

Leontopit.

St. Andrew's.

PRIORY OF PUCCARONE OR VALF OF S. ANDREA. MONTABELLUNA, ITALY.

HISTORY
OF THE
RELIGIOUS HOUSE OF PLUSCARDYN,

CONVENT OF THE VALE OF SAINT ANDREW, IN MORAYSHIRE;

J. F. S. Gordon 1882.

WITH INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING THE HISTORY AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT
STATE OF THE MOTHER-HOUSE OF THE ORDER OF
VALLIS CAULIUM (VAL DES CHOUX)
IN BURGUNDY.

BY

REV. S. R. MACPHAIL, A.M., LIVERPOOL.



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MDCCCLXXXI.

I have been silent all this while, my lord,
To see if any worthier than my selfe
Would once have spoke in poore Cordellae's cause :
But love or feare ties silence to their toungs.
Oh, hear me speak for her, my gracious lord,
Whose deeds have not deserb'd this ruthlesse doome
As thus to disinherit her of all.

TO

ALEXANDER WHYTE, A.M., D.D.,

MINISTER OF FREE SAINT GEORGE'S CHURCH, EDINBURGH,

I Dedicate my Book,

ON THE COMPLETION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF

OUR FRIENDSHIP,

AS AN EXPRESSION OF DEEPENING REGARD AND ADMIRATION OF

GIFTS AND CHARACTER

CONSECRATED TO THE WORK OF CHRIST,

AND THE NOBLEST OF THE SCIENCES.

P R E F A C E .

IN connection with a ministry of nine years in the City of Elgin, it was the Author's privilege to institute an Annual Course of Lectures, under the auspices of the various associations for Christian work, in the Free High Church there. Several of these Lectures, delivered by various friends throughout Scotland, have become part of the book and periodical literature of our time. The Lecture, of which this volume is an expansion, was delivered early in 1878. The reception it met with as an original contribution to local history, and specially the kind urgency of two highly-esteemed citizens, since deceased—Robert Young, Esquire, and Dr James Taylor—led to the intention of publication. When revising the MS. for the press, the conviction soon became very deep that the subject demanded, before publication, much more investigation among the materials then accessible. Information, received not long afterwards, led to the belief that for a history of Pluscardyn materials existed much more valuable than was generally supposed. Nor was the Author long in making the additional discovery, that he was unacquainted with much that was indispensable in those regions of knowledge, from which many facts and judgments essential to such work must be drawn. A course of antiquarian reading was thus entered on, which has been necessarily of an elementary character. Many of the explanations and great part of some of the chapters which appear in this volume are thus accounted for, having been written on the supposition that many ordinary readers are, perhaps, as ignorant on these matters as the Author was up till a very recent date.

A visit to the Val des Choux, with the friend to whom the volume is dedicated, gave a considerable impulse to the enlargement of the original plan, especially as it furnished materials, probably hitherto unknown in Britain,

for a history of the Order by which Pluscardyn was first occupied. The history of the Priory of Urchard, with which Pluscardyn was united in 1454, demanded a separate study. Another considerable difficulty was found in the circumstance that the original Charters very frequently presented points which by no means corresponded to previous notices and traditional outlines of the history of the Priory. An expert would probably have found but little difficulty in such a case, but it was sufficiently embarrassing to one who had little knowledge and no experience in work of this kind. Thus the book has been much delayed and also much extended.

The writer has very little expectation that he has been able to disentangle the Charters and other documents which he has been called to peruse, from the perplexities and contradictions he has frequently found among his collected materials; and he is the less confident regarding his success because he has, in several instances, been led to differ from the men on whose scientific and specific knowledge he has entirely depended in all cases where the authority for statements did not seem to require from him original investigation.

The references in the volume are almost all at first hand. Occasionally, though very rarely, they have been taken on trust, from the difficulty of access to certain books since leaving Scotland. It would be impossible to name here all those whose kindness in giving the use of books has enabled the Author to make many of his references. The libraries of the late Professor Cosmo Innes, and of the late Mr Thomson, of Banchory, have been peculiarly helpful. Some other beginner may be pleased to know that the former of these valuable collections is in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, and the latter in the Free Church College, Aberdeen. To the interested and encouraging services of Alexander Taylor Innes, Esquire, Advocate, and D. Douglas, Esquire, Publisher, Edinburgh, the Author owes his introduction to the Rev. J. Woodward of Montrose, from whom the original Charters and Copies of Charters of Pluscardyn, forming the collection of the late Dr John Stuart, have been procured. Mr Woodward has most handsomely and cordially given not only the use of the documents, but also every permission for the reproduction of such of them as

were required for this volume. Every reader will see to how large a degree the documents collected by Dr Stuart contribute to the completeness of this little history.

To the service just mentioned Mr Douglas has added another of much value, in granting unfettered use of a volume of original drawings by NATTES, in which five separate views of the Priory occur. Two of these are here reproduced in the most faithful manner possible. Other workers in Scotch antiquities would find in these volumes by Nattes much unexpected material for ascertaining the state of many towns, cathedrals, abbeys, priories, residences, &c., at the close of last century.*

The late and the present Earls of Fife have been generously pleased to give every access to the buildings of the Priory and to the Charter Chest of the Fife Family. This permission has been well sustained by the kind services of their Lordships' representatives, A. Lawson, Esquire, at Elgin, and J. Hannay, Esquire, at Banff, to the latter of whom very special thanks are accorded for several hours spent in search, on more than one occasion, among the Charters at Duff House. Several important portions of the history have been re-adjusted, or confirmed, from the Charters discovered through the remarkable confidence and freedom enjoyed in examining the Fife muniments.

Captain Dunbar Dunbar, of Sea Park, readily supplied materials bearing on Pluscardyn, taken from the Charter Chest at Gordonstown. A. H. Dunbar, Esquire, has all along been a willing and valuable correspondent whenever any appeal was found necessary to his correct and careful information and work. Joseph Anderson, Esquire, the present Rhind Lecturer and Curator at the Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, has, on several occasions, proved his well-known pleasure in assisting others with his rare information and valuable opinion; while James Grant, Esquire, of the General Register House, has no less taken a most kind interest in the progress of this work. To none of

* A stray sculptured stone, whose proper *locus* no one could determine, has been assigned its true place in the building to which it belonged from having been found figured *in situ* in one of Nattes' drawings of Elgin.

these gentlemen, however, does the writer owe so much for encouragement, assistance, and counsel as to Thomas Dickson, Esquire, of the General Register House, Edinburgh, whose time, pen, knowledge, and judgment have all been frequently and not less cordially employed in connection with this volume. To have received so much unmerited encouragement and help, and from such quarters, makes the difficulties of ignorance and inexperience almost pleasant to remember.

Most of the illustrations of the Priory ruins are from the skilful pencil of the Author's friend, Galloway Mackintosh, Esquire, Elgin, who has shown the liveliest concern, and has taken not a little generous trouble, in the production of this history.

A large proportion of the information regarding the Val des Choux, not derived from the work of M. Mignard frequently quoted, has been furnished by M. Alker, the proprietor of Vallis Caulium, having been copied by him from French works, to which access is extremely difficult. To M. Alker the work also owes the illustrations of the Burgundian House, which were photographed by M. Geymet, of Paris.

M. Mignard, of Dijon, who has, as a correspondent, kindly communicated much interesting detail, gave the readiest permission to use the ground plan of the Mother House which is found in his last work. At the Author's solicitation M. Mignard sought for and has obtained a copy of the Badge of the Order of Vallis Caulium, which was not known to him when he wrote his own great work which embraced the history of the Order. The Badge will be found at the close of the Introduction, carefully reproduced from the copy sent by M. Mignard.

The names now mentioned are but a few of those which occur when remembering how many friends have manifested an interest in the work now completed. Some of these names are mentioned in the course of the volume, but there are many services which do not admit of precise mention, and yet are services quite as substantial as those whose connection with results is much more apparent.

It is with high satisfaction that the Author is able to state that almost all the proof sheets have been read over by his ever-helpful and learned friend, the Rev. Dr Marcus Dods, Glasgow, while the chief labour of the Appendix has fallen on the Rev. James Calder Macphail, Edinburgh. It is but fair to state that the text and its Charter references were in type before the Appendix was passed into hands, so long and so well trained under the late Professor Cosmo Innes. Should the text be found by experts of little scientific value, the Author has no doubt that the Appendix, as examined, transcribed, or corrected by his brother, will go far to provide a brief Chartulary of the Priory of Pluscardyn, valuable alike for its original materials and for the accuracy of its presentation. It should, however, be understood, that the writer alone is responsible for the selection of the Charters here printed. To secure greater accuracy, the proofs have been compared in almost every case where it was possible with the original Charters or the best remaining MSS. Thus, for Appendix C, the Macfarlane MSS. have been followed rather than Mr Chisholm Batten's work, to which reference is made at page 16.

It was at one time intended to have introduced into this history a detailed account of the historical and other antiquities, and also of the topographical characteristics of the entire Glen of Pluscarden. It was, however, found that this would demand a measure and kind of investigation which could not be overtaken without very considerable delay in publication. One point may, however, be here mentioned, of more than ordinary interest, which escaped notice in the course of the history. Auchtertyre seems, from the Charters, to have been the earliest part of the Priory's possessions under full cultivation, and must have been thus cultivated previous to the thirteenth century. A valuable discovery of bronze and other implements was here made by Mr Sime in 1868, at a place known as "Tammiroo." A description of the hoard, by Dr Gordon of Birnie, may be found in Vol. IX. of the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The narrative occurs in a paper on "Bronze Celts, which have apparently been tinned," and the find is partly figured in Plate XXVI., opposite page 436. It consists of spear-heads, a socketed celt, some

bronze rings, and fragments of tin. In Mr Evans' "Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain,"* there are various references to this valuable and almost unique hoard (see pages 126, 315, 382, 425, 468), and figures of some of the articles are given on pages 383 and 472. Mr Evans tells us (page 425) that the "tin" is on analysis found to be a *soft solder*, consisting of 78·66 parts of tin, and 21·34 parts of lead. In the Ordnance Survey the spot where the find was made is marked *Tor Ruadh* (The Red Hill?) and it is interesting to note that a little east of this spot is Gallowhill, for the significance of which name we may, perhaps, most fitly turn to Mr Gomme's "Primitive Folk-Moots."† The perusal of the volume just mentioned has suggested several interesting points connected with facts passed over without notice in the course of the history of the Priory. One of these is the Convention of Burgesses in the Church-yard of St Giles at Elgin, in 1272, when a dispute between the monks and the town was settled. It appears that in the choice of the cemetery as the place of meeting there is a survival of an older religious cultus, in which the places of sepulchre and of judgment were closely bound together (Primitive Folk-Moots, pp. 41-59). Mr Gomme refers (page 66) to *negative* evidence of the cemetery being used for popular assembly. The Charter at page 210 of this volume supplies *positive* evidence. The negative evidence is, however, too valuable to be omitted here. It runs thus in the Acts of Parliament of Scotland,‡ "*Inhibitum est quod placita vite aut terrarum seu aliquarum querelarum tenta sint in Sancta Ecclesia vel in cimiterio vel in aliquo alio loco sacrato.*" Unfortunately this restriction occurs among the undated scraps of legal enactments which are inserted among the Acts of Parliament. In the old Rental referred to at pages 180 and 254, there is special reference to a *thorn tree* as a definite point in the Marches of territory. Again, at page 159, there is mention made of a very ancient thorn within the precincts of the Priory. Thorn trees were anciently places of popular assembly, and these old thorns may very probably have been used for this purpose, and

* Longmans & Co., 1881.

† Sampson, Low & Co., 1880.

‡ Vol. I., page 388.

hence the extreme popular veneration which clings to the old thorn in the precincts.* It may be added, in support of this suggestion, that the thorn occupies the place where such assemblies of the *Folk* would almost certainly be held by the monks, viz., between the buildings of the monastery and the well (Folk-Moots, page 40). There are several remains of *Stone Circles* in Urquhart. Traditions abound of circles on the hill south of the Priory of Pluscardyn, where the "Chapel Well" still retains its name, but can never have had any connection with the Priory. The traditional and historical use of Netherbyre as a place of Court, is perhaps indicated in its name, as the *Burlic* or *Byer* court is a well-known relic of the presence of the Northmen in Scotland. †

It should have been noted, in connection with the Dedication Crosses at Pluscardyn, that Dr A. Mitchell, in a paper on "The Inscribed Stones of Kirkmadrine," ‡ has made special reference to the Dedication Crosses of Elgin and of Pluscardyn. Dr Mitchell also gives figures of Crosses from both of the places named (pp. 579 and 580).

As it is very desirable that all classes of readers should have an opportunity of studying the authorised restrictions and practices of the Order of Monks, which is most prominent in this volume, a translation of the Papal Confirmation of the Order of Vallis Caulium is here given — the Latin occurring in Appendix A, pp. 193, 194. From this Appendix the translation has been made by the Author's nephew, Mr J. R. N. Macphail.

BULL OF INNOCENT III. CONFIRMING THE ORDER OF VALLIS CAULIUM
AND TAKING THE MONKS UNDER THE APOSTOLIC PROTECTION.—
10th Feb., 1205-6.

INNOCENT, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his beloved sons the Prior and brothers of Vallis Caulium greeting and the Apostolic benediction, the Apostolic See is wont to comply with pious longings and graciously to bestow on its petitioners the favour craved in their earnest prayers. From the letter of our right venerable

* "Primitive Folk-Moots," pp. 136, 155, 275.

† *Ut supra*, pp. 290-299. The name may, however, mean simply the "*Nether abode*," and so would be the same as Netherby. See Isaac Taylor's "Words and Places," page 104.

‡ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. IX., pp. 568, 899.

brother G., elect of *Rheims*, we have learned how, in his passage through the diocese of Langres, he found that you had taken on you in Vallis Caulium the institution of a new Order, in which his careful enquiries discovered nothing save what was religious and well fitting. He found, in fact, as the same letter goes on to say, that, according to your constitution, the Prior must be one of the monks whom you, my sons, the monks, shall choose, to whom all of you monks and likewise lay brethren—the number of whom may not exceed twenty—shall see that ye yield reverence and obedience as your spiritual father. None of you shall possess any private property. You shall meet together daily and sing mass and the canonical hours, and those who desire may celebrate private masses as well. You shall hold a daily chapter, and shall read the twelve lessons at the appointed times. You shall work together. You shall also eat together in the refectory, refraining yourselves from flesh and gravy. The Prior shall eat with you in the same refectory, and content himself with the same food and raiment as the rest. From the feast of the resurrection of our Lord on to the exaltation of the Holy Cross you shall eat twice a day, passing the remainder of the time on fasting diet, and resting content on Fridays with bread, water, and a single relish. On Christmas Day you shall not fast, neither on any Friday during summer on which a feast of twelve lessons may fall. You shall live on your own revenues. You shall preserve silence. Women shall not pass within your inner bounds, nor shall any of you, except the Prior, cross the outer bounds save on the business of the Order. It shall, however, be competent for the Prior, when engaged or disabled by sickness, if some urgent necessity or the evident interests of the Order demand it, to appoint whom he pleases to go in his stead. You shall wear hair shirts next your skin, but those who cannot endure this shall not be forced. Linen and canvas garments shall on no account be used, and you shall wear dresses of coarse undyed wool and skins. You shall lie in tunic, girdle, and heavy shoes, and you my sons, the monks, in your cowls besides, and in no place shall ye at any time repose on mattresses. Your novices shall be in probation for a year. You my sons, the monks, moreover, shall have your time at your own disposal, from matins till your work begins and from vespers till sunset, for reading, prayer, and meditation, excepting such as the Prior, in his discretion, may deem it right to withdraw for some definite and necessary reason.

And we, giving ear to your just requests, hereby take under our protection and that of the blessed Peter your persons and the place in which you have given yourselves up to the service of God, as also all that ye at present justly possess or may in time to come obtain, through God's help, by grant of Pontiffs, liberality of kings or princes, the offerings of the faithful, or other honourable modes of acquisition. And in particular, we confirm by Apostolic authority the Order itself as instituted with deliberate fore-

thought and the approval of the Bishop, and fortify it with the patronage of the present writing. Wherefore, let no man whatever venture to infringe this our writing of protection and confirmation, nor recklessly transgress it in any way. And if any one shall presume so to do, let him know that he shall assuredly incur the indignation of Almighty God and the blessed Peter and Paul, His apostles.—Given at Rome, at St Peter's, in the one thousand two hundred and fifth year of our Lord's Incarnation, on the tenth day of February, in the seventh year of our Pontificate.

In completing this history, the Author would express his sense of the great kindness he has received in Elgin and its neighbourhood in the present as well as in much more important work. Should this small contribution to local history by a Moray "loon" serve to continue a measure of the warm interest shown in him and his pursuits in the past, he will feel amply rewarded for his efforts to throw some additional light on the history of a spot of which all loons are so justly proud. He now commends this little work to the indulgent goodwill of experts in a region where he is but a tyro. What hearty labour could produce, with the facilities and in the time at his disposal from other more important occupation, he has tried to place before his readers, and he feels that, by considerable expenditure of patience and effort, he has at the least saved some more competent future historian a large amount of perplexity, toil, and time.

It only remains to add that the General Index has been carefully compiled by the publisher, J. S. Ferrier, Esquire.

77 CANNING STREET,
LIVERPOOL, *November*, 1881.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Alexander Dunbar'. The script is cursive and somewhat stylized, with a large initial 'A' and 'D'.

Signature of ALEXANDER DUNBAR, the last Monastic
Prior of Pluscardyn.

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

In Search of the Val des Choux.

THIS volume is intended to furnish a narrative of what is known regarding the Priory of Pluscardyn, in Morayshire. The Priory was founded as a house of the Order of VALLIS CAULIUM, or VAL DES CHOUX. France and Scotland seem to have had all the houses of this Order. In Scotland there were three of its monasteries, all erected in the same year, *Pluscardyn*, *Beauly*, and *Ardchattan*. In undertaking to narrate the history of one of these, we felt a strong desire to trace the fall and destruction of the Burgundian Mother House more fully than had been done among us up to the early summer of 1878. Mr Chisholm Batten, who was the last engaged on work where information of this kind seemed called for, had written regarding Vallis Caulium in his "HISTORY OF BEAULY PRIORY,"* published in 1877, as follows:—"Although nominally in Burgundy, it was in the poorest district of that province, where the soil is least generous; the aspect of the vale where it stood, shut out from the sun by hills, which bound it to the S. and W., must have been always gloomy and cold. The spot was selected by the founder as a hermitage, and it could never have been divested of that character. The house is spoken of in 1710, 1728, and 1739 as still existing, but small trace of it now remains, and the pilgrim who would visit the site must search for it in the Forest of Chatillon. Its position had too little to recommend it as a residence, and it would seem that when the storm of the Revolution drove away its inmates and cast down its walls, the spot relapsed into the state of primeval forest in which it was found

* Page 143.

by Viard when he first sought its wooded recesses six centuries before its fall." This seemed tolerably definite information, but with the untrained eagerness of a fledgling antiquarian and the half hope of a renewal of the delicious novelty of feeling which we shall ever remember as having come over us when we broke open our first fossil in the Gamrie burn and discovered an almost perfect Pterichthys, we determined that should a chance occur we should certainly be a pilgrim in the Forest of Chatillon searching for the site of the Val des Choux. That very summer afforded the opportunity, and with him whose name stands in the Dedication, Paris was left behind, its *Exposition* having been only very hastily surveyed, for we determined that the 1st August, 1878, should remove all doubt and make us possessors of whatever knowledge might be attainable regarding the remote and "gloomy" hermitage. Our tickets were taken to Switzerland, but seemed sufficiently adjustable to break our journey where we willed. Accordingly, as our time-tables indicated would be the best course to follow, we alighted at *Nuits*, but being manifestly tourists and not traders we with some difficulty persuaded the officials that we had not lost our senses. However, the call for tickets to Chatillon settled the difficulty to this extent, that they seemed satisfied that if we were uncanny folks the Chatillonese would have to settle with us and not the good folks of *Nuits* or their patron saint, Symphorien.

Chatillon (sur Seine) was reached after a delightful run through an entirely new character of country to that which we had previously seen. The whole district seemed to be undergoing great and rapid improvements, quarrying on a very extensive scale, and specially at Ste. Colombe, being most noticeable among the features of advancing activity. An obliging gendarme at the Station directed us to the Hotel Côte d'Or as that most likely to suit us. It was a most happy advice, for any place more to our mind in every way could not have been fashioned for us. The Hotel is a fine old house, with polished floors and furniture as antique as the abode itself, which seems to have dropped almost intact from the feudal times into the nineteenth century. The entrance is through a spacious kitchen, where our friend *Jacques*—for friend we soon learned to count him—stood all day in his spotless white attire behind his ever-singing oven, creating a sense of good cheer by his smiling attention, partly to his passing guests and partly to his savoury dishes. This *chef* is a travelled man; has been in America, Liverpool, and London; can speak at least as good

English as we could French; calls himself a Frenchman, though his speech bristled strongly with German.

Our first business was to endeavour to find in Chatillon whatever information we could about the object of our journey. All our inquiries seemed to be in vain, and the book shops had little to offer. At length a school geography of the Department—published the year before, profusely illustrated, with a capital map, and costing just one franc—showed the much-desired name of *Val des Chour*. Returning to our hotel somewhat elated, as now knowing which way to turn, we found our *chef* had discovered one who could take us to the place; but when we urged that we should go at once, he made such faces, shrugged his shoulders, and gesticulated so violently as he told us—“No roads; no place to remain; too late; night come on; lost in the forest; wild beasts, etc., etc.”—that we had to restrain our ardour with the promise that we should take the road in the morning as early as we liked.

It was well, perhaps, that matters took this turn, for it gave us the opportunity of making ourselves acquainted with the old town, which is, without exception, the quietest place of any size in which we ever chanced to pass an evening. Chatillon has a very ancient and honourable history, both ecclesiastical and civil; while to our British minds it has the interest of having been the scene of an abortive Congress in the days of the First Napoleon, from 5th February to 19th March, 1814. The British plenipotentiaries on the occasion were Lord Castlereagh, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart. The places of residence of these noblemen, as well as of the other plenipotentiaries on this memorable occasion, are carefully indicated in the records of the Congress by M. A. Laperouse, Chevalier de la Légion D'Honneur.

In the Eglise Saint Vorle, which dates back to A.D. 991, and is beautifully situated above the town, we found an interesting series of windows in the S. Bernard Chapel, depicting the most memorable occasions of the Saint's life from the time his mother, Aletta, first led him as a little boy into Chatillon.

The antique and almost motionless aspect of the whole town, together with the air of easy, well-to-do importance which surrounded homes and inhabitants, produced a most pleasing feeling of comfort and rest. The nearest approach, however, to our quest which we could detect was the name of

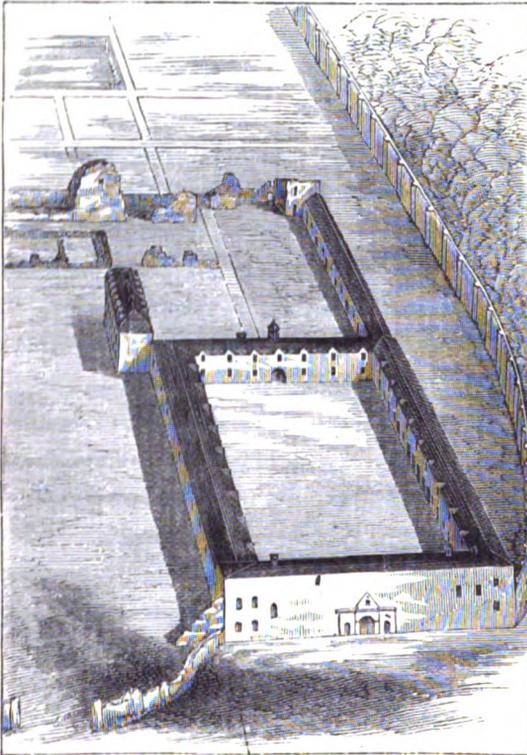
“Docteur H. Viard” on a door. We were very strongly tempted to ring and ask how near a kinship the doctor claimed with the founder of the Monastery of which we were in pursuit. Again we restrained ourselves, and were content to take a note of the name, and make rude drawings of a very peculiar well which stood nearly opposite his door. After witnessing a most beautiful and brilliant sunset, from a point above the town, we retired to place ourselves again under our *chef's* manifold providing, whose individual portions, if daintily small in cubic capacity, were daintily attractive in appearance and taste. In the arbour of the garden we had our last cup of coffee for the night, and soon after we built and overthrew various Monasteries, and rode as belted knights and forest huntsmen in dreamland. Next morning we were sufficiently early astir to renew our visit to most parts of the town before breakfast. Having ordered our charioteer to be in readiness in half an hour, we sat us down to the morning's repast. The *chef* excelled himself this morning. He evidently understood that on the strength of his providing we were to go all that day. Our note-book bears notice of *sixteen* different articles placed on our table—heart, trout, chops and cold mutton being mingled with less recognisable commodities. Eventually our charioteer arrived, but seemed by no means at ease as he regarded us. We soon got beneath the welcome awning of our nondescript conveyance, for brighter August morning never shone than welcomed us forth that day. Our phaeton—or whatever it may be called—had seen better days, and had probably once been accustomed to better carriage ways than it bore us over. It nevertheless answered our purpose well, and we should gladly have another such ride in a much worse hire.

It is needless to describe our journey, though we took careful notes as we went along. The charcoal and bark carts, each drawn by two bullocks, were a pleasing variety on the road in the earlier part of the day. Sometimes the drivers honoured us with a polite salute; sometimes we seemed rather to excite their merriment. Our spirits, however, were too high to feel other than pleased with all kinds of remark. After driving $12\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres, our way passed through VANVEY, whose church we somewhat carefully examined. Here we parted with the token of modern advancement which the telegraph posts supply; and ere long, at 15 kilometres, striking south, we were deep in the Forest of Chatillon—great part of our way being along grass-paved pathways, which could have been used only for convey-

ing through the forest the proceeds of the chase. There is a more direct and a better way forming a diagonal right through the forest, as we afterwards found; but our charioteer evidently felt himself sufficiently long alone with us. While we were enjoying the magnificent novelty of our position, and speculating on the prospects of our journey, our driver was plainly ill at ease. Our laughter and our silence seemed equally suspicious, and at either he would look round timidly and survey our countenances. However, no harm befel the good fellow, and no doubt he slept that night richer than he had been for some time.

Part of our drive through the forest was very steep, and the brushwood very close upon and around us. At about 18 kilometres the valley opens up and shows a fine expanse of brushwood, with a few trees, while larger trees possess the heights on every side. Crossing a stream in the valley, and driving onward perhaps three kilometres more, the ground rises more rapidly, and the hills become more lofty. We passed a lake on our right, with ruins at the lower end, which we surmised might be some stones remaining, one on the other, of some out portion of the old Priory. Here, immediately in front, and in the embrace of an amphitheatre of hills, we saw a huge building which we supposed might be some large erection for utilising the materials of the forest—most probably a *saw mill*, as we understood an American gentleman engaged in some business occasionally resided in the Val des Choux. The next noticeable feature which we perceived was a very strong and high enclosing wall around what seemed to be an extensive orchard. Soon our thoughts and our guesses and half conclusions began to grow wildly large and triumphant. Could this be the old Priory? Could these be its old enclosing walls? It was certainly a hoary building, a pile of other days, and for other purposes than those of modern commerce. We now drove round immediately in front of the building, and as we entered the great gateway, we perceived what seemed two other courts extending onward. Soon we crossed the first court, and our driver drew up. Alighting in somewhat wild excitement, we rushed through the archway into the second court, where we perceived a large and handsome dwelling on the left. To ring the bell was the act of a moment, and it required only another to ask, in French or English, we cannot say which, whether the gentleman of the house was at home. He himself overheard our British voice, and came to the door immediately. We told our errand; said we

understood he knew English, which he protested was scarcely true—though it was so, very much more truly than our efforts at his language could be said to be French. We were soon at ease with our new friend—a French gentleman—who had been in America, and England too, and who is himself the fortunate proprietor of the venerable pile we had now entered. We passed from court to



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF VAL DES CHOUX,
Compiled from Photographs.

The Illustration is not intended to give more than a general idea of the present state of the Buildings.

court of the Priory, and along to the far end, where the old fish-pond still remains in all its completeness, with a plentiful supply of fish, which evidently overcrowd it in these non-monastic days. To the right and beyond there are on the ascent the remains of a Chapel to which the brothers retired on high days, and when they formed great processions. It is now an utter ruin, as, indeed, are most of the buildings of a strictly devotional character.

As we returned, our host, M. Alker, brought us a handsome quarto volume bearing the title, "HISTOIRE DES PRINCIPALES FOUNDATIONS RELIGIEUSES DU BAILLIAGE DE LA MONTAGNE, EN BOURGOGNE."* The fly-leaf bore the name of *Madame Alker*.

Among these foundations we found that of VAL DES CHOUX, with the plan which we have here copied by the kind permission of the author, M. Mignard, though we have ventured on a few slight alterations. Left for a time with this book, we made ourselves acquainted with the fact that there was not only such a place extant as the Priory of Val des Choux, and

* This volume was printed in 1864, the edition containing only 120 copies. We have been fortunate in procuring, through the kindness of the author, one of 30 printed on "*papier de Hollande*."

that it was not so gloomy as Mr Chisholm Batten asserted, for we could not well bear the bright sun-heat which fell so strongly on our heads; but, besides, we learned that there was a very considerable history of the house and its affiliations, brought down to date, for the book was written in 1864, and the materials got from the chartularies and muniments of the Order, still carefully preserved, as will appear later on.

Returning to us, M. Alker kindly led us through the entire range of buildings, beginning at the ruins of the cells and cloister court next the pond, thence to the ground where stood the church, which had been blown down by gunpowder thirty-three years previously—the daughter of the man who lighted the train being then in Madame's kitchen. The story goes that for three whole days afterwards the valley was full of dust and lime. Next this still stands, as the proprietor's residence, the old *Guest House* of the Priory, and more recently the residence of the Duc de Penthièvre, who spent some weeks there every year, as the Dukes of Burgundy had done in earlier days. The entire equipment of this mansion is worthy of its history, the taste and perfect keeping of the old style and more recent furnishing displaying a fitness and delicacy of appreciation in which even Ruskin would rejoice. Behind this was the cemetery of the Priory, adjoining church and guest house. On the opposite side of this court, which was once two courts ere the havoc of rude possessors laid waste the beauty of the place, was the more common Hospice of the Priory. Beyond, and extending backwards towards the pond, were the stores of the house, and at the extreme end the mill, with remains of washing-houses, wine vats, &c., &c. The court by which we first entered is occupied with stables and work-houses, while above, on the right hand entrance, were the dormitories of the lay brothers. Beneath these was the reception room for strangers, which still retains its old door, lock, and massive key—the lattice window being still entire through which the doorkeeper viewed the person seeking admission. On the left side of the great entrance is the chapel of the lay brothers and others who were admitted to worship within the outer precincts. A large plain oaken cross still remains over the inside door, and some plain frescoes on the walls tell of considerable simplicity, or even severity, in connection with the forms of worship there. That the church of the Priory was a much more elegant and gorgeous edifice the remains figured in this volume as drawn in 1833, before the work of desolation was accomplished, will abundantly demon-

strate. They are here copied from the "VOYAGE PITTORESQUE EN BURGOGNE," M. Geymet, of Paris, having kindly supplied photographic copies. Ere leaving we enquired eagerly after the *Well of Viard*, which the traditions assert to have been found by the Duke of Burgundy when he came to fulfil his vow to build a Priory at the Val des Choux, at the spot where he and Viard met some years before. Our host led us out to a place within the enclosure, and marked in our plan though not in that of M. Mignard. There we beheld an old ruined but well-roofed house built over a large well of several springs, into which we entered and refreshed ourselves with delicious water. Around the well's mouth is a clump of very ancient hollies, said to belong to a remote antiquity. Sitting here our French companion told the story of the well in its earliest historic days with smiling incredulity. He then added the story of the hollies with a gusto and a dash which made one think of the days when we lopped off "soldier's heads" in the grass and called them Frenchmen. His version of the story we shall here give, as it formed one of the pleasing features of that bright day's added knowledge. "In 1359 there lived here a great Prior, Pierre de Chateauvillain. In those days the vaults down there, which we crossed from the cloisters to the stores, were well filled with the richest vintages of Pommard, for the monks got so many hogsheads yearly of the best Burgundian wine. At that time the English were sweeping over France and had reached Chatillon, as you did last night. Navarre had probably told the invaders of the monastery in the forest, and the mess, no doubt, heard the wonderful story of the well-stored vaults down here. It was a time for mirth and jollity among the English. To-morrow was Christmas, and there was no work on hand. Significant glances passed round the board. No sooner was the mess over than a good, stout, jolly band got together, and they set out to spend their Christmas Eve at Val des Choux, to test the age and quality of their best Pommard. Late in the evening the house was made aware of the coming of the English through the forest. Pierre alone among the monks seemed equal to the emergency, and though but a monk of the house and not then Prior, he assumed the command, and hastily supplying arms to all the household, monks and lay brothers together, he waited the arrival of the invaders. The bells on the towers—those you see there and others now gone—were sounded to welcome the invaders, and soon the fray began. The English got a hot reception, and found themselves quite unprepared for both the mode



Ruins of the Church of the Monastery of Vallis Caubum cir. A.D. 1833

1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
1959
1960

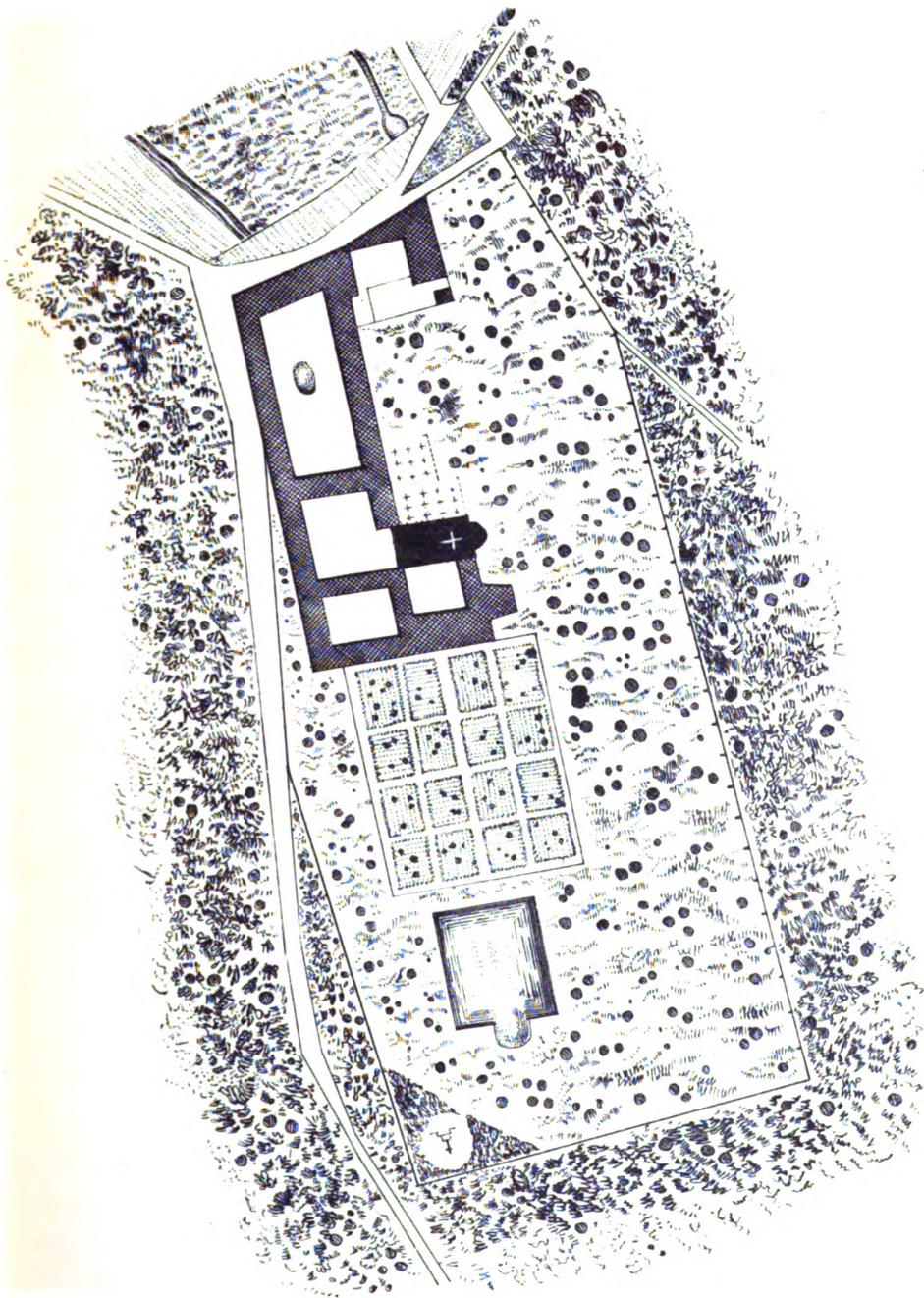
and the violence of the defence. They were entirely overmastered, and those not slain returned back to Chatillon without much more knowledge of Val des Choux and its possessions than what was gained in dear-bought experience of the bravery and ability of Pierre and his fellow monks. No doubt, Pierre had seen other days, and there was lurking in him a spirit which needed only the apology for using arms to prove that the old man still lived under the earth-renunciation of his simple hood and rough skin garments. He was the noble Burgundian knight all over while the fray lasted, but a sad recoil set in the moment it was over. No doubt he followed the rest of the monks to the choir, now gone years ago, as I said, and sang a "*Gloria in Excelsis*," but the old man felt his untamed spirit still remained the same, and the clash of arms was sweeter far than monkish chant. From the chapel he went alone to the well of the holy S. Viard, and among the holly bushes where we now stand he washed in the starlight the stains of English blood from his gory hands. Soon after they made him Grand Prior of the House and of the Order; yet still he went each Christmas Eve to the same spot and washed his hands again. We tell that still, though he died many centuries ago, on Christmas Eve he may be seen washing hands red with the blood of Englishmen, at this very spot, but unfortunately you, gentlemen, are not likely to be here to see for yourselves."

