Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Atlas of Scottish History to 1707

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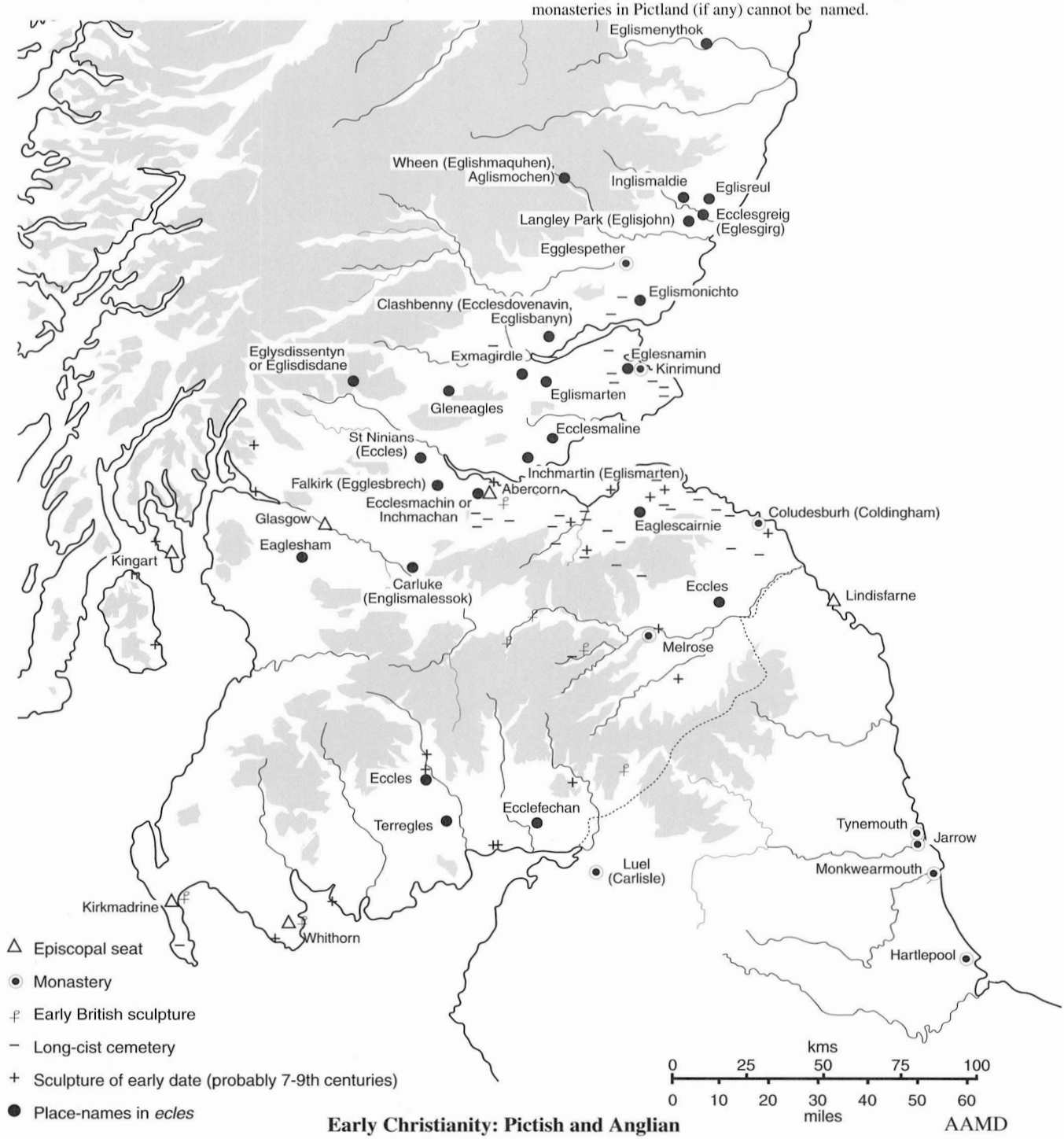
The church

Early Christianity

The distinctive memorial stones of Galloway and the Borders, many with inscriptions and clearly akin to those of Wales, show that from the fifth century an episcopally organised church spread through southern Scotland, though doubtless much disrupted by Anglian settlements from the sixth century, a disruption which may explain why the memorial stones (and Ecles names) have an upland distribution, the early Anglian settlement being stronger on the coast and in the Tweed Valley. Nonetheless when the Angles became Christian after 633 they supported monasteries at Coldingham and Melrose and a see at Abercorn, whose Celtic names suggest that they took over British religious establishments there. The low Latin word for a church, Eclesia, entered British as Ecles and also entered Pictish. It has left a scatter of place-names which suggest British influence on early Christianity in southern Pictland.

The spread of Christianity in the period of Anglian expansion may be documented by cemeteries containing graves without grave-goods, oriented east-west, the bodies extended and enclosed in rough stone coffins. One such cemetery is associated with a memorial stone (Kirkliston south of Abercorn), but in general the dates of burials are inferred not proved. The extension of Christianity from Lothian to Fife which the distribution suggests agrees with one scrap of literary evidence: a visit by Cuthbert from Northumbria to the Picts in Fife.

Other sculpture of early date, including, some of Anglian character, is difficult to date, but is generally later than the British memorial stones. Such other sculpture is indicated on the map only for the southern area (including Dunbartonshire). The equivalent northern sculpture, and the main index of Pictish Christianity must be the Class II symbol stones with their elaborate relief crosses (see Pictish Monuments). There is little evidence to support Bede's claim that St Columba converted the northern Picts, and early Columban monasteries in Pictland (if any) cannot be named.



Early Christianity: Pictish and Anglian AAMD

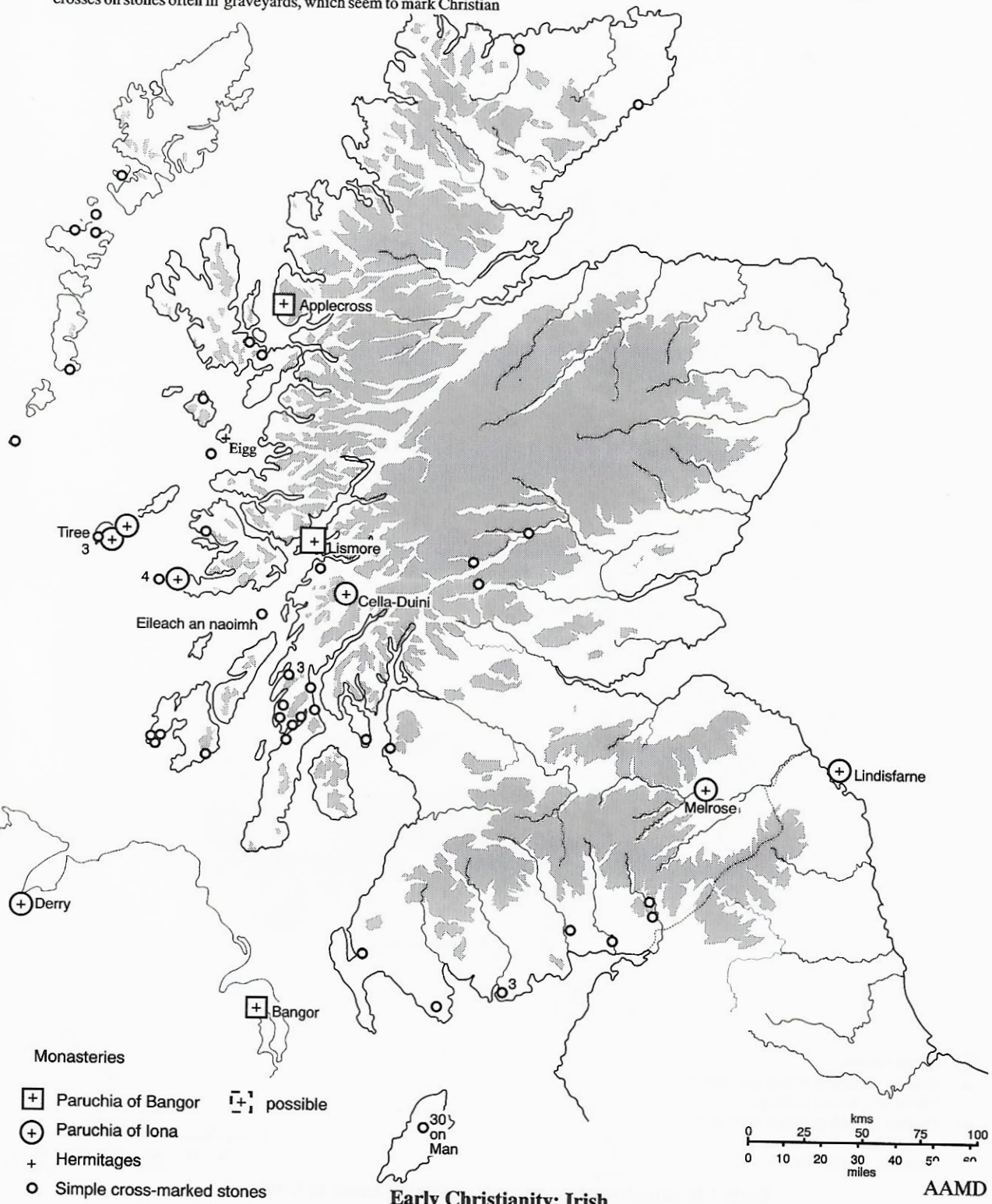
Early Christianity

The pilgrimage of Columba to Iona in 563 extended Irish church discipline and fervour to Scotland. Columba had a number of smaller monasteries on Tiree beside Lochawe, and an important one on Hinba (unidentified). He also founded Durrow in Offaly County in Ireland. In 633 Iona monks's went to Lindisfarne, whence Christianity spread through much of England. When Lindisfarne chose in 663 to follow the practices of 'St Peter' and reject those of Columba, the dissenters returned to Iona and thence to Inishbofin and Mayo in western Ireland and from these places new missions to Frisia and elsewhere on the Continent emerged.

But there were other, less well recorded Irish pilgrimages, of St Maelrubha to Applecross, of St Moluag to Lismore and of St Donnan to Eigg, the last a hermitage (probably like the remains on Eileach an Naoimh) but later an anchoritical monastery. The spread of Christianity from Ireland can be measured by the monasteries these men founded.

Another measure may be the distribution of simple incised crosses on stones often in graveyards, which seem to mark Christian burials in areas influenced by Irish Christianity. The concentration in mid-Argyll and the Inner Hebrides is to be expected, but there is no literary evidence of Irish influence to lead us to expect those in Galloway and Man. The scattered far northern examples fit with the tradition of Irish peregrinating monks who left their traces in names like Pabbay (Priest's Isle). Such Norse names must have ousted any earlier Gaelic name.

The complementary distribution-map for names containing cill 'church' or 'churchyard' shows remarkable similarity of distribution. The far north has none, having been overlaid by Norse names. There is a sprinkling of *cill* names up the Great Glen in Ross and in Fife, and the former is perhaps one of the few pieces of evidence that Columban missionary effort was effective among the northern Picts. It is thought that *cill* names were formed before 800.

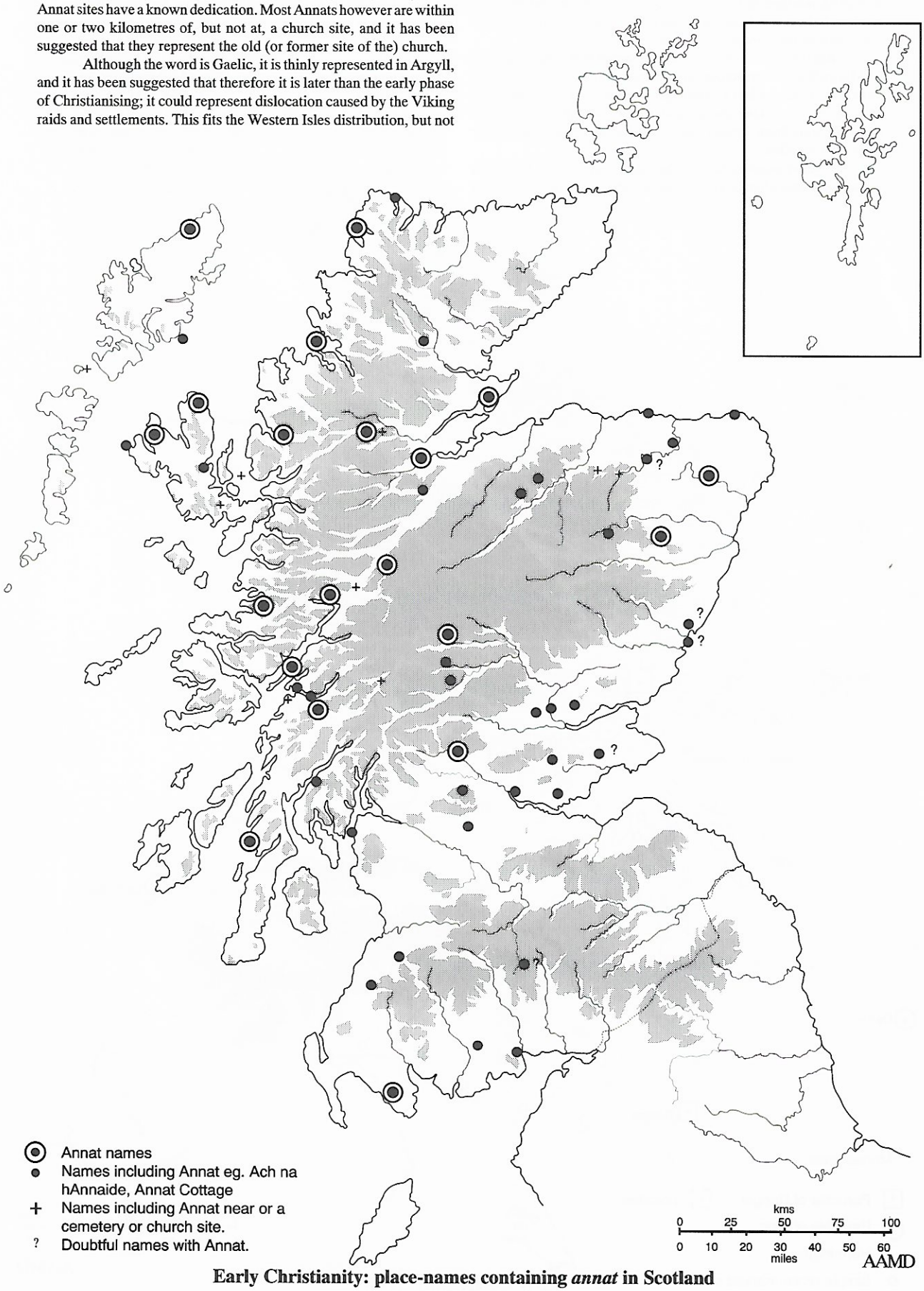


Early Christianity: Irish

Early Christianity

'Annat' comes from a Latin word itself a shortening of *antiquitas*, antiquity and seems to have been borrowed into Irish to mean the mother-church of a paruchia (that is a group of scattered monastic houses acknowledging a particular head). In Scotland where it is much more frequent than in Ireland, the distribution shows that it does not have this meaning. It is found in a few cases associated with an old graveyard, once with traces of a church building. Very rarely these Annat sites have a known dedication. Most Annats however are within one or two kilometres of, but not at, a church site, and it has been suggested that they represent the old (or former site of the) church.

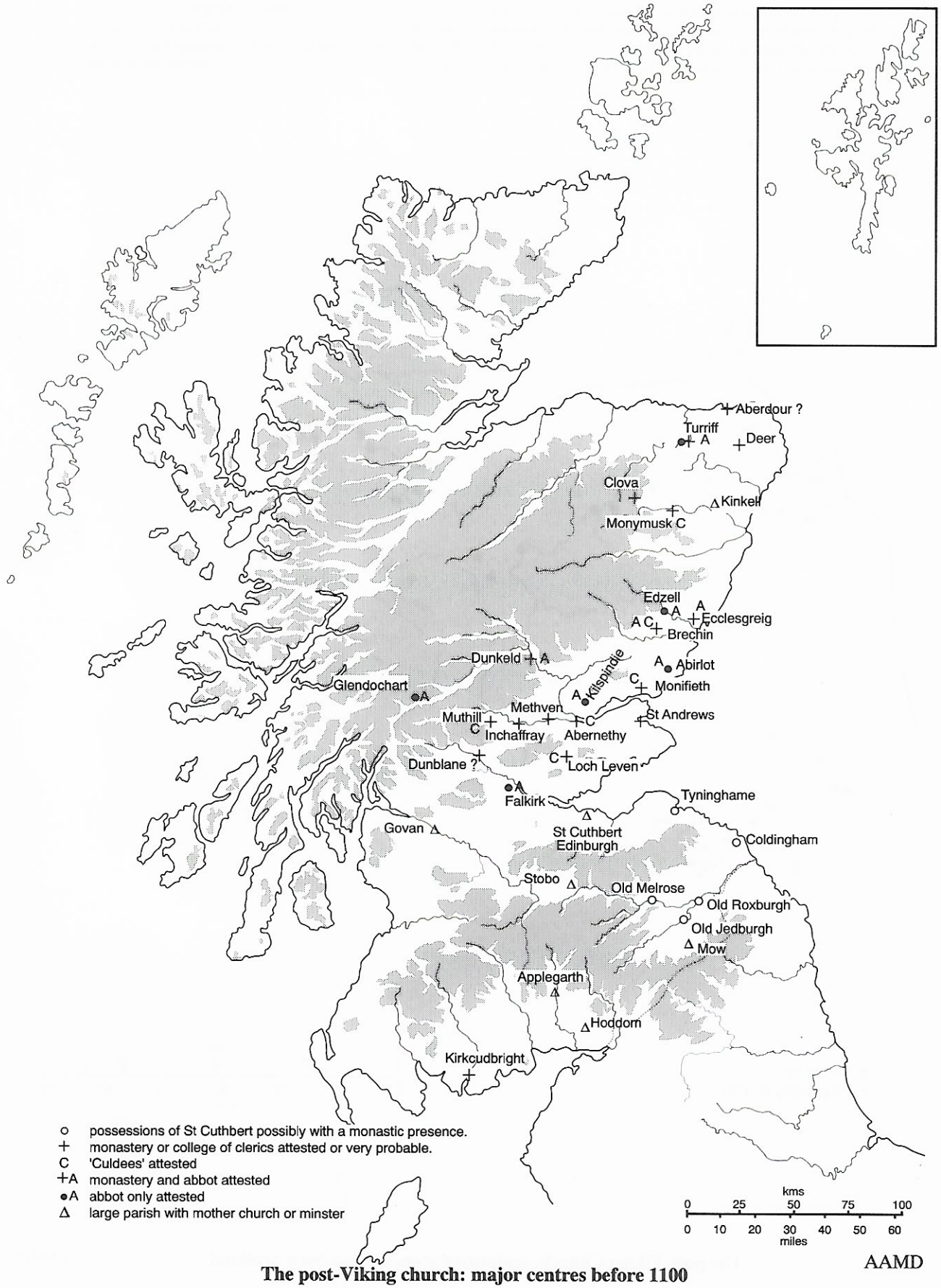
Although the word is Gaelic, it is thinly represented in Argyll, and it has been suggested that therefore it is later than the early phase of Christianising; it could represent dislocation caused by the Viking raids and settlements. This fits the Western Isles distribution, but not the eastern examples. Annat might therefore represent a very early graveyard, perhaps pre-Christian, abandoned gradually when an early church site was established, and in that case would belong to the seventh or eighth centuries.



Early Christianity: place-names containing *annat* in Scotland

The post-Viking church

This map shows centres for which there is documentary evidence, often from a much later period, of the existence of a community of clerics with characteristics which suggest that they existed before the twelfth century. Some are Culdees and probably monastic; others have abbots and may have been monastic. Then there are thirteenth-century families which claim the title 'abbot of X', from which we may deduce that the abbot of a community elsewhere possessed X as his endowment (e.g. Edzell, a possession of the abbot of Brechin). The large parishes in southern Scotland mapped here are probably only a haphazard selection, mentioned in written records, of those which existed by this date; these were minsters or small colleges of clerics, and something similar to them existed at Deer, Clova, Methven, Dunblane and doubtless elsewhere north of the Forth.

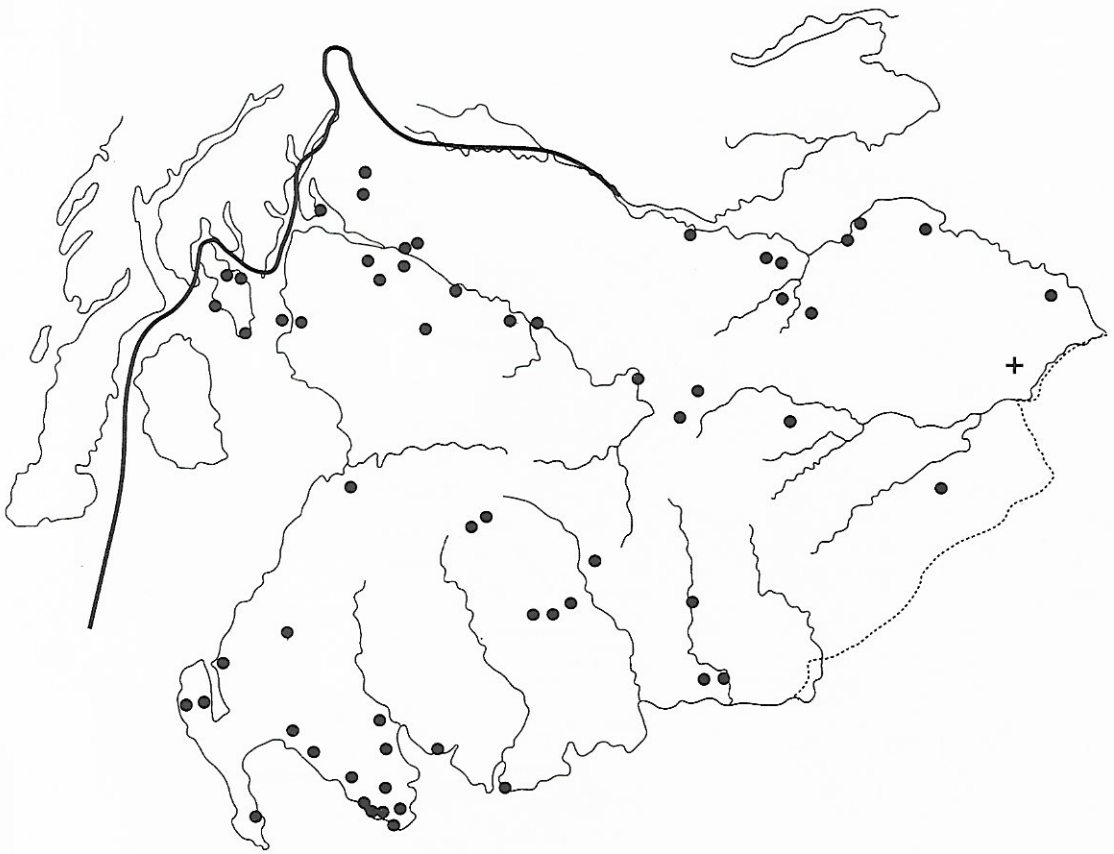


The post-Viking church: major centres before 1100

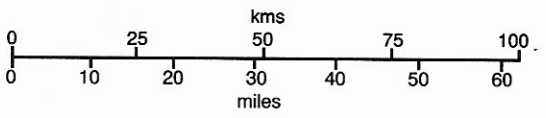
The post-Viking Church

Sculptured stones in southern Scotland in the post-Viking period (which may be seen as complementary to the Class II and Class III sculptured stones in the Pictish area indicated above are as difficult to date as is earlier sculpture. This map represents most of the known sculptures probably datable about 850 to about 1200 found in southern Scotland i.e. within Strathclyde and Lothian to the south of the boundary with Dalriada to the north-west and Pictland to the north-east. (Sculptures in northern England are not shown.) Some are found at old ecclesiastical centres such as Abercorn, Aberlady, Hoddom and show the influence of Anglian sculpture as well as later forms, notably hog-backed sepulchral stones. The finest collection of these hog-backed post-Viking sculptures is at Govan.

The concentrations suggest that there are flourishing ecclesiastical centres on Bute, on the lower Clyde, in Galloway and in Nithsdale, most probably at Kingarth, Glasgow, Whithorn and Hoddom respectively - though Glasgow itself has only recently (1994) produced an early cross head, not mapped here. However these sculptures are predominantly sepulchral and their fewness in the east probably shows a different fashion in commemoration of the dead rather than a less-developed ecclesiastical organisation. In the Tweed valley at the Hirsel near Coldstream have been found the only remains of an early proprietary church known in Scotland.



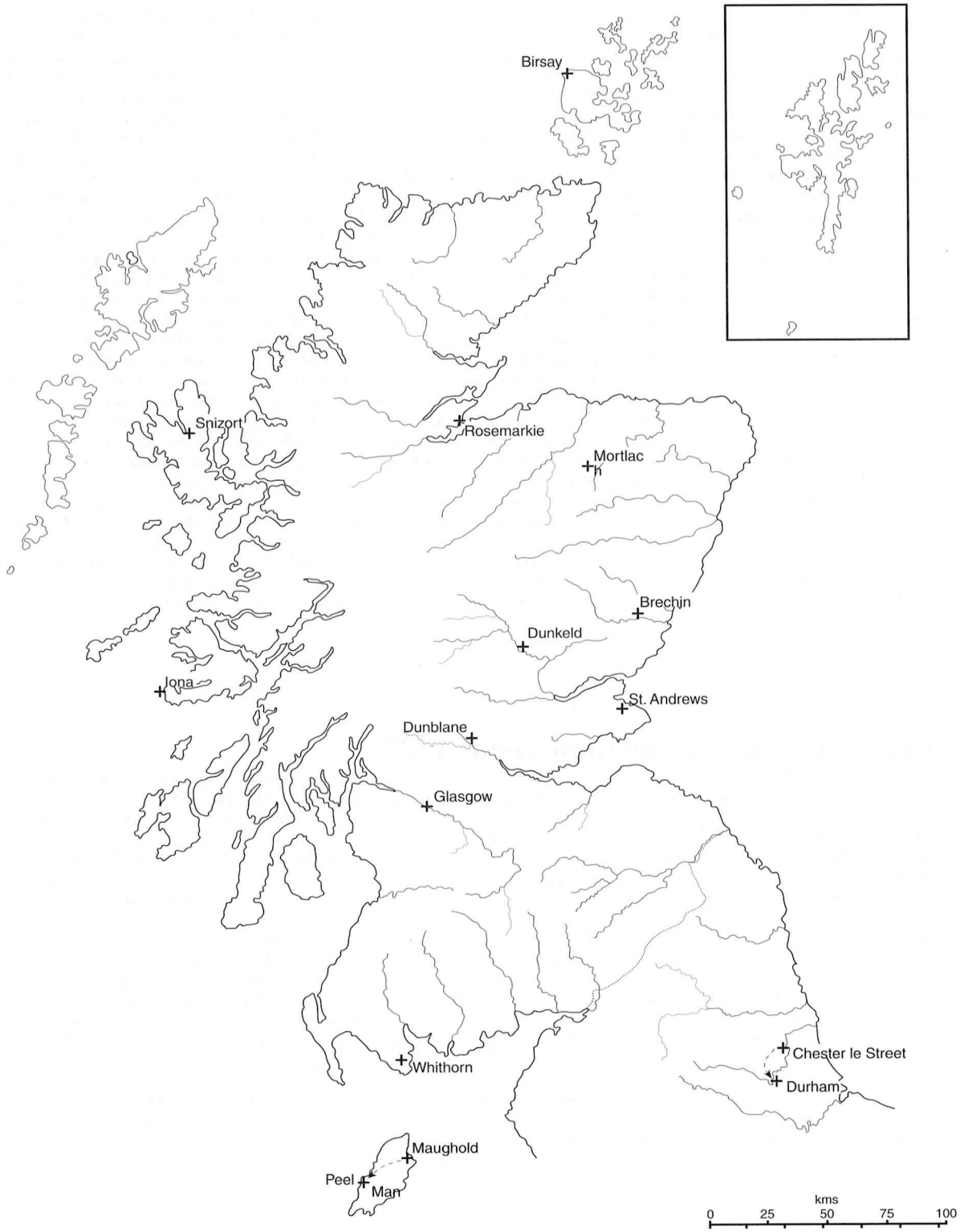
● Sculpture
+ Proprietary church



The post-Viking Church: sculptured stones in southern Scotland AAMD

The post-Viking church

By the time of Malcolm III (1055-93) there were a number of territorial bishoprics in the Scottish church, and each bishop would have his own church with one or two clergy there. But the evidence for the existence of all except St Andrews is from the twelfth century or even later. There was a bishop in Strathearn, but we are not sure that his seat was at Dunblane. Similarly there was a bishop in Skye, but his seat at Snizort is uncertain. This bishop appears to have replaced earlier bishops associated with Iona; it is not known how he related to the bishop of Man, whose seat was possibly at Maughold on the east coast, but from about 1000, perhaps, on St Patrick's Isle, Peel off the west coast. There is a gap in the known succession of bishops at Whithorn after the early ninth century until the 1220s. In addition to the bishops shown there may have been a bishop for Moray with a seat near Elgin. And finally the bishop at Chester-le-Street (Durham from 995) who possessed the relics of St Cuthbert had not abandoned his claim to be pastor in Lothian and Tweeddale even though these districts had effectively passed to the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow respectively.



The post - Viking church: bishops' seats AAMD

Ecclesiastical organisation about 1300

The date about 1300 has been chosen for this general map and for the maps showing the parishes of each diocese because as a result of the collection of taxes from the clergy ordered by popes in 1274 and 1291 records survive which provide the earliest known (if incomplete) description of the divisions of the Scottish church. Since the twelfth century a continuous series of bishops can be traced in the thirteen dioceses which by then had come to be permanently established within the area covered by modern Scotland. Ten of these on the mainland formed what was recognised by the papacy as the *ecclesia Scoticana*, forming a distinct unit directly under Rome, the equivalent for most purposes of an ecclesiastical province , but most unusually without any one of the ten bishops recognised as the superior of the others as archbishop and metropolitan. The three outlying dioceses each had a different status. Galloway was part of the kingdom of Scotland and was treated as part of the Scottish church for papal taxation purposes; but its bishops at this date recognised the superior metropolitan authority of the archbishop of York, and were to do so until 1355. Sodor had been part of the kingdom of Norway until 1266, and had since the mid-twelfth century recognised the archbishop of Trondheim as metropolitan. It now lay within the kingdom of Scotland, and like Galloway was taxed with the Scottish church, though its bishops still took some part in Norwegian affairs. Orkney was quite different. It was in no sense part of Scotland; it was still part of the Norwegian kingdom and of the Trondheim church province.

The boundaries of all these dioceses had become clear-cut and unchanging in the course of the twelfth century. This had necessarily followed the enforcement by royal authority of the payment of teind, which had led first to the definition of parish boundaries and then to diocesan boundaries. But no contemporary evidence survives which makes it possible to map these boundaries with exactitude. No doubt many boundaries followed obvious natural features on the ground, and very many of them remained the same throughout the centuries, so that a large proportion of post-Reformation boundaries indicated in maps of later date below may well have been the same as they had been about 1300. But here the boundaries are only roughly delineated for lack of specific evidence. Rather more exactitude is found in the detailed maps of each diocese at this date which follow.

Unlike England where dioceses were invariably named after the place where the bishop had his seat (that is his see), more than half of these dioceses were usually named after a pre-existent secular unit of lordship or provincial government. This applied to Orkney and Sodor in the Norwegian kingdom, to Caithness, Ross, Moray, Argyll and Galloway (though in the last two cases the names of the cathedral sites Lismore and Whithorn were sometimes applied to the dioceses also). In the northern dioceses at any rate bishops had found it useful or necessary to move their sees within their dioceses. The see of Orkney was moved from Birsay to Kirkwall in the mid-twelfth century. About the same time the see of Caithness was being established probably at Halkirk initially; but it was moved south to Dornoch in the 1230s as part of a deliberate policy of associating this diocese more with Scotland than with Orkney. In the early twelfth century too the see at Mortlach which had apparently served much of the area to the south of the Moray Firth was moved to a site near the new royal castle and administrative centre at Aberdeen. The bishopric of Moray emerges about the same time, but had no settled see for perhaps a hundred years; instead the bishop resided at any of Birnie, Kinneddar or Spynie at his choice, and only in the 1220s did royal endowment make possible the building of a cathedral at the royal administrative centre at Elgin. The move of the see of Ross from Rosemarkie to Fortrose in the early thirteenth century was simply to a new site within the same parish.

The old episcopal seats of Glasgow, St Andrews, Dunblane, Dunkeld and Brechin had retained respect and authority. The first two were the centres of the wealthiest and most influential of the Scottish bishops, with their dioceses in each case by this date were sub-divided into two archdeaconries. (Orkney was probably similarly divided, but all the other bishoprics supported only one archdeacon.) While the diocese of Glasgow was a coherent geographical area with a simple boundary, the other four in this group were notable for the complexity of their inter- relationships. Probably as a result of centuries-old loyalties dating back to missionary days, each of these bishops retained authority over parishes which were geographically detached from the main area of the diocese - indeed in the case of Brechin the whole diocese comprised parishes scattered throughout St Andrews diocese. The details can be studied in the parish maps which follow; here only the rough boundary between St Andrews on the one hand and Dunblane and Dunkeld on the other is shown. No attempt is made to delineate the boundaries of the Brechin parishes; but the convenient heading ' St Andrews with Brechin' must not be taken to suggest that the bishop of Brechin was in any way subordinate to the bishop of St Andrews. Administratively and juridically (if not economically) they were equals.

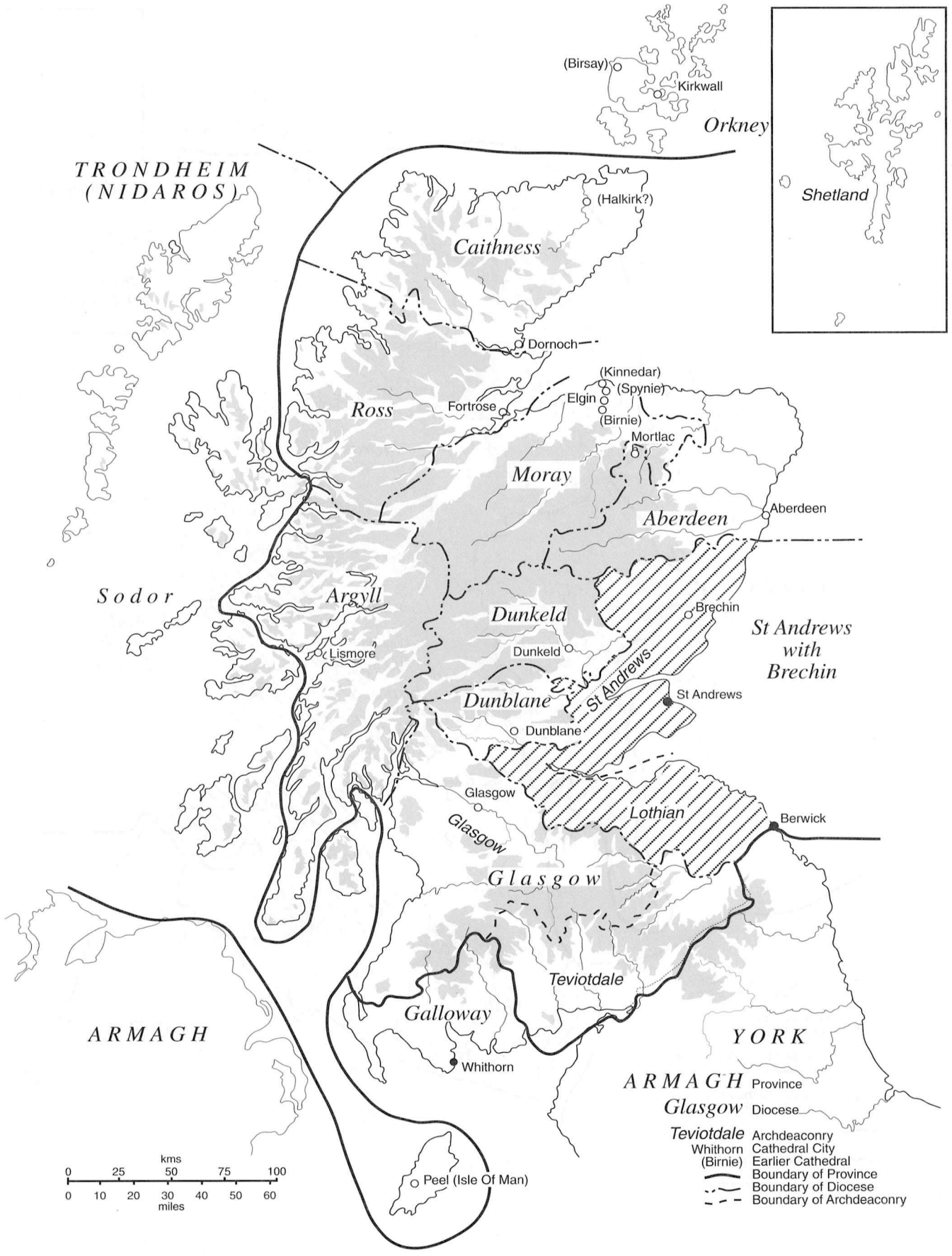
Ecclesiastical organisation about 1520

The kingdom of Scotland had by 1520 been consolidated within its modern boundaries, with Orkney and Shetland ceded by Norway in 1469 and Berwick finally lost to England and to Durham diocese in 1482. There had been changes in the three outlying dioceses. No bishop of Galloway after 1355 tendered his obedience to the archbishop of York, except during the Great Schism of the Papacy (1378-1419) when rival popes supported by Scotland and England respectively appointed rival bishops. In 1430 James I ordered that Galloway was to be regarded as a Scottish diocese. The effect of the Schism on Sodor diocese was more drastic; from 1387 onwards Peel cathedral and the Isle of Man were occupied by a series of bishops of Man loyal to England, while the northern part of this scattered diocese came to be permanently separated as the distinct Scottish diocese of The Isles, with the see certainly in the mid-fifteenth century at the old centre at Snizort on Skye (though it is not clear it was still there about 1520). These two dioceses of Galloway and The Isles gradually detached themselves under papal protection from meaningful obedience to York or Trondheim. Then came the association of Orkney with Scotland and a time for formal changes. In 1472 the bishop of St Andrews was promoted archbishop with metropolitan authority over the other twelve bishops of the Scottish kingdom of that date. Political unity now matched ecclesiastical unity.

But this clear-cut situation did not last long. Some bishops were restive about it from the start. Then in 1492 the bishop of Glasgow was also raised to the rank of archbishop with metropolitan status (though not with the extra status of primate which had been granted in 1487 to St Andrews). At first Glasgow was given four subordinate dioceses (Argyll, Galloway, Dunblane and Dunkeld) while St Andrews retained the rest; but Dunblane was transferred back to St Andrews in 1500 and Dunkeld likewise by 1515. This therefore was the situation in about 1520. The two archbishops were constantly jockeying for position, so providing a basic disunity in the Scottish church. Nonetheless between 1536 and 1559 the archbishop of St Andrews was to be able to use his powers as primate to assemble a number of provincial councils at which all thirteen dioceses of the kingdom were represented. The Scottish church was in a real sense still one despite its appearance on the map.

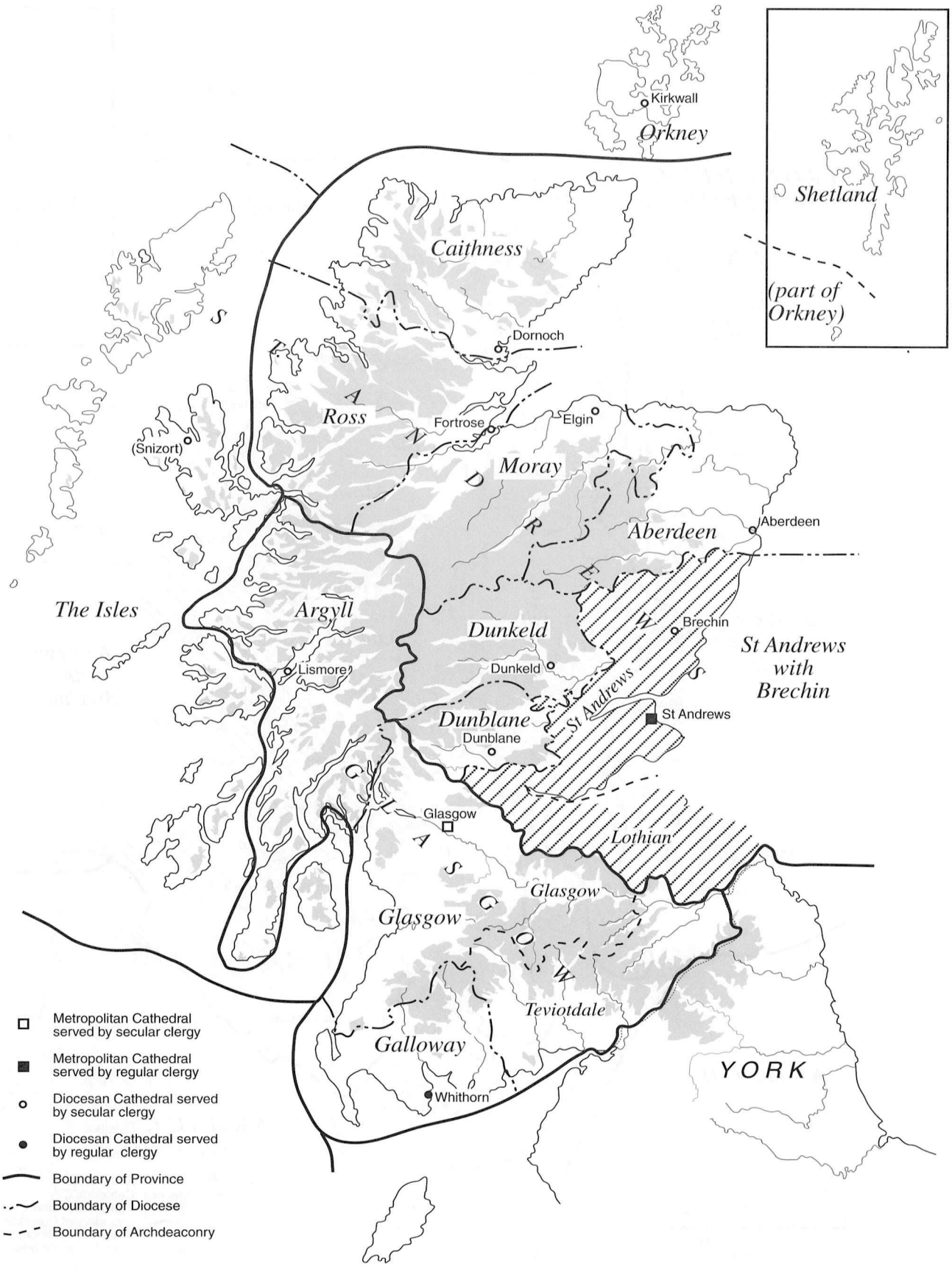
DERW

Ecclesiastical organisation



The Scottish church about 1300 DERW

Ecclesiastical organisation



The Scottish church about 1520

The church in north-western Europe

The map of the ecclesiastical provinces of north-western Europe puts the two Scottish provinces in their European context. Across Europe there was a significant disparity of size in the provinces which arose for historical reasons. Many of the European provinces are very much larger than the Scottish ones; but in Italy (not shown) - particularly in the Papal States and in Naples - there was a great concentration of much smaller provinces.



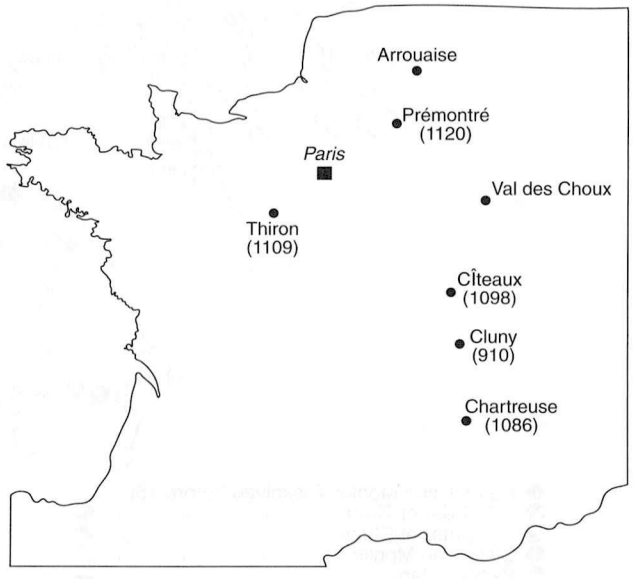
Ecclesiastical provinces in north-western Europe in the fifteenth century

Some of the monastic and other orders - such as the Benedictines and the Franciscans - took their names from their founder. Others took their name from the places where they had originated or with which they had been associated. The map plots these European centres with, in some cases, their dates of foundation.

It appears that there was no distinct order of Thiron, but that the Tironensian observance was an off-shoot of the Benedictine order.

The names of the orders or congration, with their place of origin are:

Arrouaisian	Arrouaise
Carthusian	Chartreuse
Cistercian	Cîteaux
Cluniac	Cluny
Premonstratensian	Prémontré
Tironensian	Thiron
Valliscaulian	Val des Choux

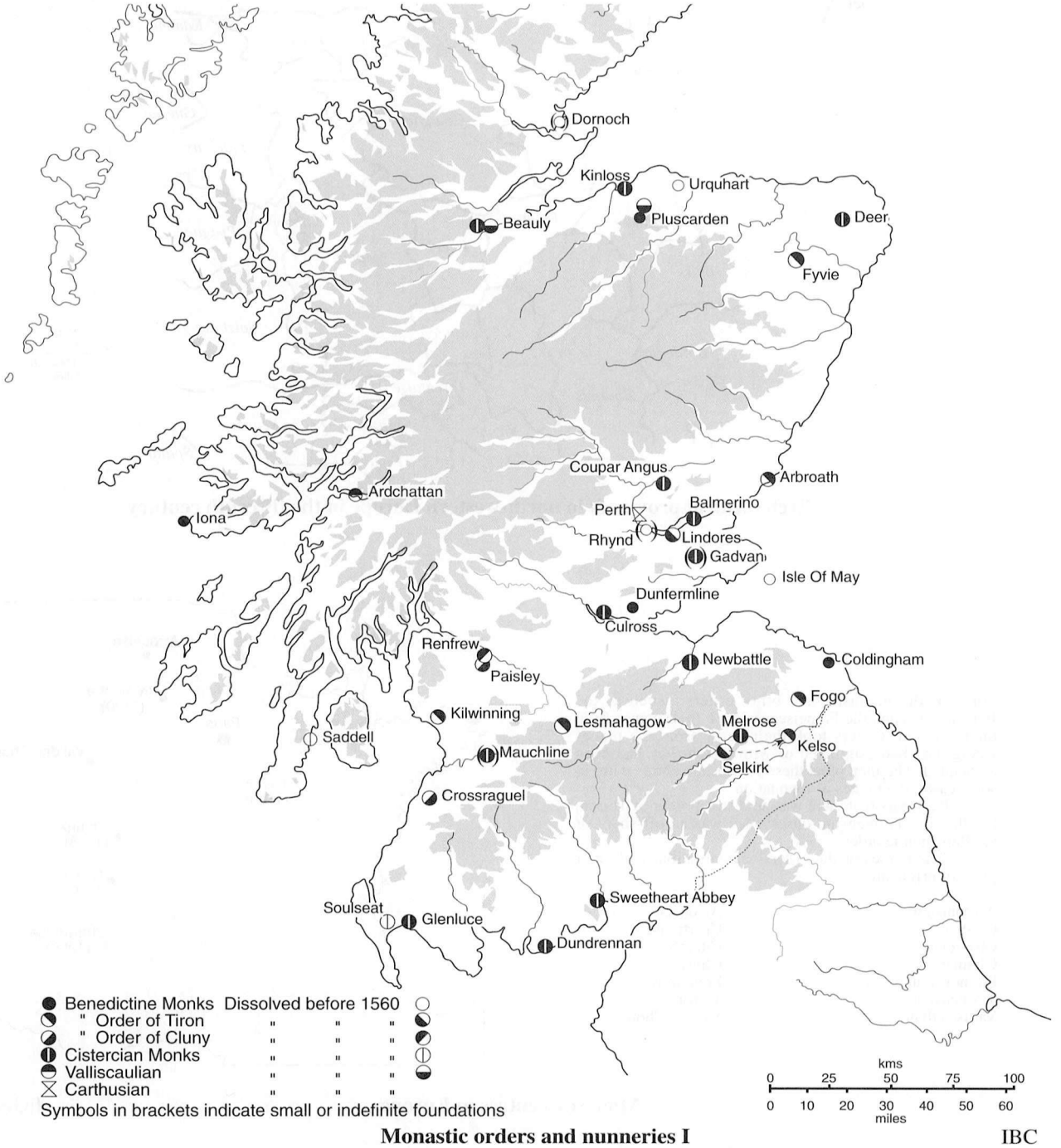


Monastic centres in Europe PGBM

Monastic orders

Monasticism which followed in the footstep of the first Christian missionaries was apparently first introduced into Scotland in the fifth century, but by the mid-eleventh century communities survived at best at Iona and possibly Turriff; elsewhere so-called monasteries approximated more closely to minsters consisting of secular c1erks. The arrival in Scotland of the Saxon princess, Margaret, who in 1068-9 married Malcolm III (1057-93) paved the way for the introduction of monasticism of the medieval type. To this end before 1089, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, at Queen Margaret's request, sent three Benedictine monks to Dunfermline where they established a priory. By this step the queen inaugurated a policy of encouraging the establishment of monastic orders, a course of action which was to be developed by her three sons, Edgar, Alexander and David, who ruled between 1097 and 1153. During these years Augustinian canons, Tironensian and Cistercian monks, inspired directly or indirectly by reformed orders in France, joined the Benedictines. In addition to royal foundations, the Augustinian priory of St Andrews (1144) was established by the bishop of that see; and a house of Premonstratensians was founded at Dryburgh (1150) by Hugh de Morville. Royal generosity, however, endowed the earliest Scottish nunnery at Berwick upon Tweed (before 1153) and also introduced the military orders, the Knights Templars and the Hospitallers. David's foundations were widely distributed from the Borders to the Moray firth, from Lothian to Galloway.

