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Permission for the use of illustrations as figures has been kindly given as follows:

- Figure 4.1: British Library
- Figure 4.2: University of Aberdeen
- Figures 15.1 and 15.2: SCRAN
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Editors’ Introduction

Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman and Lindsay Paterson

Scholarly work on the history of Scottish education has developed significantly in the past four decades. The contributors to this book draw upon the best of it, presenting new ways of interpreting Scotland’s educational history since the Middle Ages, and casting new light on long-established debates about its significance. The book is not intended to be a comprehensive account, but rather to distil good-quality recent research. Nevertheless, so active has the field become that the essays brought together here provide a broad picture of Scottish education in the periods which it covers. All the chapters were written specially for this volume, and all the authors are authorities in the fields about which they write. They cover topics ranging from the origins of the Scottish universities, through the development of parish schooling in the Reformation, through the reforms of the nineteenth century, to the radical extension of educational participation during the twentieth century. It is hoped that the broad coverage will appeal to the general reader interested in Scottish history and to students studying the history or current development of Scottish education.

Discussion of the history of Scottish education invariably comes round to the question of myth – the supposedly long-standing belief that the country’s education system has been of high quality, has been nationally distinctive and has consisted for a long time of educational institutions that are accessible to social groups which would have had more limited opportunities in other countries. The contrast traditionally drawn is most often with England, especially in the twentieth century, but in the long period of educational development from the Reformation to at least the middle of the nineteenth century Scotland’s educational distinction was thought to be notable on a much wider stage, epitomising what Anderson and Wallace in their chapter call the Calvinist stereotype of ‘the “metaphysical” Scot, a lover of argument and speculation, always inclined to see issues in terms of abstract principle’. That potentially complacent national belief was then challenged from early in the twentieth century, first of all – in the 1920s and earlier – by educational outsiders such as the radical teacher A. S. Neill, and later by mainstream opinion, such as by social historians and social scientists...
between the 1960s and the 1980s. Many of the authors here address the question of myth, but they also have moved on from it in a manner that has become evident in scholarship only since the 1980s. Partly this is because, as David Northcroft notes, ‘an anti-myth to replace the officially cherished one’ is no less a myth than what it denounces, but the main reason is that careful scholarship has given a better understanding than hitherto of the extent to which the myths of open access and of intellectualism rest on actual experience. We have come to understand, too, the ways in which myth can be invoked in public debate, as a way in which national identity can shape politics. Beliefs about Scottish education have thus contributed to national self-definition as Scotland has moved from being a fairly content partner in the Union to acquiring a large amount of political self-government.

There are common themes that give substance to the perennial concerns about whether Scottish education is distinctive, and indeed none of the contributors here is particularly preoccupied with the question of distinctiveness: that is another development of recent decades, a greater inclination of recent decades to interpret Scottish education in the context of its own social development rather than primarily by comparison with elsewhere. The old theme of how wide opportunity was still features strongly, but equally prominent is attention to contemporary discourse about that question. The key Act of 1872 – which laid the basis of a modern national system of schooling – ‘may indeed be seen’, McDermid argues in her chapter, ‘as an attempt to revive the Presbyterian educational tradition by seeking to ensure common provision across the country’, so that this was new only because the agency of national provision had become the state in place of the churches. In debates about nineteenth-century university reform, Anderson and Wallace point out, ‘it was widely agreed that the openness of the universities to all citizens was a national principle to be valued and defended’. The emerging towns of the eighteenth century, Moore notes, kept fees low so that a full elementary curriculum would be accessible to poor families. Fifteenth-century schooling made ‘some attempt to provide for poor scholars’, in the words of Ewan. The principle of accessibility then may be found to be sufficiently consistent to provide the myth with a basis in tradition, even if not perhaps strongly enough to make tradition into what Northcroft calls ‘chronicle’.

The tradition was thus not absent, though perhaps exiguous. The same might be said of other ways in which the national system had inclinations towards the universal. Though girls did not have equal access until well into the twentieth century, there were probably, writes Moore – even in the early modern period – ‘some schools where girls were educated . . . Girls may have been taught along with boys in some reading schools’. Girls might receive education from convent schools, one of the many ways – Holmes points out – in which pre-Reformation education was better than the reformers were willing to accept. That in turn depended on there being nuns who, as Curran notes, were well-educated and who had access to libraries of the same kind of quality (though not as extensive) as
monks. The immediate precursor to twentieth-century emancipation was in the slow growth in the nineteenth century of girls ‘taking higher subjects, including Latin and mathematics’ (McDermid), and the willingness of some teachers to provide classes for girls, aided – as Moore notes – by teachers’ then having much greater freedom than their successors to recruit pupils directly into individual classes, even when they were not enrolled for a whole programme of study in what would later be called a school.

In contrast to many other countries in the modern period, moreover, Scottish rural education outside the Highlands was of high quality, and so – as noted by Cameron and by Stevenson – the rural poor were generally quite well provided for. So good were the schools of the North-East – aided by the Dick bequest which raised teachers’ salaries in return for their undertaking further study – that the counties in a broad arc from Moray round to Kincardine became the core repository of the whole national myth. But the situation in the Gaelic-speaking districts after the seventeenth century was not nearly so commendable, because the language barrier was not properly addressed (or even thought about educationally) until well into the twentieth century: as Cameron, and O’Hanlon and Paterson, explain, even using Gaelic as a route to learning English was only poorly understood in the nineteenth century, and any idea that Gaelic itself might be a pedagogically worthwhile medium was largely absent until after the Second World War. This contrasts with the flourishing of Gaelic scholarship in the medieval period, as noted in the chapters by Hammond and Curran, which had legacies well into the sixteenth century (Holmes and Ewan).

