The Medieval Church in the Dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray

RICHARD ORAM

ABSTRACT

Aberdeen and Moray dioceses emerged in the second quarter of the 12th century as part of the wider development of Scottish ecclesiastical government. Growth of diocesan structures was coeval with formation of a parochial system; many parishes were quickly appropriated to the cathedrals to provide prebends for diocesan officials and canons. Consequently, whilst the cathedrals were richly-endowed and architecturally sophisticated few parish churches saw resources devoted to their enlargement. A limited pool of magnate patrons and their limited economic resources resulted in the founding and endowment of few significant monasteries but royal patronage resulted in some being conceived and built on a grand scale before crown support switched from the monastic orders to the orders of friars. Lesser nobles directed their patronage to the founding of hospitals and, later, to collegiate churches, whilst burgess communities invested heavily in endowing their burghs' parish churches. A late medieval flourishing of patronage coincided with internal reform at diocesan and individual monastic level, resulting in a higher standard of clerical education and spiritual commitment at the time of the Reformation than in some other Scottish dioceses. Reform, when it came, was often imposed through external political direction rather than local action.

INTRODUCTION

NORTH-EAST Scotland's two medieval dioceses, Aberdeen and Moray, together encompassed around one fifth of the mainland landmass of the kingdom and were regarded as fourth and fifth respectively in the hierarchy of seniority within the thirteen sees of the Scottish church province. Despite their territorial extent and the prosperity of Aberdeen as a commercial centre, neither diocese contained wealth that in any way approached the level of Glasgow or St Andrews, the richest and most populous sees in Scotland. In contrast to the 282 parishes of St Andrews diocese,

Aberdeen contained only 85 and Moray 71 parishes;[1] the resource base upon which these sees were built was a fraction of that which sustained the institutions of religious life in St Andrews. Both dioceses contained four royal burghs each by the end of the 12th century, as well as a number of baronial burghs by the early 16th century, but of these only 'New' Aberdeen – which was distinct from the bishop's burgh of 'Old' Aberdeen – held a population and generated wealth similar to levels in burghs like Dundee, Perth or Edinburgh; some, like Cullen or Kintore, were simply large villages. In common with most of medieval Britain, the bulk of the population was rural and sustained by agriculture, but it was not spread evenly throughout the dioceses where complex geology and geomorphology meant that good soils existed only in discrete pockets. Concentrations of population in Aberdeen diocese were located in coastal districts and the eastern parts of Mar and the Garioch, while in Moray the chief centres were in Strathbogie and the eastern end of the low-lying coastal district known as the Laich. In both, the settled areas penetrated the mountainous interiors along the main river valleys but both also contained large swathes of thinly-populated land. This was either mountainous uplands like the Mounth that separates Aberdeen's Deeside from Angus and the Mearns to the south, and the Cairngorm plateau that extends west from Mar through the southern half of Moray, or zones of poor and stony or boggy land like the interior of Buchan. Such areas possessed wealth of a different kind, mainly pasture, and both the bishops and the major monastic communities controlled extensive blocks of upland grazing on which sheep but more especially cattle were raised. Even more important, however, were the fishing resources of the region, especially salmon fisheries on the Dee, Spey and Findhorn, which in the later Middle Ages delivered significant income to the bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, and contributed substantially to the wealth of monasteries like Kinloss. But such wealth was relative and to build a cathedral of the scale and sophistication of Elgin meant the diversion of resources from the parishes to the diocesan centre. Given that slender economic base and competition to exploit it, it is unsurprising that neither diocese sustained the number and diversity of religious institutions of the richer sees to the south, but that also begs the question of why two sees were created in a region where population and resource levels could have better sustained one.

ORIGINS AND DIOCESAN INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

At Aberdeen, a complex 'prehistory' of the see has been confused by the forging of early charters in the surviving cathedral cartulary and through the semi-fabulous account offered by Hector Boece in his 1522 *Vitae* of the bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen.[2] The origins of the see have been discussed at length elsewhere and the debate will not be rehearsed here.[3] The key point, however, is the traditional insistence that Old Aberdeen was a new location to which the see was moved in the 1130s from an earlier episcopal centre at Mortlach in the Moray uplands. There may have been an early church at Old Aberdeen but there is no secure historical evidence for any pre-12th-century monastic or episcopal centre there; a *monasterium de murthillach* and five churches pertaining to it, however, were recorded in 1157.[4] Memories of Mortlach's earlier importance are expressed in a spurious Aberdeen charter purporting to be granted by a 'King Malcolm' to a Bishop Bean, giving him the church and its dependencies for his see. Boece later used this charter to validate his argument for the early origin of Aberdeen diocese and identified this king as Malcolm II (1005-34). If any 11th-century king of that name was involved, however, it is more likely to have been Malcolm III (1057-93), who was politically active in north-eastern Scotland in the 1070s.[5] That Boece names only three successors to Bean before the fourth, Nechtan, moved the see to Old Aberdeen *c*.1136 suggests a stretching of chronology to accommodate the forgery into his narrative. The aim of that forgery was straightforward: to assert Aberdeen's property rights in a distant corner of a see whose territorial limits were still imprecise in the mid-12th century.

Formalisation of Aberdeen's diocesan structures was protracted. After Bishop Nechtan fixed his see at Old Aberdeen, no progress towards instituting a chapter was made until 1157 when Pope Adrian IV gave Bishop Edward permission to establish either monks or canons in his cathedral, but no immediate move was made in either regard.[6] Instead a gradual introduction of key dignitaries occurred down to the mid-1200s.[7] These *ad hoc* arrangements were eventually formalised in 1249 when Pope Innocent IV issued a bull to Bishop Peter Ramsay (1247-56) ratifying his cathedral constitution.[8] The bull identified a chapter of dean, chanter, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon, and eight simple canonries, all supported on prebends. Further canonries, amongst them a prebend by 1256 for the bishop supported on the fruits of St Nicholas's parish church in New Aberdeen, were added down to 1445, by which date the chapter comprised four dignitaries, an archdeacon and twenty-

four simple canonries.[9] Occasional prebends *ad vitam* were created but only one further permanent prebend was added when the sub-chantership was created between 1527 and 1534.[10] To maintain these canonries, nearly half of the diocese's 85 parish churches were appropriated, in most cases with both parsonage and vicarage teinds annexed and the cures being served at best by pensionary vicars and more commonly by chaplains or curates. By the time of the Reformation, the cathedral and its clergy were drawing in around one third of the total ecclesiastical revenues of the diocese.