Succeeding rulers and magnates followed David's example and the existing orders continued to expand. Many foundations of these orders took place in outlying parts of the kingdom through the influence of local potentates. Successive lords of Galloway established Premonstratensians at Soulseat (by 1161) (and perhaps Whithorn by 1175) as well as at Tongland and Cistercians at Glenluce (1191- 2), while the Benedictine nunnery at Lincluden (by 1174) is said to have been founded by Uchtred, son of Fergus of Galloway. Again the Benedictine abbey (by l203) and the Augustinian nunnery (by 1208) of Iona and the Cistercian house of Saddell in Kintyre had as their founder Reginald son of Somerled, lord of the Isles. Walter Fitzalan brought Cluniacs initially to Renfrew and then, to Paisley by 1169. Equally significantly the order of the Val des Choux (Vallis Caulium) was introduced in l230 and established by the king at Pluscarden (1230-1). Contemporaneously two other Valliscaulian houses - Ardchattan and Beauly - were founded in isolated regions in the north and west of Scotland.

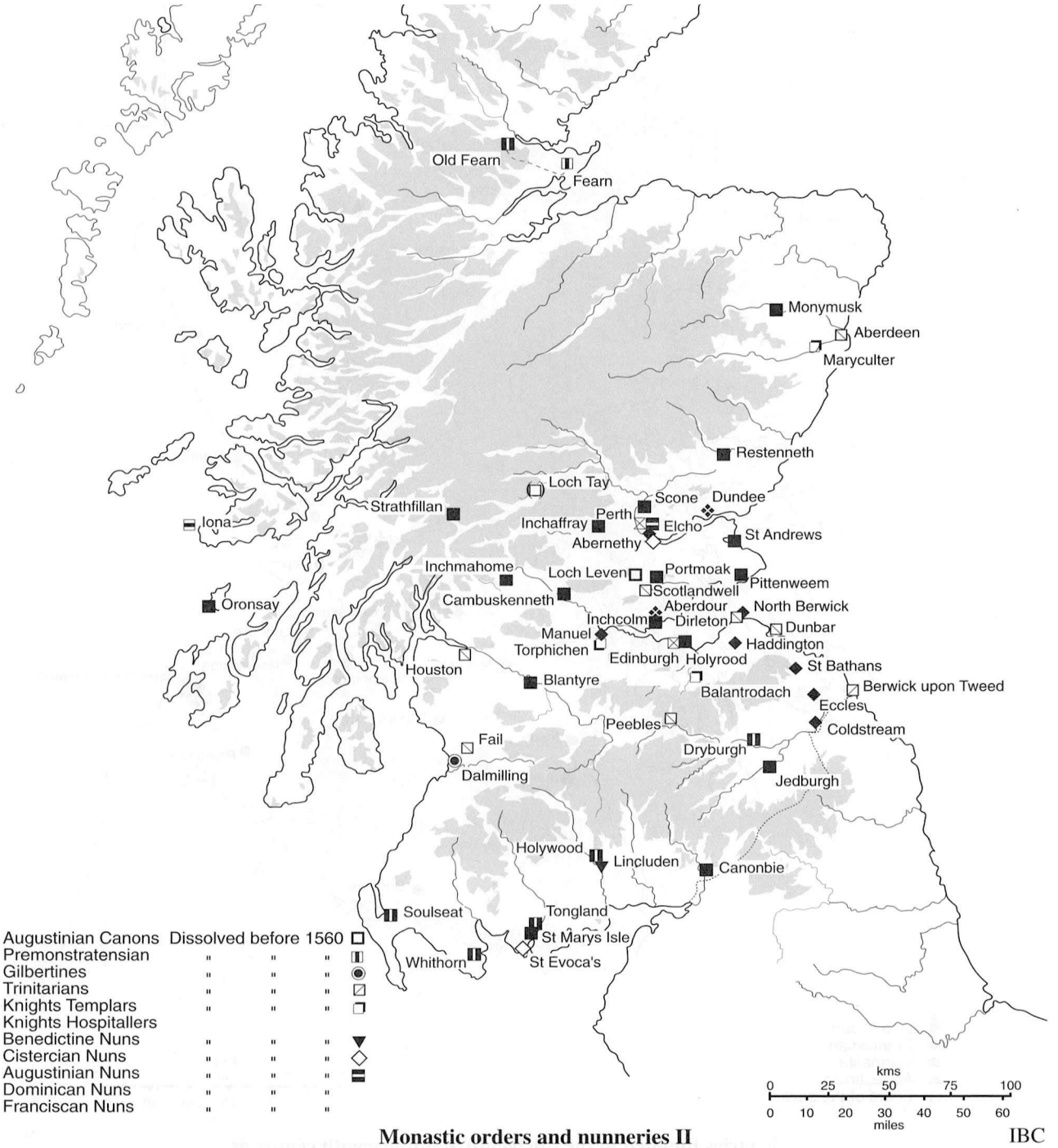


Monastic orders and nunneries I IBC

Monastic orders

In another innovatory move, the Trinitarians (sometimes misleadingly described as Red friars) were placed (1240-8) at Berwick and Dunbar. By this period, however, the age of major monastic foundations was almost over and effectively ended with the endowment in 1273 of the abbey at Sweetheart by Dervorguilla Balliol. If the Carthusians do not appear until 1429, only one or two smaller houses were otherwise still to be founded.

The geographical distribution of these monasteries was uneven. Although they spread into the Hebrides, the great majority were situated in central and southern Scotland. Of the larger houses a number were located in Lothian and the proximity of the border, which was advantageous for economic development in time of peace, but precarious in days of war and invasion. These hazards were however surmountable, and the religious houses remained in reasonable shape until the end of the fifteenth century. By then, however, other forces were at work: for headships were increasingly bestowed upon members of the secular clergy who only entered the order after appointment; even this formality was widely ignored, and the opportunities for appointing secular commendators for life was facilitated by the indult of 1487 which allowed the crown within a period of eight months to recommend candidates for papal provision, a faculty which was formally recognised as nomination. Thereafter, secularisation of monastic revenues continued apace; even without the Reformation many religious houses, of which only a handful retained their choir monks at their head, might have followed the small number which had been dissolved in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and eventually disappeared. The events of 1559-60 not only hastened this process, but ensured its completeness. When the Reformation came, the commendators remained, but any pretensions to monastic status mattered little; and their virtual possession of monastic property counted for much as religious communities slowly died out. The annexation of the monasteries to the Crown in 1587, a quarter of a century after they had ceased to function, came as a belated measure, and its effect was restricted by the fact that by this date most of the monastic possessions had been alienated beyond recall. Only the formal erection of the monasteries in to temporal lordships remained to be achieved.

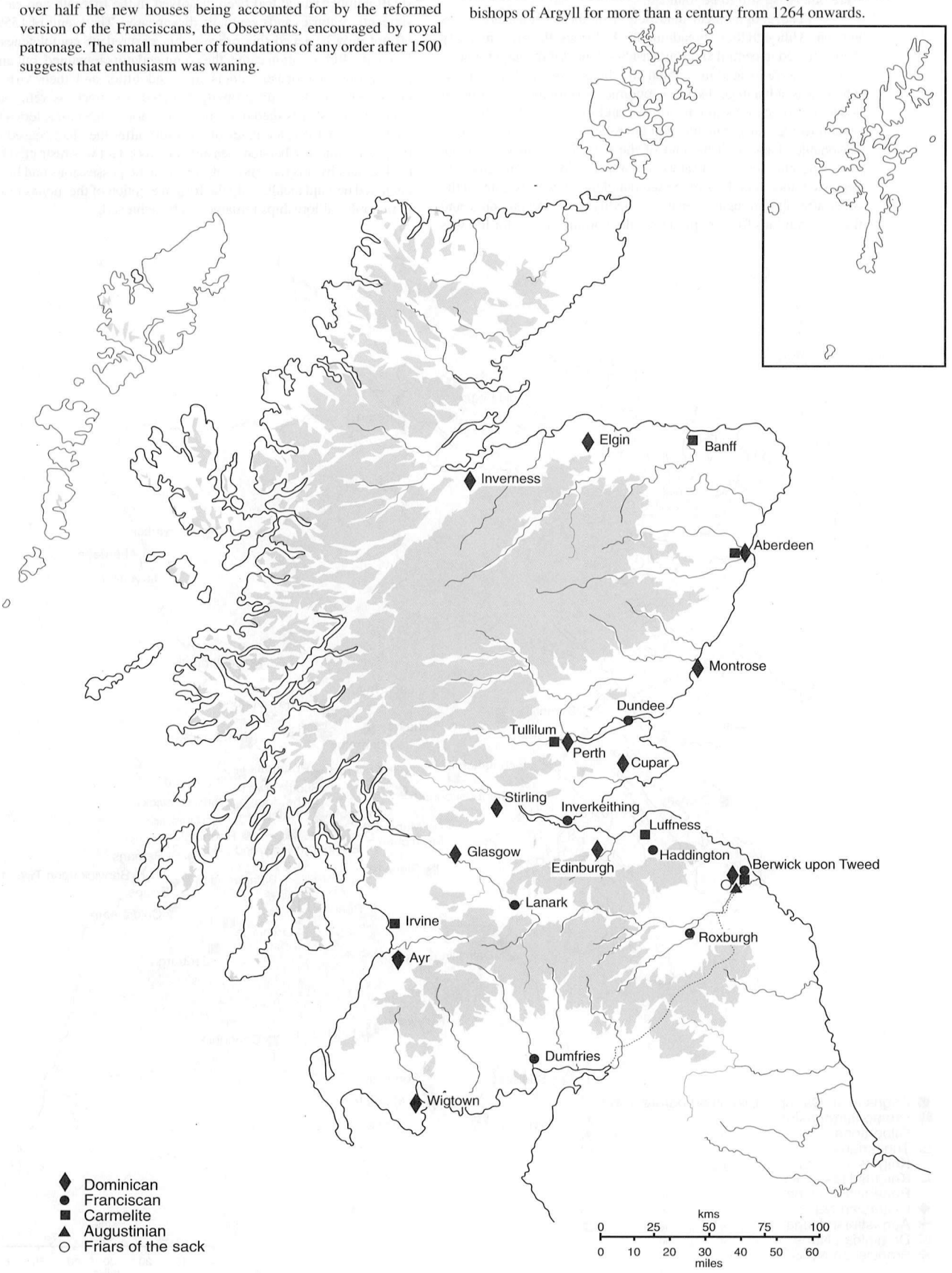


Monastic orders and nunneries II IBC

Friaries

Virtually half of Scotland's friaries, representing five orders, were founded in the last seventy years of the thirteenth century, the century which saw both the founding of the orders of friars and their remarkable growth. After the first era of enthusiasm, it seems, the fourteenth century saw very few foundations (some caution is necessary because many dates of foundation are not known). In the fifteenth century there seems to have been a renewed interest, just over half the new houses being accounted for by the reformed version of the Franciscans, the Observants, encouraged by royal patronage. The small number of foundations of any order after 1500 suggests that enthusiasm was waning.

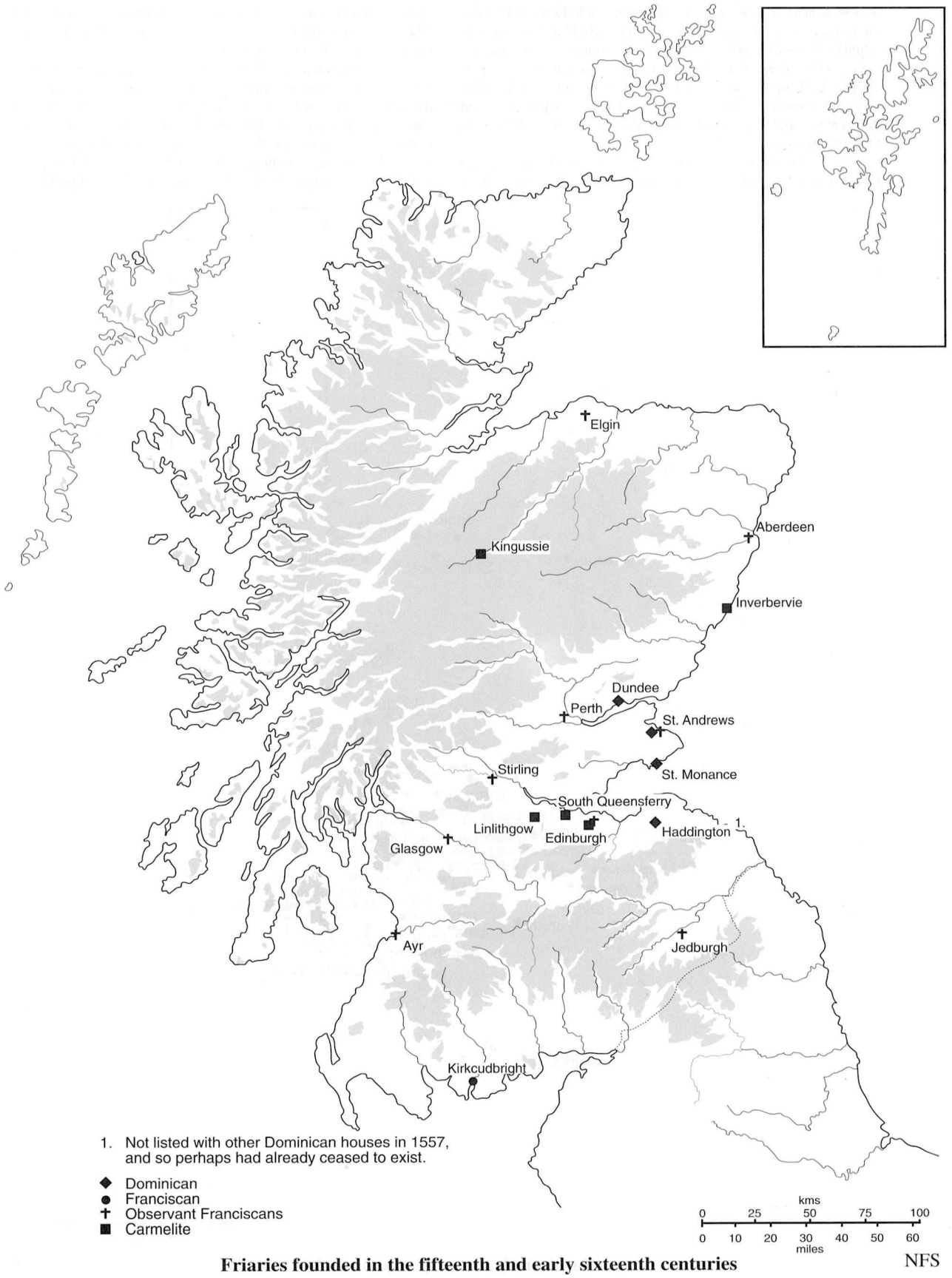
The aim of the friars was to preach, and therefore friaries were almost always in centres of population - hence the concentration in the central belt and in the eastern coastal strip as far north as Inverness. With the exception of Kingussie, the Highlands and Islands had none. But this does not mean that individual friars were not seen in these areas, for they were highly mobile. Dominicans can be traced in the Hebrides in the thirteenth century, and served as bishops of Argyll for more than a century from 1264 onwards.



NFS

Friaries founded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

Friaries



1. Not listed with other Dominican houses in 1557, and so perhaps had already ceased to exist.

◆ Dominican
● Franciscan
✝ Observant Franciscans
■ Carmelite

Friaries founded in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries NFS

Hospitals

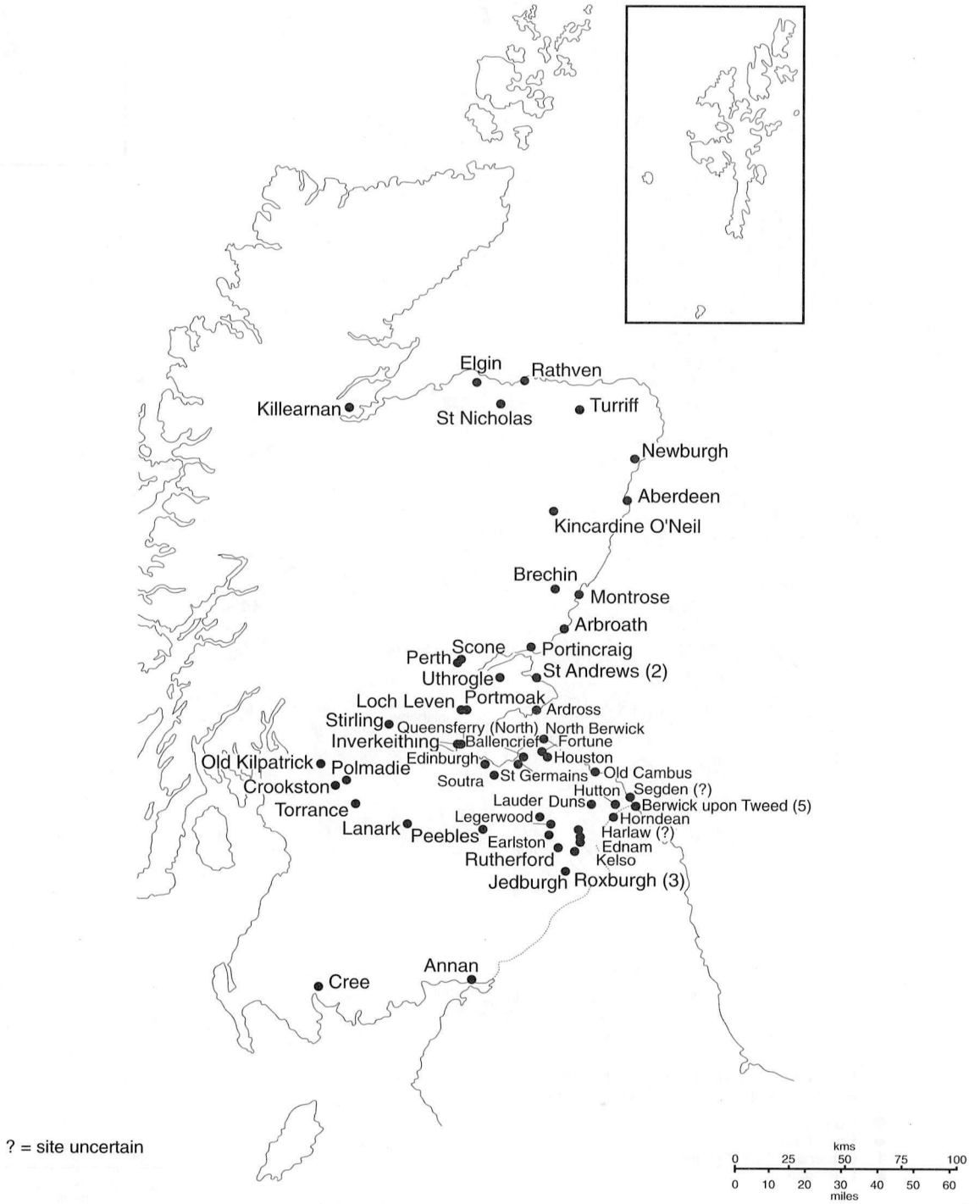
Few hospital foundations can be precisely dated, and so the first four maps are based on the first recorded date. The fifth map seeks to identify both hospitals which lasted for a reasonable time after 1560 (some have been excluded on the grounds that survival after 1560 was very brief), and those which were new foundations. Temporary foundations for outbreaks of plague have been omitted.

The first map shows that, in general terms, Scotland was well provided with hospitals. There were some sixty by 1300, though they were heavily concentrated in the central belt, Lothian, Fife and the Borders. The absence of hospitals in the Highlands and Islands might be due to a different social system or simple lack of evidence; but even the eastern coastal strip north of the Inverness area apparently lacked hospitals, and Galloway is surprisingly empty. Berwick was well provided with hospitals, but it was a major town, and different hospitals served different needs, such as those of the poor, the sick, lepers and travellers.

The second map shows that the fourteenth century added relatively few hospitals, though it is not certain whether this reflects our lack of knowledge or is genuine evidence of fewer foundations. These hospitals seem largely to reinforce existing provision, except that Helmsdale and St Magnus extend it northwards.

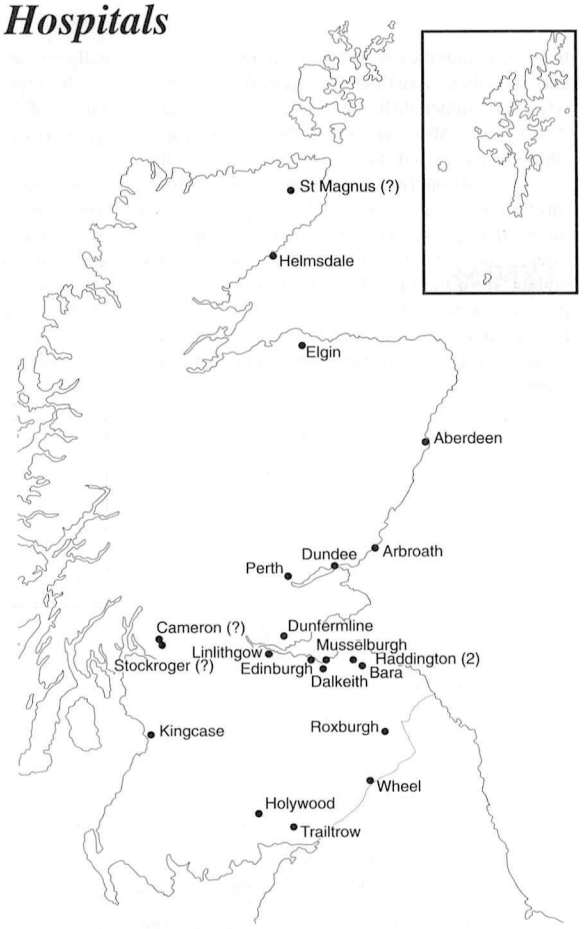
The next map seems to show that there was a greater interest in new foundations in the fifteenth century than in the fourteenth, though even in the fifteenth century precise dates of foundation are few. The fourth map shows a surprising number of hospitals first referred to in the sixty years before the Reformation, some of them certainly sixteenth-century foundations. Neither the fifteenth century nor the sixteenth saw any significant change in the geographical distribution of hospitals.

The last map is different in purpose, and attempts to show which hospitals survived, often under the control of town councils, and which were new foundations between 1560 and 1707. This is a subject which requires further investigation: there are many uncertainties and problems, and this map is offered in the knowledge that it is likely to be very incomplete. Apart from Kirkwall, the hospitals of this period also do not extend the geographical area of provision.

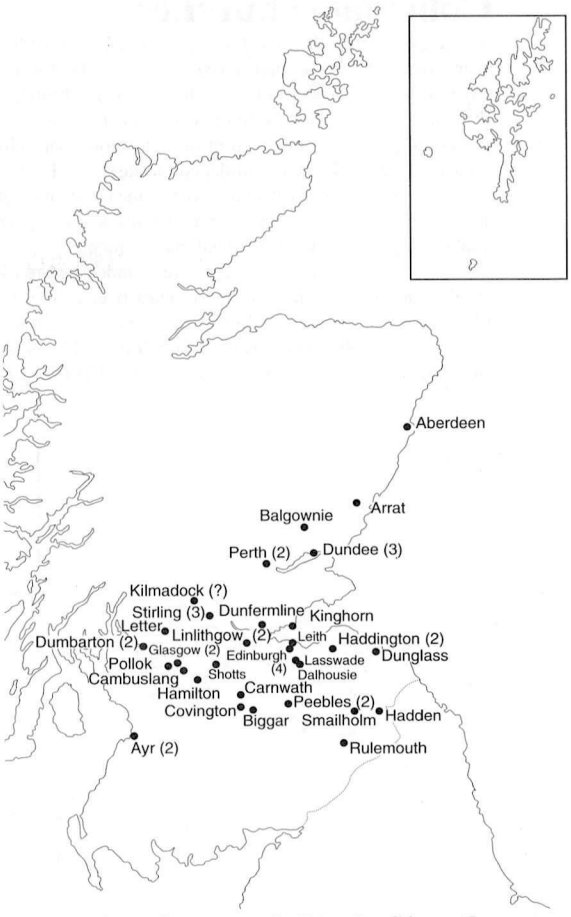


Hospitals first recorded before 1300 NFS

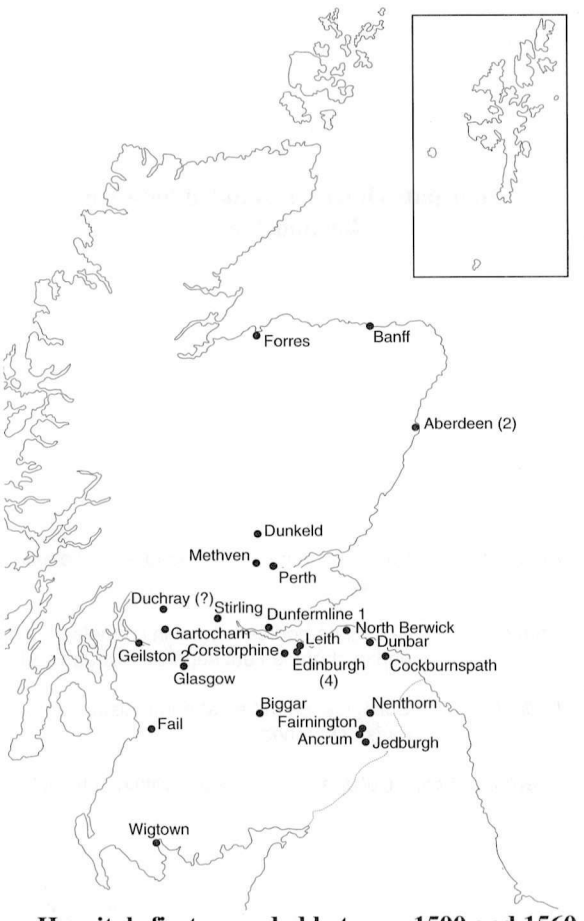
Hospitals



Hospitals first recorded in the fourteenth century

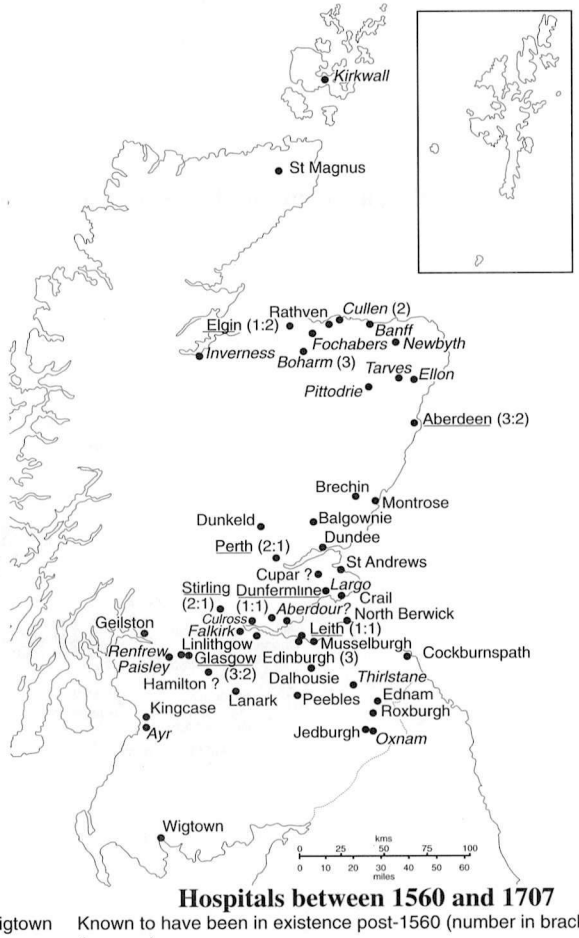


Hospitals first recorded in the fifteenth century



Hospitals first recorded between 1500 and 1560

1 References occur only post 1560, but since it was dedicated to a saint, it seems to be pre-Reformation. It may well be much earlier in date than the 16th century.
2 First mentioned in 1563



Hospitals between 1560 and 1707

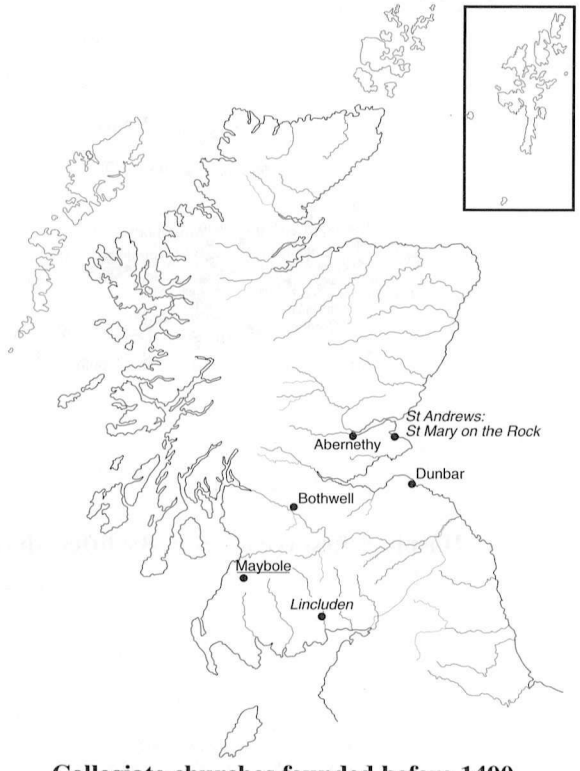
Wigtown	Known to have been in existence post-1560 (number in brackets if more than one)
Ayr	Founded between 1560 and 1707 (number in brackets if more than one)
Glasgow	Place with both old and new foundations(number in brackets) in existence in the eighteenth century;
?	date of foundation unknown, but possibly pre-1707

Collegiate churches

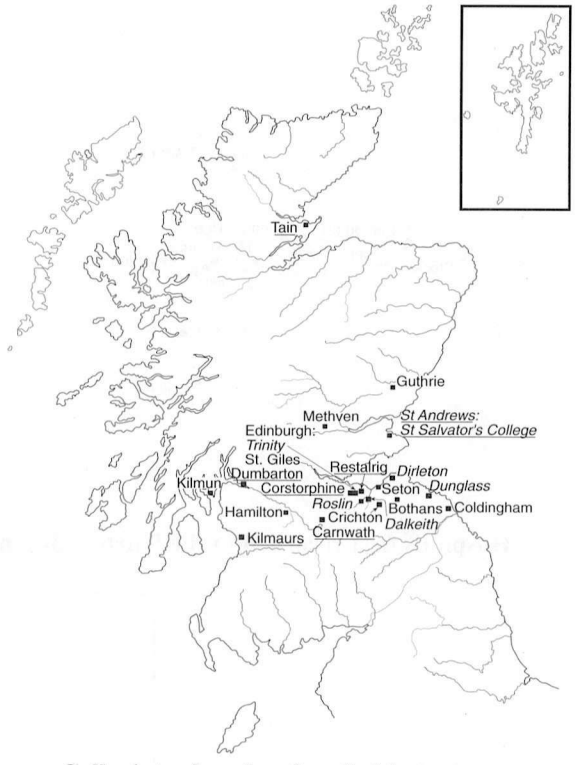
By the late thirteenth century most of the Scottish cathedrals had been provided with a chapter (*capitulum*) in the form of a self-governing corporate body of clergy under a dean. The map shows the sites of forty-six other churches where in the late Middle Ages similar corporate groups of from three to more than thirty clergy came to be established with similar corporate rights. Each group was said to form a college (*collegium*) - hence the term collegiate church usually under the presidency of a provost (*prepositus*), a term which implied responsibility for financial management.

Three of these colleges were founded before 1400 by the re-allocation of old endowments; at least twelve followed before 1450 and another eleven by 1500. In 1501 came the grandest of all, the new Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle, followed by nearly twenty more foundations until as late as the 1540s. The main function of these communities was the saying of masses perpetually for departed souls to assist their progress through purgatory. But there were four rather different colleges within the universities of St Andrew and Aberdeen, where the endowments were provided to support masters and student teachers studying there.

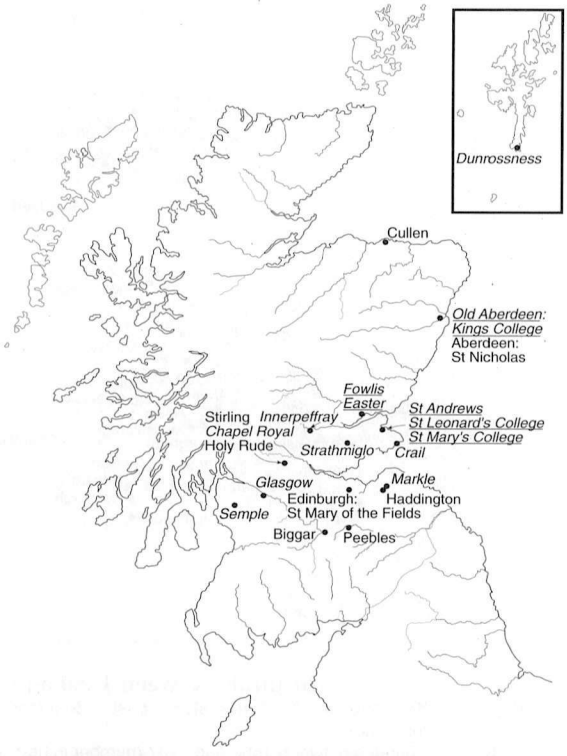
About two-thirds of these communities were founded in rural areas in chapels additional to the parish churches. The rest were intended to enhance the services offered in the large burgh churches, often as an expression of civic pride. The founders were most often laymen from the king down to wealthy burgesses, all seeking to provide for their own salvation. But the theological revolt at the Reformation against masses for the dead quite suddenly outmoded these institutions, and new uses had to be found for their endowments.



Collegiate churches founded before 1400



Collegiate churches founded between 1400 and 1500



Collegiate churches founded after 1500

Abernethy	Parish churches which acquired collegiate character
Carnwath	Collegiate bodies formed in chapels in or near parish churches but separately organised
Dalkeith	Collegiate churches at some distance from parish churches
Aberdeen: King's College	Colleges within universities

kms
0 50 100
0 20 40 60
miles

DERW

Parish churches about 1300

This series of maps presents an attempt to identify the sites of every parish church in Scotland, Orkney and Shetland in about 1300. This date has been chose mainly for the same reason given above for selecting it as the date to show the boundaries of ecclesiastical organisation. The existence of perhaps two-thirds of the total is demonstrated by the mention of these parishes as paying papal taxes in the decades just before 1300; but the relevant records (the most famous of which goes by the name of 'Bagimond's Roll') are incomplete. There are at least minor gaps for every diocese, and no records at all survive for the dioceses of Argyll, Sodor and Orkney, nor for the half of Glasgow diocese comprising the Archdeaconry of Glasgow. For Moray, Aberdeen, St Andrews and Brechin these financial records can be supplemented by parish valuation lists which survive in several monastic cartularies from a rather earlier thirteenth-century date. Where precise evidence of this contemporary kind does not exist, it is a question of reading back from late records. This usually demands some reasonable guesswork, and it is not pretended that the existence of every parish mapped here can definitely be proved. But in every case there is reasonable certainty.

Parish boundaries are not attempted for reasons explained above; instead the attempt has been made to identify the oldest-known site of the parish church in each case. The boundaries which have been drawn are schematic rather than precise, indicating the limits of each diocese, of the archdeaconries within St Andrews, Glasgow and Orkney dioceses, and of the subordinate deaneries (groups of parishes under the authority of one of the parish clergy as dean of Christianity) within the archdeaconries. There is certain contemporary evidence for these last administrative and jurisdictional units in the dioceses of Galloway, Glasgow, St Andrews, Aberdeen and Moray by this date, and it is usually clear which parishes belonged to each. Exceptionally we know that deaneries existed in Argyll diocese, but no allocation of parishes to deaneries is available.

By 1300 it appears that the whole country had come to be divided in parishes. This had been a gradual process over the previous two centuries; now each defined area was the spiritual responsibility of the benefice-holder, who could be an individual parish priest as rector or parson, or alternatively a religious corporation such as a monastery or cathedral chapter (in which case the parish was said to have been appropriated to the use of such a corporation - as is shown in later maps). In either situation the liturgical and pastoral work might be performed by priests who were deputies of the official benefice-holder, whether with the status of vicar or of chaplain. The parish was now the basic unit of ecclesiastical administration, finance and discipline. In large parishes subordinate chapels were often built for the convenience of parishioners; but everyone owed an over-riding duty to the parish church itself. Hence the interest in identifying the sites of these churches. Many lessons for local history can be learned from their geographical distribution; there must be a specific reason behind the siting of each one.

It is not surprising that arrangement in the Norwegian dioceses of Orkney and Sodor were rather different. Parishes had been developed there over the same period as in Scotland, but there are indications that, in accordance with the practice of the Norwegian church to which both dioceses then belonged, the area of a parochial cure was the 'priest's district' (*prestegjeld*)- rather than the 'parish' (*sokn*). While some such districts might contain no more than a single parish church, most comprised two or three and some as many as four 'head churches'; and these groupings could change from one period to another in Shetland at any rate. The system has been clearly identified in Orkney diocese (which was to remain part of Norway until 1468-9), and it has been suggested that a similar arrangement (albeit less convincingly) lies behind the distribution of churches in Sodor diocese, which had been part of Scotland only since 1266. In the lists of churches for these two dioceses therefore various definite or possible groupings are indicated by brackets.

In all these lists a distinction is made between the names of unappropriated churches in roman type and the names of appropriated churches in italic type. In some cases the evidence about the situation in 1300 is inferential rather than certain, and caution has guided editorial practice. More churches may in fact have been appropriated by this date than is now indicated; but at least a conservative view of how far this process had gone by this date is now available. Place-names are given in modern forms whenever the 1300 form is clearly recognisable; they are left in some contemporary form within quotes where this is not possible; and where the name has been completely changed (often because the site of the church has been moved within the parish bounds) a modern equivalent form is also provided.

Parish churches about 1300



Parish churches about 1300: diocese of St Andrews DERW

Parish churches about 1300

Archdeaconry of St Andrews

Mearns Deanery

1 *Nigg*
2 Durris
3 Fetteresso
4 Dunnottar
5 Fordoun
6 Arbuthnott
7 Kinneff
8 Newdosk
9 Fettercairn
10 Conveth (now Laurencekirk)
11 *Garvock*
12 Benholm
13 *Aberluthnot* (now Marykirk)
14 *Ecclesgreig* (now St Cyrus)

Angus Deanery

15 Dalbog
16 Edzell
17 Dunlappie
18 Logie
19 *Dun*
20 Lintrathen
21 *Airlie*
22 *Kirriemuir*
23 *Restenneth and Forfar*
24 Rescobie
25 Tannadice
26 *Aberlemno*
27 Aldbar
28 Kinnell
29 *Inverkeilor*
30 *Inverlunan*
31 Dunninald
32 Inchbraoch (now Craig)
33 *Kettins*
34 *Newtyle*
35 Nevay
36 Eassie
37 *Glamis*
38 Kinnettles
39 Meathie Lour
40 Inverarity
41 Idvies (now Kirkden)
42 *Arbirlot*
43 *Arbroath and Ethie*
44 Lundie
45 *Liff*
46 *Invergowrie*
47 Logie Dundee (now Lochee)
48 *Strathdighty Martin* (now Strathmartine)
49 Strathdighty Comitis (now Mains)
50 *Murroes*
51 *Monifieth*
52 *Barry*

Gowrie Deanery

53 Blair (now Blairgowrie)
54 Luncarty
55 *Cambusmichael*
56 Collace
57 *Fowlis*
58 Methven
59 *Scone*
60 Kinnoull
61 *Perth*
62 Forteviot
63 Pottie (now Dunbarney)
64 *Rhynd*
65 *Kinfauns*
66 *Kilspindie*
67 *Rait*
68 Errol
69 *Inchture*
70 *Rossinclerach* (now Rossie)
71 *Forgan* (now Longforgan)
72 Benvie

Fife Deanery

73 Flisk
74 Creich
75 Kilmany
76 Logie Murdoch
77 *Forgan*
78 *Leuchars*
79 *Lindores* (or *Abdie*)
80 *Dunbog*
81 *Collessie*
82 Monimail
83 *Auchtermoonzie* (now Moonzie)
84 Dairsie
85 *Cupar*
86 *Tarvit*
87 *Ceres*
88 Kemback
89 *St Andrews*
90 Dunino
91 *Kennoway*
92 *Scoonie*
93 *Largo*
94 *Newburn*
95 *Kilconquhar*
96 *Abercrombie* (now St Monance)
97 *Kellie* (now *Carnbee*)
98 *Anstruther*
99 *Kilrenny*
100 *Crail*

Fothrif Deanery

101 *Arngask*
102 Auchtermuchty
103 Kilgour
104 *Lathrisk*
105 Cults
106 Forthar (now Kirkforthar)
107 Muckhart
108 *Cleish*
109 Kinross
110 *Portmoak*
111 Auchterderran
112 *Kinglassie*
113 *Markinch*
114 *Clackmannan*
115 Torry (now Torryburn)
116 *Carnock*
117 *Dunfermline*
118 *Inverkeithing*
119 *Parva Kinghorn*
120 Magna Kinghorn
121 *Kirkcaldy*
122 Dysart
123 *Wemyss*
124 Methil

Archdeaconry of Lothian

Linlithgow Deanery

1 *Stirling*
2 *Kirkton*
3 *Airth*
4 *Dunipace*
5 *Larbert*
6 Bothkenner
7 *Falkirk*
8 Slamannan
9 *Kinneil*
10 *Carriden*
11 *Linlithgow*
12 *Binny*
13 Ecclesmachan
14 Auldcathie
15 Liston (now Kirkliston)
16 *Dalmeny*
17 Gogar
18 *Bathgate*
19 Strathbrock (now Uphall)
20 Ratho
21 *Livingston*
22 Calder Comitis (now West Calder)
23 *Calder Clere* (now East Calder)
24 Newton (now Kirknewton)
25 *Kinleith* (now Currie)
26 *Hailes* (now Colinton)
27 *St Cuthbert under the Castle*
28 Restalrig
29 *St Giles of Edinburgh*
30 *St Mary in the Fields*
31 *Duddingston*
32 *Woolmet* (now Newton)
33 Melville
34 *Lasswade*
35 Pentland
36 Penicuik

Haddington Deanery

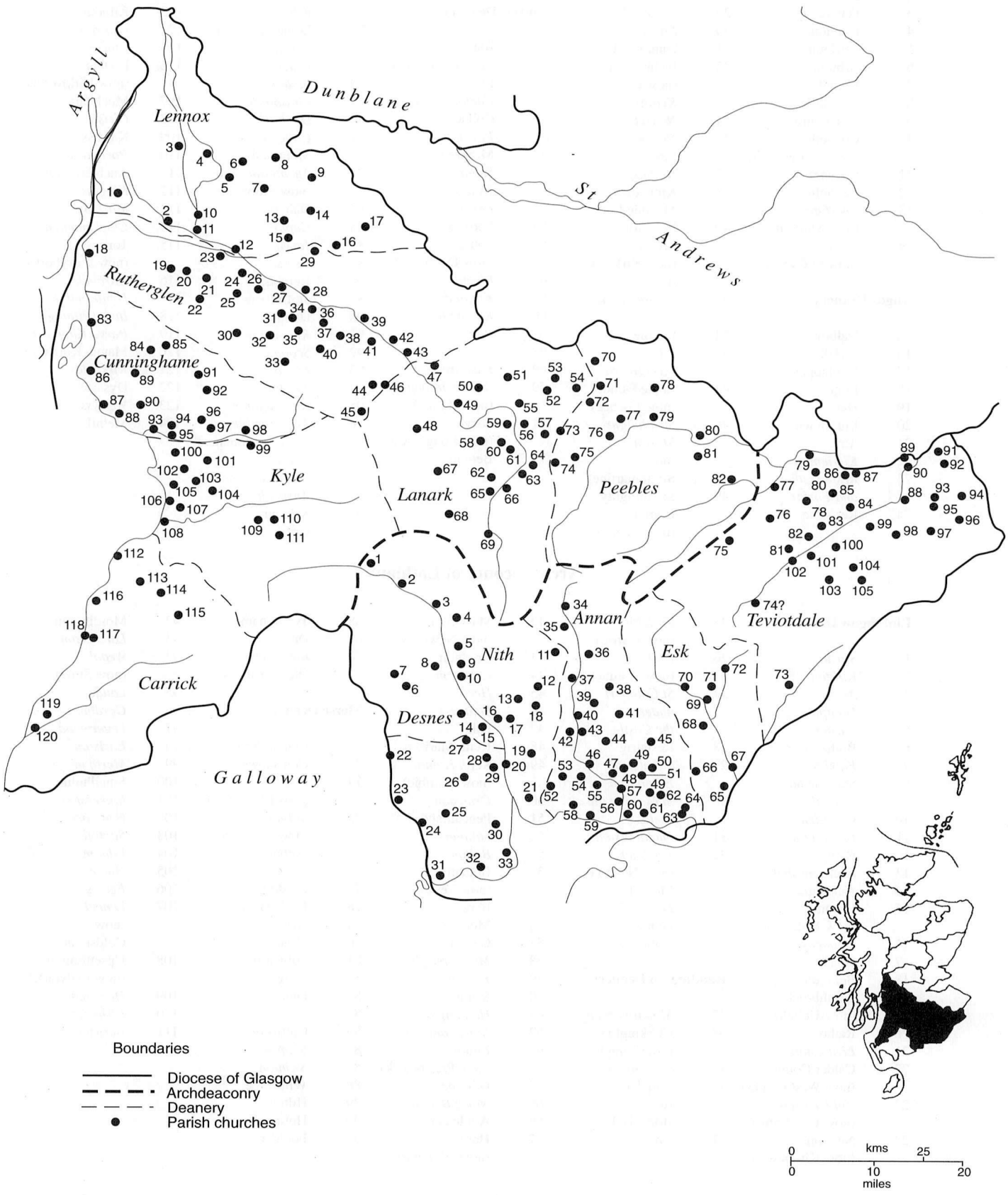
37 *Mount Lothian*
38 Clerkington (now Temple)
39 *Carrington*
40 Loquhariot (now Borthwick)
41 Cockpen
42 Masterton (now Newbattle)
43 Crichton
44 *Cranston*
45 *Heriot*
46 *Soutra*
47 Fala
48 Keith Marischal
49 *Keith Humbie* (now Humbie)
50 *Ormiston*
51 Pencaitland
52 *Saltoun*
53 *Bolton*
54 Bothans (now Yester)
55 Bara
56 Morham
57 Garvald
58 *Musselburgh*
59 *Tranent*
60 Seton
61 *Haddington*
62 *Athelstaneford*
63 Linton (now Prestonkirk)
64 *Gullane*
65 *North Berwick*
66 Auldhame
67 Hamer (now Whitekirk)
68 Tyninghame
69 Dunbar
70 *Innerwick*
71 Oldhamstocks

Merse Deanery

72 *Channelkirk*
73 Cranshaws
74 Ellem (now Ellemford)
75 *St Bathans* (now Abbey St Bathans)
76 *Old Cambus*
77 *Coldingham*
78 *Hallyburton*
79 *Greenlaw*
80 *Fogo*
81 Polwarth
82 *Langton*
83 Duns
84 *Edrom*
85 Chirnside
86 *Simprim*
87 *Swinton*
88 Whitsome
89 Hilton
90 Hutton
91 Foulden
92 Mordington
93 *Lamberton*
94 *Wedale* (now Stow)
95 *Lauder*
96 *Gordon*
97 *Legerwood*
98 *Earlston*
99 *Mertoun*
100 Smailholm
101 *Makerstoun*
102 *Nenthorn*
103 *Stichill*
104 *Ednam*
105 *Hume*
106 *Eccles*
107 *Lennel* (now Coldstream)
108 Upsettlington (now Ladykirk)
109 *Horndean*
110 *Fishwick*
111 *Berwick*