The afternoon was coming on us and we had to reach Dijon that night. Here we were in the heart of the Forest of Chatillon, well shut out from all the world, and we meant to sleep in all its stir. Pulling a few unripe apples from the old trees, and lifting a beautifully fluted remnant of an old column, which now lies beside us as we write, we once more entered M. Alker's study. Here we drew out our *History of Beauhy*,* and referring to the author's description of the spot where we stood, we read, in the bright glare of a summer afternoon, "Apparently nothing remains of the monastic buildings. Too distant from a town to become a barrack or a magazine, and too gloomy to attract the taste of a purchaser, the spot seems to have relapsed into its primitive condition of forest, and the only traces of the existence of the house seem to be the large fish ponds which afforded to the brethren a plentiful supply of their Lenten fast-day food." As we read, our eyes wandering from the page to M. Alker's face, it was interesting to note the half-amused, half-veiled expression which it wore as we proceeded. Knowing as we did how

* Page 146.

patiently he had waited till from six separate proprietors he had bought up the Val des Choux, and how carefully he had preserved and was trying to restore the best of the useful features of the old place, we could sympathise with his vexation, and also rejoice in the likelihood that better information regarding the old Mother-house would now reach her Scotch daughters. We parted from our new friend soon afterwards, full of gratitude and delight.

Early in the evening we tasted our first Pommard in the arbour of the Côte d'Or Hotel, and later found ourselves settled for the night in Dijon, with bright prospects of a raid among the antiquities and libraries of that good city on the morrow. How these prospects were not realised, but instead the skill of a little French doctor and his powerful restoratives were fully tested, need not here be told, as they belong to another romance than that of the Search for the Val des Choux.



Ground plan of the Priory of Vallis Caubum
*Copied, by kind permission of M. Magnard of Dijon,
from his history of the Order of Val des Choux.*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

SECTION II.

History of Vallis Caullium.

PRIORS, ALSO PRIORS-GENERAL.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. GUI OR VIARD, c. 1200. 2. HUMBERT, resigned 1236. 3. MENASSERIUS, 1236. 4. JEAN, 1245. 5. RENAUD. 6. HENEL, 1262. 7. LAURENT, died 1317. 8. LAMBERT, 1322. 9. BARTHOLOME. 10. JEAN DE POIGNE. 11. PIERRE DE CHATEAUVILLAIN, c. 1370. 12. JEAN DE LONGUEVILLE. 13. GUI DE PASTÉ. 14. PERRAULT DE GOIS. 15. JACOB COURTOIS, 1472-1506. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 16. VINCENT LE MERLET, 1508. 17. MALION, died 1547. 18. ANTOINE NEPVEU, 1548. 19. JEAN THOMASSIN. 20. GUIL: GARNIER, 1585. 21. JEAN FREMYOT, 1585-1595. 22. EGID BAZINET, 1595. 23. FRANCIS RABUTIN, 1606. 24. GUI DE RABUTIN. 25. PHILIPPE LAISNET. 26. CLAUD LEGRAND, 1697. 27. LELEU, 1719. 28. BRUNO PICARD.* 29. BENEDICT CHENEVET, 1759.* 30. DOROTHEE JALLONTZ, 1761. |
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* Only *Monastic Priors*: Bishop of Langres PRIOR-GENERAL.

LEAVING to another Section the determination of the *Rule*, and the relation to other Orders, of the Val des Choux, we shall occupy ourselves in this Section with a brief outline history of the Monastery we have just been visiting, and of the *Order* over which it presided. The source of our information is, for the most part, the history by M. Mignard, to which reference has already been made, without neglect, however, of the authorities referred to by him and others, so far as these have been accessible.

No one having any acquaintance with what has been already written among us on this subject is unaware of the difficulty which is encountered at the outset of this history. Though the name of VIARD—not VIRARD, as in Keith's Scottish Bishops—is generally accepted as that of the founder of this Order, there has been some considerable difficulty in connection with his name, and also as to whether he was ever actually head of the House, even if founder of the profession. It is recorded that at one time a stone was to be seen at Vallis Caullium bearing,

“*Gido et Humbertus caput ordinis et proto-patres.*”

There is nothing to indicate the date of this inscription,* though it seems to have been placed at the tomb of Humbert, who was laid beside Guido, the one inscription thus doing service for both Priors. M. Mignard furnishes a longer form of this inscription in his more recent account of the House, as follows:—

Hic duo sunt fratres caput ordinis et proto-patres Guido et Humbertus.

Sit Christus utrisque miseratus.

The name of *Guido* thus appears from the inscription as that of the first Prior of the Val des Choux. For the name of *Viard* we now turn to the archives of the Order as preserved at Moulins. There, in a valuable MS. MARTYROLOGY of the Order, and belonging to the thirteenth century, the entry occurs under Jan. 15th—

“ Commemoratio domus Viardi primi fundatoris Vallis Caulium.”

This certainly belongs to a period less than a century after the foundation, and establishes the relation between Viard and Vallis Caulium.

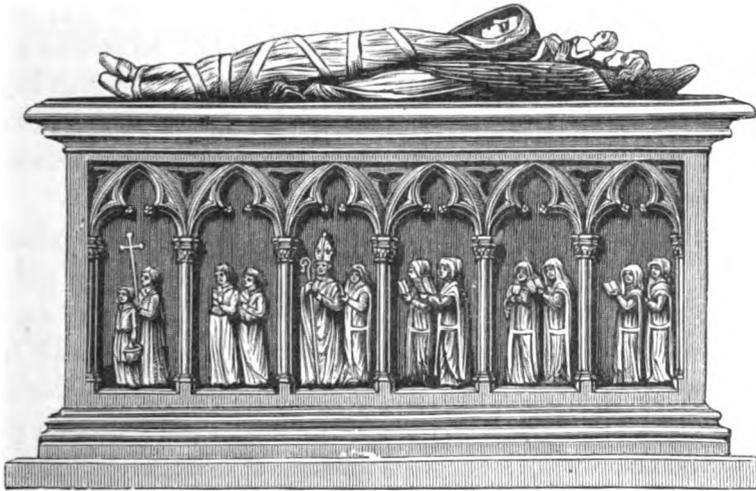
In the same MS., under date July 7th, another interesting entry occurs:—

“ Commemoratio Odonis ducis Burgundie bone memorie fundatoris Vallis Caulium.”

Here there are two founders of the House, *Viard* and *Odo*. Plainly the one is the *monastic* founder and the other the *secular*, who had the wealth and ability, as Viard had not, to erect a Monastery such as Vallis Caulium. In this MS. *Martyrology* careful search has been made, but made in vain, for two other names, viz., *Gui* or *Guido* and *Humbert*, each of which has been adduced in competition with that of Viard for the honour of founding the Val des Choux. There seems no reason to doubt that *Viard*, called also, at a later period, *Gui* or *Guido*, was founder of the Order and also of the House, and that he was enabled to establish a place of such importance through the munificence of Odo, Duke of Burgundy. Indeed, in the Chartulary of the Order, still preserved, under date 1203, the following occurs:—“*For the benefit of my soul, those of my Father and my predecessors, I give in alms for ever to God and to the Brothers serving God in the Val des Choux, all the forest round their house and what will be limited to it by the bounds placed with this intention.*” The charter is signed by EUDES III. The same nobleman makes another grant in 1209. All these gifts were confirmed by a Bull of INNOCENT III., dated May 10th, 1211. But one docu-

* L'Album du Chatillonnais.

mentary link is wanting, viz., to connect these donations with the name found in the Martyrology. This is done by a charter of MARGARET OF FLANDERS, who, in the absence of her lord and master, PHILIP THE BOLD, enjoins the payment to the monks of Val des Choux of what the Duke Eudes III. had guaranteed. The charter runs thus :—“ The late Duke Eudes of Burgundy, of good memory, founder (*fondeur*) of the said church, has given and granted to the said suppliants (the monks of Val des Choux) in charity for the good of his soul,” &c. (*L'Album Pittoresque*). This Eudes went to the Holy Land in the Fourth Crusade, soon after his marriage in 1199. The tradition is universal that the Monastery was founded by him in gratitude for his safe return. It is often said that he had vowed it before leaving, on condition of his safe return.



TOMB OF THE FAMILY OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY,

Erected at the Val des Choux, now removed to Dijon,

With the only known Representation of Monks of VALLIS CAULIUM.

A slight difficulty here occurs in the fact that GARNIER, Bishop of Langres from 1193 to 1200, made a bequest to the Monastery of Val des Choux. In the latter year Garnier died at Clairvaux. This restricts the foundation, as regards lateness, to the first year of the century. If the tradition of the foundation be correct, it cannot, on the other hand, have been earlier than 1200. Probably the explanation may be that, while the brotherhood may have been collected by Viard before the departure of Eudes for the Holy Land, his gifts and buildings are all to be dated after his return, beginning with the first year of the century

—which seems much more probably correct than 1193 or 1195, the dates usually assigned for the founding of Vallis Caulium. On the 10th Feb., 1205, Innocent III. confirmed the establishment of the Order of Vallis Caulium. The Bull of Confirmation has been preserved in the *Chartulary of Moray* in connection with the House of Pluscardyn.* As we shall in our fourth Section have occasion to refer to the manner of life followed in the *Kale Glen*, it is unnecessary to draw special attention meantime to the peculiarities of the Rule as here established. One thing requires some remark. In the Bull the Pope indicates the good services of “G. Bishop of Rheims” to the infant Order. It has been supposed that G. here stands for Guido or Gui, and that out of gratitude Viard assumed his name after the foundation of his house, and hence his alternative designations of *Viard*, and *Gui*, or *Guido*. Innocent’s successor, Honorius III., on April 13, 1223, granted to the new Order another Bull, in which he ordains a considerable relaxation of the original strictness of the Order. The Bull begins most significantly, “According to the word of our Lord, ‘*the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak*,’ hence it happens,”† &c. Thus less than twenty years sufficed to prove the unworkableness of the strict rule of Viard.

The princely House of Burgundy was the source of the chief benefits bestowed on the Order of Vallis Caulium. Among these gifts, beyond those already mentioned, one of the most memorable was the annual grant of twenty hogsheads of the vintages of *Pommard*. Little could have been desired by the twenty monks of the good house, so far as quality was concerned, beyond this generous, though to them by no means peace-making gift. The vaults of the Val des Choux were often the topic of envious remark at the boards of the French nobility, and the incessant law pleas in which the storing of these twenty hogsheads embroiled the Grand Prior must have considerably reduced the relish of their possession. Besides these wine tithes the house had others in many markets and townships of the surrounding districts. These are not sufficiently interesting to us to call for special remark. In addition, the monks had *Granges*‡ in at least two districts, and were also possessed of a claim for seventeen loads of salt from the pits at Salins.

* Regis. Epis. Moray., pp. 331, 332. See Appendix. † See Appendix.

‡ A *Grange*, of which there are so many still retaining the name in Scotland, was the farm-stead of the Monastery. Some monk occasionally looked after the Grange, but the proper steward was a lay brother, who dwelt there, and rendered his accounts to the cellarer of the monastery. He was termed *Grangiaris*.—Innes’ *Legal Antiq.*, p. 243; Fosbroke’s *Brit. Mon.*, 272, 192, 193, &c.

They were themselves likewise manufacturers of salt, for which they claimed exemption from the tax levied on others. The Monastery still possesses considerable testimony to the extent to which this manufacture prevailed there—large stone tubs employed in its manufacture still remaining entire.

The source of income of the Vallis Caulium Order, being very much a heavy tax levied on the industry of others, had the effect, as we have already indicated, of embroiling the monks of this Order in constant quarrels and litigations with those from whom they collected their incomes. As in our Scotch houses of this Order there were constant disputes and legal proceedings with lairds and burgesses, so was it also in France, where the chief difficulty was with the knights, especially those of St John of Jerusalem, with whom alone they had a constant feud for three hundred and eighty-one years.

The chartulary of the Order, preserved at Moulins, has supplied the names of all the Priors-General of the Order. These we have prefixed to this chapter, with their dates, so far as we have been able to collect them from the sources within our reach. It is well known that all the houses of this Order, including the Mother House, were Priors.* The Prior of the house founded by Viard was called THE GRAND PRIOR or PRIOR-GENERAL of the Order. Previous to the investigations of M. Mignard it would seem that only fifteen Priors were known by name (*Gallia Christiana*, vol. iv., p. 744). We shall here give a few notices of such as seem to have afforded facts of general interest. Viard or Guido is said to be mentioned by name in a charter bearing date 1213 as then alive. The second Prior resigned his office in 1236. Humbert's name occurs as early as 1221 in some important transactions relating to the property of the Val des Choux. LAURENT, the seventh Prior, was buried in the Chapter House, and had engraved on his tomb—

“*Condatur in busto Domâus Laurentius isto.*”

The story of the defence of Val des Choux, under the leadership of Pierre in 1358, we have already given, as narrated to us on the spot. Pierre was then but a simple monk in the House. His merits, however, raised him to the Priorate, because of his bold resistance of “those eternal enemies of our name

* There is a strange oversight of this fact in the preface to our SCOTCH NATIONAL MSS., where the designation *Abbey* is applied to Pluscardyn. No doubt the popular designation of Pluscardyn is so, but the mistake is obvious.

and prosperity." So deeply have his name and work impressed the whole district that by them he is known as "*The Great Prior.*" Jacob Courtois is the next whose name attracts our attention. To us he is interesting because of two letters addressed by him to the Prior of Beaulieu.* In the transcript preserved, the former of these begins—" *Brother James Quartus, prior of Vallis Caulium, to the venerable in Christ and to us most dear, our prior of the monastery of Beaulieu, in the diocese of Ross, in Scotland, greeting.*" The commission proceeds to entrust the charge of the visitation of Ardhattan and the appointment of its Priors to the Prior of Beaulieu, in the name and with the authority of James himself. This document bears date Vallis Caulium, 7th May, 1506, long after Pluscardyn had ceased to belong to this Order. The second letter is dated 18th December of the same year, and is a Latin translation of a French original, not preserved. This letter was entrusted to William Thomson, the last Scotchman before ourselves known to have gone to see the Val des Choux. The good monk took five weeks on the way from Ross to the Forest of Chatillon. He had the compensation, however, that he chose his time so as to have the opportunity of seeing good Pierre on Christmas Eve among the hollies. Brother James is not quite so sweet in this as in his former letter. Poor man, he has smelt Scotch salmon afar off, and wonders why he has not received any. Even his own fish pond, so well supplied and to this day in such perfect equipment, as we can testify, is poor in his esteem as compared with the fishings of the Ross-shire and Argyleshire rivers. All he had got from William Thomson was a letter, neither signed nor sealed, and a verbal assurance that Prior Beaulieu was noble, veracious, and of good religion, and so the General argued would certainly send the fish and attend the Assemblies of the Order. It would appear that the said fish had been promised by the previous Prior, and honest James had appointed merchants to receive them for him. But the good Brother who promised *them yearly*, and *himself* at the General Chapter of the Order at least once in every *six years*, had forgotten both promises equally. The remainder of the letter is wise and prudent in reference to Episcopal jurisdiction over houses of the Vallis Caulium Order, and corresponds to a declaration we shall afterwards meet in connection with the visitation of the House of Pluscardyn. It seems that Courtois was now well advanced in years, having been Prior-General for at least thirty-five years (Beaulieu, p. 162). Two years later he found a successor

* "History of Beaulieu Priory," pp. 140. 157. See Appendix.

in the person of *Vincent le Merlet* or *Marlet*, the first who went by the style of **COMMENDATOR** (*Commandataire*).* This Prior, though afterwards made Abbot of Bullion, seems to have gloried in his *Prior-Generalship*, for on his tomb at Citeaux, where he was laid, there was inscribed—

“*Prior Commendatarius magnæ Vallis Caulium.*”

Prior Freymot was appointed by a Papal Bull, but afterwards elected by the Brotherhood. The next succeeding Prior-General required the Royal approval to his appointment in 1595. These two facts are new elements in the history of this Order, and as such are worth recording, having relation to great events in the world without. No other Priors claim our attention save **LELEU**, the 27th, who was a Reformer within the Order. Those who succeeded him were simply Priors of the Monastery, **GILBERT DE MONTMORIN**, Bishop of Langres, in whose diocese the Val des Choux was situated, being, by the Pope, made Prior-General, with a view to a reform of the Order. **LELEU**, the Reformer, began his efforts in 1719.† This good monk by his zeal attracted forty new brothers to Vallis Caulium, and thus fired the ardour and hope of the entire profession. So long as Leleu survived, both the internal prosperity and the external importance and influence of Vallis Caulium were conspicuous. It was, however, rather the zeal inspired by a great leader than a revived religious devotion which had taken hold of Vallis Caulium. Accordingly, soon after the death of Leleu things began to return to their former low estate, and no one was found inside the Order who could be entrusted with the responsibilities of Prior-General. That high office devolved upon the amiable and efficient Bishop of the diocese, who continued to hold it till he surrendered it, with the entire separate existence of the Order, into the hands of **DOROTHEE JALLONTZ**, Abbot of **SEPT FONTS**.

Having related so much about the Priors, it remains for this Section to give some information regarding the Houses dependent on the Val des Choux. It is, perhaps, worth noting that a poetic fancy seems to connect itself with the names of so many of these erections. The first in order after the Mother House is that of **LE VAL CROISSANT**, in Autun. Next come **LE VAL DIEU** in

* The *Commendator* received the revenues, but was under no obligation to reside at the place of which he was Commendator. He might be a layman who discharged no service whatever, or he might be a churchman with ecclesiastical duties elsewhere.—Innes' Legal Antiq., pp. 202, 203.

† Voyage Pittoresque.

Troyes, VAUSSE, LA GENEVROYE, VAUCLAIR, LE VAL DUC or LE QUARTIER in Langres. LE PETIT SAINT LIEU, originally called LE PETIT VAL DES CHOUX, in Dijon, follows in order ; after which come LE VAL DE ST BENOIT and HUCHON in Autun, BEAUPRE in Sens, CLAIRLIEU in Troyes, L'EUPAUX, ST NICOLAS DE REVEILLON and STE BARBE DE PLEIN MARCHAIS in Auxerre, REMONVAUX in Toul, ROYAL PRE in Normandy, besides another smaller house in the same district, dependent on the larger one. The last two were used as houses of call between the French and Scotch Houses of the Order. The French Records enumerate, without naming, four Scotch Monasteries of this Order, a mistake which we need not wonder at, seeing Jacob Courtois did not himself know how many Houses were in Scotland of this Order in connection with Beauuly.

The last chapter of the history of the Val des Choux is as interesting and pleasing as any. Even the most general reader, were we to give the story in full, would find matter of satisfaction in the narrative of the absorption of the Order into that of the Cistercians. We have already mentioned Gilbert, Bishop of Langres, as entrusted by the Pope with the title of Grand Prior, with a view to reforming the Order of Val des Choux. That such reform had become necessary may be gathered from the fact that under the 29th Prior there were only three Brothers in the Val des Choux. It had become impossible to raise the revenues of the House, and, as Gilbert told the monks at an assembly in 1759, they had not been able to receive any into the religious profession of their Monastery for twenty-four years. We have already seen the efforts of Lelu at improvement and their temporary success. Gilbert, on 19th December, 1579, convened the three Brothers of Val des Choux, along with two others to represent the affiliated Houses, and laid before them the whole state of affairs. He then proposed that they should unite themselves with the Cistercian House of Sept Fons, pointing out as one reason for this that "*the Order of Val des Choux had from its origin adopted the rules of Cîteaux, which were in all their rigour at Sept Fons.*" Thereafter the Bishop retired, having first offered to resign his title of Grand Prior into the hands of the Abbot of Sept Fons. The Chapter thereupon deliberated in private, and agreed to what the Bishop had proposed, with certain reservations regarding the incomes of individuals who might not fall in with the change of Rule, and also in the case of any affiliated house that might refuse to incorporate. By a Bull of Clement XIII., dated 1761, the change was authorised, the name of Val des Choux, however, being retained,

while the incomes should fall to the Abbey of Sept Fons. In Feb., 1764, the Parliament of Burgundy formally ratified and registered the arrangement, and Dorothee Jallontz, Abbot of Sept Fons, took legal possession, with great celebrations, on March 7th.

Jallontz brought about a radical reform by the aid of *twenty-three* monks whom he introduced at Val des Choux. The character and prosperity of the old House revived, Jallontz, already a Reformer at Sept Fons, having here fresh and wider scope for his genius. This reform lasted for twenty-five years, and its details are quite remarkable for such a time as the latter portion of last century. All, however, was carried away in the flood of desolation which visited France in 1789, the whole surrounding district deeply feeling the loss of the high and humane character of Jallontz's reform.

The buildings of the Monastery shared in the reformed condition and prosperity of the inmates under the new administration. Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Penthièvre and Chateauvillain, yearly visited, and remained some weeks at the Priory; and what is now the proprietor's house, is known by his name, though it is, as we have seen, manifestly the greater Guest House of the Priory. Ere the present proprietor came into possession he had to purchase the precincts from at least six different owners. To a man of his taste and feeling, the wanton dilapidation by previous owners of the old buildings must have been most distressing, and photographs we possess of the place as he found it are really saddening. He is now engaged, as already indicated, in restoring to the old buildings, as far as is possible and wise, their previous appearance. But for the ruthless greed and materialism of former recent proprietors we should still possess not only the extensive buildings already described, but the very elegant and beautiful ruins of church and cloisters, of which only drawings now remain. The world archæological owes not a little to M. Alker, which we rejoice in being the first in this country to claim for him, but which doubtless many will rejoice to acknowledge, now that his loving and devoted regard for the Val des Choux is known among us.

SECTION III.

The Rise of some Monastic Orders.

THIS portion of our Introduction is intended only for those who, like ourselves, have had some difficulty in grasping the connection between the many Orders of monks whose names they meet. It is not expected that this chapter will discharge the difficulty, but only pave the way to understand the distinctions which will be made in the present volume, where some technical terms must be employed, and monks and monasteries will be found passing from one Rule to another.

Four Orders of monks stand out very conspicuously in the middle ages—two of ancient date and two of more recent formation. All the others are more or less fashioned on the model of these, and being introduced as improvements on them, are called “REFORMS.” The earliest outstanding Order is the AUGUSTINIAN, named after Augustine of Hippo, who formed its Rule (*regula*) for his sister, about the year 420.* Next, of those best known, is the BENEDICTINE Order, of which we shall have more to write immediately. Of the later Orders, the DOMINICAN dates from about 1215, and was formed partly after the Augustinian Rule. It owes its origin to DOMINIC GUZMAN, a Spanish priest, who, moved by the decay of the Church, and no less of the priesthood, instituted this Order of *Preaching Brothers* (*fratres—friars*), *Fratres Predicatores*, or BLACK FRIARS. He was followed, about the same time, by FRANCIS of ASSISI, who felt impelled by the same motives as Dominic, to institute a more primitive and Apostolic Order than he found anywhere. Poverty had a place in the *Rule* of all Orders, but Francis did not find it in their practice. He sought to reach the populace by his FRANCISCAN Rule, while Dominic aimed rather at the nobility. Both institutions really sought the revival of religion and morals, and to some considerable extent accomplished this for their times. Though they encountered many obstacles

* See his 109th Letter.

at their outset, yet ere Francis had been dead little more than twenty years his Order of *mendicants*—the FRANCISCAN or GREY FRIARS—numbered 8000 religious houses.* To narrate the bitter fruit which these Orders afterwards bore wherever planted does not belong to this part of our inquiry.

Turning back now to earlier history, we naturally think of Syria and Egypt as the birthplace of the Monastic life. In the third century hermits abounded in the deserts. Though connected with Christian life, Monasticism was not of it, but imported into it. It was easy to find in Scripture utterances, and even precepts, which seemed to point to this manner of Christian attainment. Once begun, the corruption of the times and the position of Christianity in the world securely established the popularity of the device among various classes of minds and persons who had certain experiences of the world. There is preserved in Dr William Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (article "MONASTERY") an interesting collection of the terms which, in early writings, were employed to mark the high honour connected with monastic life. When the title of "*the religious*" (*religiosi*) became associated with the life of solitude and separation from all duties of life, it is manifest that its hold on public sentiment was nearly complete. *Monks* (*μοναχοι*) or *solitaries* was a correct designation of the first of these *separated men*, but gradually their surroundings and residence became greatly altered. A *cell* ceased to be the residence of one holy recluse, and was used to indicate a fully equipped offshoot of a larger Monastery. We shall find the Priory of *Urquhart* to have been a *cell* of the Abbey of Dunfermline. In the same way, a *Monastery* passed from being the *abode of a solitary monk* to be the residence of many monks together. Even so early in the fourth century as the time of *Pachomius*, his Monastery at *Tabennæ* numbered 7000 monks. This *Monastery* was divided into *houses*, each managed by a Prior. Each *house* was divided into several *cells*, and each cell was shared by *three* monks. It required three or four *houses* to constitute the *Monastery*.†

Monasticism found its way from Egypt to the West through *Athanasius*, who visited Rome in 341. This was fifteen years before Antony died, who is generally regarded as the Father of Monachism, though he was by no means the first recluse. Before the century closed which Antony's name distinguishes, there were upwards of 100,000 male and female recluses in

* Trench's *Mediæval Church History*, pp. 222-229.

† La Croix's *Middle Ages, Religious Orders*, p. 302. Neander's *Ch. History* (Bohn), Vol. III., p. 335.

Egypt.* In Ebers' HOMO SUM we find what is perhaps the most vivid account of Egyptian Monachism which we possess, though in Kingsley's HYPATIA, and later writings, there is a witchery of interest which makes one feel on reflection that much of the movement and heart of all we know of these times and scenes we owe to him.

The names which are connected with the planting of Roman Monasticism are those of *Ammon* and *Isidore*, the attendants of Athanasius when he fled to Rome. The fire of these anchorites was first caught by the highest patrician ladies in Rome. Foremost of these was *Eutropia*, the sister of the Emperor, Constantine. Nor less noble, being a daughter of the Scipios, was *Paula*, whose history was so closely connected with that of Jerome. The names of *Marcella* and *Melania* were scarcely less distinguished in Roman society and Church history. These, and many more, were attracted and permanently influenced by the glowing eloquence of the monks, and by their eager exposition of the matchless glory of a life entirely consecrated to God. The master mind of Jerome, then a school-boy, took fire in the religious fervour which soon prevailed at Rome, and Western Monachism, as is well known, owes not a little to this great Church Father—though his own home for the last four and thirty years of his life was at Bethlehem, where with Paula and her daughters he founded the Monastery so intimately associated with his name and writings. Jerome died A.D. 420. To indicate to the most uninstructed reader the intellectual and religious character of the age in which Jerome lived, we need but to mention that Augustine and Chrysostom belong to the same period, and that Athanasius' visit to Rome was but five years before Jerome was born.

The same fire which glowed so brightly in Rome was felt in Gaul and among the Celtic tribes generally. The spark kindled there by the same Athanasius, who visited Gaul A.D. 336, not only retained its glow of consecration but no less its missionary type; and hence Western Europe was permeated, not only by monastic men but by zealous preachers of the Cross of Christ, who rather courted than avoided dangers, and, like the preachers who came with Athanasius, made their first and special mission to kings and princes wherever they went. The influence of this selection of a sphere and mode of work has been very conspicuously impressed on the

* Cutts' St Jerome, p. 21. Neander, *ut supra*.

whole history of the Celtic Church, and has in later days found in India a sphere for its renewed exercise. While Christianity was previously in Rome, and in the West generally, the religion of the poor and the ignorant, it became under the Celtic missionaries in a peculiar degree the religion of kings, nobles, and chieftains. The train thus kindled in Gaul spread on its own lines, and it was several centuries after ere it was materially influenced by what came to be known as distinctly Roman modes of faith and practice. Celtic Christianity assumed from the first a form not, indeed, peculiarly its own, but strongly marked as *primitive*, accepting—the monkish biographies notwithstanding—few of the later and more sensuous and compromising changes which entered into both the Eastern and Roman Churches. Foremost among the great Celtic missionaries the name of MARTIN occurs. He was originally a brave and distinguished soldier in the Roman army, but the claims of his spiritual nature led him to consecrate himself entirely to God. He became a monk, and though made Bishop of Tours, continued his monastic manner of life while engaging in such great and extensive mission labours that he has been very appropriately called “*The Apostle of Gaul.*” Born in A.D. 316, he laboured on till A.D. 400, and from him, as from the Apostle of the Gentiles, while having in his extreme old age a desire to depart, these words fell, “*Lord, if I am still needed for Thy work, NON RECUSO LABOREM.*”

Turning to Britain, we find distinct traces of Christianity during the Roman occupation. The interesting questions as to an Apostolic planting of Christianity in Britain, and the presence of British names in Pauline writings, we do not here venture to enter upon. Whatever answers may be given to these questions, it seems certain that during the Roman occupation the religion of Christ had but few followers in our island, and these mostly among the poor. The period which saw the true foundation of the Celtic Church in Gaul under monastic missionaries is that which also stimulated Christianity and gave it a new future in Celtic Britain. Closely associated with the name of Martin of Tours is that of NINIAN, whose death is assigned to A.D. 432. Bede writes his name *Nynias*, and calls him “a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation.” The Irish Martyrologies call him MO-NENN.* To him and his friend Martin we owe the foundation of *Whithorn* [*Candida Casa*], which was dedicated to *Martin*, who died while it was building, in A.D. 397. Somewhat later than the

* Forbes' Calendars of Scottish Saints, pp. 421-422.

time of Ninian the names of Cadoc, the Abbot Prince; David, also a Prince; Patrick, of patrician rank; Columba, of princely descent; Kentigern (Mungo), Prince of Cumbria; with many others not less illustrious, if less well remembered, stand out as the great founders of religious communities, and still more as preachers of the Cross of Christ in Celtic Britain. Thus we find the names of the men most impressed on the heart and worship of our country engaged in great and noble work before the close of the sixth century.