The emergence of the diocese of Moray and the provision of a permanent cathedral and constituted chapter was even more complex and protracted. That process has been explored in detail elsewhere by the present writer; the following is a summary outline.[11] Bishops 'of Moray' are on record from c.1114 but what their diocese encompassed or where their see was located is unknown.[12] From the 1130s the centre of the diocese lay at the east end of the Laich but like Aberdeen, Moray shows signs of composite origins, especially along its borders with Aberdeen and Ross diocese; Ardersier parish is a detached portion of Ross on the south shore of the Moray Firth conceded to the bishops of Ross in settlement of a claim to wider territorial rights[13] Mortlach's location in a salient of Aberdeen territory jutting into Moray hints at a former centrality to a bishopric that extended further west; the Moray diocese that emerged in the 12th century may, therefore, have been formed from portions of former Ross and Mortlach territory. Pictish sculpture from Kinneddar, a church which served as the cathedral of Moray in the 12th century, reveals that a significant ecclesiastical establishment existed there in the 8th century;[14] probably a monastery but there is no evidence to suggest that it was an episcopal see before the 12th century. Indeed, the rootlessness of the bishops of Moray down to the early 1200s suggests the absence of a location within their diocese that had a previous history as an episcopal see.

The episcopate of Simon de Toeni (1171-84) saw progress to secure diocesan finances. His successor, Richard of Lincoln (1187-1203), started to provide his see with a constitution,[15] but it was Bishop Brice Douglas (1203-22) who made the most radical changes. Having received a papal mandate in 1207, in 1208/9 Brice fixed his see at Spynie and introduced the Constitution of Lincoln as the basis for its organisation.[16] Under this new arrangement a chapter was instituted, headed by a dean, with chanter, treasurer, chancellor and archdeacon forming the principal dignitaries, plus three

other 'simple' canonries, all supported by prebends. As at Aberdeen, the bishop originally had no seat in the chapter, a position that changed under his successor, Andrew Murray. It is not known how far work on Brice's cathedral at Spynie had advanced by the time of his death in 1222 but in 1224 Bishop Andrew secured papal authorisation to move from Spynie on account of that place's supposed exposure to the threat of war, its isolation, unsuitability of trade, difficulty of supplying it and consequent problems of suitably supplying necessary provision for divine worship.[17] Following investigation by papal mandatories, on 19 July 1224 Andrew moved his cathedral 2km south to Elgin, where it thereafter remained fixed.[18] From the outset, Andrew's ambitions for Elgin were on a grand scale and he embarked on a commensurate reorganisation of the chapter structure. His 1226 constitution brought the number of canonries from eight to eighteen (one to be held by bishop), increased in 1232 to twenty-three.[19] Although like Aberdeen provision was made for chaplains and vicars choral, the twenty-three canonries of the 1232 constitution remained the complement until the 16th century when two further prebends were created.[20]

Parishes, prebends and appropriations

At both cathedrals, the majority of the prebends were supported on parishes that had been appropriated for that purpose. The consequences of such annexations to fund often quite remote religious corporations was recognised widely at the time by diocesan and episcopal authorities, who sought to regulate the process and at least ensure that good-quality vicars were instituted in place of the parson or rector, and the impact of the level of appropriation that occurred in Scotland has seen wide academic discussion.[21]   In common with much of mainland Scotland, the network of parishes which formed the basic building block of secular church government had only begun to crystallise in the course of the 12th century and was still not fully formed as late as the mid-13th century; often, the first record of a parish was the charter conveying possession of advowson rights or annexation of revenues to an appropriator. This delayed evolution of a comprehensive parish system is one key reason for the lateness of the formalisation of the cathedral constitutions; without parishes, the teind-gathering from which spiritual services were funded and upon which the organs of ecclesiastical administration could be sustained, lacked any mechanism for collection. Development of the parochial system and construction of diocesan administration went hand in hand.[22]

A further factor with a direct influence on the pace and scale of parish appropriation is that the process of parochial establishment was at best coeval with and more frequently later than the foundation of the institutions to which they were appropriated. This is certainly the case with monasteries, the first of which was founded almost three generations before anything approximating to a comprehensive parish system had formed in either diocese. Reformed Benedictine monasticism was introduced into the North-East in the wake of King David I's imposition of his authority in Moray in the 1130s following his defeat and elimination of the native 'kings' of Moray who had presented a challenge to his own family for over a century.[23] The introduction of Benedictine and Cistercian monks through David's patronage represented only one facet of a systematic process of colonisation intended to bind the conquered region more firmly into the Scottish kingdom which progressed in parallel with the founding of burghs populated with mainly eastern English and north-west European colonists and the introduction of new colonial lords, represented by families like the 'de Moravia' or Murrays, Comyns and, later, Bissets. The three monastic communities founded in the region before c.1230 have been posited as 'victory churches' associated with the defeat of dynastic challengers to the ruling lineage but as the cartularies of none of the monasteries have survived to reveal such a motivation this suggestion is conjectural.[24] The first community of any reformed order in the region may have been at Urquhart near Elgin in Moray, where a dependent cell of the Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline in Fife was perhaps established by as early as 1136 and certainly by 1150 on land probably seized from the defeated rulers of Moray.[25] Although Urquhart received substantial properties around the Spey estuary, David's founding gift to the colony of Cistercian monks from Melrose Abbey which he planted in 1150 at Kinloss near Forres was of an altogether higher order of magnitude.[26] Expanded by David's grandson, King William, with gifts of woodland tracts for agricultural clearance and of upland pasture in Strathisla,[27] the landed resources of Kinloss established it as the greatest monastery in the region. It thrived on the secure income which this landed estate provided and in 1217 and 1219 could support two colonies, that at Deer in Buchan being the first reformed Benedictine community in Aberdeen diocese.[28] Founded by William Comyn, earl of Buchan, Cistercian Deer was originally a much smaller and poorer community than its mother-house

– the 'hovel' of Deer as one Melrose monk referred to it[29] - and the fragmentary remains of its buildings indicate that its church developed little beyond its original Bernardine-plan layout, but it nevertheless became the fourth richest house of the ten Cistercian abbeys in Scotland by the Reformation.[30]

Although the pace and scale of monastic foundation was slackening by the time of Deer's foundation as new forms of organised religion gained in popularity with patrons, very austere expressions of monasticism still found favour with benefactors who saw their austerity as delivering more effective intercessory benefits. For King Alexander II it was the Burgundian Valliscaulian order whose practices satisfied his personal spiritual preferences. Founded in the late 1100s by Viard, a former Carthusian lay-brother, the order united elements of Carthusian and Cistercian practice in its rule, which received papal sanction in 1205.[31] The Valliscaulians, however, made little headway outside Burgundy and the three priories planted in Scotland in 1230-1 represented its only presence in the British Isles. Of these colonies, Alexander founded one at Pluscarden in Moray, possibly in thanksgiving for the final elimination of his dynastic rivals.[32] No foundation charter survives but the scale of Alexander's endowment is evident from a confirmation made by Bishop Andrew of Moray in 1236, which lists the site in a secluded glen west of Elgin, a large block of royal hunting-forest, several mills, and salmon fisheries on the rivers Spey and Findhorn.[33] Despite the loss of most of its records, it is evident from what was built and what passed over to the Valliscaulian's Benedictine successors in the 1450s that Alexander poured money and energy into his project.