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of St Andrews DERW

Parish churches about 1300



Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Glasgow NFS

Parish churches about 1300

Archdeaconry of Glasgow

1 Neveth (now Rosneath)
2 Cardross
3 Luss
4 Inchcailloan (now Inchcailloan or Buchanan)
5 Kilmaronock
6 Drymen
7 Killearn
8 Balfron
9 Fintry
10 Bonhill
11 Dumbarton
12 Kilpatrick
13 Strathblane
14 Campsie
15 Baldernock
16 Kirkintilloch
17 Monyabroch (now Kilsyth)
18 Inverkip
19 Kilmacolm
20 Killellan
21 Houston
22 Kilbarchan
23 Erskine
24 Inchinnan
25 Paisley
26 Renfrew
27 Govan
28 Glasgow Cathedral
29 Cadder
30 Neilston
31 Eastwood
32 Mearns
33 Eaglesham
34 Cathcart
35 Carmunnock
36 Rutherglen
37 Drumsargad (now Cambuslang)
38 Blantyre
39 Bothwell
40 Kilbride (now East Kilbride)
41 Cadzow (now Hamilton)
42 Dalziel
43 Cambusnethan
44 Glasford
45 Strathaven
46 Stonehouse
47 Eglismalescok (now Carluke)
48 Lesmahagow
49 Lanark
50 Carstairs
51 Carnwarth
52 Walson
53 Dunsyre
54 Dolphinton
55 Libberton
56 Quothquan
57 Biggar
58 Carmichael
59 Covington
60 Thankerton (or Tinto)
61 Symington
62 Wiston
63 Lamington
64 Cutler
65 Roberton
66 Hartside (or Wandel)
67 Douglas
68 Crawfordjohn
69 Crawford
70 Linton Roderick (now West Linton)
71 Newlands
72 Orde (or Horde now Kirkurd)
73 Skirling
74 Kilbucho
75 Glenholm
76 Stobo
77 Lyne
78 Eddleston
79 Peebles
80 Innerleithen
81 Traquair
82 Forest Kirk (now Yarrow)
83 Largs
84 Kilbirnie
85 Beith
86 Kilbride (now West Kilbride)
87 Ardrossan
88 Stevenston
89 Dalry
90 Kilwinning
91 Dunlop
92 Stewarton
93 Irvine
94 Perceton
95 Dreghorn
96 Kilmaurs
97 Kilmarnock
98 Loudoun
99 Galston
100 Dundonald
101 Craigie
102 Symington
103 Barnwell
104 Tarbolton
105 Prestwick
Monachoram (now Monkton)
106 Prestwick Burgh
107 St Quivox (now Sanquhar)
108 Ayr
109 Ochiltree
110 Auchinleck
111 Cumnock
112 Kirkbride
113 Maybole
114 Kirkmichael
115 Straiton
116 Kirkoswald
117 Dalquharran (now Dailly)
118 Girvan
119 Colmonell
120 Kirkcudbright Invertig (now Ballantrae)

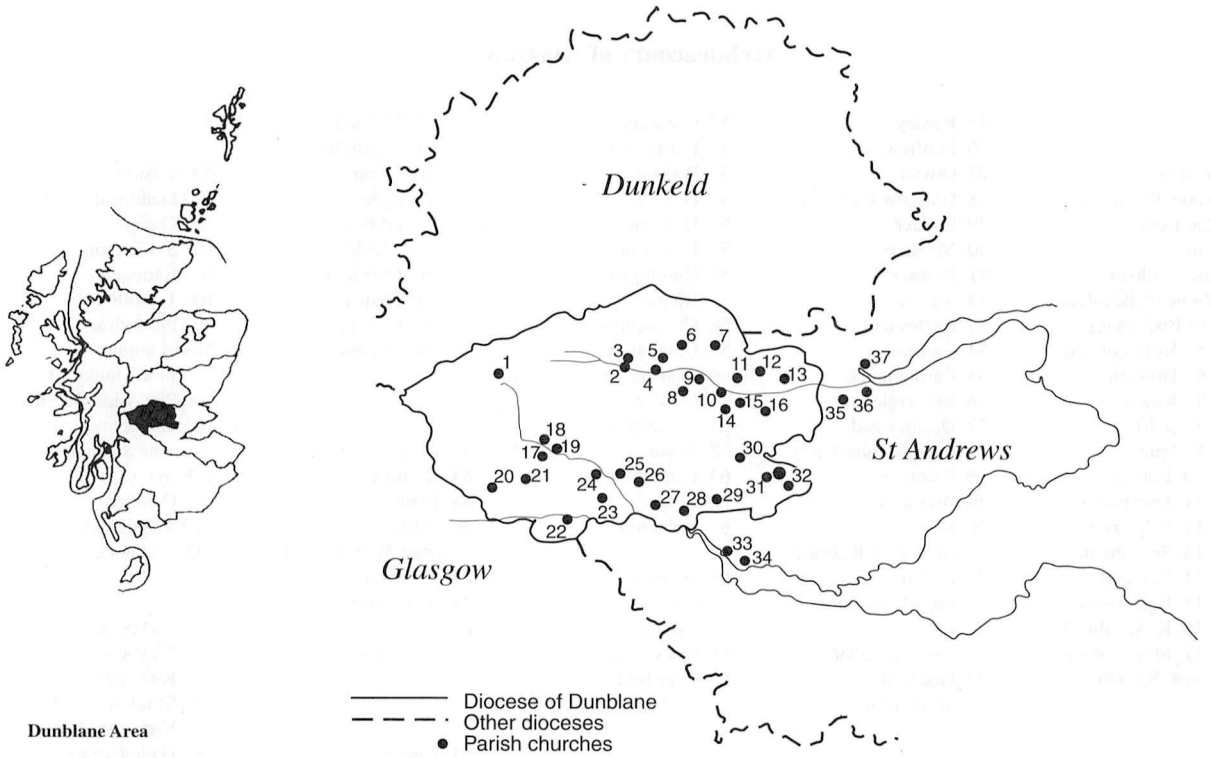
Archdeaconry of Teviotdale

1 Kirkconnel
2 Sanquhar
3 Kirkbride
4 Durisdeer
5 Morton
6 Glencairn
7 Tynron
8 Penpoint
9 Dalgarnock
10 Closeburn
11 Dumgree
12 Garvald
13 Kirkmichael
14 Dunscore
15 Holywood (Dercongal)
16 Kirkmahoe
17 Tinwald
18 Trailflat
19 Torthorwald
20 Dumfries
21 Kirkblain (now Caerlaverock)
22 Blaiket
23 Kirkpartick Durham
24 Urr
25 Kirkganzeon
26 Lochrutton
27 Kirkpatrick Cro (now Irongray)
28 Terregles
29 Troqueer
30 Loch Kindar (now New Abbey)
31 Colvend
32 Southwick
33 Kirkbean
34 Moffat
35 Kirkpatrick-Juxta
36 Wamphray
37 Johnstone
38 Hutton (Magna)
39 Sibbaldbie
40 Jardine (or Applegarth)
41 Corrie
42 Lochmaben
43 Dryfesdale
44 Tundergarth
45 Carruthers
46 Castlemilk (now St Mungo)
47 Hoddom
48 Ecclefechan
49 Middlebie
50 Kirkconnell
51 Pennersaughs
52 Mouswald
53 Dalton Parva
54 Dalton Magna
55 Trailtrow
56 Brydekirk
57 Luce
58 Ruthwell
59 Cummertrees
60 Annan
61 Dornock
62 Kirkpatrick-Fleming
65 Kirkandrews
66 Morton
67 Canonbie (or Liddel)
68 Wauchope
69 Staplegordon
70 Westerkirk
71 Ewesdale St Cuthbert
72 Ewesdale St Martin
73 Castleton
74 Cavers Magna
75 Rankleburn (now Buccleuch)
76 Ashkirk
77 Selkirk Abbatis and Selkirk Regis
78 Lilliesleaf
79 Melrose
80 Bowden
81 Wilton
82 Hassendean
83 Minto
84 Ancrum
85 Longnewton
86 Lessudden (now St Boswells)
87 Maxton
88 Eckford
89 Rosburgh, Old Roxburgh, Holy Sepulchre Roxburgh, St James
90 Maxwell
91 Sprouston
92 Lempitlaw
93 Linton
94 Yetholm and Yetholm Parva
95 Morebattle
96 Mow
97 Hownam
98 Oxnam
99 Jedburgh
100 Bedrule
101 Cavers Parva (now Kirkton)
102 Hawick
103 Hobkirk (or Rule)
104 Abbotrule
104 Southdean

1 These churches are likely to have been erected by about 1300, but the evidence is inferential rather than clear.
2 These churches may still have been non-parochial chapels about 1300, but certainly became parish churches soon afterwards.

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Glasgow NFS

Parish churches about 1300

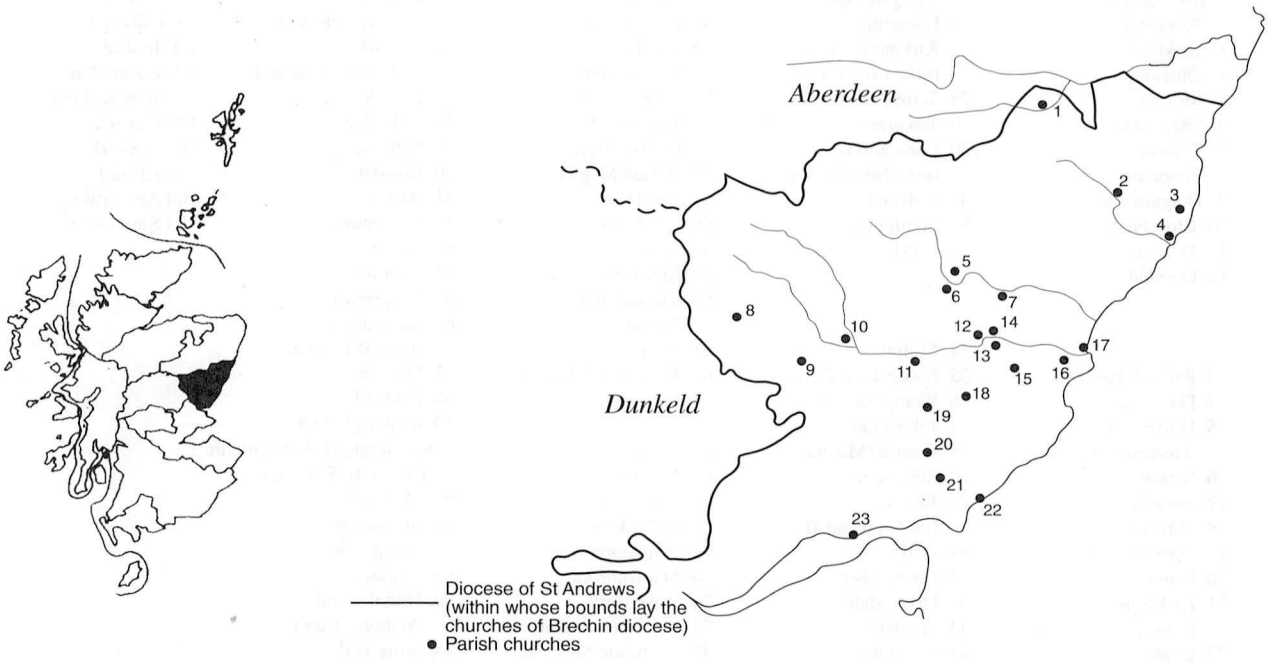


Dunblane Area

1	Balquhidder	9	*Strageath*	17	*Leny*	25	*Kilbride*	**Detached Parishes**	
2	*'Tulliedene'* (or *'Tullichetil'*)	10	*Kinkell*	18	*Kilmahog*	26	*Dunblane Cathedral*	33	Tulliallan
3	Comrie	11	*Gask Christi* (now Trinity Gask)	19	*Callander*	27	*Logie Airthrey*	34	*Culross*
4	*Struan* (now Strowan)	12	*Nesgask* (now Findo Gask)	20	Aberfoyle	28	*Tullibody*	35	*Dron*
5	*Monzievaird*	13	Dupplin	21	*Isle of Menteith (Port of Menteith)*	29	*Tillicoultry*	36	*Abernethy*
6	Monzie	14	*Auchterarder*	22	*Kippen*	30	Glendevon	37	St Madoes (or Cairnie)
7	*Fowlis Wester*	15	*Aberuthven*	23	*Kincardine*	31	Fossoway		
8	*Muthill*	16	*Dunning*	24	*Kilmadock*	32	*Tullibole*		

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Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Dunblane

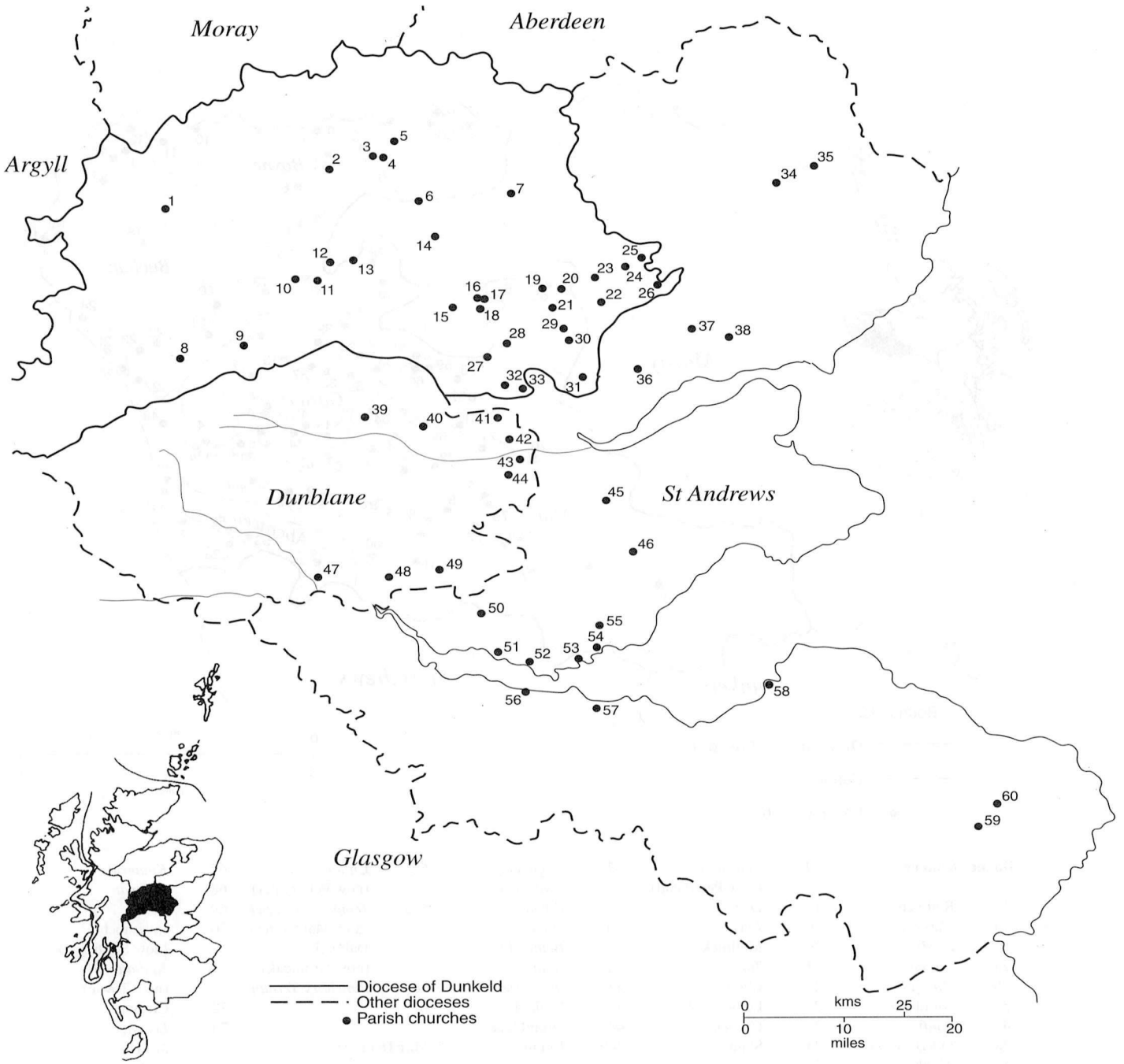


1	*Strachan*	6	Navar	11	Finavon	15	*Farnell*	20	'Crebyauch' (now Kirkbuddo)
2	*Glenbervie*	7	*Stracathro*	12	*Kilmoir*	16	*Maryton*	21	*Monikie*
3	*Catterline*	8	*Glenisla*	13	Burghill	17	*Montrose*	22	*Panbride*
4	*Kinghornie*	9	*Kingoldrum*	14	*Brechin Cathedral*	18	*Guthrie*	23	*Dundee*
5	Lethnot	10	Cortachy			19	*Dunnichen*		

DERW

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Brechin

Parish churches about 1300

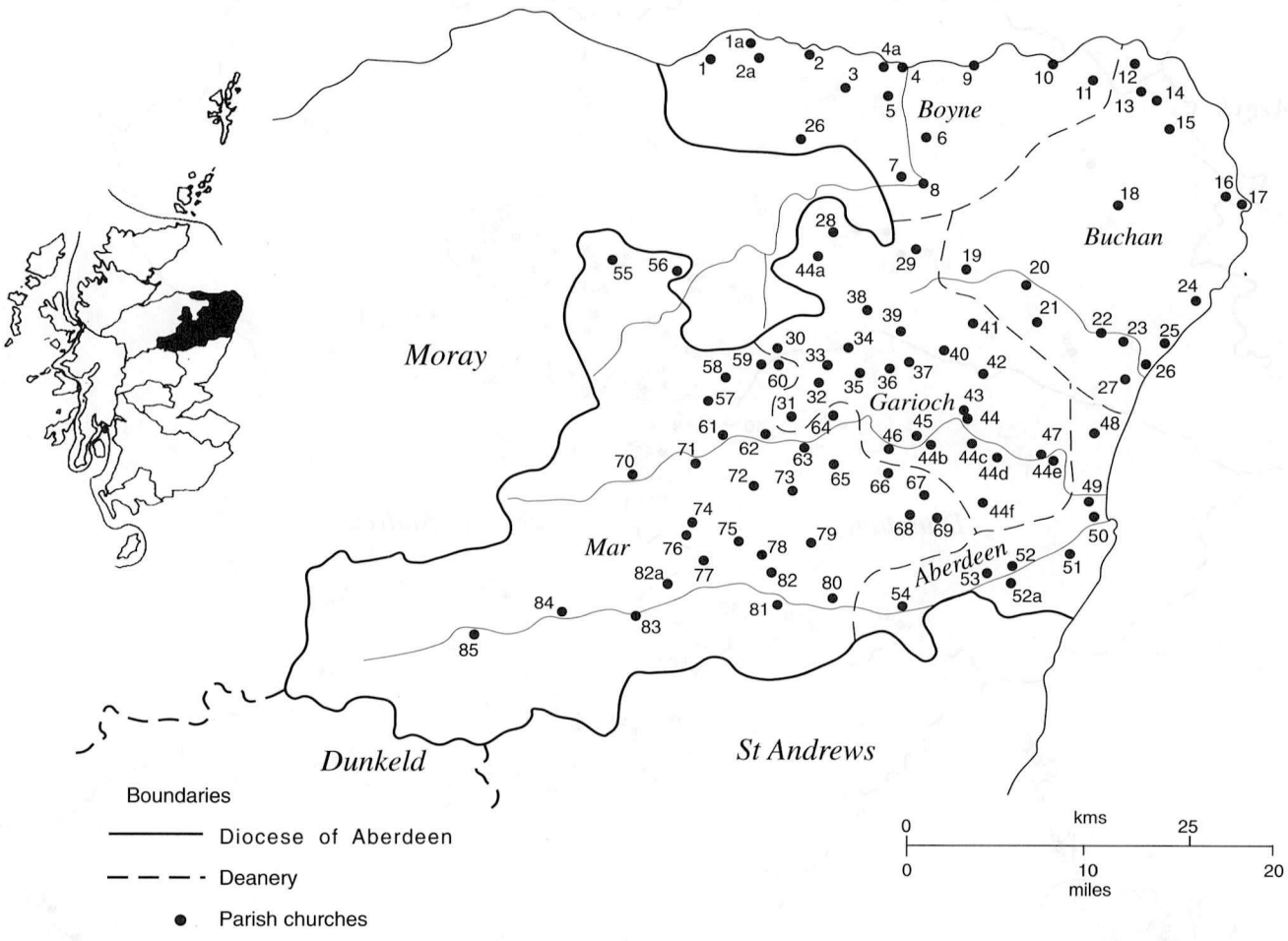


Dunkeld Area

1	Rannoch (or Killichonen)	13	Weem	22	*Bendochy*	35	*Menmuir*	47	*Lecropt*
2	Struan	14	*Logierait*	23	*Rattray*	36	Abernyte	48	*Alva*
3	Blair Atholl	15	Logie Allochie (now Lagganallachy)	24	*Alyth*	37	*Auchterhouse*	49	*Dollar*
4	Kilmaveonaig			25	*Ruthven*	38	*Tealing*	50	*Saline*
5	Lude	16	*Dunkeld, Holy Trinity*	26	Meigle	39	*Crieff*	51	*Crombie*
6	*Moulin*			27	Logiebride	40	*Madderty*	52	*Rosyth*
7	*Strathardle (or Kirkmichael)*	17	Dunkeld Cathedral	28	*Auchtergaven*	41	*Tibbermore*	53	*Dalgety*
8	Killin	18	*Little Dunkeld*	29	*Kinclaven*	42	*Aberdalgie*	54	*Aberdour*
9	Ardeonaig	19	*Clunie*	30	*Cargill*	43	*Forgrund (or Forgandenny)*	55	*Auchtertool*
10	*Fortingall*	20	Lundeiff (now Kinloch)	31	*Melginch* (now St. Martins)	44	Muckersie	56	*Abercorn*
11	*Inchcadin* (now Kenmore)	21	*Lethendy*	32	*Moneydie*	45	*Strathmiglo*	57	*Cramond*
12	*Dull*			33	*Redgorton*	46	*Fithkil* (now Leslie)	58	*Aberlady*
				34	Fern			59	*Preston*
								60	*Bunkle*

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Dunkeld DERW

Parish churches about 1300



Boyne Deanery

1	Rathven
1a	'Farskane'
2	*Fordyce*
2a	*Cullen*
2b	*Ordiquhill*
3	'Monbrey'
4	*Banff*
4a	*Inverboyndie*
5	Alvah
6	King Edward
7	Forglen
8	*Turriff*
9	*Gamrie*
10	Aberdour
11	*Tyrie*

Buchan Deanery

12	Philorth
13	Rathen
14	Lonmay
15	*Crimond* (or *Rattray*)
16	*Longley* (or *Inverugie*)
17	*Peterugie* (now Peterhead)
18	*Deer*
19	*Fyvie*
20	Methlick
21	*Tarves*
22	Ellon
23	Logie Buchan
24	*Cruden*
25	Slains
26	Forvie
27	Foveran

Garioch Deanery

28	*Forgue*
29	*Auchterless*
30	*Kennethmont*
31	Tullynessle
32	*Leslie*
33	*Rathmuriel* (now Christ's Kirk)
34	*Insch*
35	*Premnay*
36	*Oyne*
37	*Logie Durno*
38	*Culsalmond*
39	*Rayne*
40	*Daviot*
41	*Bethelnie*
42	*Bourtie*
43	*Inverurie*
44	Kinkell
44a	Drumblade
44b	Kemnay
44c	Kintore
44d	Kinellar
44e	Dyce
44f	Skene
45	*Fetternear*
46	Monymusk
47	*Fintray*

Aberdeen Deanery

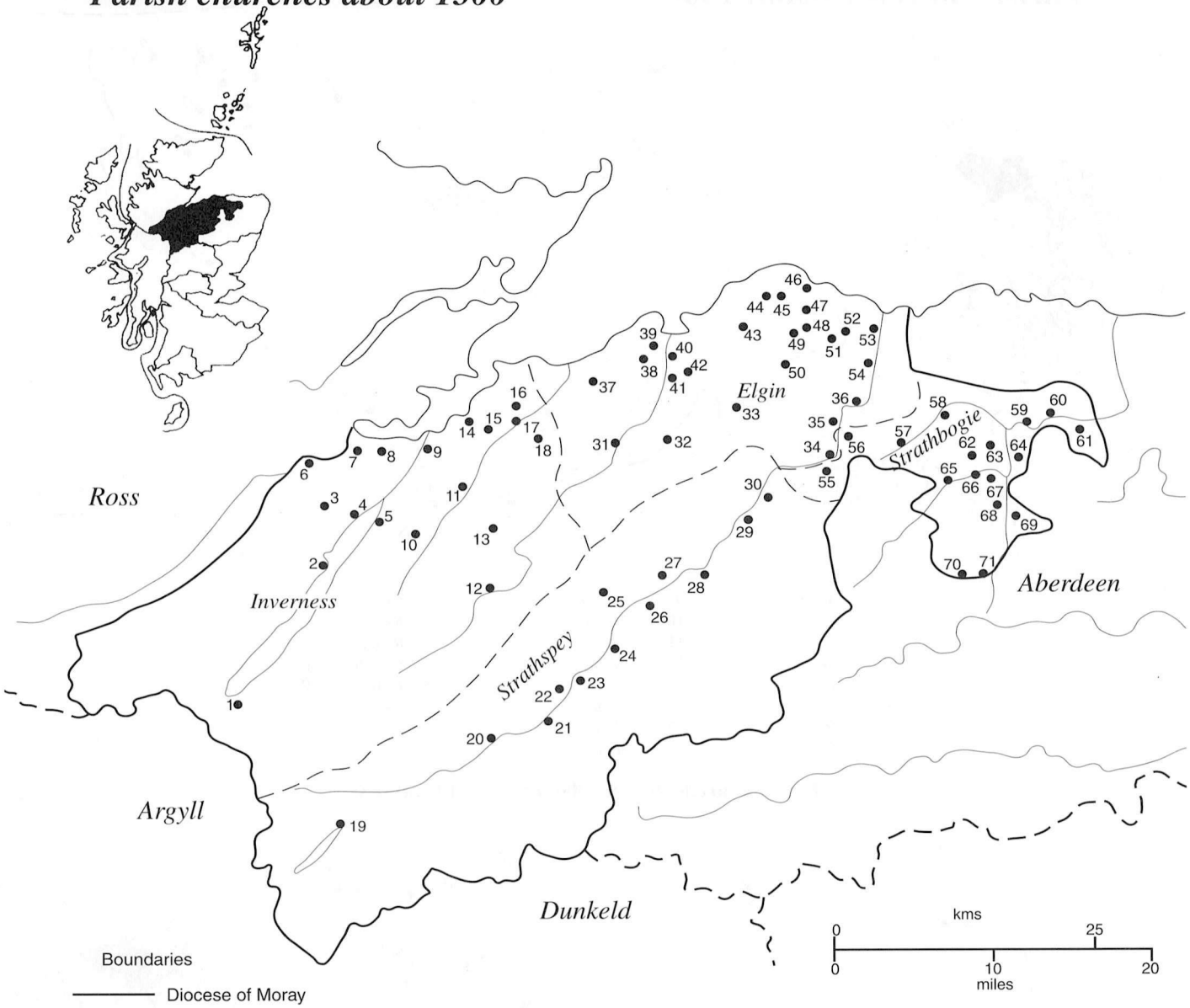
48	*Belhelvie*
49	*Aberdeen Cathedral*
50	*Aberdeen St Nicholas*
51	*Banchory-Devenick*
52	*Culter* (now Peterculter)
52a	*Templars' Chapel* (now Maryculter)
53	Dalmaik (now Drumoak)
54	*Banchory-Ternan*

Mar Deanery

55	*Mortlach*
56	*Dumeath*
57	*Clova*
58	Auchindoir
59	Kearn
60	*Clatt*
61	Kildrummy
62	Forbes
63	*Alford*
64	*Keig*
65	Tough
66	*Cluny*
67	*Kinnernie*
68	*Midmar*
69	*Echt*
70	Invernochty (now Strathdon)
71	*Kinbattoch* (now Towie)
72	Cushnie
73	*Leochel*
74	*Migvie*
75	*Tarland*
76	Coldstone
77	*Logie Mar* (or *Logie Ruthven*)
78	*Coull*
79	*Lumphanan*
80	*Kincardine O'Neil*
81	*Birse*
82	*Aboyne*
82a	*Tullich*
83	*Glenmuick*
84	Crathie
85	*Kindrochit* (now Braemar)

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Aberdeen DERW

Parish churches about 1300



Strathbogie deanery appears to be identical with the lordship of Strathbogie created by David I in the mid-twelfth century for a younger son of the earl of Fife. Its attachment to Moray diocese looks like a deliberate act of policy, now that nearby Mortlach was no longer an episcopal centre

Inverness Deanery

1 *Abertarff*
2 *Urquhart*
3 *Convinth*
4 Abriachan (now Bona)
5 *Dores*
6 *Kiltarlity*
7 *Wardlaw* (now Kirkhill)
8 *'Ferneway'*
9 *Inverness*
10 Lundechty (now Dunlichity)
11 *Daviot*
12 *Dalarossie*
13 *Lunnin* (now Moy)
14 *Petty*
15 Dalcross
16 *Brackley*
17 *Croy*
18 *Ewan* (or *Barevan* now Cawdor)

Strathspey Deanery

19 *Logie Kenny* (now Laggan)
20 *Kingussie*
21 *Insh*
22 Alvie
23 *Rothiemurcus*
24 Kincardine
25 *Duthil*
26 *Abernethy*
27 *Inverallan*
28 *Cromdale*
29 *Advie*
30 *Inveravon*

Elgin Deanery

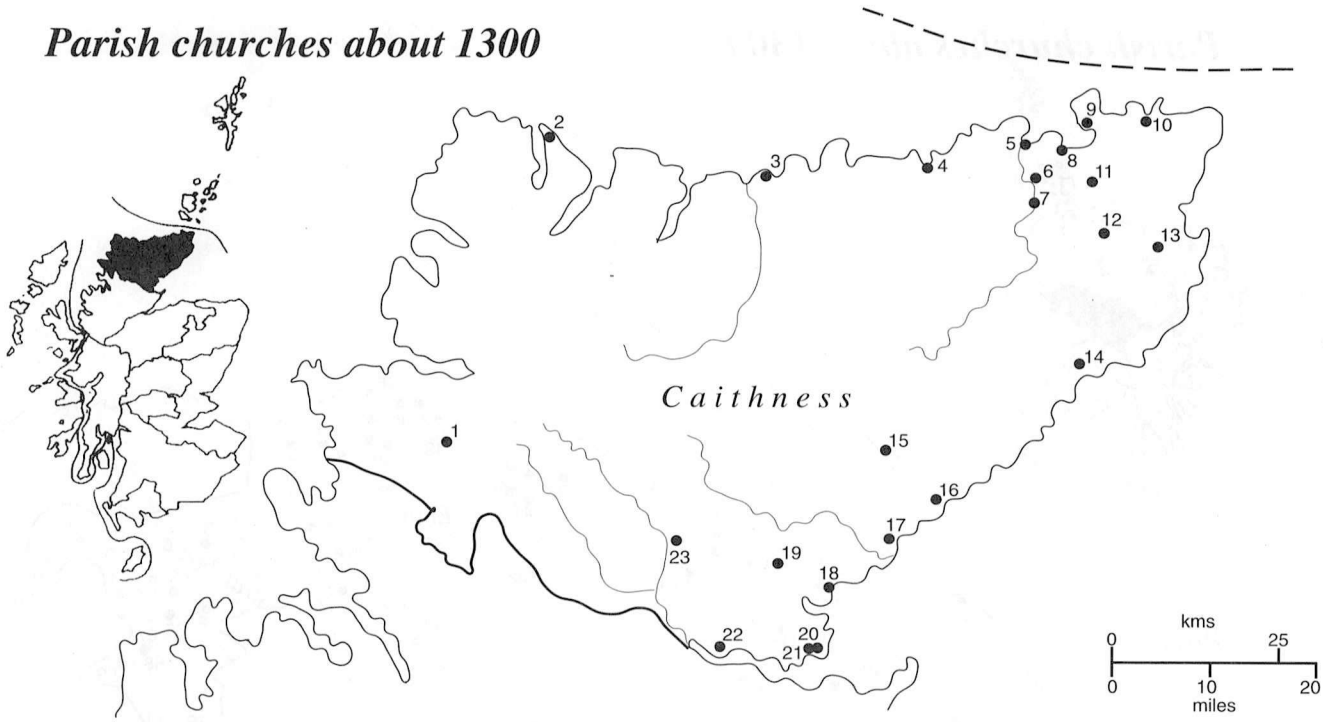
31 *'Fothervays'* (now Ardclach)
32 *Logie Fythenach* (now Edinkillie)
33 *Dallas*
34 *Elchies*
35 *Rothes*
36 *Dundurcus*
37 *Auldearn*
38 *Dyke*
39 *Moy*
40 *Forres*
41 *Altyre*
42 *Rafford*
43 *Alves*
44 *Duffus*
45 *Ogston*
46 *Kinneddar*
47 *Spynie*
48 Elgin Cathedral
49 *Elgin St Giles*
50 *Birnie*
51 *Lhanbryde*
52 *Urquhart*
53 *Essle*
54 *Dipple*

Strathbogie Deanery

55 *Aberlour*
56 *Arndilly* (now Boharm)
57 *Botriphnie*
58 *Keith*
59 *Rothiemay*
60 *Aberchirder* (now Marnoch)
61 *Inverkeithny*
62 *Botary*
63 *Ruthven*
64 *Kinnoir*
65 Glass
66 *Drumdelgie*
67 *Dunbennan*
68 *Edendiack*
69 *Grantully* (now Gartly)
70 Essie
71 *Rhynie*

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Moray DERW, MA

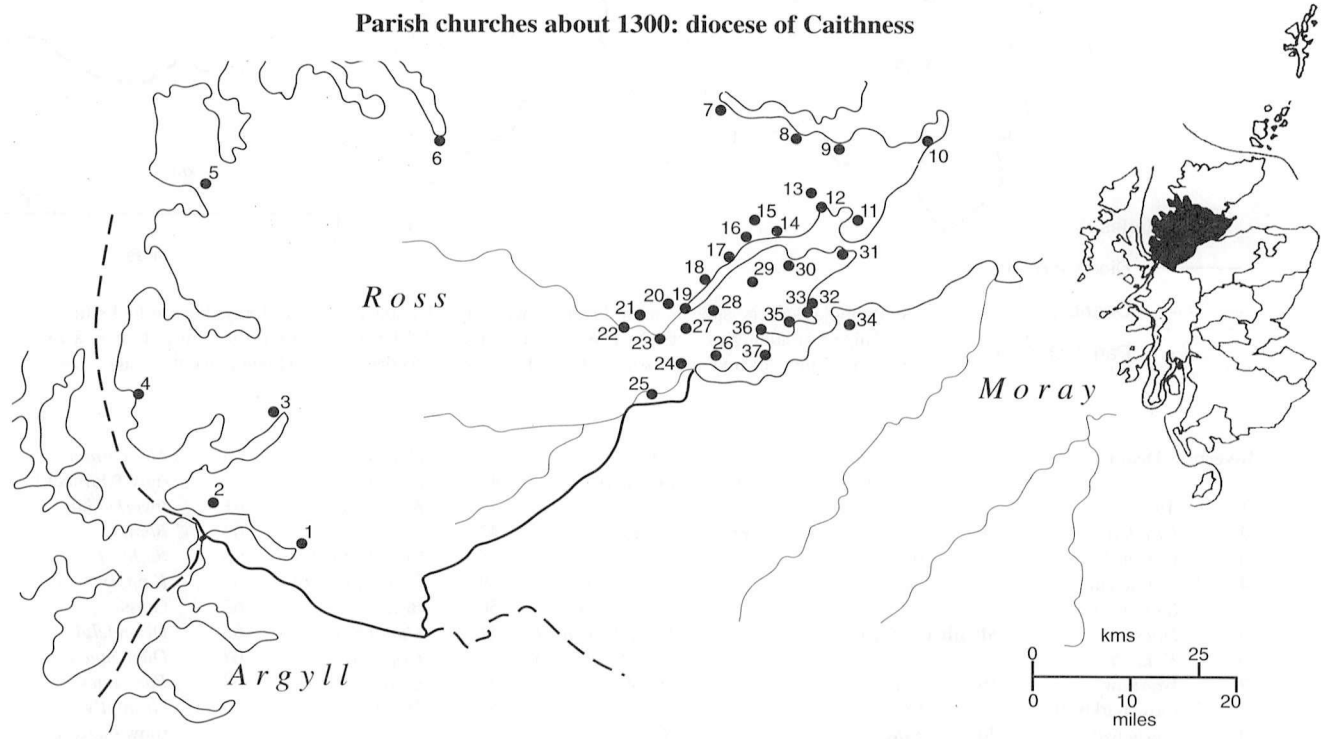
Parish churches about 1300



1	*Assynt*	9	*Dunnet*	17	*Clyne*
2	*Durness*	10	*Canisbay*	18	*Kilmalie*
3	*Farr*	11	*Bower*	19	*Rogart*
4	*Reay*	12	*Watten*	20	DornochCathedral
5	*Thurso*	13	*Wick*	21	*Dornoch, St Barr*
6	*Skinnet*	14	*Latheron*	22	*Creich*
7	*Halkirk*	15	*Kildonan*	23	*Lairg*
8	*Olrig*	16	*Loth*		

RGC

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Caithness



1	Kintail	12	*Kilmoremethet*	16	*Alness*		(now Kilchrist)	29	*Cullicudden*
2	Lochalsh		(now Kilmuir	17	Kiltearn	25	*Altyre*	30	Kirkmichael
3	Lochcarron		Easter)	18	*Lemlair*		(now Kilmorack)	31	*Cromarty*
4	Applecross	13	*Logiemethet*	19	Dingwall	26	*'Eddyrdor'*	32	*Rosemarkie*
5	Gairloch		(now Logie	20	*Fodderty*		(now Killearnan)	33	Fortrose
6	Lochbroom		Easter)	21	*Kinnettes*	27	*Logiebride*		Cathedral
7	Kincardine	14	*Rosskeen*	22	Contin		(now Logie	34	*Ardersier*
8	*Edderton*	15	*'Nevoth'*	23	*'Inveraferan'*		Wester)	35	*Avoch*
9	*Tain*		(or Newnakle		(now Urray)	28	*Urquhart*	36	*Suddie*
10	*Tarbat*		now Nonakiln)	24	Tarradale			37	*Kilmuir Wester*
11	*Nigg*								

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Ross

RGC

Parish churches about 1300



Rhinns Deanery

1 *Kirkcolm*
2 Leswalt
3 *Inch*
4 *Soulseat*
5 *Glenluce*
6 Stoneykirk
7 Clayshant
8 Toskerton (or Kirkmadrine)
9 Kirkmaiden

Farines Deanery

10 Mochrum
11 Longcastle
12 Kirkmaiden
13 Glasserton
14 *Whithorn Cathedral*
15 Cruggleton
16 *Sorbie*
17 *Kirkmadrine* (or Egerness)
18 Carnesmole (or Kirkinner)
19 Wigtown
20 Penninghame
21 *'Awengalceway'* (now Minnigaff)

Desnes Deanery

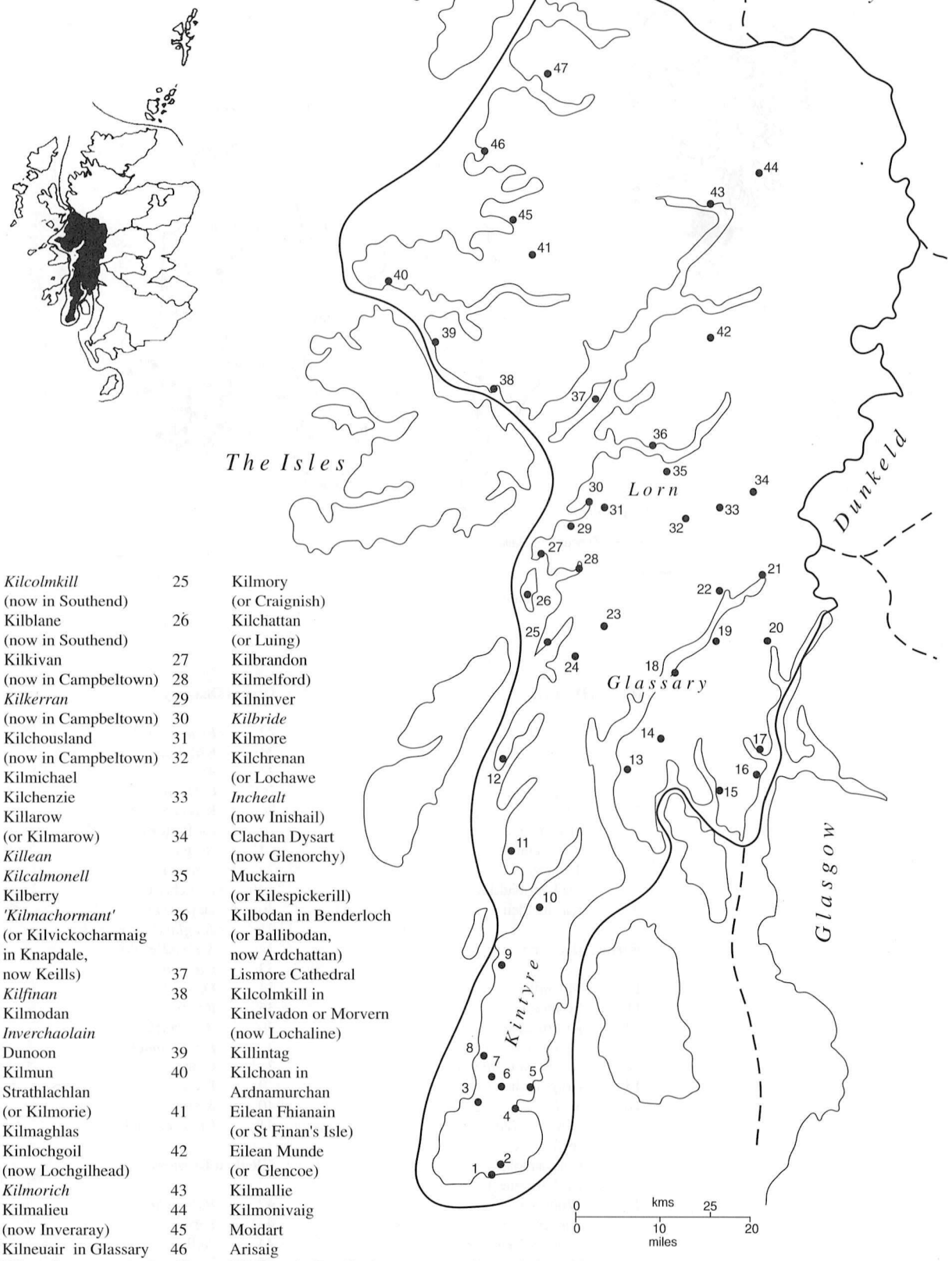
22 *Kirkmabreck*
23 Kirkdale
24 *Anwoth*
25 *Girthon*
26 Kirkandrews (or Purton)
27 *Borgue*
28 Senwick
29 Kirkchrist
30 *Twynholm*
31 *Tongland*
32 *Kirkcudbright*
33 *Galtway*
34 *Dunrod*
35 *Rerrick*
36 *Barncrosh*
37 *Kirkcormack*
38 Gelston
39 Buittle
40 *Kelton*
41 Crossmichael

Glenken Deanery

42 *Balmaghie*
43 Parton
44 Kells
45 'Trevercarcou' (now Balmaclellan)
46 Dalry

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Galloway RO

Parish churches about 1300



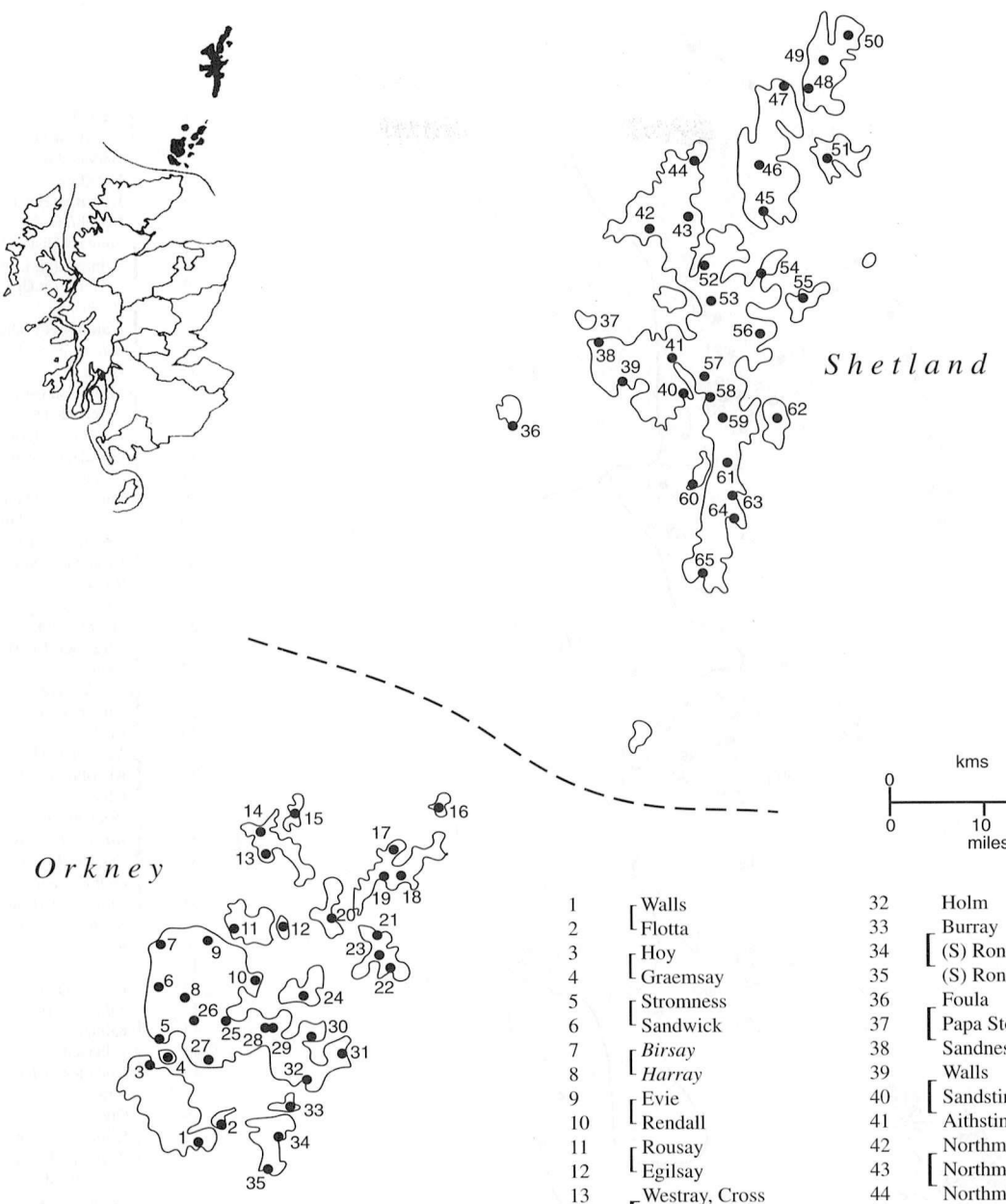
1	*Kilcolmkill* (now in Southend)	25	Kilmory (or Craignish)
2	Kilblane (now in Southend)	26	Kilchattan (or Luing)
3	Kilkivan (now in Campbeltown)	27	Kilbrandon
4	*Kilkerran* (now in Campbeltown)	28	Kilmelford)
5	Kilchousland (now in Campbeltown)	29	Kilninver
6	Kilmichael	30	*Kilbride*
7	Kilchenzie	31	Kilmore
8	Killarow (or Kilmarow)	32	Kilchrenan (or Lochawe
9	*Killean*	33	*Inchealt* (now Inishail)
10	*Kilcalmonell*	34	Clachan Dysart (now Glenorchy)
11	Kilberry	35	Muckairn (or Kilespickerill)
12	*'Kilmachormant'* (or Kilvickocharmaig in Knapdale, now Keills)	36	Kilbodan in Benderloch (or Ballibodan, now Ardchattan)
13	*Kilfinan*	37	Lismore Cathedral
14	Kilmodan	38	Kilcolmkill in Kinelvadon or Morvern (now Lochaline)
15	*Inverchaolain*	39	Killintag
16	Dunoon	40	Kilchoan in Ardnamurchan
17	Kilmun	41	Eilean Fhianain (or St Finan's Isle)
18	Strathlachlan (or Kilmorie)	42	Eilean Munde (or Glencoe)
19	Kilmaghlas	43	Kilmallie
20	Kinlochgoil (now Lochgilhead)	44	Kilmonivaig
21	*Kilmorich*	45	Moidart
22	Kilmalieu (now Inveraray)	46	Arisaig
23	Kilneuair in Glassary	47	Kilchoan in Knodfurd (now Inverie in Knoydart)
24	Kilmartin	48	Glenelg

● Parish churches

Though the three deaneries of Kintyre, Glassary and Lorn certainly existed by 1300, the allocation of parishes to deaneries is unknown