Nine years after the birth of Columba (A.D. 521) a man whose name is even still more celebrated removed his place of seclusion and work for God from Sublacci, which is but forty miles from Rome, to *Monte Cassino*. From Sublacci, monks for twelve monasteries had gone forth, and for them was prepared the celebrated Benedictine Rule. Monte Cassino was, henceforth the home of the famous BENEDICT of NURSIA and the Mother-House of the BENEDICTINE ORDER. This Order early obtained the strong and energetic support of the Roman Church, and wherever her supremacy prevailed the Benedictine Rule was established. It was long, however, before this Rule obtained supremacy in the Celtic Church. The COLUMBANIAN Rule, so called from *Columbanus*, an Irishman and missionary monk, born A.D. 543, maintained itself in its greater simplicity and strictness for a long period among a great part of the Gallic, British, and N. Italian communities. The impulse given to study in Monastic life is a pleasing feature of the Benedictine Rule, though the same feature largely prevailed in other Orders, or at least communities, before the time of Benedict. A few sentences from Lacroix's remarks on the Religious Orders in the Middle Ages will give a good impression of monastic occupation about this time. "It would be incorrect to suppose that the interior of a monastery in the seventh century presented the same appearance of asceticism and penance that was afterwards characteristic of certain communities subject to the most austere regulations. In the country districts the monasteries possessed vast domains which yielded wheat, rye, oats, hay, vegetables, and fruits, and on which were produced wine, beer, cider, and hydromel; they were tilled by numerous labourers in bands of tens and hundreds, who while at work sang hymns and prayers—a veritable religious militia, grouped beneath the banner of faith. In the populous centres and in the neighbourhood of the towns these monasteries were generally schools in which the monks gave gratuitous education, vast workshops in which they followed and taught every

branch of trade—carving in wood, ivory, bronze, silver, and gold; painting on vellum, glass, wood, and metal; weaving tapestry, embroidering church ornaments and vestments; damask work and enamelling of shrines, tabernacles, diptychs and triptychs, church furniture, and book covers; the cutting of precious stones to prepare them for setting; the making of arms and instruments of music; illuminating, copying of manuscripts, &c. The whole life of a monk or a nun was passed in the exercise of one description of art, or perhaps even in executing a single work which required miraculous patience.”*

It is quite beyond the object of this Introduction to trace the histories of rival *Rules*, or account for the general decay of religion under all of them for several centuries. In every age we can trace now and again a superior spirit breathing after and prematurely heralding the dawning of a better day. The name and work of such men, however, suffer from the anachronism of their appearance. “Born out of due time” might well be written on many a life which, but for its inopportuneness, would probably have commanded the applause of a grateful world for the deliverances it had wrought. In the great summing up we shall find, no doubt, that these meteoric lights, so soon extinguished, were necessary to prepare men’s minds, even sometimes by the familiarity wrought through revulsion, for the coming break of day. The ninth to the eleventh centuries saw Monasticism sunk to the very lowest possible depths. The name and the Rule remained, but generally there was not a trace within the enclosure—unless in a secluded cell here and there—of the fear of God or the self-denial of ordinary restraint. Even those among “the religious” who were priests in no respect excelled the others in religion or virtue. Fosbroke’s “*British Monachism*” adduces plentiful and painful evidences of the shocking profligacy of Monastic life and principles, so as to make even the most partial to the religion of those centuries ashamed in the interest of humanity. The stories of conventual life of a later date which are recorded in Mrs Schimmelpenninck’s “*Memoirs of Port-Royal*” reveal the utmost conceivable abandonment, and this recorded by one much more disposed to regard Monasticism with leniency than the Vicar of Walford.

The foundation of the Monastery of CLUGNY gave a new departure for Monastic life. This memorable event took place A.D. 910. WILLIAM THE PIOUS, Duke of Aquitaine, has the honour of having founded this most celebrated

* Lacroix, Eng. Ed., pp. 310-311.

Benedictine Monastery, which became only second in power and importance to Rome itself. Early in the twelfth century there were no fewer than two thousand houses related to this one religious foundation. The revival, not more of Monasticism than of true religious life, thus begun, influenced many thousands who were not personally related to any religious Order or special seclusion in life. Among the secular * clergy, not a few were led by the renewing grace preached and exhibited by these reformers to embrace some Monastic Rule.

Among those who held high position in the Church, and who were thus influenced, was BRUNO, who occupied the highest offices in the churches of Cologne and Rheims. When discharging his ecclesiastical functions he became disgusted with the pomp and intrigue of the Papal Court, and resolved to separate himself from the world. At first, along with six companions, he settled at Saisse Fontaine, in the diocese of Langres, but afterwards retired to the desert of CHARTREUSE. This step was taken in A.D. 1084. A more inaccessible spot could not have been chosen. The only entrance to it is by an extremely narrow pass, darkened on both sides by tremendous perpendicular granite rocks. Even when the external difficulties are passed and the precincts reached, the Monastery itself is only approached after a most toilsome encounter with all the difficulties which nature can oppose to a traveller. It was here that Bruno founded the famous CARTHUSIAN ORDER, which outran all other Monastic Orders in strictness, and still more in the complete isolation in which, within its own utter isolation, it shut up all who entered it. "Each member of the community had a cell, with a little garden adjoining. In his cell he ate, slept, and worked; excepting during the hours of outdoor exercise, which each passed in cultivating his own little garden. By this means the recluses, however numerous, had no communication with each other. They never saw each other but in the hour of public service, excepting on a Sunday, when they were allowed to go to the proper officer, who gave them their portions of food for the week. Every one cooked his provisions in his own cell. Their only sustenance is coarse brown bread and vegetables. They are likewise allowed to receive fish whenever it is given to them. In case of illness they are allowed two spoonfuls of wine to

* The *Secular* clergy were those engaged in the ordinary work of the Church, embracing the various stages of ecclesiastical responsibility and position. The *Regulars* were those who lived under a *Rule* (regula), and who very frequently were not priests at all, as, indeed, none were in the earliest times. See Innes' *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, pp. 161-162.

a pint of water. On high festivals they are allowed cheese. They always wear haircloth next the skin. Whenever it is necessary to make any communication to their brethren, they do it by signs, if possible. Every cell is furnished with skins of parchment, pen, ink, and colours, and each one employs himself for a certain time each day in writing or transcribing.* No doubt we find indications of a considerable relaxation of some of these restraints at a later date (Fosbroke's *British Monachism*, p. 71), but that now mentioned was the foundation regulation of the Order, and as an Order it continued to be distinguished for severity and isolation.

Another Reform of the eleventh century now claims our attention. ROBERT, Abbot of Molesme or Molenne, in Burgundy, came under the influence of the revival of monastic and spiritual life. For some time he sought to influence his Monastery to accede to the reforms so much required among them. It was in vain; he was himself at length expelled, with twenty-one Brothers who clung to him. Robert had wished no more than a return to the strict letter of the Benedictine Rule. Now that he was free, he resolved to erect a Monastery on this foundation, for which he prepared his famous *Charte de Charité*. The wilderness spot he sought out for his new home was called CISTEAUX, more recently CITEAUX, or, in Latin, CISTERCIUM, and was situated to the south of the Côte d'Or. Its name it seems to have received from the water channels in the neighbourhood. It was to this house that the famous BERNARD—afterwards (when Citeaux became overcrowded) of CLAIRVAUX—retired with thirty associates in 1113, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, being then the head of the House, and second in succession to Robert.† About forty years after the foundation of Citeaux, there was founded from it the famous Abbey of LA TRAPPE, whose reform under the remarkable and able ABBE DE RANOE in the seventeenth century has made the Trappists famous in modern times. Over the door of this Monastery the following stone engraving met every visitor's eye as he approached:—

" C'est ici que la mort et la herite
 Elevent leurs flambeaux terribles ;
 C'est de cette demente au monde inaccessible
 Que l'on passe a l'eternite."

* Mrs Schimmelpenninck's *Memoirs of Port-Royal*, vol. III., p. 138.

† Neander's *Life of S. Bernard*, pp. 10 and 11.

The Reform of La Trappe quite outdid the austerities of the Carthusians—their most repulsive practice being in connection with their sick, who were laid on a brick floor covered with dust and ashes, and there left to die. The Rule of the Cistercians, as completed by Stephen Harding, was more severe than the original Rule of Benedict.* One or two points may here be noted to show that they were not, however, quite so strict as the Carthusians. Cistercian monks were not confined to their cells, but ate at a common table in the Refectory; they were also permitted to go beyond their own walls when *work* required it. The same silence was not enjoined, though conversation was, by the Rule, restricted to intercourse with the Abbot or Prior. The Cistercians were very much the *farmers* of the Church Orders, and were celebrated in later times among their brethren for their avarice. At their foundation this Order received the valuable and substantial patronage of Eudo, the first Duke of Burgundy, and the property thus possessed tended to fashion their history.

We have now reached a point in the history of Monastic Orders which will enable us to proceed, with some intelligent appreciation of differences, to the histories and Rules which lie before us in this volume. The first Rule that demands our attention is that of the *Val des Choux*, whose history we briefly related in the last Section.

* Fosbroke's Brit. Mon., pp. 69, 70.

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SECTION IV.

The Rule, Privileges, and Reform of Vallis Caulium.

THE previous Section has introduced the reader to the main features of the rise and character of the CARTHUSIAN and CISTERCIAN Orders. They were both reforms in connection with Monasteries under the *Benedictine Rule*. Isolation of the strictest kind was the distinguishing feature of the *Carthusians*, the monks living, eating, and working in silence and complete separation from each other; the *Cistercians* being allowed some liberty of speech and to eat at a common table in the *Refectory*. Their mass books were also considerably different, while in dress the Cistercians, like the first Benedictines, wore a white robe and black scapular.* The dress of the Carthusian monks was of the coarsest material, with haircloth next their skin. Their gown and scapular were both *white*. In this latter they were distinguishable from the Cistercians with their *black* scapulars.

We have already seen that GUI or GUIDO or VIARD was the undoubted founder of the House and Order of Vallis Caulium. The MS. authority for this, as already quoted, is beyond all doubt. The question now meets us as to the origin of this Viard. The common story is that he was a lay brother of *Lugny*, a Carthusian house a few miles N.E. of Val des Choux, which was founded in 1172; but being desirous of a more entirely consecrated life, he retired to this lonely spot, sometimes called *Vallis Olerum*—some say also *Vallis Collium*, but generally known as *Vallis Caulium*—*Kale Glen*, or, as in France, *Val des Choux*.

* The *scapular* was a sleeveless tunic which sat close to the skin. It is said to have signified armour against the devil, and was given to the monks that they might spare their cloaks when at work.—*Fosbroke's Brit. Mon.*, p. 282. Lacroix says that Benedict appointed the scapular to take the place of the *cuculla* or hood, which he lengthened so as to envelope the whole body when the monks were at work.—*Rel. Orders*, p. 308. Dr Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities (sub. *scapulare*) says that the Rule of Benedict provided that his monks were to have a *scapulare propter opera*. As the Vallis Caulium dress was identical with that of the Cistercians, we have inserted a drawing of the fifteenth century representing St Bernard, with his monks, entering Clairvaux. From this we think it better to adopt the explanation of a scapulary given by CURTIS in his "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," p. 16:—"A long piece of cloth which hangs down before and behind, and is joined at the sides by a band of the same colour, about six inches wide."

Here he was found in holy solitude in a cave by EUDES III., himself a religious man, meditating at that very time taking part in one of the Crusades. A connection with the *Carthusians* is thus established for the Vallis Caulium Order. We have in addition, however, what is perhaps a more trustworthy authority than the tradition, an extract from the Statute Book of the Order, which supplies ample confirmation of their origin. This extract indicates a resolution on the part of the Brotherhood that the dedication of all houses proceeding from them should be to Mary and John Baptist.

“*Hecernimus ut omnes ecclesie nostre ac successorum nostrorum in memoria regine celi Sanctissime Marie et sancti Johannis Baptiste, fundentur ac dedicentur, quod primus pater et constitutor ordinis nostri de Cole Tabinaciensi, qui in honore est Sancte Marie et Sancti Johannis Baptiste, ad locum Vallis Caulium unde et nos exorti sumus, primus benit.*” *

These are the same dedications which we shall find to have been continued in Scotland in houses of this Order. Sprung from the Carthusians, we may be very sure that strictness would form a peculiarity of the new *Rule*. There were, however, as the Papal Bull makes clear† considerable departures from the Carthusian and close assimilation to the Cistercian Rule engrafted from the very first on the new Order, in addition to what was afterwards added to the profession and privileges of the Order under the relaxation confirmed by a Bull in 1223.‡ The Rule was thus a combination of the *Carthusian* and *Cistercian*—the strictness of Carthusian personal habits prevailing, with the dress and some measure of the Cistercian fellowship between the monks in refectory and califactory.§ Perhaps we may best convey to the general reader an impression of the character of the Rule prevailing in the new Order by casting our description into the form of an imaginary visit, such as that of William Thomson in the Priorate of Jacob Courtois.

We approach the gates of the Monastery, our feet soiled with the dust of our journey. Drawing near we see on either side of the great entrance a recess in the wall very near the ground, and here a shell-shaped basin holds water where we may wash our feet and hands. This we do, grateful for the provision

* *Histoire des Principales Religieuses* : par Mignard, p. 207. † See Appendix. ‡ See Appendix.

§ It is most unfortunate that a book so highly esteemed as Rhind's *Sketches of Moray* should be so hopelessly astray on the entire subject of the Order of Vallis Caulium. If Shaw's *Moray* gives little light on this point, it certainly does not mislead. Rhind seems here more at fault than any other writer, both as to the Order under consideration and the Cistercian Order generally.

and its refreshing. Being strangers from a distance we pass the first entrance, which we see leads to a small chapel, and into it the lay brothers* and the people of the neighbourhood are going to prayers. It is a plain, simple place as compared with what we know to be the church of the Monastery. Still there is in its simplicity a directness which we miss in the worship of the more elaborate shrine. A huge wooden plain cross over the inner entrance of the chapel is all the adornment, save some fresco painting on the walls within. Taking now the doorway to the right of the great entrance, we lift the knocker. Soon two eyes appear at the wicker iron-work in the centre of the massive door, and a voice enquires our business. Having ascertained that we are strangers who desire the hospitality of the Brotherhood, the porter rings a bell which sounds in the chamber of the *Guest-Brother*. He then opens the door, and we are received into the *Guest-Hall*.

We are here left alone for some time, and, looking round, there is not much to strike us, beyond the presence on the walls of various texts of Scripture, fitted to improve our minds. The *Guest-Brother* soon arrives, and the nature of our business, or the outline of our history, is briefly narrated, so far as it bears on our presence here. Should the *Guest-Brother* think there is so much importance in the visit as to call for it, he leaves us again while he goes to tell the *Prior* regarding us. Returning, or, if he does not thus go, having heard our story, he asks us to follow him. He goes with us first to the Church of the Monastery, and afterwards leads us to the Refectory, where some provision has been laid out for our need till the regular meal hour arrives. By-and-bye it is the meal-hour, and we are invited to the Refectory provided for visitors, and should we be considered persons of some consequence, the *Prior* himself comes to partake of supper with us. Supper over, the solemn evening bell is heard, and if we wish to hear one of the most touching and impressive services of a Monastery, we shall follow to the choir the gathering company of monks. The "*Salve Regina*," "*Hail, Queen of Heaven*,"† is now

* The ordinary occupants of a monastery were (1) the *Brothers*, or regular monks consecrated to a religious profession; (2) *Lay Brothers*, called *conversi*, who wore some part of the dress of the Order, took part in some services, but were generally little more than servants—the *familia* of a house; from not being shaved as were monks they were often called *Fratres barbati*; (3) the *Fratres adscripti*, who did not ordinarily live in the monastery or follow a religious life, but from being enrolled as *fratres adscripti*, had an interest in the prayers of the monks, might retire to the monastery when they desired, and, specially, might at the hour of death assume the habit, and so die with monastic merit.—*Neander's St Bernard*, p. 63.

† See Appendix.

sung in tones which produce a strong devotional feeling in our minds, though, possibly, neither we nor most of those who sing know anything of the meaning of the words employed—for it is a fact that a large proportion of the monks cannot even read their *profession*, but require another to do this for them, they assenting. Under the conduct of the Guest-Brother, we leave the church and are conducted to the Guest-House, and shown our room, which is much more comfortable than that which the Brother has for himself. The walls are white-washed and unadorned, only some sacred images are displayed here and there. Lying in our chamber is a MS. roll, in which, on unfolding, we find devout thoughts suitable for private meditation. Our bed is a woollen mattress—by no means uncomfortable—while two or three straw-bottomed chairs complete the furniture. Here we are left for the night, and all is still without. We have not dropped to sleep, or scarcely so, when we hear the dull sound of a plank being hastily struck, and immediately afterwards the sound of footsteps in the court below. We know what it means. It is a brother monk about to expire, and by that dull, rapid sounding of the plank, all the Brothers are summoned to pray and repeat the Creed, and when the departing Brother has gone, they will all join in the “*Subvenite.*”^{*} We lie still, however, feeling that here, too, death comes, and wondering whether, after all, there is more real scope for love and service of God in such a place as this than in the busier, noisier world without. The supper-table and the Prior’s talk made us convinced it is not so—those half-awake thoughts about death, and the lingering sweetness on our spirit of the *Salve Regina* make us again think that there is surely a help to a higher life in such a quiet retreat. Thus balancing and meditating we drop to sleep in convent walls.

Let us pass over the next day, and all its occupations, and place ourselves, the following evening, in the position of a visitor permitted to engage in a thorough scrutiny of all the life of a Brother of the Order. We do not retire to rest as on the previous evening, but issue from our guest chamber towards midnight in order to observe all we can, and thus better understand how life is spent within the Val des Choux. Crossing the court, beyond the Church, we reach the *Third Court*, or “*Court of Offices,*” and there find the dormitories. We introduce ourselves forthwith to a Brother’s cell. Looking out, we are attracted by a very beautifully sculptured stone cross

^{*} See Appendix.



of the thirteenth century in the centre of the court.* Looking around, our eye takes in the measurements. The cell is just four feet by six and a-half. Surveying the little chamber to ascertain its manner of furnishing, we mark an oaken plank on the floor, and on this a *straw mat*, while in the wall is a wooden peg for the one garment, a *hood*, which is on it. Nothing else is visible, while in the window for glass we find *parchment*, through which a little moonlight passes. But here, see, on the straw mat, lies a *monk*. He has all his clothes on, even his girdle, and at a glance you learn that they consist of a cloak, a tunic, and, under these, plain skins. He wears also socks and shoes. Just yesterday he had entered on Monastic life as a monk, having been introduced at the choir. The form of profession he had read over, for he was fortunately so well instructed before entering and during his noviciate as to be able to do this for himself, and having concluded this reading, he made the sign of the cross, bowing towards the High Altar, and thus expressed his assent to all he had read. The Prior then took the hood, which you see on the peg, and blessed it. Immediately afterwards he took off the old clothes of the novice (which he had worn during the entire year of his noviciate), and as he did so, repeated these words, "*May the Lord thus unclothe thee.*" Then putting on the hood, which covered his shoulders and breast, he had said—" *May the Lord thus clothe thee again.*" Here he lies, having his first sleep in his appointed cell, as a full Brother of the Order.

But it is nearing midnight, and already there is some stir in the Cloister Court beneath. To-morrow is a Fast-Day, so all must be astir two hours earlier than usual—an hour earlier than even on a Sunday.

Crossing the court to the Church, the service of the Virgin is celebrated immediately after the monks assemble, and at its close they remain for half an hour on their knees in silent meditation. All this is without any artificial light. Lights are now brought in, and a grand service follows. Having risen so early, the monks may to-day go back to bed till 5.30 A.M. But if there are any private confessions to make, this is the time for making them.

It is now half-past five, and the *Chapter*† convenes. The main business is

* This cross remained to nearly the middle of the present century; now only a drawing of it exists, which is enough to prove its extreme delicacy and beauty.

† The word *Chapter* stands either for the body of clergy in a Church, specially the Canons of a Cathedral or Monks in a Monastery, or, as here, for a meeting of such convened for the technical purpose of hearing read to them a *Chapter* of their Rule. The place of such meeting is well-known as a Chapter House.

to hear the confession of any violation of the rules or general wrong-doing. If it be a Friday, each retires to his cell and flogs himself according to his need—the Prior or his substitute meantime singing a "*Miserere*."

At 6.30 the monks all turn out to manual labour. None may cross the enclosing walls, but within them each has his own bit of ground marked by a furrow, or his other work to which he devotes himself. The order of work is that all the monks stand as nearly as possible in a circle, the Prior, or his delegate, in the centre. Absolute silence is enjoined.

It is nine o'clock, and all hurry in from work and get ready to celebrate Mass. They are now in order to enter the choir. All their hands are by their sides, and slowly and with dignity they march forward, chanting loudly but with much precision.

After Mass—it is now 10.30 or later—all hasten to the *Refectory*, for even monks get hungry after so much work and prayer. All have now entered, and stand waiting for the Prior's bell to ring. When it sounds they bow towards his table, and the Chanter pronounces the benediction. When this is finished dinner begins. First comes *soup*, or fish from their well-stocked pond—ever fed by fresh water from a subterraneous source far up among the mountains, and reaching the Monastery by a well-built conduit, along which a man can force his way for a considerable distance into the heart of the mountains. Sometimes shell-fish are provided for the table, for there is a special pond where these are still reared, being fed on *vegetables* and *mutton*. After the soup or fish course, *vegetables* and *milk* are served—only to-day being fast day it is *water* instead of milk. Thereafter comes a service of *fruit*, cooked or not, and to this a small allowance of *wine* is added. The wine, we see, is drunk holding the goblet with both hands, and if any one wishes salt during dinner he gathers it with his knife.

Now the Prior's bell again rings. All the monks rise up and march out, repeating as they go a verse of Scripture which the Chanter began. Throughout the meal there was silence, save that a reader constantly poured forth a portion of Scripture. He and the cook now get their dinner. This being one of the three days in the week in which a little conversation is allowed, there is a general flow of utterance, but we notice no two dare to talk by themselves, and no one is allowed to address an invalid. When the others are thus occupied, or have retired to their dormitories or to the reading-room, let us

inquire why the *cellarer* * dealt so sharply with one poor fellow during dinner. Evidently from his appearance he had been under previous discipline, and what we noticed was bad enough. Instead of sitting at table with the others he knelt between the rows of tables, and there received only bread and water. The answer which we receive, by way of explanation, is that he had been condemned in full Chapter to this punishment, which was that prescribed by the Rule for those who murmur at the food provided for them. Poor Brother, he is not likely soon again to murmur, and will now know better than to fall out with the cellarer.

We shall not follow the monks any longer through the day. We have had considerably more than twelve hours under review, and what follows is much the same—work, food, reading, prayers, till bed time. How much of this austerity was long continued we need not here discuss. The constant necessity for reforms in almost all Monasteries, and the impossibility of securing them in most cases, is the nearest approach to a true answer which can be given, and one to which there can be no demur.

These outlines of life within the Val des Choux will, we trust, give some idea of the Rule of the Order, and in a shape which may be more pleasing to most readers than by introducing formal chapters of the Rule and confirmations of the same in verbose Papal Bulls.

A few points must now be noted bearing on the special privileges of the Order. These are not of much consequence to us, with the exception of those which will more appropriately come under our notice when we pass to Scotland and the Priory with which we are chiefly concerned. The privilege of making salt and being relieved from paying tax thereon was one to which much importance was attached in France, as it would have been in our own country early in this century, when in some quarters smuggling was not much more in *whiskey* than in *salt*. A much more interesting privilege of this Order was exemption from taxation for the HOTEL DES INVALIDES at Paris, which had been founded by Louis XIV. in 1674. Previous to the establishment of this well-

* The *cellarer* is a very important personage in the monastery. Having charge of the commissariat of the house, it is of great importance to be on good terms with him. So great is his power that he often contrives to step from the pantry into the place of Abbot or Prior, having, Jacob-like, bought up the birthright of the other monks by goodly messes. Even technically his place and authority were not much behind those of the Abbot or Prior in many respects, and his *exemptions* from service were of a most extensive range.

known institution, *lay brothers* in the Monasteries were very often soldiers, some way disabled and no more fit for active service, who were quartered on the various Monasteries in this semi-religious character. On the foundation of the Hotel des Invalides a certain tax was levied on all religious Houses in place of this imposition. The Val des Choux, notwithstanding previous exemption from military lay brothers, was at first taxed 150 *livres* a year as its proportion, but on representing that it possessed a royal endowment, and was, therefore, free, the claim was allowed. The *Grand Prior* and the Priors of two of the affiliations had the special privilege of a seat among the Estates of Burgundy at their triennial assembly, and fully twenty letters of Convocation still remain among the papers of the House. The right of executing justice within their own territory was another claim which the Houses of the Order were able to vindicate for themselves.

Once a year the heads, or their representatives, of the affiliations resorted to Val des Choux, there to hold a general Convocation, at which all matters pertaining to the profession were discussed and determined. As we have seen, in reference to the Scotch Houses,* those more remote might be allowed to absent themselves for several years with the Grand Prior's permission.

We need add but a few words on the *Reform* under Dorothee Jallontz to complete our sketch of this Order, or rather of the Val des Choux, for the Order ceased with the incorporation into *Sept Fons*. The Bull of Clement XIII. in 1761, authorizing the retention by the House of the name of Val des Choux, directed the monks to conform to the Rule of Citeaux. The vigorous rule of Abbe de Rancé, which he instituted at La Trappe, was closely followed by Jallontz, save that, as the Pope insisted, work was confined to six hours in summer and four and a-half in winter. Jallontz, besides, added somewhat to the discomfort of the monastic bed and the meagreness of the Refectory table, already sufficiently sparing, according to the Rule of Viard. Eight o'clock was bed-time in summer and seven in winter. Silence was scarce ever broken among the brotherhood, and when they did speak to each other in passing, their formal salute was—"BROTHER, WE MUST DIE." With all this, there was, however, truly revived life in the House, and the surrounding district derived material advantage from the spirit of self-denial and consecration of the Brothers under Jallontz. When the Revolution came and scattered the

* See Courtois' Letter to the Prior of Beauly. Appendix.

Brotherhood, it was with universal grief in all the Valley that they were seen departing. The buildings themselves fared better than those of more distinguished and better known houses, and but for the heartless greed and ignorance of men of our own day would still be pretty complete. We are, however, able accurately to picture to ourselves the former beauty of the old Priory by means of the drawings which we possess, and, thanks to the industry and research of M. Mignard among the archives of the Order, as preserved at Moulins, we now know all the more important features of the history of the Order of Vallis Caulium.



BADGE OF THE ORDER OF VAL DES CHOUX.

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CHAPTER I.

Morayland before the founding.

(CIVIL.)

ALL who lived in what we now call Scotland, north of the great Roman wall, were by the Romans called *Caledones* or *Caledones* and *Meatae*. It does not much concern us whether the latter distinction is or is not intended to indicate Highland and Lowland Caledonians. Dio Cassius may be allowed the distinction—we caring to note only the fact that its first appearance bears date A.D. 230. About sixty years later (A.D. 296) we have the first mention of a much more important folk-name. The orator *Eumenius* in his praise of Chlorus refers to the PICTS, distinguishing them from the *Britons* and *Irish*.* The same orator a few years later speaks of “*the Caledonians and other Picts*,” excluding from them the *Irish* and “*farthest Thule*.” The name is probably Roman, and is used, so far as can now be guessed, to distinguish those who, under Roman or other influence, had ceased to *paint* their bodies from those who continued this mark of a savage mode of life. Hence *Picti*, the *Painted*.† A hundred years later not only was the name well understood as a folk-name, but its meaning was no less clear to the Roman mind. *Claudian* at least is distinct;—

“ ——— ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras;”

De bello Gettico, 417, 418.

Following the stream of historic hints, we find the Picts named under two great divisions—the *Vecturiones* and the *Dicaledones*, corresponding, as we suppose, to the later tribal divisions of *Northern* and *Southern Picts*.‡ At the departure from Britain of the Roman legions we find the names in use of *Caledonia*, *Pictavia*, or *Albania*, to indicate the country of the Picts, called by

* “AD HOC NATIO ETIAM TUNC RUDIS, ET SOLI BRITANNI PICTIS MODO ET HIBERNIS ASSUETA HOSTIBUS ADHUC SEMINUDIS, FACILE ROMANIS ARMIS SIGNISQUE CESSERUNT.”

† Robertson’s “Scotland under her Early Kings.” Vol. II., p. 369.

‡ Robertson’s “Scotland under her Early Kings.” Vol. I., p. 2.

the Irish annalists *Cruithne* or *Cruithnach*. The name *Scotia* or *Scotland* belonged for the most part to Ireland till the tenth century—though it cannot be affirmed that the name had no footing in our modern Scotland till that time, for the Scots who were in Britain long previous claimed, and sometimes received, for their modern Argyleshire settlement the name of *Scotia*. Hence arose a distinction, and the British Scots became known as *Atta-cotti*, or the “*Scots on this side*,” or Scots of Alban, while Ireland became distinguished as *Major Scotia*. By the twelfth century the name had entirely migrated, and *Scot* and *Scotland* indicated what they mean to-day.* When we begin to reach narrative-history the territory of our modern Scotland is found divided into *Pictland*, *Angleland*, *Britonland*, *Atta-Cottland*. *Pictland* or *Alban* was all north of the Forth and Clyde, occupied by the two tribes or races of Picts—Northern and Southern—united under one king, whose capital seems to have been, according to individual choice, or, perhaps, alternately, in either north or south *Pictland*, on the *Ness* or on the *Tay*. The *Angles* in the east occupied the south of the Forth, extending into England; the *Britons* of *Strathclyde*, or *Cumbria*, extending on the west from the Firth of Clyde into England, leaving, however, a portion, now *Galloway*, in possession of another colony of Picts. The *Atta-Cotti*, or *Alban Scots* confined themselves at first to boundaries nearly coincident with the modern *Argyle*.

Our interest at present is with the Picts, especially the northern Picts, called by *Bede* the “*transmontane Picts*,” the mountains dividing them from the southern Picts being those known in early times as *the Mounth*, beginning at *Fort-William* on the west, and, extending across the country, sinking into the sea a little south of *Aberdeen* on the east.†

There seems little reason to doubt that whatever other elements may have mingled with the southern Picts, those of the north were purely Gaelic.

MORAYLAND possesses the territory where stood the northern capitals of the Pictish kings. With *Ross* it formed one of the *seven* divisions of *Pictland*. It thus lay between *Mar* and *Buchan* on the south, and *Cathanesia* or *Sutherland* and *Caithness* on the north. In one of the descriptions of *Scotland*, printed in the “*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*,” and dated 1292-1296, the extent of *Morayland* is thus given: “*Deinde est terra de Morref latitudine xxiii leucarum, et longitudine xx leucarum. Et ibi castrum de Elgyn et castrum de Spiny.*”‡

An earlier description—A.D. 1165—records regarding the sevenfold division

* See *Hill Burton's* elaborate and instructive agnostic review of these times in his “*History of Scotland*,” vol. I.

† *Skene's Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 230, “*Eis quæ arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratae.*”—*BEDE*, Book iii., c. iv. *Erat autem Columba primus doctor fidei Christianæ Transmontanis Pictis ad Aquilonem.*”—*BEDE* Book v., c. ix.

‡ *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 214. *Leuca* or *Leuga*, a Gallic measure = 1,500 paces.—*DU CANGE*.

of Pictavia: "*Sexta autem est Muref et Ros.*" Again, we read when recording that the kingdom was divided among the seven sons of Alban: "*Sextum regnum fuit Muref et Ros.*"* *Moravia* seems to have been the proper name for the kingdom of *Muref et Ros*.† The name is very variously written, occurring in these, among other forms—*Moravia, Morouia, Moreb, Muref, Morreff, &c.* When we reach the more lettered period of history, and a nearer approach to a general sovereignty—at least of Picts and Scots—the *kings* of earlier times are shorn of much of their importance, and now, under the title of *Mormaers*, they hold the land for the king (ardrigh), being, however, as before in their provinces, hereditary sovereigns, succeeding according to the strictest *Tanist law*—that is, a brother being preferred to a son, and a son to a nephew, while a woman's right in the succession was carefully observed.

When history presents itself to us as a government by *Mormaers*, the boundaries of *Morayland* seem to have been Ross, Lochaber, Athole, Mar, and the sea.‡ As already indicated, the seat of Government in early times moved from the northern to the southern division of Pictland, apparently according to the choice, or perhaps the tribal connection of the reigning monarch. In the time of Columba (A.D. 563), it was on the Ness where King Brude had his Rath and Court; while earlier, in the days of Ninian (A.D. 397), it was among the Southern Picts, probably at *Abernethy*.

The separate history of Morayland, up to the time when our interest in it begins as the ground on which our Priory was planted, is by no means easy to trace or pleasing to record. At one time it was minded and was able to defy all outside interference, being entirely independent; at another time, from the close of the eighth century, it was under Norwegian Kings, or in subjection to some powerful Viking or *Bayman*;§ at another time it yielded a quasi-subjection to Scottish rule, while yet again it claimed the national throne, and made its ruler King of Scotland. The "*Ri Muireb*" of the Celtic annals was always a difficult and somewhat unreliable mormaer to have for friend or foe, and from the fact of Morayland being in the hands now of one foreign ruler and now of another—parted as men of Norwegian and Norman birth and upbringing—we need not wonder that the elements of character were more strangely mixed in the "sixth kingdom" than in any other part of Scotland. For nearly 500 years the population must have been a gathering

* Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 136. See also p. 154.

† Preface Chron. Picts and Scots, lxxxiv.

‡ Registrum Moraviense. Preface, p. xxiv.

§ This is the earliest appearance of the Vikings on the Scottish coasts. The name has no connection with *King*, being derived from *Vik* (a bay). Thus *Viking* means a *bayman*. The royal ship sailed from a *Hafn*, while the rover put off from a *Vik*. Robertson's "Scotland under her Early Kings." vol. I., 20-22.

together from all quarters, the one only certain feature of a "*Moray loon*" in all that time being a determined spirit of independence and superiority, defying all comers and claimants.

The authorities which we generally find it safest to follow refer to *Rory*, or *Ruaidhri*, as the first-known Mormaer of Morayland. This Rory is the father of *Finlay* and *Malbride*, who were in their prime in the early years of the eleventh century. Yet there seems to be a Malbride, a Moray Mormaer, who fell about A.D. 880, or rather earlier. He appears in *Olaf's Saga* as *Melbrigd Tönn*, (the buck-toothed).* Sigurd, who built the *Burg*, on the southern shore of the Moray Firth (*Mærhæfin*), now called *Burghead*, having allied himself with Thorstein the Red, treacherously overpowered Melbrigd and slew him, with forty of his men. Melbrigd's head, the treacherous Sigurd tied to his saddle-bow, and rode away. As the head dangled, it rubbed against Sigurd's leg, and the *buck-tooth* broke the skin. The wound inflamed and mortified, and Sigurd died. They buried him at *Ekkialsbakka*, where his cairn might long be seen. Mr Anderson, in his edition of the *Orkneyinga Saga*,† believes with Mr Laing‡ that he finds, according to the local tradition and place-name, the burial mound of Sigurd, at the confines of Sutherland and Ross, on the estuary of the *Oykel*. The spot is known as *Sward's Hoch*. Mr Skene§ is of opinion that the *Ekkialsbakka* of the *Saga* refers rather to the *Findhorn*, and that the so-called *Sveno's stone* of Forres records the story of the arranged interview and subsequent slaughter and after-death of Sigurd, as given in the *Saga of Olaf*. When Sigurd died, Thorstein, his ally, followed up the advantages secured, and did not rest till Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, and half of Scotland acknowledged him as King. || He did not long enjoy these possessions, however, and we may safely give place here to another rising of the Moraymen, at the close of the same century, for we find Donald II. slain at Forres, to which he must have gone on a military expedition. All the rest of Scotland was singularly quiet at that time, A.D. 900.¶

In 943 we read of Malcolm I. endeavouring to push his power as King of Alban beyond the Spey. He is said to have killed the Mormaer CELLACH when thus engaged in Moray. How much more he accomplished we do not know, but in 954 he was himself slain at *Uluarn* (*Auldearn*), near Forres, where his

* *Orkneyinga Saga*, Anderson's edition, pp. 107, 108.