Accessibility is, though, not the most strongly recurrent theme in this collection. More prominent, in fact, is the authors’ agreement that some version of liberal education has retained a status in Scotland quite consistently. The concept of liberal education – as Sheldon Rothblatt has observed – is so protean that it has been adapted to multitudinous programmes, but a common theme has been an ethical ideal, and an eschewing of directly practical immediate purposes. Linking with the theme of open access has also been a further principle that liberal education was not to be reserved to an elite: ‘in other countries’, Anderson and Wallace observe, ‘the classics were the preserve of the social elite; in Scotland they were open to the people’. As in many European countries, the classical ideal was nourished in the medieval monasteries, the secluded learning in which is described by Curran as serving rules of how to live well: ‘the cloister area’, where contemplation and meditation would be focused, ‘was a peaceful haven from the outside world, a symbol of heavenly paradise, a carefully planned centre of the community’. The ideal then gradually reached into the wider society, through the graduates of the medieval universities who served what Hammond calls the ‘increasingly secular bureaucracies’ of the medieval court. The notion that the mind, reared on good thoughts, might gain ethical strength from contemplative reading, was then strong enough to survive the turmoil of Reformation. Holmes’s chapter takes as one of its main themes the persistence of a humanist idea of education through the Reformation period, a stronger
continuity than is usually supposed, a sharing of ‘a common Latin humanist culture’: in consequence, ‘the first educational programme of the Scottish Protestant Reformers was . . . in its shape and emphasis on grammar very close to Catholic humanist reform’. Ewan links this to a civic purpose, Scotland’s most recurrent version of the ethical concerns that liberal education raises: there was a ‘stress on education and classical learning, as well as the ideal of responsible citizenship and service to the state’. The parish schools finally established properly by the Act of 1696 aimed to provide what Bischof calls a ‘liberal curriculum’. The Enlightenment was liberal not only in the most obvious way, at the elite level of the universities (Allan), but also through school textbooks (Moore). Moreover, if the Reformation was as much about educational continuity as about disruption, the Enlightenment started the process of making the religious tradition secular, rather than abolishing it. The Scottish Enlightenment practice of tolerant education was as crucial in its way to the evolution of liberal ways of thinking as were Adam Smith’s more obviously important ideas. As Allan puts it,

that [the atheist] Hume was . . . able to prosper, to publish, to live freely and indeed be a good friend of many of the younger and more liberal-minded clergy and academics of his day is another strong indication of just how intellectually tolerant parts of Scottish society were becoming by the middle years of the eighteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, the Dick bequest’s insistence on advanced education for the teachers whom it paid not only established an academic liberal curriculum as the core of the schools in the North-East (as Northcroft notes), but also contributed to reform of the education of teachers throughout Scotland, through such writers as S. S. Laurie (professor of education at Edinburgh University – the first such post in the English-speaking world) aided by the churches, as Stevenson notes: ‘it was the Presbyterian churches who continually tried to resist the anglicising influence of their paymasters, the Privy Council, and uphold the Scottish tradition of a broad school curriculum and raise standards through their teacher training colleges’. The school boards after 1872 maintained the tradition at local level: as McDermid puts it, they ‘saw it as their duty to preserve the meritocratic tradition by providing a liberal education and a uniform curriculum taught by qualified teachers’.

The main impetus to maintain the liberal tradition in the twentieth century came through the increasing importance of the professions – what Harold Perkin has called the rise of professional society, and which Anderson and Wallace here describe as meaning that ‘careers in the expanding middle class came to depend on examinations and formal qualifications’. Placing liberal education at the heart of professional education had a long history in Scotland, notably in the education of ministers and lawyers. As Finlay notes of the law, ‘at the summit of the profession, there was great respect for learning, and much weight was placed on the intellectual world of civilian study and classical literature’. Anderson and Wallace point out that the Scottish university tradition had long seen a ground-
ing in liberal studies as necessary for the professions: ‘the purpose of the [undergraduate curriculum] was to give a general liberal education, complete in itself but also as a foundation for the professional faculties of law and divinity’. This conception then became the touchstone of liberal education in the twentieth century, what George Davie called (in 1961) the ‘democratic intellect’. Paterson, though acknowledging the effect of the idea of a liberal education in twentieth-century policy, notes that enabling wide access to it was much more a matter of the expansion and new definition of secondary schooling than of the universities where Davie directs his main attention. Indeed, the development of adult education in the early twentieth century (as outlined by Sutherland) had an important social impact that Davie ignores. By this time, moreover – in a more firmly democratic age – citizenship could be exercised directly by students themselves while they were studying and not merely as a consequence later: students’ becoming political activists, even well before the 1960s, was, as Macdonald puts it, ‘when the elitism of the “democratic intellect” felt the full force of democracy in real time and not in the abstract’. Perhaps the main political effect of that stronger democratic assertiveness has been the emergence of a consensus by the end of the century that Scotland should have its own parliament, and – as Humes explains – educational debates, often invoking history, have been prominent in its deliberations.

Part of the general process of the growth of professional education was the growing professionalism of school teaching itself. By the eve of the First World War – in McDermid’s words – ‘the majority of teachers employed by boards in Scotland held certificates from training colleges, compared to under half of those working for school boards in England’. There was a growth of expertise in pedagogy and in its contributory disciplines of psychology and child development, culminating in the first half of the century in the remarkable episode of what Lawn and Deary call the Scottish School of Educational Research, under the guidance of Godfrey Thomson at Edinburgh University. Teachers throughout the land were recruited as a field force to test psychometrically in 1932 every child born in 1921 and attending a school in Scotland. The exercise was repeated in 1947, with effects on the development of Scottish educational research which lasted until the end of the century, although by then the education of teachers had become once more much less academic.

In these interlinked currents of thought in Scottish education – widening access to a predominantly liberal curriculum – Scottish distinctiveness could at most be described as being pioneering, because such developments have spread now globally. International connections are a further recurrent theme in this collection. There has often been emulation of England, though, as McDermid puts it, English influences ‘did not mean passively following English policy and practice’. The Enlightenment, Allan points out, ‘open[ed] up . . . the Scottish universities to a much broader non-Scottish clientele’. But there had always been external contacts, for example in the seventeenth-century legal connections with Dutch law (Finlay), or in what, for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,
Hammond describes as “Europeanisation”, spurred on by a centralising hierarchical church establishment, increasingly intertwined royal and aristocratic classes across Western Europe with common cultural touchstones, and an expansive monetising commercial economy. In the late nineteenth century – to which the rhetoric about anglicisation has often referred (following George Davie’s writing) – German examples were at least as important as English: in the words of Anderson and Wallace, ‘German universities were now setting the pace in science and scholarship for the whole of Europe’. In any case, the effects were in both directions. Nineteenth-century universities in England were founded on Scottish models (as were eighteenth- and seventeenth-century universities in the USA), drawing sometimes also on distinctive Scottish traditions in adult education, as Sutherland notes. In the twentieth century, the Scottish contribution to international educational research through Thomson’s school was, as Lawn and Deary explain, highly distinctive.