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Argyll IF

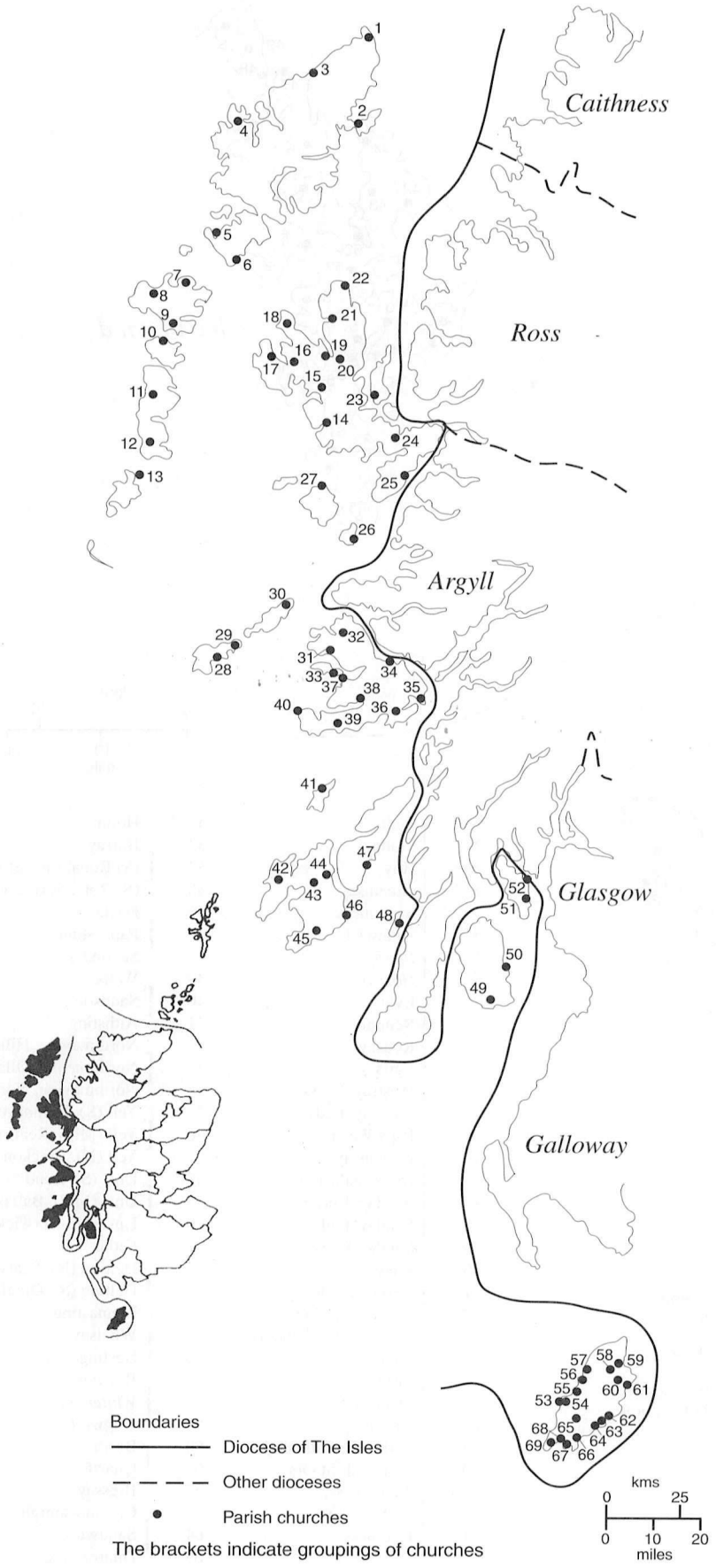
Parish churches about 1300



1	Walls
2	Flotta
3	Hoy
4	Graemsay
5	Stromness
6	Sandwick
7	*Birsay*
8	*Harray*
9	Evie
10	Rendall
11	Rousay
12	Egilsay
13	Westray, Cross
14	Westray, Lady
15	Papa Westray
16	Ringansay (N. Ronaldsay)
17	Sanday, Burness
18	Sanday, Lady
19	Sanday, Cross
20	Eday
21	Stronsay, Lady
22	Stronsay, St Peter
23	Stronsay, St Nicholas
24	Shapinsay
25	Firth
26	Stenness
27	Orphir
28	Kirkwall, Cathedral
29	Kirkwall, St Ola
30	Tankerness, St Andrews
31	Deerness
32	Holm
33	Burray
34	(S) Ronaldsay, St Peter
35	(S) Ronaldsay, Lady
36	Foula
37	Papa Stour
38	Sandness
39	Walls
40	Sandsting
41	Aithsting
42	Northmavine, Hillswick
43	Northmavine, Ollaberry
44	Northmavine, North Roe
45	Yell (S), Hamnavoe
46	Yell (Mid), Reafirth
47	Yell (N), Breckon
48	Unst (S), Lund
49	Unst (Mid), Baliasta
50	Unst (N), Norwick
51	Fetlar
52	Delting (N), Scatsta
53	Delting (S), Olnafirth
54	Lunnasting
55	Whalsay
56	Nesting
57	*Weisdale*
58	*Whiteness*
59	*Tingwall*
60	Burra
61	Quarff
62	Bressay
63	Cunningsburgh
64	Sandwick
65	Dunrossness

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of Orkney RGC

Parish churches about 1300



1 [Ness (Lewis)
2 [Eye (Lewis)
3 Barvas (Lewis)
4 Uig (Lewis)
5 Kilbride (Harris)
6 Rodel (Harris)
7 *Sand* (N.Uist)
8 [Kilmory (N. Uist)
9 Carinish (N.Uist)
10 [Benbecula
11 [*Howmore* (S. Uist)
12 *Kilpheder* (S. Uist)
13 Barra
14 [Minginish (Skye)
15 [Bracadale (Skye)
16 [Kilmory-Vaternish (Skye)
17 [Glendale-Duirinish (Skye)
18 Trumpan (Skye)
19 Snizort Cathedral (Skye)
20 Snizort, St Columba (Skye)
21 [Uig-Trotternish (Skye)
22 [Kilmaluag (Skye)
23 Raasay
24 *Strath* (Skye)
25 *Sleat* (Skye)
26 [Kildonan (Eigg)
27 [*Canna*
28 [*Soroby* (Tiree)
29 [Kirkapoll (Tiree)
30 *Coll*
31 [*Kilninian* (Mull)
32 [Kilcolmkill (Mull)
33 Ulva
34 [Pennygown (Mull)
35 [*Killean-Torosay* (Mull)
36 Laggan (Mull)
37 [*Inch Kenneth*
38 [*Kilfinichen* (Mull)
39 *Kilvickeon* (Mull)
40 *Iona*
41 *Colonsay*
42 Kilchoman (Islay)
43 [Kilarrow (Islay)
44 [Kilmany (Islay)
45 [Kilnauchtan (Islay)
46 [Kildalton (Islay)
47 Jura
48 Gigha
49 [Kilmory (Arran)
50 [Kilbride (Arran)
51 [Kingarth (Bute)
52 [Rothesay (Bute)
53 Kirk Patrick
54 Peel Cathedral & Kirk German
55 Kirk Michael
56 Ballaugh
57 Jurby
58 Andreas
59 Kirk Bride
60 Lezayre
61 Maughold
62 Lonan
63 Onchan
64 Braddan
65 Marown
66 Santon
67 Malew
68 Arbory
69 Rushen

Parish churches about 1300: diocese of The Isles RGC

Lands and churches of the see of St Andrews

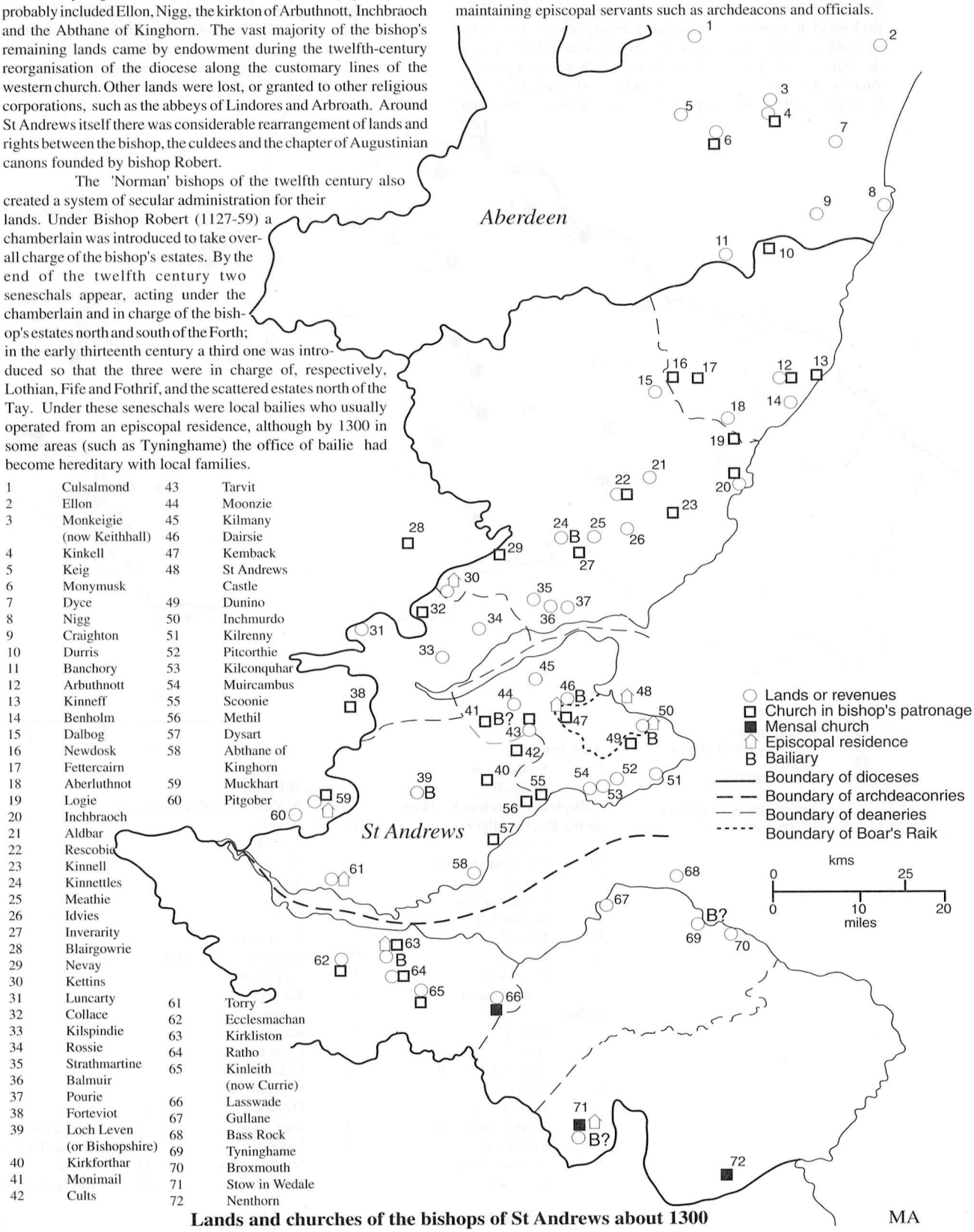
The bishops of St Andrews were the lords of a far-flung and extensive demesne. By the early thirteenth century their lands had a total value of £1,000, making them amongst the wealthiest magnates in Scotland.

At least some of the bishop's domain had come into their possession in Celtic times, many of the sites being ancient monastic centres or connected with important saints such as Ternan (Arbuthnott) and Cuthbert (Stow). These early lands almost certainly included the lands within the Boar's Raik (*Cursus Apri*), the ancient *parochia* of St Andrews, as well as Monymusk, Keig, Loch Leven, Stow in Wedale, Tyninghame and Broxmouth. Other early possessions probably included Ellon, Nigg, the kirkton of Arbuthnott, Inchbraoch and the Abthane of Kinghorn. The vast majority of the bishop's remaining lands came by endowment during the twelfth-century reorganisation of the diocese along the customary lines of the western church. Other lands were lost, or granted to other religious corporations, such as the abbeys of Lindores and Arbroath. Around St Andrews itself there was considerable rearrangement of lands and rights between the bishop, the culdees and the chapter of Augustinian canons founded by bishop Robert.

The 'Norman' bishops of the twelfth century also created a system of secular administration for their lands. Under Bishop Robert (1127-59) a chamberlain was introduced to take overall charge of the bishop's estates. By the end of the twelfth century two seneschals appear, acting under the chamberlain and in charge of the bishop's estates north and south of the Forth; in the early thirteenth century a third one was introduced so that the three were in charge of, respectively, Lothian, Fife and Fothrif, and the scattered estates north of the Tay. Under these seneschals were local bailies who usually operated from an episcopal residence, although by 1300 in some areas (such as Tyninghame) the office of bailie had become hereditary with local families.

Some of the eight episcopal residences recorded by the early fourteenth century had been in existence since the twelfth century (St Andrews castle and some others in east Fife, such as Inchmurdo), although the majority first appear in record in the thirteenth century. William Lamberton (1297-1328) is said to have built the residences at Muckhart, Stow and Kirkliston.

The bishops had mensal and patronage rights in churches. The former meant that a stipendiary priest could be assigned to the church and the payments in kind due from the church were paid to the bishop's *mensa* (table, or household). In the latter case the bishop had the right to present to the living. This was a favourite way of maintaining episcopal servants such as archdeacons and officials.



1	Culsalmond	43	Tarvit
2	Ellon	44	Moonzie
3	Monkeigie (now Keithhall)	45	Kilmany
		46	Dairsie
4	Kinkell	47	Kemback
5	Keig	48	St Andrews Castle
6	Monymusk		
7	Dyce	49	Dunino
8	Nigg	50	Inchmurdo
9	Craighton	51	Kilrenny
10	Durris	52	Pitcorthie
11	Banchory	53	Kilconquhar
12	Arbuthnott	54	Muircambus
13	Kinneff	55	Scoonie
14	Benholm	56	Methil
15	Dalbog	57	Dysart
16	Newdosk	58	Abthane of Kinghorn
17	Fettercairn		
18	Aberluthnot	59	Muckhart
19	Logie	60	Pitgober
20	Inchbraoch		
21	Aldbar		
22	Rescobie		
23	Kinnell		
24	Kinnettles		
25	Meathie		
26	Idvies		
27	Inverarity		
28	Blairgowrie		
29	Nevay		
30	Kettins		
31	Luncarty	61	Torry
32	Collace	62	Ecclesmachan
33	Kilspindie	63	Kirkliston
34	Rossie	64	Ratho
35	Strathmartine	65	Kinleith (now Currie)
36	Balmuir		
37	Pourie	66	Lasswade
38	Forteviot	67	Gullane
39	Loch Leven (or Bishopshire)	68	Bass Rock
		69	Tyninghame
40	Kirkforthar	70	Broxmouth
41	Monimail	71	Stow in Wedale
42	Cults	72	Nenthorn

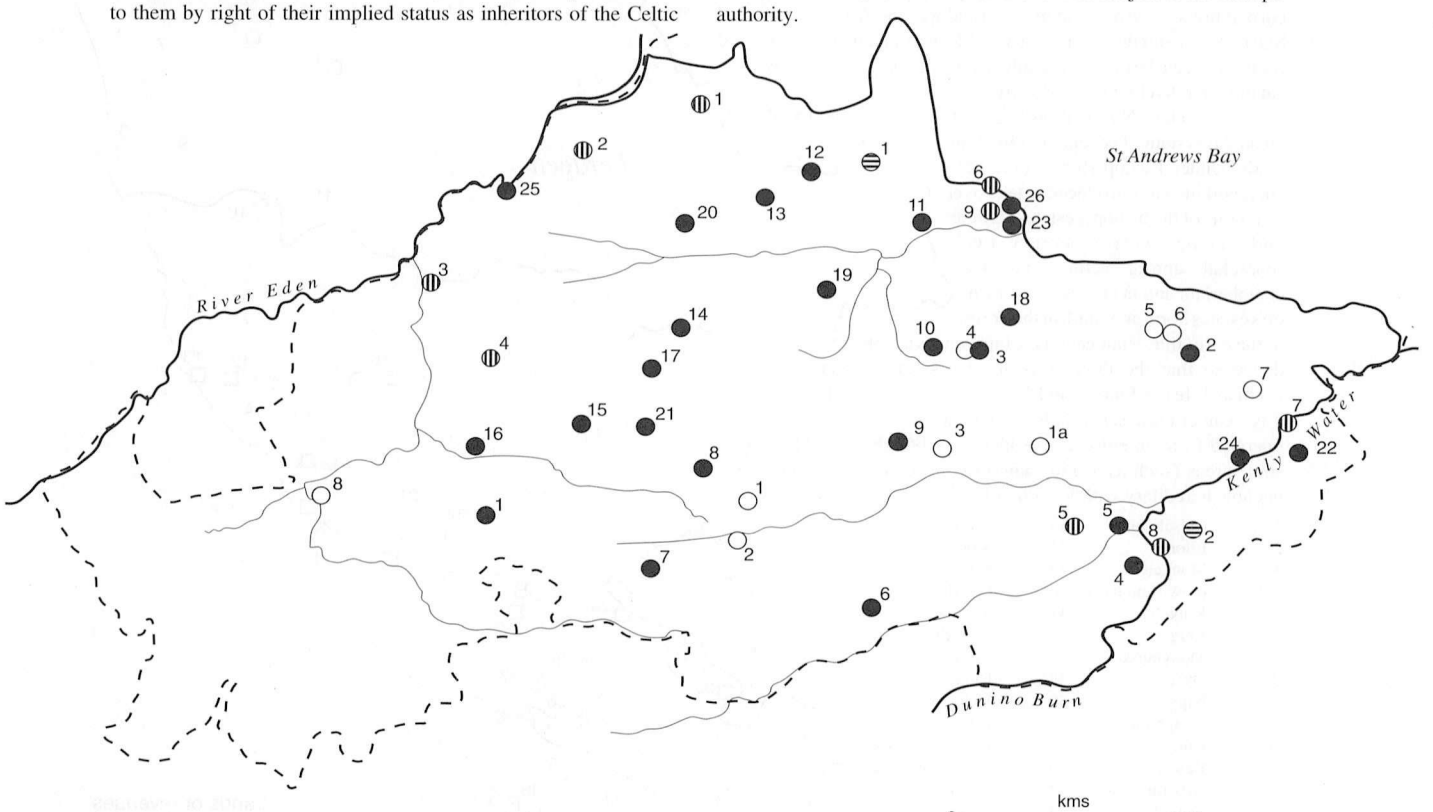
Lands and churches of the bishops of St Andrews about 1300 MA

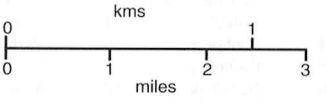
Lands and churches of the see of St Andrews

The *Cursus Apri*, or Boar's Raik, was the territory immediately surrounding St Andrews, probably corresponding with the modern parishes of St Andrews and St Leonards, Cameron, Dunino, Ceres and Kemback. The origin of the name is obscure, perhaps deriving from an especially memorable boar hunt or referring to a totemic symbol of the local tribe or ruling family. According to the various twelfth-century legends describing the arrival of the relics of St Andrew in Scotland, the *Cursus Apri* was the territory granted to the church of the apostle.

This may well be the case, for despite being dispersed and alienated during the long interregnum following the death of Bishop Fothad II in 1093, these same lands were nevertheless used to form the basis of the endowment of the Augustinian priory in 1144. At the same time, moreover, they were specifically stated not to belong to the office of the bishop. Those lands which the bishops of St Andrews did hold within the Boar's Raik therefore may have come to them by right of their implied status as inheritors of the Celtic abbots. The isolated episcopal estate and residence at Inchmurdo probably represents part of this ancient endowment; even today the parish boundary crosses the Kenly Water to include the site of the 'palace'. Certainly the bishop's lands were not central to the Boar's Raik in the way the chapter's lands were.

Throughout the later twelfth century and the thirteenth there were a number of agreements over lands and rights in the Boar's Raik between the bishop, the priory, the archdeacon of St Andrews, and the Culdees (who formed the collegiate corporation of the church of St Mary of the Rock by the middle of the thirteenth century). As a result of these agreements the archdeacon came to hold a compact bloc of territory to the north of St Andrews, centred on Strathtyrum, and the Culdees held substantial groups of lands to the east and south of the city. An inquest of 1309 found that there were three baronies within the Boar's Raik: the bishop's, the Priory's and the Culdees', and that the latter two were subject to the bishop's authority.





Archdeacon
St. Mary on the Rock
Bishop
Cathedral Priory
approximate boundary of the Boar's Raik

Archdeacon

1 Strathtyrum
2 Balkaithly

Collegiate Church of St. Mary on the Rock (Culdees)

1 Cameron
1a Carngour (Kinninis)
2 Cairn?
3 Lambieletham
4 Scooniehill
5 Kinkell
6 Kingask
7 Kinglassie
8 Ceres Church

Bishop

1 Kincaple
2 Nydie
3 Kemback Church
4 Blebo
5 Pittendreich
6 St Andrews Castle
7 Inchmurdo
8 Dunino Church
9 Kilrymont

Cathedral Priory

1 Baldinnie? ('Balmacduncan')
2 Pitmullen
3 Scoonie
4 Beley
5 Stravithie
6 Lathockar
7 Radernie
8 Cassindonald
9 Priorletham (Letham)
10 Balrymonth
11 Rathelpie
12 Balgove
13 Rummond
14 Claremont
15 Ladeddie
16 Kinninmonth
17 Denork
18 New Grange
19 Balone
20 Strathkinness
21 Drumcarrow
22 Kenly
23 Kilrymont
24 Peekie (Puthechin)
25 Nydie
26 Kilrymont Church

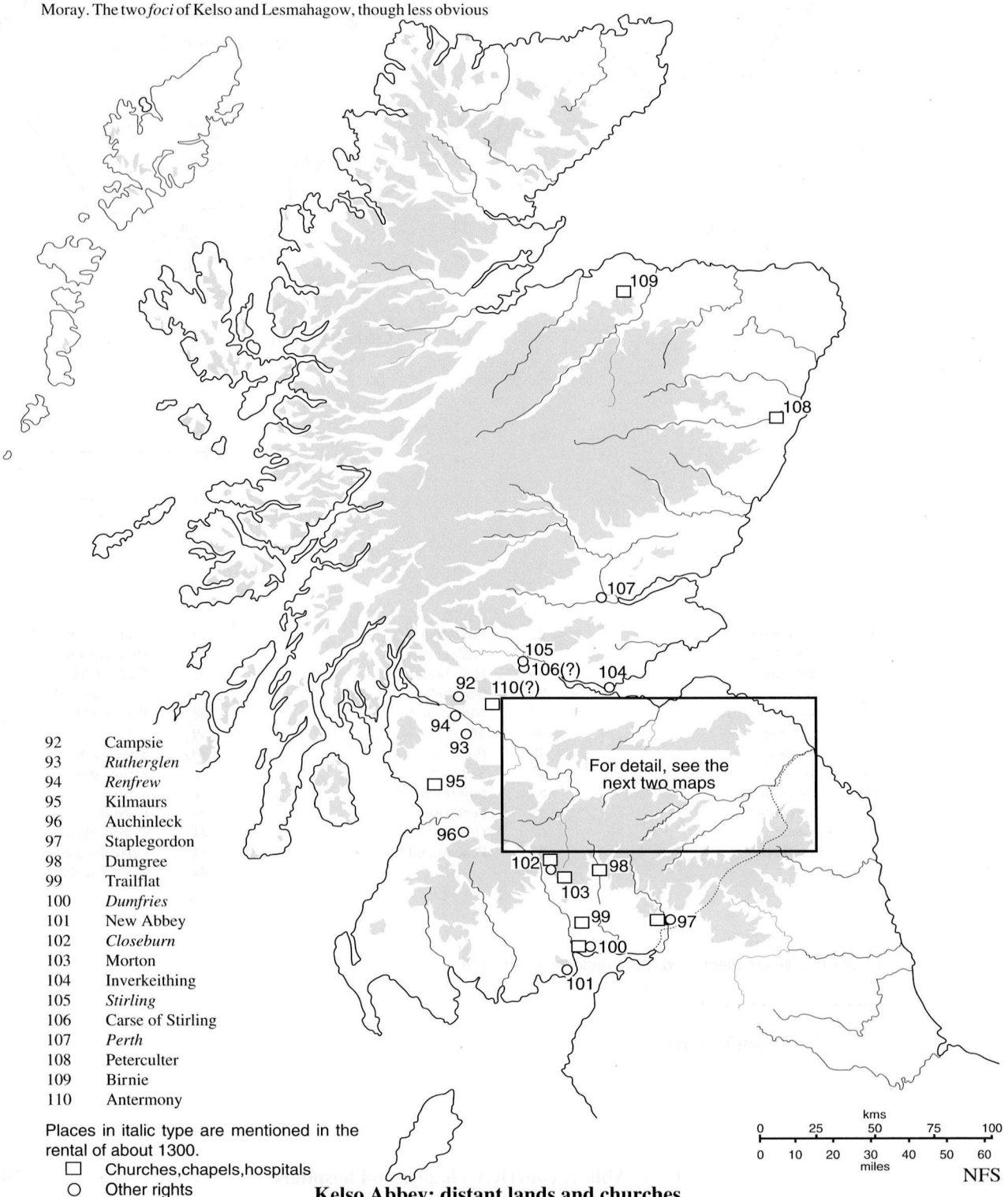
The Boar's Raik MA

Lands and churches of Kelso Abbey

The Tironensian abbey of Kelso had some scattered properties, but there were two main *foci* - Kelso itself and its dependent priory of Lesmahagow. More remote holdings are to be explained by the position of the lands of the donor - e.g. a toft in Inverkeithing from Malcolm IV and one in Renfrew from Walter, son of Alan, the Steward. Besides arable and pasture, there were shielings in the Lammermuirs, granges, fishing rights (e.g. on the Tweed), a salt-pan at New Abbey, peataries, mills and brewhouses. The abbey's lands produced rents and services. The surviving records provide little evidence of Kelso's part in the wool trade, apart from references to sheep, but Berwick must have been the main port of export for the abbey's wool, at least until its sack in 1296; the abbey had properties and revenues in Berwick, and the husbandmen of Redden did carting service to it.

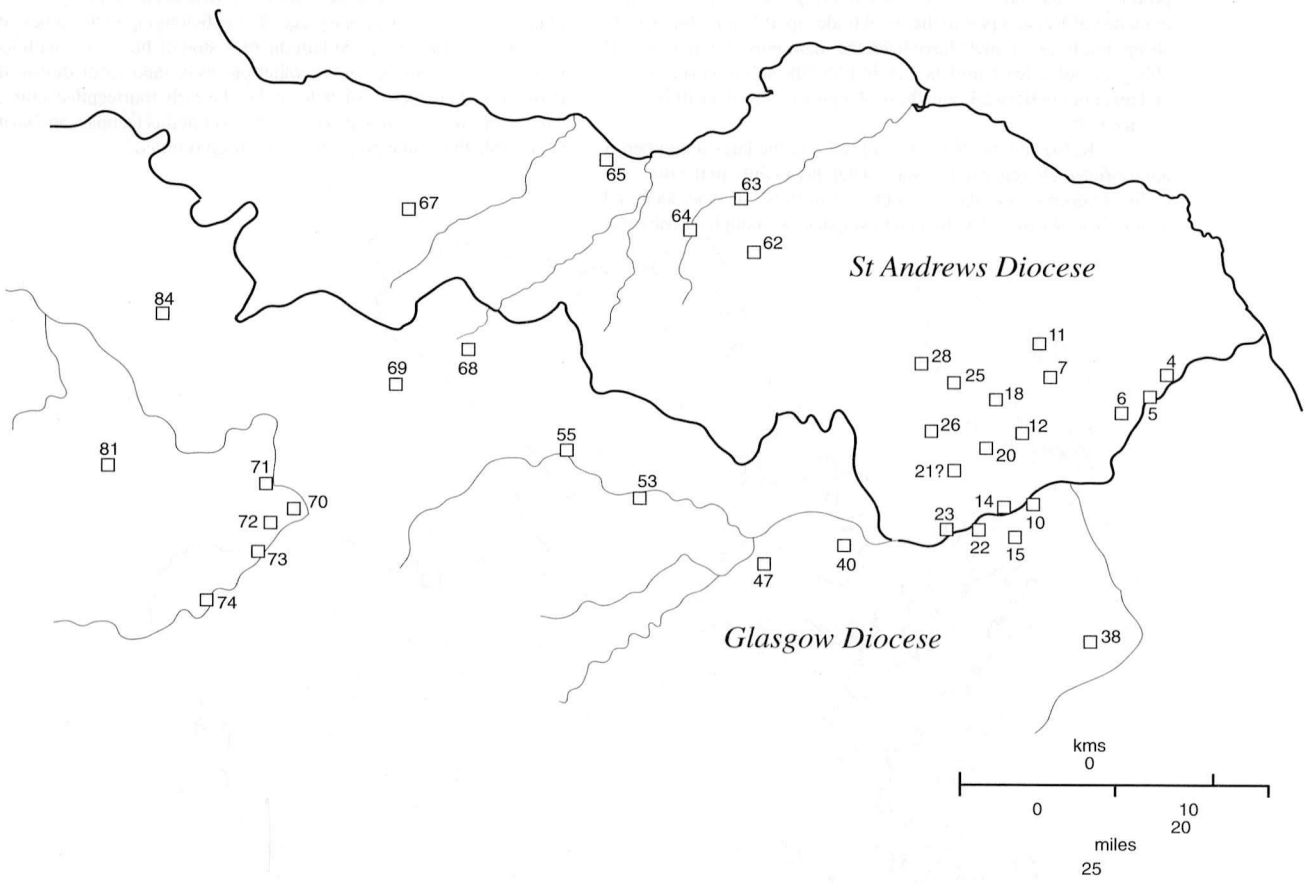
Kelso had the distinction of holding the largest number of appropriated churches in Scotland. They lay mainly in the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow, but also in those of Aberdeen and Moray. The two *foci* of Kelso and Lesmahagow, though less obvious in this respect, are still evident on the map.

A rental drawn up for an Abbot Richard is usually ascribed to the abbot of that name who held office in the 1280s and 1290s. By then the abbey seems largely to have given up direct exploitation, preferring cash to labour services. A problem posed by the rental is that it apparently does not include all the abbey's lands. The group of properties in Lanarkshire, plus Kilmaurs and Auchinleck in Ayrshire, may have been administered by Lesmahagow Priory and there may have been some rationalisation, because many of the places omitted had only one piece of land belonging to the abbey. It is difficult, however, to explain the omission of Innerwick with its revenue, two pastures and two other pieces of land, or of Bothwell (Lothian) where Kelso still held land in the early fourteenth century. The rental survives only in a copy which contains lacunae, and so it is possible that some properties have been omitted.



Kelso Abbey: distant lands and churches

Lands and churches of Kelso Abbey



4	*Horndean**	22	*Roxburgh**	64	Cranstoun Riddel*
5	*Upsettlington**	23	*Makerstoun**	65	Duddingston*
6	*Simprim**	25	Hallyburton*	67	Calder Clere* (now East Calder)
7	*Fogo**	26	Gordon*		
10	*Sprouston**	28	*Wedderlie**	68	West Linton*
11	*Langton**	38	*Mow**	69	Dunsyre
12	*Lambden**	40	*Bowden**	70	Symington
14	Kelso*	47	*Selkirk**	71	Thankerton
15	Maxwell	53	*Innerleithen**	72	Wiston
18	*Greenlaw**	55	Peebles*	73	Roberton
20	*Hume**	62	*Humbie**	74	Crawfordjohn
21	Nenthorn	63	Pencaitland*	81	Lesmahagow*
				84	Cambusnethan*

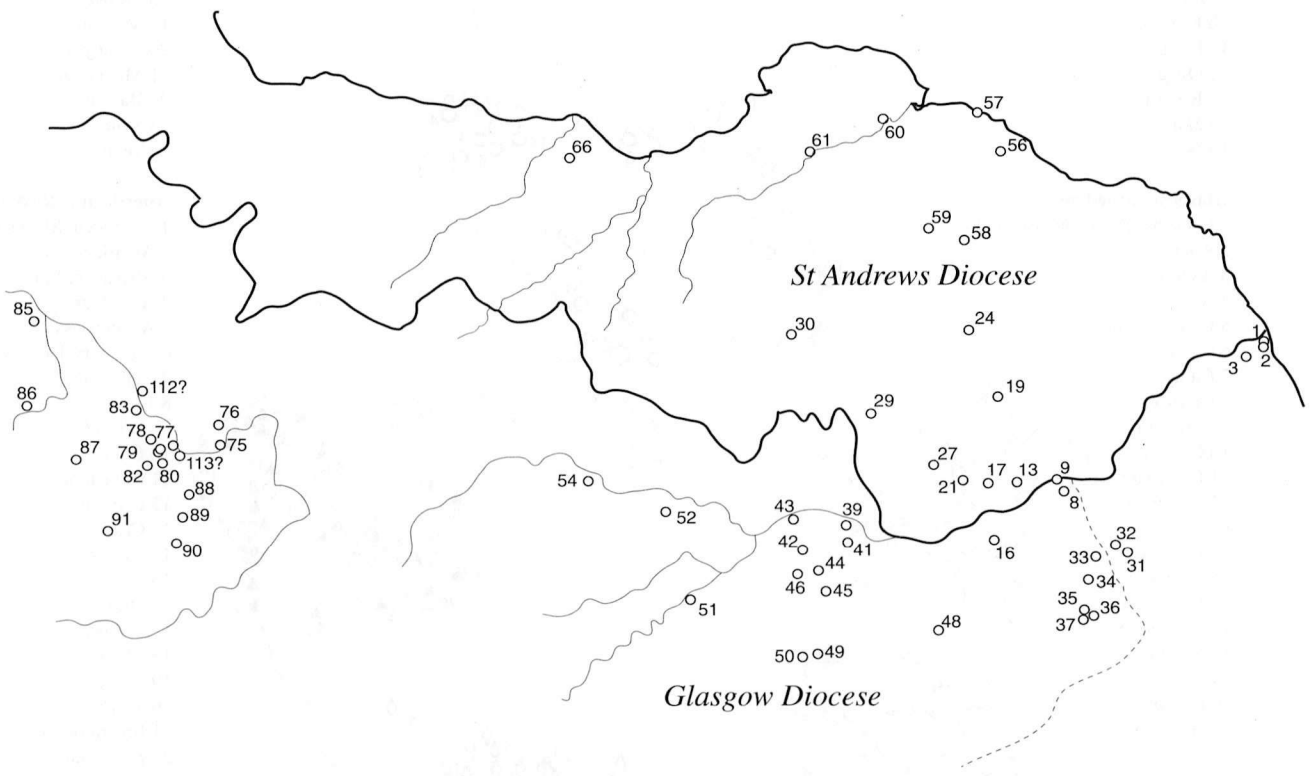
Places in italic are mentioned in the rental of about 1300

——— Diocesan boundary

* Other rights in addition

Kelso Abbey: churches, chapels and hospitals NFS

Lands and churches of Kelso Abbey



1	*Berwick-upon-Tweed*	37	*Elisheugh*	66	*Edinburgh*
2	*Tweedmouth*	39	Melrose	75	'Curroc' (? Corehouse)
3	Ord	41	*Holydean*	76	Lanark
8	*Hadden*	42	*Whitlaw*	77	Auchtyfardle
9	*Redden*	43	*'Faudon'* (? Faldonside)	78	Kerlingholm
13	Ednam	44	Midlem	79	'Glenane' (? Garlewood)
16	Heiton	45	Lilliesleaf	80	'Dowan' (? Glendevon)
17	Newton Don	46	*Whitmuir*	82	Ardoch
19	Whiteside	48	*Jedburgh*	83	Draffan
21	Nenthorn	49	*Clarilaw*	85	Cadzow (now Hamilton)
24	*Dirrington*	50	*Newton*	86	Strathaven
27	*'Melokistan'* (? Mellerstain)	51	Ettrickbridge End	87	Kype
29	*Whitslaid*	52	*Minch Moor*	88	Folkerton
30	*Oxton*	54	*'Hopekeliow'* (? Kalizie)	89	Poniel
31	*'Colpenhope'*	56	Innerwick	90	Douglas
32	*Shotton*	57	*Broxmouth*	91	'Hautillet' (? Auchinstilloch)
33	*Yetholm*	58	*Bothwell*	112	Mauldslie
34	*Primside*	59	*Spartleton*	113	Greenrig
35	*Clifton*	60	*Preston*		
36	*Attonburn*	61	*Haddington*		

Places in italic are mentioned in the rental of about 1300

—— Diocesan boundary

Kelso Abbey: other rights NFS

Appropriations of some parish churches by 1560

Dornoch cathedral
1 Dornoch
2 Assynt
3 Bower
4 Canisbay
5 Clyne
6 Creich
7 Dunnet
8 *Farr*
9 *Halkirk*
10 Kildonan
11 Lairg
12 Olrig
13 Rogart
14 *Skinnet*
15 Watten

Glasgow cathedral
1 Glasgow Primo and Secundo
2 Ancrum
3 Ashkirk
4 Ayr
5 Cambuslang
6 Cadder
7 Campsie
8 Cardross
9 Carnwath
10 Carstairs
11 *Colmonell*
12 Cumnock
13 Dalziel
14 Douglas
15 Durisdeer
16 Eaglesham
17 Eddleston
18 Erskine
19 *Glencairn*
20 Govan
21 Hamilton
22 Kilbride
23 Killearn
24 Kirkmahoe
25 *Lilliesleaf*
26 Luss
27 Moffat
28 Morebattle
29 Old Roxburgh
30 Peebles
31 Renfrew
32 Sanquhar
33 Stobo
34 Tarbolton
35 *Walston*

Dunkeld cathedral
1 Dunkeld
2 Aberlady
3 Alyth
4 Auchtergaven
5 *Aucherhouse*
6 Clunie
7 Crieff
8 Fem
9 Forgandenny
10 *Fortingall*
11 Inchcadin
12 Kinclaven
13 Lagganallachy
14 Lethendy
15 Little Dunkeld
16 Logiebride
17 Lundeiff
18 *Meigle*
19 Menmuir
20 Moneydie
21 Muckersie
22 Rattray
23 *Saline*
24 Tealing

Aberdeen cathedral
1 Aberdeen, St Machar
2 Aberdeen, St Nicholas
3 Aberdeen, Spittal
4 Aberdour
5 Auchterless
6 Banchory-Devenick
7 Belhelvie
8 Birse
9 *Cabrach*
10 Clatt
11 Coldstone
12 Crimond
13 Cruden
14 Daviot
15 Deer
16 Drumoak
17 *Dumeath*
18 Ellon
19 Forbes
20 *Fordyce*
21 Invermochty
22 *Kildrummy*
23 Kincardine O'Neil
24 Kinkell
25 *Logie Buchan*
26 *Logic Mar*
27 Lonmay
28 Methlick
29 Monymusk
30 Mortlach
31 Oyne
32 Philorth
33 *Rathen*
34 Rathven
35 Rayne
36 Tullynessle
37 Turriff

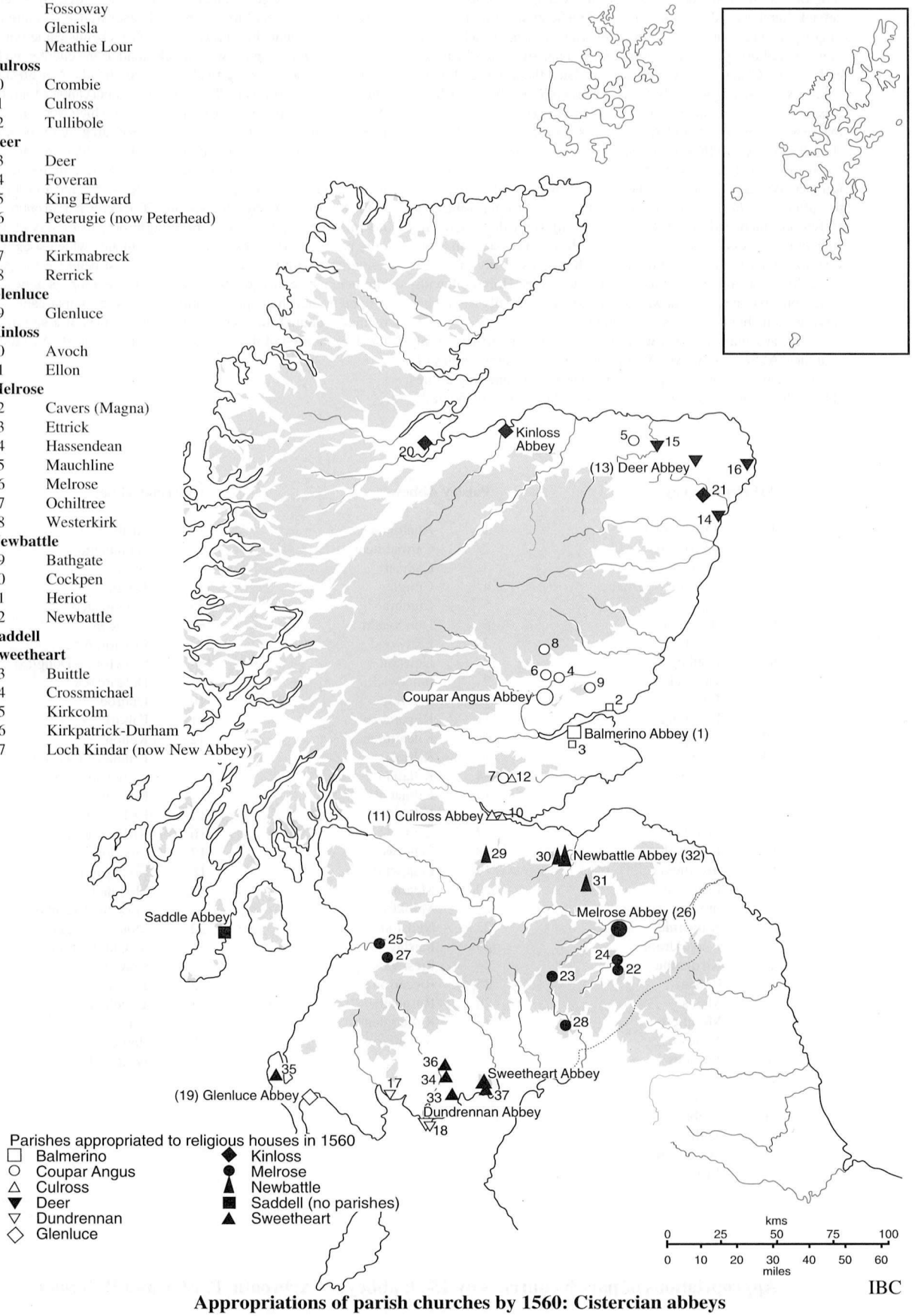
Churches printed in italic type were allocated to the common fund of the chapter

- O Dornoch
- ▲ Aberdeen
- ◊ Dunkeld
- ■ Glasgow

Appropriations of parish churches by 1560: cathedrals of Dornoch, Aberdeen, Dunkeld and Glasgow IBC

Appropriations of some parish churches by 1560

Balmerino:
1 Balmerino
2 Barry
3 Logiemurthach (nowLogie)
Coupar Angus
4 Airlie
5 Alvah
6 Bendochy
7 Fossoway
8 Glenisla
9 Meathie Lour
Culross
10 Crombie
11 Culross
12 Tullibole
Deer
13 Deer
14 Foveran
15 King Edward
16 Peterugie (now Peterhead)
Dundrennan
17 Kirkmabreck
18 Rerrick
Glenluce
19 Glenluce
Kinloss
20 Avoch
21 Ellon
Melrose
22 Cavers (Magna)
23 Ettrick
24 Hassendean
25 Mauchline
26 Melrose
27 Ochiltree
28 Westerkirk
Newbattle
29 Bathgate
30 Cockpen
31 Heriot
32 Newbattle
Saddell
Sweetheart
33 Buittle
34 Crossmichael
35 Kirkcolm
36 Kirkpatrick-Durham
37 Loch Kindar (now New Abbey)



IBC

Appropriations of parish churches by 1560: Cistercian abbeys

Appropriations of some parish churches by 1560

The creation of a parochial organisation during the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries provided the means of maintaining an endowed priest in every parish, but this was never intended to be its sole purpose. Others had equal claim to the teinds, and from their inception these revenues were regarded as a means of endowing other religious institutions besides the parish. Initially it was religious houses founded after the twelfth-century reforms that received churches; and eventually by 1560 no Scottish religious house of consequence (with the exception of friaries) lacked such an endowment, although the number of annexed parishes varied considerably. The Cistercians, who initially resisted the holding of parochial revenues, totalled only thirty-seven churches between their eleven houses. The largest single holders of parish churches were the Tironensian royal foundations such as Arbroath with thirty-four churches, closely followed by the Cluniac house at Paisley which owed most of its twenty-eight churches to the generosity of its founder, Walter Fitzalan. The holdings of these two houses, with the almost as large endowments of the Augustinian abbey of Holyrood which held twenty-five churches, illustrate the geographically compactness of most annexations. However distance in itself was no barrier to appropriation, although inaccessibility involved difficulty in the collection of teinds - a factor which Holyrood, with its remote churches in Galloway, seems to have partially solved by serving such churches by its own canons.

Parochial revenues were also used to support cathedral churches. At St Andrews and Whithorn there were communities of regular clergy supported by parish churches in the same way as the abbeys. In the other dioceses, commencing at Glasgow in the mid-twelfth century, it became common for the cathedral chapters to be made up of secular clergy. These bodies of ecclesiastics, known individually as canons, were assigned separate prebendal allowances, the revenues of which were normally derived from appropriated parish churches, which in turn gave their names to the prebends which they supported. New churches were constantly being added over the centuries, and by the Reformation Glasgow cathedral, closely followed by Aberdeen, possessed thirty-one and thirty prebends endowed with churches respectively, while Dunkeld with twenty such prebends came not far behind. Other cathedral chapters were much smaller; the chapter at Dornoch for example possessed only twelve such prebends. Not all appropriated churches were, however, allocated to individual canons, for others formed the basis of a common fund, the revenues of which were allocated among members of the chapter as a means of encouraging residence.

The basis of funding remained parochial revenues. This precedent in monasteries and cathedrals was followed in the erection of collegiate church and academic colleges from the mid-fourteenth century to the Reformation, by which period 86% of the parish churches of Scotland had been appropriated, bringing problems of service which were only partly assuaged by vicarage settlements, which sought to provide tenure and with less success an adequate stipend for the parochial incumbent who consequently was often unfitted for his duties. If laxity of service, rather than appropriation, was the principal canker within the medieval church, the system undoubtedly played a significant part in the deterioration of the structural organisation of the Scottish church.

Arbroath Abbey

1	Aberchirder
2	Abernethy
3	Arbirlot
4	Banchory-Ternan
5	Banff
6	Bethelnie
7	Coull
8	Dunbog
9	Dunnichen
10	Ethie
11	Fetterangus
12	Forgue
13	Fyvie
14	Gamrie
15	Garvock
16	Glamis
17	Inverboyndie
18	Inverkeilor
19	Inverness
20	Inverugie (now St. Fergus)
21	Kinnernie
22	Kingoldrum
23	Kirriemuir
24	Lunan
25	Mains
26	Monifieth
27	Monikie
28	Murroes
29	Newtyle
30	Nigg
31	Panbride
32	Ruthven
33	St. Vigeans
34	Tarves

Paisley Abbey

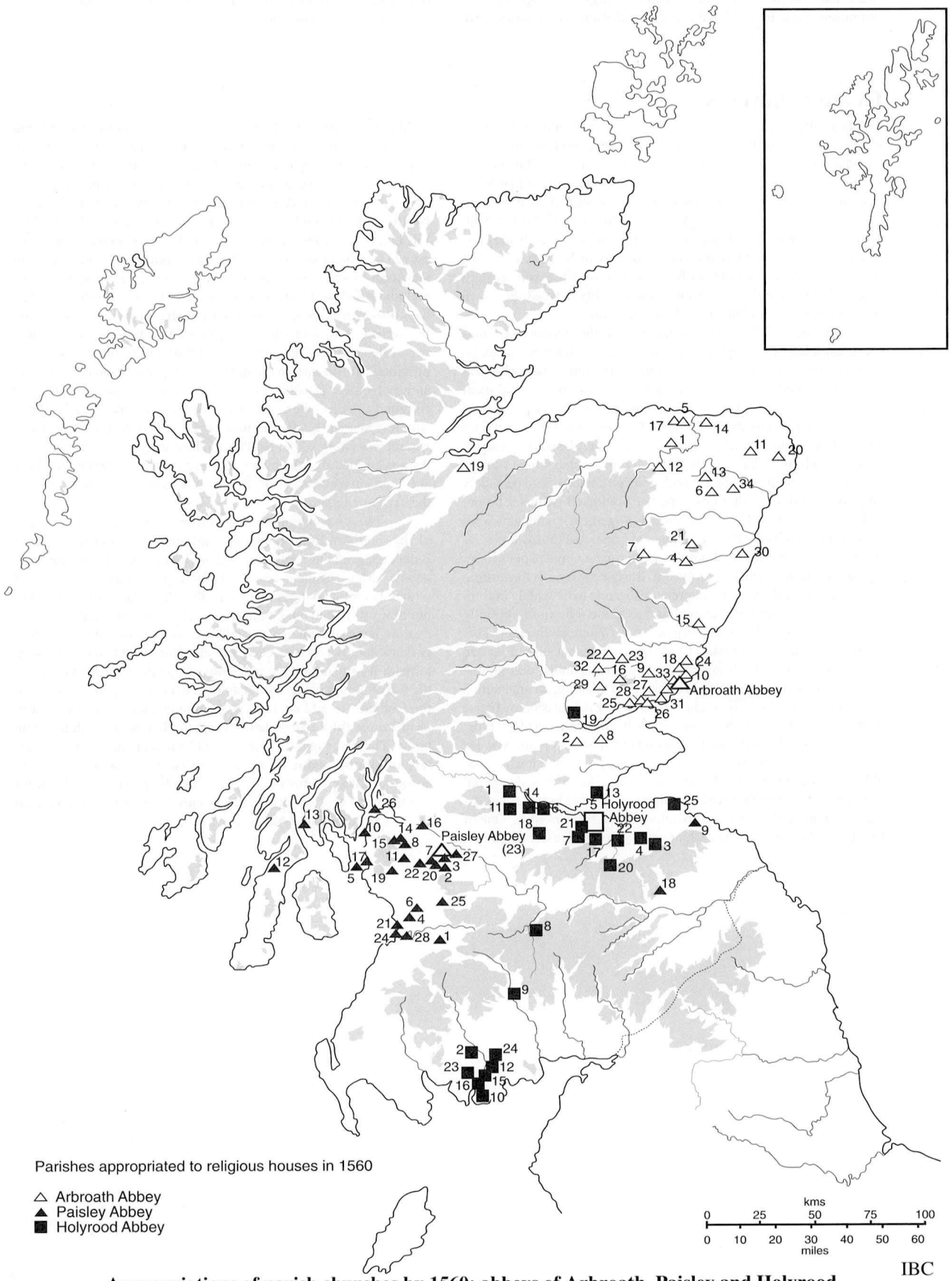
1	Auchinleck
2	Carmunnock
3	Cathcart
4	Craigie
5	Cumbrae
6	Dundonald
7	Eastwood
8	Houston
9	Innerwick
10	Inverkip
11	Kilbarchan
12	Kilcalmonell
13	Kilfinan
14	Killallan
15	Kilmacolm
16	Kilpatrick
17	Largs
18	Legerwood
19	Lochwinnoch
20	Mearns
21	Monkton
22	Neilston
23	Paisley
24	Prestwick
25	Riccarton
26	Rosneath
27	Rutherglen
28	St. Quivox

Holyrood Abbey

1	Airth
2	Balmaghie
3	Bara
4	Bolton
5	Canongate
6	Carriden
7	Corstorphine
8	Crawford (-Douglas)
9	Dalgarnock
10	Dunrod
11	Falkirk
12	Kelton
13	Kinghorn Easter (now Kinghorn)
14	Kinneil
15	Kirkcormack
16	Kirkcudbright
17	Liberton
18	Livingston
19	Melginch (now St. Martins)
20	Mount Lothian
21	St. Cuthbert under the Castle
22	Tranent
23	Twynholm
24	Urr
25	Hamer (now Whitekirk)

Appropriations of parish churches by 1560: abbeys of Arbroath, Paisley and Holyrood

Appropriations of some parish churches by 1560



IBC

Appropriations of parish churches by 1560: abbeys of Arbroath, Paisley and Holyrood

Church plans from about 1120 to 1560

Church planning

A study of the ways in which the designers of Scottish ecclesiastical buildings responded to the needs of their patrons in the lay-out of the churches they built is of value both in assessing the influences at work on our ecclesiastical architecture, and in determining the relationships between individual buildings. Although the most ambitious varieties of planning employed elsewhere in north-western Europe were not reflected in Scotland and, indeed, a clear majority of our lesser churches were never of more than unaugmented rectangular form. A considerable range of plan types may still be observed. A preliminary attempt is here made broadly to categorise those churches of which the plan is known, or ascertainable with reasonable confidence.