† Page 107.

‡ *Heimskringla*, vol. I., p. 291.

§ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. I., p. 337.

|| Robertson's "*Scotland under her Early Kings*," vol. I., p. 47. "Thorstein (the Red) became a leader of expeditions, and made an alliance with Earl Sigurd the Rich, son of Eystein Glunira. They conquered Caithness and Sutherland, Ross, and Moray, and more than the half of Scotland, and Thorstein reigned there as King until the Scots betrayed him, and he fell in battle." *Landnamabok*, p. 85. *Olaf-Tryggvason's Saga*, in the *Flateyrbok*, p. 265.

¶ Robertson, *ut supra*, p. 52.

father had met his death fifty years before. Another royal death in Moray is that of DUFF, Malcolm's eldest son, in 967. He also was slain at Forres, and buried out of sight beneath a bridge near Kinloss. The chronicles all declare that the sun refused to shine till his body was brought out of the concealment, and a royal burial given it. To the time we have now reached, MALBRIDE MACRUAIDHRI seems to belong. He challenged Liotr, Jarl of Orkney, at *Skida-Myre*, but was there defeated. The battle, however, cost Liotr his life, and soon after he was succeeded by his nephew Sigurd, son of Lodver, known as *Sigurd Lodverson*. The Mormaer who succeeded Malbride was his brother FINLAY, the FINNLEIK of the Orkneyinga Saga.* Finlay challenged Earl Sigurd the Stout to meet him at Skida-Myre, as Malbride had challenged Liotr. Here the Earl defeated him, and immediately after overran and possessed himself of Morayland.† The annals of Tighernach record the death of Finlay, in 1020, several years after this defeat. He was murdered by his nephews, sons of Malbride, one of whom, MALCOLM, succeeded him as Mormaer.‡ This Malcolm is interesting as having a place in the Book of Deer among those who made gifts to Drostan. The portion bestowed by him is called the *Delerc*,§ which we cannot now recognise. Malcolm died in 1029. Under date 1032, the Ulster annals record that GILLACOMGAN Mac Maelbrigde, Mormaer of Moray,|| was burnt, with fifty of his men. Elsewhere we find that the burning was in his own Rath, and Robertson believes it was done by Macbeth.¶ In 1040 begins the reign of Mormaer MACBETH, son of Finlay, who fell in 1020. This name brings us at once into a region where genius has been at work upon the chronicles in ordinary use in Scotland, and though others have supplanted these, and made history tell a very different story, still Shakspeare's genius will certainly ever make the romance which is not history be the accepted history of Macbeth. We have on record three accounts of the overthrow and death of *Duncan*, who succeeded *Malcolm*, King of Scotland. There is first the account best known, because that adopted by Shakspeare, and taken from our later Scotch chronicles, specially Hollinshed's. There is another account in the Orkneyinga Saga. In the Norwegian version of the story, Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, occupies the place of prominence, and Duncan appears simply as a "*Carl, the son of a Hound—Karl Hundason*." There is no place for Macbeth in this version, Thorfinn absorbing all the glory, and the Saga which tells the story as of a great battle, in which Duncan was defeated, and soon after slain in a *smith's bothy* at Elgin, concludes by saying that Thorfinn drove the fugitives before him from *Thorfnes* or *Burghead*, where the

* Anderson's edition, p. 210.

† Burnt Njal. Dasent's translation, p. 14.

‡ Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 77.

§ Book of Deer, preface pp. li., lii.

|| Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 368.

¶ Vol. I., p. 121.

battle was fought, through Scotland, and took possession all the way to Fife. The place Macbeth really occupied in the battle and the death of Duncan, is somewhat difficult to determine from the various accounts. That he at first co-operated with Duncan against Thorfinn seems probable, and that he afterwards, at the hour of battle, deserted him, is not unlikely. Forres had such a name for king-killing that it was easy and natural to connect Duncan's death there with a murder by Macbeth. At all events, Macbeth possessed himself, along with Thorfinn, of as much of Duncan's kingdom as he could lay hands on, and reigned for seventeen years *King of MORAY and of SCOTLAND*. However he may have come to the throne, his character was certainly higher and more religious than has been generally believed, and the influence of his reign was by no means unimportant or undesirable in its permanent results. Thus this son of "ane fayr man, never nane sa fayre as scho thowcht than"—this devil's son, as they called him when the tables turned, has got to fight his way in history with all the odds of fortune, throne, and genius against him. Having been slain in 1057 at Lumphanan, his followers placed LULAG, son of Gilcomgain, who was burnt in 1032, upon the throne. Lulag was the hereditary heir of the Moray Mormaership. His reign was very short. Within a few months he was insidiously slain by MALCOLM, King Duncan's son, who then succeeded to his father's dignity.

During his brief reign Lulag kept his court and castle on *Loch Deabhra* in Lochaber. The glen by which the loch is approached still retains the name of *Glenrie* or *King's Glen*.* The Ulster annals record that in 1085 "died in peace, MALSNECTAI, son of Lulag, King of Moray."† This Mormaer appears in the Book of Deer as gifting to Drostan "*Pett Malduib*."‡ He is also found resisting an invasion by Malcolm in 1078. In this he was not successful, if we may rely on the chronicles, for they record that his mother and his treasure were taken by Malcolm, and he himself with great difficulty escaped. The death of Thorfinn in 1064 seems to have revived the desire, and fired Malcolm with the resolution to add Morayland to his firm and permanent possessions. The chronicles tell how Macduff was sent against the Moray men, but would not join issue till the King himself arrived. Reaching the Spey, there was a halt, but the resolution of Alexander de Caron in seizing the royal standard and dashing forward, encouraged the others, who soon, without striking a blow, brought the Moray men to terms. The story is in no way a likely one, and quite irreconcilable with the known character of the men of Moray.§ However it may have gone there, in 1085 Malsnectai is King of Moray, and dies in peace.

To us the next important entry in the annals, save one, occurs under 1130,

* Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. I., p. 411. Chron. Picts and Scots, pp. 78 and 102.

† Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 370.

‡ Book of Deer, *ut supra*.

§ See Shaw's *MORAY*, p. 257

when they record a battle between the men of Alban and the men of Moray, in which *four thousand* of the latter fell with their King, ÆNGUS, son of the daughter of Lulag.

This year brings us to the sixth after the accession of David I., and five years after the foundation of the Priory of Urquhart, near Elgin. The foundation of a religious house in these times is always the mark of subjection and, generally, of newly-acquired possession. We can thus trace to a great extent throughout Scotland the progress of royal supremacy and the suppression of the national spirit and hope. The monasteries became the index of foreign supremacy in this age, just as castles manned by foreigners did at an earlier time. Previous to 1130 we find recorded a story of the subjection of Moray to Alexander I., three years after his accession to the throne. The details are substantially the same as in the preceding narrative of Speyside, the occasion of the royal attack being an attempt by some young men of Mearns and Moray to assassinate the King when building his palace at Lyff.* Wintown's account is different in several particulars. An entry in the Ulster annals, under A.D. 1116, says that the men of Moray slew a grandson of the King of Alban. Perhaps the two events are one, though the particulars differ in all the accounts we have. This may be the more likely since Sir James Balfour makes the year 1114. The Moray leader of the opposition to Alexander would almost certainly be their King, Angus or Ængus, grandson of Lulag, who seems to have succeeded Malsnectai in 1085, and continued his Mormaership till 1130, when, having invaded *Scotland* (beyond Moray), he was slain in the great battle of Strathcathro. David's forces were led to this decisive field by his cousin, Edward, Earl of Mercia. As the result of this battle, Morayland became an integral part of Scotia, and is henceforth included in the ordinary use of the term *Scotland*, of which it is now simply a province. Sir James Balfour sets down, under A.D. 1130—"This same zeire Angus, Earl of Murray, with his quholl kindred, was killed by the Scots at Stratathrow."†

But though now a part of Scotland, Morayland was not yet content to be so reckoned. *Malcolm, the Maiden*, whose indolent disposition provoked insurrection among his subjects, was compelled, about 1160, to march into Moray in order to quell the Moray men who had invaded his Southern dominions. The king met the insurgents near Urquhart. The royal forces seem to have been afraid to encounter the *loons*, flushed with victory and laden with spoil. They, on their part, are described as satisfied with conflict, and, along with their leader, GILDO, not unwilling to come to terms.‡ Accordingly, it is

* *Scotichronicon*, Book v., c. xxxvi. † *Annals*, vol. I., p. 11.

‡ *Lealie, De Origine Sootorum*, p. 114.

said that a treaty was there concluded, the main feature of which was that the Moray men undertook to remove their chief families to other parts of the royal dominions—their places to be supplied by other families introduced by the king—a civil arrangement not unlike the ecclesiastical one already so largely in operation. Another version of the story is that there was a fierce conflict, in which the Moray men were nearly exterminated.* Leslie's account is that Malcolm, after the conflict, slew all but boys, old men, and women, and hence the depopulation of Morayland.† How much fact there is in this, and in what direction the facts lie, we cannot now determine. Certainly at this time a multitude of new names occur in Moray previously found only in other places, while old Moray names—such as that of *Moray* itself—abound henceforth elsewhere in the kingdom, both north and south of the Province. The extermination theory seems thus to have little foundation, and probably the Moray men gained as much as they lost by the epoch-making treaty of Urquhart. Forsyth's survey of Moray‡ contains an interesting list of the new names which appear in consequence of the arrangement of 1160. These are found to belong to France and England, as well as Southern Scotland. Place names, as well as family names, are also found in the after history of Moray, which have their counterparts in other districts of Scotland—notably so in Caithness and Fife.

No one who knows Morayland can wonder that it was strongly attractive to men accustomed to sunnier lands than most of Scotland is. Bishop Leslie, in his work already quoted,§ says of it—"Regio est una præ ceteris omnibus apud nos ob amœnitatem celebrata . . . Illic aura saluberrima, rariores multo nebulae, atque pluvia, quam usquam alibi, atque adeo magna propterea nobilium virorum seges." The same opinion prevailed among visitors generally. The quotation from Dr Clephane's journey in 1750 is well known, which describes the advantages of Moray, as recounted to an enquiring Lord—"They had forty miles better road than in most counties; almost always better weather (it is generally put—'Forty more days of dry weather than in most counties'); and they had but one Lord among them, and he had but one interest" or following.|| In Moray and among Moray men there has been current for many generations a saying which well describes the local feeling as to the most desirable place of residence in the fair Province. The saying is generally thus:—

"SPEAK WEEL O' THE HIELANDS, BUT LIVE IN THE LAICH,"

the "*Laich o' Moray*" being a well-known district to which, after its subjection to

* Shaw's *Moray*, pp. 259, 260.

† Leslie, p. 114. See also Hollinshed, Vol. I., p. 374.

‡ Pages 10, 11.

§ Edn. 1675, p. 26.

|| Innes' *Sketches of early Scotch History*, p. 552. *Family of Kilravock*, p. 424.

the Scottish crown, the kings delighted to repair with their Courts to spend some time annually. Even Wyntown's Cronykil* records this partiality for Moray of

“The Kyng and the Quene als,
And ane honest Curt wyth tha,
That ilke yhere in Murrawe past;
Bot sone agayne he sped hym fast,
Swa eftyre that he come fra Elgyne.”

It is time, however, that this chapter were completed, and that we knew something of the religious as well as the secular historic roots among which our Priory was planted.

* Vol. I., p. 374. Edn. 1795.

CHAPTER II.

Morayland before the founding.

(RELIGIOUS.)

IN his "Rhind Lectures,"* Dr Arthur Mitchell adopts the term *neo-archaic* to suggest those seeming remnants of antiquity which are still, or were quite recently, connected with the everyday life of several districts and numberless persons in various parts of Scotland. A part of his interesting information belongs to what, to use his own form of expression, may be called *neo-paganism*. Of this there is still a very considerable amount in Scotland, as well as elsewhere, where we hear less of it; and it is found in those parts of the country which are Protestant, as well as where the Church of Rome still retains more general hold—the paganism having outlived not only the purity of the early Celtic Church, but also the compromising and unscrupulous adaptations of the Romish ascendancy. Only by slow degrees do modern Christian light and character disregard these superstitions, which belong to all classes of society, and, in some form or other, to all grades of education and progress.

It is quite true that much of what remains is no more regarded among us than a marble Apollo or disinterred Roman altar; but in many quarters, and in reference to a multitude of observances in even the most enlightened and advanced communities, there is a grim earnestness underlying the playful smile which accompanies the mention of what is *unlucky*.

Within a hundred yards of where we write, a Church Court was occupied a few weeks ago with a case which was forced upon it, of examining a *fama* in reference to a woman said to have taken the milk from her neighbour's cows to her own. It was of no use to urge *unbelief* in such power—that was regarded by the accuser as merely playing into the hands of the Spirit of Evil. When it was found that the matter was not there regarded with sufficient seriousness, the accusing woman went two days' journey by rail and steamer to the Laird, to make her complaint and have her neighbour turned out of her croft. Obtaining no redress, she returned again to the Church Court, her husband, who was there also, urging in excuse for the complaint that on his way to the Session he had met with two women, who had in their hands money for a woman living at A——, who would give them back their cows' milk,

* "The Past in the Present." Douglas, Edin., 1880.

which also had been taken away by another evil woman. When asked why, if they believed in such means for procuring redress, they also did not employ it, the reply was that they had done so once before, and with success, but would never so serve the devil again, should they never have milk from their cows. The most remarkable part of the story is that it was alleged, without contradiction, that there was scarcely one in the whole district who had not at some time or other bought back their cows' milk when it had been similarly taken away. Yet few places are more thickly studded with *Kils* and Saints' names, Celtic and Roman, than where we write, and in few places are people more eager to hear the Gospel, and more under its influence in their external conduct.

We can see from our window twice the distance requiring to be gone to reach a bothan which a few years ago required a new roof. When the old roof was being stripped off, there was found in the smoke among the rafters the body of a calf, which had been hung up there in spring to secure safety and prosperity to that croft for the year. No one would be told of this sacrifice to the unknown giver of a year's prosperity. That would be studiously kept a secret; and yet there was not the least consciousness of wrong, or intention on the part of the sacrificer of the calf to indulge in idolatry, or in any way be other than a true and sincere Christian worshipper. Such inconsequences live together in all men's lives, though we cannot understand the toleration of such startling incongruities as we see the one in the other.

But this is not Morayshire, though it is not far from Morayland. Dingwall was in olden times a portion of the property of our Priory of Pluscardyn. When it was so, and for long after Pluscardyn ceased to have any ecclesiastical influence, the people there used to make pilgrimages to Loch Maree, in order, on *Innis Maree*, to sacrifice a *bull* on August 25th, which was sacred to "*Saint Mourie*," the *Maelrubha* of the Irish Chronicles. Besides, in connection with these commemorative rites, a bull was often sacrificed there in order to procure health; and so late as 1678 the Dingwall Kirk Session had to enforce its authority to try to terminate these sacrifices.* The cases, of which we have heard directly, in which lunatics have recently been brought to the same island for recovery, and plunged in the Loch, as well as forced to drink of Mourie's Well, make it plain that there is yet the same popular faith in Eilean Maree, though the expected healing is not so expensively purchased as by the sacrifice of a bull.

Scotland abounds with wells to which it is still customary for persons to repair for healing. Mr Hardie, brought up on Hillside, Pluscardyn, close to St Margaret's Well above the Priory, has often told that when a boy he used

* Dr Mitchell's "Rhind Lectures," p. 273. Kennedy's "Days of the Fathers in Ross."

to accompany his father's herd on Sunday evenings to that well about sundown. All day people had flocked from various quarters to the Holy Well, and each on departing had left, in expectation of a healing virtue from the water, some piece of metal—a pin, button, or coin. These the boys had sacrilegiously appropriated week by week. There was as little faith in St Margaret then as there is to-day, and we may be pretty sure that the planting of the Hill, which has interfered with the well, has more to do with the discontinuance of the custom than any more or less faith in the Saint. A friend in Ross-shire tells us that he has lately discovered two wells in his parish to which large companies periodically repair, and these not Romanists only, but persons waiting on Protestant ministry. A part of the old usage still continued is also to be noted, viz., the leaving on some bush or tree near the well a part of the clothes of the persons desiring healing. This seems always to accompany the use of Holy Wells,* just as *pepla* used to be brought to the shrine of the goddesses, as well as piles of silver and gold. Dressed dolls and holy water remain to our own day under the name of Christianity; not, however, as stealthy and concealed superstitious indulgences, but as recognised worship.

In the spring of the present year we were on the hill on the south side of Pluscardyn, with a man who told us of his having when a boy shown himself superior to the uncanny women of the glen. When they sent him to the place where "*the quick and the dead crossed*"—in other words, *the ford* on the river—he had taken his water from a nearer place, and yet he had not been detected. Few, however, would have ventured so to outwit the wise women who had all power to heal the possessed cattle of the glen. Mr Sim, of Bridgend, has kindly thrown into shape for us, from our old friend's lips, the manner in which the cures were wrought. His account we give with very little alteration, and it may be relied on as an accurate account of the *modus operandi*—perhaps we should write, the *opus operatum*. We have been unable to procure a statement of the process of initiation into this mysterious power. We have known of those who got so far in initiation, but refused to proceed. Those fully initiated have kept their secret from us. So far as the process has gone and information has been obtained, the following is the course followed:—The *wise woman* fixes a *night* and an *hour*. The door is closed when the expectant mystic arrives. Darkness reigns within, and after sundry groans, and rockings, and mutterings on the part of the initiator, the expectant is ordered to mount the table. No sooner is this done than another order follows to stoop down and place the left hand under the left foot. Next comes a command to place the right hand on the top

* Forbes Leslie's "Early Races of Scotland," vol. I., c. vii. Hone's "Every-Day Book," vol. II., col. 687, where the interesting fact occurs that the coins were left in the name of the Trinity, and the clothes—generally of old a *napkin*, though now more generally simply a rag of some garment—in the name of the person desiring help. See also Dalryell's "Darker Superstitions," p. 79, sqq.

of the head. "Now," adds the mystagogue, "say that you make over to the devil, in return for this power, all that is between your two hands." At this stage of the initiatory rite our information breaks off, for our sources of knowledge have always fled in horror and dismay. No doubt the more important parts follow. Indeed, we have heard of lovelorn damsels who, within the last three years, have almost, if not wholly, lost their reason in the process of initiation, having in view to recover the lost affections of a fickle swain. But we must proceed to record the manner of cure pursued in Pluscardyn. When any animal about the farm became ill, there was generally to be found some skilled person who professed vaccine medical knowledge. His first business was to declare whether it was *medicine* or *witchcraft* that should be called in. If nothing physical was found out of order, then his calling ceased, and he made way for the *wise women*—or the *fraternity*, as the phrase is. Sometimes, indeed, a man was veterinary and a member of the fraternity too—a most profitable combination. The first thing necessary was to give the possessed animal a drink out of a *timber* vessel in which silver had been placed—"three-lugged" wooden dishes being then in common use. The water so administered was thus procured. A servant was sent to a *running* water, where "*the quick and dead crossed*,"* with a pitcher, in the bottom of which was a silver coin. Not a word must be spoken *going* or *returning*, save when the pitcher was dipped in the stream, when the water was received "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."† On returning with the water, three drops were put in the ears of the possessed, three drops in its mouth, and the remainder dashed upon its body. Thereafter the animal was measured three times from the nose to the tip of the tail, using as a measure the arm from the forefinger to elbow-joint. Again three times the measure was taken, using the hand to span the same length. A rope was now produced, made of *straw twisted the wrong way*, and formed into a *circle*. Through this circle the possessed was passed. Thereafter a coal of *fire*, as a purifying element; and, finally, a *cat* were passed. This creature was with our forefathers a favourite recipient of evil spirits. All this took place amid mutterings, and rockings, and gesticulations, whose precise form and manner we dare not venture to record.‡

Another form of *neo-paganism* is well-known as still practised at Burghead, and also, till recently, in the entire district adjoining Pluscardyn. It goes by

* See Hampson's "Med. Ævi Calendarium," vol. I., p. 129, for the *Uaque Cashrichd*, or water from the Ford of *Quick and Dead*.

† Similarly in Dumfriesshire, at Dow Loch, the words used were—"I lift this watter in the name of the Father, Sone, and Haly Gaist, to do guid for thair helth, for quhom it is liftit : ' quhilk wordis sould be repeatit thrise nyne times."—Dalyell's "*Darker Superstitions*," p. 84.

‡ See, however, Dalyell's "*Darker Superstitions*," p. 22, seqq.

the name of "THE BURNING OF THE CLAVIE."* There seems some difficulty about the meaning of the term *clavie*, but it is most probably the common Gaelic word *clobha* or *clabha*, a pair of *tongs*, wooden or metal. The Gaelic Dictionary refers to the Arabic *klabet*, which has the same meaning. A description of this ceremony, as previously practised in the inland districts, we have very graphically given in the Kirk Session Records of Inveravon, in A.D. 1704:—"ANE ACT AGAINST CLAVIES: THAT, WHEREAS *it has been the custom and practice of many in this parish of Inveravine, to goe about y^r folds and cornes with kindled torches of firr, superstitiouslie and idolatrousie ascribing y^t power to the fire, sanctifying y^e cornes and cattell, qch is only proper and peculiar to the true and living God, a practice proper rather to the heathens, who are ignorant of God, than to be practised by them y^t live under the light of the glorious Gospell: THERFOR, the Session did and hereby doeth enact, &c.*" On the sea-coast the special feature of the *clavie burning* is an invoking of a blessing on the fishing boats, and in a form suitable to this it is conducted at Burghhead yearly, on New Year's Eve O.S. The *burning of the old witch* in Gloucestershire and other English counties, on the same evening, seems to be a kindred relic of fire and sun worship, the time chosen being determined by the sun's movements.

The *withes* at mid-summer over all the doors of a farm steading have mostly gone—the *rowan* has lost most of its charms, except in song and landscape, but few stable doors are even yet without the *old horse shoe* nailed inside or out. The place of the horse in the Northern mythologies—the still present traces of superstition connected with the horse, as in the *great white horse* of Berkshire (ascribed to the time of Alfred, but certainly much older, and much more significant than the record of a triumph over the Danes),† and yet more the presence of the horse in a mythological form, and the frequent recurrence of the *horse shoe* among the emblems on our Scottish Pictish Stones—all point to a wide-spread and deep significance attached to this creature, and whatever was associated with its presence. The horse shoe being a guard against the passage of witches may account for their disowning this animal in their nocturnal journeys, and hence Gay's discovery of the complaint among them—

"Crowds of boys

Worry me with eternal noise;
Straws laid across my path retard,
The horse shoe's nailed (each threshold's guard),
The stunted broom the wenches hide,
For fear that I should up and ride." ‡

* See Chambers' "Book of Days," vol. II., pp. 789-791. Dr Mitchell's "Rhind Lectures," p. 256.

† See "Scouring of the White Horse," and Akerman's "Archæological Index," pp. 42, 43.

‡ Hone's "Year Book," col. 953, where the prevalence of the custom of nailing *old horse shoes* upon the door is described in various parts of England, showing the custom to have been wide-spread, and perhaps corresponding to the Roman custom of *driving a nail* to avert plague. See also Dalryell *ut supra*, pp. 148, 200; Forbes Leslie *ut supra*, vol. II., p. 422, sqq.

Though the cattle may not now go out to the May pasture with a red cord round their tail, as they certainly did not thirty years ago, and though the witches may not now sit, as we can remember them to have done, under the cows in the form of a hare, and thus extract their milk, still the *evil eye* and the fatal *crossing*, for the same result, have as firm a hold as ever, and the old reverence for swine and hares still prevents many of our islanders from relishing their presence at table.*

All this, and a vast amount besides, connected with Baal and Beltein fires and observances, point to a definite system of belief and worship—not Celtic Christianity, not even Romish Christianity, though the continuance of it is very much owing to the ill-judged and world-serving policy of Pope Gregory at the very outset of the seventh century. To BEDE we owe the key by which to solve the remarkable problem of so much paganism continuing with, and certainly unopposed by the Romish Church through many centuries. We have put Gregory's remarkable letter into the *Appendix*, because its existence is too little recognised, and mere prejudice is often supposed to be the cause of charging the Church of Rome with adopting and propagating so much pure paganism. No one will suspect Bede of introducing anything into his history with a view to operate against the Roman Church. Of course, so long as Celtic Christianity had the ascendancy in Scotland there was an honest effort to outroot these superstitions, but the knowledge, that just outside of their influence the form of Christian practice which was all-powerful, adopted and celebrated these same rites, must have materially weakened and frustrated the efforts of the healthier Christian life and observance.

No doubt, Protestantism has not been able to cope with the hold of many of these superstitions so as to eradicate them. It has, however, made most of them mere meaningless customs, and where they are more than this they are continued stealthily, and with a sense of shame whenever discovered. The sacrifice of a *cock*, for example, though practised in cases of epilepsy, is always practised secretly, and there is as little intention in the mind of the sacrificer who buries the *live cock* of performing an act of worship to Baal, as there is of recognising Baal as divine when speaking of the *Bealltuinn* term of May, or of a dedication to Baal when we speak of *Sunday*, or of putting our churches under Baal's protection when we hoist a cock to the top of the steeple. There is, however, this difference, that benefit is believed somehow to come from the sacrifice, though *why* no one now attempts to answer. Pennant's tour through Scotland in last century has been the means of preserving for us a considerable

* It appears that in America among the Indian tribes this same aversion is found—THE GREAT HARE representing the Creative Power. Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," quoted in Dawson's "Fossil Men," p. 260, asserts the same feeling among Lapps, Greaulanders, and Hottentots, while among the Saxons the hare was sacred to *Freja*.

amount of knowledge of religious ceremonies and customs already almost forgotten and perished. Dalyell's volume, to which reference has already been made, and Forbes Leslie's "Early Races in Scotland," which are funds of information on the prevalence of fire-worship in Scotland, besides customs remaining in many places of passing children round the crook, refusing to give fire from a house in which there might be an unbaptised child, and like observances at marriages and funerals, where great regard is paid to the direction of the sun's movements, all point to a time when *Sabæanism* ruled in Scotland and possessed the deepest feelings of the people. Whether we should trace all this to Phœnician influence, or to a source common to both, we need not here enquire. Evidently this form of observance leads us far back among the departures from pure Divine worship.

There are few districts which have afforded more perfect and beautiful flint arrow-heads than the part of Morayland with which we are concerned. The art of flint-dressing is one demanding high skill and workmanship. But few men seem at any time to have been able to produce fine specimens of this art, and hence the *arrow-men* were a privileged class, as they are still among the American Indians, being allowed to pass unmolested from tribe to tribe. The term *savage* (*silvagio* or *woodman*) is very apt to mislead. Some write of the *arrow-men* and their comrades as little superior to the brutes around them.* Yet the stone age of a people does not imply this inferiority. It was in their stone age that the Egyptians learned to prepare mummies, with a skill and elaboration not yet equalled, and they never outgrew the use of their old stone knife in this operation.† There is certainly no reason to think poorly of the stone-age Egyptian, for Professor Owen writes of him, for the Oriental Congress in 1874: "With English costume and complexion, the Egyptian of the Ancient Empire would pass for a well-to-do sensible British subject and rate-payer." Dr A. Mitchell tells us that the skull of the stone-age savage in Scotland will compare not unfavourably in size and development with skulls of educated Englishmen to-day.

The most perplexing difficulty in trying to date the period of prehistoric men is that one series of facts indicates a much higher progress than another series which appears along with it. A stone age has been discovered by Schliemann succeeding one of bronze; while gold, most richly chased and elegantly designed, occurs with stone implements. We have in the *neo-archaic* manufactures and arts of to-day the decay of much higher and earlier art practised in the same communities, and alongside of this the highest art ever reached; while in the *neo-paganism* in our midst we have traces of religion which was national and

* See Westropp's "Prehistoric Phases."

† Wilkinson's "Egyptians," vol. II., 163, popular edition. Renouf's "Hibbert Lectures," Lect. 11.

supreme in the highest civilizations of the old world, and has among us out-lived all the impression of those types of Christian influence brought to bear upon it. In the names attached to certain antiquities, names, too, universally prevailing among the people, we seem to find relics of the most ancient religions—*e.g.*, in *elf's arrows*, which, in the dark ages of our country, the witches used to cast at waxen figures, and which, if they struck the image, procured death to him in whose likeness the image was made, and by whose name it was baptised with devilish rite. Dr Mitchell, however, tells us that less than fifty years' disuse of the *whorl* upon the spindle in a certain district have been sufficient, even in the present century, so to obliterate the remembrance of the industry and its implements as to cause the whorl, when found, to be regarded with superstitious reverence, and to have attached to it the designation of *adder tongue*—a name which seems to point to an extinct form of worship. Yet, where we write, we can see a woman even now engaged in herding cattle, and plying her distaff and spindle, with a whorl upon it, as part of her daily occupation. The *Cock* and *Baal*, and the *Bull* and *Mithra*, seem most natural connections, yet we must elsewhere than in the sacrifice of a cock find our belief in an ancient worship of Baal among us, and *Anait* seems to have much more claim than *Mithra* to a place in the old Celtic Pantheon.* True, there are in Britain distinct traces of Mithraic worship, but all who have read Roman history know that along the channel of the worship of Mithra Rome made her last great struggle to revive and retain the old idolatries of paganism in opposition to Christianity.†

Much darkness hangs over the form, and indeed the presence of *Druidism* in North Britain, even at the period when we expect to find it most vigorous. The invasion by the Romans marked a point of great consequence in the prevalence and form of this ancient sacro-civic worship. BELINUS, whom Cæsar recognised as Apollo,‡ we have found in the *Beltane fires*, still well known. TARANIS, whom Cæsar related to *Tonans*, is really the thunder god—the Celtic *Taran* or *Tarnach*, meaning *thunder*. This goddess, whether in *Britain* or in *Taurus*, delighted in human sacrifice, all strangers being seized and offered at her bloody shrine.§ It has been long held that this goddess has given her name to *Tarnua*, now *Darnaway*, in the neighbourhood of Forres.||

The earliest light of history dawns on Britain with the invasion by the Romans. We can neither affirm nor deny the existence of Christianity in

* Forbes Leslie *ut supra*, vol. I., p. 100, sqq.

† Cf. Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," plates lxxiv. to civ., and quarto. "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," plate lxx. Forbes Leslie *ut supra*, vol. II., p. 446.

‡ Bellum Gall., vi. 17.

§ Ovid *Epis.*, Book III.

|| See Isaac Taylor's "Words and Places," p. 220.

Morayland during the Roman occupation of South Britain. Tertullian speaks of "localities of Britons inaccessible to Romans, but subdued to Christ."*

The generally accepted history points to the close of the fourth century as the time when Christianity first reached the *Southern Picts*. But when we remember that one king presided over both divisions of Pictland, it is hard to believe that Christianity made much way among the Southern without influencing the Northern Picts. Almost certainly, the transmontane Picts must have been influenced by Christianity in the fourth century if the Southern Picts were then so influenced. Especially may we feel at liberty to argue this if *Ninian* adopted the same system of propagating Christianity as was followed in the immediately succeeding period—viz., by addressing kings and princes first and chiefly, and through them reaching the body of the people. This form of Christian work seems to have a peculiar fitness among a Celtic population, and the Celtic missionaries have ever, both in ancient and modern times, and in all continents, been most successful in this direction. For our purpose, it matters little to discuss what importance should be attached to the report that *Ninian* had received his education at Rome. The Imperial troops had not yet left Britain, and the Church of the middle ages had not yet begun to form itself in the world's old capital. What *Ninian* could have learned at Rome when, if ever, he must have been there, could not be much other than such primitive Christianity as already existed in Britain. Manifestly, *Ninian* found the work of Christianity already begun in Pictland when he entered on his labours, for we find it was *reformation* as well as *conversion* in which he was engaged, even as afterwards it was undoubtedly a work of reformation as well as conversion in which *COLUMBA* was called to engage among the Northern Picts.

The work done by *Ninian* was perpetuated by *Palladius*, who seems to have ended his labours in the neighbourhood of *Fordoun*, where "*Padies*" fair is still observed.†

Whether the greater part of the narratives which we possess relating to *Kentigern* do or do not really belong to the region of facts; and, if facts, whether they do or do not belong to Glasgow's patron Saint, they certainly indicate a state of Church order and life quite unlike that which prevailed at the times the lives were written. There seems but the faintest likeness between the *Kentigern* of Monk *Joceline*, and Bishop *Joceline* in whose interest the Monk of *Furness* wrote. Their *Episcopates* are more unlike than those of

* *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. Adversus Judæos*, 7, opera, pars. iv., p. 303. Ed.: Gersdorf.

† M'Lauchlan's "Early Scottish Church," p. 85. Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," pp. 429, 430.

an English Prelate to-day, and of a Presbyterian Minister with a considerable amount of Home Mission work on hand.

A passage in the life of Mungo seems to preserve for us the kind of religious difficulty with which the Saint had to contend. The worship in the South-west of Scotland must then have been in part *elemental*, in part *idolatry*, and in part *hero worship*. This last form seems to have been derived from the Angles bordering on Cumbria. The story of the meeting of COLUMBA and KENTIGERN on the banks of the *Molendinar* or Malindinor, near *Cathures*, as the Cathedral hamlet was then called, before GLASGHU arose,* preserves for us an easy general date-mark of the Christianising of the Northern Picts. The year 565 is that in which Columba made his way from HY (IOUA, now corrupted into IONA) to the *Ness*, and presented himself at King *Brude's* rath.†

Kentigern and Columba seem to have co-operated in Pictish Mission work, Kentigern preferring work in such Northern parts of Scotland as were related to his mother's kindred, where traces of his influence still remain, as, for instance, in Forfarshire, so strongly Arthurian in its traditions and remains. In the Orkneys also he seems to have laboured, and even Aberdeenshire is not without marks of his memory.