Pluscarden was not the last monastic foundation in either diocese; that was Fyvie Priory in Aberdeenshire, a dependency of Tironensian Arbroath Abbey founded shortly before 1285 by Reginald le Cheyne.[34] The 'monks [of Arbroath] dwelling in the religious house built in the land of Ardlogie near the church of St Peter of Fyvie' are first identified in Reginald's confirmation on 16 October 1285 of their possession.[35] He is specifically identified as founder in his kinsman Bishop Henry Cheyne's settlement of arrangements for the vicarage of Fyvie, issued two days after Reginald's charter.[36] The cell's status was precarious from the outset and by 1325 instructions from the abbot of Arbroath to the *custos* (as the head of the small community was titled) indicate that there were concerns over the proper observance of monastic discipline there.[37]

Alongside these houses of monks there was only one community of canons regular in either diocese, Monymusk Priory west of Aberdeen.[38] In common with several Scottish Augustinian houses, it originated in an older, non-regular community which included Céli Dé in its number, which 'reformed' and adopted the rule of St Augustine.[39] Confirmations by Bishop John of Aberdeen refer to gifts to 'the church of St Mary of Monymusk and the canons who are called Céli Dé serving there' made before 1200 by Gille-Chriosd, earl of Mar, and to the same earl's gifts to 'the monastery built by him at the church of St Mary of Monymusk where the Céli Dé had been before', suggesting that Gille-Chriosd had refounded the older community as an Augustinian house.[40] This arrangement was challenged *c*.1209 by William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews, secular lord of Monymusk, who referred to 'certain *keledei* who profess to be canons … [who had established] a kind of regular canonry in opposition to him'. An appeal to Pope Innocent III saw the case remitted to judges-delegate who secured a compromise which saw the Céli Dé continue to function under the bishop's lordship, but by 1245 the community had apparently been fully converted to the Augustinian rule.[41]

FOUNDERS AND PATRONS

Six regular monastic communities, two of which were only dependent cells of monasteries elsewhere in Scotland, is a modest tally. It is striking, too, that nowhere in either diocese was there any provision for the female religious; no convents of nuns were founded or contemplated by any patron, a situation common to all mainland dioceses north of Glasgow and St Andrews. Even when the military orders are added to the equation, a house of the Knights Templar being established at Maryculter west of Aberdeen sometime between 1221 and 1236 by Walter Bisset of Aboyne,[42] the total of seven monastic or quasi-monastic institutions remains unimpressive. The reasons for this limited group of endowments, however, probably lie in the equally limited group of potential founders with the resources upon which to draw to support large-scale monastic foundations. In Moray, David I's destruction of the native ruling house and their non-replacement until Robert I's establishment of the Randolphs as earls of Moray in the 14th century meant that only the crown and the bishops of Moray possessed resources commensurate to the task. With the bishops focussing their efforts on the apparatus of diocesan government and construction of their cathedrals, it was left to the crown to invest in monastic foundations. In Aberdeen diocese, the crown's landed resources were slenderer

and its political presence was altogether less interventionist, while like their counterparts in Moray the bishops of Aberdeen were concerned with the organs of secular church government and the clergy to administer it; there it was the greatest regional nobles – the earls of Buchan and Mar – who founded the principal monasteries, probably as mausoleums for their families. Like their counterparts in Strathearn, Fife and Menteith, however, neither earl had the resources to divide their patronage to found other communities on a similar scale. Only one second-rank noble family, the Cheynes, attempted to found a regular monastic community and the limited resources at their disposal resulted in a precarious existence.

Second-rank noble families, however, wished to demonstrate their individual piety and devotion, and to secure the spiritual benefits that flowed from their good works and from the masses and prayers of the clergy whom they supported. In this region, such families adopted different strategies to achieve those ends, many opting to channel their pious benefaction towards the crown- or comital-founded monasteries or the two cathedral establishments. Others opted to found smaller, often quasi-monastic institutions like hospitals and almshouses, twelve of which were established by senior clerics and lay patrons between the late 12th and 16th centuries. Five of these foundations were leper hospitals: Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin and Forres, with the most important being St Peter's at Rathven, founded 1224-6 by John Bisset.[43] His endowment of Rathven was to support a chaplain, seven lepers and a servant, maintained on the fruits of three parish churches in Aberdeen and Moray dioceses.[44] By 1445 when its revenues were annexed by Bishop Ingeram Lindsay to support a new prebend at Aberdeen, Rathven may already have become an almshouse (its inmates were simply referred to as 'infirm').[45] Despite the annexation the hospital still supported three bedesmen and its function as an almshouse was augmented in 1536; it continued to operate as an almshouse through the Reformation and down to the mid-19th century.[46]

ALMSHOUSES AND HOSPITALS

In Aberdeen diocese, important almshouses were founded at Aberdeen (St Peter's) by Bishop Matthew (1172-99) and (St Mary's) by Bishop Gavin Dunbar in 1532, and at Newburgh and Turriff in Buchan in c.1261 and 1273 by Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan.[47] For St Peter's at Aberdeen, Bishop Matthew's foundation charter survives and reveals a generous endowment of land, cash

resources, and foodstuffs.[48] In 1256, when the revenues of the hospital were explicitly excluded from

the resources allocated for the maintenance of the dean of Aberdeen, reference was made to the

'sisters' living there,[49] the only surviving evidence from either diocese for an establishment providing

for bedeswomen until reference to the Hospital of St Anne at Footdee outside Aberdeen, to which

Alexander Galloway, official of Aberdeen, gave land in 1519 for a chapel to serve the 'pure ladiis' in

their 'seikhous' there.[50] Bishop Dunbar's hospital of St Mary was founded to the west of the

cemetery of the cathedral as an almshouse to support twelve old men.[51] His very detailed foundation

charter survives, setting out the layout of the building – its principal 'house' to be 100ft long by 30ft

wide and divided into 14ft x 12ft 'cells', each with a little fireplace, to accommodate the poor men,

plus common passageways, common room and oratory – and making extensive provision for its

financial and material support.[52] Of Alexander Comyn's two foundations, Newburgh, whose

foundation charter also survives, was small scale comprising a chaplain and six poor men, sustained

on half an acre of land outside the burgh, common pasture for six cows, and an annual gift of oatmeal

and eighteen shillings cash, an endowment which underscores the precarious financial state of the

smaller charitable establishments throughout both dioceses.[53] His second hospital, St Mary and St