At the same time as sharing in – and occasionally leading – international developments, Scottish education has also been one of the defining features of Scottish identity. Educational politics has often had an effect on Scottish politics generally. One little-noticed example is the role of women in governing education: as elsewhere in Britain, McDermid notes, because women could be elected to the school boards established by the 1872 Act, ‘education was a key area where women could achieve a measure of status and authority, and the work they did on school boards set an important precedent for women holding public office’. In a quite different era, the educational controversies of the 1980s contributed to the wider campaigning for some measure of Scottish self-government. The effect of educational concerns on national identity is, moreover, wider than these specifically political topics, important though they are. The mid-nineteenth-century debates about creating a national system were partly debates about the place of education in national identity in a secular age. The slightly later debates about the distinctiveness (or otherwise) of Scottish university education – debates which have never subsequently gone away – revealed the variety of forms which Scottish national identity might take: as Anderson and Wallace say, ‘this [variety] allowed the Scottish universities to develop on authentically national lines within the unionist political system’.

The papers collected in this book thus raise perennial concerns about Scotland, and concerns that transcend national boundaries. The focus of this book is historical, and it does not supersede two other collections of recent scholarly writing about Scottish education: the volume on education edited by Heather Holmes in the ‘Scottish Life and Society’ series published by the European Ethnological Research Centre and the four editions of Scottish Education published by Edinburgh University Press since 1999. The historical approach of the present volume is needed for a full understanding of the present, and complements other disciplinary approaches from which readers of these two collections will profit. Each chapter here also includes a select bibliography of further reading that would provide an introduction to further investigation of its topic.
The many new ways of thinking about Scotland which have developed in the past four decades have now shaped Scottish identity and, through that, Scottish politics. As the country experiments with constantly evolving types and amounts of autonomy, the legacy of educational history will continue to be a rich source of ideas. At the same time, the educational dilemmas which have faced Scotland are instances of debates that affect education in many other places. The difficulties of widening of access, the meaning of liberal education, the roles of ethics and religion and politics: as discussed by the contributors to this book, these and similar problems offer some ways of thinking about the nature of education that are relevant far beyond Scotland's own path.

Notes
Across Europe in the middle ages, education was the preserve of the church, and schooling was run by clerics, from ad hoc provision under the local priest to formally organised monastic, cathedral and burgh schools. By the thirteenth century, there were burgeoning communities of scholars in a few places scattered across Europe and England (but not in Scotland) which eventually became known as universities. The first priority of any school was the teaching of Latin, the language of the Vulgate Bible and, just as importantly, the international language of ecclesiastical, as well as increasingly secular, bureaucracies. Being literate meant being able to read and write Latin. In some times and places, moreover, some students also achieved literacy in vernaculars like Gaelic, French and English.

Education before 1100

There are very few surviving written texts from Scotland before the twelfth century and these have come down to us in later copies. However, wherever churchmen went, so did literacy and learning, and important monastic centres like Iona were also focal points for authorship and manuscript production. Pictland, which covered much of modern Scotland north of the Forth, and its successor, the kingdom of Alba, were home to important religious houses; however, due to the failure of any textual evidence to survive from these sites, our main evidence of literacy in Pictland comes from stone inscriptions.

Although the names and locations of specific teachers and schools in Scotland do not begin to appear until around 1100, it is still possible to glean a hint of the nature of learning before this time from stories about famous learned churchmen. The first comes from the late-tenth-century Life of St Cathròe, who was born in east central Scotland around 900 and spent his ecclesiastical career in continental Europe, eventually as abbot of Metz in Lorraine. Cathròe, member of a royal dynasty, studied at Armagh in Ireland, a major church which was the centre of the cult of St Patrick. There, he ‘explored from end to end the school of Wisdom’, studies which, according to his hagiographer at least, included rhetoric,
philosophy, mathematics and astronomy. Returning to Scotland, he was enticed to act as an instructor to students there. ‘The Scots have many thousand teachers’, wrote the hagiographer, ‘but not many fathers’.1 The importance of Ireland as a centre of learning is moreover suggested by the story, recorded in Latin poetry, of the Welshman Sulien, bishop of St David’s in the 1070s and 1080s. Scion of a great ecclesiastical dynasty, Sulien first studied in Wales and then set out to continue his education in Ireland. Blown off course to ‘Albania’ (Scotland north of the Forth), he studied the seven liberal arts for five years there, before spending the next decade in Ireland.4 While we should be wary of reading too much detail into these stories, they do at the very least suggest there were teachers and schools in Scotland in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

It is important to keep in mind that when contemporaries mentioned ‘Scotland’ in stories like these, the land to which they were referring was much smaller than modern Scotland. Albania or Scotia in Latin referred only to the lands north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus, and sometimes only to those between the Firth of Forth and the River Spey. The realm ruled over by the kings of Scots before the reign of Alexander III (1249–86) was a collection of distinct lands, with varying types of relationship to the king, characterised by different languages and customs, legal and political traditions, and social and economic ties. The largely English-speaking rump of Northumbria, referred to as Lothian, the formerly Welsh-speaking kingdom of Strathclyde and the Hiberno-Norse region of Galloway were not thought of as part of ‘Scotland’ until the thirteenth century.5 The kingdom’s core region in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was to be found in the east central counties of Fife, Perthshire and Angus, and it is from here that the lion’s share of our evidence survives.

**Literacy and Schools in Scotland North of the Forth**

The first centre of learning it is now possible to discern is Abernethy in southeast Perthshire, the place where Máel Coluim (Malcolm) III met William the Conqueror in 1072. We have striking visual confirmation of its prominence in the late eleventh century in the form of the remarkable free-standing round tower there. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that Abernethy was an important locus for high-status intellectual activity and manuscript production at this time. One likely output was a version of the Pictish king-list which included a short foundation narrative of Abernethy, composed in the reign of King Máel Coluim (1058–93). Furthermore, Thomas Clancy has argued convincingly that this was the location for the production of both the Latin recension of the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* (‘History of the Britons’) which attributed the work to ‘Nennius’ as well as its Gaelic-language translation, the *Lebor Bretnach*, suggesting the existence of scholars working at a high level in both languages. Both the scribe of the Latin recension, one Euben (Owain or Ywein), and its recipient, Samuel, are named. Samuel is called ‘infans magistri mei’, ‘the child of my master’, one Beulan the priest.6 As with the poem on Sulien’s mention of ‘fathers’, this reference appears to suggest a figurative father-son relationship for the teacher
and pupil, a conception that was further applied in the term *mac léginn*, ‘son of learning’, to refer to a student. A number of Abernethy clerics appeared as witnesses to a gift of land around 1100 by a member of the royal family to the house of *céli Dé* (Culdees, or ‘clients of God’, an Irish ascetic religious order) at St Serf’s on Loch Leven. Among them was the apparent son (Máel Snechta) of the master (Beólán) who had ordered the transcription and translation of the *Historia Brittonum*. Also among the Abernethy contingent of c. 1100 was one Berbeadh, ‘rector of the schools of Abernethy’, demonstrating that learning went hand in hand with literacy there.7