Greater churches

The first plans of many of the great abbeys and cathedrals which began to rise from the 1120s onwards, as the momentum of new foundations gathered strength, are no longer known. But the surviving evidence indicates that it was to English sources that Scottish patrons were initially looking - albeit continental inspiration lay behind many of these sources. At Dunfermline and Kirkwall the original form of the aisled choirs with apsidal east ends suggests reference to such as Durham, and ultimately to Normandy, whilst the exotic double cross plan of Kelso may have come from eastern England, although the English masons possibly derived their own inspiration for such plans from the Rhineland.

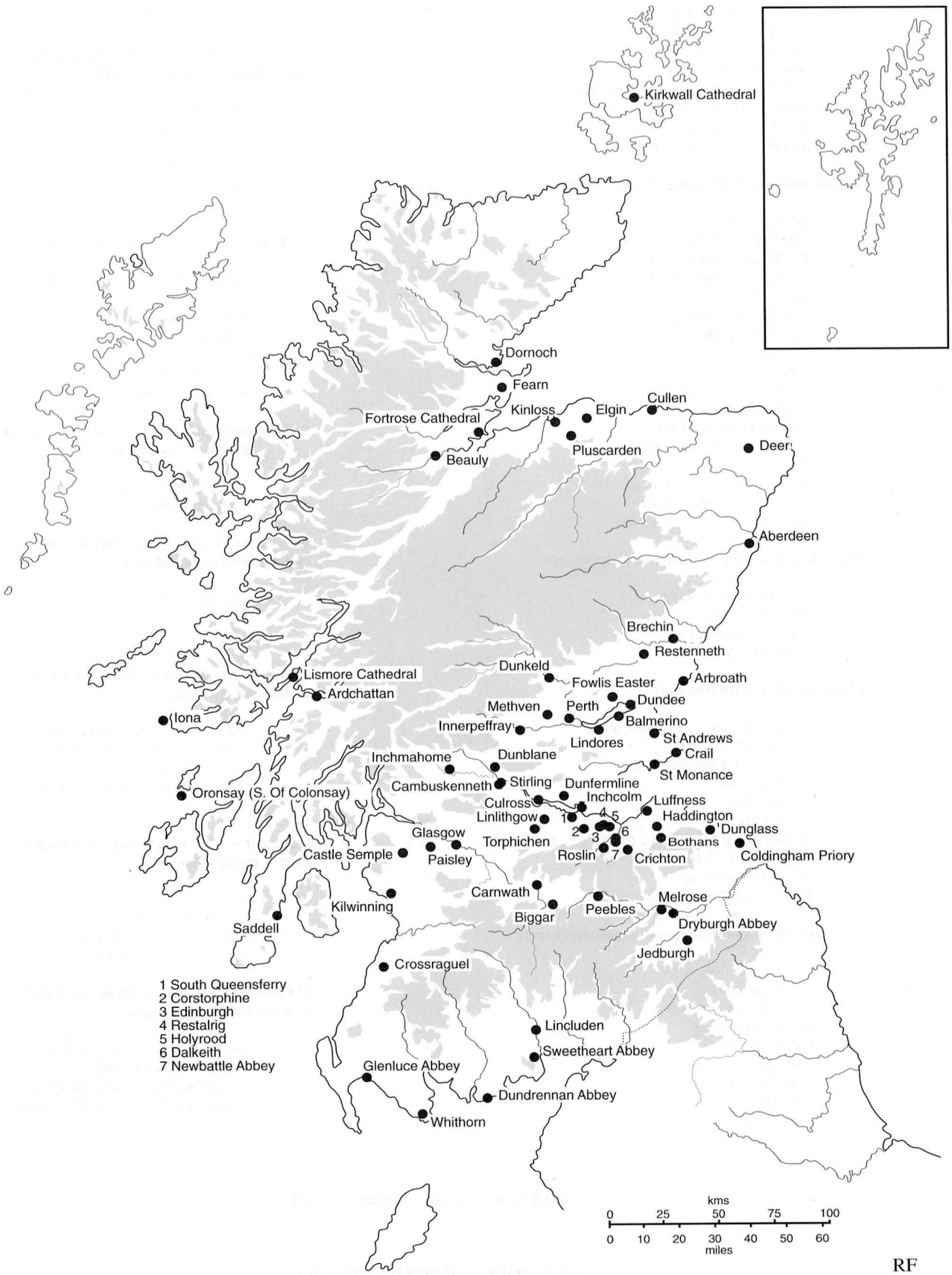
As the twelfth century progresses and the evidence becomes more complete, the preponderant influence of northern England becomes more apparent. (In the western Highlands the earlier tradition of dependence on Ireland continued, although Ireland itself was by then at least partly under the tutelage of western England.) As in England, a growing preference for some form of rectangular eastern termination, rather than a curved apse, may be seen to emerge. Starting with St Andrews in the 1160s a type of plan with a square-ended presbytery projecting beyond an aisled choir came to be widely employed; possibly first developed at Southwell Minister before 1114 as a variant on the apse echelon arrangement, such plans were to be as popular in northern England - at Lanercost for example - as in lowland Scotland. At about the same time a simpler plan form, almost certainly originally evolved in Burgundy to meet the austere requirements of the Cistercian order, also came to be widely current in Scotland, not for Cistercian churches alone, but almost equally amongst several of the orders responsive to Cistercian thought. This form, which had no structurally distinct choir, but only a square presbytery flanked by transepts with eastern chapels, was almost certainly imported to Scotland from north Yorkshire, an area with a high concentration of Cistercian houses, where the missionary house of Rievaulx was one of the earlier English embodiments of the type.

One of the additional attractions of this Cistercian type for other orders was doubtlessly its relative cheapness, and it was probably a similar urge towards economy which led to a wide-spread preference for churches with extended aisle-less choirs, either directly adjoining the nave, or separated from it by transepts. One of the first churches to have had such a plan must have been Coldingham, where the foundations discovered below the existing late twelfth-century choir are of this form, and variants on such plans were to be employed throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.

Nevertheless, a number of more complex types were also adopted to meet the changing liturgical requirements of the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Extended choirs flanked to their full length by aisles - a markedly English type perhaps first employed at Winchester St Cross before becoming a firm favourite in the north at such as Jervaulx - were added to several buildings, including Kirkwall. In some cases, such as Dunfermline and perhaps also Whithorn, the southern English preference for softening the verticality of such choirs by providing a lower eastern chapel was reflected. At Glasgow the mid-thirteenth-century choir was provided with an eastern ambulatory with a row of chapels beyond, an arrangement possibly first developed in England, and later in Burgundy, to meet the Cistercian need for additional altars within a simple framework. It was used at Dore in Herefordshire and a variant was employed in North Yorkshire at Byland. It has recently been suggested that the plan may have been first used in Scotland at Cistercian Newbattle, an attractive idea despite the ambiguity of the excavated plan.

The tendency of Scottish patrons and masons to move out of the northern English architectural ambience after the Wars of Independence is less evident in planning than it is in architectural details. Many of the established plan types continued to be used with only minor changes to indicate their later date, although fewer buildings were laid out on the great scale common in earlier centuries, as lay patronage of the religious houses diminished. It is perhaps in only two aspects of planning that Scotland may be seen to mark its greater artistic independence in the later Middle Ages: the use of polygonal apses to choirs or even transeptal chapels, and the tendency to add laterally projecting chapels either irregularly or in a more fully articulated transeptal relationship with the main body. The first suggests a new direct European guidance in architecture; the second is essentially a native response to the need to accommodate growing numbers of altars for particular cults or for chantry purposes, and in at least one case - Restalrig - the additions were of strikingly idiosyncratic form.

RF



RF

Church plans: greater churches

Church plans from about 1120 to 1560

1 Aisle-less choir and aisle-less nave

Aberdeen Franciscan Church
Elgin Franciscan Church
Fowlis Easter Collegiate Church
Innerpeffray Collegiate Church
*Lismore Cathedral
Restenneth Priory
St Andrews St Leonard's Collegiate Church
Glasgow Dominican Church
Linlithgow Carmelite Church
Luffness Carmelite Church

2 Choir and nave with asymmetrically projecting chapels or aisles

Beauly Priory
Corstorphine Collegiate Church
Crichton Collegiate Church
Cullen Collegiate Church
Fearn Abbey
*Fortrose Cathedral
Inchmahome Priory
Iona Abbey
Iona Nunnery
Lincluden Collegiate Church
Oronsay Priory
Peebles Trinitarian Church
South Queensferry Carmelite Church
Carnwath Collegiate Church
Methven Collegiate Church
Restalrig Collegiate Church
St Andrews Dominican Church

3 Aisle-less choir and symmetrically aisled nave

Crail Collegiate Church
*Dunblane Cathedral
Dunkeld Cathedral
Brechin Cathedral

4 Aisle-less choir with transepts

Bothans (Yester) Collegiate Church
*Dornoch Cathedral
Dunglass Collegiate Church
Inchcolm Abbey
Paisley Abbey
Saddell Abbey
St Andrews St Mary on the Rock Collegiate Church
Torphican Preceptory
Aberdeen Cathedral
St. Monance Dominican Church

5 Aisle-less choir and transepts with eastern chapels

Ardchattan Priory
Balmerino Abbey
Cambuskenneth Abbey
Coldingham Priory
Culross Abbey
Dundrennan Abbey
*Glenluce Abbey
Iona Abbey
Kinloss Abbey
Lindores Abbey
Pluscarden Priory
Sweetheart Abbey
Deer Abbey
Kilwinning Abbey

6 Symmetrically aisled choir beyond which rectangular presbytery projects

*Arbroath Abbey
Dryburgh Abbey
Elgin Cathedral
Jedburgh Abbey
Melrose Abbey
St Andrews Cathedral

7 Choir with full-length symmetrical aisles

Edinburgh St Giles Collegiate Church
*Haddington Collegiate Church
Holyrood Abbey
Kirkwall Cathedral
Perth Parish Church
Dundee Parish Church?
St Andrews Parish Church?

8 Choir with full-length symmetrical aisles and lower eastern chapel

*Dunfermline Abbey
Whithorn Cathedral?

9 Choir with full-length symmetrical aisles, easter ambulatory and chapels

*Glasgow Cathedral
Roslin Collegiate Church
Newbattle Abbey?

10 Aisle-less choir and aisle-less nave with eastern polygonal apse

Aberdeen King's Collegiate Church
Castle Semple Collegiate Church
Crossraguel Abbey
*St Andrews St Salvator's Collegiate Church

11 Aisle-less choir with transepts and with eastern polygonal apse

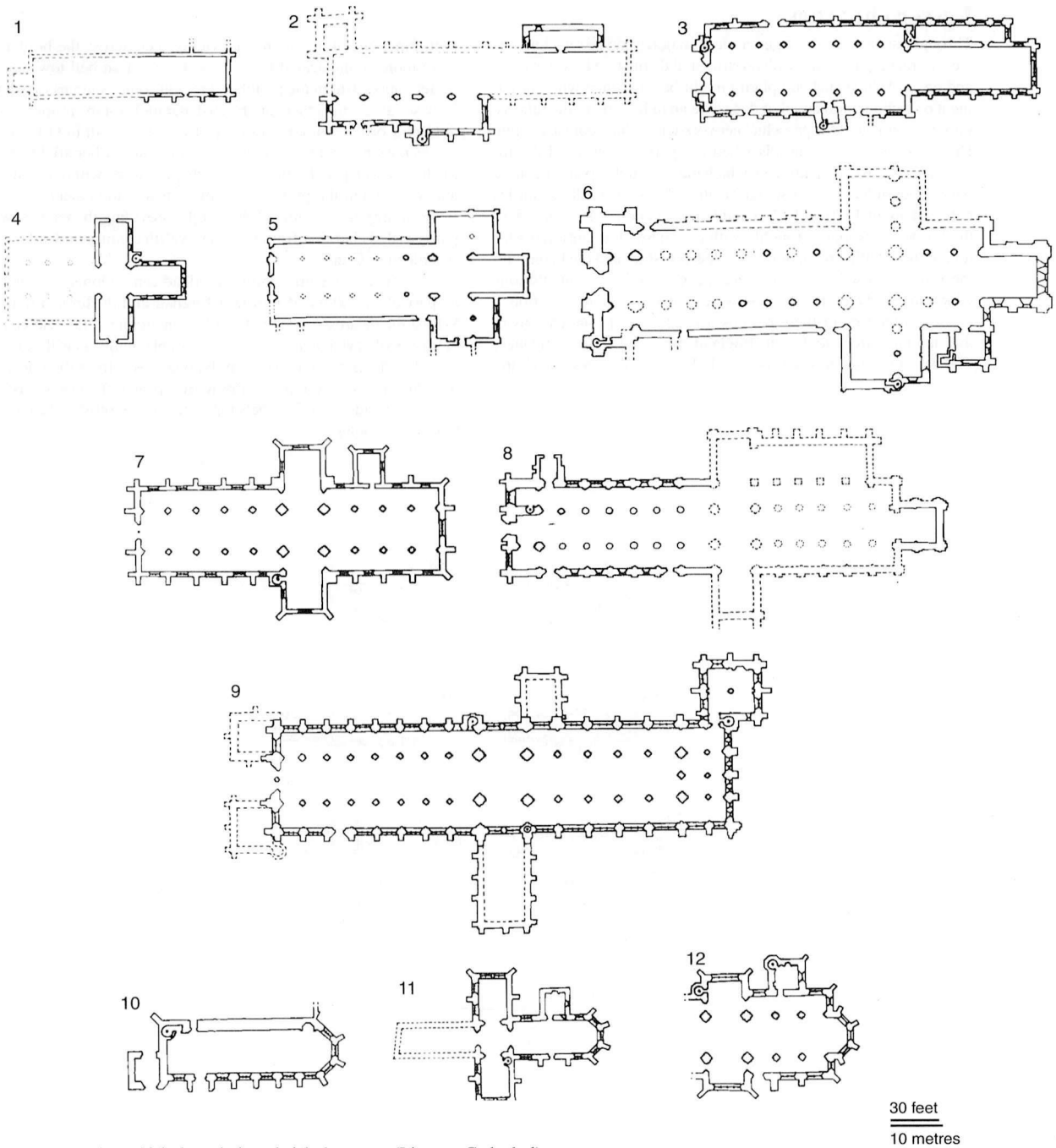
Biggar Collegiate Church
Dalkeith Collegiate Church
*Seton Collegiate Church

12 Choir with full-length symmetrical aisles and with eastern polygonal apse

Edinburgh Trinity Collegiate Church
Linlithgow Parish Church
Stirling Holy Rude Collegiate Church
*Aberdeen St Nicholas' Collegiate Church

The asterisks identify the plans nos. 1-12

Church plans from about 1120 to 1560



1. Aisle-less choir and aisle-less nave (Lismore Cathedral)
2. Choir and nave with asymmetrically projecting chapels or aisles (Fortrose Cathedral)
3. Aisle-less choir and symmetrically aisled nave (Dunblane Cathedral)
4. Aisle-less choir with transepts (Dornoch Cathedral)
5. Aisle-less choir and transepts with eastern chapels (Glenluce Abbey)
6. Symmetrically aisled choir beyond which rectangular presbytery projects (Arbroath Abbey)
7. Choir with full length symmetrical aisles (Haddington Collegiate Church)
8. Choir with full length symmetrical aisles and lower eastern chapel (Dunfermline Abbey)
9. Choir with full length symmetrical aisles, eastern ambulatory and chapels (Glasgow Cathedral)
10. Aisle-less choir and aisle-less nave with eastern polygonal apse (St Andrews St Salvator's Collegiate Church)
11. Aisle-less choir with transepts and eastern polygonal apse (Seton Collegiate Church)
12. Choir with full-length symmetrical aisles and with eastern polygonal apse (Edinburgh Trinity Collegiate Church)

Church plans: greater churches RF

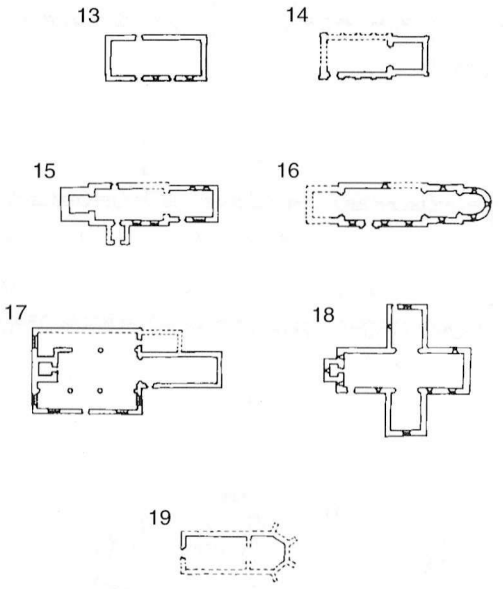
Church plans from about 1120 to 1560

Lesser churches

Throughout the Middle Ages a clear majority of lesser churches were of rectangular plan, with no structural distinction between choir and nave. Whilst such simplicity might be combined with enrichment of architectural detail, it does give an indication of the relative impoverishment of the parochial network within the Scottish church. However, there were periods when the parishes attracted the increased generosity of patronage which made complex planning more widely possible. The most significant of these were the centuries between about 1120 and 1220 and between about 1450 and 1550; the former corresponds roughly with the phase of greatest momentum in the establishment of the Scottish parishes, and the latter with the growing disenchantment with the great religious institutions which fostered a more personal expression of religious devotion.

In the first of these periods it is again clear that patrons in the lowland areas looked to England for architectural guidance. The careful articulation of nave and choir as an expression of the twin functions of a church was widely seen across the border, as were more sophisticated variants with a western bell tower or an eastern apse. But in the peripheral regions other sources may have been sought: whilst there are English parallels for the round church at Orphir or the cylindrical tower of Egilsay - both in Orkney - it seems possible that the builders were looking further afield. Most of these early parish churches or chapels were without flanking aisles, although the proliferation of cults and the emergence of a richer liturgy led to some of the burghs providing themselves with partly aisled churches from the later twelfth century onwards, as at Aberdeen or Crail.

By the fifteenth century Scotland can no longer be viewed as part of an extended northern English architectural province. Whilst the clearest evidence for this is in architectural details, it is at least partly evident in certain aspects of planning. As in the greater churches the increasing use of polygonal apses from the mid-century onwards, for example, points to European influence, whilst the tendency to add lateral chapels represents the Scottish solution to a universal problem.



13 Unaugmented rectangular plan (Auchindoir)

14 Simple two-cell plan (Duddingston)

15 Simple two-cell plan augmented by western tower (Stobo)

16 Simple plan with semi-circular apse to choir (Dalmeny)

17 Plan augmented by chapels or aisles (Muthill)

18 Plan with more or less regular transeptal chapels (Tullibardine)

19 Plan with polygonal apse to choir (Culross, St. Mungo's)

30 feet
10 metres

Church plans: lesser churches RF

Church plans from about 1120 to 1560

13 Unaugmented rectangular plan

(too numerous to be depicted on map: example *Auchindoir)

14 Simple two-cell plan

Bailivanish
Birnie
Buittle
Clow
Crosskirk
Cruggleton
*Duddingston
Dunrod
Eilean Mor
Gullane
Haddington St Martin's
Inchmarnock
Keith
Kilmahew
Kirkaby
Largs
Linton
Lundawick
Meal
Ness
Noss
Norwick
Old Cambus
Pierowall
Preston
Rothesay
Bute St Blane's
Sand
Smailholm
Uyea
Westside
Wyre
Deer?
Dron?
Kirkmaiden?
Legerwood?
Linton(Roxburgh)?

15 Simple two-cell plan augented by western tower

Dunning
Egilsay
Eynhallow
Southdean
*Stobo
Uphall
Kirkliston
Lasswade
Monymusk
St Andrews St Rule's (initial state)?

16 Simple plan with semi-circular apse to choir

Birsay (Brough)
Borthwick
Bunkle
*Dalmeny
Edinburgh St Margaret's (Castle)
Leuchars
Orphir
St Ninian's Isle
Thurso
Tyninghame

17 Plan augmented by chapels or aisles

Aberdour Airth
Airth
Alyth
Arbuthnott
Burntisland
Culross
Cupar
Douglas
Dysart
Eoropie
Guthrie
Hoddom
Kilconquhar
Killean
Kinghorn
Kirkbride
Kirkcaldy
*Muthill
Pencaitland
St Vigeans
Straiton
Dalry
Lanark
Rutherglen

18 Plan with more or less regular transeptal chapels

Cullingsburgh
Rodel
*Tullibardine
Whitekirk

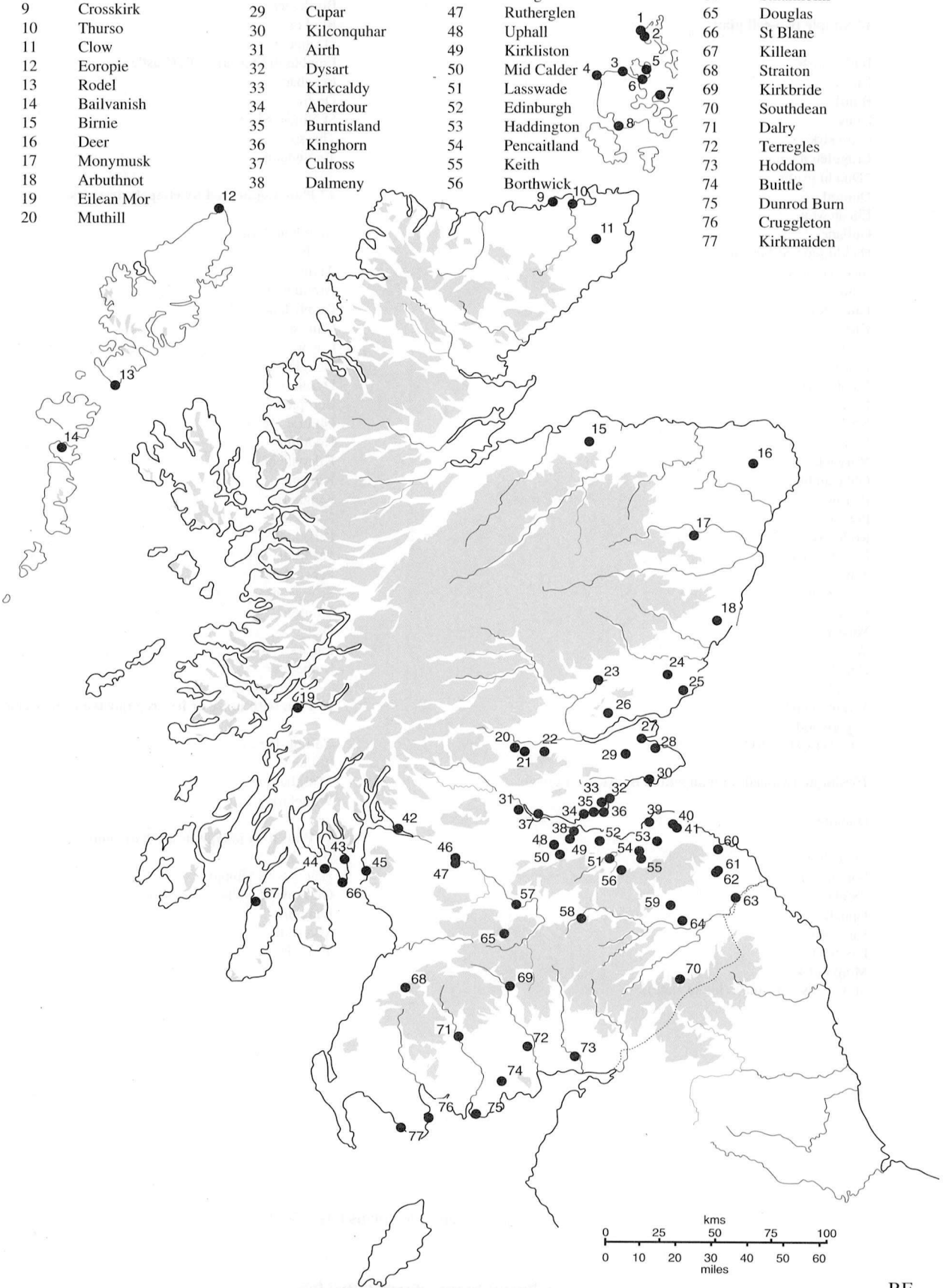
19 Plan with polygonal apse to choir

*Culross St Mungo's
Glasgow St Nicholas' Hospital
Ladykirk
Midcalder
Terregles

The asterisks identify the plans nos. 13-19

Church plans from about 1120 to 1560

1	Pierowall	21	Tullibardine	39	Gullane	57	Lanark
2	Westside	22	Dunning	40	Whitekirk	58	Stobo
3	Eynhallow	23	Alyth	41	Tynninghame	59	Legerwood
4	Birsay	24	Guthrie	42	Kilmahew	60	Old Cambus
5	Egilsay	25	St Vigeans	43	Rothesay	61	Bunkle
6	Wyre	26	Dron	44	Inchmarnock	62	Preston
7	Linton	27	Leuchars	45	Largs	63	Ladykirk
8	Orphir	28	St Andrews	46	Glasgow	64	Smailholm
9	Crosskirk	29	Cupar	47	Rutherglen	65	Douglas
10	Thurso	30	Kilconquhar	48	Uphall	66	St Blane
11	Clow	31	Airth	49	Kirkliston	67	Killean
12	Eoropie	32	Dysart	50	Mid Calder	68	Straiton
13	Rodel	33	Kirkcaldy	51	Lasswade	69	Kirkbride
14	Bailvanish	34	Aberdour	52	Edinburgh	70	Southdean
15	Birnie	35	Burntisland	53	Haddington	71	Dalry
16	Deer	36	Kinghorn	54	Pencaitland	72	Terregles
17	Monymusk	37	Culross	55	Keith	73	Hoddom
18	Arbuthnot	38	Dalmeny	56	Borthwick	74	Buittle
19	Eilean Mor					75	Dunrod Burn
20	Muthill					76	Cruggleton
						77	Kirkmaiden



Church plans: lesser churches

RF

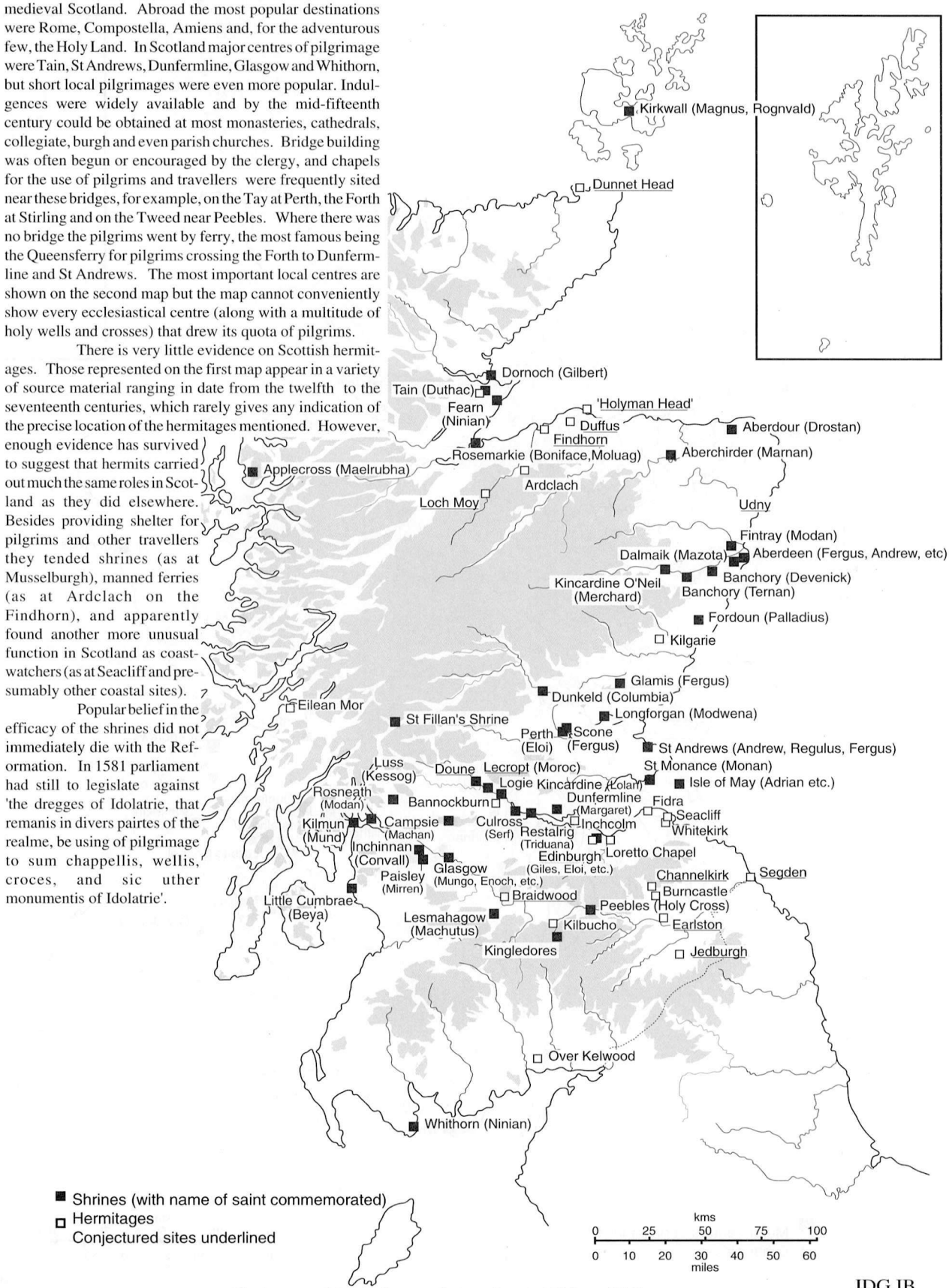
Shrines, hermitages and pilgrimages

The shrines marked on the first map are the places where the relics or tombs of saints, mainly the national saints of Scotland, were located according to the beliefs of the fifteenth century. By then some relics, particularly pastoral staffs of the 'Celtic' saints, had passed into secular hands (usually those of a hereditary 'dewar') and such relics, which were often itinerant, are not denoted on the map.

Going on pilgrimage was a popular pastime in medieval Scotland. Abroad the most popular destinations were Rome, Compostella, Amiens and, for the adventurous few, the Holy Land. In Scotland major centres of pilgrimage were Tain, St Andrews, Dunfermline, Glasgow and Whithorn, but short local pilgrimages were even more popular. Indulgences were widely available and by the mid-fifteenth century could be obtained at most monasteries, cathedrals, collegiate, burgh and even parish churches. Bridge building was often begun or encouraged by the clergy, and chapels for the use of pilgrims and travellers were frequently sited near these bridges, for example, on the Tay at Perth, the Forth at Stirling and on the Tweed near Peebles. Where there was no bridge the pilgrims went by ferry, the most famous being the Queensferry for pilgrims crossing the Forth to Dunfermline and St Andrews. The most important local centres are shown on the second map but the map cannot conveniently show every ecclesiastical centre (along with a multitude of holy wells and crosses) that drew its quota of pilgrims.

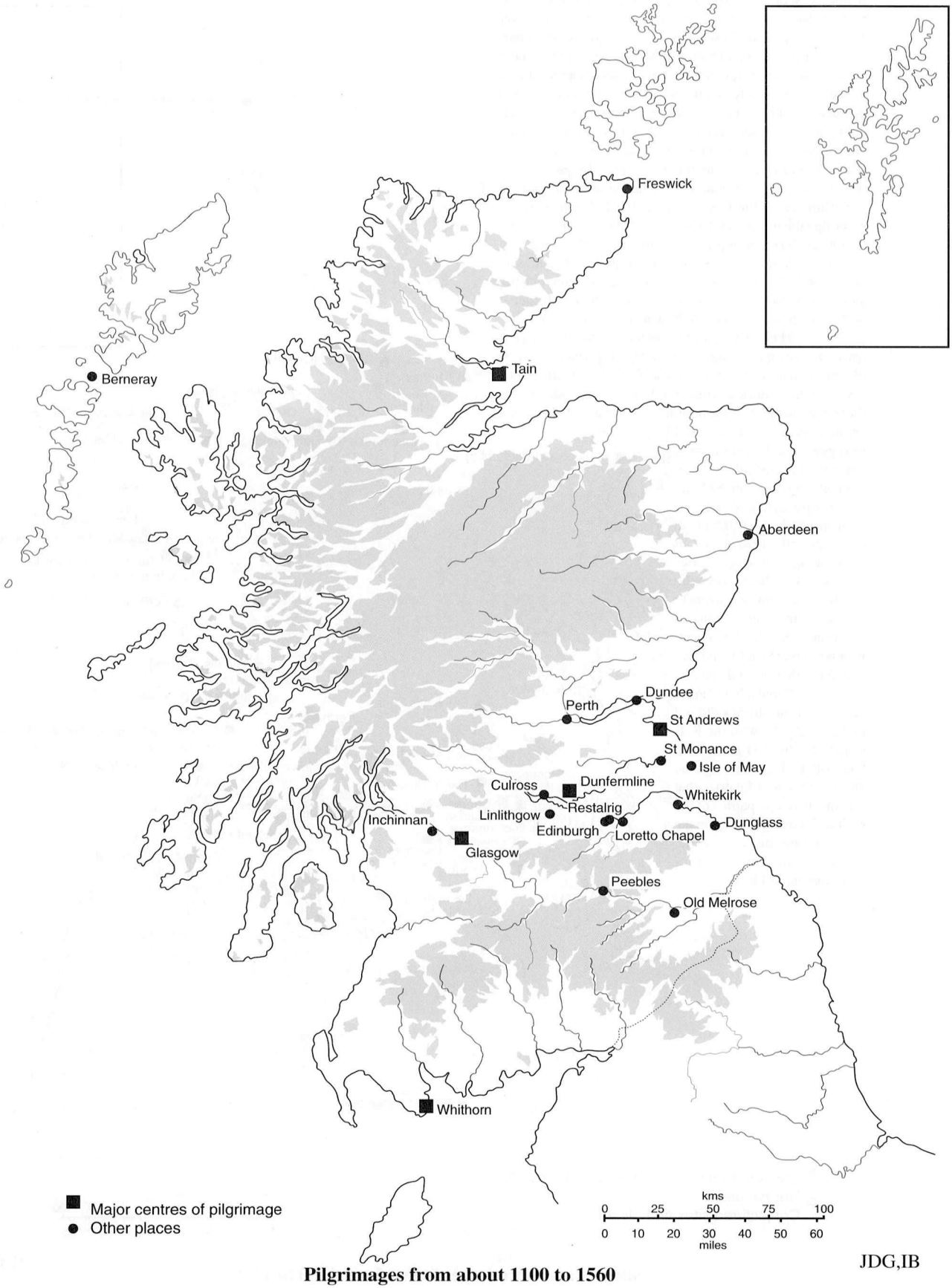
There is very little evidence on Scottish hermitages. Those represented on the first map appear in a variety of source material ranging in date from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, which rarely gives any indication of the precise location of the hermitages mentioned. However, enough evidence has survived to suggest that hermits carried out much the same roles in Scotland as they did elsewhere. Besides providing shelter for pilgrims and other travellers they tended shrines (as at Musselburgh), manned ferries (as at Ardclach on the Findhorn), and apparently found another more unusual function in Scotland as coast-watchers (as at Seacliff and presumably other coastal sites).

Popular belief in the efficacy of the shrines did not immediately die with the Reformation. In 1581 parliament had still to legislate against 'the dregges of Idolatrie, that remanis in divers pairtes of the realme, be using of pilgrimage to sum chappellis, wellis, croces, and sic uther monumentis of Idolatrie'.



JDG,IB

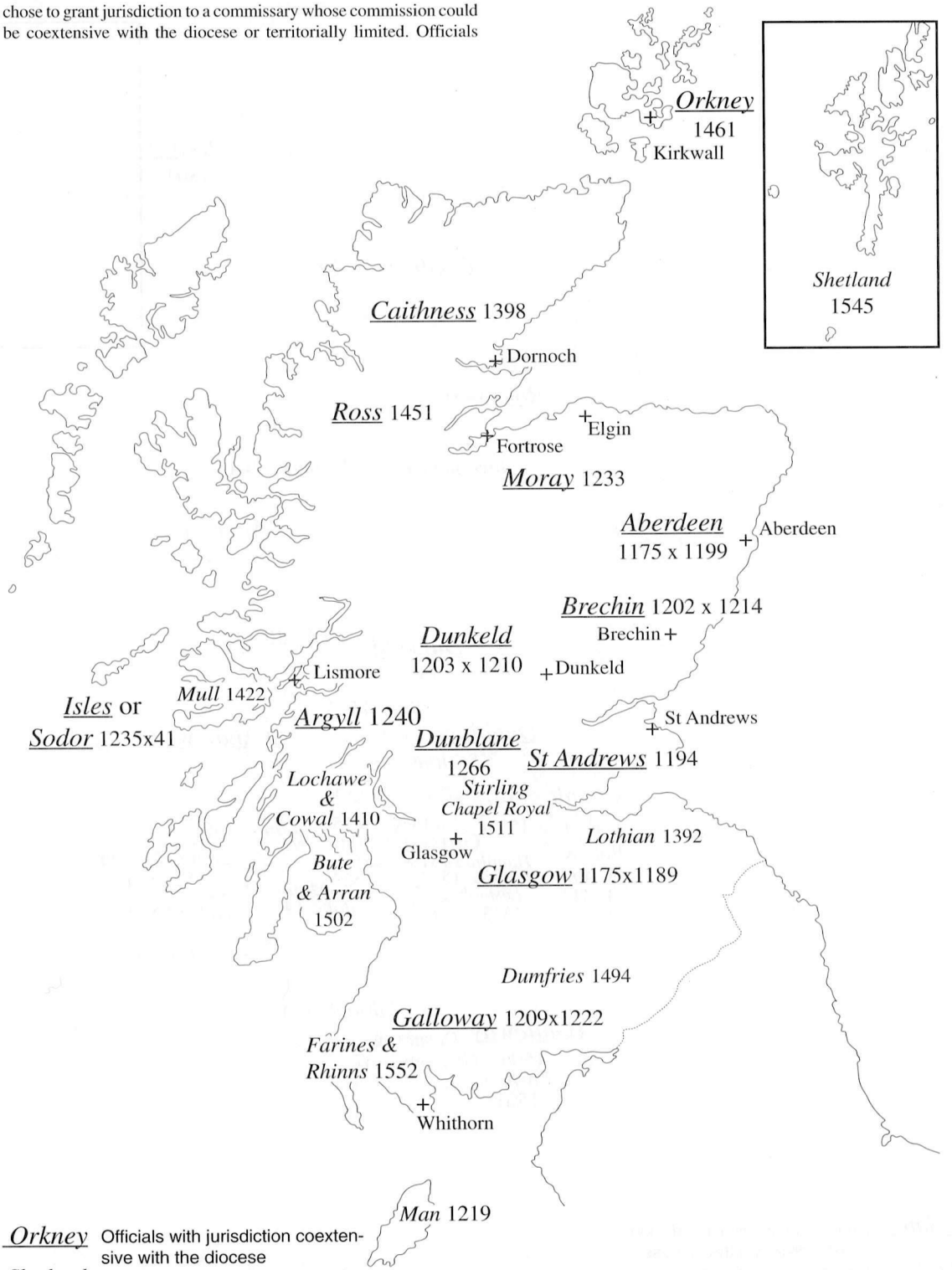
Shrines and hermitages from about 1100 to 1560



Pilgrimages from about 1100 to 1560

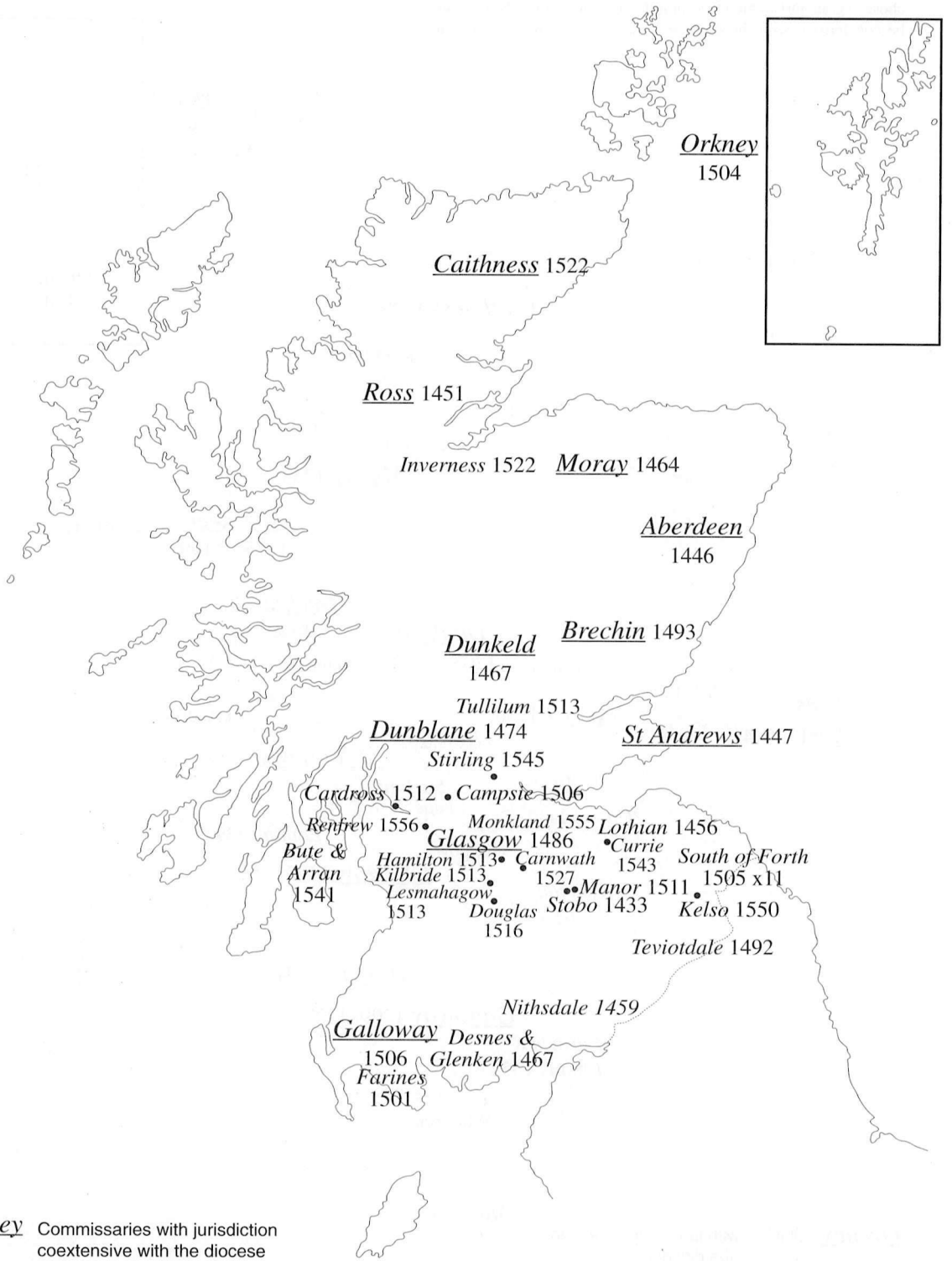
Courts spiritual

The church in pre-Reformation Scotland exercised jurisdiction over almost every aspect of human affairs; and the ecclesiastical or spiritual courts were among the most important in the land. The bishop and other ecclesiastical office-holders had jurisdiction as part of their office. The bishop seldom exercised his jurisdiction in person but generally delegated it to a judge known as the official, who had power over the whole or a territorially limited part of the diocese. Thus, in the diocese of St Andrews there was in addition to the official of St Andrews an official of Lothian. Sometimes the bishop chose to grant jurisdiction to a commissary whose commission could be coextensive with the diocese or territorially limited. Officials might also delegate the whole or part of their jurisdiction to commissaries. In the diocese of Dunkeld the five parishes south of the Forth were the territory of the commissary 'south of Forth.' There were also commissaries of peculiar jurisdictions which pertained to an institution like Kelso Abbey, Lesmahagow, or to a cathedral prebend. This explains, to some extent, the number of commissariats within the diocese of Glasgow, such as Hamilton, Kilbride, Campsie, Carnwath, Manor, Stobo, Cardross, Douglas, Renfrew.



Pre-Reformation officials DBS

Courts spiritual

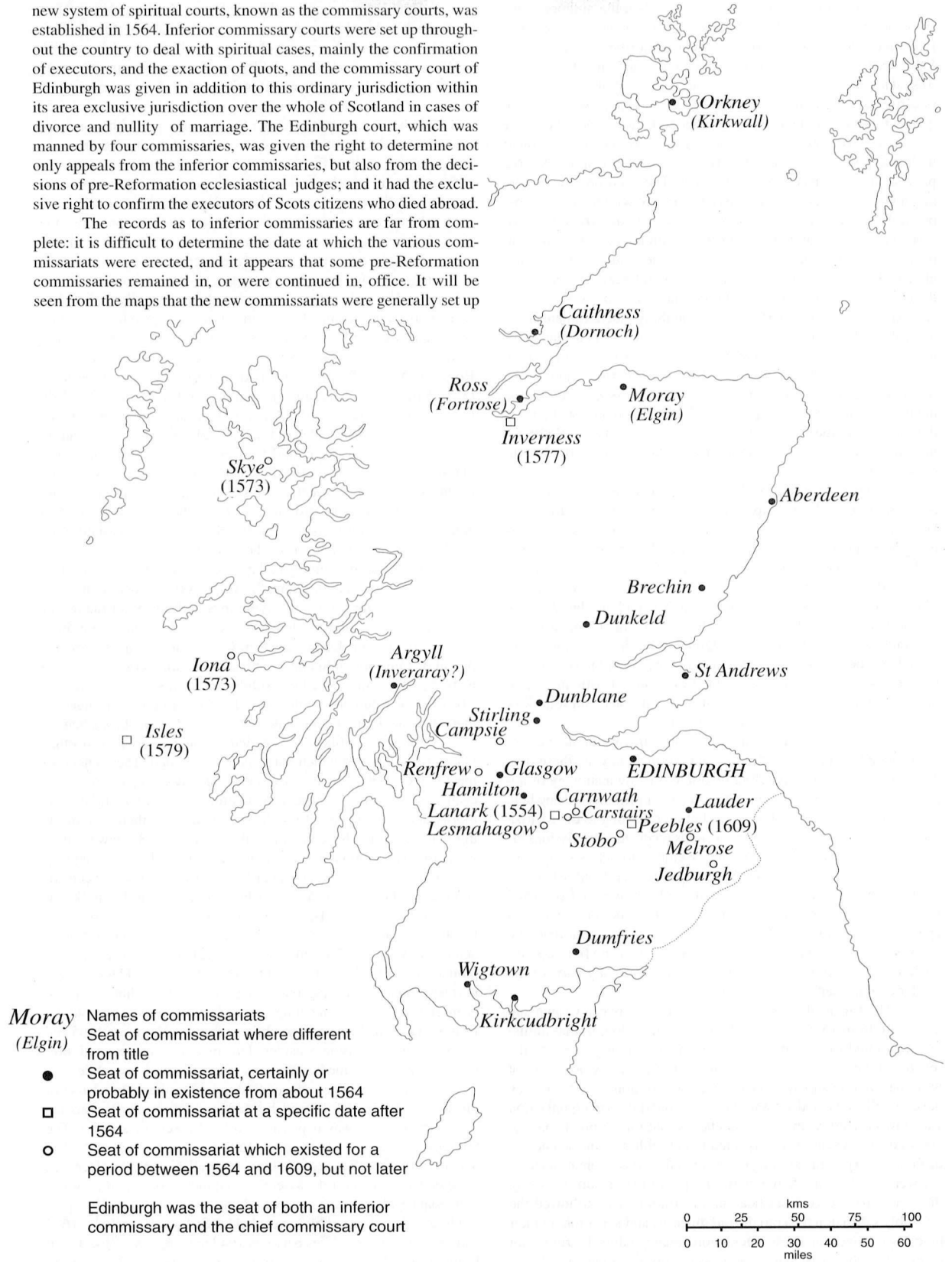


Pre-Reformation commissaries DBS

Courts spiritual

The abolition of the jurisdiction of the church courts by the Scottish parliament on 24 August 1560 created a judicial vacuum. For over three years the citizens did not know to which court to apply for the remedies which had formerly been sought in the courts spiritual. There is evidence of resort being made to kirk sessions, sheriff courts, the lords of council and session, and the privy council. Partly to alleviate this and partly to obtain revenue from the "quot silver" (the fee exacted for the confirmation of executors of deceased persons) so that the salaries of the lords of council and session might be augmented, a new system of spiritual courts, known as the commissary courts, was established in 1564. Inferior commissary courts were set up throughout the country to deal with spiritual cases, mainly the confirmation of executors, and the exaction of quots, and the commissary court of Edinburgh was given in addition to this ordinary jurisdiction within its area exclusive jurisdiction over the whole of Scotland in cases of divorce and nullity of marriage. The Edinburgh court, which was manned by four commissaries, was given the right to determine not only appeals from the inferior commissaries, but also from the decisions of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical judges; and it had the exclusive right to confirm the executors of Scots citizens who died abroad.