As we have seen, there can be little doubt that when Columba visited *Brude*, Christianity had already some footing in the province. The very opposition inspired by the praises of the Saint (*vespertinales laudes*) seems to indicate a knowledge of the nature of the mission on which he had come. Besides, it was not yet two hundred years since Ninian had preached in Pictland, nor one hundred and fifty years since Palladius followed him there.

It is interesting to mark the manner of the Druid worship which now encountered Columba. We must remember, however, that Druidism had already undergone considerable changes, and was no more the pure Druidism which existed in Britain when that of Gaul, as found by Cæsar, was already corrupt. A *magus* or magician is now the royal priest, the name of *Druadh* has begun to disappear. This magus is no more than a *warloch*—a necromancer, using spells and incantations to produce great physical results, such results as are still believed by many to be obtainable by persons who have sold themselves to Satan.‡ To these they added visions of the unseen world, given to those who

* See, besides the Lives, Stevenson's "Legends of S. Kentigern," Forbes *ut supra*, p. 370, and Skene's Remarks on the Story—"Celtic Scotland," vol. II., p. 194.

† Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto . . . venit de Hibernia Presbyter et Abbas habitu et vita Monachi insignis nomine Columba.—Bede, History III., 4. See Haddan's "Councils, &c.," vol. II., part I., p. 106. See also "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," preface cv.

‡ Perhaps the most remarkable narrative of this kind which has been written in recent ages may be found in Martin's "St. Kilda," written not two hundred years ago.

employed their intercession, they being in fact spiritual media. These sights were called *sidhe*. From a few lines, ascribed to Columba, we may gather the nature of the *worship* which prevailed.

“ It is not with the *Sreod* our destiny is,
Nor with the *bird* on the top of the twig,
Nor with the *trunk* of a knotty tree,
Nor with the *Sordan*, hard in hand.”

Elsewhere also—

“ I adore not the voice of *birds*,
Nor the *Sreod*, nor a destiny on the earthly world,
Nor a *son*, nor *chance*, nor *woman* ;
My *Dru* is Christ, the Son of God.”

Probably there is not one observance mentioned in these lines but has still some hold on the minds and actions of multitudes, and could be easily illustrated from popular practices and sayings. If indeed these things are Druidism, it were not hard for any one who knows his country and its private popular beliefs to write out a somewhat lengthy history of the *Neo-Druidism* of the *Nineteenth Century*.

Instead of our path becoming more easy as we enter on the early Christian period in Pictland, it is more difficult than ever. There is indeed no trace of religious history to which we can assign a date from the point we have reached at King Brude's rath on the Ness till we arrive at a time when an entire change had come over the circumstances of Morayland. The Norsemen, the Scots, the Britons, and the turbulence of the times have not left many traces of the peace of God-fearing. No doubt, Hy was in Northern Pictland, but Morayland is not conspicuous in religious annals during all the period mentioned. True, in A.D. 717 we discover persecution of the Scoto-Pictish Church, and expulsion of its ministers, by *Nectan* or *Naitan*, who, through Saxon influence, had come under the sway of Roman forms of observance. But in 736 this was terminated by a very remarkable prince—Angus, son of Fergus.* To this period of our national history we may assign the adoption of St Andrew as patron Saint, and very possibly the introduction of his name into that VALE OF SAINT ANDREW, whose religious history we are to review.

Few names, if any, have made a deeper impression on Northern Pictland than that of MAELRUBHA or MOURIE, the Applecross Saint, best known as MAREE, having given his name to the grandest of our Scottish Lakes, and dividing with Columba the veneration of immense tracts of country. The similarity of his name to that of the Virgin Mother often causes considerable

* But see the “Book of the Dean of Lismore,” Introduction, page xxvii. M'Lauchlan says :—“Not till A.D. 843 was a return of the old forms accomplished, when Kenneth united the Picts and Scots.”—“Early Scottish Church,” p. 262.

difficulty in determining whether the dedication be to the one or the other. The truth can only be approximated by carefully observing the form of the traditions existing in the several districts. This name, with that of several other even earlier workers, but about the same period, furnishes the assurance that a great missionary work, related to the work of Columba, was carried on in the country, and that it took a most remarkable hold on the affections and hopes of the Celtic populations.

The *stone circles*, popularly known as *Druid circles* or *standing stanes*,* or, as at Callernish, *false men*, together with the huge monoliths or *menhirs*, sometimes associated with the circles, though more frequently apart, are evidently sacred, even if not religious memorials of a faith and hope among the previous occupiers of the soil, and belong to a time when men in all parts of the world seem to have had much the same expression for the same hope.† Whatever may have been the primary use, many of them came to be known as "*Temples*" in the popular parlance. The idea of the *Church* we need not suppose to be far removed from that of the stone circle and other monuments; church, market, court, and sepulchre being all ideas and facts which ever tend to group themselves among all peoples, and very specially among ourselves. No one who knows the mental tendencies of our country people, how they will pass nearer churches to attend those of the market town, and how they inevitably associate churchyard and market, will indulge in drawing very severe dogmatic lines around the use of these remains of ancient times.

The *sculptured stones* may in a general way be considered the successors of the older remains now referred to. They mostly fall within the historic period, though their history is meantime as dark as that of any antiquities which we possess. Judging from the localities to which they almost exclusively belong, the Picts are the people to whom we must refer them; and most of them belong to a period after Christianity had taken hold of the people. This is rendered certain by the large extent to which the *Cross* is present upon these stones. No doubt it is not present on all, and in the case of some it is manifestly added at a later time than the first erection of the stone; but in a large proportion of instances, and among them the very finest sculptured stones, the Cross is an essential part of the symbolic engraving, though, indeed, we cannot guess in what relation the Cross stands to the remaining symbolism.‡ No doubt the Cross has from the time of the earliest monarchies of antiquity been used as a

* The antiquity of this name is easily discoverable by reference to a document in the "*Moray Register*," belonging to the fourteenth century, where the "*standand stansys de le Rathe de Kyngucey*" are made a place of assembly. *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 184. So, *Registrum Aberdon.*, vol. I., 80, quoted by HILL BURTON, "*History of Scotland*," vol. I., p. 135.

† See, however, Fergusson's "*Rude Stone Monuments*," Introductory, p. 27, sqq.

‡ Forbes Leslie *ut supra*, vol. II., c. xv.

charm and royal symbol,* but its presence on these stones indicates a place of importance, which is inconceivable apart from the place Christianity has secured for it.

The existence of stones with only heathen symbols is not difficult to understand, and when we bear in mind how much of what is purely heathen still remains alongside of our present Christian life and practice, we need not much wonder at one side of a stone bearing a Cross, while the other side is covered with heathen symbolism. Some parts of that symbolism, from what remains like it in popular belief and practice, we think we can understand, as, for instance, the *sun*, the *crescent*, the *tongs*, the *altar*, the *serpent*, the *horse* and *horse shoes*; while such figures as the *comb* and *mirror* persist in continuing as inexplicable as the darkest hieroglyph of any age or people. Morayland claims to possess the masterpiece of this age and character of Pictish monument, in its *Sveno's stone*, to which reference was made in the previous chapter. Whether, as in the case of the *Ruthwell Cross*, we shall ever read history or mythology on these stones with any certainty is a matter which only such men as Mr Joseph Anderson, and like Rhind Lecturers, are likely to be able to answer with real intelligence.

The present Church of *Birnie*, of old *Bruneth* or *Byrnet* (a form occurring in a name lettered on a gravestone at Pluscardyn), is, traditionally, a seat of older religious observance than the introduction of Christianity. Thereafter it became a seat of Celtic Christianity, having a *hermitage*, *disert* or *desertum*,† at Pittendreich, and an *hospital* at Bogside.‡

Kinedar seems to have been a *disert*, where the holy GERARDINE lived,§ and probably Pluscardyn was another such retreat, certain remains and names in the locality pointing, with tradition, to an earlier religious life in the Glen than was begun with the foundation of our Priory. While having only a very moderate measure of respect for larger Culdee settlements, our rulers who followed Queen Margaret's reforming methods seem to have been, like her, tolerant and partial to the *disert men*, and hence their little possessions or residences are carefully retained for them in charters of the Davids, Roberts, and Alexanders.

Morayshire has very few directly Culdee traditions, and in its turbulent

* See Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," Lundy's "Monumental Christianity," and the *reliefs* in British Museum of Assyrian Monarchs.

† The places, related to settlements of the Culdees or Columban Churches, where men resided who chose for themselves solitude and retirement, were called *Diserts* (*Deserta*). The memory of such places is retained in various localities, conspicuously in *Dysart*, in Fife. Isaac Taylor, "Words and Places," p. 228. "Reeve's Columba," p. cxxv., Skene's edition. Besides these related *d'iserts*, there were others which were unattached, the dwellings of holy recluses, which were regarded with much veneration by both rulers and people.

‡ Young's "Annals of Elgin," p. 69.

§ Forsyth's "Moray," p. 122.

ages few Saints seem to have chosen its now quiet retreats; none certainly of any fame. There is, however, some reason to believe that the site of the famous Elgin Cathedral was a place of Culdee worship, while even in the thirteenth century *Kintræ* is spoken of in the Chartulary of Moray as having an ancient Church.* There is interest also in the farm called *Inchagarty*, or "priests' island," appropriately named when *Kintræ* was the *head* of the Lake. The Churches of *Longmorn* and *Lhanbride* (*Lhan-Moran* and *Lhan-Bridget* or *Bride*) have entirely disappeared, as also those of *Kilnalemnock* at Fosterseat and *Inchbroom*, in the same parish.† Besides these Churches, which have no modern representatives, there were many more, notably the very old one at *Urquhart*, beside where the Free Church now stands, and out of which it is said to be partly built, dedicated to *St Margaret*; and *St Giles*, near the site of the present parish Church of Elgin. The circumstance already adduced of two Moray mormaers having made gifts to *Drostan*, at Deer, shows the influence of the Columbite Church in Moray. Early in the twelfth century we find planted in Moray, at *Urquhart*,‡ near where the Spey enters the sea, and yet inland, as a second royal *fort* to keep the land, a Priory—a Saxon hold of alien spirits—the badge in that century and the next of subjection to a new power and influence. To plant a religious house was in those days in Scotland very much what Baptism was under Charlemagne—a badge of bondage to a foreign influence.§ Thus, religion most effectually served State purposes, and mitres and sceptres went bravely hand in hand, and conquered for each other.

* *Vetus Ecclesia de Kyntra.*

† Forsyth's "Moray," p. 110.

‡ The common topographical word *Urquhart* would seem to be of British derivation. "Urchudain," as in the vernacular, would appear to be composed of *Urch*, a knoll, and *Din*, a fort—the fort on the knoll. M'Lauchlan's "Early Scot. Church," p. 236, n.

§ Innes' "Middle Ages," p. 32.

CHAPTER III.

Founding of the Priory.

THE PRIORY OF PLUSCARDYN was founded in 1230* by Alexander II., no doubt through the influence of Bishop MALVICIUS or MALVOISIN, of St Andrews. In the same year were founded the only other Monasteries of the same Order in Britain—BEAULY, in Ross, and ARDCHATTAN, in Argyle. Noblemen were the founders of Beauly and Ardchattan, the king himself of Pluscardyn Priory. The Introduction has shown us that this Order was but lately established when it sent its Rule into Scotland. It had been in existence thirty years, but it was only twenty-five years since the Order had obtained Papal sanction; while only seven years before, the Rule had been considerably relaxed by Honorius III.†

To the attention which this new Order attracted at Rome we may probably assign its introduction into Scotland.‡ Malvicus was at Rome§ soon after the establishment of the Order, and not long before the relaxation referred to. There was much about this Rule to commend it to a man who knew Scotland well, who had a natural liking for all which belonged to France, and, besides, knew the mind of his sovereign, who, as a descendant of Queen Margaret, believed that the throne was strongest in its ecclesiastical dependencies and religious fortresses manned by aliens.

As we have seen, Morayland had been recently quelled, and political as well as religious motives made it desirable to establish a royal supremacy and oversight in the regions around. No better place could have been found for the quiet seclusion of a Monastery than the Vale of PLOSCARDIN,|| as it is called in the earliest Charters which have reached us.¶

* Balfour's "Annals" has 1231, a mistake into which others have since fallen.

† See Page 12 and Appendix B.

‡ There is a tradition that Alexander II. was himself in France in 1217, where he met DOMINIC, and probably also some of the representatives of the new Order of Vallis Caulium. Unfortunately for the link which seems thus to be supplied more directly than what the text indicates between Alexander and Vallis Caulium, it is now generally asserted that there is small reason to believe that Alexander ever crossed over to France. That Malvicus was at least educated in France seems undoubted. He became in 1199 Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Glasgow, and in 1202 Bishop of St Andrews.—*Lyon's* "Bishops of St Andrews," vol. I., p. 100, sqq.

§ Keith's "Scot. Bishops," p. 10. || See Fac-simile Charter of 1233, also transumpt of 1240.

¶ Mr Young, in his "Annals of Elgin" (p. 47), says that the old Celtic name was "PLUSCARTY corrupted into PLUSCARDEN." The Charter evidence is the other way.

Beyond the desirableness of the spot for the seclusion required by the Rule of Vallis Caulium, there was this also to recommend it, that it was already, we cannot doubt, the recognised seat of an earlier form of Christian observance. In the "Chapel" and "Chapel Well" and "Drinking Hill"—all out of the line of the public road in the days of the Monastery—we have traces of earlier worship in the glen. To this we may add what is afforded by tradition and the study of the Charters, which makes it almost certain that the valley was known by the name of SAINT ANDREW previous to the foundation of the Priory.

It is impossible to follow on a map the various foundation gifts to this and other Monasteries, without being struck with the great dexterity of the allotments, so as to secure the most perfect religious system of police scrutiny and espionage which has yet been brought into requisition.

In a House which, for a long time, owed no allegiance to any Ecclesiastical Superior in this country, only to the king himself, we do not wonder that we detect a restless generosity on the part of the king in making his gifts ramify all the surrounding districts. He gave the Bishop of Moray no little trouble in altering his episcopal boundary lines to suit his fickle and royal sense of what might be worthy gifts for the monks, but he was always careful in the returns he made to the See to leave the bishop saying nothing harsher than

"NON EQUIDEM INVIDEO, MIRROR MAGIS."

But whether we rightly judge the royal motives in these respects or not, it is very certain that a more beautiful spot than Alexander selected for his Priory could not have been found outside the Vale of St Andrew. Whether in *Pluscardin* we find a place already known as a *resting place for friends* may perhaps be disputed, though the *Drinking-hill*—a name now almost disused, but found in Acts of Parliament and Council Records—seems to point to the spot where pilgrims rested on their way from Palmer's Cross and Pittendreich to the chapel above the glen.* No doubt the eye that sees Pluscarden to-day is filled with the hoary ruin of the old Priory, and the mind cannot well dissociate the impression of the glen from the share which this fair object has in the general sense of sweetness and rest which possesses one. Stoddart,† who visited Pluscardyn Priory last century, and to whom we owe the view of the Priory which contains the two hillside farms now entirely swept away, was so struck with the beauty of the valley that he has aptly quoted, as applicable to the situation, a description, by Giraldus Cambrensis, of another Monastery in the XII. century:—

* Walcott, in his "*Scoti Monasticon*," gives as an alternative name with Pluscardine, that of "Pluscatre (*the hollow in the hills*)."
This form we have not found in Charter, tradition, or use.

† "Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland." By John Stoddart, LL.B. 2 Vols. London, 1801.

“Stat in valle profundissima—ab omni populari strepitu, in solitudine quadam, longè remotus, super fluvium per vallis ima labentem situs. Hic claustrales in claustro sedentes, cum respirandi gratia fortè suspiciunt, ad quas-cunque partes trans alta tectorum culmina, montium vertices quasi coelum tangentes, ipsasque plerumque feras (quarum hic copia est), in summo pascentes, tanquam in ultimo visis horizonte prospiciunt.”*

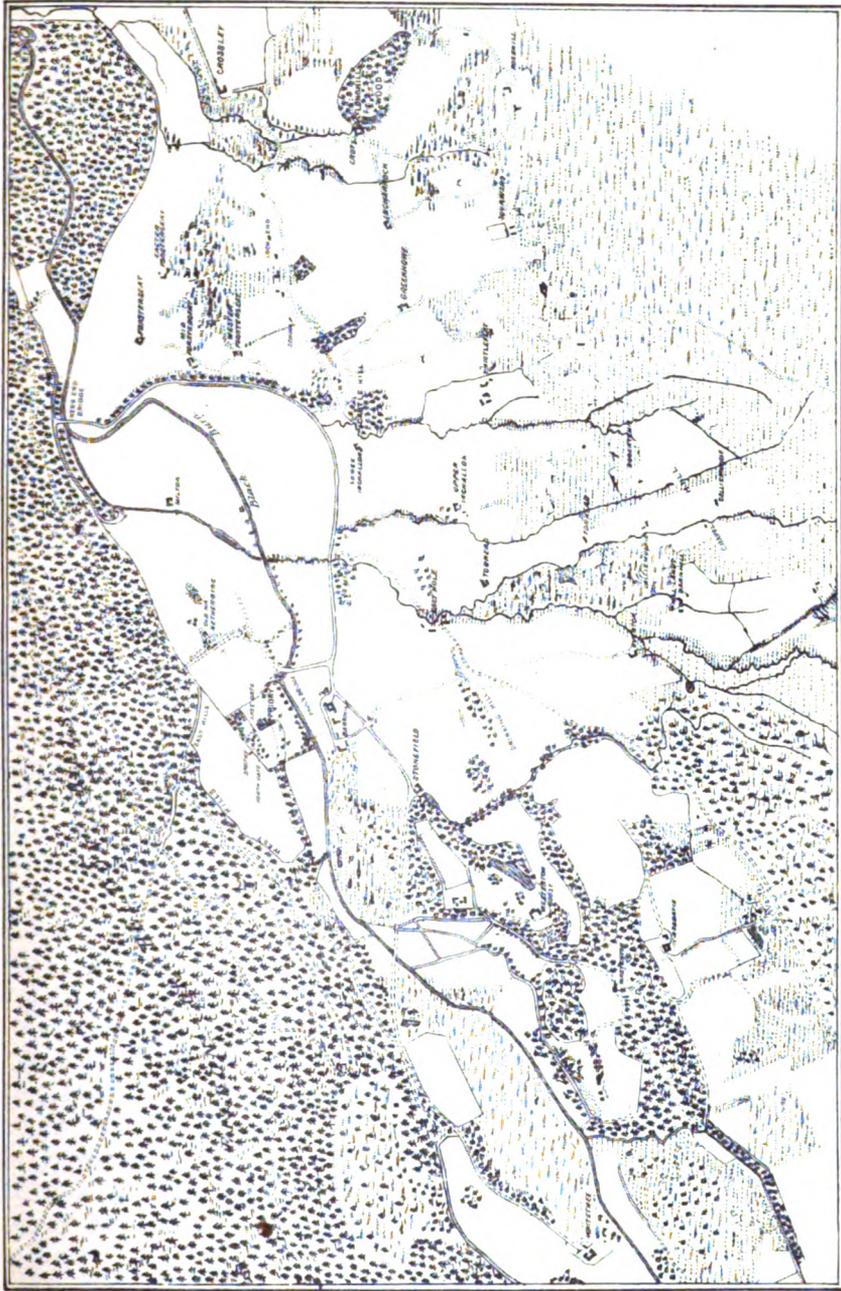
Pluscardyn Priory “stands in a very deep vale, far removed by its loneliness from all sound of popular tumult, and built on the banks of a stream, which glides silently through these quiet retreats. Here the cloistered monks, looking beyond their cloister, in the intervals of religious exercise, to whatever side they turn their eyes, behold above the summits of the building lofty mountain tops which kiss the clouds, and browsing deer like specks in the verge of the distant horizon.”

The walk or drive to the Priory from Elgin or Forres—and it is about equally distant from each—is itself well worth the attention of any one passing either of these historic places. Should there be a few days to spend, and any interest in ecclesiastical remains, no richer and more varied feast could be enjoyed than is afforded by the remains at Elgin, Kinloss, Spynie, and the still more ancient kirk of Birnie, with its square bell, besides the several royal and other famous remains scarcely less related to ecclesiastical history than the cathedral churches, palaces, abbey and priories. None of these, however—not even the Elgin Cathedral itself—can compare with Pluscardyn in the impression left upon the mind and the sense of being carried back into past ages. It is not certainly that there is such rich masonic work, or such magnificent proportions as in the Cathedral, probably constructed by the same company of builders; but the entireness of the buildings, and the seclusion of the spot, convey that impression which is recognised as producing the feeling of being removed into another fellowship and state of things. One leaves Pluscardyn as he leaves few places, realising that here he enjoyed the pleasing mirage of having lived in other scenes and ages, and among men of another thought and ambition than he will find among those to whose company he is about to return.

On scrutiny of the earliest Charters, we are led to conclude that the *valley* where the Monastery now stands was not cleared of forest in the days previous to its foundation. As we shall see, AUCHTERTYRE was then the cultivated part of the district, Pluscarden itself being forest, and part of the great royal forest of Elgin.

The earliest reference to Pluscarden by name is in 1226, four years before

* Itin. Cam. Lib. 1. c. 3. Quoted Stoddart, Vol. II., pp. 120, 121.



OUTLINE MAP OF THE GLEN OF PLUSKAGEN. FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY

Adapted to the requirements of this Volume

SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

THE
FOLIO
OF
THE
TOWN

the foundation of the Priory.* In the transcription of the Charter of 1226 the name is spelt PLUSCARDYN, the form we have adopted in this volume for the Priory, while not venturing to interfere with the accepted orthography for the name of the glen itself. As already indicated, the oldest original Charter which we possess, dated 1233, has the form PLOSCARDIN, and the same form occurs in the transumpt in 1240, which purports to be the reproduction of all the earliest Charters. The meaning of the name Pluscardyn has puzzled all who have attempted to discover it. Probably this is the first time that the orthography *Ploschardin* has been indicated to the public as having Charter authority. The *Plus* seems to be *Plos*, and it is this part of the word which has been so perplexing. The Welsh *Plys* has been suggested as corresponding, and in the neighbouring *Lhans* of *Lhanbryde* and *Lhanmorán* the probability of a Welsh influence has been found. The *Cardyn* is not so difficult, as there are *Kincardines* in many places, some of them not far from Pluscarden, while in the immediate neighbourhood is *Carden hill*. Besides the meaning "*friends*," *CARDEN* is often taken to mean "*a shore*." The relation to *a shore* thus introduced would not be difficult to explain, as the raised beaches above Pluscarden are very conspicuous, and cannot be missed by any one approaching the glen by the *Manbeen*, *Auchtertyre*, *Crossleys*, and *Inchallon* road—names which themselves, with others which are found around, indicate the presence of a very different physical outline to that which meets the eye to-day. The date is not very remote when the valley beside the Priory was a lake, and on the rising ground, now wooded, W. and S. of the Priory, there seem distinct traces of the diagonal furrows of retiring waves. There is no occasion to remind any acquainted with this portion of Morayshire how great changes have occurred within historic times in the courses and surroundings of the Spey, Findhorn, and Lossie rivers. Probably, however, the discovery of the older form, *Ploschardin*, may enable those who are in a position to bring mature knowledge to bear on place-names to suggest some solution of this name which may be satisfactory. We have ventured at an early part of this chapter to indicate a meaning which conveys, if not the strictly etymological significance of the name, at least the distinct impression left by the place itself during many a happy visit to it, with not a few friends.

This House of Pluscardyn, founded by Alexander, was dedicated to MARY and ANDREW, according to the general form of quoting the dedication. By reference, however, to the Rule of the Order† already quoted, the name of JOHN BAPTIST should occur in all dedications, as well as that of the VIRGIN. The name of ANDREW was already in the valley, and was properly retained in

* In that year Alexander II. granted to the Bishop of Moray certain lands in exchange for "a fourth part of a Davach of land in Pluscardyn." *Registrum Morav.*, p. 21.

† See p. 29.

the new House. The full form of the dedication we find in the Charter of 1233—which is our oldest original Pluscardyn document. The order in which the three names occur, that of Andrew being last, though the House was called the Convent of the Vale of St Andrew, clearly demonstrates that regard was had to the clause of the Rule above referred to.* The seal of the Priory, engraved along with the seals of Beaully and Ardchattan, seems to indicate the bringing of souls out of purgatory—serpents' or dragons' heads being in the middle ages favourite symbolic representations of the places of departed souls.†

These seals are from Mr Henry Laing's collections, now in the British Museum. It is unfortunate that no better impression is known of the seal of the Priory of Beaully, for it is plainly impossible to do more than take on trust the locality of this seal.‡ The seal of Ardchattan § is identical with a loose drawing in the volume of seals collected by General Hutton, and now the property of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. In the same volume, entitled "*Sigilla*," is a drawing of the Pluscardyn seal, evidently from the same matrix as that here figured. Hutton's drawing was made by Mr Rose, of Montcoffer, from an impression attached to a document of James, Prior in 1519. The only original impression we have been able to find in Duff House is too much broken to be adduced as additional evidence of accuracy.||

The buildings of the Priory have at various times undergone many changes, and probably also some material alterations and additions necessary for their occupation by a new Order of monks. We shall, therefore, not enter on any details regarding the architecture of the House at this stage of our enquiries. By-and-by we hope to pass carefully among the ruins, and shall then try to narrate all they chronicle, and all that tradition has to add to the story told by their hoary beauty.

* This complicated dedication may account for the unusual number of *dedication crosses* found in the choir of Pluscardyn. See illustration, Chapter XIX.

† Hone's "Ancient Mysteries Described," p. 138. Waring's "Ceramic Art," plate 51.

‡ See Laing's "Scottish Seals," No. 1117, p. 194. § Laing, 1113, p. 194.

|| See more extended notices, Chapter XII.

difficulty in determining whether the dedication be to the one or the other. The truth can only be approximated by carefully observing the form of the traditions existing in the several districts. This name, with that of several other even earlier workers, but about the same period, furnishes the assurance that a great missionary work, related to the work of Columba, was carried on in the country, and that it took a most remarkable hold on the affections and hopes of the Celtic populations.

The *stone circles*, popularly known as *Druid circles* or *standing stanes*,* or, as at Callernish, *false men*, together with the huge monoliths or *menhirs*, sometimes associated with the circles, though more frequently apart, are evidently sacred, even if not religious memorials of a faith and hope among the previous occupiers of the soil, and belong to a time when men in all parts of the world seem to have had much the same expression for the same hope.† Whatever may have been the primary use, many of them came to be known as "*Temples*" in the popular parlance. The idea of the *Church* we need not suppose to be far removed from that of the stone circle and other monuments; church, market, court, and sepulchre being all ideas and facts which ever tend to group themselves among all peoples, and very specially among ourselves. No one who knows the mental tendencies of our country people, how they will pass nearer churches to attend those of the market town, and how they inevitably associate churchyard and market, will indulge in drawing very severe dogmatic lines around the use of these remains of ancient times.

The *sculptured stones* may in a general way be considered the successors of the older remains now referred to. They mostly fall within the historic period, though their history is meantime as dark as that of any antiquities which we possess. Judging from the localities to which they almost exclusively belong, the Picts are the people to whom we must refer them; and most of them belong to a period after Christianity had taken hold of the people. This is rendered certain by the large extent to which the *Cross* is present upon these stones. No doubt it is not present on all, and in the case of some it is manifestly added at a later time than the first erection of the stone; but in a large proportion of instances, and among them the very finest sculptured stones, the Cross is an essential part of the symbolic engraving, though, indeed, we cannot guess in what relation the Cross stands to the remaining symbolism.‡ No doubt the Cross has from the time of the earliest monarchies of antiquity been used as a

* The antiquity of this name is easily discoverable by reference to a document in the "*Moray Register*," belonging to the fourteenth century, where the "*standand stanys de le Rathe de Kyngucy*" are made a place of assembly. *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 184. So, *Registrum Aberdon.*, vol. I., 80, quoted by HILL BURTON, "*History of Scotland*," vol. I., p. 135.

† See, however, Fergusson's "*Rude Stone Monuments*," Introductory, p. 27, sqq.

‡ Forbes Leslie *ut supra*, vol. II., c. xv.

to accompany his father's herd on Sunday evenings to that well about sundown. All day people had flocked from various quarters to the Holy Well, and each on departing had left, in expectation of a healing virtue from the water, some piece of metal—a pin, button, or coin. These the boys had sacrilegiously appropriated week by week. There was as little faith in St Margaret then as there is to-day, and we may be pretty sure that the planting of the Hill, which has interfered with the well, has more to do with the discontinuance of the custom than any more or less faith in the Saint. A friend in Ross-shire tells us that he has lately discovered two wells in his parish to which large companies periodically repair, and these not Romanists only, but persons waiting on Protestant ministry. A part of the old usage still continued is also to be noted, viz., the leaving on some bush or tree near the well a part of the clothes of the persons desiring healing. This seems always to accompany the use of Holy Wells,* just as *pepla* used to be brought to the shrine of the goddesses, as well as piles of silver and gold. Dressed dolls and holy water remain to our own day under the name of Christianity; not, however, as stealthy and concealed superstitious indulgences, but as recognised worship.

In the spring of the present year we were on the hill on the south side of Pluscardyn, with a man who told us of his having when a boy shown himself superior to the uncanny women of the glen. When they sent him to the place where "*the quick and the dead crossed*"—in other words, *the ford* on the river—he had taken his water from a nearer place, and yet he had not been detected. Few, however, would have ventured so to outwit the wise women who had all power to heal the possessed cattle of the glen. Mr Sim, of Bridgend, has kindly thrown into shape for us, from our old friend's lips, the manner in which the cures were wrought. His account we give with very little alteration, and it may be relied on as an accurate account of the *modus operandi*—perhaps we should write, the *opus operatum*. We have been unable to procure a statement of the process of initiation into this mysterious power. We have known of those who got so far in initiation, but refused to proceed. Those fully initiated have kept their secret from us. So far as the process has gone and information has been obtained, the following is the course followed:—The *wise woman* fixes a *night* and an *hour*. The door is closed when the expectant mystic arrives. Darkness reigns within, and after sundry groans, and rockings, and mutterings on the part of the initiator, the expectant is ordered to mount the table. No sooner is this done than another order follows to stoop down and place the left hand under the left foot. Next comes a command to place the right hand on the top

* Forbes Leslie's "Early Races of Scotland," vol. I., c. vii. Hone's "Every-Day Book," vol. II., col. 687, where the interesting fact occurs that the coins were left in the name of the Trinity, and the clothes—generally of old a *napkin*, though now more generally simply a rag of some garment—in the name of the person desiring help. See also Dalryell's "Darker Superstitions," p. 79, sqq.

of the head. "Now," adds the mystagogue, "say that you make over to the devil, in return for this power, all that is between your two hands." At this stage of the initiatory rite our information breaks off, for our sources of knowledge have always fled in horror and dismay. No doubt the more important parts follow. Indeed, we have heard of lovelorn damsels who, within the last three years, have almost, if not wholly, lost their reason in the process of initiation, having in view to recover the lost affections of a fickle swain. But we must proceed to record the manner of cure pursued in Pluscardyn. When any animal about the farm became ill, there was generally to be found some skilled person who professed vaccine medical knowledge. His first business was to declare whether it was *medicine* or *witchcraft* that should be called in. If nothing physical was found out of order, then his calling ceased, and he made way for the *wise women*—or the *fraternity*, as the phrase is. Sometimes, indeed, a man was veterinary and a member of the fraternity too—a most profitable combination. The first thing necessary was to give the possessed animal a drink out of a *timber* vessel in which silver had been placed—"three-lugged" wooden dishes being then in common use. The water so administered was thus procured. A servant was sent to a *running* water, where "*the quick and dead crossed*,"* with a pitcher, in the bottom of which was a silver coin. Not a word must be spoken *going* or *returning*, save when the pitcher was dipped in the stream, when the water was received "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."† On returning with the water, three drops were put in the ears of the possessed, three drops in its mouth, and the remainder dashed upon its body. Thereafter the animal was measured three times from the nose to the tip of the tail, using as a measure the arm from the forefinger to elbow-joint. Again three times the measure was taken, using the hand to span the same length. A rope was now produced, made of *straw twisted the wrong way*, and formed into a *circle*. Through this circle the possessed was passed. Thereafter a coal of *fire*, as a purifying element; and, finally, a *cat* were passed. This creature was with our forefathers a favourite recipient of evil spirits. All this took place amid mutterings, and rockings, and gesticulations, whose precise form and manner we dare not venture to record.‡

Another form of *neo-paganism* is well-known as still practised at Burghead, and also, till recently, in the entire district adjoining Pluscardyn. It goes by

* See Hampson's "Med. Ævi Calendarium," vol. I., p. 129, for the *Usque Cashrichd*, or water from the Ford of *Quick and Dead*.

† Similarly in Dumfriesshire, at Dow Loch, the words used were—"I lift this watter in the name of the Father, Sone, and Haly Gaist, to do guid for thair helth, for quhom it is liftit : ' quhilk words sould be repeatit thryse nyne times."—Dalyell's "Darker Superstitions," p. 84.

‡ See, however, Dalyell's "Darker Superstitions," p. 22, sqq.

the name of "THE BURNING OF THE CLAVIE."* There seems some difficulty about the meaning of the term *clavie*, but it is most probably the common Gaelic word *clobha* or *clabha*, a pair of *tongs*, wooden or metal. The Gaelic Dictionary refers to the Arabic *khlabet*, which has the same meaning. A description of this ceremony, as previously practised in the inland districts, we have very graphically given in the Kirk Session Records of Inveravon, in A.D. 1704:—"ANE ACT AGAINST CLAVIES: THAT, WHEREAS *it has been the custom and practice of many in this parish of Inveravine, to goe about y^r folds and cornes with kindled torches of firr, superstitiouslie and idolatrouslie asscribing y^t power to the fire, sanctifying y^e cornes and cattell, qch is only proper and peculiar to the true and living God, a practice proper rather to the heathens, who are ignorant of God, than to be practised by them y^t live under the light of the glorious Gospell: THERFOR, the Session did and hereby doeth enact, &c.*" On the sea-coast the special feature of the *clavie burning* is an invoking of a blessing on the fishing boats, and in a form suitable to this it is conducted at Burghead yearly, on New Year's Eve O.S. The *burning of the old witch* in Gloucestershire and other English counties, on the same evening, seems to be a kindred relic of fire and sun worship, the time chosen being determined by the sun's movements.