Nearby in Fife the main church centre was St Andrews, seat of Scotland’s premier bishop and a focus for pilgrimage, and home to secular clerics, a house of *céli Dé* and, from the middle of the 1140s, an Augustinian cathedral chapter. It is likely that as the kingdom’s principal bishop’s see, some provision for education had long been available; this is also implied by a foundation account of c. 1100 which makes mention of Master Samuel and his forebears and successors. The Latin term *magister* later came to be used by clerics who had studied at the *studia generalia* (later university), but before this, it may have referred to very learned men more generally. The suggestion that there was a long line of masters at St Andrews certainly bolsters the notion that Master Samuel was a schoolmaster.8 Eadmer of Canterbury, at least, commented on the presence of scholars (*scholastici*) there in the 1120s.9

A century after Eadmer, schools run by Gaelic-speaking *literati* still existed. In or about 1212, Master Samuel’s successor, Master Patrick, held the title ‘master of the schools of the city of St Andrews’.10 Between 1210 and 1225, Macbeth, *rex scolarum* (‘king of the schools’) of Dunblane, and Máel Domnaig, holder of the same office in Muthill, had some of their customary renders in kind converted to a cash payment by the bishop of Dunblane. Around the same time, the cathedral chapter of Dunkeld was still receiving income ‘for the use of the macleins and scolocs’.11 It is due to a major dispute over revenue that we know about Master Patrick, because the attempts of the cathedral priory to restrict the ancient customary renders of the ‘poor scholars’ led to the case being referred to Rome and the three papal judges delegate deciding in the scholars’ favour. This was probably due to the good offices of their superior, Master Laurence of Thornton, archdeacon of St Andrews. Laurence also held the title of *fer léginn* (‘man of learning’), which helps explain why Laurence was so deeply involved in the case. The charter also makes clear that a residence in the city was set aside for the *fer léginn*, and that the renders in grain and cheese were to be delivered there on Martinmas. There was evidently a great deal of distrust between the schools (or the bishop’s *familia*) and the priory, because both the *fer léginn* and the prior were to have servants present at the collection of the renders to ensure their quality was good enough for market. Laurence was evidently a man of both cunning and power, because in addition to his servant (as *fer léginn*) checking the quality of the renders, he was also empowered as archdeacon to compel the priory to pay if they failed to do so.12
The *fer léginn* was the highest office associated with education found in church establishments across Gaelic Ireland and Scotland. It has been rendered in English with the Latinate term ‘lector’, but translates literally as ‘man of reading or learning’. That the powerful archdeacon of St Andrews held the office in the early thirteenth century gives some sense of its importance. Evidence for a few individuals of this rank in Scotland survives, but must surely be only the tip of an iceberg that once existed. The first mention to survive is Domongart, *fer léginn* of Turriff, a monastery in Buchan, who witnessed a record of a gift to the church of Deer in 1131×32. In 1164, the Annals of Ulster record the existence of Dub Síde, *fer léginn* of Iona, a monastic site whose enduring link to the cult of St Columba (Columcille) suggests that it may have continued to play a part in literacy and learning in the Hebrides at this period. In the early fourteenth century, there was a ‘rector of the schools’ at Inverness called Master Felanus. This name has been interpreted by modern scholars as a garbling of *ferlanus*, the Latinisation of *fer léginn*, but it is also possible that this is simply the Gaelic personal name Fáelán. Placename evidence also suggests the existence of a *fer léginn* at Aberdeen. These examples are useful reminders that, although most of our little surviving evidence comes from the east-central core of ‘Scotland’, similar arrangements must have existed at important churches across Gaelic-speaking regions. It would appear that the *fer léginn* was sometimes a man of great reputation who drew particularly talented students to his school from far and wide; it was probably this figure to which the Life of St Cathròe referred when it lamented the scarcity of ‘fathers’ in ‘Scotland’. In 1169, Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Ireland, endowed the position of *fer léginn* in Armagh to support the instruction of students from Ireland and Scotland. The *fer léginn*, Flann Ua Gormáin (d. 1174), had studied for twenty-one years in England and France before returning to Ireland to run the schools there for the following two decades.

There were a number of terms used in the sources to refer to the students. The *fer léginn* was contrasted in Irish sources with the *mac léginn*, literally meaning ‘son of reading or learning’. These are the *macleins* to whom the bishop of Dunkeld owed financial support. In most of our (Latin) sources, however, the students are called by a Latin word. The charters relating to schools at Dunblane and Muthill refer to *scolastici*, whereas the St Andrews agreement of c. 1212 mentions *pauperes scolares*, ‘poor scholars’. The Dunkeld provision, however, was for ‘Macleins et Scoloccorum’. *Scolóc* was a word which originally described a scholar or student, but by this time had come to refer broadly to a kind of peasant living on land owned by the bishop. In some cases, as at Ellon in Aberdeenshire, these men evidently retained some duties in staffing the churches, and it is just possible that in the Dunkeld case they still refer to some sort of student, but this must remain unsettled.

Between the experienced ‘man of learning’ and the youthful ‘son of learning’, we find the rank of cleric who must have done most of the actual teaching. A number of terms were used to describe these educators. Berbeadh in c. 1100 was called ‘rector of the schools’, while Macbeth and Máel Domnaig in 1210×25
were ‘king of the schools’. Within the same group we must place Master Samuel (c. 1100) and Master Patrick, ‘master of the schools of the city of St Andrews’ (c. 1212), who clearly worked below the level of the fer léginn, Archdeacon Laurence. It is also possible, though not proven, that Beán, ‘master of Dunblane’ in the 1190s, was a schoolmaster.19 ‘Rector’ and ‘king’ of the schools are translations into Latin of the Gaelic word toisech, meaning ‘leader’. This is confirmed by the Gaelic notes in the Book of Kells, where a toisech of the students is found alongside the fer léginn.20 The choice of one of these terms by a scribe writing in Latin was arbitrary; whereas the leader of the schools of St Andrews around 1212 was ‘master’, in 1285 Master John Scot of Monethy was ‘rector’ of the schools there.21