Congan's at Turriff, was far larger, having provision in its foundation charter for a master, six

chaplains and thirteen poor people.[54] Despite its generous landed endowment, it had already become

moribund by the 14th century and eventually in the early 15th century its resources were annexed to a

new prebend at Aberdeen.[55]

Moray had only three hospitals, of which the Maison Dieu at Elgin, founded before *c.*1235 as

an almshouse by Bishop Andrew Murray, was the largest.[56] Neither a foundation charter nor

constitution survives, but mid-14th-century inspections preserve King Alexander II's confirmation of

its foundation charter on 23 February 1235.[57] This gives the dedication of the hospital as the Virgin

Mary and St John the Evangelist, identifies it as an almshouse to receive and support the poor, and

records its endowment with land near Elgin. In 1343 when David II confirmed his ancestor's charter,

the Maison Dieu was described as poor and wasted. Worse came in June 1390 when Alexander

Stewart, earl of Buchan, burned Elgin, including the Maison Dieu.[58] Its revival after this event was

short-lived and a papal mandate in 1432 instructed Bishop Columba Dunbar (1422-35) to conduct an

enquiry following accusations of neglect, mismanagement, fraud and non-residency against the incumbent master.[59] The outcome of his inquiry is unknown but by 1445 the Maison Dieu was again said to be failing as an almshouse, its resources being diverted to non-charitable purposes.[60]

Two hospitals had both a charitable role as almshouses and also as hospices for the reception of travellers at key points on major routeways. In Aberdeen diocese one of the largest and most important hospitals, St Mary's at Kincardine O' Neil on Deeside, was founded by Thomas Durward (d.1231), grandson of Earl Gille-Chriosd of Mar. A confirmation of the foundation in 1234 described it as being 'for reception of the poor' and to serve travellers on the important north-south routes over the high ground of the Mounth.[61] The hospital was endowed with the church of Kincardine, to which the hospital building was attached, and Kincardine's four pendicles of Cluny, Glentannar, Lumphanan and Midmar.[62] Despite this relative wealth, by 1330 the hospital was defunct as an institution; this enabled Bishop Alexander Kinninmonth to annexe Kincardine to fund a cathedral prebend.[63] The second such hospital was established shortly after 1222 by Muriel of Pollock, lady of Rothes on Speyside, for the reception of poor travellers.[64] On St Nicholas' Day 1238, she confirmed the gift of her mill of Inverorkell to sustain the poor at what was by then known as the Hospital of St Nicholas 'beside the Bridge of Spey'.[65] Another prominent local lord, William Murray of Boharm, added land on the east side of the river, while in 1232 King Alexander II gave revenues from his mill at Nairn to support a chaplain and 'clerks' serving at St Nicholas's, which hints at a quite substantial establishment at the hospital.[66]

HOUSES OF MENDICANTS

Until the re-emergence of hospitals as a favoured type of endowed foundation in the 16th century, almost all such establishments in these dioceses had been erected before the 1240s. Apart from the basic issue of over-provision in the relatively non-urbanised region, one reason for declining interest in hospitals is that from the 1230s an alternative focus for lay endowment had appeared with the arrival of Dominican friars in north-eastern Scotland. A house of Trinitarians perhaps existed at Aberdeen late in the reign of King William (1165-1214) but they were not a true mendicant order, being able to receive landed endowments for their support rather than being maintained on alms.[67] True mendicants arrived between c.1230 and 1249 by when Dominican convents were present in

Aberdeen, Elgin and Inverness. The first was probably at Aberdeen, whose foundation is attributed to King Alexander II, but no early record of its foundation and endowment survives.[68] Elgin is also said to have been founded by Alexander II but no records survive earlier than 1285.[69] A similar situation occurs at Inverness, where again Alexander II is identified as the founder but the earliest extant record is a 1275 grant of property preserved within a confirmation charter of 1530.[70] Such pre-16th-century documentation as remains for these convents indicates that they enjoyed the patronage of Alexander's successors as kings of Scots and a steady if unspectacular flow of gifts from senior clerics, regional nobles and the leading burgess families of the towns in which they were located.[71]

Although Franciscan friars were also entering Scotland from the 1230s, no early community of that order was founded successfully in Aberdeen or Moray diocese. A charter of William, earl of Ross, probably issued in the early 1280s, assigned properties in Ross for either the maintenance of a house of Franciscans in Elgin or, if that foundation failed to mature, two chaplains in the cathedral there.[72] As the latter solution came into effect, it seems that plans for a friary were abortive and there is no evidence for a Franciscan house at Elgin before the later 15th century.[73] Instead, it was the Carmelites who were next introduced to the region with a friary at Aberdeen by c.1273.[74] A second house was founded at Banff in 1321-3 as a result of endowments from King Robert I,[75] but it was a further century and a half before a third followed at Kingussie in Moray diocese between 1480 and 1501.[76]

The slowing rate of new foundations was not simply a sign that saturation point had been reached in terms of density of religious institutions; it was matched by a more general decline in the flow of patronage towards the church and a marked change in the nature and focus of new endowments. Through the 14th century, the main burgh churches and some larger collegiate establishments like the cathedrals saw a proliferation of subsidiary altars and associated chaplainries, many with a primarily chantry function. One of the earliest and largest examples of this was the chapel of St Thomas of Canterbury and its five chaplainries that Thomas Randolph, 1st earl of Moray, founded at Elgin Cathedral in 1328 and endowed with rental income of £23 14s 4d annually.[77] Earl Thomas's foundation charter survives, setting out the chantry role of his chapel and providing a detailed record of his personal devotional preferences and how those were reflected in the prescribed

services to be conducted in perpetuity for the weal of his soul and the souls of his family and wider kin.[78] Few laymen controlled resources on the scale of the Randolph, however, and it was more common for single chaplainries to be founded and funded, such as that in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Garioch endowed with annual rents of £6 13s 4d before April 1426 by Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Grandon.[79] The proliferation of such chaplainries provided new and alternative foci for the devotions of the faithful, particularly as the process of appropriation of parsonages and, increasingly, of vicarages too continued.

