andrews d. 1410 P; 1421 C(2); 1422 C; 1423 C; 1428 C,L(3);
1429 C,L; 1430 C,L(4); 1431 C(3),L; 1432 C(2),L;
1433 L; 1434 L; 1435 C; 1436 C(4); 1437 C,L;
1438 C(2); 1439 C; 1441 C; 1443 C(5); 1444 P(2);

8 Moraviensis

9 Novo Ponte, Brechin diocese.

10 Literally 'Newtown' or 'Newton' of which there are more than a dozen occurrences in Scotland.

St. Andrews d. (continued)	1445 P(4),C,L; 1446 P(3),C; 1447 P(6); 1448 P,L(2); 1449 P(3); 1450 P; 1451 P(7),C,L; 1452 P(2),C(2),L; 1453 P(2); 1455 L; 1456 P(2),L; 1457 C(5),L(2); 1458 P(9),C; 1459 P,L; 1460 P,L; 1461 P(2),C(9); 1462 C(7); 1463 P(4),L(3); 1464 P(8),L(4); 1465 P,C(4),L(3); 1466 P(5),L(5); 1467 P(3),C,L(5); 1468 P(3),C(2),L(6); 1469 P(6),L; 1470 P(7),C(2),L; 1471 P(5); 1472 P(11),L(3); 1473 P(5),L(2); 1474 P(3); 1475 C(2),L; 1476 P(3),C(2),L; 1477 P; 1478 P; 1480 P(2),C; 1481 P(7); 1482 P(2); 1483 P(3),C; 1484 P(10),C(3); 1485 P(8),L; 1486 P(6); 1487 P(7); 1488 P(6); 1489 P(4),L; 1490 P(6), 1491 P(3),L; 1492 P(8); 1493 P(4); 1494 P(11); 1495 P(4); 1496 P; 1497 P; 1499 L(2); 1500 L; 1502 L(6); 1503 L(3); 1505 L; 1507 L(4); 1509 L(2); 1510 L(5); 1511 L(4); 1512 C,L; 1513 L(5); 1515 L(4); 1517 L(3); 1518 L(3); 1519 L(3),W; 1520 L(2); 1521 C,L(4); 1522 C; 1530 L; 1531 L; 1549 L
St. Beiano	1510 L
St. Bonifacii	1521 L
St. Claro ¹¹	1412 P; 1461 C
St. Cruce ¹²	1499 L; 1511 L
St. Flour	1538 P
St. Johann	1503 L; 1504 L; 1507 L(4); 1508 L(2); 1509 L(2); 1515 L(2); 1518 L(2); 1519 L
St. Margarita	1519 L
St. Maria ¹³	1489L; 1499 L(2); 1501 C; 1503 L
St. Michaeli	1533 L
St. Nicolo ¹⁴	1496 L; 1500 L(2); 1522 C
St. Petro	1531 L(2)
Stirling	1411 P; 1414 P
Thains	1486 L
Therwez (Tervie?)	1537 L
Tulloch	1402 P

Villa or Urbe Johannis - see Perth

11 Sinclair?

12 Associated with Murray in 1499 entry, Holyrood and St. Andrews in 1511.

13 Possibly St Mary's in Dundee.

14 St. Nicolo is associated with the dioese of Aberdeen in 1496 entry.

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