The *withes* at mid-summer over all the doors of a farm steading have mostly gone—the *rowan* has lost most of its charms, except in song and landscape, but few stable doors are even yet without the *old horse shoe* nailed inside or out. The place of the horse in the Northern mythologies—the still present traces of superstition connected with the horse, as in the *great white horse* of Berkshire (ascribed to the time of Alfred, but certainly much older, and much more significant than the record of a triumph over the Danes),† and yet more the presence of the horse in a mythological form, and the frequent recurrence of the *horse shoe* among the emblems on our Scottish Pictish Stones—all point to a wide-spread and deep significance attached to this creature, and whatever was associated with its presence. The horse shoe being a guard against the passage of witches may account for their disowning this animal in their nocturnal journeys, and hence Gay's discovery of the complaint among them—

"Crowds of boys

Worry me with eternal noise;
 Straws laid across my path retard,
 The horse shoe's nailed (each threshold's guard).
 The stunted broom the wenchens hide,
 For fear that I should up and ride." †

* See Chambers' "Book of Days," vol. II., pp. 789-791. Dr Mitchell's "Rhind Lectures," p. 256.

† See "Scouring of the White Horse," and Akerman's "Archæological Index," pp. 42, 43.

‡ Hone's "Year Book," col. 953, where the prevalence of the custom of nailing *old horse shoes* upon the door is described in various parts of England, showing the custom to have been wide-spread, and perhaps corresponding to the Roman custom of *driving a nail* to avert plague. See also *Wyll* *ut supra*, pp. 148, 200; Forbes Leslie *ut supra*, vol. II., p. 422, sqq.

Though the cattle may not now go out to the May pasture with a red cord round their tail, as they certainly did not thirty years ago, and though the witches may not now sit, as we can remember them to have done, under the cows in the form of a hare, and thus extract their milk, still the *evil eye* and the fatal *crossing*, for the same result, have as firm a hold as ever, and the old reverence for swine and hares still prevents many of our islanders from relishing their presence at table.*

All this, and a vast amount besides, connected with Baal and Beltein fires and observances, point to a definite system of belief and worship—not Celtic Christianity, not even Romish Christianity, though the continuance of it is very much owing to the ill-judged and world-serving policy of Pope Gregory at the very outset of the seventh century. To BEDE we owe the key by which to solve the remarkable problem of so much paganism continuing with, and certainly unopposed by the Romish Church through many centuries. We have put Gregory's remarkable letter into the *Appendix*, because its existence is too little recognised, and mere prejudice is often supposed to be the cause of charging the Church of Rome with adopting and propagating so much pure paganism. No one will suspect Bede of introducing anything into his history with a view to operate against the Roman Church. Of course, so long as Celtic Christianity had the ascendancy in Scotland there was an honest effort to outroot these superstitions, but the knowledge, that just outside of their influence the form of Christian practice which was all-powerful, adopted and celebrated these same rites, must have materially weakened and frustrated the efforts of the healthier Christian life and observance.

No doubt, Protestantism has not been able to cope with the hold of many of these superstitions so as to eradicate them. It has, however, made most of them mere meaningless customs, and where they are more than this they are continued stealthily, and with a sense of shame whenever discovered. The sacrifice of a *cock*, for example, though practised in cases of epilepsy, is always practised secretly, and there is as little intention in the mind of the sacrificer who buries the *live cock* of performing an act of worship to Baal, as there is of recognising Baal as divine when speaking of the *Bealltuinn* term of May, or of a dedication to Baal when we speak of *Sunday*, or of putting our churches under Baal's protection when we hoist a cock to the top of the steeple. There is, however, this difference, that benefit is believed somehow to come from the sacrifice, though *why* no one now attempts to answer. Pennant's tour through Scotland in last century has been the means of preserving for us a considerable

* It appears that in America among the Indian tribes this same aversion is found—THE GREAT HARE representing the Creative Power. Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," quoted in Dawson's "Fossil Men," p. 260, asserts the same feeling among Lapps, Greelanders, and Hottentots, while among the Saxons the hare was sacred to *Freja*.

amount of knowledge of religious ceremonies and customs already almost forgotten and perished. Dalyell's volume, to which reference has already been made, and Forbes Leslie's "Early Races in Scotland," which are funds of information on the prevalence of fire-worship in Scotland, besides customs remaining in many places of passing children round the crook, refusing to give fire from a house in which there might be an unbaptised child, and like observances at marriages and funerals, where great regard is paid to the direction of the sun's movements, all point to a time when *Sabwanism* ruled in Scotland and possessed the deepest feelings of the people. Whether we should trace all this to Phœnician influence, or to a source common to both, we need not here enquire. Evidently this form of observance leads us far back among the departures from pure Divine worship.

There are few districts which have afforded more perfect and beautiful flint arrow-heads than the part of Morayland with which we are concerned. The art of flint-dressing is one demanding high skill and workmanship. But few men seem at any time to have been able to produce fine specimens of this art, and hence the *arrow-men* were a privileged class, as they are still among the American Indians, being allowed to pass unmolested from tribe to tribe. The term *savage* (*silvagio* or *woodman*) is very apt to mislead. Some write of the *arrow-men* and their comrades as little superior to the brutes around them.* Yet the stone age of a people does not imply this inferiority. It was in their stone age that the Egyptians learned to prepare mummies, with a skill and elaboration not yet equalled, and they never outgrew the use of their old stone knife in this operation.† There is certainly no reason to think poorly of the stone-age Egyptian, for Professor Owen writes of him, for the Oriental Congress in 1874: "With English costume and complexion, the Egyptian of the Ancient Empire would pass for a well-to-do sensible British subject and rate-payer." Dr A. Mitchell tells us that the skull of the stone-age savage in Scotland will compare not unfavourably in size and development with skulls of educated Englishmen to-day.

The most perplexing difficulty in trying to date the period of prehistoric men is that one series of facts indicates a much higher progress than another series which appears along with it. A stone age has been discovered by Schliemann succeeding one of bronze; while gold, most richly chased and elegantly designed, occurs with stone implements. We have in the *neo-archaic* manufactures and arts of to-day the decay of much higher and earlier art practised in the same communities, and alongside of this the highest art ever reached; while in the *neo-paganism* in our midst we have traces of religion which was national and

* See Westropp's "Prehistoric Phases."

† Wilkinson's "Egyptians," vol. II., 163, popular edition. Renouf's "Hibbert Lectures," Lect. II.

supreme in the highest civilizations of the old world, and has among us outlived all the impression of those types of Christian influence brought to bear upon it. In the names attached to certain antiquities, names, too, universally prevailing among the people, we seem to find relics of the most ancient religions—*e.g.*, in *elf's arrows*, which, in the dark ages of our country, the witches used to cast at waxen figures, and which, if they struck the image, procured death to him in whose likeness the image was made, and by whose name it was baptised with devilish rite. Dr Mitchell, however, tells us that less than fifty years' disuse of the *whorl* upon the spindle in a certain district have been sufficient, even in the present century, so to obliterate the remembrance of the industry and its implements as to cause the whorl, when found, to be regarded with superstitious reverence, and to have attached to it the designation of *adder tongue*—a name which seems to point to an extinct form of worship. Yet, where we write, we can see a woman even now engaged in herding cattle, and plying her distaff and spindle, with a whorl upon it, as part of her daily occupation. The *Cock* and *Baal*, and the *Bull* and *Mithra*, seem most natural connections, yet we must elsewhere than in the sacrifice of a cock find our belief in an ancient worship of Baal among us, and *Anait* seems to have much more claim than *Mithra* to a place in the old Celtic Pantheon.* True, there are in Britain distinct traces of Mithraic worship, but all who have read Roman history know that along the channel of the worship of Mithra Rome made her last great struggle to revive and retain the old idolatries of paganism in opposition to Christianity.†

Much darkness hangs over the form, and indeed the presence of *Druidism* in North Britain, even at the period when we expect to find it most vigorous. The invasion by the Romans marked a point of great consequence in the prevalence and form of this ancient sacro-civic worship. *BELINUS*, whom Cæsar recognised as Apollo,‡ we have found in the *Beltane fires*, still well known. *TARANIS*, whom Cæsar related to *Tonans*, is really the thunder god—the Celtic *Taran* or *Tarnach*, meaning *thunder*. This goddess, whether in *Britain* or in *Taurus*, delighted in human sacrifice, all strangers being seized and offered at her bloody shrine.§ It has been long held that this goddess has given her name to *Tarnua*, now *Darnaway*, in the neighbourhood of Forres.||

The earliest light of history dawns on Britain with the invasion by the Romans. We can neither affirm nor deny the existence of Christianity in

* Forbes Leslie *ut supra*, vol. I., p. 100, sqq.

† Cf. Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," plates lxxiv. to civ., and quarto. "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," plate lxx. Forbes Leslie *ut supra*, vol. II., p. 446.

‡ Bellum Gall., vi. 17.

§ Ovid Epis., Book III.

|| See Isaac Taylor's "Words and Places," p. 220.

Morayland during the Roman occupation of South Britain. Tertullian speaks of "localities of Britons inaccessible to Romans, but subdued to Christ."*

The generally accepted history points to the close of the fourth century as the time when Christianity first reached the *Southern Picts*. But when we remember that one king presided over both divisions of Pictland, it is hard to believe that Christianity made much way among the Southern without influencing the Northern Picts. Almost certainly, the transmontane Picts must have been influenced by Christianity in the fourth century if the Southern Picts were then so influenced. Especially may we feel at liberty to argue this if *Ninian* adopted the same system of propagating Christianity as was followed in the immediately succeeding period—viz., by addressing kings and princes first and chiefly, and through them reaching the body of the people. This form of Christian work seems to have a peculiar fitness among a Celtic population, and the Celtic missionaries have ever, both in ancient and modern times, and in all continents, been most successful in this direction. For our purpose, it matters little to discuss what importance should be attached to the report that *Ninian* had received his education at Rome. The Imperial troops had not yet left Britain, and the Church of the middle ages had not yet begun to form itself in the world's old capital. What *Ninian* could have learned at Rome when, if ever, he must have been there, could not be much other than such primitive Christianity as already existed in Britain. Manifestly, *Ninian* found the work of Christianity already begun in Pictland when he entered on his labours, for we find it was *reformation* as well as *conversion* in which he was engaged, even as afterwards it was undoubtedly a work of reformation as well as conversion in which *COLUMBA* was called to engage among the Northern Picts.

The work done by *Ninian* was perpetuated by *Palladius*, who seems to have ended his labours in the neighbourhood of *Fordoun*, where "*Padies*" fair is still observed.†

Whether the greater part of the narratives which we possess relating to *Kentigern* do or do not really belong to the region of facts; and, if facts, whether they do or do not belong to Glasgow's patron Saint, they certainly indicate a state of Church order and life quite unlike that which prevailed at the times the lives were written. There seems but the faintest likeness between the *Kentigern* of Monk *Joceline*, and Bishop *Joceline* in whose interest the Monk of *Furness* wrote. Their *Episcopates* are more unlike than those of

* *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. Adversus Judæos, 7, opera, para. iv., p. 303. Ed.: Gersdorf.*

† M'Lauchlan's "Early Scottish Church," p. 85. Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," pp. 429, 430.

an English Prelate to-day, and of a Presbyterian Minister with a considerable amount of Home Mission work on hand.

A passage in the life of Mungo seems to preserve for us the kind of religious difficulty with which the Saint had to contend. The worship in the South-west of Scotland must then have been in part *elemental*, in part *idolatry*, and in part *hero worship*. This last form seems to have been derived from the Angles bordering on Cumbria. The story of the meeting of COLUMBA and KENTIGERN on the banks of the *Molendinar* or Malindinor, near *Cathures*, as the Cathedral hamlet was then called, before GLASGHU arose,* preserves for us an easy general date-mark of the Christianising of the Northern Picts. The year 565 is that in which Columba made his way from HY (IOUA, now corrupted into IONA) to the *Ness*, and presented himself at King *Brude's* rath.†

Kentigern and Columba seem to have co-operated in Pictish Mission work, Kentigern preferring work in such Northern parts of Scotland as were related to his mother's kindred, where traces of his influence still remain, as, for instance, in Forfarshire, so strongly Arthurian in its traditions and remains. In the Orkneys also he seems to have laboured, and even Aberdeenshire is not without marks of his memory.

As we have seen, there can be little doubt that when Columba visited *Brude*, Christianity had already some footing in the province. The very opposition inspired by the praises of the Saint (*vespertinales laudes*) seems to indicate a knowledge of the nature of the mission on which he had come. Besides, it was not yet two hundred years since Ninian had preached in Pictland, nor one hundred and fifty years since Palladius followed him there.

It is interesting to mark the manner of the Druid worship which now encountered Columba. We must remember, however, that Druidism had already undergone considerable changes, and was no more the pure Druidism which existed in Britain when that of Gaul, as found by Cæsar, was already corrupt. A *magus* or magician is now the royal priest, the name of *Druadh* has begun to disappear. This magus is no more than a *warlock*—a necromancer, using spells and incantations to produce great physical results, such results as are still believed by many to be obtainable by persons who have sold themselves to Satan.‡ To these they added visions of the unseen world, given to those who

* See, besides the Lives, Stevenson's "Legends of S. Kentigern," Forbes *ut supra*, p. 370 Skene's Remarks on the Story—"Celtic Scotland," vol. II., p. 194.

† Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto ^{de Hibernia} ^{year} III., 4. See ^{of the} ^{Picts and Scots,"} Haddan's "Councils, &c.," vol. II., part I., p. 106. See also "Chronicles of t" ^{of the} ^{Picts and Scots,"} preface cv.

‡ Perhaps the most remarkable narrative of this kind which has been written in recent ages may be found in Martin's "St. Kilda," written not two hundred years ago.

employed their intercession, they being in fact spiritual media. These sights were called *sidhe*. From a few lines, ascribed to Columba, we may gather the nature of the *worship* which prevailed.

“ It is not with the *Sreod* our destiny is,
Nor with the *bird* on the top of the twig,
Nor with the *trunk* of a knotty tree,
Nor with the *Sordan*, hard in hand.”

Elsewhere also—

“ I adore not the voice of *birds*,
Nor the *Sreod*, nor a destiny on the earthly world,
Nor a *son*, nor *chance*, nor *woman* ;
My *Dru* is Christ, the Son of God.”

Probably there is not one observance mentioned in these lines but has still some hold on the minds and actions of multitudes, and could be easily illustrated from popular practices and sayings. If indeed these things are Druidism, it were not hard for any one who knows his country and its private popular beliefs to write out a somewhat lengthy history of the *Neo-Druidism* of the *Nineteenth Century*.

Instead of our path becoming more easy as we enter on the early Christian period in Pictland, it is more difficult than ever. There is indeed no trace of religious history to which we can assign a date from the point we have reached at King Brude's rath on the Ness till we arrive at a time when an entire change had come over the circumstances of Morayland. The Norsemen, the Scots, the Britons, and the turbulence of the times have not left many traces of the peace of God-fearing. No doubt, Hy was in Northern Pictland, but Morayland is not conspicuous in religious annals during all the period mentioned. True, in A.D. 717 we discover persecution of the Scoto-Pictish Church, and expulsion of its ministers, by *Nectan* or *Naitan*, who, through Saxon influence, had come under the sway of Roman forms of observance. But in 736 this was terminated by a very remarkable prince—Angus, son of Fergus.* To this period of our national history we may assign the adoption of St Andrew as patron Saint, and very possibly the introduction of his name into that VALE OF SAINT ANDREW, whose religious history we are to review.

Few names, if any, have made a deeper impression on Northern Pictland than that of MAELRUBHA or MOURIE, the Applecross Saint, best known as MAREE, having given his name to the grandest of our Scottish Lakes, and dividing with Columba the veneration of immense tracts of country. The similarity of his name to that of the Virgin Mother often causes considerable

* But see the “Book of the Dean of Lismore,” Introduction, page xxvii. M'Lauchlan says :—“Not till A.D. 843 was a return of the old forms accomplished, when Kenneth united the Picts and Scots.”—“Early Scottish Church,” p. 262.

difficulty in determining whether the dedication be to the one or the other. The truth can only be approximated by carefully observing the form of the traditions existing in the several districts. This name, with that of several other even earlier workers, but about the same period, furnishes the assurance that a great missionary work, related to the work of Columba, was carried on in the country, and that it took a most remarkable hold on the affections and hopes of the Celtic populations.

The *stone circles*, popularly known as *Druid circles* or *standing stanes*,* or, as at Callernish, *false men*, together with the huge monoliths or *menhirs*, sometimes associated with the circles, though more frequently apart, are evidently sacred, even if not religious memorials of a faith and hope among the previous occupiers of the soil, and belong to a time when men in all parts of the world seem to have had much the same expression for the same hope.† Whatever may have been the primary use, many of them came to be known as "*Temples*" in the popular parlance. The idea of the *Church* we need not suppose to be far removed from that of the stone circle and other monuments; church, market, court, and sepulchre being all ideas and facts which ever tend to group themselves among all peoples, and very specially among ourselves. No one who knows the mental tendencies of our country people, how they will pass nearer churches to attend those of the market town, and how they inevitably associate churchyard and market, will indulge in drawing very severe dogmatic lines around the use of these remains of ancient times.

The *sculptured stones* may in a general way be considered the successors of the older remains now referred to. They mostly fall within the historic period, though their history is meantime as dark as that of any antiquities which we possess. Judging from the localities to which they almost exclusively belong, the Picts are the people to whom we must refer them; and most of them belong to a period after Christianity had taken hold of the people. This is rendered certain by the large extent to which the *Cross* is present upon these stones. No doubt it is not present on all, and in the case of some it is manifestly added at a later time than the first erection of the stone; but in a large proportion of instances, and among them the very finest sculptured stones, the *Cross* is an essential part of the symbolic engraving, though, indeed, we cannot guess in what relation the *Cross* stands to the remaining symbolism.‡ No doubt the *Cross* has from the time of the earliest monarchies of antiquity been used as a

* The antiquity of this name is easily discoverable by reference to a document in the "*Moray Register*," belonging to the fourteenth century, where the "*standand stanys de le Rathe de Kyngucy*" are made a place of assembly. *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 184. So, *Registrum Aberdon.*, vol. I., 80, quoted by HILL BURTON, "*History of Scotland*," vol. I., p. 135.

† See, however, Ferguson's "*Rude Stone Monuments*," Introductory, p. 27, sqq.

‡ Forbes Lealie *ut supra*, vol. II., c. xv.

charm and royal symbol,* but its presence on these stones indicates a place of importance, which is inconceivable apart from the place Christianity has secured for it.

The existence of stones with only heathen symbols is not difficult to understand, and when we bear in mind how much of what is purely heathen still remains alongside of our present Christian life and practice, we need not much wonder at one side of a stone bearing a Cross, while the other side is covered with heathen symbolism. Some parts of that symbolism, from what remains like it in popular belief and practice, we think we can understand, as, for instance, the *sun*, the *crescent*, the *tongs*, the *altar*, the *serpent*, the *horse* and *horse shoe*; while such figures as the *comb* and *mirror* persist in continuing as inexplicable as the darkest hieroglyph of any age or people. Morayland claims to possess the masterpiece of this age and character of Pictish monument, in its *Sveno's stone*, to which reference was made in the previous chapter. Whether, as in the case of the *Ruthwell Cross*, we shall ever read history or mythology on these stones with any certainty is a matter which only such men as Mr Joseph Anderson, and like Rhind Lecturers, are likely to be able to answer with real intelligence.

The present Church of *Birnie*, of old *Bruneth* or *Byrnet* (a form occurring in a name lettered on a gravestone at Pluscardyn), is, traditionally, a seat of older religious observance than the introduction of Christianity. Thereafter it became a seat of Celtic Christianity, having a *hermitage*, *disert* or *desertum*,† at Pittendreich, and an *hospital* at Bogside.‡

Kinedar seems to have been a *disert*, where the holy GERARDINE lived,§ and probably Pluscardyn was another such retreat, certain remains and names in the locality pointing, with tradition, to an earlier religious life in the Glen than was begun with the foundation of our Priory. While having only a very moderate measure of respect for larger Culdee settlements, our rulers who followed Queen Margaret's reforming methods seem to have been, like her, tolerant and partial to the *disert men*, and hence their little possessions or residences are carefully retained for them in charters of the Davids, Roberts, and Alexanders.

Morayshire has very few directly Culdee traditions, and in its turbulent

* See Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," Lundy's "Monumental Christianity," and the *reliefs* in British Museum of Assyrian Monarchs.

† The places, related to settlements of the Culdees or Columban Churches, where men resided who chose for themselves solitude and retirement, were called *Diserts* (*Deserta*). The memory of such places is retained in various localities, conspicuously in *Dysart*, in Fife. Isaac Taylor, "Words and Places," p. 228. "Reeve's Columba," p. cxxv., Skene's edition. Besides these related *diserts*, there were others which were unattached, the dwellings of holy recluses, which were regarded with much veneration by both rulers and people.

‡ Young's "Annals of Elgin," p. 69.

§ Forsyth's "Moray," p. 122.

ages few Saints seem to have chosen its now quiet retreats; none certainly of any fame. There is, however, some reason to believe that the site of the famous Elgin Cathedral was a place of Culdee worship, while even in the thirteenth century *Kintrae* is spoken of in the Chartulary of Moray as having an ancient Church.* There is interest also in the farm called *Inchagarty*, or “*priests’ island*,” appropriately named when *Kintrae* was the *head* of the Lake. The Churches of *Longmorn* and *Lhanbride* (*Lhan-Moran* and *Lhan-Bridget* or *Bride*) have entirely disappeared, as also those of *Kilmalemock* at Fosterseat and *Inchbroom*, in the same parish.† Besides these Churches, which have no modern representatives, there were many more, notably the very old one at *Urquhart*, beside where the Free Church now stands, and out of which it is said to be partly built, dedicated to *St Margaret*; and *St Giles*, near the site of the present parish Church of Elgin. The circumstance already adduced of two Moray mormaers having made gifts to *Drostan*, at Deer, shows the influence of the Columbite Church in Moray. Early in the twelfth century we find planted in Moray, at *Urquhart*,‡ near where the Spey enters the sea, and yet *inland*, as a second royal *fort* to keep the land, a Priory—a Saxon hold of alien spirits—the badge in that century and the next of subjection to a new power and influence. To plant a religious house was in those days in Scotland very much what Baptism was under Charlemagne—a badge of bondage to a foreign influence.§ Thus, religion most effectually served State purposes, and mitres and sceptres went bravely hand in hand, and conquered for each other.

* *Vetus Ecclesia de Kyntra.*

† Forsyth’s “*Moray*,” p. 110.

‡ The common topographical word *Urquhart* would seem to be of British derivation. “*Urchudain*,” as in the vernacular, would appear to be composed of *Urch*, a knoll, and *Din*, a fort—the fort on the knoll. M’Lauchlan’s “*Early Scot. Church*,” p. 236, n.

§ Innes’ “*Middle Ages*,” p. 32.

CHAPTER III.

Founding of the Priory.

THE PRIORY OF PLUSCARDYN was founded in 1230* by Alexander II., no doubt through the influence of Bishop MALVICIUS or MALVOISEN, of St Andrews. In the same year were founded the only other Monasteries of the same Order in Britain—BEAULY, in Ross, and ARDCHATTAN, in Argyle. Noblemen were the founders of Beauly and Ardchattan, the king himself of Pluscardyn Priory. The Introduction has shown us that this Order was but lately established when it sent its Rule into Scotland. It had been in existence thirty years, but it was only twenty-five years since the Order had obtained Papal sanction; while only seven years before, the Rule had been considerably relaxed by Honorius III.†

To the attention which this new Order attracted at Rome we may probably assign its introduction into Scotland.‡ Malvicus was at Rome§ soon after the establishment of the Order, and not long before the relaxation referred to. There was much about this Rule to commend it to a man who knew Scotland well, who had a natural liking for all which belonged to France, and, besides, knew the mind of his sovereign, who, as a descendant of Queen Margaret, believed that the throne was strongest in its ecclesiastical dependencies and religious fortresses manned by aliens.

As we have seen, Morayland had been recently quelled, and political as well as religious motives made it desirable to establish a royal supremacy and oversight in the regions around. No better place could have been found for the quiet seclusion of a Monastery than the Vale of PLOSCHARDIN,|| as it is called in the earliest Charters which have reached us.¶

* Balfour's "Annals" has 1231, a mistake into which others have since fallen.

† See Page 12 and Appendix B.

‡ There is a tradition that Alexander II. was himself in France in 1217, where he met DOMINIC, and probably also some of the representatives of the new Order of Vallis Caulium. Unfortunately for the link which seems thus to be supplied more directly than what the text indicates between Alexander and Vallis Caulium, it is now generally asserted that there is small reason to believe that Alexander ever crossed over to France. That Malvicus was at least educated in France seems undoubted. He became in 1199 Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Glasgow, and in 1202 Bishop of St Andrews.—*Lyon's* "Bishops of St Andrews," vol. I, p. 100, sqq.

§ Keith's "Scot. Bishops," p. 10. || See Fac-simile Charter of 1233, also transumpt of 1240.

¶ Mr Young, in his "Annals of Elgin" (p. 47) says that the old Celtic name was "PLUSCARTY corrupted into PLUSCARDEN." The Charter evidence is the other way.

Beyond the desirableness of the spot for the seclusion required by the Rule of Vallis Caulium, there was this also to recommend it, that it was already, we cannot doubt, the recognised seat of an earlier form of Christian observance. In the "Chapel" and "Chapel Well" and "Drinking Hill"—all out of the line of the public road in the days of the Monastery—we have traces of earlier worship in the glen. To this we may add what is afforded by tradition and the study of the Charters, which makes it almost certain that the valley was known by the name of SAINT ANDREW previous to the foundation of the Priory.

It is impossible to follow on a map the various foundation gifts to this and other Monasteries, without being struck with the great dexterity of the allotments, so as to secure the most perfect religious system of police scrutiny and espionage which has yet been brought into requisition.

In a House which, for a long time, owed no allegiance to any Ecclesiastical Superior in this country, only to the king himself, we do not wonder that we detect a restless generosity on the part of the king in making his gifts ramify all the surrounding districts. He gave the Bishop of Moray no little trouble in altering his episcopal boundary lines to suit his fickle and royal sense of what might be worthy gifts for the monks, but he was always careful in the returns he made to the See to leave the bishop saying nothing harsher than

"NON EQUIDEM INVIDEO, MIROR MAGIS."

But whether we rightly judge the royal motives in these respects or not, it is very certain that a more beautiful spot than Alexander selected for his Priory could not have been found outside the Vale of St Andrew. Whether in *Pluscardin* we find a place already known as a *resting place for friends* may perhaps be disputed, though the *Drinking-hill*—a name now almost disused, but found in Acts of Parliament and Council Records—seems to point to the spot where pilgrims rested on their way from Palmer's Cross and Pittendreich to the chapel above the glen.* No doubt the eye that sees Pluscarden to-day is filled with the hoary ruin of the old Priory, and the mind cannot well dissociate the impression of the glen from the share which this fair object has in the general sense of sweetness and rest which possesses one. Stoddart,† who visited Pluscardyn Priory last century, and to whom we owe the view of the Priory which contains the two hillside farms now entirely swept away, was so struck with the beauty of the valley that he has aptly quoted, as applicable to the situation, a description, by Giraldus Cambrensis, of another Monastery in the XII. century:—

* Walcott, in his "*Scoti Monasticon*," gives as an alternative name with Pluscardine, that of "Pluscatre (*the hollow in the hills*)." This form we have not found in Charter, tradition, or use.

† "Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland." By John Stoddart, LL.B. 2 Vols. London, 1801.

“Stat in valle profundissima—ab omni populari strepitu, in solitudine quadam, longè remotus, super fluvium per vallis ima labentem situs. Hic claustrales in claustro sedentes, cum respirandi gratia fortè suspiciunt, ad quas-cunque partes trans alta tectorum culmina, montium vertices quasi coelum tangentes, ipsasque plerumque feras (quarum hic copia est), in summo pascen-tes, tanquam in ultimo visas horizonte prospiciunt.”*

Pluscardyn Priory “stands in a very deep vale, far removed by its loneli-ness from all sound of popular tumult, and built on the banks of a stream, which glides silently through these quiet retreats. Here the cloistered monks, looking beyond their cloister, in the intervals of religious exercise, to whatever side they turn their eyes, behold above the summits of the building lofty moun-tain tops which kiss the clouds, and browsing deer like specks in the verge of the distant horizon.”

The walk or drive to the Priory from Elgin or Forres—and it is about equally distant from each—is itself well worth the attention of any one passing either of these historic places. Should there be a few days to spend, and any interest in ecclesiastical remains, no richer and more varied feast could be enjoyed than is afforded by the remains at Elgin, Kinloss, Spynie, and the still more ancient kirk of Birnie, with its square bell, besides the several royal and other famous remains scarcely less related to ecclesiastical history than the cathedral churches, palaces, abbey and priories. None of these, however—not even the Elgin Cathedral itself—can compare with Pluscardyn in the impression left upon the mind and the sense of being carried back into past ages. It is not certainly that there is such rich masonic work, or such magnificent proportions as in the Cathedral, probably constructed by the same company of builders; but the entireness of the buildings, and the seclusion of the spot, convey that impression which is recognised as producing the feeling of being removed into another fellowship and state of things. One leaves Pluscardyn as he leaves few places, realising that here he enjoyed the pleasing mirage of having lived in other scenes and ages, and among men of another thought and ambition than he will find among those to whose company he is about to return.

On scrutiny of the earliest Charters, we are led to conclude that the *valley* where the Monastery now stands was not cleared of forest in the days previous to its foundation. As we shall see, AUCHTERTYRE was then the cultivated part of the district, Pluscarden itself being forest, and part of the great royal forest of Elgin.

The earliest reference to Pluscarden by name is in 1226, four years before

* Itin. Cam. Lib. 1. c. 3. Quoted Stoddart, Vol. II., pp. 120, 121.

the foundation of the Priory.* In the transcription of the Charter of 1226 the name is spelt PLUSCARDYN, the form we have adopted in this volume for the Priory, while not venturing to interfere with the accepted orthography for the name of the glen itself. As already indicated, the oldest original Charter which we possess, dated 1233, has the form PLOSCHARDIN, and the same form occurs in the transumpt in 1240, which purports to be the reproduction of all the earliest Charters. The meaning of the name Pluscardyn has puzzled all who have attempted to discover it. Probably this is the first time that the orthography *Ploschardin* has been indicated to the public as having Charter authority. The *Plus* seems to be *Plos*, and it is this part of the word which has been so perplexing. The Welsh *Plys* has been suggested as corresponding, and in the neighbouring *Lhans* of *Lhanbryde* and *Lhanmorán* the probability of a Welsh influence has been found. The *Cardyn* is not so difficult, as there are *Kincardines* in many places, some of them not far from Pluscarden, while in the immediate neighbourhood is *Carden hill*. Besides the meaning "*friends*," *CARDEN* is often taken to mean "*a shore*." The relation to *a shore* thus introduced would not be difficult to explain, as the raised beaches above Pluscarden are very conspicuous, and cannot be missed by any one approaching the glen by the *Manbeen*, *Auchtertyre*, *Crossleys*, and *Inchallon* road—names which themselves, with others which are found around, indicate the presence of a very different physical outline to that which meets the eye to-day. The date is not very remote when the valley beside the Priory was a lake, and on the rising ground, now wooded, W. and S. of the Priory, there seem distinct traces of the diagonal furrows of retiring waves. There is no occasion to remind any acquainted with this portion of Morayshire how great changes have occurred within historic times in the courses and surroundings of the Spey, Findhorn, and Lossie rivers. Probably, however, the discovery of the older form, *Ploschardin*, may enable those who are in a position to bring mature knowledge to bear on place-names to suggest some solution of this name which may be satisfactory. We have ventured at an early part of this chapter to indicate a meaning which conveys, if not the strictly etymological significance of the name, at least the distinct impression left by the place itself during many a happy visit to it, with not a few friends.

This House of Pluscardyn, founded by Alexander, was dedicated to *MARY* and *ANDREW*, according to the general form of quoting the dedication. By reference, however, to the Rule of the Order † already quoted, the name of *JOHN BAPTIST* should occur in all dedications, as well as that of the *VIRGIN*. The name of *ANDREW* was already in the valley, and was properly retained in

* In that year Alexander II. granted to the Bishop of Moray certain lands in exchange for "a fourth part of a Davach of land in Pluscardyn." *Registrum Morav.*, p. 21.

† See p. 29.

the new House. The full form of the dedication we find in the Charter of 1233—which is our oldest original Pluscardyn document. The order in which the three names occur, that of Andrew being last, though the House was called the Convent of the Vale of St Andrew, clearly demonstrates that regard was had to the clause of the Rule above referred to.* The seal of the Priory, engraved along with the seals of Beauly and Ardchattan, seems to indicate the bringing of souls out of purgatory—serpents' or dragons' heads being in the middle ages favourite symbolic representations of the places of departed souls.†

These seals are from Mr Henry Laing's collections, now in the British Museum. It is unfortunate that no better impression is known of the seal of the Priory of Beauly, for it is plainly impossible to do more than take on trust the locality of this seal.‡ The seal of Ardchattan§ is identical with a loose drawing in the volume of seals collected by General Hutton, and now the property of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. In the same volume, entitled "*Sigilla*," is a drawing of the Pluscardyn seal, evidently from the same matrix as that here figured. Hutton's drawing was made by Mr Rose, of Montcoffer, from an impression attached to a document of James, Prior in 1519. The only original impression we have been able to find in Duff House is too much broken to be adduced as additional evidence of accuracy.||

The buildings of the Priory have at various times undergone many changes, and probably also some material alterations and additions necessary for their occupation by a new Order of monks. We shall, therefore, not enter on any details regarding the architecture of the House at this stage of our enquiries. By-and-by we hope to pass carefully among the ruins, and shall then try to narrate all they chronicle, and all that tradition has to add to the story told by their hoary beauty.

* This complicated dedication may account for the unusual number of *dedication crosses* found in the choir of Pluscardyn. See illustration, Chapter XIX.