BURGH CHURCHES AND COLLEGIATE CHURCHES

By the early 16th century, 55 of the 85 parishes of Aberdeen diocese had been appropriated in full and only four remained as free parsonages in lay patronage. Appropriation's negative consequences in terms of the quality of the provision for the spiritual needs of parishioners and the detrimental impact on the fabric of spiritual life has been long understood and discussed.[80] What is less well-understood or recognised is the unintended positive contribution it stimulated where laymen who were unwilling to make an endowment that would simply pass straight to an appropriator chose instead to endow a separate foundation probably physically attached to an existing church but institutionally distinct from it. In the case of the burgh churches, this attitude led to a multiplicity of subsidiary altar foundations by individuals, families, and increasingly from the later 15th century, by craft and trade guilds. At St Nicholas's in Aberdeen, whose revenues had been appropriated to fund a prebend of the cathedral in 1256, a perpetual vicarage had been established in 1345, only for part of the vicar's income to be assigned to support two chaplains in the cathedral in 1427.[81] The vicar-portioner who remained, however, shared the church with several chaplains at altars in the nave, crossing and sub-church; by the time of Bishop Ingeram Lindsay (1441-59) they were sufficiently numerous to warrant the bishop's drawing up of regulations to govern their organisation.[82] When a new constitution which gave them a quasi-collegiate status was agreed in 1491 there were twenty-two chaplains in St Nicholas's in addition to the vicar,[83] all supported on private endowments. Although it was effectively functioning as a collegiate church from this time, and the provision in December 1507 of new choir stalls with seats for thirty-four implies that the establishment was still growing, it was

only in 1540 that Bishop William Gordon formally instituted it as such and re-assigned the vicarage fruits to sustain the provost who headed the organisation.[84]

Aberdeen St Nicholas's was not the only burgh church to be elevated to collegiate church status in the north-eastern dioceses, St Mary's at Cullen also gaining that status in 1543.[85] There, however, circumstances were radically different to those at Aberdeen. Cullen, which gained a separate identity as a parish church from its original mother-church at Fordyce in the mid-13th century had its revenues fully appropriated to the common fund of the canons of Aberdeen from the outset and the cure was served by a chaplain down to 1543.[86] In that year Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Findlater, Alexander Dick, archdeacon of Glasgow, the local laird John Duff, and the community of Cullen inserted a collegiate institution of a provost, six prebendaries and two choirboys into their parish church in a single act of endowment;[87] Cullen was not the cumulative result of generations of patronage by multiple benefactors. It was, however, the only such foundation in these dioceses and the last collegiate church founded in the region. With only two collegiate churches out of the forty-two successful foundations in existence at the time of the Reformation, Aberdeen and Moray are again distinctive in terms of the relative poverty of large-scale examples of religious patronage compared to other parts of the kingdom.

FROM LATE MEDIEVAL TORPOR TO SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

Although the erection of St Nicholas's as a collegiate church was consequent on cumulative acts of patronage and devotion by generations of Aberdeen burgesses, it should not mask a wider malaise evident in organised religion in the region by the 15th century. The precarious state of many hospitals and almshouses has already been mentioned but the monasteries were also experiencing a decline in morale and discipline as well as suffering a crisis in recruitment in the 1400s. The priories at Pluscarden and Urquhart in particular were in poor condition physically and institutionally by the 1450s. A petition to Pope Nicholas V in 1454 requested their union claiming that only six monks remained at the former and two at the latter.[88] With papal approval, Pluscarden was placed under the authority of the abbot of Dunfermline and united with Urquhart, the abbot subsequently deciding that since Pluscarden's buildings were better-quality that the united community would be located there.[89] Two Valliscaulians from Pluscarden who were unwilling to become Benedictines were received into

Cistercian Kinloss rather than transferring to another Valliscaulian house; one of these monks was later transferred to Deer for correction on account of his 'lewd living'.[90] Kinloss itself suffered some decline in the quality of monastic life and leadership: Abbot Adam Tarras (1389-1414) was described as morally lax and fathered several children by various mistresses; Abbot John Floter (1431-44), resigned 'on account of his excessively shameful living'.[91] Alongside this negative picture of promiscuous abbots and incompetent management, however, the history of Kinloss produced by Giovanni Ferrerio reveals continuing but low-key spirituality and generally steady recruitment. It was on that foundation that Abbot Thomas Crystall (1500-28) reformed the house, encouraging study amongst his monks and providing new devotional materials and liturgical furnishing.[92] His successor, Robert Reid (1528-53), went further and brought Ferrerio, a Piedmontese humanist scholar, to Kinloss for five years in 1530s to educate his monks and prepare them for degree-level studies.[93] These developments have often been presented as little more than an interesting footnote in more general studies of the late pre-Reformation church in Scotland but they should be recognised as quite exceptional evidence for the reach and impact of humanist education in early Renaissance Scotland beyond the university centres.

The ecclesiastical reform and spiritual renewal at Kinloss was in evidence more widely in both dioceses between the 1490s and 1540s. After the Hussite missions of the 1410s challenges to orthodox teaching and the spread of heretical beliefs had re-emerged in Scotland toward the end of the 15th century.[94] The need to combat the appeal of those teachings to segments of the populace who sought a more fulfilling religious experiences drove many of the measures taken by leading clerics to raise clerical standards. As King James V's letter of 14 August 1525 to the sheriff of Aberdeen observed, Lutheran materials and Protestant sympathies were widespread within the diocese.[95] There, however, the spiritual leadership of Bishop William Elphinstone (1483-1514) had given impetus to steps to improve the quality of the clergy serving throughout the diocese and to address calls for a more fulfilling religious experience.[96] His main achievements in the former aim saw him involved in a constant struggle to prevent inappropriate ecclesiastical appointments to key benefices within his diocese, resisting the provision of pluralist, under-aged and ill-educated priests; the latter aim was delivered largely through innovation in liturgical practice, underpinned by 1507 through the

production of the *Aberdeen Breviary*. That text established a distinctly Scottish liturgical calendar populated with the feast-days of eighty-one Scottish saints and replaced the English-focussed Sarum Use.[97] Elphinstone's reforms in the secular church in his own diocese also had a positive reception in neighbouring Moray, but there the main 'home-grown' reformist activity was within the monastic communities, Kinloss especially. As mentioned above, Thomas Crystall and Robert Reid revived discipline there and placed emphasis on formal education for their monks, coupled with renewal of buildings and provision of books, furnishings and equipment to enhance devotional and liturgical practice. Education lay at the heart of these reforms and Bishop Elphinstone understood that if high-quality clergy were to be produced to serve in the churches of his diocese and more widely in northern Scotland then degree-level study required to be available locally. To address that need, in 1495 Elphinstone secured a bull from the Borgia pope, Alexander VI, for the foundation of a college at Old Aberdeen which would become the third of Scotland's medieval universities on its formal erection in 1505. Pope Julius II (1503-13) further affirmed and extended the rights of the University in a series of bulls.[98]