What did the students who attended schools such as these go on to do with their lives? Dauvit Broun has identified elite Gaelic literati who maintained their high status until some time in the reign of Alexander II (1214–49). The majority of these scholars would have gone on to become churchmen of one sort or another, perhaps priests, living in a community as céli Dé or canons, or chaplains or clerks. This knowledge has left only a shadow of its former written output, but their expertise in Gaelic survives in property records in the Book of Deer from c. 1150, in the seal of King Máel Coluim IV (1153–65), in some early charters of Inchaffray Abbey, and in various royal genealogies and king-lists.22 The genealogy was compiled and recited at the royal inauguration by a high-status individual called the ollamh ríg, the King’s Poet, who we see in action in accounts of the inauguration of Alexander III in 1249. Genealogy and praise poetry required a high level of education at that time, and many famous churchmen also composed such literature.23 The Gaelic educated class also included a figure called the brithem or judex (‘judge’). In addition to holding important judicial and administrative duties, these judges comprised a class of legal experts who acted as repositories of the law and may have even drafted new legislation.24 ‘By the second half of the thirteenth century, however’, according to Broun, ‘Gaelic clerics had all but disappeared, the judices had decisively lost status, and the King’s Poet had performed his last inauguration’.25 Gaelic was superseded as the language of power in the Lowlands by, first, Latin and French, and eventually English (or Scots), and the character of schools like those at St Andrews gradually changed.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a period of ‘Europeanisation’, spurred on by a centralising hierarchical church establishment, increasingly intertwined royal and aristocratic classes across western Europe with common cultural touchstones, and an expansive monetising commercial economy. These developments were encouraged by the kings of Scots, and reformist monasteries staffed by monks and canons regular were deeply involved in all three dimensions of this project. Kings and other power players encouraged the growth of towns licensed with special trading privileges, and it is in these burghs that we find what were likely the biggest schools in the central middle ages. In places where older church establishments and quasi-urban settlement probably predated the
burgh, such as Perth, it is possible that the schools already existed; where burghs were created on greenfield sites, like Ayr, the schools must have been new. As was common elsewhere, authority over many of these schools was given by the king or bishop to a monastic house, and it is due to the accident of the survival of the records of some of these monasteries that we know anything at all about these schools.

From Dunfermline Abbey we have two charters of Bishop Robert of St Andrews, probably dating to late in his episcopate (1127–59). One confirms to the abbey a number of things ‘which pertain to the episcopal right’, including ‘the churches of Perth and Stirling and the schools and all the other things belonging to them’, suggesting that the schools lay under the immediate authority of the parish churches. There must have been some argument about the nature of this authority, because Bishop Robert issued a second charter specifically reminding people of his gift of ‘the schools of Perth and Stirling and all schools which belong to the abbey’, which he wished to be ‘preserved unimpaired’. Whether Dunfermline had other schools or merely hoped to acquire some is unclear, but the schools (along, perhaps, with the fees paid by the students) were obviously important enough to the abbey for them to complain to the bishop. The churches of Stirling and Perth had been given by King David I to Dunfermline Abbey, without mention of the schools, and it is possible that the schools had attempted to assert independent status against the abbey’s claims. In any event, as a daughter-house of the Benedictine cathedral chapter at Canterbury, Dunfermline would have been in direct contact with an advanced centre of learning in the twelfth century. Outside of the cathedral cities, it seems that the control of schools was often – perhaps usually – in the hands of monasteries. For example, between 1218 and 1225, Bishop Gregory of Brechin granted licence to establish schools in the burgh of Dundee to the monks of Lindores Abbey.

Schools in Southern Scotland

Before the mid-thirteenth century, the Scottish kingdom south of the Forth-Clyde line comprised a collection of lands including Lothian, Teviotdale, Strathclyde and Galloway. Welsh as a vernacular had probably disappeared by the twelfth century, and Gaelic and English were the main spoken tongues, with French and Flemish being spoken by many twelfth-century immigrants. It is likely that, as in ‘Scotland proper’, there would have been schools based at major church settlements. As the seat of a bishopric, Glasgow must have provided some level of education. In Galloway, at Kirkcudbright, there was some kind of school, because when Aelred of Rievaulx visited in the 1160s he encountered some scholars there, according to Reginald of Durham. Obvious candidates for schools would have been other churches with Cuthbertine dedications, like Old Melrose and Edinburgh. It is possible that many English-speaking subjects of the king of Scots may have been drawn to the centre of Cuthbert’s cult, Durham, which was staffed by Benedictine monks from 1083. Before the twelfth century, boys were educated in the cathedral itself, but from that point there was a fee-paying grammar school
in the city, which was called ‘the school of liberal arts’ in 1229.\textsuperscript{30} Given the extensive cross-border ties of family and lordship at this time, the schools that existed at Norham, Carlisle and Hexham may have also attracted students, but this is not to imply that there were not similar schools north of the Tweed.\textsuperscript{31}

As with ‘Scotland proper’, the major new monasteries south of the Forth were given control over the larger schools. Bishop Herbert of Glasgow (1147–64) gave the churches and schools of Roxburgh to Kelso Abbey.\textsuperscript{32} In 1241, the rector of the schools of Roxburgh was one Master Thomas.\textsuperscript{33} It has been suggested, but must remain conjectural, that the gift by King David I to Holyrood Abbey of the church of St Cuthbert of Edinburgh also included the schools under their authority.\textsuperscript{34} A papal bull of 1187 stated that the schools of Linlithgow were under the jurisdiction of the priory of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{35} We know from mentions of their masters that there were also schools in Ayr and Berwick-upon-Tweed by the 1230s.\textsuperscript{36}

In 1184, Pope Lucius III prohibited anyone – presumably canons of Dryburgh Abbey – from restraining the masters of the schools in the parish of Lanark and other parishes, suggesting a possible interest by the abbeys in rural schools.\textsuperscript{37} Nicholas Orme, expert on medieval schools in England, has warned against reading patterns into the accidental survival of mentions of schools.\textsuperscript{38} We must be particularly careful around the issues of schools in the countryside and the question of lay education. The chance survival of the case of Matilda, widow of Richard of Lincoln, is instructive. A landholder in Roxburghshire, she surrendered her lands in Mow on the condition that the monks rebuild ‘better and more appropriate schools’ in the poor house on the land, at least partly for the benefit of her son William.\textsuperscript{39} This mention is remarkable because it implies that there were sometimes schools in more rural settings which religious houses were expected to staff. In this case, the implication is that there had been ‘schools’ (contemporary sources almost always use the plural) previously that Matilda had deemed inappropriate. Furthermore, there is no indication that William was to follow a career in the church; it would appear that she simply wanted him to get an education. It quite possible that lay literacy was much more widespread in the central middle ages than the (mostly church) records suggest. A thirteenth-century account of the miracles of St Margaret, queen of Scotland, includes a story in which a nobleman ‘sent for his Psalter’ and ‘read the psalms for a long time’ without any indication that this was unusual.\textsuperscript{40}