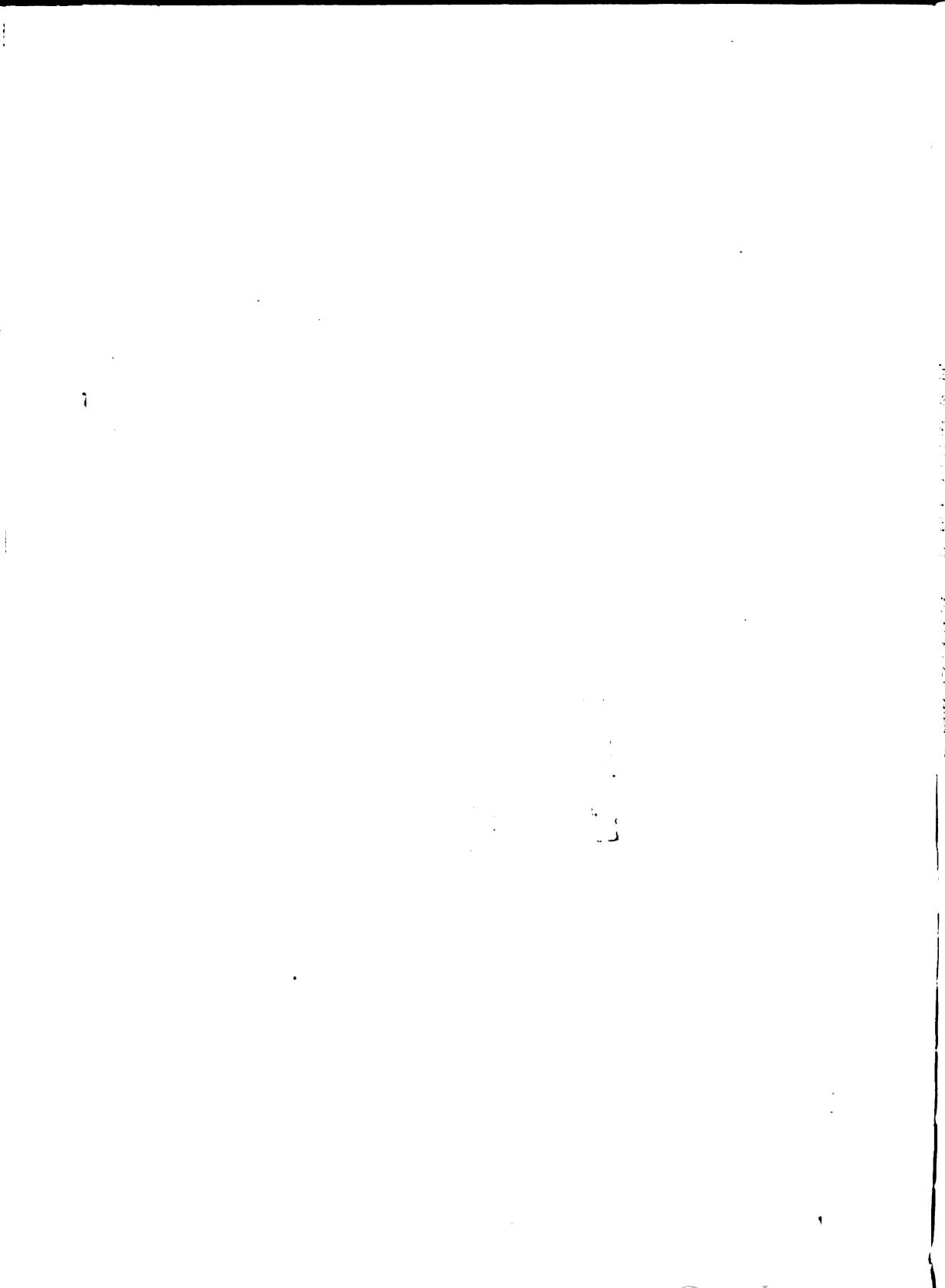
† Hone's "*Ancient Mysteries Described*," p. 138. Waring's "*Ceramic Art*," plate 51.

‡ See Laing's "*Scottish Seals*," No. 1117, p. 194. § Laing, 1113, p. 194.

|| See more extended notices, Chapter XII.

Uniuersis sanctis
vult sancti a
bona cor: h
f tuncm cor
collatione h
diximus uil
na gudaan p
quis rex p
de farnanati
caam z p
z omibz r
dicti cu d
z conueni
libz z p
Carca nra
demolinar
horaste in
nel lunt de
neant z
z cu terre

Joins vniuersis domini que dicitur
de seruitibus z seruitibus i p
lulcepille. M: bus auctoritate diocelana
penencul luy z cu omibz alijs q
m p
ad molendina p
de poltade cu omibz p
pulcharul que pmet ad
z lucellouy luy ad
oblatioy obuentioy
intra parochiam ecclie p
caeta uacant. Prior
diocelano de spua
z concessimus z p
i puram z p
quidem
p bone memorie p
z lucellores corz habeant re
z cu terre vtinentibz ad



CHAPTER IV.

The Earliest Charters of Pluscardyn.

THE PLUSCARDYN CHARTERS which remain, either as originals or transumpt, are by no means so few as was supposed when this work was begun, four years ago. We have what seems a very tolerable transumpt of the original foundation Charter of 1230, and as we write there lie beside us three original Charters of 1233, 1236, and 1237. Two of these are episcopal, while that of 1236 is a royal Charter, adding to and altering some of the gifts bestowed in 1230. These three original Charters are reproduced in *fac-simile*, and will be found extended in the Appendix.*

This chapter will give some account of the lands, mills, tithings, and privileges bestowed on our Priory, as represented by these documents, and others of almost equal antiquity. The transumpt of the foundation and earliest Charters claims to have been prepared in the Episcopal Synod held in the Church of St Giles, in Elgin, on April 30th, 1240. The reason assigned for granting this summary of all Charters then existing is, that it was desirable the Prior and Convent should have, in a convenient and authoritative form, an abstract of all their belongings and privileges. The fear seems to have been pretty strong that possession would not be quietly retained of a considerable portion of what royal and episcopal grace had bestowed on the new Monastery, and also that the original documents, if often brought into Court, would run considerable risk of damage or being lost.

The tradition has been very general and unquestioned in the district, that the Charters and great part of the valuables of Pluscardyn perished in the burning of the Cathedral by the Wolf of Badenoch in 1390. There has, therefore, been some hesitation in accepting this transumpt as genuine. The fact, however, that we have three original and very early Charters quite as valuable as that of 1230, removes much of the weight of this tradition.

To this it may be added that it is scarcely likely that the Bishop of Moray possessed, either by right or confidence, any such hold on Pluscardyn as possession of its muniments would imply, since we find Bishop John, in 1345,

* Great credit is due to Messrs Stewart & Co., Edinburgh, for the manner in which they have reproduced the Charters in this Volume. Side by side and at a little distance, it would be easy to mistake any one of them for the original, were the margins removed. The Charters of 1236 and 1237 will be found in *fac-simile, untinted*, in our Scottish National MSS., Vol. I. The oldest Pluscardyn Charter, that of 1233, is now for the first time published, from the collection of the late Dr Stuart.

making strenuous efforts to substantiate a right of visitation and supervision at Pluscardyn. The difficulty encountered in making good this claim seems undoubted evidence that it was new, and without much tangible evidence to support it.* Add to this, that there is nothing in the transumpt itself at all inconsistent with what we should expect there, neither is there, as we shall see, any trace of an effort to acquire or vindicate anything which cannot be historically ascertained to be the certain property and privilege of our Monastery. Indeed, we are able to check the greater part of the transumpt with original Charters of earlier date, and in all points the transumpt is found to be absolutely correct.

Some readers may wonder at so many reasons being adduced in defence of the transumpt. It has, however, been felt, by several who have examined it, that there is very considerable preliminary difficulty in accepting this document as genuine. It is an unusual occurrence—indeed, another is not known—that a Scotch Episcopal Synod should promulgate a summary of the Charters of a religious house, with a view to such difficulties and conveniences as are here provided for. The language employed in the transumpt suggests this ground of stumbling as one which was partly foreseen. In addition, the manner of closing the transumpt seems to require some defence, so as to produce a sense of probable authority. Such documents are not generally among us concluded with a threat and benediction. We find, however, that Saxon and Norman influence will quite account for this. There are preserved in Hampson's *Medii Œvi Kalendarium*† several very amusing instances of this ecclesiastical manner of concluding Charters. Something more than royal disapproval is to be found in some of these. A Charter of the king of Kent in A.D. 762 concludes by denouncing him who violates it “to be severed from Almighty God and the fellowship of the holy angels, and to be doomed to eternal perdition, while the Charter shall nevertheless remain in its vigour.”‡

The transumpt itself, as will have been gathered from the remarks already made, is a compilation of documents, and embraces the permanent elements of all Charters granted up to the year 1240—*i.e.*, during the first ten years of the existence of the Monastery. So far as is known, there have come down to us all the Charters belonging to this period with the exception of that of 1230,

* See Chapter VI.

† Hampson, Vol. I., p. 22, sqq.

‡ The practice is very old and widely spread of protecting public memorials by similar threats and promises. Renouf, in the Hibbert Lectures, pp. 139, 140, gives us illustrations of great antiquity from Egypt. The following may be taken as a specimen:—“Whoso destroys this inscription, Bast, the great goddess of Bubastis, will annihilate him for ever he will never have a son after him.” Similarly Arundell, in his “Discoveries in Asia Minor,” illustrates a passage in the CIX. Psalm by reference to a tomb at *Hushak*, on which may be read in Greek:—“And whosoever shall lay an evil hand upon this tomb, may he leave his children orphans, his widow destitute, his house,” &c.—Vol. I., pp. 112, 113.

and as the transumpt is in perfect accord with the originals in the other cases, we may probably receive it without hesitation in reference to the one Charter which has been lost. The information peculiar to the transumpt is the gift to the House which Alexander founded, in the place called the Vale of St Andrew, of the whole of his forest of Ploscardin (*sic*), and the whole of his forest and land of Huchtertyr (*sic*), as held by his illustrious father, William; and if these should by any royal act be afterwards taken from them, it must be by an exchange, in some suitable place, between Spey and Ins (Inverspey?). Here the Charter of 1230 is left in the transumpt, and exchanges made in 1236 introduced. After recounting a portion of this later Charter, the transumpt returns to the earlier document. *Mefte*, and one net on the Spey, follow as gifts, *Mefte* being reserved to Ængus, son of Eugenius, and Eugenius his son, during their lives. The Charter of 1236 is again introduced at this point, after which the original Charter of 1230 bore that the monks must never use their possessions and privileges for civil purposes of peace or war contrary to the king and his throne. In reference to the forests bestowed, the king retained the *stags*, *goats*, and *wild boars*, and prohibited the monks from hunting, or allowing any one to hunt for these, although snares might be laid for *wolves*. Of all else which the forest might produce the monks were allowed to possess themselves. The opening portion of the Charter of 1236 is now introduced, and thereafter all the remainder of that document not already quoted, when there is added, almost certainly from the foundation Charter—
*“But if any one shall presume in any way to disturb the said Brothers in respect of their liberties aforesaid, let him know that he is a disturber of our peace, and is guilty of treason, and a rebel against us. But our peace be with those who are careful to preserve the foresaid Brothers in all their freeholds, and we desire that infinite salvation be theirs. AMEN.”**

We now reach the earliest original Charter which has come down to us.† It is from Bishop ANDREW, in “the year of grace 1233.” The *præsens pagina* takes the House and all its belongings under the Bishop’s protection—viz., the place and the forest and land of HOCHTERTYR, and all that shall afterwards be added by the faithful. The Bishop also enumerates several gifts already received—viz., *Twenty nets* above INVER SPEY, the mill of ELGIN, with the mills of DUNKINEDUR and of MOLEN,‡ with all *multures* § pertaining thereto. The mills of the Castle of FORAIS; the mills of DULPOTIN, in the Bailiary of Forais, with all their *multures*; the fishing of POLFODE, with all poles and fishings of

* See Appendix G.

† See, for text, Appendix H; for translation, Appendix I.

‡ Reg. Morav., p. 35. These became Alexander’s in the 24th year of his reign.

§ The farmers of Moray require no explanation of the term *multures*. It will be of some interest to them, however, to see how and when some of them came to be *thirled* to the mills now mentioned, and others which will shortly occur. For these and similar terms, see notes to “*The Monastery*.”

the king in the FYNDERYN (Findorn) above the aforesaid fishing of Polfode, are added as belonging to Pluscardyn. There are excepted by the Bishop those fishings which belonged to the Castle of Forres and to the thainagium of Farnanan. Thereafter the Bishop proceeds to confer upon the Monastery and monks the church of DURRES, according to the king's command, "as he was its true patron." All the belongings and tithings for the same were added, the supply of a vicar for the said church being required of the Prior and his brethren. At the same time, the Bishop surrendered the tithings of the lands and forest of Hochtertyr, with tithes of the mill in Ploschardin; also, *tithes of IRON*, and of all *iron in minerals* found in said forest.

A transumpt of this Charter, dated 8th June, 1507,* and given to Prior Robert, of Pluscardyn, states that it was "written on parchment, with the Bishop's seal impressed in green wax on white." No trace of the seal now remains, only the hole where the tag was fastened. This transumpt, now before us,† is drawn out by Donald Thorne, notary public, and among the witnesses is Thomas Leslie, father of the famous Bishop Leslie.

We now reach king Alexander's second Charter, that of 1236, which is among the fac-similes introduced into this volume and extended in the Appendix.‡ This Charter begins by indicating that he gave twenty nets in Inverspey in exchange for the forest of Lanarch, previously given. There were now also bestowed, as indicated by the Bishop, the mill of Elgin, with its belongings; the mill of Forres, the mill of Dulpothin, in the Bailyary of Forres. In exchange for twenty-four nets in the Findhorn (and now for the first time we know how many there were), the king bestows these lands, viz.—FERNUA, THULIDOU, KEP, and MEIKLE KYNTESSOCH.§ We insert a translation as given in the National MSS. of Scotland, Vol. I. :—

"ALEXANDER, by the grace of God King of the Scots, to all the men of all his land, clergy, and laity, greeting. Let those present and to come know that we,

* Appendix H.

† In this transumpt, which is written in a very inferior style to the original Charter, there are various alterations in orthography. Forais is Fores; Polfode is Pollfode; Ploschardin is Pluscardin. The small gaps in the original we are able to fill up with certainty from the transumpt.

‡ Appendix J.

§ LANACH or LANARCH Forest lies N. and W. of Duthil, now known as the *Lenoch hills*, and famous for goats.

DULPOTHIN is *Dalpotie* on the Moy Estate, N. of Kintessoch in the lower part of Dyke.

FERNUAN, TERNANAN is clearly *Darnaway*, then a *thainage*.

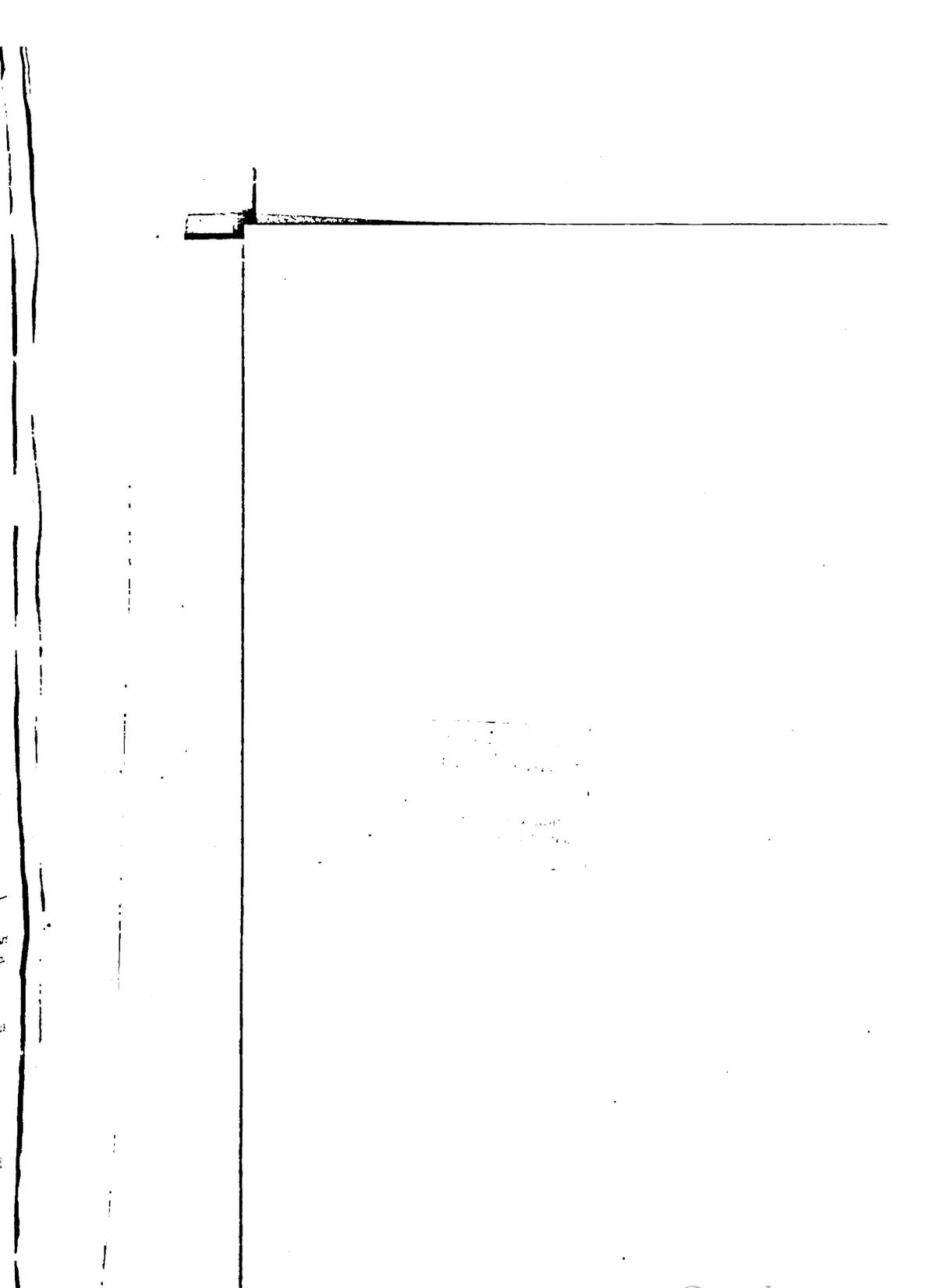
THOULIDOU is *Tillidivie* in Relugas, near the present church of Edinkillie.

KEP is probably *Keppernach* or *Kepanach*, N. of the Findhorn, near Ardclach Parish Church.

KYNTESSOCH still remains in Dyke.

HOCHTERTYR is *Auchtertyre*, between Elgin and Pluscardyn, and not, as some forms of the word would lead one to think, *Whitetree*.

DURRES is, of course, *Dores*, and not the place in Aberdeenshire which retains the old name.



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for the love of God, and for the weal of our soul, and of the souls of our ancestors and successors, have given and granted, and by this our Charter have confirmed, to God and the Blessed Mary, and to the Blessed Apostle Andrew, and to the Brethren of the Order of Valliscaulium serving and to serve God in the house that we have founded in our forest of Elgin, in the place, to wit, that is called the Vale of Saint Andrew at Pluscardin, in exchange for the forest of Lanach, which we formerly gave to the same brethren, twenty nets upon Inverspe in free, pure, and perpetual alms.

“Moreover, we give and grant, and by this our Charter confirm, to the same brethren, our mill of Elgin, with all the other mills belonging to that mill, and our mills formerly belonging to our castle of Foreys, and our mill of Dulpothin, in the bailliary of Foreys, so that the aforesaid brethren may have and hold and possess all the aforesaid mills in free, pure, and perpetual alms, with all the multure payable from all the lands from which, at the time of this grant, we drew multure, or ought to have drawn it if it had been tilled, with their waters and stanks. We will, moreover, and grant, that the aforesaid brethren and their millers take earth, stones, and timber for making the stanks of the aforesaid mill, and for repairing and preserving them, without any contradiction or hindrance, in neighbouring convenient and suitable places. We give also and grant, and by this our charter confirm, to the aforesaid brethren, in exchange for twenty-four nets that the monks and the said brethren had by our gift on the water of Findorin for twenty-four pounds, these lands underwritten by the eight marches, and with their just appurtenances, to wit, Fernanan, Thulidoui, Kep, Meikle Kyntessoch, to be held and had by them in free, pure, and perpetual alms; in wood and plain, in meadows and pastures, in moors and marshes, in ponds, mills, waters, and fishings, belonging to the said lands, free and quit from every exaction, and service, and demand, and custom, with all suits and pleas in all the foresaid possessions chancing in their court, which we give to them to be litigated and determined, excepting those that specially belong to our crown.

“We will, moreover, and grant, that they, in respect of all their proper chattels, be free and quit over all our kingdom from all toll and custom. And all the aforesaid things that they have at present, and that they may in future times acquire by just means in our kingdom, we will and grant that they have, hold, and possess, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, according to the tenor and form of the gifts made to them, or to be made, as freely, quietly, fully, and honourably as any alms in our kingdom are most freely, quietly, fully, and honourably had, held, and possessed by any religious men. And we have taken the aforesaid brethren and their house, all their men, and all the possessions and goods of them and their men, into our firm peace and protection; and we firmly forbid that any one inflict any injury, trouble, or grievance upon them, or upon any one of them unjustly, upon pain of our full forfeiture; and that any one presume to take poind of them, or of their men, for any debt, unless for their proper debt that they or their men may owe, upon pain of our full forfeiture. But if any one shall have rashly presumed to go against what is aforesaid in

anything, let the diocesan in whose diocese this has been done, justly compel, by ecclesiastical censure, him who has done the injury to give satisfaction to the aforesaid monks; and if, on account of his contumacy, he has been tied with the sentence of excommunication, and obstinately resisting has scorned to obey the mandates of the Church, and has remained during forty days under sentence of excommunication, let the bailie of us and of our heirs, in whose bailliary that excommunicated person may be, seize him, and thrust him into our prison; which, if that bailie shall have neglected to do after being required three times, the sentence of excommunication shall be enforced by the course of justice. We will, moreover, and grant, that as often as injury has been done to the aforesaid brethren, or to their men, in respect of their lands, mills, or the marches of their lands, their possessions, or other things, the bailies of us and of our heirs, when required by them, without waiting for a special royal mandate, do them full and swift justice according to the assize and customs of our kingdom. We charge, moreover, that no one presume to detain unjustly their serfs and those of their lands if found outwith our domains, upon pain of our full forfeiture. Witnesses—William, Bishop of Glasgow, our Chancellor; Andrew, Bishop of Moray; William, Abbot of Dunfermline; Herbert, Abbot of Kelchock; Ralph, Abbot of Aberbrothock; Gilbert, Abbot of Holyrood; Patrick, Earl of Dunbar; Malcolm, Earl of Fife; Walter Cumin, Earl of Menteith; Roger of Quinci, our Constable; Walter, the son of Allan, our Steward, and Justiciar of Scotland; Walter Olifand, Justiciar of Lothian; Ingram of Baliol; Roger Avenel; Walter Biseth; Thomas, the son of Ranulf; Archibald of Dufglas; David, the Marischal. At Edinburgh, on the 7th day of April, in the 22nd year of the reign of our Lord the King.”

The episcopal Charter of 1237* is merely confirmatory of that of 1236, but is interesting as having the signatures of the Bishop and Chapter of Moray at that early date. Andrew's signature is the more interesting as he was the founder of the Elgin Cathedral. The Papal Bull of Urban IV., protective and confirmatory of the new House, is dated 3rd July, 1263. † It contains a capital summary of the previous Charters. The confirmation and protection embrace the House and its surroundings, Durris' mills and multures, the iron, twenty nets above Inverspey, the possessions of Fernua, Thouldoui, Kep, Kyntessoch and Mefte. This last name is here found confirmatory of the statement of the transumpt of 1240. In the Bull, *Hochtertyr* occurs as *Whutyr*, and hence the tendency to confound it with *Whitree*. We have thought it right to insert in the Appendix the quit-claim of Bishop Andrew, and also the Charter ‡ of exchange given to the Bishop by King Alexander for the lands surrendered in behalf of Pluscardyn. It bears date 8th Feb., 1237—a little earlier than the

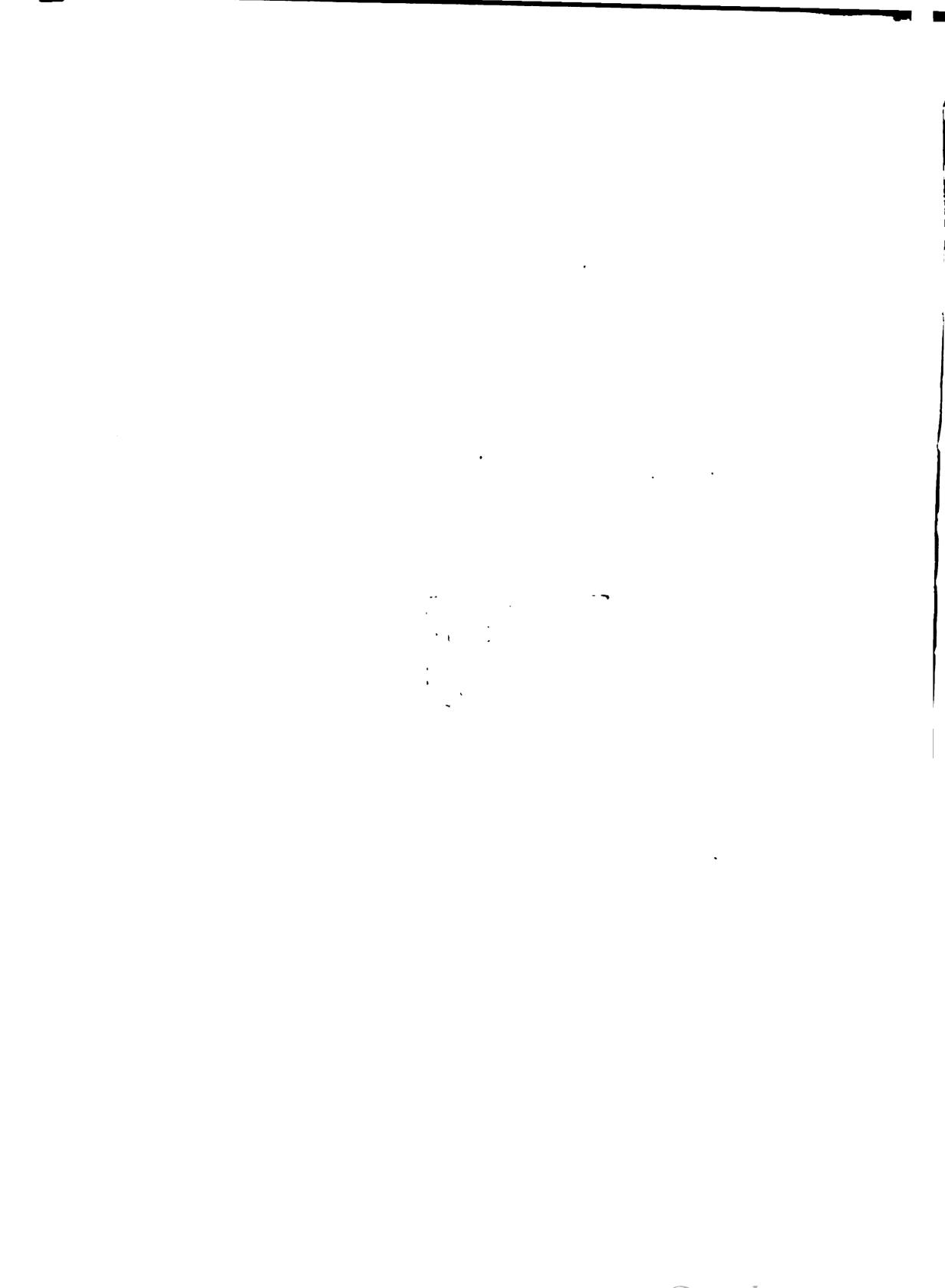
* Appendix K.

† Spalding Miscel., vol. II., p. 404, and Appendix L.

‡ Regis. Morav., p. 32, Appendix M.

Omnia h[ab]e[re] q[ui]bus uniu[er]si q[ui]d[am] d[omi]ni n[ost]ri
Alexand[er] illust[ri]s iustitiam frater[um] ibide[m]
deo seruient[ur] et alijs ad illud p[er]uenit[ur].
Item molend[um] et de foreys et de Dyc de
cimas p[ar]och[ie] et rectoris ecc[lesi]e de foreys
scilicet Avel[is] socham p[ar]och[ie] molendinay
q[ui]a habuer[un]t. Eadem etiam domini et
cetera fr[atr]u[m] imp[er]iu[m] solui debue
runt de p[ar]och[ia] in quaz p[ar]ochia p[ar]och[ie]
ere gallanich[us] m[er]ita largiendo de ca
sua beaug[er]ebant pleni sac[er]dotum. In p[ar]
missio[rum] u[er]o h[ab]it[ur]. Act[us] anno d[omi]ni m[ille] c[irca]
c[irca] xxxv

f. 60
H. 630



Bishop's cautious quit-claim. The only additional remark which seems called for before closing this chapter is, that the Bull of Urban ratifies to Pluscardyn the privilege of the Order to elect its own Prior and officials. This is now noted because we shall have to mark, ere long, a partial encroachment at Pluscardyn on this fundamental regulation of the Order.

CHAPTER V.

Worldly Troubles of the Monks.

THE INTRODUCTORY SECTIONS have already shown that the income of the Houses of the Order of Vallis Caulium consisted, to a very great extent, of taxes levied on the industry of other men. The consequence was, that the Monasteries, and emphatically the Mother House of Val des Choux, were in constant feud with some worldly power. What was true in France was no less so in Scotland, and in Pluscardyn as much as elsewhere. Indeed, there is no other historical feature which commands nearly so much attention. So far as we can gather, the monks of Pluscardyn, whatever they may have been within their own precincts, were little to the surrounding district beyond vigorous exactors of certain tithes, and managers of certain properties. Nor must we neglect to notice that this was a new state of things in Scotland, and one that began with and followed on the new *regime* instituted wherever the influence of Queen Margaret's house and form of piety impressed itself on the national faith and practice. This grasping determination to vindicate vested rights, imposed by royal mandate on the districts surrounding or chartered to Monasteries, is a striking contrast to the previous character of the Christian Church in our country. Self-denial and self-sacrifice were the outstanding features of the Celtic Church missionaries and workers, and the resources which they held were used to propagate the Gospel by the education of men imbued with the same zeal. True, both classes of monks and missionaries professed to serve the same Master, and to be devoted to the same Gospel; but the pecuniary prosperity of their own Monastery was certainly the highest ambition which history has preserved as marking the career of our monks, and even that ambition is considerably in advance of most we know about them.

The earliest troubles of the Vale of St Andrew were with the burgesses of Elgin. As might be supposed, these troubles arose in connection with the mills of Elgin bestowed on the Priory by the foundation Charter of Alexander II. It is, unfortunately, impossible to discover much of a definite character about the origin of these mills. Elgin has so contrived to shroud its own origin in darkness and obscure antiquity, that nothing is certainly known about its earlier history. Not till about the year A.D. 1010 does the historian encounter it. Morayland of old had its capital on Loch Ness, or sometimes, according to the pleasure of the ruling Pictish king, away south on the Tay. The meaning of this, as already explained, is that there was only one capital for North and

South Pictland at one time, and the capital was in North or South Pictland according to the determination of the reigning monarch. Perhaps Urquhart, whose Monastery was founded in 1125, may have been one of the chief parts of "The Laich of Moray" in the earliest times, and its *fort** may have determined the site of the Monastery there.

So late as A.D. 1212, the Cathedral seat of Moray was fixed at *Spynie*, then a seaport, rather than at Elgin. Elgin was, however, a royal resort in the time of David (1126-1153), and William, the Lion, had almost as much liking for the fair City as his son, Alexander II., who is acknowledged to have been Elgin's greatest benefactor.

How much palatial space and architectural display were required by a Court in those early days, does not appear very clearly, for we cannot well imagine a Court, such as Courts then were numerically, stowed away in the Duffus Manse as it was and continued to be far on into the present century. We have now only a drawing of the old royal and ecclesiastical dwelling, and we owe this to Dr Rhind.† Alexander's Charters of privileges and gifts soon raised Elgin to considerable importance and size, while the removal thence of the Cathedral seat in 1223, under the persistent effort of Bishop Andrew, whose signature appears in our Charter of 1237, must have added considerably to the importance of the town at a time when the Court swarmed with ecclesiastics, and the king was esteemed supreme patron both in Church and State. In the late Mr Robert Young's "Annals of the Parish and Burgh of Elgin," the Provostship is dated back to 1261, and Bailies to 1296. We think that a closer search into the Records of the Moray Chartulary would probably have discovered Bailies nearly a hundred years earlier.

The Pope had taken special notice in his Bull of 1263 of the bestowment of the mill of Elgin on the monks of Pluscardyn, for we read there:—"The mills, with the mill-leads (*decursibus aquarum*), and all their pertinents, which ye have in the 'Villa' which is called Elgyn." This grant of the royal Charter seems to have caused inconvenience and discontent among the burgesses from that day to this. We do not know the special occasion of the first recorded difference which arose between the monks and the citizens, and the arrangement made between them would perhaps have passed from history had not the Innes family, through interest they had in a later dispute with the monks, preserved a copy of the Charter of settlement.‡ We have also found, in Duff House charter chest, a transumpt made for a late Prior. It contains, as it states, "the tenor of the cheirograph between the Prior of Pluscardyn and the burgesses of Elgin. A controversy having arisen between the Prior and Convent of Pluscardyn and the burgesses of Elgin regarding the services they

* See Page 61.

† See Rhind's "Sketches of Moray," p. 85.

‡ See "Innes Familie," p. 54, and Appendix N.

owe in keeping up and repairing the mills of Elgin and the stanks of the same," &c. The convention at which a settlement was made of this controversy was held on the day of St Nicholas (December 6th), A.D. 1272. It may not be without interest to indicate the result of this convention. Having met in the kirkyard of St Giles (St Ægidius), the burgesses agreed to make over to Pluscardyn the land which then lay between the two mills of Elgin, and was surrounded by water. This was surrendered to procure a quit-claim of the service due in terms of the royal Charter. The multures, however, were to be paid as aforetime. A reservation was entered in the agreement, inasmuch as the mill of the heirs of Duffus was in the said land. There is some difficulty in determining these mills of the Charters. The "*King's Mills*" of Elgin, bestowed in the royal Charter, were most probably those now known as "*Old Mills*." "*Sheriff Mill*" is probably the mill of the heirs of Duffus. In the Hutton MSS., in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, there is a copy of a Charter of 1295 from *Sir Reginald le Chen* and Maria his wife, making over to the community at Pluscardyn "*a place for a mill near where they have their mill of Elgin,*" and giving them right to erect a mill there.* It is thought that the *Mill of Elgin* of our Charters ought to be distinguished from one mentioned in the Moray Chartulary,† which King William there gives to the Bishop of Moray. That mill is defined as "the mill on my land above the cruives (*crohas*) which are over the Lossie, under the castle of Elgin" (or Ladyhill). This is generally taken to mean *Bishop Mill*, though the description would apply equally to *Old Mills*. The Charter, however, seems clear that the King's Mills or Mills of Elgin had not passed out of the royal hands till 1230, and Bishop Mill probably arose at a later date, when the Lossie took a new bend into its present course.