The records as to inferior commissaries are far from complete: it is difficult to determine the date at which the various commissariats were erected, and it appears that some pre-Reformation commissaries remained in, or were continued in, office. It will be seen from the maps that the new commissariats were generally set up in places where either an official or commissary had sat before the Reformation. The last commissariat to be established was Peebles in 1609. In the period between 1564 and 1609 there are references to commissariats such as Jedburgh, Melrose and Stobo, but none of these survived into the seventeenth century. By 1609 there were twenty-one inferior courts and the commissary court of Edinburgh. All of these continued until their jurisdiction was transferred to the Court of Session and the sheriff courts in the course of the nineteenth century.



Post-Reformation commissaries DBS

Ecclesiastical organisation: early post-Reformation

The reformers' resolution in 1560 to discard the entire edifice of medieval ecclesiastical organisation by substituting a new mode of government through councils, modelled on the early church, was effected with remarkable promptitude. The first Book of Discipline spoke eloquently of the spiritual, educational and social needs of congregations made up of the inhabitants of each parish, of which there were about one thousand in the country. Yet this emphasis was never permitted to obscure the needs of the wider church or negate the advice forthcoming from neighbouring ministers; and by 1560 direction from the centre was forthcoming in the general assembly which linked the network of local congregations.

Regional reorganisation followed when the authors of the Book of Discipline put their proposals first to a general assembly in December 1560 and then to the secular authorities in January and February 1561. Supervision of congregations and ministers was entrusted to superintendent ministers, charged essentially with the task of caring for Christian communities and extending the work of evangelism throughout the districts assigned to their charge. They were expected to work along with a court made up of the kirk session of their main town of residence, and they remained responsible to a provincial synod meeting twice a year. Their ten provinces were given boundaries drawn on a basis at variance with the thirteen old pre-Reformation dioceses whose uneven size and erratic boundaries were rejected by the reformers as a hindrance to effective supervision. The curious mixture of place-names and territorial names allocated as titles to the new provinces may reflect discrepancies in the composition of the Book of Discipline as it underwent revision and expansion during 1560. There was nothing indeterminate, however, about the towns which were to be the new regional centres for the kirk—except in Argyll, where no decision was forthcoming. Only six of the former diocesan seats were to be used, and reliance was placed elsewhere on burghs more closely associated with the main routes of communication. Singularly scant regard was paid to the interests of the three bishops who conformed to the Reformation and undertook service—Gordon of Galloway, Stewart of Caithness, and Bothwell of Orkney.

From 1561 onwards elections for the superintendents were held. Spottiswoode was appointed to Edinburgh in March, and Winram to St Andrews in April. Willock was chosen for Glasgow by September, Erskine of Dun was formally admitted to Brechin early in 1567 and Carswell was subsequently found at work as superintendent in Argyll. Spottiswoode remained parish minister of Mid Calder, and shared his time between there and Edinburgh where he had his court. Erskine seems to have found his home at Dun a convenient base for his work, though no doubt he was expected to work with the kirk session at Brechin on any disciplinary cases affecting his province. Carswell made Carnassarie Castle his centre of administration, but was presumably obliged to act with some kirk session in his province when holding court.

Shortage of finance and a lack of political initiative effectively ended the prospect of further appointment beyond these five. The general assembly therefore resorted to its own strategy of appointing ministers to act as commissioners of provinces. They held office for short, if renewable, terms before returning to their parish ministries. The three conforming bishops received commissions, as did other ministers selected by the assembly, to act as temporary overseers. The provincial boundaries were frequently adjusted during the 1560s to take account of local needs, especially from 1567 when superintendents and commissioners became the recognised agents for receiving presentations to benefices. By about that date this system of supervision by nine commissioners and five superintendents extended over most of the country, with only parts of the border country deprived of regular visitations.

The financial compromise worked out between Crown and kirk at Leith in 1572 introduced a novel dimension, in that ministers appointed to bishoprics (as a means of gaining access to the revenues) were expected at least to share the duties of oversight with the existing superintendents and commissioners, even if they never wholly superseded their work. The old diocesan organisation was now revived, with all the handicaps that this implied, and the assorted supervisors were expected to act within it. In the end the difficulties experienced in trying to revitalise this ancient machinery were resolved in 1576 with the eclipse of the bishops from any distinctive role in ecclesiastical administration. This followed the assembly's decision to scrap the old dioceses and substitute in their place two dozen or so smaller, more manageable districts (not mapped), each entrusted to a commissioner or visitor answerable to the assembly.

This renewed emphasis on smaller districts received a further stimulus with the assembly's approval of the Second Book of Discipline's programme. It decided in 1581 to establish thirteen model presbyteries in the main towns of the lowlands. These were clusters of neighbouring churches to form a common eldership with responsibility for supervising the welfare of congregations in the district. They were built on groupings of rural parishes around a nearby town which was the centre for meetings of ministers for the exercise of interpreting the scripture. Such occasions naturally led to the exchange of news and views, and had already been used sometimes for the transaction of administrative business. Now the two activities of prophesying and attending to the shared business of neighbouring kirks coalesced in the 'eldership' or presbytery.

Both privy council and assembly worked together in 1581 to dismantle the old dioceses in favour of a scheme for eighteen new dioceses or provinces, excluding Argyll and the Isles, which were intended to contain over fifty presbyteries within them. As the plans took effect some modifications ensued (as for example in the case of Stirling presbytery). But the experiment was soon eclipsed in 1584 when a government under the earl of Arran with more conservative instincts outlawed presbyteries in favour of a return to episcopal oversight. After Arran's fall from power, the assembly in 1586 assented to a scheme designed to reconcile King James' preference for bishops with the kirk's attachment to presbyteries. The king retained his right to appoint ministers to bishoprics but the duty of visitation was not to lie with them, but rather with ministers who had obtained from the assembly temporary commissions to act as visitors of provinces which were not co-terminous with the old dioceses. No less than 985 churches (excluding Argyll and the Isles) were listed and arranged in twenty-two new provinces so that presbyteries could be re-established. These provinces were: Shetland (32 churches), Orkney (39), Caithness (13), Sutherland (9), Ross (63) Moray (52), Banff (35), Aberdeen (70), Angus and Mearns (88), Perth (36), Dunkeld (30), Dunblane (20), Stirling (23), Fife (62), West Lothian (16), Edinburgh (34), Haddington (54), Merse, Teviotdale and Tweeddale (74), Clydesdale, Renfrew and Lennox (76), Cunninghame, Kyle and Carrick (46), Galloway (45), and Dumfries (68). The assembly did its best to undermine any role for the bishops in ecclesiastical administration and as a consequence an essentially presbyterian system prevailed in the years between 1586 and 1592, when parliament affirmed the role and jurisdiction of presbyteries and other courts of the church.

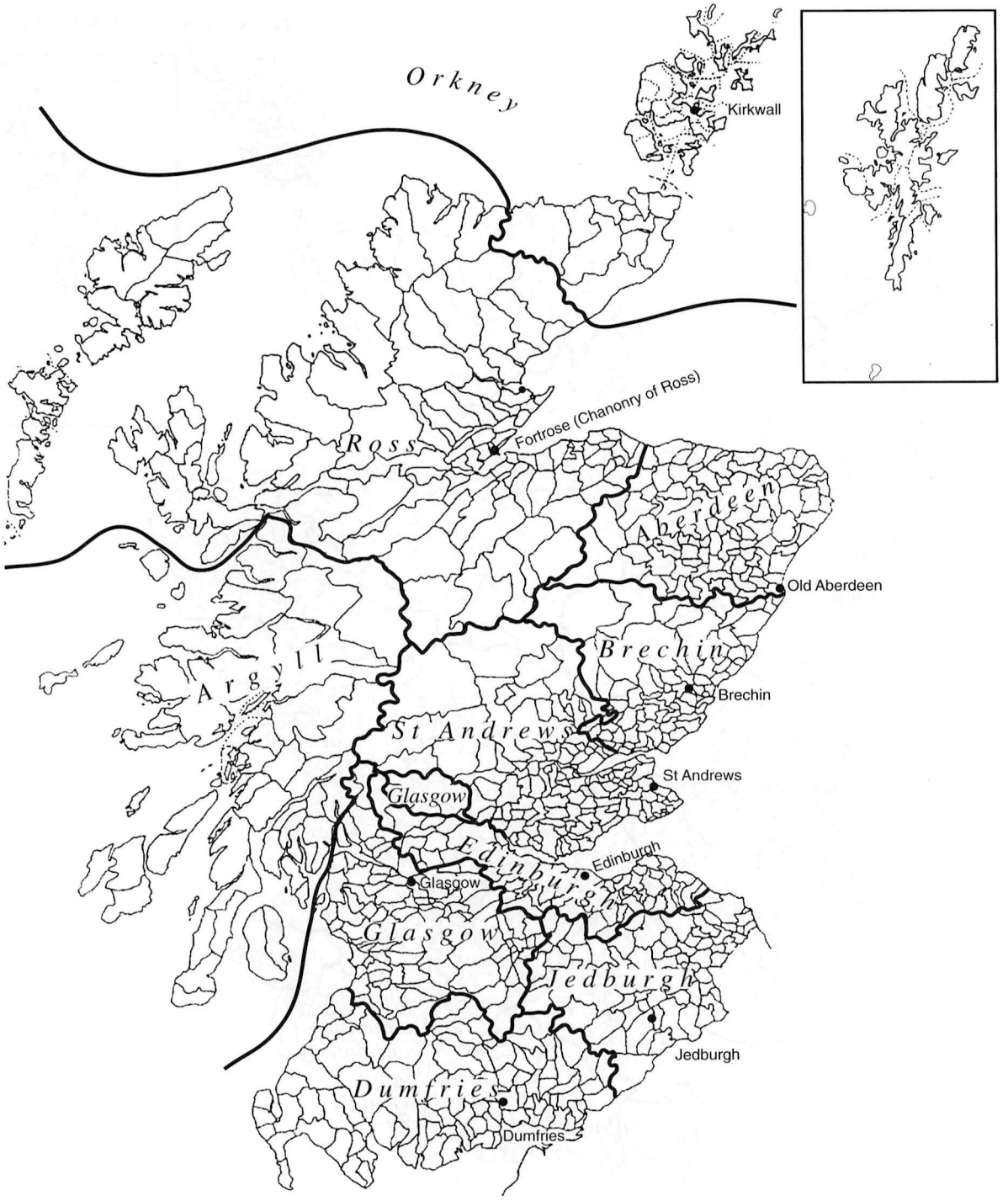
The general assembly had its origin in a gathering of Protestants who convened in the capital in July 1560. The occasion was a service of worship and thanksgiving in St Giles kirk for the recent Protestant victory and the treaty of Edinburgh, sealed on 8 July. After worship some business was transacted, to arrange for the approval of some appointments to the reformed ministry. The 'Reformation parliament' opened on 10 July, and it was to be a characteristic of some future assemblies also that a meeting was arranged so that parliament might conveniently be lobbied on the kirk's behalf.

Some assemblies were called at other times and in other places from those to which parliament was called. They tended to meet twice-yearly, which was more frequently than parliaments or even conventions of estates. They claimed to meet by Christ's authority and retained until 1584 the right to appoint their own meeting place and time for convening, though from 1586 onward they were usually summoned by royal proclamation. The great majority of meetings were held in Edinburgh; but warfare or other considerations might force a venue elsewhere as at Stirling, Leith, St Andrews and Perth in 1571-2. King James' determination to manipulate the assembly to his own advantage led him to assert a right to determine where and when it was to meet. In later years he exploited this tactical advantage to the full. He favoured less militant northern towns as meeting-places, and was ready at short notice to prorogue or change its meeting-place. Such were the strenuous efforts at managing his later assemblies summoned between 1605 and 1618 that the opposition considered the meetings 'unfree' and 'pretended', and so declined to recognise them as valid assemblies.

After 1618 James refused to summon further general assemblies and Charles I followed his father's action. Only with the covenanting crisis was it possible to hold assemblies again. The Glasgow assembly of 1638 met with the king's assent, but continued its sitting in defiance of the king's commissioner. Aberdeen was selected by Charles for the assembly that met in 1640 in the forlorn hope that royalism in the area would influence the assembly's proceedings. Though assemblies were held at St Andrews in 1641, 1642 and 1651, most assemblies between 1643 and 1653 were located in Edinburgh. This was the pattern that was to be re-established in 1690 after the Revolution when general assemblies, placed in abeyance since 1653 (when Cromwell prevented further meetings), were permitted to reconvene.

Ecclesiastical organisation: early post-Reformation

The boundaries of parishes which controlled the fluctuating boundaries of higher units of ecclesiastical organisation between 1560 and 1707 were themselves subject to changes as some parishes were divided and others united. But for convenience the boundaries of parishes in the early eighteenth century are used as the base for many of the maps here. As in any case parish boundaries can be established and shown only in broad outline in maps of this scale, it should be appreciated that the boundaries of the higher units of organisation at different dates after 1560 are generally indicative rather than exact.



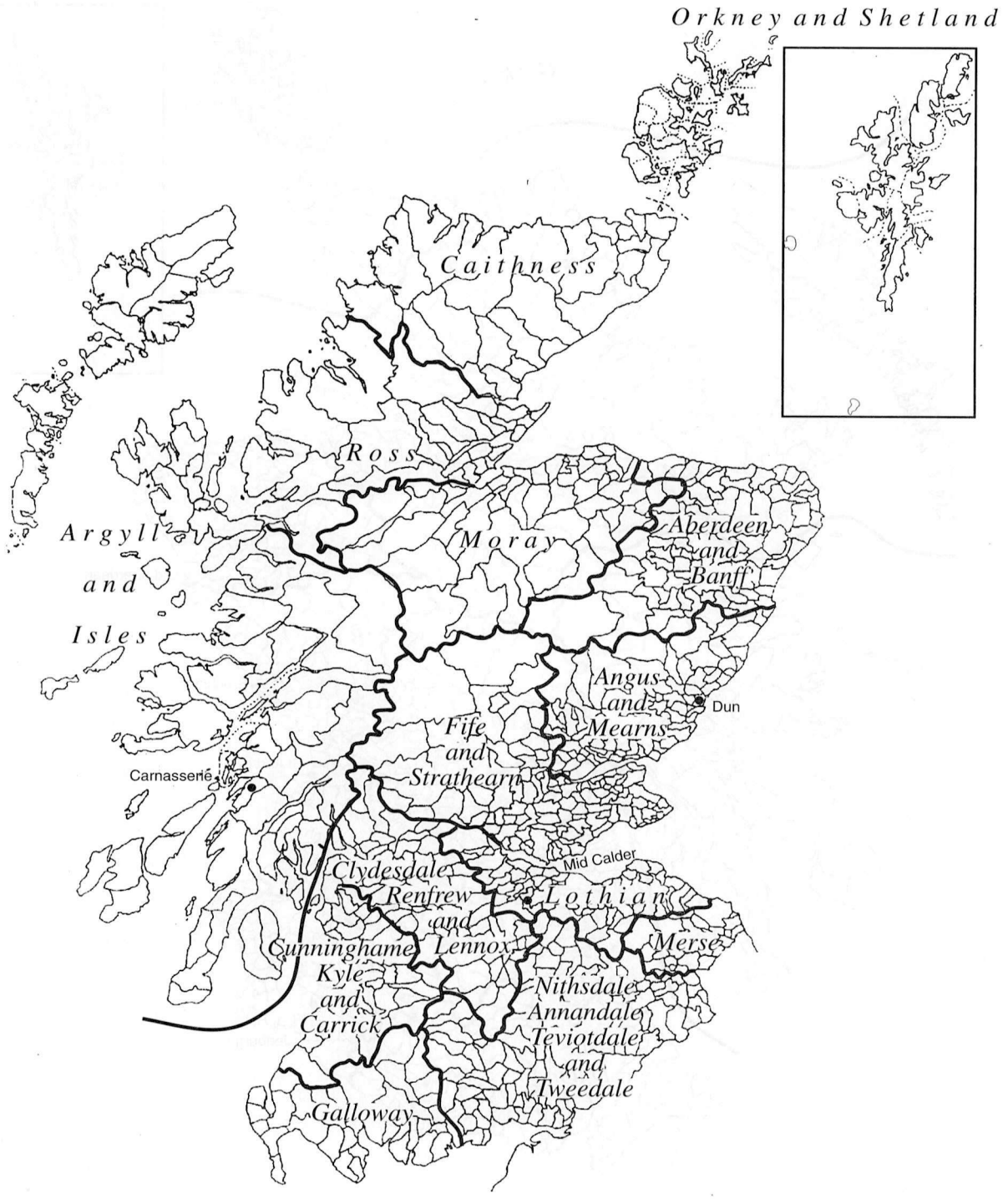
Places marked are the proposed sites of the residences of the superintendents

No seat was designated for province of Argyll

kms 0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

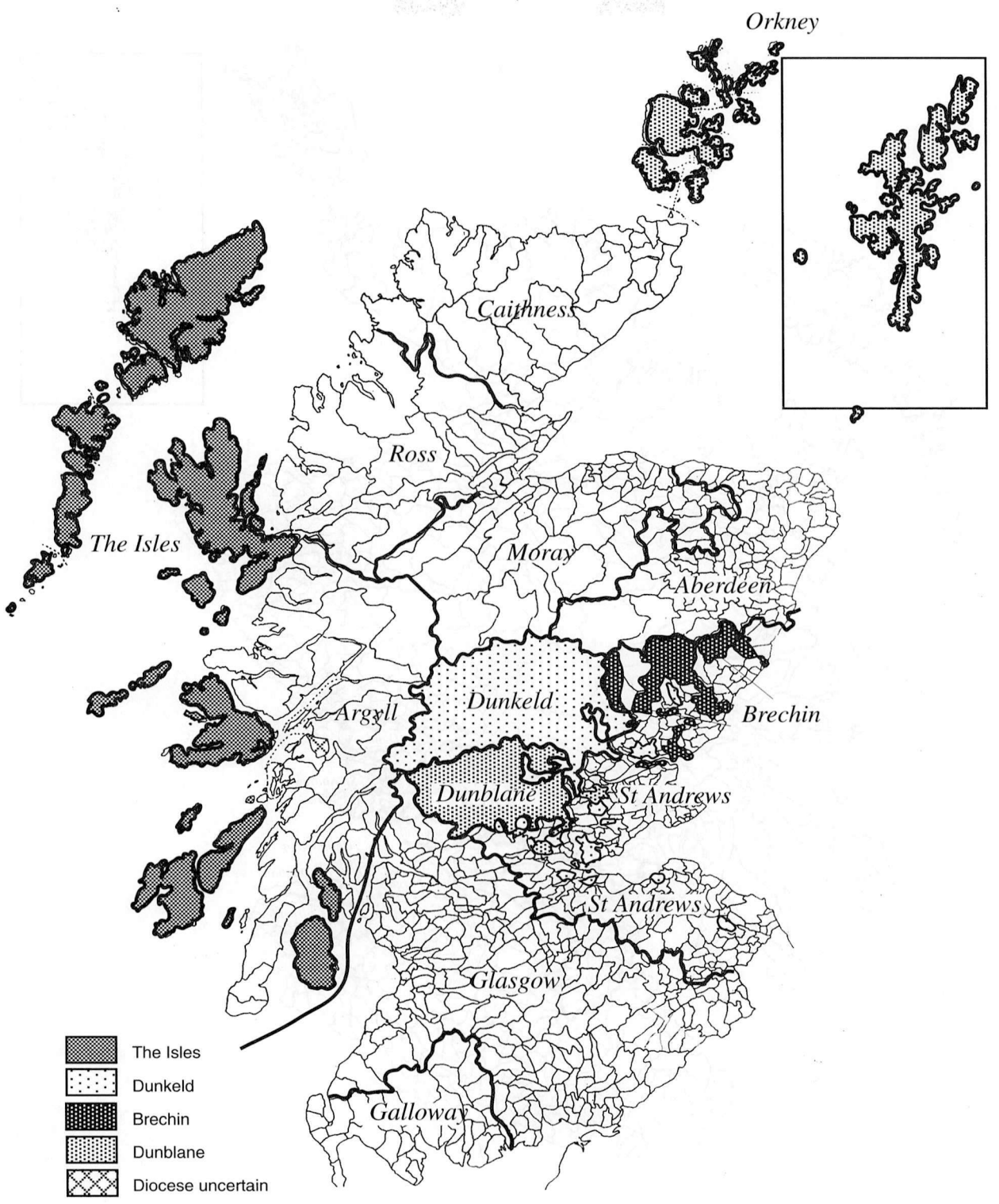
Proposed provinces for superintendents 1560 to 1561 JK

Ecclesiastical organisation: early post-Reformation



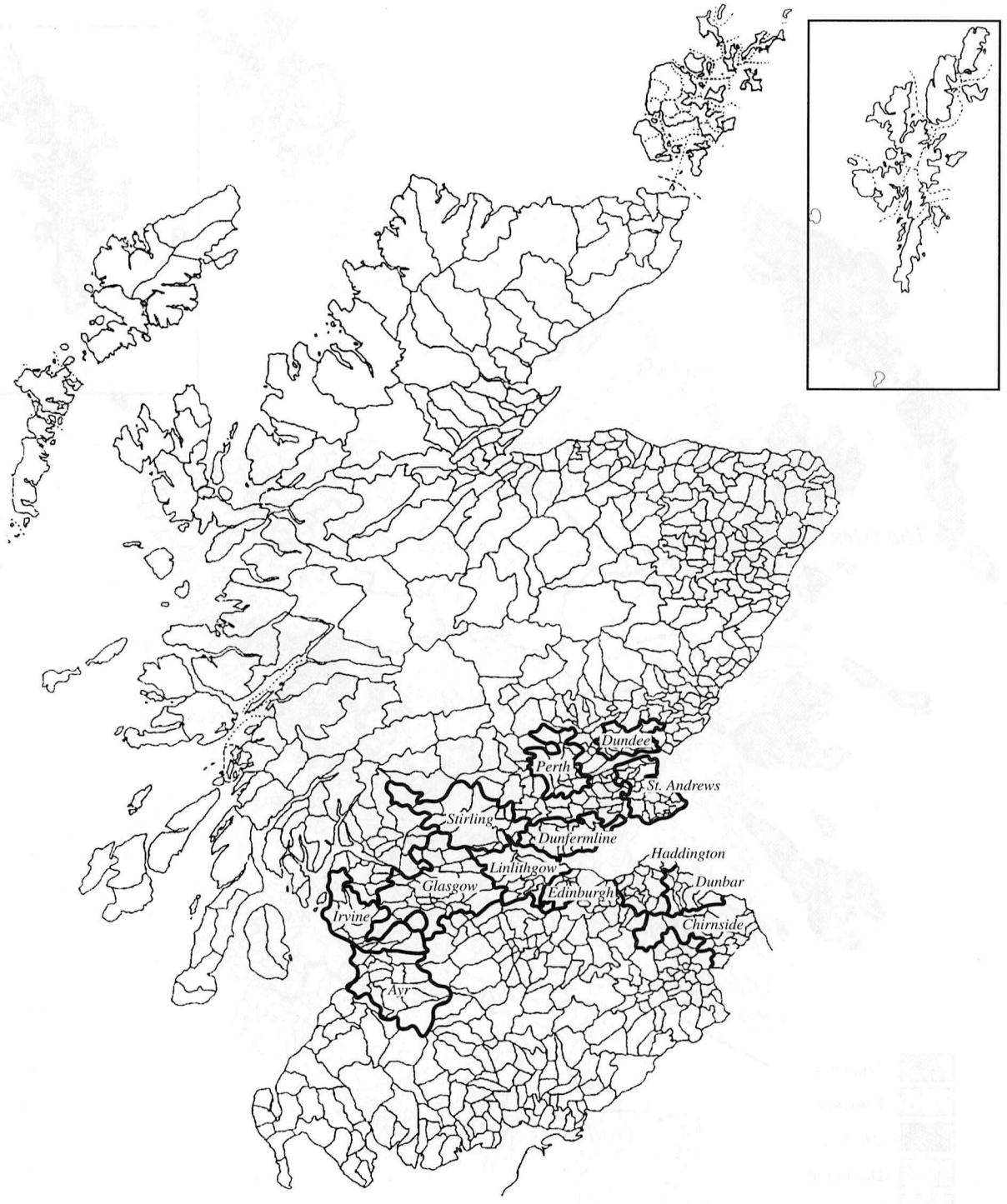
Provinces of superintendents and commissioners about 1567 JK

Ecclesiastical organisation: early post-Reformation



Diocesan structure as renewed 1572 JK

Ecclesiastical organisation: early post-Reformation



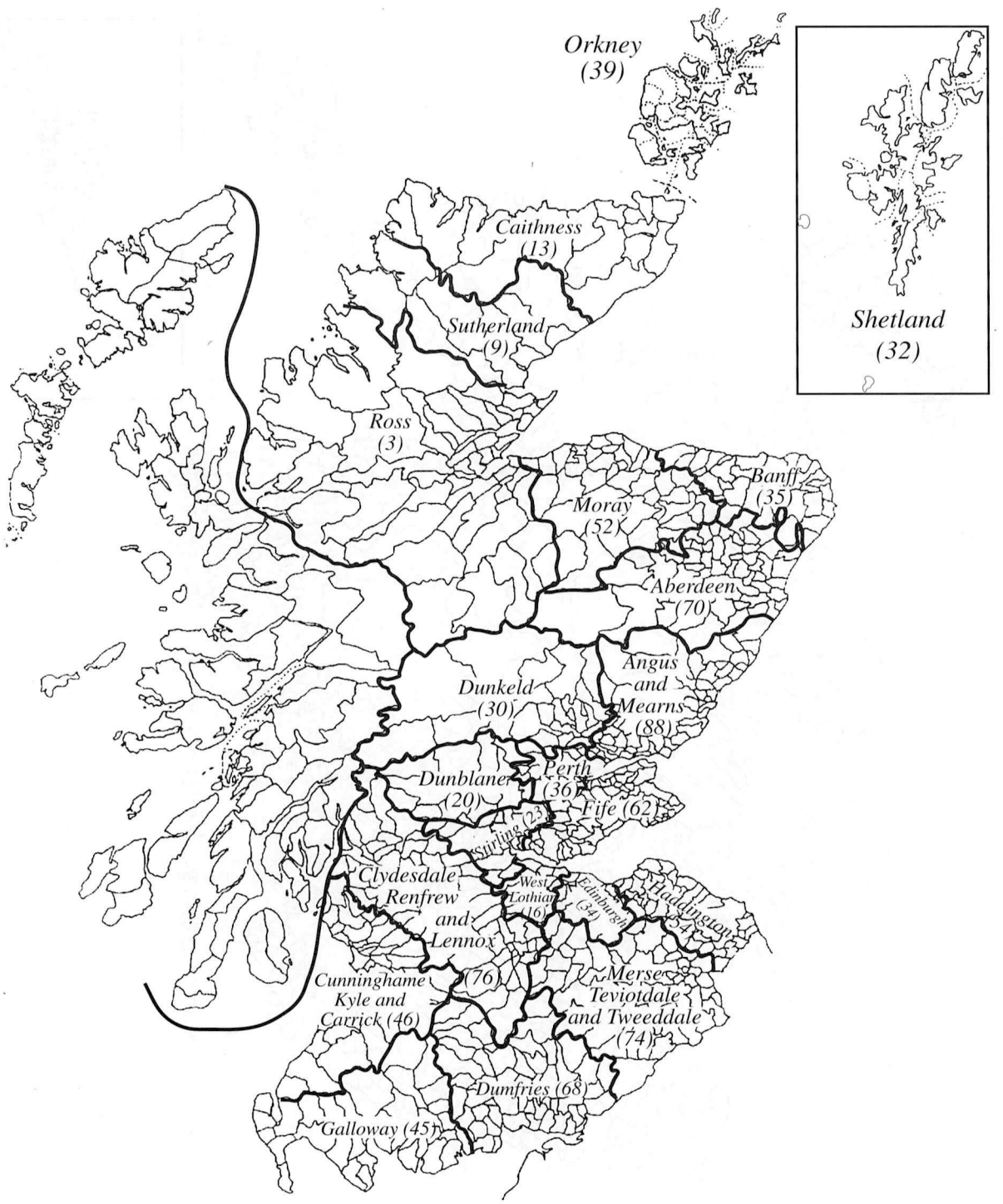
It is not certain whether Eaglesham belonged to Irvine or Glasgow presbytery, and Denny to Stirling or Linlithgow presbytery.

kms
0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
miles

Thirteen model presbyteries 1581

JK

Ecclesiastical organisation: early post-Reformation



Dunkeld Provinces of commissioners 1586

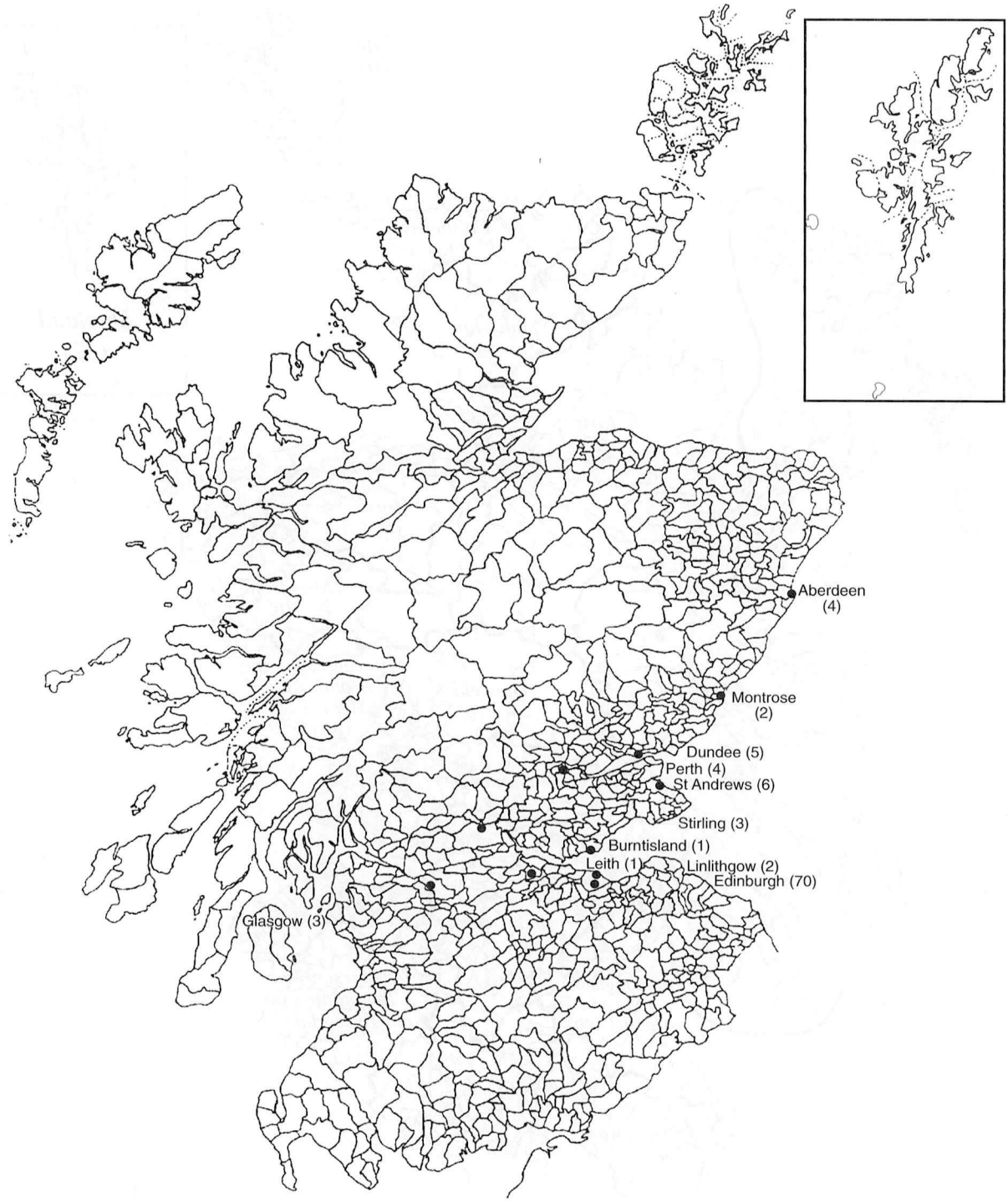
(30) Number of churches in province

Argyll and the Isles were excluded from this scheme

kms 0 25 50 75 100

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

Provinces of commissioners 1586 JK



The figures in brackets show the number of meetings in each place

kms 0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

General assemblies and conventions of the kirk 1560 to 1653 JK

Ecclesiastical organisation: the early seventeenth century

As part of the process by which James gradually restored the authority of bishops, the thirteen ancient dioceses as fleetingly restored in 1572 were by 1610 once more the recognised units of regional oversight. Synods were still held twice-yearly, but now with bounds coterminous with diocesan boundaries (though St Andrews had two synods for north and south of the Forth, and Glasgow apparently had three, meeting at Glasgow, Irvine and Peebles) and with the bishops as constant moderators.

At the same time the king accepted the continuing utility of presbyteries as indispensable units of administration. The royal chancery accepted them as an appropriate agency for examining and admitting candidates presented to benefices in the king's patronage; and the exchequer also followed the practice of listing ministers' stipends not according to dioceses but in the form of presbyterial districts. The number of presbyteries continued to grow, and by the early seventeenth century they were operating with varying efficiency throughout the country.

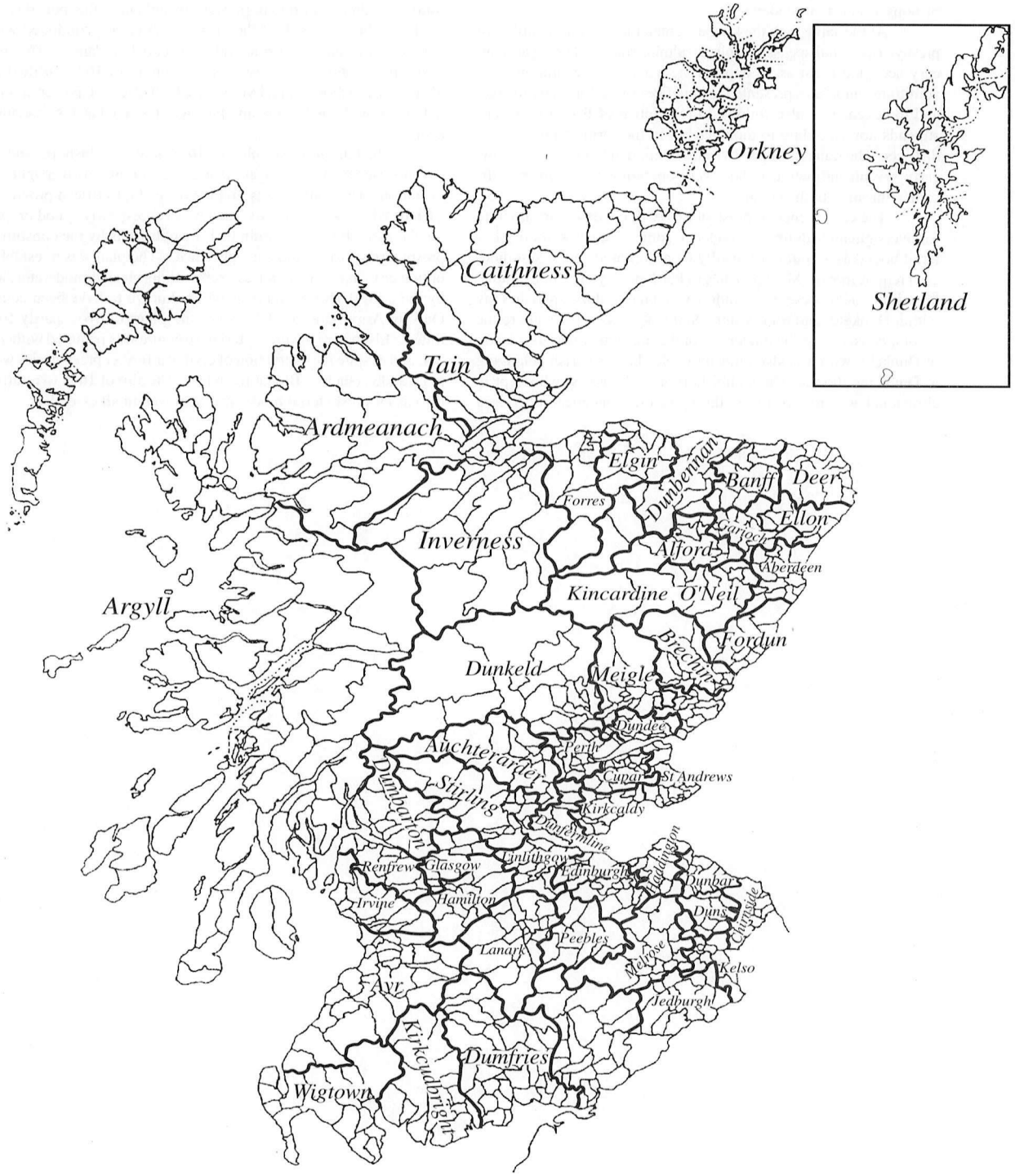
The coexistence of presbyteries with the diocesan structure for oversight and administration led to some anomalies, for presbyterial boundaries could not readily be accommodated to suit diocesan requirements. Most parishes in Perth presbytery, for example, lay within the diocese of St Andrews, but half a dozen parishes lay within Dunkeld, and four within Dunblane diocese. To add to the air of inconsistency, the moderator of the presbytery was the bishop of Dunkeld, who was also minister of St Madoes parish belonging to Dunblane diocese The archbishop of St Andrews, who kept in close touch with the presbytery through correspondence, supervised admissions to churches in his diocese, but often devolved the duties of ordination and admission to the presbytery and its bishop-moderator, whereas the bishop of Dunkeld took charge of admitting a minister to parishes like Forgandenny and Redgorton which lay within his diocese though in Perth presbytery.

This confusing administrative pattern in 1607 paved the way for the period of full episcopal ascendancy, 1610-38; and by 1633 a fourteenth diocese, Edinburgh, was created out of that portion of St Andrews diocese south of the Forth. Presbyteries continued without a break to play their role under episcopal guidance. The fully developed system as expressed in the canons of 1636 fulfilled the ideal of the bishop in presbytery, in which effective power and initiative lay with the bishop, and presbyteries acted as his executive agents.

The Glasgow assembly of 1638 abolished bishops, and the old dioceses were once again discarded as units of oversight and visitation. The country was divided instead into fifteen provinces, each of which was to be governed by a twice-yearly synod or provincial assembly and within their own districts by the constituent presbyteries assigned to each province. The plan was to establish no fewer than 67 presbyteries each with its elected moderator; and by the early 1640s as many as 64 are known to have been active. Only in Argyll and the Isles were the plans of 1638 partly frustrated. Elsewhere the presbyterian structure was resumed with vigour, and despite the distraction of civil war further presbyteries were to be added (such as Biggar in 1644). The aim of 1638 to return to the earlier presbyterial model was achieved in all essentials.

JK

Ecclesiastical organisation: the early seventeenth century

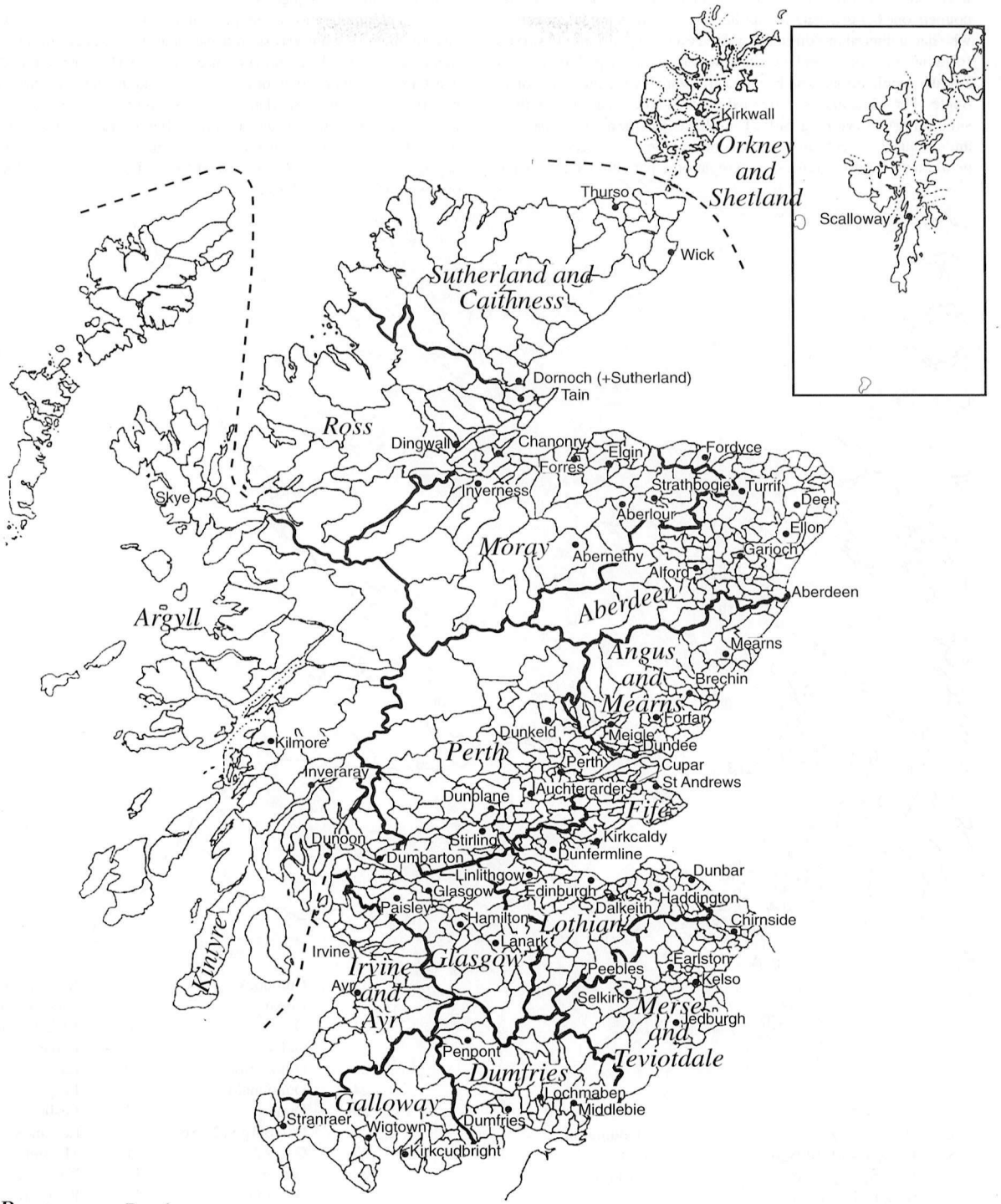


Records happen to survive which prove the existence of 49 presbyteries in 1607. At least one more presbytery is known to have existed in the Western Isles, but no detailed records are available to show what was happening in either Argyll or the Isles in general. Another presbytery appears to have existed in the south between Dumfries and Jedburgh presbyteries, where a block of parishes is not mentioned in the record.

kms 0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

Presbyteries 1607 JK

Ecclesiastical organisation: the early seventeenth century



Ross Province

Ayr Seat of presbytery

The general assembly records of 1642 and 1643 show how far the plans enacted in 1638 for re-erecting a Presbyterian polity had progressed by then. The expected separate province of the Isles had not materialised; and by 1644 at latest the province of Ayr and Irvine had been detached from Glasgow

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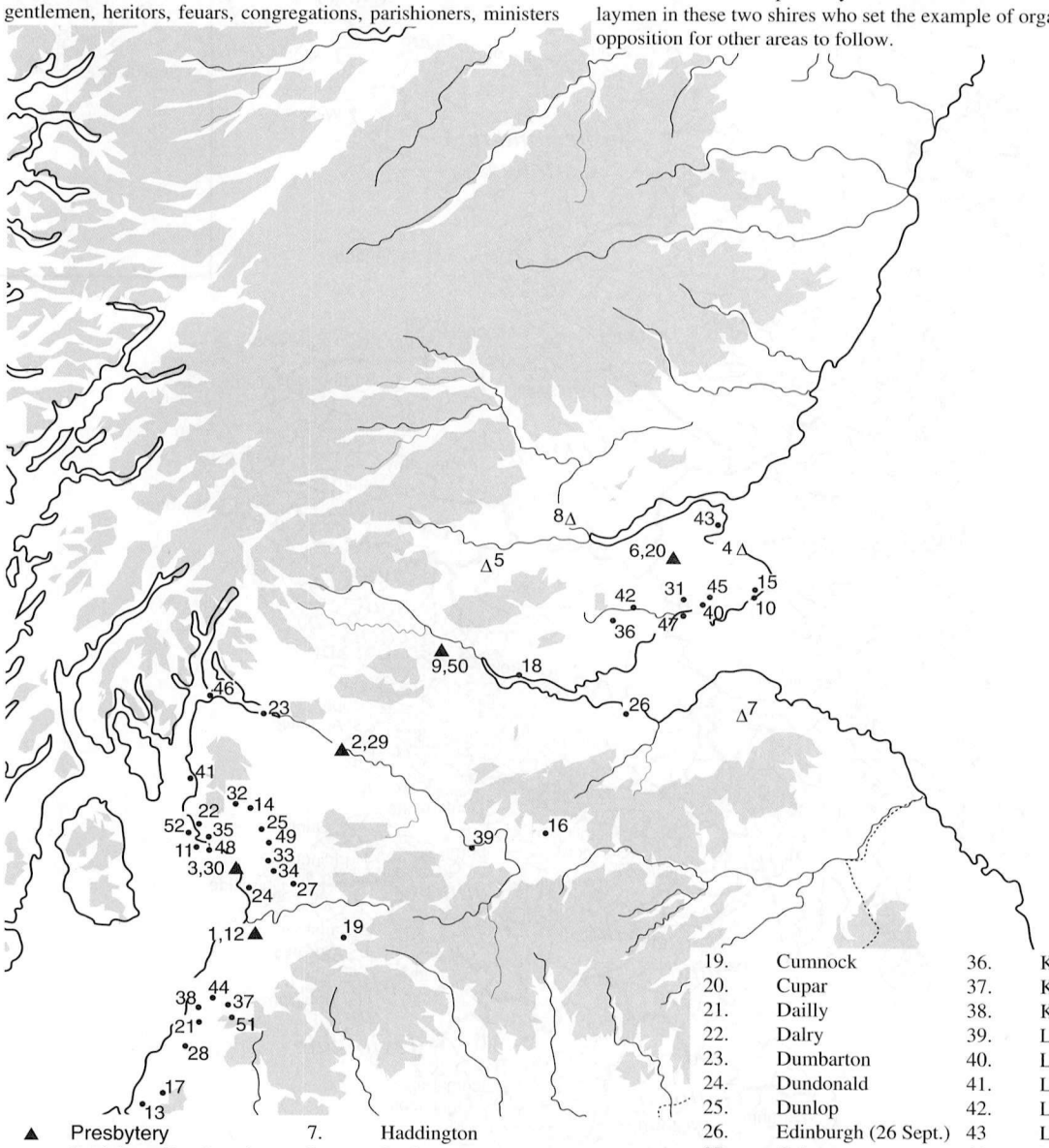
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

Provinces and seats of presbyteries 1642 to 1643 JK

Covenanter dominance

Open defiance of Charles I's religious policies first appeared in the disturbances in Edinburgh churches against the new Prayer Book on 23 July 1637. The opposition movement then turned to organising itself through supplications or petitions against the Book. The first group of these supplications, the four presented to the privy council on 23 August, were inspired by David Dickson, minister of Irvine. In the month that followed preparing supplications became widespread in Ayrshire and Fife, and on 20 September, 69 were delivered to the council, one being a general supplication signed by nobles and others who had gathered in Edinburgh. Of the 68 local petitions, 47 survive (originals or copies), and these are plotted on this map along with the August supplications, and Edinburgh's, which were presented on 26 September . The majority are unsigned, and the definitions of those submitting them varies greatly. The 42 issued in the names of parishes and/or burghs mention various combinations of elders, sessions, gentlemen, heritors, feuars, congregations, parishioners, ministers (in 14 cases) and, in the case of royal burghs, magistrates, councils and communities as being the parties involved in supplicating. It is, however, possible that many of the petitions exaggerate the extent of local support behind them. Some may have been presented before being approved - that of the burgh of Stirling was not approved by the burgh council until 25 September - but as many of the surviving petitions are undated, it may be that some were not presented until some days after 20 September.