Occasionally, masters of schools were either respected or well-connected enough to be enlisted as papal judges-delegate. In canon law cases under the pope’s jurisdiction, it was common for the papal curia to empanel three clergy-men to adjudicate. Bishops, archdeacons and members of cathedral clergy were often selected, as were abbots, priors and their underlings, but occasionally, masters of schools were appointed. Clerics from one part of the kingdom were often selected to hear cases in another region, for obvious reasons. Master Adam of Perth, master of the schools of Perth, acted alongside the archdeacons of Dunkeld and Dunblane dealing with a dispute over the chapel of Prestwick in Ayrshire. The master of the schools of Berwick was appointed alongside the archdeacon
and dean of Lothian in a matter regarding Dundrennan Abbey in Galloway. Alternatively, however, masters may have been chosen sometimes because of local knowledge. Alan, master of the schools of Ayr, dealt with disputes regarding Paisley Abbey’s claims in Old Kilpatrick parish, Dunbartonshire. Master John, rector of the schools of St Andrews, acted alongside Ralph, prior of the Isle of May, in a case dealing with Inverkeithing in Fife. Sometimes the judge delegates themselves delegated the work to commissaries who were likely seen as both competent and available; schoolmasters seem to have fitted the bill. Such at least was the case for masters of schools of Berwick in 1279 and of Aberdeen in 1282.41

Secular Cathedral Schools

In Scotland, the surviving evidence suggests that most schools in towns (presumably grammar schools open to the fee-paying public) and apparently some rural schools were under the authority of religious houses of monks and canons of various orders. The obvious exception to this pattern were the schools run by the secular cathedrals.42 The thirteenth-century constitutions of the chapters of Moray (1212) and Aberdeen (1256) placed the authority for the schooling of the choirboys with the precentor (sometimes called the cantor or chanter).43 The Aberdeen statutes stipulated that four boys were to attend the choir at the discretion of the precentor; however, the duty of ensuring the boys’ attendance rested with the master of the schools of Aberdeen, a figure who appears in the charter record in 1282. The 1215 Fourth Lateran Council in Rome had called for bishops and chapters to endow masters in order to teach grammar to clerks, although these edicts were often not followed to the letter.44 In England, it was common for secular cathedrals to support a public grammar school in addition to the precentor’s song school. The likelihood of this scenario in Aberdeen is bolstered by the fact that Thomas of Benham, ‘rector of the schools of Aberdeen’ in 1263, later became the cathedral’s chancellor.45 In England, schoolmasters in secular cathedrals often became chancellors whose teaching duties were limited to giving lectures in canon law or theology.46 The Moray statutes tasked the chancellor with directing the schools in theology, although this was apparently not the case in Aberdeen. Based on the usage at Lincoln cathedral, the Moray statutes allowed the chancellor broad authority over schools in the diocese, and it seems likely that other Scottish chancellors had similar rights. Glasgow’s chancellor clearly could appoint the master of the grammar school in the fifteenth century; the chapter there included a precentor by 1221 and a chancellor by 1258.47 Smaller cathedral establishments also filled these positions in the thirteenth century, with that of precentor usually preceding that of chancellor. Precentors were appointed at Aberdeen (by 1244), Brechin (by 1246), Caithness (by 1275), Dunblane (filled by the abbot of Inchaffray by about 1240), Dunkeld (by 1221), Glasgow (by 1221), Moray (by 1230) and at Ross (by 1255); chancellors were appointed at Aberdeen (by 1240), Brechin (by 1343), Caithness (by 1275), Dunblane (by 1296), Dunkeld (by 1287), Glasgow (by 1288), Moray...
(by 1221) and at Ross (by 1223). As we have seen, authority over the schools in St Andrews remained with the fer léginn, perhaps merged with the duties of the archdeacon, and the cathedral did not get a chancellor until the mid-fifteenth century.

Although we know very little about the music schools run by the precentors in the cathedrals, they have left us ample written evidence of the impressive quality of their work. Several cathedral establishments evidently created or collected manuscripts of plainchant offices for saints venerated in Scotland, including Saints Kentigern, Cuthbert, Brigid, Thomas of Canterbury, Machutus and likely Ninian. Gerald of Wales commented on the high quality of music in Scotland, and this is certainly borne out by what we know of religious chant, in particular as regards the development of polyphony. St Andrews was the location for the production in the second quarter of the thirteenth century of the manuscript known now as W1, in which a sophisticated new Parisian polyphonic chant was adopted and then built upon with two new Office responsories for the feast of St Andrew. Interest in polyphony was not confined to St Andrews: a Dominican friar named Jeronimus of Moray composed several key texts on polyphony in Paris between 1272 and 1304.

Higher Studies

It is clear that many Scottish schools were working to a relatively high level in various fields, but many students left the kingdom to further their studies abroad. There were centres of higher learning across Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which had grown up around cathedral and monastic establishments, and, increasingly, around the private schools that were rapidly proliferating. These eventually acquired more formal structures and became known as universities (although many such schools never made it that far). At burgeoning centres of learning like Paris, scholars could attain the status of magister ('master') and a further proficiency in the seven liberal arts. The trivium was seen as the more important component, including within it the essential linguistic skills of grammar, rhetoric and logic; the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy) often received less attention. More ambitious scholars could then specialise in the higher studies of theology, canon or civil law, or medicine. Bologna was the unrivalled centre for the study of law, and Paris had a high reputation for theology and logic. That so many inhabitants of Scotland went on to study in such places is testament to the quality of the education they received at home.

Medical doctors were among the most likely to have studied at university (or studium generale). The People of Medieval Scotland 1093–1314 database reveals twenty physicians prior to 1300 documented in Scottish charters; all but one of these is also called ‘master’ in the charters. The earliest of these on record may be Master Thomas, an episcopal clerk at St Andrews from the 1150s. Many of these medical doctors were also clerks or canons attached to bishops and other ecclesiastical prelates, but others were in the service of kings and nobles. King William employed Master Martin as a physician in the 1190s, when he is known to have
suffered from serious illness, but Martin seems to have been replaced by a Master Nicholas from the early 1200s. Master Ness (Ramsay?) was given the title of ‘physician of the lord king’ while in the service of Alexander II. Magnates also sometimes employed medical doctors: a Master Clement appears to have been a physician and chaplain for the constables Richard and William de Morville. A Master Anthony Lombard was in the patronage of Alexander Stewart and appears to have abandoned his vocation in order to become a knight. Not infrequently, these men benefited from the largesse of their wealthy patrons, acquiring landed estates, presumably for producing the desired results.52