Mendicants were prominent in this reforming activity from the mid-15th century. A revival in their fortunes had begun with the establishment of a convent of the austere Observantine Franciscans at Aberdeen in 1469, followed by a second community at Elgin before 1494. With their emphasis on preaching and adherence to the traditions of St Francis, they won widespread popular support. The Carmelites in the North-East may have shared in the re-energising that has been claimed for the mendicant orders in general in Scotland in the later 15th century. Certainly, there is nothing in the records of the relatively well-documented Aberdeen convent to suggest any decline in either religious observance or social behaviour as afflicted communities in other Carmelite provinces.[99] In 1529, King James V wrote to Nicholas Audet, the vicar general of the order and key figure in their internal reform, asking for some of his brethren to reform the Scottish houses of the order; later that year Audet sent Iacopo Calco to Scotland but in 1530 it was reported that the mission had achieved nothing, and a second mission in 1529-30 headed by Jacob Colckman was likewise a failure.[100] King James was, however, determined to advance the reform of the Scottish Carmelites and in December 1537 secured approval of William Stob's appointment as vicar general to work with the conservators

of the order in Scotland (the archbishops of Glasgow and St Andrews and the bishop of Aberdeen) to investigate and correct abuses.[101] Rather than a reformist programme the result was a protracted dispute with the Stob's disgruntled predecessor, John Malcolmson, the head of the Aberdeen convent, which was finally resolved only in February 1541. Despite the tensions within the order in Scotland that this dispute reflected more generally, the Carmelite's spiritual reputation in Scotland remained high.

While the Carmelites' focus was inwards on their own order's needs, the Dominicans were key players in Elphinstone's plans for his diocese; the first doctor of theology at his new college was John Adamson, who later became Provincial of the order in Scotland and under whose guidance important scholarly libraries were built up in most convents including at Aberdeen and Elgin.[102] In Moray, although the convent at Elgin was controlled by the locally powerful Dunbar family from 1526, standards of discipline and observance remained high and the friars continued to maintain the charitable functions of the Maison Dieu which had been placed in their charge in 1520.[103] It was to the Dominicans of Aberdeen that Thomas Crystall sent two Kinloss monks for instruction to enable them to become tutors for their younger brethren, one in music and chant to improve the quality of the choir services and the other in theology.[104] Ironically, however, it was two renegade Dominican friars who were sent to Aberdeen in 1543 by Regent Arran to preach reformist thinking as part of his brief flirtation with Protestantism following the Treaty of Greenwich with Henry VIII of England,[105] who perhaps had the greatest impact on lay religiosity.

TOWARDS REFORMATION

While the internal reform of the early decades of the 16th century had powerful lay sponsors in the Gordons of Huntly and Hays of Erroll, whose personal adherence to Catholicism provided a regional bulwark against the spread of Protestantism into the 1560s, the movement was perhaps too introspective and intellectual to provide an effective counter to growing popular support for a form of worship that invited individual dialogue with the Divine rather than through the intercessory agency of priests or saints. Evidence for the provision of new furnishings – especially of richly-decorated sacrament houses – and highly visible symbols of Catholic devotion in parish churches and private residences show the receptiveness of laymen to the new forms of religious expression being promoted

from within the established church. It is questionable, however, whether this reflected deep spiritual conviction or a wider hunger for a more participatory personal involvement in religious activity. Signs of renewed disenchantment with the institutions of the church suggest that for many it was the latter that was being sought. From the mid-1540s onwards the Aberdeen Carmelites in common with their mendicant brethren elsewhere in the kingdom were becoming increasingly involved in litigation over unpaid annual rent income. While this may in part have been a reflection of the Scotland's contemporary economic woes, there was also seems an element of Protestant-inspired resistance in withholding income.[106] In Banff, the decisive moment came on 20 July 1559 when arsonists struck the Carmelite friary 'under sylens of nicht'.[107] Less than four weeks later the prior leased what was left of the buildings, 'in quhat stait yat ewer yai be', effectively ending religious life at the friary.[108]

Scotland's convents of friars generally were amongst the first targets for the Reformers on account of the possible counter-reformist challenge that the often university-educated Dominicans and Observantine Franciscans could pose, but in the dioceses of Moray and Aberdeen the experience of the friars was different. At Elgin and Inverness, the convents of both orders simply faded out of existence, the Dominican friary at the former passing into the possession of the Dunbar family while the Franciscan friary buildings there passed into the hands of the burgh.[109] At Inverness likewise, the Dominicans quietly slipped away, the prior and four friars who remained on 20 June 1559 surrendering the property of their house to the provost and baillies which may account for it being one of the few Scottish Dominican friaries described as undemolished on 13 February 1562.[110] The community had disappeared before 19 January 1567 when it was described as 'quondam' in a property transaction.[111] In Aberdeen diocese the end was altogether more violent. The fate of the Carmelite house at Banff has already been referred to but their house in Aberdeen, together with Dominican convent there, was attacked, ransacked and burned by Protestants from the Mearns to the south who entered the burgh on 4 January 1560. It was later recorded that the convent of the Blackfriars was 'was so industriouslie razed … that now ther is nothing of that building to be seen'.[112] The church of the Observantine Franciscans fared better, for on 29 December 1559 the friars had resigned their property into the hands of the council, which on 11 March 1560 decided to retain the buildings for the town's uses.[113] In 1624 the church was refitted as another parish church for the

burgh,[114] remaining in use until 1903 when it was demolished as part of the site-clearance programme for the new Marischal College building. Moving on from New Aberdeen, the Mearns reformers descended on Old Aberdeen, seeking first to 'purge' the chapel of King's College, but were prevented from entering the college precinct by the students and masters. As a result, the magnificent early Renaissance fittings of the chapel escaped the orgy of destruction which engulfed Aberdeen's other medieval churches and survive as one of the finest assemblages of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical furnishing still in situ in Scotland. Their survival is testimony to the continued dynamism of the established religious educational tradition within the university and commitment of the college's staff to active support and advancement of the emerging Counter-Reformation movement within the Roman Catholic Church. Although that resistance soon proved fruitless and the university was later purged of staff who failed to embrace Protestant principles, the successful defence of the college buildings and their contents is emblematic of the wider regional adherence to traditional loyalties.