The supplications were presented at a very early stage in the development of what was soon to become the covenanting movement, but already Fife and Ayrshire have clearly emerged as the heartlands of support that they were to remain during the years that the covenanters ruled Scotland. Strong support was also to emerge in other areas of southern and central Scotland, and in some parts of the north; but the map clearly indicates that it was ministers and laymen in these two shires who set the example of organised local opposition for other areas to follow.



▲ Presbytery
• Parish and/ or burgh
Δ Presbytery, and parish and /or burgh

Presbyteries, Aug. 1637

1. Ayr (minority)
2. Glasgow
3. Irvine
4. St. Andrews (minority)

Presbyteries, Sept. 1637

5. Auchterarder
6. Cupar
7. Haddington
8. Perth
9. Stirling

Parishes and / or Burghs, Sept. 1637

10. Abercrombie
11. Ardrossan
12. Ayr
13. Ballantrae
14. Beith
15. Carnbee
16. Carnwath
17. Colmonell
18. Culross
19. Cumnock
20. Cupar
21. Dailly
22. Dalry
23. Dumbarton
24. Dundonald
25. Dunlop
26. Edinburgh (26 Sept.)
27. Galston
28. Girvan
29. Glasgow
30. Irvine
31. Kennoway
32. Kilbirnie
33. Kilmaurs
34. Kilmarnock
35. Kilwinning
36. Kinglassie
37. Kirkmichael
38. Kirkoswald
39. Lanark
40. Largo
41. Largs
42. Leslie
43 Leuchars
44. Maybole
45. Newburn
46. Rosneath
47. Scoonie
48. Stevenston
49. Stewarton
50. Stirling
51. Straiton
52. West Kilbride

kms 0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

Supplications against the Prayer Book 1637

DS

Covenanter dominance

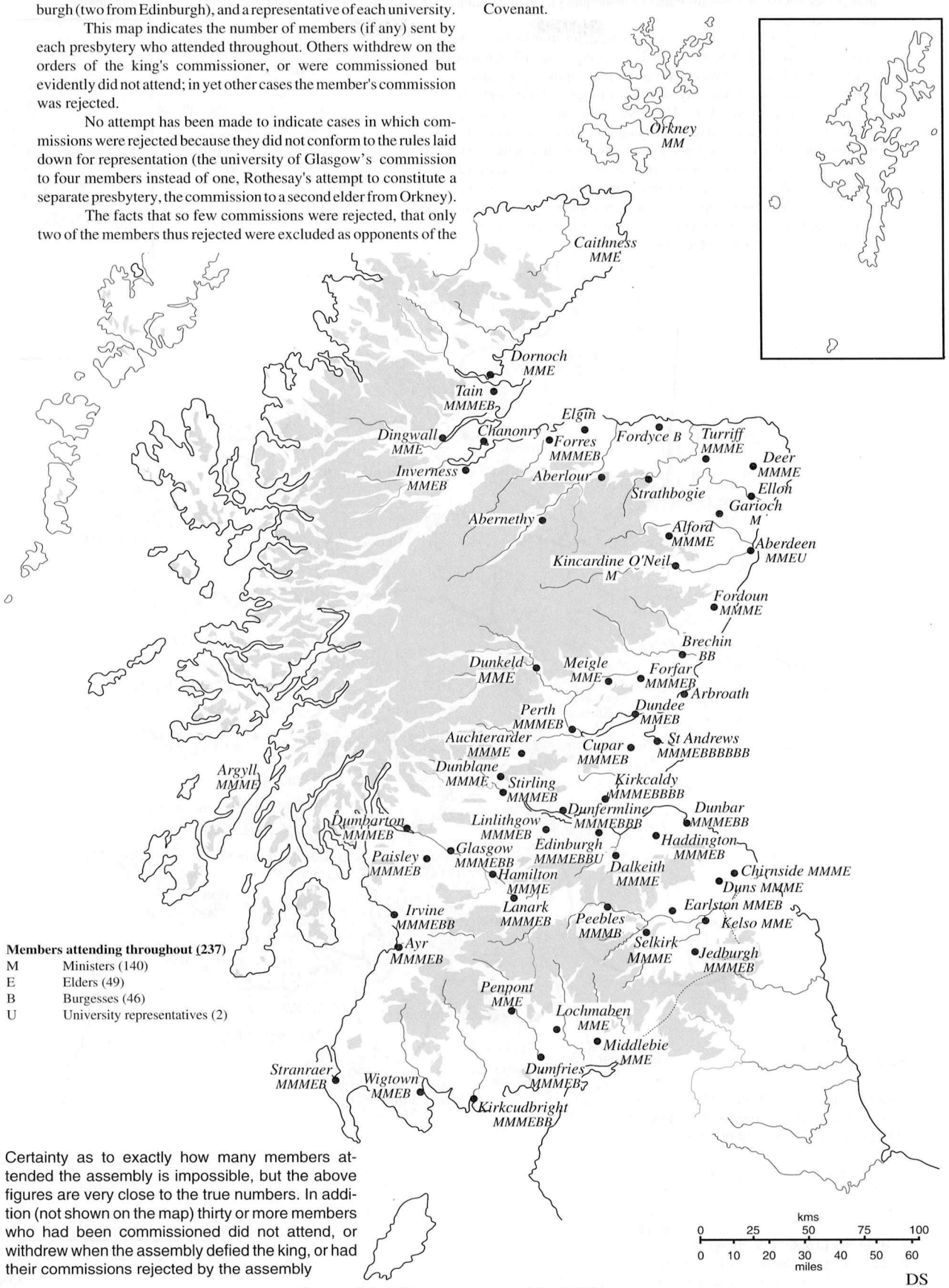
In the Glasgow Assembly (21 November to 20 December 1638) the covenanters overthrew the royal control over the church built up by James VI and Charles I. Archbishops and bishops were abolished and a presbyterian system of government established, innovations in forms of worship and in doctrine also being rejected.

Elections to the assembly were organised by the covenanters, who laid down that membership should consist of three ministers and one elder from each presbytery, one burgess from each royal burgh (two from Edinburgh), and a representative of each university.

This map indicates the number of members (if any) sent by each presbytery who attended throughout. Others withdrew on the orders of the king's commissioner, or were commissioned but evidently did not attend; in yet other cases the member's commission was rejected.

No attempt has been made to indicate cases in which commissions were rejected because they did not conform to the rules laid down for representation (the university of Glasgow's commission to four members instead of one, Rothesay's attempt to constitute a separate presbytery, the commission to a second elder from Orkney).

The facts that so few commissions were rejected, that only two of the members thus rejected were excluded as opponents of the covenanters and that so few withdrew on Hamilton's orders, all indicate the success the covenanters had had in dominating elections - either through genuine support or, in some areas, through intimidation and other malpractices. The almost total lack of members from the Highlands, except for Argyll and the eastern fringes, reflects the lack of organisation of the church in much of the north and west; and the limited representation of the north-east reflects the distribution of presbyteries and royal burghs as much as lack of enthusiasm for the Covenant.



Members attending throughout (237)

M	Ministers (140)
E	Elders (49)
B	Burgesses (46)
U	University representatives (2)

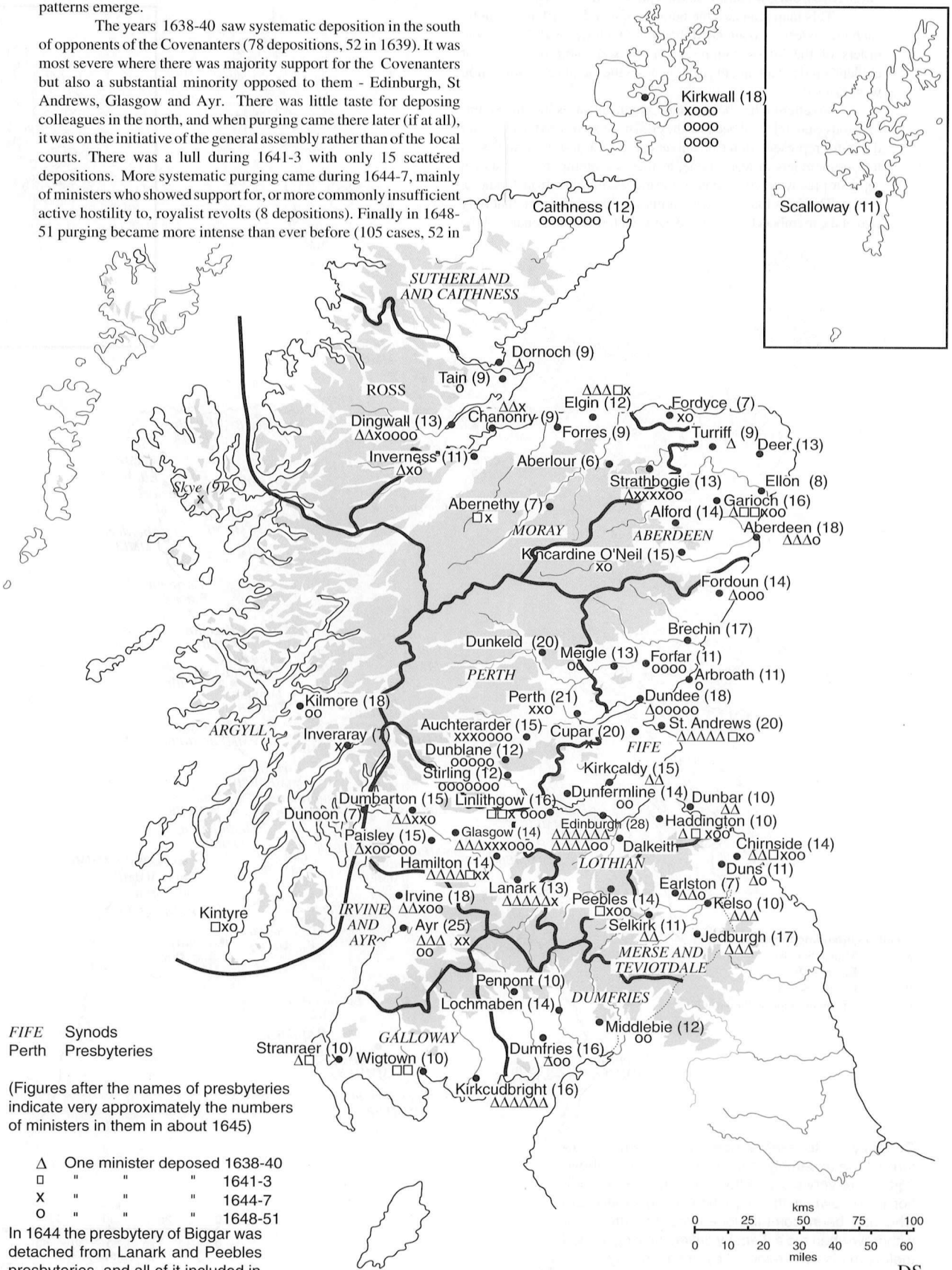
Certainty as to exactly how many members attended the assembly is impossible, but the above figures are very close to the true numbers. In addition (not shown on the map) thirty or more members who had been commissioned did not attend, or withdrew when the assembly defied the king, or had their commissions rejected by the assembly

The Glasgow Assembly 1638

Covenanter dominance

In the wake of a political and ecclesiastical revolution the Covenanters between 1638 and 1651 purged their episcopalian and other opponents among the ministry of the kirk. As a crude index of the growth of persecution and bitterness 236 depositions are plotted on this map to show their chronological and geographical pattern. This is a minimum figure based on the surviving evidence. Perhaps as many as 10% of these depositions may have been for reasons other than persecution (such as immorality or inadequacy), yet interesting patterns emerge.

The years 1638-40 saw systematic deposition in the south of opponents of the Covenanters (78 depositions, 52 in 1639). It was most severe where there was majority support for the Covenanters but also a substantial minority opposed to them - Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow and Ayr. There was little taste for deposing colleagues in the north, and when purging came there later (if at all), it was on the initiative of the general assembly rather than of the local courts. There was a lull during 1641-3 with only 15 scattered depositions. More systematic purging came during 1644-7, mainly of ministers who showed support for, or more commonly insufficient active hostility to, royalist revolts (8 depositions). Finally in 1648-51 purging became more intense than ever before (105 cases, 52 in 1649) as the extremist Kirk Party regime purged the more moderate ministers who had supported the Engagers' invasion of England in 1648, and also those in the far north who had failed to denounce Montrose's landing in 1650. Then as bitter fighting of factions followed among the Kirk Party in the face of moderate and royalist revival, in 1651 for the first time ministers (3) were deposed for being too extreme rather than too moderate, as the majority faction of Revolutions sought to subdue their Protester opponents.



FIFE Synods
Perth Presbyteries

(Figures after the names of presbyteries indicate very approximately the numbers of ministers in them in about 1645)

Δ One minister deposed 1638-40
□ " " " 1641-3
X " " " 1644-7
O " " " 1648-51

In 1644 the presbytery of Biggar was detached from Lanark and Peebles presbyteries, and all of it included in Lothian synod.

Depositions of ministers 1638 to 1651

DS

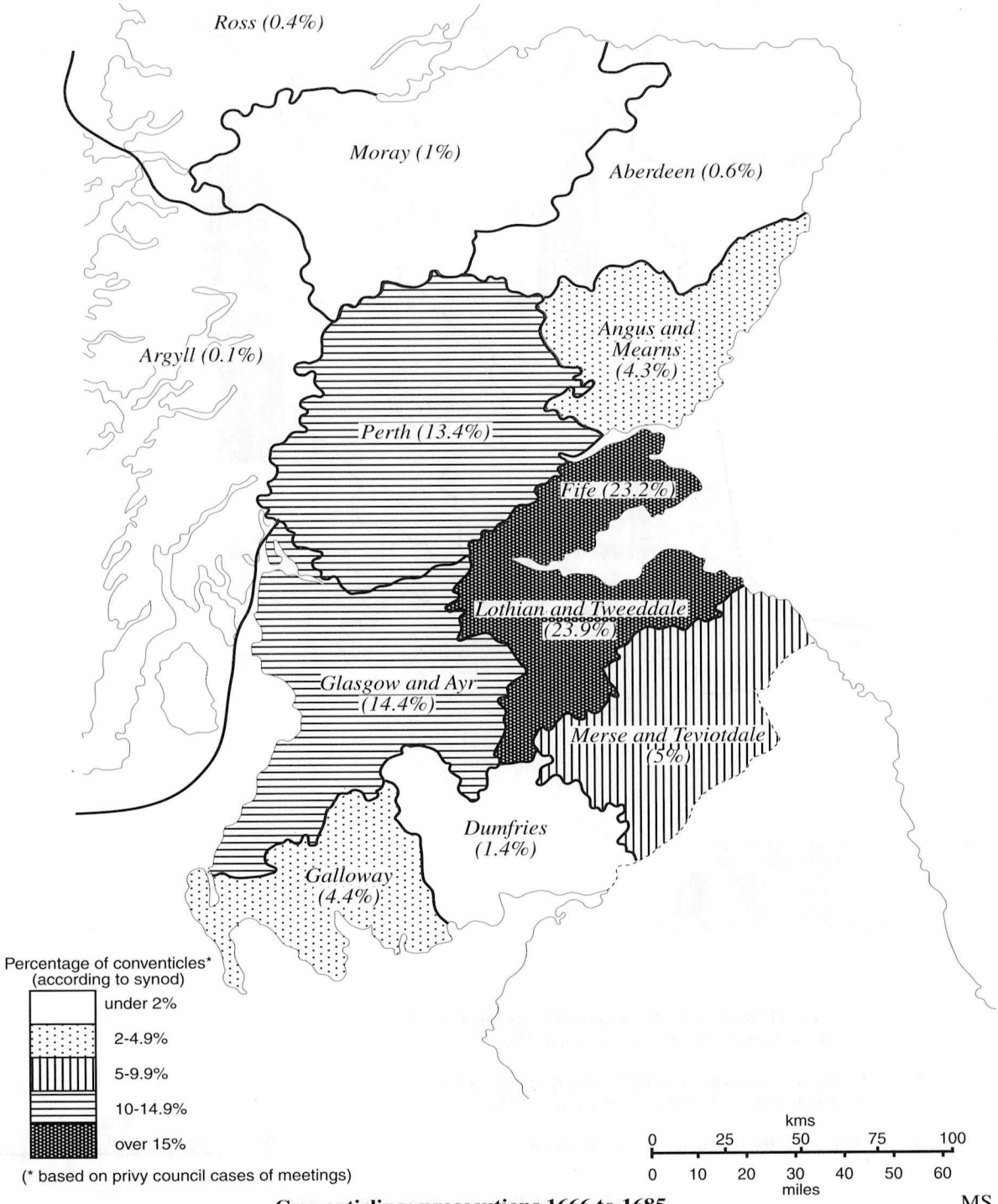
The Restoration to the Revolution

During the Restoration period 1661-89 episcopacy and the ancient dioceses were restored. Presbyteries continued to meet (though shorn of their elders), but the provincial synods of the presbyterian polity disappeared. For the purpose of historical investigation and comparison, however, it is useful to analyse evidence from this period area by area corresponding to the regions of the earlier and later presbyterian synods, rather than the confused and ephemeral dioceses. The boundaries shown on the maps of this period here have therefore only a hypothetical existence. They are based on those of the early eighteenth century on.

Attempts to enforce the Restoration Church Settlement of 1661 which re-established episcopacy resulted in the state's handling of 383 cases of nonconformity involving 809 illegal conventicles. The map which depicts the regional distribution and intensity of conventicling prosecutions according to the meetings' locations as cited in the privy council records therefore reflects not only official interest in suppressing conventicles but the geographic diversity of the activity itself.

Certain areas came under more intense official scrutiny. While traditional areas of protestant radicalism such as the synod of Glasgow and Ayr in the south-west contained a substantial number (117 cases) of the conventicles detected, the majority were found on the east coast in the synods of Fife (189) and in Lothian and Tweeddale (194). Conversely, little or no conventicling activity was reported in the more conservative north, most notably beyond the Moray Firth. Of all the conventicles cited in the council records, 64 have no location specified.

But the intensity of prosecutions in particular regions was not predicated on the indigenous religiosity of the area alone. Certainly, the presence of sympathetic heritors in a strong, covenanting region like the south-west could offer some protection to the non-indulged clergy from the central authorities; however, their influence could be circumscribed if they lacked sufficient political clout with the court and council officials or in the face of competing interests with town councils and bishops in regions containing royal burghs or episcopal sees.

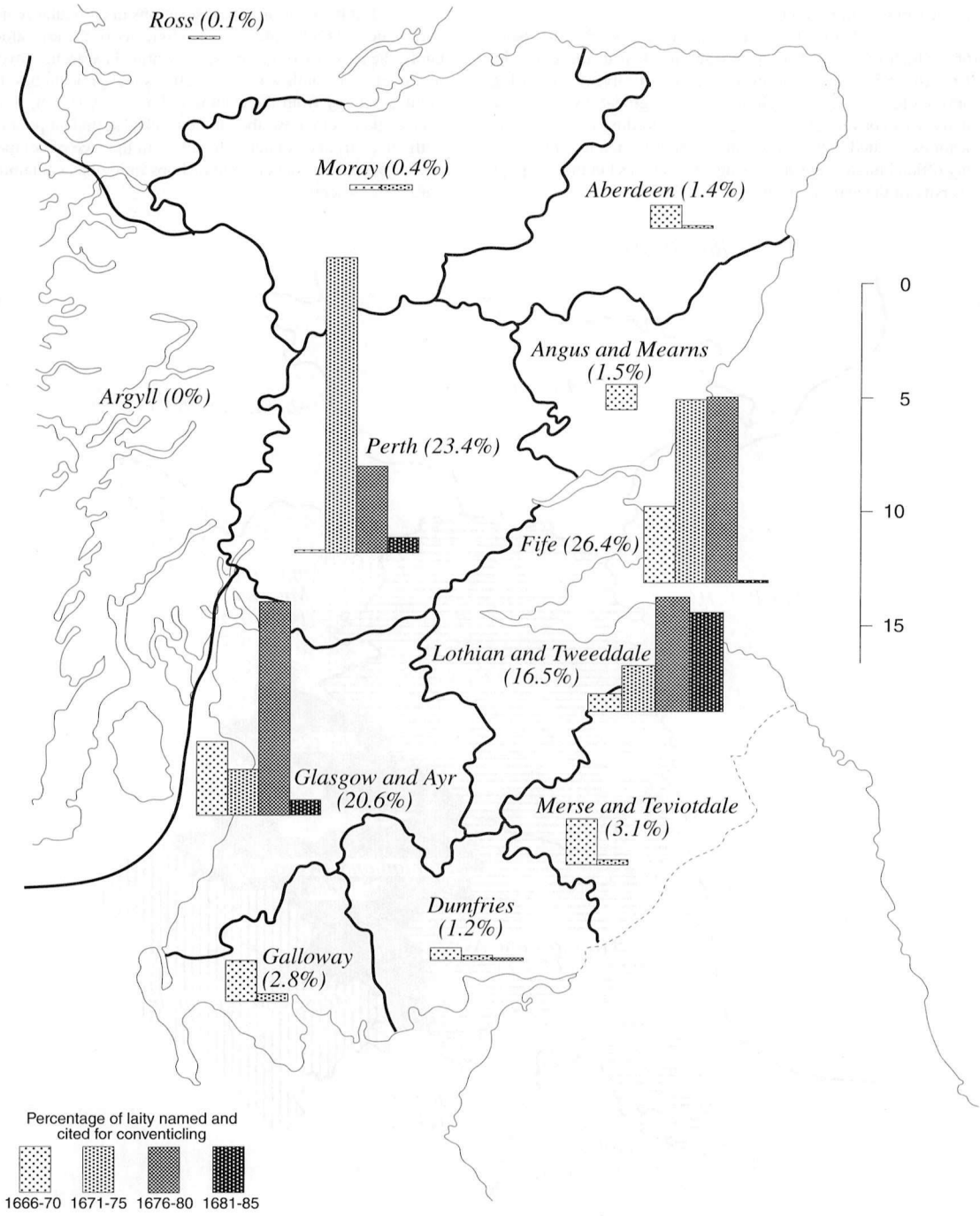


Conventicling: prosecutions 1666 to 1685 MS

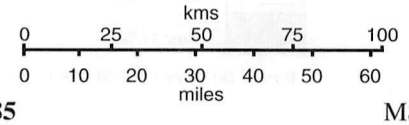
The Restoration to the Revolution

Official interest in the apprehension and conviction of conventiclers resulted in the citation of 1901 individuals by the privy council between 1666 and 1685. But the pattern of these prosecutions was neither regular nor static. There was a considerable fluctuation in the rate of conventiclers prosecuted in each synod over the four periods specified as well as a significant change in the national pattern with respect to the regional distribution of the prosecutions.

Irregular and haphazard policing of the problem which varied widely across the country plus periodic firm action in 1670, 1674, 1677, 1680 and 1683 account for much of these differences.



1. Figures in brackets refer to the cumulative percentage of prosecuted conventiclers in each synod, 1666-85.
2. The privy council named and cited only one person for conventicling before 1666 and none after 1685.
3. In 2.9% of the cases, no location is specified.

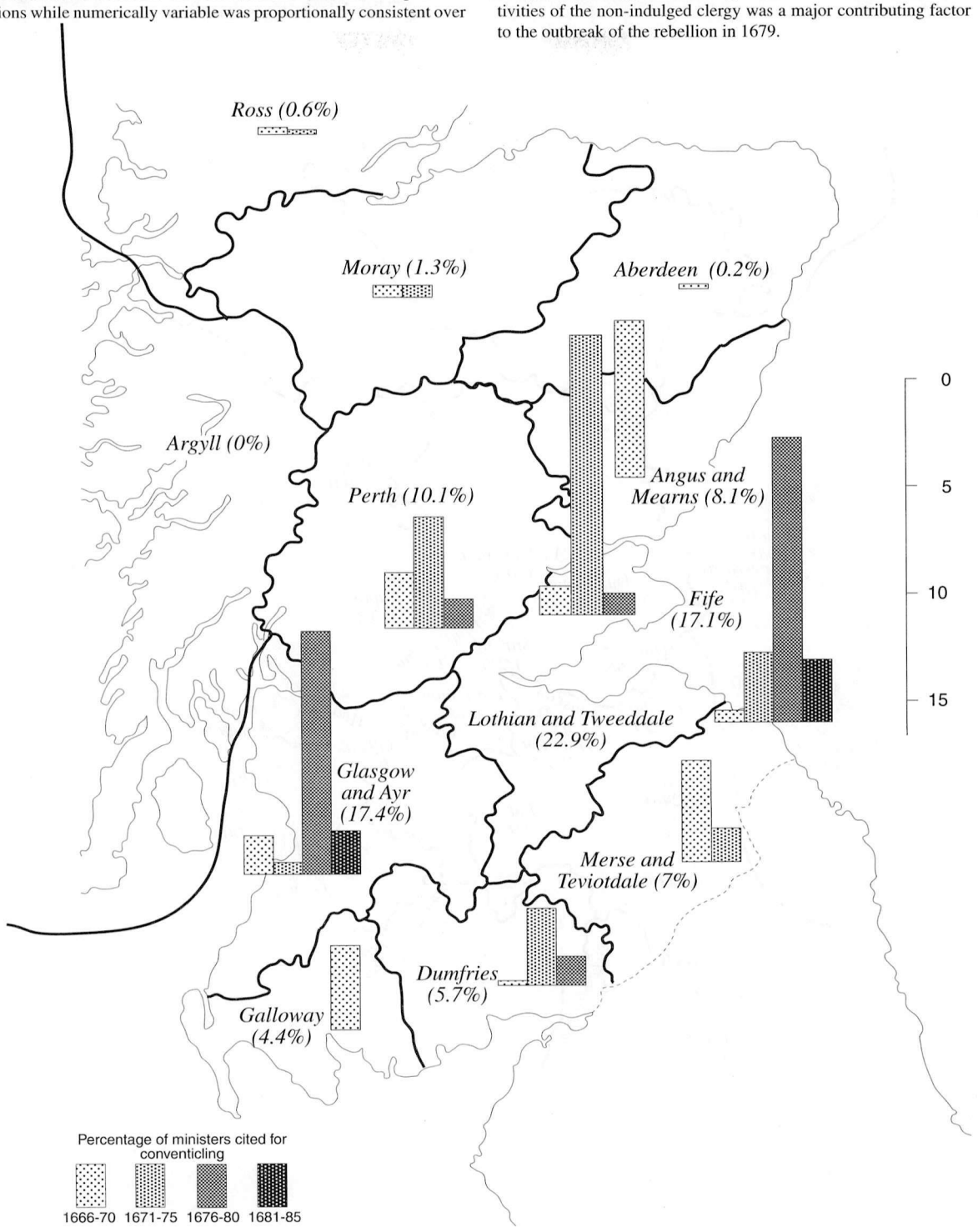


Conventicling: the laity 1666 to 1685 MS

The Restoration to the Revolution

Between 1666 and 1685 the privy council processed 541 cases of illegal preaching which involved the citation - often multiple - of 159 ministers; that is, almost one-fifth of the Scottish clergy. Although a significant proportion (17.4%) of the radical ministry were from the west coast, a similar number came from the south of Scotland (17.1%) and 40% were from the eastern synods of Fife and Lothian and Tweeddale. Moreover, the rate of ministerial prosecutions while numerically variable was proportionally consistent over the four periods specified: for example, Lothian and Tweeddale had the highest rate of prosecutions compared to the other synods throughout the Restoration.

Official interest in the suppression of conventicle preaching intensified during the latter half of the 1670s when two-thirds of the total number of ministers accused during the whole period were charged. This suggests that the government crackdown on the activities of the non-indulged clergy was a major contributing factor to the outbreak of the rebellion in 1679.



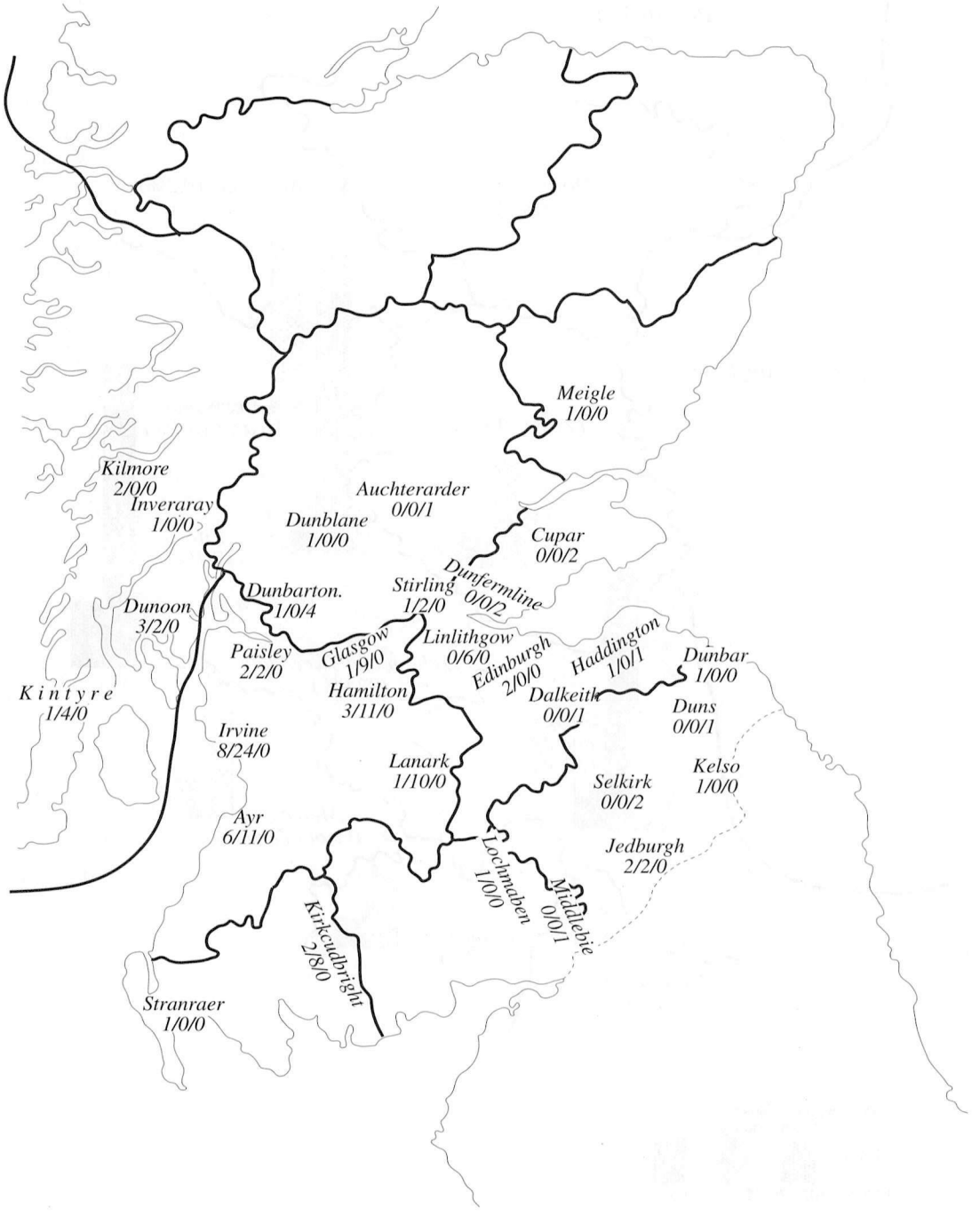
1. Figures in brackets refer to the cumulative percentage of ministers cited in each synod, 1666-85.
2. The privy council cited only 4 ministers for conventicle preaching prior to 1666 and none after 1685.
3. In 5.3% of the cases, no location is specified.

kms 0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

Conventicling: the clergy 1666 to 1685 MS

The Restoration to the Revolution

With the Indulgences of 1669, 1672 and 1678, the Caroline government gave outed ministers the opportunity to return to their clerical duties under certain licensing conditions which included the common provisions that they refrain from conventicling, recognise the church hierarchy, and receive collation from their diocesan bishop. By December of 1679, 149 ministers had accepted one of the pardons - in1669 43, in 1672 91, and in 1678 15 - and had been settled in 115 vacant parishes, many of which had been formerly occupied by the newly indulged incumbent. While the majority of the indulged clergy (63%) were from the western synod of Glasgow and Ayr, a significant number were from other regions of the country including 11% from the eastern synods of Fife and Lothian and Tweeddale; 14% from the border synods of Merse and Teviotdale, Dumfries, and Galloway; and 12% from the northern synods of Angus and Mearns, Argyll, and Perth.



In each presbytery the number of ministers who accepted the indulgences of 1669, 1672 and 1678 respectively is shown e.g. Irvine 8/24/0. None of the other presbyteries had any indulged ministers.

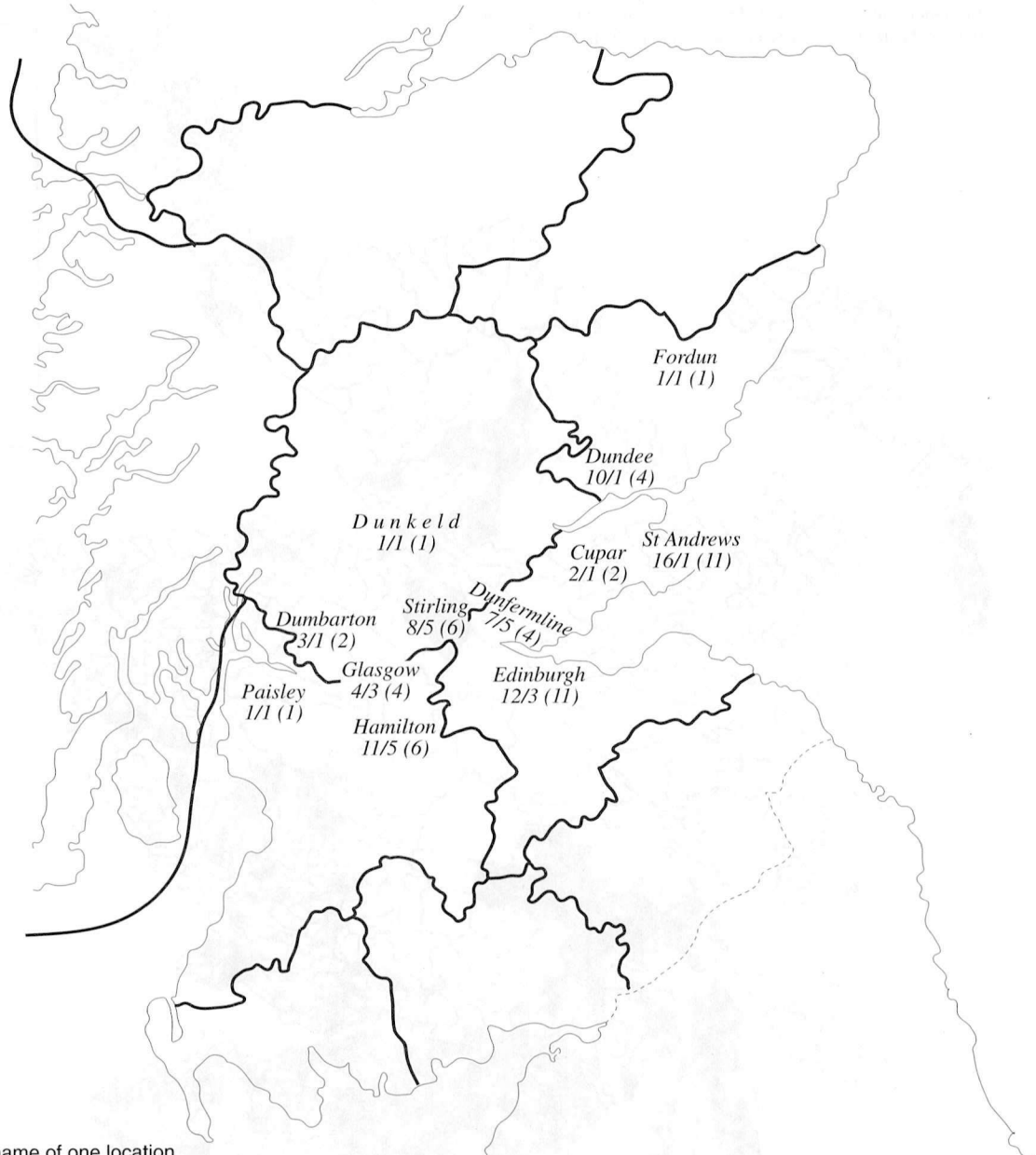
kms
0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
miles

The Caroline indulgences of 1669, 1672 and 1678 MS

The Restoration to the Revolution

For the presbyterian clergy, the proclamation of toleration in 1687 offered an equitable solution to the problem of nonconformity by enabling both conventicle preachers and the government to modify their respective approaches to the controversial question of Erastianism. On the one hand, the ministers accepted a degree of state authority in church matters by agreeing to make public announcements of their worship services as required by law. On the other hand, by dispensing with the practice of licensing ministers, the state in effect recognised prayer meetings held outwith the established church.

How successful this compromise was may be judged by the number of ministers who complied with the proclamation and advertised their prayer meetings. Between 9 October 1687 and 12 July 1688, 48 presbyterian ministers announced their intentions to preach at 72 different services which were held in a variety of locations including barns, private houses and special meeting halls. Of the 72 prayer meetings formally announced, the overwhelming majority were located in central Scotland with almost one third (24) held in the synod of Fife alone. Although one meeting has no specific location recorded, the remaining 47 meetings were concentrated in four other synods: Glasgow and Ayr (15); Lothian and Tweeddale (12); Angus and Mearns (11); and Perth (9).



1 The name of one location and of one minister (in presbytery of St. Andrews) is not recorded.

2 Forty-eight ministers advertised their intention to preach publicly, but three of them preached in two different presbyteries.

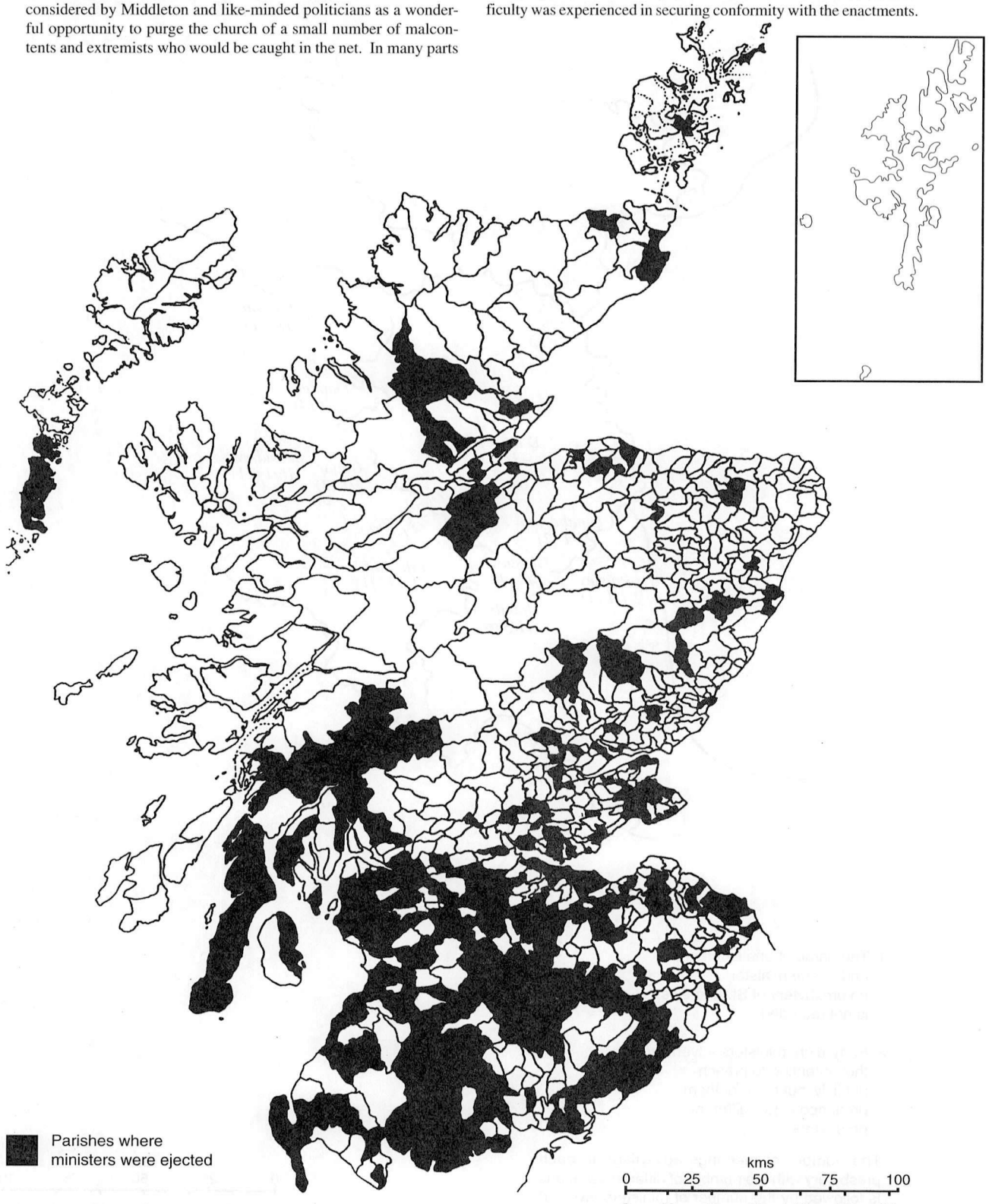
The number of meetings advertised in each presbytery with the number of different locations is followed by the number of ministers involved e.g. Dunfermline 7/5 (4)

kms 0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

Jacobean toleration 1687 MS

The Restoration to the Revolution

Charles II's ambivalent promise in 1660 to 'protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation', was followed in 1662 by parliamentary legislation restoring episcopacy. At the same time legislation was directed at the covenants, which were declared unlawful, and at conventicles, which were already a problem in areas where opponents of the religious settlement declined to attend their parish churches and worshipped privately, sometimes in groups on the hillsides. Particular danger lurked in one statute which required ministers admitted to charges after the abolition of patronage in 1649 to seek presentation from the patron and collation from the bishop. This scheme was considered by Middleton and like-minded politicians as a wonderful opportunity to purge the church of a small number of malcontents and extremists who would be caught in the net. In many parts of the country ministers and congregations acquiesced or accepted the proposals; but in the south-west a much higher proportion of ministers than had been anticipated refused to comply with legislation which forced them to recognise both episcopacy and lay patronage. As a consequence they were driven from their charges. Frequently too, congregations followed their 'outed' ministers and met secretly for worship. It has been reckoned that some 274 ministers were deprived from the parishes shown in the map, the bulk of them in 1662, but some also in the 1670s and 1680s. Of these 135 were located in the synod areas of Glasgow, Ayr, Dumfries and Galloway. North of the Tay (and even north of the Forth) less difficulty was experienced in securing conformity with the enactments.



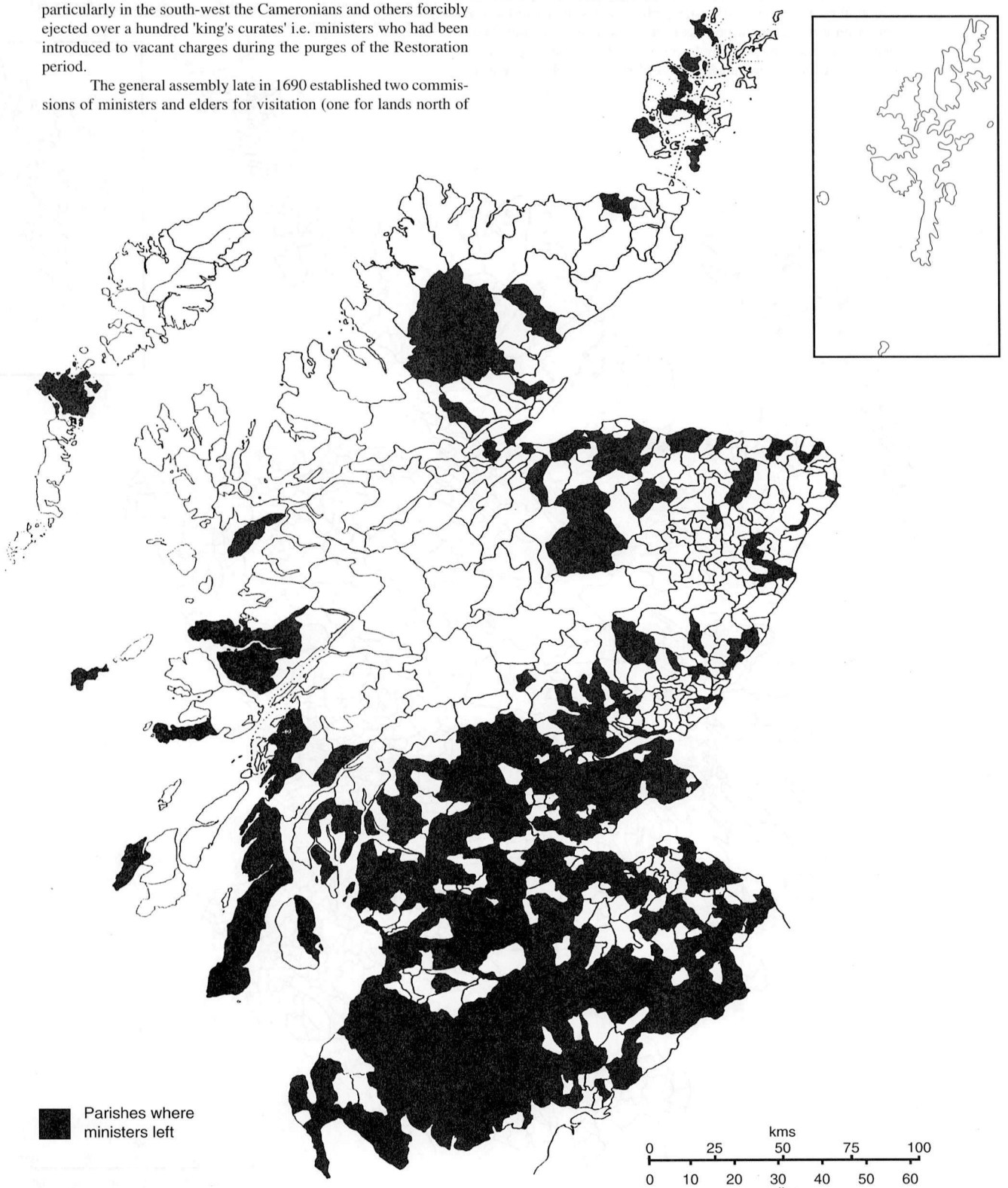
Ejections of ministers after the Restoration JK

The Restoration to the Revolution

At the Revolution, parliament abolished episcopal government in July 1689, and in June 1690 restored presbyterian government on the comparatively mild model of the 'Golden Act' of 1592. One effect of this was to avoid the awkward issue of the covenants, an omission which gave offence to many; yet most presbyterians accepted the settlement.

Earlier in April 1689 ministers throughout the country had been charged to read from their pulpits a proclamation appointing prayers to be said for William and Mary. Those who declined were reported to the privy council, and a substantial number of dismissals followed. At the same time action was taken to restore to their parishes some sixty ministers who had been 'outed' in 1662, and particularly in the south-west the Cameronians and others forcibly ejected over a hundred 'king's curates' i.e. ministers who had been introduced to vacant charges during the purges of the Restoration period.

The general assembly late in 1690 established two commissions of ministers and elders for visitation (one for lands north of the Tay, the other for the south) to purge the church of what were now regarded as undesirable elements. These commissions overplayed their hand when dealing with ministers of episcopal sympathies, who were victimised and deposed, though the strength of support for episcopacy in the north-east sometimes frustrated efforts at removing incumbents. But for the most part such ministers could expect little sympathy; and non-jurors, by declining to recognise William and Mary, cut themselves off from the national church to form their own small communion outside the establishment. Between 1689 and about 1702 some 664 ministers either left or were driven out of the parishes indicated on the map at a time when there were just over 900 parishes in all.