Study at an institution of higher learning was increasingly seen by the thirteenth century as desirable for those wishing to follow a career in the secular church establishment. The majority of the 678 people in the People of Medieval Scotland database to use the title ‘master’ would have fallen into this category. The bishop of St Andrews had clerks who were masters from the 1150s, while there were cathedral canons of Glasgow and Dunkeld in the 1160s who had undertaken higher studies. There were masters in all the dioceses south of Inverness by 1200, and in some places they made up the majority of canons and dignitaries.53 It was not unusual for bishops to be masters. William Malveisin, bishop of Glasgow (1199–1202) and bishop of St Andrews (1202–38) may have studied at Paris but probably did not gain a degree. His successors at St Andrews, David of Bernham (1239–53), Abel of Gullane (1254), Gamelin (1255–71), William Wishart (1271–79), William Fraser (1279–97) and William of Lamberton (1297–1328) were all magistri (masters). At Dunkeld, Bishops John Scot (1183–1203), John of Leicester (1211–14), Richard of Inverkeithing (1250–72) and Robert de Stuteville (1273–82) had all attended universities. Clement, bishop of Dunblane (1233–58), was one of the first Dominican friars in Scotland and undertook a major reorganisation of the diocese.54 Masters were ubiquitous in the cathedral chapters, as deans and subdeans, precentors and succentors, chancellors, treasurers and simply as canons. Seventy-five masters were explicitly identified as bishops’ clerks and twelve as bishops’ chaplains, although the numbers may have been higher. A great number of masters were associated with their parish churches, either as rectors, personae or vicars, although in many cases these would have been benefits to supply them with income.

Little is known about the places and courses of study associated with these men, but it would have been seen as advantageous for archdeacons and officials to have an understanding of canon law, for chancellors to be trained in theology and for precentors, with their authority over the music schools, to have at least some grounding in the quadrivium. It was common for archdeacons to have undertaken higher studies, and both the long-serving Laurence of Thornton (archdeacon and official of St Andrews, 1209–1238×40) and his brother Adam were masters. At some point Adam picked up the moniker ‘Ovid’, indicating his love of classical literature.55 In the thirteenth century, there is seldom a distinction made in personal titles between masters of arts and those who had attained doctorates in fields such as law or theology, although in 1274 an Abraham, professor of law, is
found in Fife, perhaps working for St Andrews, and John of Tinwald, professor of civil law, set his seal to a charter in 1294. Master William of Eaglesham, clerk of Bishop William Lamberton, was a professor of decrees and later became archdeacon, and later William Frere, archdeacon of Lothian, was a regent in decrees.56

There was much cross-fertilisation between the king’s household and the dioceses. Many university graduates also found careers in the royal administration; at least twenty-seven royal clerks in this period were masters. Matthew Scot, who probably studied and/or taught at Paris, was a chancellor of Alexander II; under his son Alexander III the future bishops Gamelin, Richard of Inverkeithing, William Wishart and William Fraser were all chancellor; they were succeeded by the master Thomas de Chartres. Many other masters were clerks to heads of religious houses or lay magnates.

As might be expected, people who made it to university generally came from privileged and well-connected backgrounds. Many masters were nephews and other relatives of bishops, archdeacons and other prelates. The sons of the aristocracy, especially younger sons who did not stand to inherit, made up a large number of Scottish graduates. These included members of the Avenel, del Bois, Bruce, Campbell, Carrick, Chartres, Glencarnie, Hay, Keith, Kennedy, Lincoln, Lindsay, Lockhart, Lovell, Maule, Merlay, Montfort, Montgomery, Murray, de Ros, St Martin, Vaux and Wallace families. At the same time, many people gave up their family name upon entering a career in the church, which is why the backgrounds of many masters are poorly understood. Many masters are known from the names of the churches they held as benefices, the cathedral cities which were their homes or, particularly while they were studying out of the kingdom, were simply called ‘Scot’ or ‘of Scotland’. At Bologna in the 1260s and 1270s, for example, we find Henry Scot and Peter, Robert and Thomas ‘of Scotland’.57

Students at the universities were divided into ‘nations’. The faculty of arts at Paris had four ‘nations’ – France, Picardy, Normandy and England. In addition to Scots, the English nation at Paris included Germans and a number of other European nationalities. In Oxford, the divide was between ‘Southerners’ (southern England, Wales and Ireland) and ‘Northerners’ (northern England and Scotland). This system was scrapped in 1274 due to constant conflict.58 Violence was a distinct possibility for students abroad, but the case of Gilbert of Dunfermline, who was murdered without provocation by the townspeople of Oxford in 1248, was perhaps an extreme one.59 Peter Scot and Roger Scot were indicted for being involved in an attack on the papal legate Otto at Osney Abbey in 1238. Simon Scot, a student at Bologna in 1235, was banished for attacking Hugh the Englishman at his lodgings.60 Finding suitable accommodation was evidently a constant challenge for Scots students abroad, and one of the advantages of the endowed colleges for students was that food was subsidised. Balliol College, Oxford, was founded in the 1260s by John Balliol, father of King John of Scotland (1292–6), apparently as part of a penance imposed upon him by the bishop of Durham, and the foundation was formalised by a charter of Lady Dervorguilla of Galloway, his widow, in 1282. Around this time, the Melrose
chronicler commented that scholars staying at Balliol College got eight pence weekly for their common table, while the bishop of Bath’s house offered students twelve.  

The difficulties of financing a university education are evident from the surviving ‘student letters home’ of Master William de Bernham, nephew of Bishop David de Bernham and probable son of a mayor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, in the 1250s. The texts of eighteen letters and fragments of his expense accounts survive. He wrote to his mother, his uncle, his nephew and various friends and clerics. Despite his family’s wealth and connections, William struggled to maintain a steady income while pursuing his studies at Paris and Oxford. Scholars were typically funded through holding benefices, but the collection of the revenues while William was out of the country proved a major hurdle. Bernham sent letters of attorney to his chaplain at Inchture in Perthshire before obtaining the services of the neighbouring vicar of Longforgan to help in collecting the rents. ‘Don’t accept a penny’, William instructed the vicar, ‘unless it is monetised [current] silver, or, if you must, weighed silver, but charge a [commission] on exchange’. William was still able to set aside some of the income for his brother and mother, and was evidently able to afford wine, mustard, bread, soup and other items, although he did have to pawn his books to afford a trip to the papal curia, in order to litigate against (Master) Peter Ramsay, bishop of Aberdeen’s, claims to a pension of sixty marks from his church of Inchture. Financing a university education, it seems, was far from straightforward in the thirteenth century.