Baulked at the university, the reformers entered the neighbouring cathedral precinct, looting the canons' manses, ransacking the cathedral and adjoining hospital chapel, and destroying the contents of the cathedral library.[115] Although the bulk of the cathedral's treasures had been taken into the safe-keeping of the Earl of Huntly, the altars, screens, stalls and other devotional elements were destroyed. Damage to the cathedral's chancel appears to have been severe and, when the triumph of the Protestant Lords in the religious conflict that had engulfed Scotland was confirmed in the summer of 1560 and a reformed church settlement proclaimed, the eastern limb was abandoned as redundant and quickly plundered for building-stone, while the roofs of the equally-redundant transepts and the spire of the central tower were stripped of lead.[116] Only the nave, south-west porch and western towers were preserved, speedily refitted out in Protestant form as the parish church of Old Aberdeen, but with the splendid early 16th-century timber ceiling of the central compartment of the nave, complete with its heraldic display of the pre-Reformation Christian world order, left almost untouched.

Although the distinctive patterns of ecclesiastical development that emerged in Aberdeen and Moray dioceses as consequences of the political and economic circumstances of the 12th century yielded much the same results as elsewhere in the kingdom – high levels of parish appropriation,

poor-quality spiritual provision locally, pluralism and absenteeism – the internal reforms in process from the late 15th century contributed to a different response to Reformation. Social as much as religious conservatism may have been responsible for the relatively lukewarm reception of the south-east Lowlands-focussed religious revolution in the North-East[117] but some of that conservatism seems also to have been born of a degree of satisfaction with the devotional and liturgical experience of the leading members of regional lay society, who had invested deeply and personally in the renewal of the regional church in the previous generation.

NOTES

[1] See *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, ed. P. G. B. McNeill and H. L. MacQueen (Edinburgh 1996), 354-355.

[2] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding and Maitland Clubs 1845); Hector Boece, *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensum Episcoporum Vitae* (Spalding Club 1894), 6-8.

[3] I. B. Cowan, 'The church in the diocese of Aberdeen', in ed. J. Kirk, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1995), 97-128 at 98-100.

[4] *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 6.

[5] R. D. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland 1070-1230* (Edinburgh 2011), 30.

[6] *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 5-7.

[7] *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, eds D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray (Scottish Record Society, 2003), 6-7.

[8] *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 38-49.

[9] Cowan, 'Diocese of Aberdeen', 101-112. For the bishop's prebend, see *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 40, 252.

[10] Cowan, 'Diocese of Aberdeen', 111.

[11] R. Fawcett and R. Oram, *Elgin Cathedral and the Diocese of Moray* (Edinburgh 2014), 21-33, 120-126.

[12] *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs 1843), no.4; *The Charters of David I*, ed G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge 1999), no.33.

[13] Fawcett and Oram, *Elgin Cathedral*, 22-3; *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club 1837), no.75.

[14] Fawcett and Oram, *Elgin Cathedral*, 21-2; P. Dransart, 'Saints, Stones and Shrines: The Cults of Sts Moluag and Gerardine in Pictland', in J. Cartwright (ed), *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* (Cardiff 2003), 232-48; P. Dransart, 'Two shrine fragments from Kinneddar, Moray', in ed. M. Redknap, N. Edwards, S. Youngs, A. Lane and J. Knight, *Patterns and Purpose in Insular Art* (Oxford 2001), 233-40.

[15] Fawcett and Oram, *Elgin Cathedral*, 26-8.

[16] *Moray Registrum*, nos 45, 46; Fawcett and Oram, *Elgin Cathedral*, 28-9.

[17] Ibid., no.57.

[18] Ibid., no.58.

[19] Ibi., nos 60 (1226), 81, 82 (1232); Fawcett and Oram, *Elgin Cathedral*, 123-4.

[20] Fawcett and Oram, *Elgin Cathedral*, 124, 126.

[21] The first detailed discussion of the process of appropriation and the institution of vicarages was in R. A. R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1930). In Chapter 6, Hartridge explored the Scottish experience of appropriation. This subject was re-examined in I. B. Cowan, 'The Appropriation of Parish Churches', in ed. J. Kirk, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1995), 12-29.

[22] I. B. Cowan, 'The development of the parochial system', in ed. J. Kirk, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1995), 1-11. For specific discussion of Aberdeen see his 'Diocese of Aberdeen'. For Moray diocese, see Fawcett and Oram, *Elgin Cathedral*, chapter 8.

[23] For David I's 'conquest' of Moray, see Oram, *Domination and Lordship*, 70-73, 75-85.

[24] R. D. Oram, 'David I and the Conquest and Colonisation of Moray', *Northern Scotland*, 19 (1999), 1-19; Oram, *Domination and Lordship*, 77; R. D. Oram, *Alexander II, King of Scots, 1214-1249* (Edinburgh 2012), 216-8; D. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh 2007), 28 note 42.

[25] I.B.Cowan and D.E.Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland* (London 1976), 61.

[26] For Urquhart, see *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Bannatyne Club 1842), nos 33, 34; *Moray Registrum*, no.254. David's foundation charter to Kinloss has not survived but its generalities are preserved in a confirmatory bull of Pope Alexander III: *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh 1872), 105-8.

[27] *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, ii, *The Acts of William I*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh 1971), nos 159, 237, 391, 392, 543.

[28] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 47, 74.

[29] *Chronicle of Melrose*, s.a.1267, in ed. A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ii (Edinburgh 1922), 659-660.

[30] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 72.

[31] S.R.Macphail, *History of the religious house of Pluscardyn, convent in the Vale of St Andrew, Morayshire* (Edinburgh 1881) 12-13; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 7.

[32] Oram, *Alexander II*, 216-8 (as in n. 24); Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 83-5. The others were at Ardchattan in Argyll diocese and Beauly in Ross diocese.

[33] Macphail, *Pluscardyn*, 201-203.

[34] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 67.

[35] *Liber S Thome de Aberbrothoc*, i (Bannatyne Club 1848), no.234.

[36] Ibid., i, no.235.

[37] Ibid., i, no.354.

[38] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 93; W. D. Simpson, 'The Augustinian priory and parish church of Monymusk', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, lix (1924-25), 34-71.

[39] See Abernethy, Inchaffray, Lochleven, St Andrews and Whithorn in Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*.

[40] *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Bannatyne Club 1841), 374.

[41] Ibid., 370-2.

[42] *Liber S Marie de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club 1846), no.233. King Alexander II issued a general confirmation in favour of the Templars in 1236, which does not name any of the order's properties in Scotland: *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 269-271. Between 1239 and 1242, Bishop Ralph of Aberdeen confirmed the Templars in possession of Aboyne, which had been granted to them by Walter Bisset, and confirmed again by Alexander II on 15 April 1242: *Aberdeen Registrum*, 271-3.