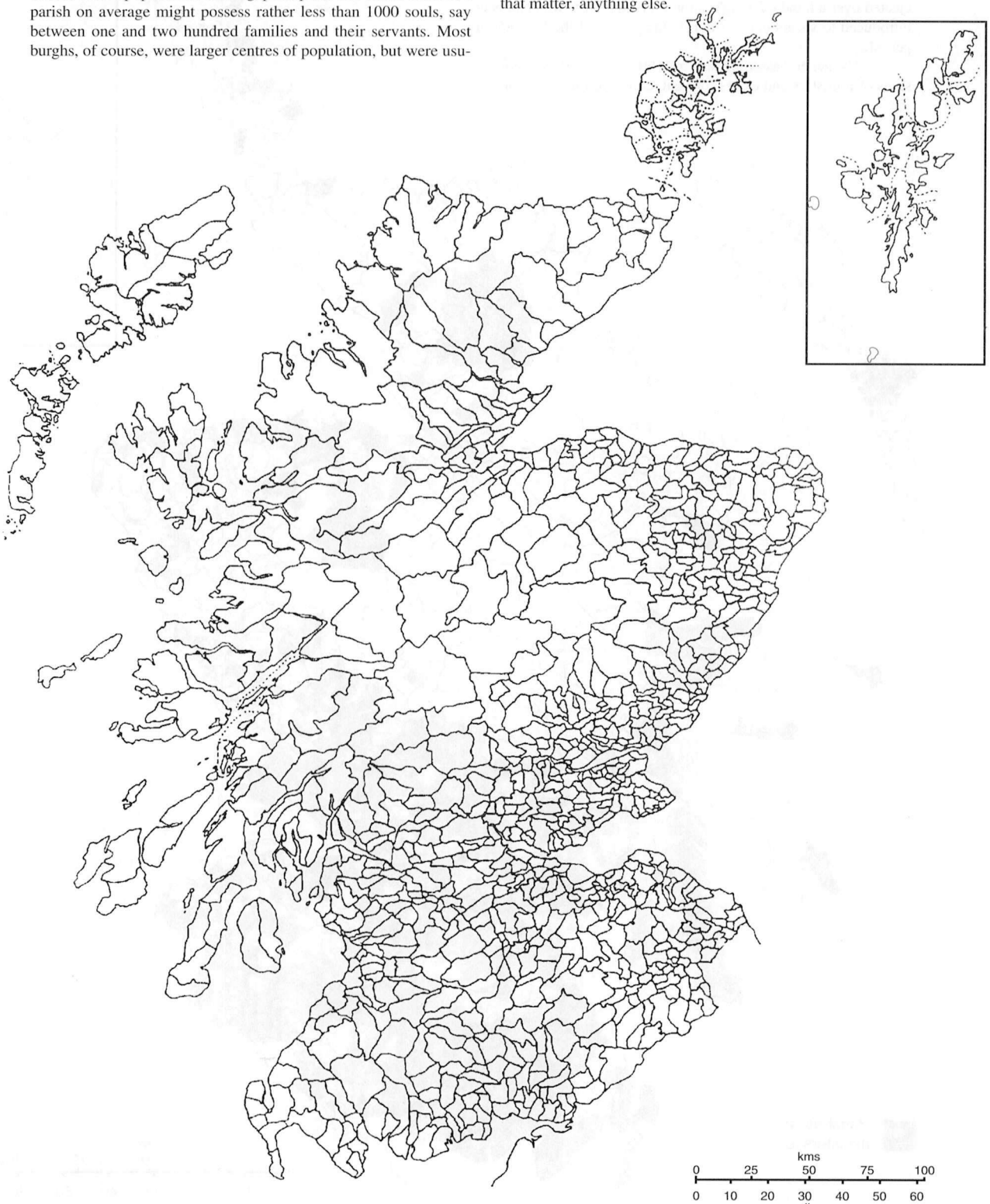
Parishes vacated after the Revolution JK

Ecclesiastical organisation: the early eighteenth century

The maps in this section aim to present the situation about 1707 as the closing date for this Atlas. That year does not mark any particular ecclesiastical event or development.

The medieval inheritance of the parochial system had been adopted by the reformers after 1560 as a convenient network of territorial units. Over the next 150 years various commissions were appointed by parliament to make boundary adjustments where change of circumstances made it desirable to unite small parishes and divide large ones. By the early eighteenth century the country with around 1000 parishes had a parochial system that was still thought capable of meeting the needs of society, before the pressures of industrialisation demanded reappraisal and more drastic action. With a population standing, perhaps, at less than a million, a parish on average might possess rather less than 1000 souls, say between one and two hundred families and their servants. Most burghs, of course, were larger centres of population, but were usually served still by a single parish. Edinburgh was an exception with six parishes by this date; Glasgow too had more than one parish, and other large burghs had more than one charge within the single parish.

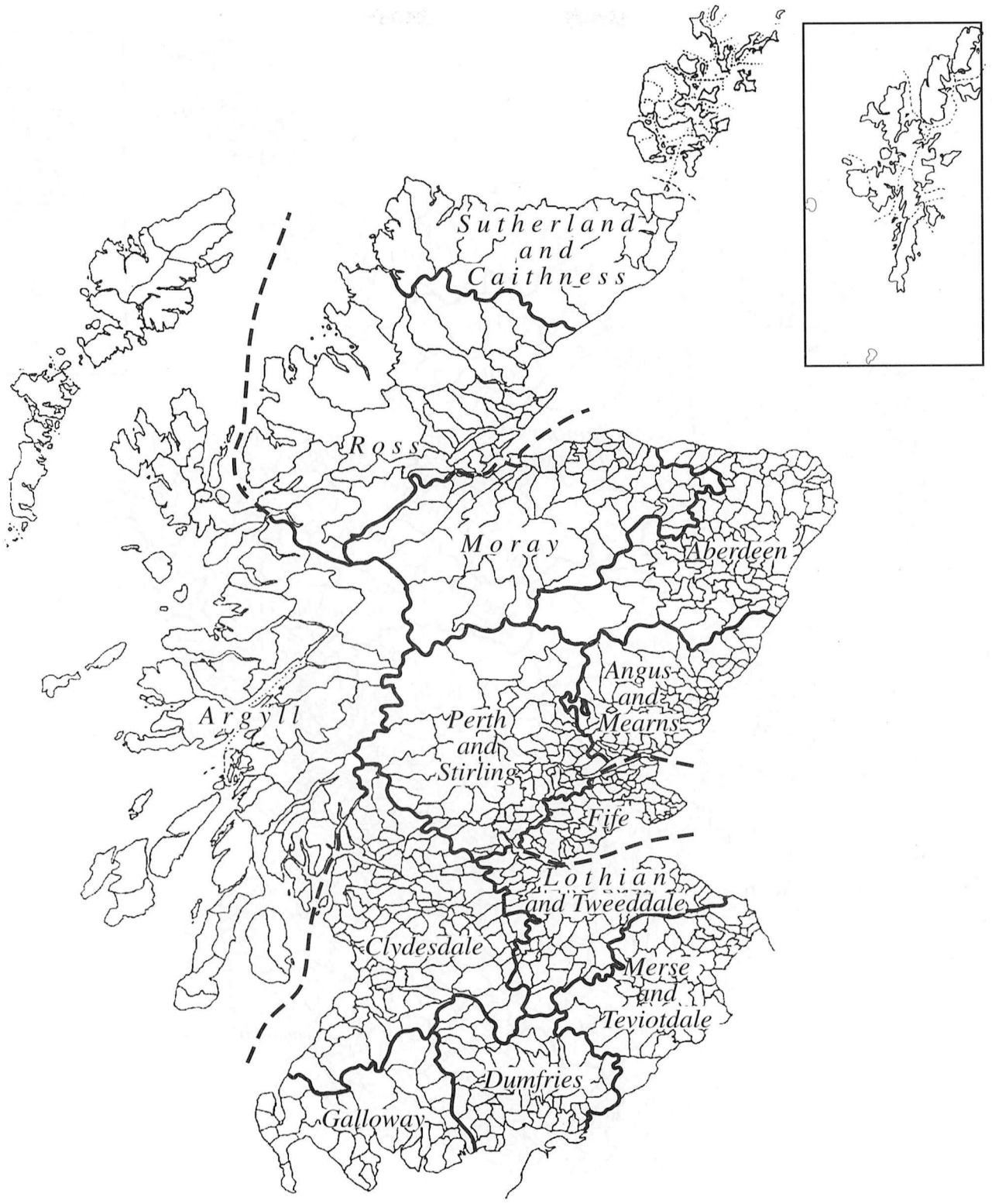
The contrast between the large parishes in the Highlands and the compact ones along the eastern coast and in the central lowlands is a commentary not just on the disparity in resources and manpower in these areas, but also on the relative fertility of the land which sustained the population. In the earlier eighteenth century over two-thirds of the people of Scotland lived outside the Highlands and Islands. That the one-third of the population who lived in these areas was served by perhaps one-seventh of the country's parish ministers could hardly be considered adequate; but it is unreasonable to deny the difficulties which wild and mountainous terrain presented in communicating the gospel, or for that matter, anything else.



Parishes in the early eighteenth century JK

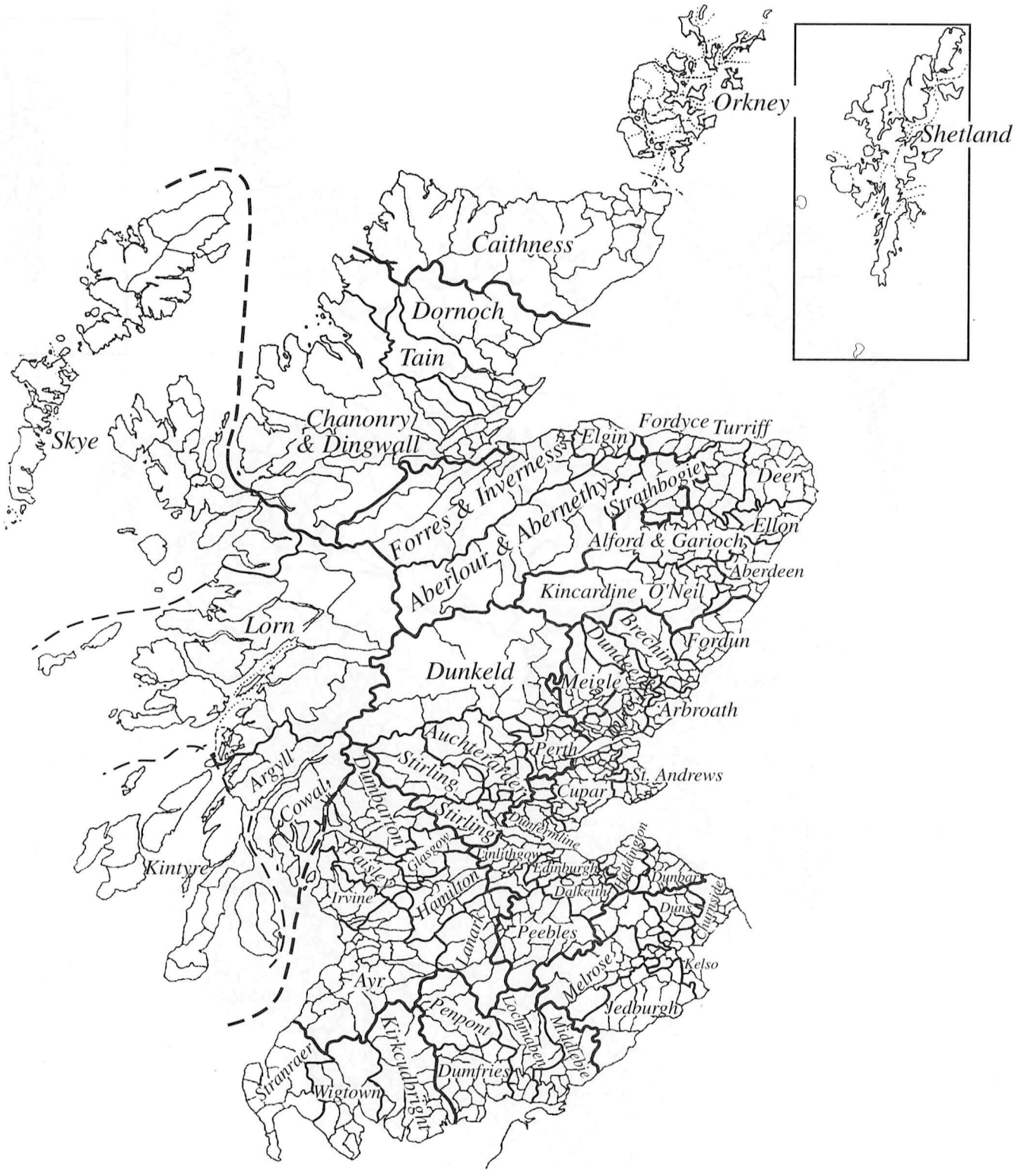
Ecclesiastical organisation: the early eighteenth century

Following the re-establishment of Presbyterian government in 1690, the old diocesan structure was allowed to lapse and synods once again became 'provincial synods' with elected moderators. Presbyteries too resumed the practice of electing a moderator for a limited term. The broad model, insofar as it was practicable, was clearly the covenanters' polity of the 1640s. Changes were made from time to time, particularly in the northern areas where a shortage of ministers caused practical difficulties for presbyteries. Some presbyteries were united for a time, and then some were separated again after a short interval. The maps show the organisation as it was in 1707, with thirteen synods and sixty-one presbyteries. Despite its formidable problems in the Highlands, the established kirk sought to extend and intensify its operations across the country as a whole.



Synods in the early eighteenth century JK

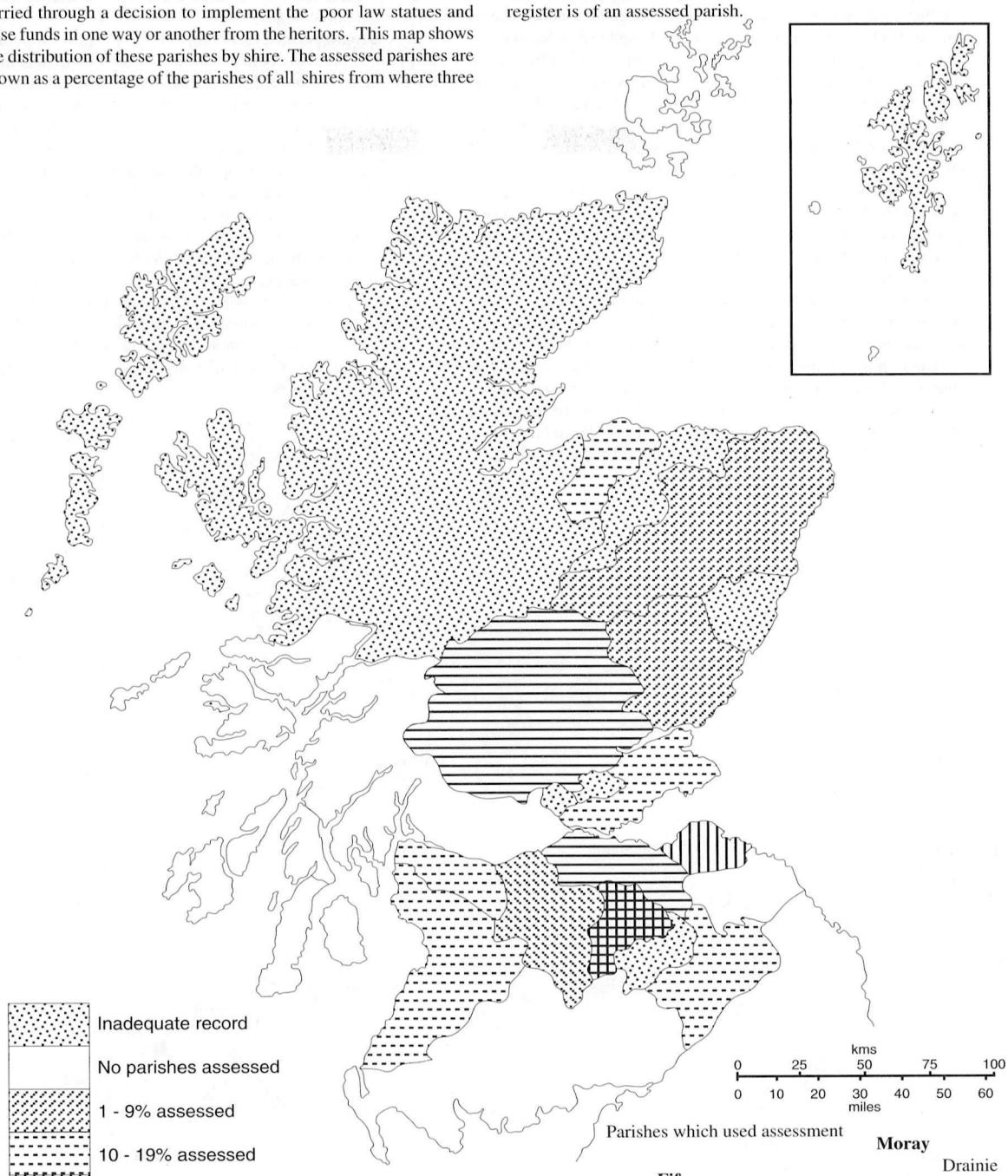
Ecclesiastical organisation: the early eighteenth century



Presbyteries in the early eighteenth century JK

Poor relief

Somewhat over a quarter of the parishes of Scotland have left kirk session registers covering the period of the famine of the 1690s. From these and other records it can be seen that forty-three parishes carried through a decision to implement the poor law statues and raise funds in one way or another from the heritors. This map shows the distribution of these parishes by shire. The assessed parishes are shown as a percentage of the parishes of all shires from where three or more kirk session registers survive. Those shires with no registers, or less than three are shown as leaving inadequate documentation even in the instance of Selkirkshire where the only surviving register is of an assessed parish.



Parishes which used assessment

Aberdeenshire
Longside
Angus
Kettins
Ayrshire
Kilmaurs
Kilwinning
East Lothian
Garvald
Haddington
North Berwick
Ormiston
Prestonkirk
Saltoun
Spott
Tyninghame
Whitekirk

Fife
Forgan
Kennoway
Kilconquhar
Kingsbarns
Lanarkshire
Carstairs
Douglas
Lesmahagow
Pettinain
Midlothian
Colinton
Corstorphine
Cramond
Crichton
Currie
Lasswade
Stow
Temple

Moray
Drainie
Peebleshire
Eddleston
Manor
Perthshire
Blackford
Logie
Longforgan
Monzie
Perth
Tibbermuir
Renfrewshire
Greenock
Roxburghshire
Ashkirk
Selkirkshire
Galashiels
West Lothian
Carriden
Uphall

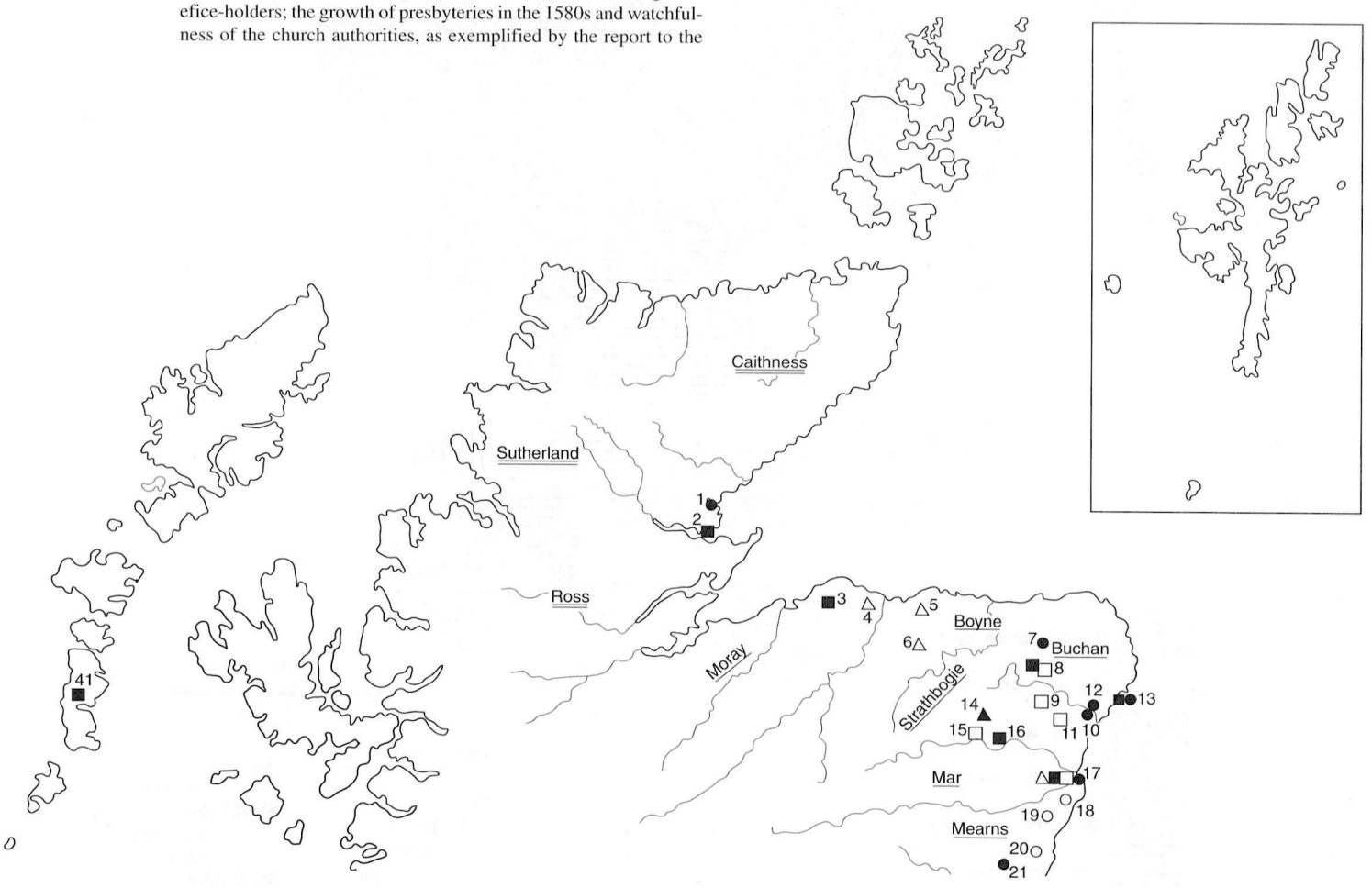
Poor relief 1695 to 1707 RM

Roman Catholic recusancy

The term 'recusancy' has been taken to mean non-attendance at the communion and other Reformed services, which was liable to be accompanied by attendance at mass and other sacraments held according to Roman Catholic rite, as well as general adherence to Roman Catholic belief and observance. In spite of an uncompromising concept of one visible church, parliamentary ratification of the Reformed articles of faith and a rigorous penal code, there was little serious persecution in post-Reformation Scotland. Examination of contemporary records suggests that Catholicism, although by no means dead, gave few signs that it was an organised force at any time likely to challenge the Reformed establishment.

The map illustrates the survival of indigenous Catholicism, on the wane by the 1570s partly for want of priests, and the resurgence later in the century which was largely due to the external reinforcement of Jesuits and other missionaries from abroad and the internal protection of the politically-minded 'Catholic party'. Throughout the period the amount of reported recusancy was a reflection of the politico-religious climate; the doubtful constitutionality and initially poor endowment of the Reformed church; Catholic worship at the queen's court; increased cooperation between church and state after Mary's deposition in 1567; the 'test act' of 1573 which was followed by deprivation of non-conforming benefice-holders; the growth of presbyteries in the 1580s and watchfulness of the church authorities, as exemplified by the report to the general assembly of February 1588; the activities of the Jesuits in the last decade and at the turn of the century, at a time when James VI for political reasons was inclined to adopt a tolerant attitude to influential, known Catholics.

Geographically, recusancy reflects the protection of Catholic families, particularly in the north-east, south-west and in parts of the Lothians. At the same time, delay in the provision of a minister in every parish created trouble-spots of recusancy in some areas, such as the Borders. The one attempt to erect Roman Catholic worship publicly, at Easter 1563, took place in the south-west. It was stage-managed by Archbishop John Hamilton of St Andrews assisted by personnel of two conservative monastic communities (Paisley of which he was the commendator and Crossraguel) the beneficed clergy of some of the churches appropriated to them, and the earl of Cassillis with some of his kinsmen and dependents. The Jesuits were active mainly in those areas protected by the earl of Huntly (i.e. Aberdeenshire, Moray and Sutherland), in parts of the Lothians under the patronage of Lord Seton, and in and around Dumfries with the support of Lord Maxwell and the abbot of New Abbey. There is only a little surviving evidence of reported recusancy in the west Highlands and the Islands prior to 1603.



Mearns — Areas and places mentioned in the report on recusancy of 1587/8

Moray — Areas and places of Jesuit activity in 1580s and 1590s

Caithness — Areas mentioned in the report on recusancy of 1588 and of Jesuit activity in 1580s and 1590s

■ Celebration of or attendance at mass or other sacraments according to Roman Catholic rite

□ General nonconformity and adherence to Catholic belief and observance

▲ Places associated with clergy cited before the privy council, 1569

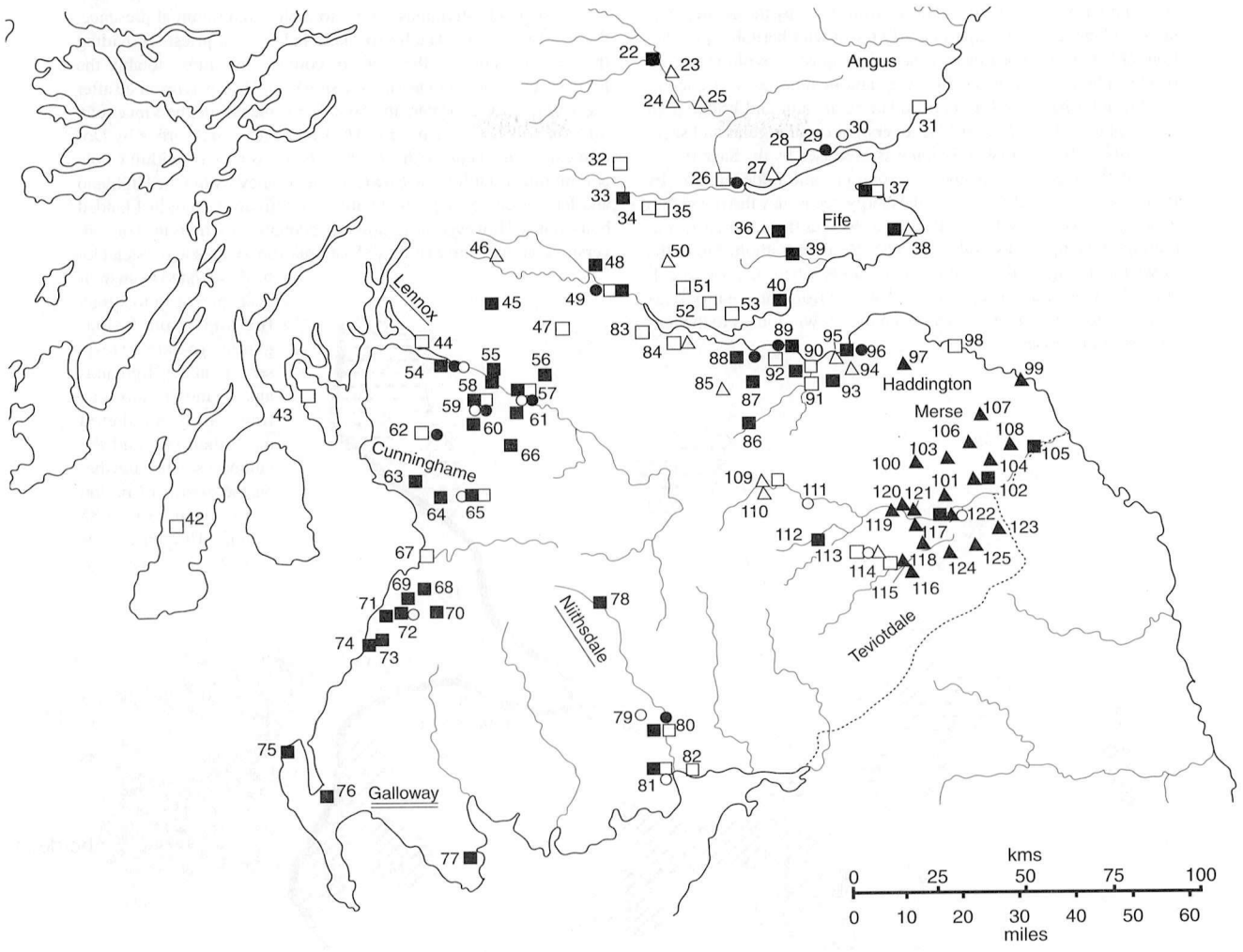
△ Places associated with the benefices of those deprived for failure to subscribe the Articles of Faith 1573

kms 0 25 50 75 100
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles

Roman Catholic recusancy 1560 to 1603

MHBS

Roman Catholic recusancy



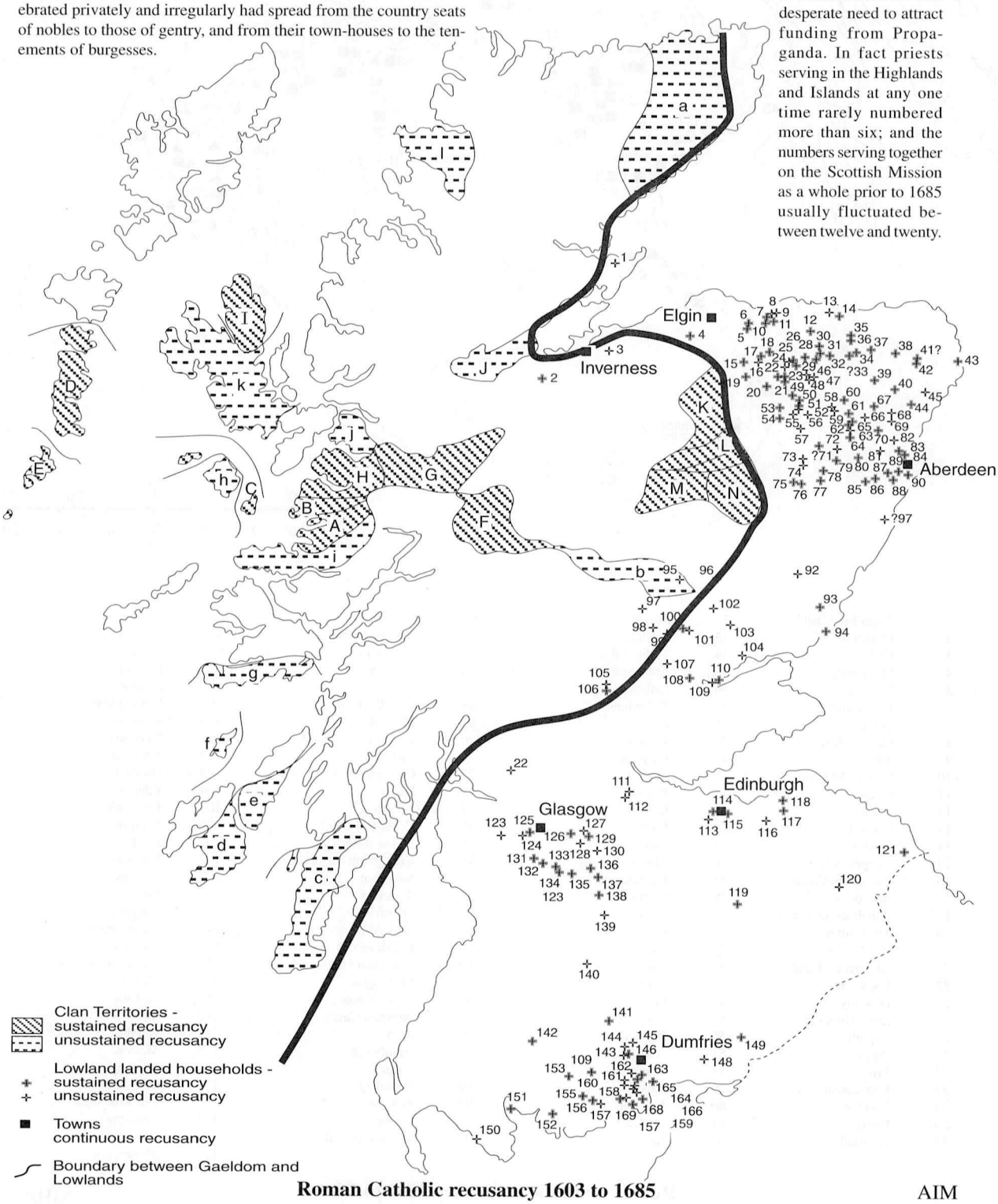
1	Dunrobin Castle	32	Monzie	63	Eglinton	94	Pencaitland
2	Dornoch	33	Muthill	64	'Cambuskeith'	95	Tranent
3	Elgin	34	Tullibardine	65	Kilmarnock	96	Seton
4	Lhanbryde	35	Auchterarder	66	Eaglesham	97	Garvald
5	Fordyce	36	Lathrisk	67	Ayr	98	Dunbar
6	Rothiemay	37	St Andrews	68	Cassillis Castle	99	Coldingham
7	Turriff	38	Crail	69	Maybole	100	Bassendean
8	Gight Castle	39	Markinch	70	Kirkmichael Castle	101	Nenthorn
9	Tarves	40	Balwearie Castle	71	Kirkoswald	102	Swinton
10	Esslemont Castle	41	South Uist	72	Crossraguel Abbey	103	Greenlaw
11	Udny	42	Kintyre	73	Dailly	104	Ednam
12	Ellon	43	Bute	74	Girvan	105	Fishwick
13	Slains Castle	44	Cardross	75	Corsewall Castle	106	Langton
14	Daviot	45	Fintry	76	Soulseat Abbey	107	Bunkle
15	Chapel of Garioch	46	Aberfoyle	77	Cruggleton Castle	108	Whitsome
16	Balquhain Castle	47	Kilsyth	78	Sanquhar	109	Peebles
17	Aberdeen	48	Dunblane	79	Terregles	110	Manor
18	Banchory-Devenick	49	Stirling	80	Dumfries	111	Traquair
19	Maryculter	50	Dollar	81	New Abbey	112	Ettrick Forest
20	Ury Castle	51	Saline	82	Caerlaverock	113	Ashkirk
21	Glenbervie Castle	52	Dunfermline	83	Callendar House	114	Hassendean
22	Logierait	53	Fordell Castle	84	Linlithgow	115	Minto
23	Dowally	54	Erskine	85	Kirknewton	116	Bedrule
24	Little Dunkeld	55	Garscadden	86	Newhall Castle	117	Maxton
25	Caputh	56	Provan	87	Currie	118	Ancrum
26	Perth	57	Glasgow	88	Edinburgh	119	Melrose
27	Errol	58	Renfrew	89	Leith	120	Dryburgh
28	Longforgan	59	Paisley	90	Restalrig	121	Mertoun
29	Dundee	60	Neilston	91	Newbattle	122	Old Roxburgh
30	Fintry	61	Cathcart	92	Niddrie	123	Yetholm
31	Arbroath	62	Ladyland Castle	93	Cranston Castle	124	Crailing
						125	Morebattle

Roman Catholic recusancy 1560 to 1603 MHBS

Roman Catholic recusancy

The prospects for Catholicism as a living faith within Scottish communities were transformed radically, if gradually, following the reinvigoration of the Scottish mission from the second decade of the seventeenth century. The ground rules for the work of conversion in the Lowlands were laid down from 1617 by the Jesuits who targeted landed families, particularly those with heritable jurisdictions able to protect priests and encourage apostasy within their territorial spheres of influence. Leading catholic families were encouraged to intermarry both to consolidate their faith and bridge their geographic isolation. From 1622 oversight of all regular and secular clergy on the Scottish mission was exercised by the Sacred College of Propaganda at Rome. Despite chronic underfunding by Propaganda and rivalries among the clergy, recusancy thrived within geographic pockets in the south-west as well as the north-east, continuing on an upward spiral until 1685. By then Catholicism in the Lowlands though still based on households where mass was celebrated privately and irregularly had spread from the country seats of nobles to those of gentry, and from their town-houses to the tenements of burgesses.

In the Highlands and Islands the neglect of organised religion allied to relative spiritual deprivation since the Reformation had offered the greatest prospects for the entrenchment of Catholicism as the faith of whole communities. Although Jesuits and secular priests made strenuous efforts to maintain a minimal presence, the dearth of native Gaelic speakers led to Irish priests providing the main impetus for the work of conversion - most notably the Franciscans, whose pioneering mission from 1619 was resumed after a gap of twenty-two years in 1668. In the meantime the Vincentian mission which commenced in 1651 and occasional sorties by Dominicans helped ensure that Catholicism was revived within whole communities. Unlike the Lowlands, recusancy within the Highland and Islands can be identified with clan affiliations, not just landed households. However the optimistic accounting of thousands of conversions in the course of these Irish missionary endeavours cannot be dissociated from their desperate need to attract funding from Propaganda. In fact priests serving in the Highlands and Islands at any one time rarely numbered more than six; and the numbers serving together on the Scottish Mission as a whole prior to 1685 usually fluctuated between twelve and twenty.



Roman Catholic recusancy 1603 to 1685 AIM

Roman Catholic recusancy

Lowland landed households-sustained recusancy dating from initial citation

2 Dochfour,1667
4 'Tulliquode',1653
5 Huntly*, 1604
6 'Swelton', 1653
7 Arradoul, 1650
10 Farnachty, 1622
11 Letterfourie
12 Park, 1666
14 Banff*,1631
15 'Murefauld', 1661
17 Auchindachy, 1628
18 'Clasterm', 1653
19 Auchindown, 1607
20 Baldorney, 1685
21 Wellheads, 1647
22 Cairnborrow, 1628
23 Artloch, 1649
26 Littlemill, 1628
27 Cormalet, 1628
28 Rothiemay, 1653
29 Auchingoul, 1684
30 Auchintoul, 1669
31 Frendraught*, 1632
32 Oliphant*, 1652
33 'Dunkinty' 1629 ?
34 Delgatie, 1625
35 'Blacktoun', 1628
36 'Artamford'. 1643
37 Auchry, 1620
38 Fedderate, 1661
39 Gight, 1607
40 Schivas, 1637
41 'Knockmylne', 1629 ?
42 Crichie, 1671
43 'Cairnfield', 1681
44 'Bridgeford', 1661
49 Culdrain, 1638
50 Cults, 1663
51 Kirkhill, 1663
53 Lesmoir, 1639
54 Craig, 1624
60 Warthill, 1685
61 Pitcaple, 1628
62 Braco, 1668
64 Fetternear, 1653
65 Balquhain, 1685
67 Meldrum, 1639
70 Concraig, 1607
71 Kirkton, 1685 ?
75 Aboyne*, 1656
76 Drumgesk, 1629
77 Beltie, 1630
78 Learney, 1653
79 Corsindae, 1607
80 Skene, 1672
83 Grandhome, 1661
84 Balgownie, 1628
85 Drum, 1640
86 Craigton, 1629
87 Hilton, 1627
88 Blairs, 1628
89 Pitfodels, 1644
90 Tullos, 1653
93 Wester Braikie, 1649
94 'Newgrange', 1624
96 Clintlaw, 1653
100 Craigie, 1610
106 Perth*, 1685
108 Kinnoul*, 1650
110 'Gormock', 1669
114 Coates, 1669
115 Niddrie, 1653
117 Clerkington, 1685
118 Garleton, 1671
119 Traquair*, 1667
121 Mordington*, 1641
125 Haggs, 1679
126 'Braidsholme', 1683
129 Lauchope, 1683
131 Bogton, 1683
132 Sheilds, 1683
133 Shawtonhill, 1683
134 Chapelton, 1683
135 Sempill*, 1606
136 Woodside, 1683
137 Craignethan, 1683
138 'Whiteside', 1683
141 Barjarg, 1684
146 Herries*. 1606
149 Wauchope, 1627
151 Bagbie, 1634
152 'Nunton', 1665
153 Parton, 1647
154 Barncailzie, 1684
155 Breoch, 1664
156 'Brakenside', 1667
158 Auchenskeoch, 1628
163 Conheath, 1620
164 Kirkconnell, 1627
165 Nithsdale*, 1606
168 Kirkhouse, 1684
169 Torrorie, 1684

Lowland landed households- unsustained recusancy dating from final citation

1 Cromarty, 1631
3 Cawdor, 1631
8 'Fetterletter', 1631
9 'Edinville', 1631
13 Whitehills, 1622
16 Tombreck, 1630
24 'Terrisoule'. 1628
25 'Drumquhill', 1651
45 Auchleuchries, 1655
46 Lessendrum, 1629
47 Monellie, 1668
48 Troupsmill, 1629
52 Mosstown, 1667
55 Forbes*, 1606
56 New Leslie, 1630
57 Terpersie, 1667
58 Newton, 1621
59 'Rayniston', 1629
63 Keithny, 1629
66 Bourtie, 1628
68 Udny, 1639
69 Tillygreig, 1628
72 Cluny, 1633
73 Craigievar, 1608
74 Camphill, 1648
81 Caskieben, 1669
82 Goval, 1656
91 'Carrone', 1607 ?
92 Balnamoon, 1627
95 Ashintully, 1639
97 Kinnaird, 1607
98 Inver, 1641
99 Murthly, 1615
101 Gourdie, 1607
102 Balwhyrne, 1670
103 Drumkilbo, 1640
104 Gray*, 1653
105 Alichmore, 1639
107 Coldrochie, 1649
109 Errol*, 1672
111 West Kerse, 1629
112 Middlerig, 1629
113 'Redhall', 1653
116 Winton*, 1658
120 Home*, 1606
122 Drumquhassle, 1624
123 Abercorn*, 1653
124 Cowglen, 1615
127 Monkland, 1615
128 Carfin, 1657
130 Cambusnethan, 1627
139 Douglas*, 1653
140 Carco, 1660
142 Garroch, 1622
143 'Mains', 1628
144 Gribton, 1632
145 Cowhill, 1627
147 Almagill, 1627
148 Middlebie, 1628
150 Monreith, 1628
157 Kirkennan, 1667
159 Lochhill, 1634
160 Kinharvie, 1632
161 Troston, 1627
162 Mabie, 1643
166 'Arkiebus', 1627
167 Corbelly, 1627

Towns with a continuous history of recusancy dating from initial citation

Aberdeen , 1605
Dumfries, 1605
Elgin, 1623
Edinburgh, 1605
Glasgow, 1607
Inverness, 1653

Clan territories (i) sustained recusancy dating from initial mission

A Moidart, 1624
B Arisaig and South Morar, 1625
C Eigg and Canna, 1625
D Benbecula, South Uist and Eriskay, 1625
E Barra, 1626
F Braes of Lochaber, 1636
G Glengarry, 1651
H Knoydart and North Morar, 1651
I Trotternish, 1652
J Strathfarrer, Strathglass and the Aird, 1669
K Inveravon and Glenlivet, 1652
L Strathavon and Strathdon, 1630
M Braemar, 1660
N Upper Deeside, 1632

(ii) unsustained recusancy dating duration

a Caithness and East Sutherland, 1619-37
b Blair Atholl, 1636-46
c Kintyre and Gigha, 1619-47
d Islay, 1624-47
e Jura, 1624-37
f Colonsay, 1624-39
g Ross of Mull, 1624-47
h Rum and Muck, 1625-37
i Ardnamurchan and Sunart, 1625-53
j Glenelg, 1624-37
k Skye, 1624-37
l Assynt, 1624-37

Names within quotes do not appear on the modern Ordnance Survey map; they lay within the same parish as the place plotted on the map.

A query indicates that the identification of the place-name is probable rather than definite.

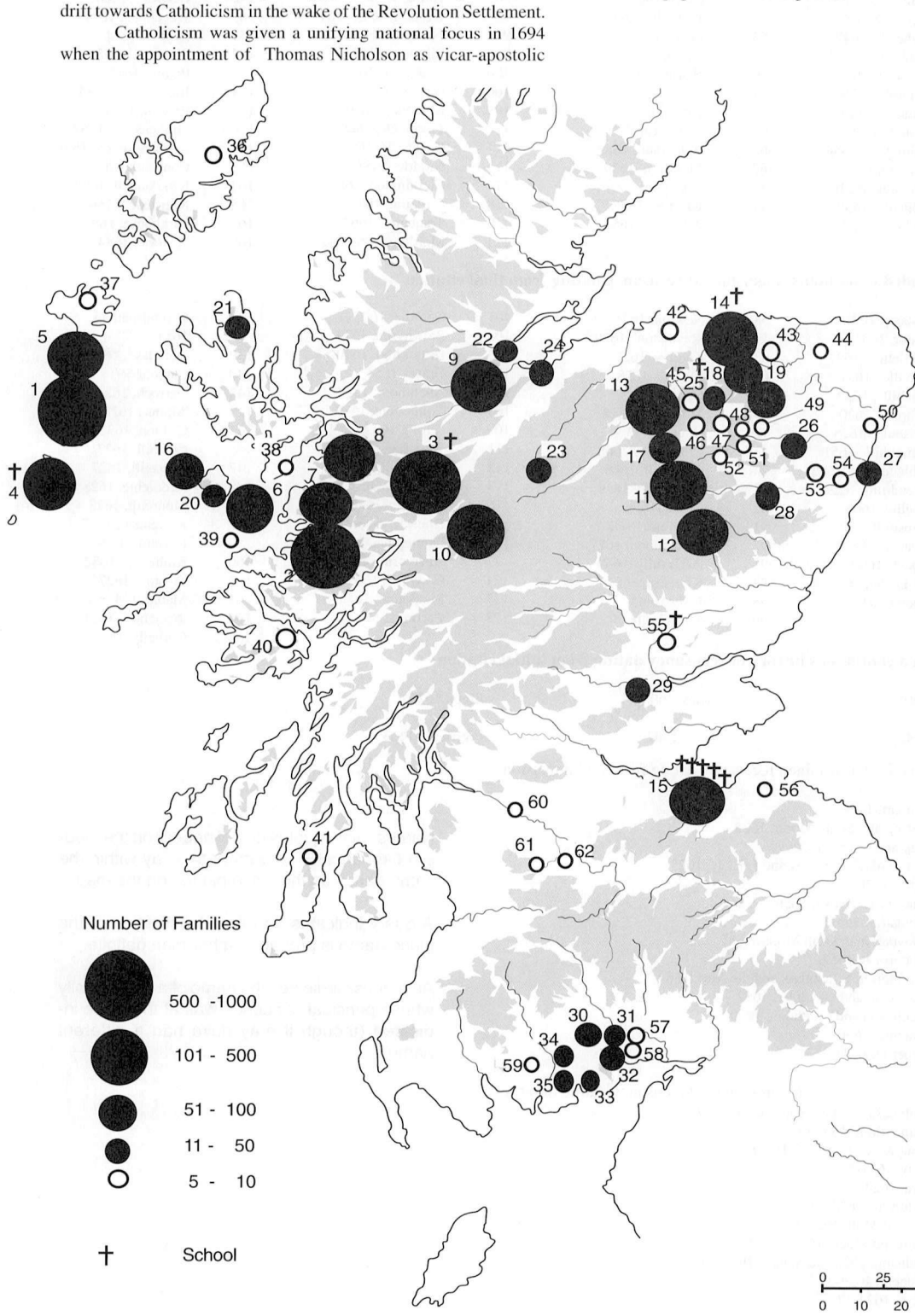
An asterisk indicates the name of a noble family whose principal residence was at the place indicated (though it may have had a different name).

AIM

Roman Catholic recusancy

Recusancy after 1650 was marked by a distinct increase in the number of apostates from Protestantism. Although the toleration conceded in 1687 lasted barely two years and was sandwiched between anti-popish riots in Edinburgh, the brief reign of James VII afforded Catholics the opportunity to worship publicly and propagate their faith free from harassment by the kirk. Holyroodhouse became the centre of Catholicism in Scotland, with a chapel run by the secular clergy, a Jesuit college and a printing press for devotional tracts and liturgical books. Although the deposition of James VII in 1683 obliged the Scottish Mission to resume its covert and underfunded posture, the king's refusal to sacrifice his faith for his throne stiffened the resolve of the recusants not to be reconciled to Protestantism in the Highlands and Islands; moreover, despite a continuing shortage of Gaelic-speaking priests there was a pronounced drift towards Catholicism in the wake of the Revolution Settlement.

Catholicism was given a unifying national focus in 1694 when the appointment of Thomas Nicholson as vicar-apostolic brought the Scottish Mission under the episcopal jurisdiction of the first native bishop since the demise of the last of the pre-Reformation hierarchy ninety-one years earlier. (The canonical authority exercised by prefects-apostolic since 1653 had been confined to secular clergy in the Lowlands.) Although Nicholson did not take up his duties in Scotland until 1696 and another five years were to elapse before the Jesuits made a formal and complete submission to his authority, the proved standing of the Scottish Mission in the eyes of Propaganda ensured that the number of serving priests rose steadily above thirty by 1707. Yet despite the radical transformation of Catholicism into a community-based faith by the early eighteenth century, recusancy remained a minority pursuit between 1603 and 1707. Professed papists probably amount to no more than 2% of the total population in this period.



1 South Uist
2 Moidart
3 Glengarry
4 Barra
5 Benbecula
6 Eigg
7 Arisaig and South Morar
8 Knoydart and North Morar
9 Strathfarrar, Strathglass and the Aird
10 Braes of Lochaber
11 Braemar
12 Upper Deeside
13 Inveravon and Glenlivet
14 Bellie
15 Edinburgh
16 Canna
18 Huntly
19 Cairnie
20 Rum
21 Trotternish
22 Ross
23 Badenoch
24 Inverness
25 Keith
26 Chapel of Garioch
27 Aberdeen
28 Aboyne
29 Muthill
30 Terregles
31 Troqueer
32 New Abbey
33 Colvend
34 Urr
35 Buittle
36 Lewis
37 North Uist
38 Sleat
39 Muck
40 Mull
41 Largie
42 Elgin
43 Grange
44 King Edward
45 Mortlach
46 Glass
47 Botriphne
48 Gartly
49 Forgue
50 Ellon
51 Drumblade
51 Insch
53 Echt
54 Peterculter
55 Cargill
56 Athelstaneford
57 Dumfries
58 Caerlaverock
59 Kelton
60 Glasgow
61 East Kilbride
62 Glassford

Roman Catholic recusancy 1685 to 1707 AIM