William’s letters also reveal something of his network of personal relationships, suggesting that the kingdom’s intellectual elites must have formed small cliques while abroad. William’s friends included William Wishart, future bishop of St Andrews, and prominent Scottish churchman Adam of Makerstoun. We should not be surprised that William de Bernham’s associates were deeply embedded in the church establishment at St Andrews, where his uncle was bishop from 1239 to 1253. In 1250, we find Makerstoun and Wishart, described as provost and céli Dé of St Andrews, with five of their fellow ‘céli Dé acting as canons’, engaged in a major dispute with the cathedral priory. Just as Master Laurence of Thornton took on the role of fer léginn, the best-educated and best-connected men of letters in Scotland were now made céli Dé (and Laurence’s own brother Adam Ovid had also been associated with the céli Dé in 1220). And while the older institutions at St Andrews and across Scotland were undergoing a metamorphosis, this does not mean that they had lost their connection to the past. Alongside Makerstoun and Wishart in 1250 was their fellow céli Dé, Master Richard Vairement. A native of Vermand in Picardy who came to Scotland with Queen Marie de Coucy, Richard evidently formed a deep connection with the history of his adopted homeland while in St Andrews. For Richard Vairement was the first great historian of Scotland. Using Geoffrey of Monmouth’s History of the Kings of Britain and a few short origin accounts and king-lists, Richard created the first narrative of Scottish history from the ancient past to the accession of King Máel Coluim III in 1058, and the foundation for the later chronicles of
John of Fordun and Walter Bower. Vairement symbolises nicely the spirit of the age, with the birth of a new Scotland emerging from the marriage of the Gaelic and the francophone European. And yet he also brings us full circle to where we began, to Abernethy nearly two centuries earlier, to a place of schools and culdees, of masters and learning, and a place of writing history.

Appendix

Table 1.1 Table of known masters and superiors of schools in Scotland, 1100–1315

| c. 1100 | Berbeadh, rector of the schools of Abernethy | PoMS, no. 3385* |
| c. 1100 | Master Samuel (St Andrews) | |
| 1131×1132 | Domongart, fer léginn of Turriff | PoMS, no. 6222 |
| 1164 | Dub Sìde, fer léginn of Iona | |
| 1210×1225 | Macbeth, ‘king’ of the schools of Dunblane | PoMS, no. 3446 |
| 1210×1225 | Máel Domnaig, ‘king’ of the schools of Muthill | PoMS, no. 3459 |
| 1211×1213 | Master Patrick, master of the schools of the city of St Andrews | PoMS, no. 8385 |
| 1211×1213 | Master Laurence of Thornton, archdeacon and fer léginn of St Andrews | PoMS, no. 835 |
| 1210 | Master Adam of Perth, master of the schools of Perth | PoMS, no. 3058 |
| 1230, 1232 | —, master of the schools of Berwick-upon-Tweed | PoMS, no. 7397 |
| 1232–1234 | Alan, master of the schools of Ayr | PoMS, no. 3760 |
| 1233 | Master John, rector of the schools of St Andrews | PoMS, no. 3310 |
| 1241 | Master Thomas, rector of the schools of Roxburgh | PoMS, no. 5761 |
| 1243 | —, master of the schools of Berwick-upon-Tweed | PoMS, no. 7397 |
| 1263 | Master Thomas of Benham, rector of the schools of Aberdeen | PoMS, no. 3173 |
| 1279 | —, rector of the schools of Berwick | PoMS, no. 7397 |
| 1282 | —, master of the schools of Aberdeen | PoMS, no. 8374 |
| 1285 | Master John Scott of Monethy, rector of the schools (of St Andrews) | PoMS, no. 5178 |
| c. 1315 | Master Felanus, rector of the schools of Inverness | |

* Individuals appearing in the People of Medieval Scotland 1093–1314 database (www.poms.ac.uk) are given their unique PoMS number.

Notes

1. I would like to thank first and foremost Simon Taylor for sharing with me his unpublished 2012 paper ‘Teaching and learning in St Andrews before the university’s foundation’, thanks are also due to Elizabeth Boyle, Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Nick Evans, Alice Taylor, Eystein Thanisch and Alex Woolf.
3. David Dumville, ‘St Cathróe of Metz and the hagiography of exoticism’, in John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds), Saints and Scholars: Studies


8. Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife*, 5 vols (Shaun Tyas, 2006–12), iii, pp. 412–14. I am grateful to Simon Taylor for this suggestion. It is possible, but purely conjectural, that Master Samuel is to be identified with Samuel ‘child’ of Beulan the priest in Abernethy.


11. John Dowden (ed.), *The Chartulary of Lindores Abbey* (Scottish History Society, 1903), nos 33, 34, 46, 47. It is possible that Macbeth, ‘king of the schools of Dunblane’, was the same person as the Macbeth the priest who was at Dunblane in the 1190s. See Amanda Beam et al., *The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1314* [henceforth: PoMS] (PoMS, 2012). Available at www.poms.ac.uk (accessed 26 July 2014), record no. 2734.


16. Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* [henceforth: *Aberdeen Reg*], 2 vols (Spalding and Maitland Clubs, 1845), i, pp. 5, 11. I am grateful to Simon Taylor for this suggestion based on the lands of Petferlen or Petenderleyn in Old Machar parish.


23. John Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet and the inauguration of Alexander III’, *Scottish Historical Review* 68 (1989), 120–49. The term ‘coronation’ cannot be used to describe this event, as a crown was not used before 1329.
33. Ibid., no. 239.
36. Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Registrum monasterii de Passelet* (Maitland Club, 1832), pp. 164–75; Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, 2 vols (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843), nos 160, 166.
37. William Fraser (ed.), *Liber Sancte Marie de Dryburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1847), no. 249.

42. All but St Andrews and Whithorn had secular chapters.

43. Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1837), nos 48, 49; *Aberdeen Reg.*, ii, pp. 38–50. For translations of the statutes, see Isobel Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603* (Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), pp. 325–42. In England, the teaching duties were delegated to the succentor (or subchanter). Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p. 191.


45. Cosmo Innes and Patrick Chalmers (eds), *Liber Sancte Thome de Aberbrothoc*, 2 vols (Bannatyne Club, 1848–56), no. 254. What is perhaps odd here is that the four choir-boys in Aberdeen appear to have been attending the grammar school, rather than (in addition to?) the music school.


47. Robertson, ‘On scholastic offices’, p. 70.


52. Beam et al., PoMS.


54. Watt, *Graduates*, passim.

55. Ibid., p. 436.

56. *Dunfermline Reg.*, no. 207; *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, ed. Cosmo Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1840), no. 91B; St Andrews *Liber*, p. 120; Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, 5 vols (HMSO, 1881–8), ii, no. 1709.


60. Ibid., p. 490.


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