[43] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 168, 171, 178, 179, 189.

[44] No foundation charter survives, but *Moray Registrum* (as in n. 13) no.71 records Bisset's gift of the patronage of the parish church of Kiltarlity in Moray diocese to the hospital of St Peter, with no.72 recording its annexation *in proprios usus* by Bishop Andrew. The parsonage of Dundurcus in Moray diocese had been annexed to it before 1274: I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Scottish Record Society: Edinburgh, 1967), 52. In Aberdeen diocese, the parsonage of Rathven itself was annexed to the hospital, probably from the time of its foundation, along with the fruits of its dependent chapel at Farscan: Cowan, *Parishes*, 65, 169.

[45] *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 253.

[46] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 189.

[47] Ibid.,169, 186.

[48] *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 11.

[49] Ibid., ii, 39.

[50] *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570* (Spalding Club 1844), 96.

[51] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 168-9.

[52] *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 401-406.

[53] Ibid., ii, 276-7.

[54] Ibid., i, 30-34.

[55] Ibid., i, 213-4.

[56] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 179; *Moray Registrum*, no 116.

[57] *Moray Registrum*, no 114.

[58] Ibid., 381.

[59] *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*, iii, *1428-1432*, ed. A. I. Dunlop and I. B. Cowan (Edinburgh, 1970), 205.

[60] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 179.

[61] *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 268-9, 274.

[62] W. D. Simpson, *The Province of Mar* (Aberdeen 1943), 115-120; Cowan, *Parishes*, 32, 77, 110, 140, 147.

[63] *Aberdeen Registrum*, 51, 64-5, 252.

[64] *Moray Registrum*, no.106; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses* (as in n. 13), 191.

[65] *Moray Registrum*, no.107.

[66] Ibid., nos 108, 110.

[67] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 108.

[68] Ibid., 116. The earliest dated reference to its existence is in a mandate of Pope Alexander IV dated 2 October 1257: *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, ed. A Theiner (Rome 1864), no.CCIII.

[69] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 118; *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, i, *1306-1424*, ed. J. B. Paul (Edinburgh 1882), no.245.

[70] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 199; *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, iii, *1513-1546*, ed. J. B. Paul and J. M. Thomson (Edinburgh 1883), no.962.

[71] See, for example, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ii, 1424-1513, ed. J. M. Thomson (Edinburgh 1882), no.1311 for James III's general confirmation in favour of the Dominicans at Aberdeen.

[72] *Moray Registrum*, no.220.

[73] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 127.

[74] R. Copsey, *Carmel in Britain: Studies on the Early History of the Carmelite Order*, iii, *The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham 2004), 163-240; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 135; *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vi, *The Acts of David II*, ed. B. Webster (Edinburgh, 1982), no.260.

[75] *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, i, appendix I, no.91; *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, ii (Spalding Club 1847), 114-5.

[76] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 137.

[77] Fawcett and Oram, *Elgin Cathedral*, 130.

[78] *Moray Registrum* (as in n.13), no.224.

[79] *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ii, no.41.

[80] Cowan, 'Appropriation of Parish Churches', 26-9.

[81] *Aberdeen Registrum* (as in n. 2), i, 226-6; ii, 40. By the 16th century £6 annually was taken from the vicarage fruits to support six choirboys in the cathedral: *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 114.

[82] *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, i (New Spalding Club 1888), no.CXXII.

[83] Ibid., i, no.CXXIV.

[84] Ibid., ii, 346, 381. The date of the erection into a collegiate church is preserved only in a minute in the town council register dated 12 January 1614.

[85] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 218.

[86] Cowan, *Parishes,* 40-41.

[87] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 218.

[88] *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, x, *1447-1455*, ed. J. A. Twemlow (London 1915), 253-4.

[89] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 61, 85. No trace of Urquhart's buildings survives.

[90] *Ferrerii Historiae Abbatem de Kynlos* (Bannatyne Club 1839), 30.

[91] Ibid., 28, 29-30.

[92] For Crystall's achievements, see Ferrerio's *vita* of the abbot in *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh 1872), 17-48.

[93] Ibid., 53.

[94] The political motivation behind the action against the so-called Lollards of Kyle has been discussed elsewhere: N. MacDougall, *James IV* (East Linton 1997), 105-7; D. E. Easson, 'The Lollards of Kyle', *Juridical Review*, xlviii (1936), 123-8) but Archbishop Blacader of Glasgow's use of heresy charges as weapons against his opponents shows awareness that heterodox views were current and clerical readiness to use church courts to counter the threat.

[95] *Extracts from the Council Register of Aberdeen* (as in n. 50), 110.

[96] L. J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514* (Aberdeen 1995), 200-289

[97] J Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed 1488-1587* (Edinburgh 2007), 53, 55, 70.

[98] *Calendar of Papal Letters Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, xix, *1503-1513*, ed. M. J. Haren (Dublin 1998), nos 906, 907, 1435, 1436. For the foundation of Aberdeen University; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 290-402.

[99] Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* (as in n. 74), 220.

[100] Ibid., 223-4.

[101] *Letters of King James V*, ed. D. Hay (Edinburgh 1954), 339.

[102] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed* (as in n. 97), 55; J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London 1981), 87.

[103] Cowan, 'Diocese of Aberdeen' (as in n. 3), 147.

[104] Ferrerius, *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* (Bannatyne Club 1839), 80.

[105] A. Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester 2006), 57; A. White, 'The Impact of the Reformation on a Burgh Community: the Case of Aberdeen', in *The Early Modern Town in Scotland,* ed. M. Lynch, (London, 1987), 81-101 at 85.

[106] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed* (as in n. 97), 71; Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* (as in n. 74), 230.

[107] *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 4th series, vi, 521, cited in Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses* (as in n. 25), 135-6.

[108] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses* (as in n. 25), 136.

[109] Ibid., 118, 131.

[110] *A Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock* (Spalding Club 1848), 226-7; *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. J. Hill Burton, i (Edinburgh 1877), 202.

[111] *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, iv, *1546-1580*, ed. J. M. Thomson (Edinburgh 1886), no.2760.

[112] James Gordon of Rothiemay, *Abredoniae Utriusque Descriptio* (Spalding Club 1842), 16.

[113] W. M. Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i, *History* (Edinburgh 1909), 322-323.

[114] Gordon, *Abredoniae Utriusque Descriptio* (as in n. 112), 11.

[115] Ibid.*,* 22.

[116] Ibid., 22.

[117] White, 'Impact of the Reformation' (as in n. 105).