The settlement made in the kirkyard of St Giles must have been satisfactory at the time, and apparently wrought well. It is not till 1330 that we have another record of any very great trouble with Elgin. The settlement of the second difficulty has been preserved (the original in the Innes charter chest),‡ an old copy occurring among the Elgin city papers, and a transumpt in the Duff House charter chest. The document is of no general interest, being mostly concerned about the settlement of multures. We have printed it in the Appendix, as it continues to furnish material for learned and profitable discussion among the lairds, farmers, and their agents. Adam, son of Stephen, and Patrick Heroc were the chief burgesses (*prepositi*) in 1272. Now Thomas Hervei and William of Strathbrok appear as Bailies (*Ballivi*), while Walter, son of Randolph, is "*maior*" of Elgin.

Another contention arose between the monks and the Earldom of Moray.

* See Appendix O.

† Page 10.

‡ "*Innes Familie*," pp. 57, 58, 59. Appendix P.

When certain lands within the Earldom of Moray were tithed and thirled to Pluscardyn, a large proportion of the ground was lying waste. But no sooner had Thomas Randolph become Earl of Moray than he set about improving and cultivating his lands. The consequence was a very great increase of produce. The monks of Pluscardyn demanded tithes and multures on the crops of all lands within the territories assigned them, as well those newly cultivated as those under cultivation when their Charters were drawn out. This demand was resisted in various districts, as Longmorn, Quarrywood, Tulloch, Darnaway, and Sanchary. But it so happened that in 1368, when this contention had become rather general, the Earldom of Moray fell vacant. Patrick, Earl of March, who had married that vigorous lady, BLACK AGNES,* daughter of Thomas Randolph, having resigned the Earldom, the king took advantage of the vacancy to confirm to the monks all their rights and demands. Thus there was secured to the monks that they should receive the tithings and multures of all improved and reclaimed lands within the territories assigned to them in their Charters.

We have put this Charter of King David II. into the Appendix,† more because of its interest in the history of Moray than because of its importance to our present narrative. There is a good copy of the original preserved at Gordonstown, and a Scotch translation in the Elgin Court-House Papers. There lies beside us a parchment transumpt made in 1449 among the Charters of the late Dr Stuart, and from it we have taken the copy in the Appendix. A letter of Patrick, husband of Black Agnes, preserved in the Innes charter chest, shows a disposition on his part to concede the privileges which this Charter confirms. It is dated 1367, the year previous to his resignation of the earldom. It runs as follows:—

“Patricius de Dunbar comes Marchie et Moravie. Cancellario nostro in comitatu Moravie. Salutem. Quia constat nobis per certas evidencias quod Prioratus de Pluscardyn infeodatus extitit de multuris terrarum Moravie tunc cultarum vel postmodum in culturam redigendarum, de quibus terris multure tunc temporis domino nostro Regi et molendinis suis dicto prioratuj collatis debebantur et soluebantur seu solui deberent . . . te essent. Vobis mandamus igitur visis prius evidencijs dicti Prioratus. domino Priori eiusdem fieri faciatis literas nostras sub magno nostro sigillo quo in illis partibus utimur. directas. viceco[m]iti de Elgyn et de Fores, seu balliuis nostris, et ministris alijs, de precepto quod dicto Priori et suo Prioratuj deseruiri et responderi faciant de multuris dictarum terrarum de quibus multure eis debentur secundum infeodacionem suam, per districtionem et catallarum namacionem. Et recipiatis penes vos hanc nostram literam pro waranda. Datum sub sigillo nostro apud Edinburg in vigilia † Sancti Mathie apostoli. Anno Domini m.ccc lx septimo.

* “The Scottish Nation,” Vol. III., p. 201; Shaw’s “Moray,” p. 143; “Gazetteer of Scotland,” Sub. DUNBAR; WYNTOWN’S “Cronykil,” Vol. II., p. 207, sqq., bk. viii., c. 33; “Hollinshed,” Vol. II., p. 13, edition 1805. † Appendix Q.

‡ 20th Sept., 1367, if Matthew, but 23rd Feb. if Matthias, which seems more probable.

A. H. Dunbar, Esq., has, among many favours, drawn our attention to the fact that this Patrick is great grandson of the first of the noblemen who witness the royal Charter of 1236, in favour of Pluscardyn.

A more serious dispute than any of these arose between the monks and ROBERT DE CHISHOLM. The Chisholms of Roxburgh had married into the family of Lauder of Quarrelwood in 1335. Robert Chisholm served under John, Earl of Moray, and was taken prisoner at the battle of *Durham* in 1346, when John fell. For services rendered previous to this unfortunate invasion of England, John had bestowed on the Chisholms lands in the Barony of Urquhart—viz., in Inchmorchen, Blaret, Loch Lettir, Inchebrene, and Dulshangy. The Charter has no date, but from the signatures it must have been 1342 or 1343.* The hold thus obtained in Morayland the Chisholms contrived to use very vigorously. On January 25, 1370, Alexander, Bishop of Moray, held a Court at Rothes, and issued an *indenture* in connection with a charge brought against Robert Chisholm by Thomas, Prior of Pluscardyn. The chief complaint was refusal to pay multures on the crops of Quarrelwood at the mills of the Priory in Elgin. The case was clearly made out for the monks, and Robert bound himself and his heirs to render the dues of their mills to the monks. We give the indenture in the Appendix from the original at Floors Castle in the Innes charter chest.†

The previous year (1369), the Chapter of Moray had met and represented to the Sheriff of Inverness and Sir Archibald Douglas that grievous wrong had been done to the Prior of Pluscardyn by the decision which they had given in reference to the lands of Quarrelwood and the multures due from these lands to the mill of Elgin, the property of the monks of Pluscardyn. Robert had seized the appointed *tacksman* of these multures, and had thrown him into prison, a crime which should be visited by excommunication. The case, they represented, was one entirely for the Church, and should the civil powers again interfere, they would subject themselves to the penalty of excommunication.‡

The settlement of 1370 seems to have made peace for a time, but in 1390 we find our monks again embroiled with Sir Robert, son of the Robert who fought so well under Earl John. The elder Robert died in 1372. Thomas is

* The Bishops, Richard of Dunkeld, John of Moray, and Roger of Ross, attest it. Roger might be 1328 or 1340-'43, John 1325-'48 or '62, and Richard must be the same who signs another Pluscardyn document in 1345, though not entered by Keith among the Bishops of Dunkeld. Earl John fell in 1346, so that we are shut in to 1342 or '43, one William being Bishop-Elect of Dunkeld in 1342.—See "Familie of Innes," p. 60.

† A final agreement (*pedes finium*) regarding any disputed matter, or an official record of a concord of any kind, was written so as to be separable from another portion of the same document, which was retained by the Court. The separation of the two parts was made by an *indented edge* (hence *indenture*), so that the authenticity of the portions could be ascertained by the indentations of either portion fitting into those of the other when again produced. Appendix R.

‡ Regis. Morav., pp. 169-170.

still Prior of Pluscardyn—much to his own discomfort, as we shall find him saying ere long. From a notarial instrument of the Chapter of Moray we are able to trace this new sorrow. On this occasion it is the Provostry (*prepositura*)* of Forres within which the dispute arises. Again, with threats of excommunication, the Bishop requires the Chisholm to observe the demands of the Prior, proving by documentary certainty the right of Pluscardyn to the multures of the said mill of Forres. The peculiarity of this document is that it incorporates the fact that the Chisholm flatly and frankly denied the right of the said Bishop to judge in the case, and thereafter retired from the Court. The instrument was, however, issued in due form, and will be found in our Appendix.† Greater sorrows were not far off, and the somewhat meddlesome Bishop soon suffered a retaliation which the succeeding centuries have deeply and heartily lamented.

* "Innes' Legal Antiquities," p. 201.

† Appendix S.

CHAPTER VI.

Internal History of the Monastery.

THE MONKS OF PLUSCARDYN made few friends in the country after the death of Alexander II. Indeed, he had erected so many ecclesiastical institutions, and endowed them so richly, that it would have required a very devout and rich country to have added much to the royal bounty. Pluscardyn had been by no means meagrely endowed, and for a small Monastery it was certainly wealthy. While in Bagimond's Tax Roll of 1274, Beaul and Ardchattan are each set down for £200, Pluscardyn is entered £533.* As we saw in the instance of Sir Reginald le Chen, the pious had occasional remembrance of Pluscardyn. This nobleman's name is very conspicuous in the early Moray Charters, and his gift in 1295 to our monks, in which his wife, Maria, heiress of Duffus, takes part, was for purely spiritual considerations, so far as we can detect.†

We shall not, however, delay over the gifts which came to the Monastery at this date, for we have already found, in the early Charters with which we were engaged in Chapter IV., all the donations of much consequence. A gift by King Robert the Bruce is mentioned by Keith and Shaw. It consisted of a fishing on the Spey. We have not been able to find any Charter reference to this in the period with which we are now occupied. For the better care of the western division of their property, our monks erected a *Grange* in the parish of Dyke, long known as *Grangehill*.

Though the early chronicles refer to several previous *Parliaments* of Scotland, it does not appear that any convention which could be properly so called was held till the famous Parliament of BRIGGEHAM met on March 17th, 1289. The object of this convention is too well known to require full explanation here. Scotland's sorrows had just begun on the death of Alexander III., and the only prospect of a comfortable and hopeful peace was in the marriage of the "MAID OF NORWAY" to the son of Edward of England. The Parliament

* "History of Beaul Priory," p. 66.

† See Appendix O, and Hutton MSS. in Advoc. Library, Edin. In Reg. Morav., preface xxxvii. Maria is mentioned as appearing from 1289 to 1312.

of Briggeham sanctioned this well-advised but ill-fated alliance.* The old prophecy which *Fordoun*† records came too true:—

“While thrice three years, and moons thrice three roll by,
Under no prince the widowed land shall lie.”‡

We cannot but feel a very special interest in this Parliament—Scotland’s first, held only seventeen years later than the first use of the term in England.§ It has this one disappointing feature, that it is so much of English origin, and that even in our “Acts” its record stands in French. To this Parliament of civil and ecclesiastical leaders, the Prior of Pluscardyn was summoned, and there took his seat. Two hundred years afterwards, we find another Prior of our Monastery present in Parliament, and not fifty years later the last who continued to style himself *Prior* was in Parliament condemned to the “Maiden.”

The year following the grant by Reginald le Chen to the Vale of St Andrew finds Sir Reginald, as keeper of Elgin Castle on the Ladyhill, heading the subjection of all the chief men of Moray to Edward I. on July 27th. Immediately after this, Edward returned South.|| In 1303, seven years later, he again scoured Scotland, and took up his head-quarters for the Moray district at the Abbey of KINLOSS. If tradition speak truly, Pluscardyn suffered at the hands of his soldiers, as documentary evidence proves Elgin and Forres to have suffered both by fire and wanton destruction. Thus little advantage came of the abject subjection of 1296. A better national spirit possessed the *Chen* or *Cheyne* family—among whom our Reginald was famed as a “mighty hunter” in Caithness—before their name passed from history, and for their kindness to our monks, and their after leal-heartedness to Scotland’s cause, we may pardon them their temporary defection in holding Elgin Castle for the English king against their countrymen. The “Auld Brig o’ Don” or “Blair-gownie” is the most enduring monument of the family and its repentance.

In 1345 an incident occurred in the history of our Priory which must have created no little anxiety and discussion in St Andrew’s Vale. John Wys was then Prior, and to his other good qualities we have the authority of the Moray Chapter for believing that he added those of sagacity and truthfulness. No doubt to him we owe the amicable settlement of 1330 with the citizens of Elgin—for even Edward I. condescended to distinguish Elgin by the title of

* “Acts of Parliament,” Vol. I., p. 85.

† HISTORIANS OF SCOTLAND, *Fordoun*, p. 305.

‡ “*Principe magnifico tellus viduata vacabit,*

Annis bis ternis, mensibus atque novem.”—*Fordoun*, Vol. I., 310.

§ *Innes’ Leg. Antiq.*, p. 101, sqq.

|| From Berwick, Edward sent mandates, dated 3rd September, 1296, removing Reginald, and appointing in his place Henry de Rye as keeper of the castles of Elgin and Forres. Rye was at the same time appointed Collector of the Escheats in all the northern part of Scotland.—Dr Taylor’s *Edward I. in the North of Scotland*, p. 165, sqq. See also *Rotuli Scotiae*, Vol. I., p. 28, sqq.

City. At the date with which we are now concerned, Adam Marescall was Sub-Prior, and two monks of the house are named, William of Inverness and Adam Young—not aliens, as the monks were originally. These men were all evidently well advanced in years. The question had arisen in the Bishop's mind, and the Cathedral Chapter were interested to know how far episcopal jurisdiction reached the Monastery in the valley. It was not as with Kinloss and Urquhart, and some houses in Elgin, as well as elsewhere within the Bishopric, whose affiliations and superiors were conspicuous or near. The Priory and Prior-General of Val des Choux were far away in France, and intercourse between Pluscardyn and Beaully and Ardchattan seems to have been only nominal. Besides, by Charter and Bull, these houses had the right of self-government and self-election of Priors and other officials, while the seclusion of their Rule protected them as well as restrained them from much knowledge of the outside world. The point raised by the Bishop seems to have been to some extent provided for in the establishment of the Order. That point was the right of visitation, correction, institution, and privation by the Bishop of the diocese in which any house of the Order was situated. The Record of the Moray Register of the evidence given by a delegate from France, examined on the occasion to which we now refer, is probably intrinsically accurate. At the same time, the Prior and brethren of St Andrew's Vale declared, that so far as they recollected or had heard, the right claimed by the Bishop had always been understood and allowed. A few facts seem to support a portion of this statement. The Bishop's Charter of 1233 points in this direction, for it is express in taking the house under his episcopal protection.* The terms and circumstances of the transumpt of 1240 are probably additional evidence, while the Papal Bull of confirmation supposes a relation between the houses of the Order and the Bishoprics in which they might be situated. The assertion of *William de Longo Vico*, a monk of the Order from the diocese of Toul, who is introduced as procurator in Moray for the Prior-General at the time the Bishop stirred the question, is thus, to some degree, borne out. The full claim, however, of "*Institution and Destitution*" was certainly new, and there is some reason to suspect the reality of the official claims, not to say the monastic connection, of the said William, while his statement about German houses of the Order† is without any hint of corroboration in the careful work of M. Mignard, who has passed all the muniments and historical documents of the Rule through his hands. If this William was really what he claimed to be, his General was Jean de Poigne, the immediate predecessor of the famous

* "*Noveritis universi nos . . . homines et possessiones sub nostra firma pace et protectione suscepisse.*"

† See the documents as preserved in the Regis. Epis. Mor., pp. 156, 157, and entered in our Appendix T.

Pierre de Chateauvillain. The suspicion which we entertain regarding the good faith of all concerned in this claim of Bishop John is strengthened by examination of the letter from James Courtois to the Prior of Beaulieu, when entrusting to him certain privileges in reference to Ardchattan—"We give and commit to you the visitation of our Monastery of Ardchattan; . . . and we give this with full power of visiting, reforming, correcting, amending, instituting and depriving (*institutionis et destitutionis*) as occasion may require, both in the head and the members." The oversight which the Bishop of Moray arrogates as an Episcopal right is here distinctly claimed as a privilege of the Val des Choux, and not of any Bishop, and is expressly conferred as regards Ardchattan, even to *installation and induction*, upon the Prior of Beaulieu, while the right of *confirmation* is distinctly reserved in all cases to the Prior-General of the Order.* It seems then that the very claim urged by the Bishop of Moray, and sworn to by Prior Wys, his Monks, and William de Longo Vico, so-called Procurator and Messenger from the Prior-General, was a prerogative of the Val des Choux, and that some other object was in view than to elicit the simple truth—even though "*of their own accord*" they spoke it, as the Moray Register asserts. The result of this solemn, truth-discovering Chapter of Moray was that the Bishop secured what he aimed at, and became henceforth the patron and protector of the Pluscardyn Brothers and their rights. Hitherto the Monks have had to fight their way very much under Royal protection. Henceforth they appear more in the following of the ecclesiastical powers among whom they lived. Prior Wys passed away, and was succeeded by Prior THOMAS, of whom we first read in 1367.† His priorate seems to have been one continued scene of trouble; and notwithstanding Royal protection, Episcopal patronage, and ample consideration by the Earls of Moray, yet both he and the property, as well as the buildings of the Priory, were subjected to continual attack and spoliation. How much injury the Wolf of Badenoch inflicted on him we cannot tell. Tradition is strong that our Priory suffered severely even by fire, and if Alexander Stewart knew, as no doubt he would, that the Prior and the Bishop were friends, the Monastery in the valley would not likely be spared among the desolating ravages of this sacrilegious ruffian. Prior Thomas struggled to maintain his ground after the great burning of 1390, but eight years later his courage failed, and the Bishop discovered a way of escape for the old man, and a way of entrance for himself into power and jurisdiction over Pluscardyn. Poor Prior Thomas! there is a genuine ring of nature and real sadness in his resignation of his office, which, he says, he had held in hard times (*duris temporibus*) as he best could. He had, however, become persuaded that his age and infirmities required that for the

* See Appendix C, to page 14.

† Reg. Morav., p. 368.

good of the House he should retire. He humbly asks residence in the House and a retiring allowance, such as the Priory could afford. His resignation is dated 7th August, 1398. We have here very clearly the fruit of the oath and declaration of John Wys to Bishop John. Since then the Bishop had fought Pluscardyn's battles, and just the year previous to Thomas' resignation WILLIAM SPYNIE had become Bishop. All that follows is clearly done by arrangement, and as clearly in violation of the rules of the Order of Vallis Caulium, though in correspondence with the understanding entered on in 1345. We have thus reached a special point in the history of our Priory, and one which prepared the way for still greater changes, which were probably already in contemplation by the Chapter of Moray.

CHAPTER VII.

The Bishop moderates in a Call and Settlement.

WE are rewarded for any trouble we have taken in trying to understand the Bishop's eagerness to have the privilege of "*institution and destitution*" at Pluscardyn, by the details of a resignation, and the election and investiture of a new Prior, preserved for us in the Moray Chartulary. The course of procedure is very fully detailed, and if we were to substitute *Presbytery* for *Bishop*, we could, without much difficulty, imagine that we were engaged in reading proceedings in connection with a vacancy in a Presbyterian congregation—such as might be (though we trust may be long in coming) at St Andrew's Vale, in the Free Church congregation worshipping in the old calefactory there. Prior THOMAS had tendered his resignation to Bishop William on August 7th, 1398. The resignation was evidently accepted without the formality of a deputation to wait on the venerable old man, for on the 13th of the same month Thomas Fullonis, senior monk of the Priory, writes to the Bishop informing him that he and his fellow monks had, on a day named for the purpose, and within the time assigned* for the election of a new Prior, proceeded to vote, and thereafter to ascertain on whom the votes of the Brotherhood fell. When this was done it was found that they were unanimous in nominating and electing Brother ALEXANDER DE PLUSCARDYNE, one of themselves. Thomas proceeds to describe this *Prior-elect* as a man provident and discreet in spiritual matters, and circumspect in things temporal; of their own profession and rule; a priest, and of legal age; born in wedlock; having knowledge and power to defend and improve the rights and possessions of the Priory, which were at that time small and much alienated. He was also ready to repair the Church and other buildings, then in a ruinous condition. The said Alexander, regard having been had to all Episcopal and monastic requirements, he, Thomas, in the name and by the authority of all the Brotherhood, thus declared elected—

"I, Thomas Fullonis, Senior Monk of this Convent of Pluscardyn, for myself and the whole Convent, and by command and power entrusted to me by the Convent, name and appoint as Prior, Brother ALEXANDER DE P., a Monk of this Convent, which election we all approve."

* Here is an element found under the new Patronage Act, but not existing in the Free Church or other non-Established Presbyterian Churches.

Immediately on this formal declaration having been made in Chapter, the monks formed a procession, and, chanting the *TE DEUM*, they led the way to the High Altar in the choir. Here they put the call into the hands of the elect Alexander for acceptance. He having received the call, and recognising in it the Divine will, accepted the same. Thomas proceeds to say—"Him, then, we now present, with all due reverence, to your Reverend Fatherhood, and devoutly supplicating that you deem it worthy of your pontifical office and the authority in you vested to confirm from your own certain information this our election of him so cordially made. For your assurance that he has been cordially elected by us we have caused to be attached to this document of his election the common seal of our Convent. Given in our Chapter-House the 13th day of August, in the year, &c., ninety-eight." In addition to the interest attaching to the description given of the decayed and ruined state of the buildings eight years after the great Burnings by the Wolf, there is much in this old minute and petition to suggest what might be improvements upon even our present procedure in such matters. The close vote was evidently preceded by a very careful enumeration and application of the requirements of the Monastery, and of what would be expected, material as well as spiritual, from the new Prior. All this had been seen to before the election—very probably, we suspect, before the resignation. The manner of presenting the call is truly instructive, and the chanting of the *Te Deum* a very seemly prelude to the solemn act. We have heard the *Te Deum* along the same line of march from the Chapter House to and around the place of the High Altar. If it was as well rendered by the monks as when we heard it,* Alexander, the elect, must have been very much impressed and assisted in reference to his sense of the Divine will in his appointment.

It is made quite plain by this letter that the monks had not all things in common within our Priory. Alexander had retained possessions sufficient to make him able to repair the Priory, and had evidently not concealed the fact when he became a Brother of the House. We can now easily understand why good old Prior Thomas felt it would be for the good of the Monastery that he should retire. Old men since his time have known the same gentle pressure which led to his resignation, though not always with as much real good resulting to the cause ecclesiastic as within our Priory.

It will not have escaped readers that the monk who was elected was himself a man of the glen—ALEXANDER DE PLUSCARDYNE. One Henry de Pluscardyn was Chancellor of Moray about the same time, and attests certain

* The kindly interest of Mr Crowe, of the Free High Church of Elgin, and his choir, in a lecture given in Pluscardyn Priory on the history of the House, will never be forgotten, any more than their beautiful rendering of the *Te Deum* on the occasion referred to, in the dim moonlight, with lighted tapers, and dressed in *ulsters* with hoods.

facts in reference to the *Domus Dei* at Elgin in 1391.* Thus Pluscardyn had begun to spread its name into the Church.

Proceeding with the prosecution of the call, we find an order by the Bishop to his chaplain, dated and sealed on the Vigil of the *Assumption* of the Blessed Virgin (August 14), 1398—that is, the day after Thomas Fullonis' letter was written—instructing him to repair to the Priory of Pluscardyn, and though there seemed no opposition or difference of opinion regarding the election of Brother Alexander, yet so as not even to appear to contradict the apostolic injunction to Timothy, "*Lay hands suddenly on no man,*" there during the celebration of mass on the feast of the Assumption, publicly to proclaim, and to give notice to all whom it might concern, that if they have any objections to make to this election they compare before us in our Cathedral Church of Moray on Wednesday (Mercury's Day), the 21st of this month of August, which day we assign them as their last and final opportunity, when they must legally prove whatever objections they may have to make, with intimation that if they fail to appear they are thereafter shut out from a hearing. These presents are sealed, and when served, must be returned by you to us in presence of witnesses, and duly dated.

The public serving of the edict, and in the place concerned, is extremely interesting, as is also the period of six days, at the end of which all charges must be made, with the intimation attached. Where there is a difference in our modern practice, the advantage must be allowed to be entirely on the side of the olden times.

It would appear that the case ran its course without any attempt to upset the election. Accordingly, on the aforesaid 21st day of August, the Bishop's confirmation of the election is duly promulgated. He makes known to all that he had examined the decree of the election of Alexander as Prior of Pluscardyn, and had caused an edict to be served, that he had that day waited but no one had appeared to oppose the election, and he now, accordingly, by his customary and Episcopal authority, confirmed the election, and committed the care and administration of the property of the said Convent to Alexander, and invested him with the same by placing on his hand his own Episcopal ring—"reserving the right of annual visitation and correction, together with all other rights and privileges of his predecessors"—in other words, reserving what John Wys had foolishly and falsely sworn away. We judge, however, that the Monastery did not eventually suffer much by the Bishop's newly-won authority; and we are much better of the elaborate account of the business, which we certainly owe to the determination to create a precedent though calling it an old privilege. The documents of the case we have inserted in our Appendix,† as taken from the Moray Chartulary.

* Reg. Morav., p. 123.

† Appendix U.

Before concluding this chapter there is one point connected with the "settlement" at Pluscardyn which requires some explanation and illustration—we mean the *investiture* of the new Prior. Bishop William did this by presentation to Alexander of his own Episcopal ring, in token of Alexander having become proprietor of the rights and privileges conferred. In the present case there were in addition to this symbolic act several elaborate documents laid up in the archives of the Cathedral—documents which have come down to us full of interest and information. But in many cases the symbolic act and token were all that marked the fact of the bestowment. Before the seventh century most properties were conveyed without writings. The gift or conveyance was generally made by *word*, accompanied by a *sword*, or *helmet*, or *cup*, or *horn*, sometimes by a *spur*, *currycomb*, *bow*, or even *arrow*. William II. bestowed church land in 1096, giving the Abbot as seisin an *ivory knife*.* Most persons have heard of Columba's remarkable seisin of Iona, when the good ORAN laid himself down to die in an opened grave, in order thus, by his own body, to take possession of I for Columba.† Among various symbols of investiture mentioned by Professor Innes,‡ the monks of Melrose are said to have received with certain lands a *wand* laid on the high altar (*unam virgam super magnum altare*). Again, a Charter is granted with the added symbol of handing a *little sword* (*virtute gladii parvi*), which long remained as a family relic. Robert the Bruce secured James Douglas in his lands by giving him a *ring* containing a stone which is called "*emerande*." The Burnetts speak of an *ivory horn* as their family seisin. Among ecclesiastical symbols of investiture Professor Innes mentions that the Rector of Aberdour, in 1557, was invested by his Bishop placing the Episcopal ring on his finger—the same act as our Bishop's in 1398. In 1588, after the Reformation, there is an edict that the Superintendent should instal by placing the "*buik of God in his hands*" who was put in office as minister of the Kirk of God. Besides, as there were temporalities also, the placed minister received seisin of *stone and earth* (*per traditionem verbi Dei libri ac terræ et lapidis*). There was generally, as in this case, some connection between the symbol and the kind of property or privilege conveyed. House seisin has always been by delivery of the *key*; jurisdiction by handing the *Book of Court*; mills by receiving *clap and hopper*; fishings by receiving *net and coble*; patronage of churches by giving *Psalter and keys of Church*. These, and many more symbols, some of which were little more than *arles*, or earnest money, were at one time necessary, and many of them continued in use long after the necessity passed away. A Sheriff still takes the *seisin-ox* when he invests a new Earl. In connection with the entries of grants of land in the "*Book of Deer*," Dr Stuart has gathered§ some interesting

* Hampson, "*Med. Ævi. Kal.*," vol. I., p. 13.

† "*Legal Antiquities*," p. 85.

‡ Forbes' "*Kal. Scot. Saints*."—ODHRAN.

§ "*Book of Deer*." Preface, p. lxx., 239.

facts in addition to those already mentioned. He finds a *wand* used in Ireland as well as at Melrose. The King of the Picts, when bestowing a church property, accompanied the gift by an "*altar sod*" (*cespitem arreptam coram nobilibus Pictis . . . usque ad altare S. Andree detulit et super illud cespitem eundem obtulit*). Wyntoun has versified an entry in the S. Andrew's Chartulary which throws light on a more august investiture, when Alexander gave Boar's Chase to the Monks—

In wytnes and in takyng
That in this purpos stud the kyng,
And on full condytyown
At Saynct Andrew's to be Relygyown
Be-for the Lordis all the kyng
Gert than to the awtare bryng
Hys cumly sted of Araby,
Sadelyd and brydelyd costlykly.

Wyth the Regale and all the lave
That to the Kyrk that tyme he gave
Wyth usuale and awld custwmys,
Rychtis, Essys, and Fredwmys
In Byll titlyd and thare rede
With Hors arayid he gert be lede.

Cronikil, B. vii., c. v.

In Dr Smith's *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Antiquities* (*Sub.* BISHOP i, 3) we find that the most universal symbol used at ordination, besides the Scriptural *Cheirotonia*, was that of laying the Gospels on the head of the Bishop to be ordained. In the West the Book was shut in later times, but in the Greek Church always open. The delivery of the *staff* and *ring* was not in use till the end of the sixth century, though the use of a staff was much earlier, and was a symbol of pastoral care. It was undoubtedly in a homely form as carried by Columba and Kentigern. The delivery of *paten* and *chalice* was used at the ordination of a Presbyter. A pretty complete account of the investiture of an abbot is given by Fordoun in connection with the resignation of *John Black*, who became Prior of Urquhart about 1355.* Perhaps the most perfect and reliable account of ecclesiastical symbols used in investiture might be compiled from monumental tablets, which bear the proper symbols for almost all ranks and degrees of church life. Cutts' *Manual* supplies much of the materials, and not a little of the remarks required to elucidate the subject.† In a subsequent chapter, when among the ruins of our Priory, we shall find some illustrations which will help to throw a little more light on this interesting study.

* Fordoun, vol. II., xiv., 8. Reg. Dunferm., preface xiv.

† "Manual of the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages." Rev. E. L. Cutts, B.A. Parker, 1849.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Vallis Caulium Priors of Pluscardyn.

IN Chalmers' *History of Dunfermline*,* seven persons are mentioned by name as holding the office of Prior of Pluscardyn under the Order of Vallis Caulium. These are Simon I. in 1239, Andrew in 1264, Simon II. in 1286, John Wiseman in 1345, Thomas in 1367-8 (*sic*), Alexander I. in 1398, and Eugenius in 1417. Mr R. Young, in his recent "Annals of Elgin,"† records the names of Simon in 1239, Simon in 1286, John Wysi in 1345, Thomas in 1369 and 1398, and Alexander in 1398.

In an Indenture, dated June 24, 1482, which we found in the Duff House Charter Chest, and which now lies before us, there occur three names which help us to fill up the list of Priors. This Indenture, drawn out by John Sclater, notary public in the Priorate of DAVID, embodies an old document belonging to the Bishopric of ARCHIBALD (1253—1298),‡ which states that a difference had arisen between SIMON, JOHN called FRER, and JOHN called SURYASS, Priors of Pluscardyn for the time being, and William, Laird of Innes. The document which has thus happily turned up supplies also a want in the documentary history of the Innes family. The Indenture was evidently in the hands of the author of "The Familie of Innes;"§ but Professor Cosmo Innes|| says in his notes: "Our author quotes a document not now to be found to prove that William was Laird of Innes in the latter half of the thirteenth century." There is, however, a difficulty in identifying the document found by us as the same to which reference is made in the history, for there the name of "Simon Joannes Suryass, Prior of Pluscardyn," occurs, while in the Indenture of 1482 the names are as we have given them. The mark "3" to which reference is made in the history, as on the document used by the historian Innes, is found on the present Charter, and the fact of the Seals being attached, as the prelude intimates, is rendered more interesting by the representation of the Seal of "William de Ineys" given by Professor Innes.¶

* Vol. I., p. 236.

† "Annals of Elgin," 1879, p. 30. Walcott's *Scoti-Monasticon* is still more meagre, giving only Simon, John Wyssi, Thomas, and Eugenius.

‡ Keith's "Bishops," p. 82. Walcott's *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 145.

§ "The Familie of Innes," p. 10.

|| *Ibidem*, p. 56.

¶ *Ut supra*.

The name of SYMON occurs as witness in a Charter of Bishop Andrew in 1239, nine years after the foundation of our Priory.* The name SIMON again occurs as that of the Prior in a Charter of the time of Bishop Archibald of Moray, dated 1286.† Again, "SIR SIMON, Prior of Pluscardyn," witnesses a Charter of John de Moravia.‡ Examining the various signatures to this document, the date must fall somewhere between 1250 and 1286. In 1274 SIR WILLIAM was Prior of Pluscardyn, as appears from a Charter settling certain lands in Tarradale in connection with a dispute between the Prior of Beaully and Henry of Nottingham.§ The same Charter gives us also the name of Robert of Bosyll, a fellow monk. Prior Andrew—mentioned in Chalmers' list of Priors—became Prior of Newbattle in 1264. Arranging these facts, we find that the first Prior recorded by name is SYMON, in 1239. To him succeed JOHN FRER and JOHN SURYASS, previous to the year 1264. This enables us to correct the date of the Indenture above referred to as given in "The Familie of Innes," where the year suggested is 1270. In 1264 ANDREW ceased to be Prior,|| and a year later we find the name of SIR WILLIAM.¶ SIMON was Prior in 1286, but we do not find another name till 1345, though we have several striking events in the intervening period. Of these, the most noteworthy are the attendance of our Prior at the first Scottish Parliament in 1290, and the settlement with the burgesses of Elgin in 1330. The former of these honours may probably belong to Prior Simon, and the latter to John Wysi.** The previous settlement with the burgesses of Elgin, in 1272, may have been the result of Sir William's adroit management.

We have already seen how well John Wysi played into the hands of the

* Regis. Morav., p. 36.

† Regis. Morav., pp. 283, 284.

‡ Regis. Morav., p. 462.

§ "History of Beaully," p. 56 sqq.

|| We have not been able to verify Mr Chalmers' date; but in the second edition of the "CHRONICA DE MAILROS," printed by the *Bannatyne Club*, ANDREW is mentioned under the year 1274 as having been once Prior of Pluscardin, and in 1274 Prior of Newbattle, from which he was then transferred to be Abbot of "K . . . llos apud W'are in Anglia."

The extract, which we append, is from the margins of the Chartulary, and is evidently far from complete:—"Anno Domini m^o cc^o lxxiii^o, obiit pie memorie et Sancte conversationis dompnus Ricardus abbas de K . . . llos, apud W'are in Anglia in vigilia Sancti Dionysii (March 11) in reditu suo ex capitulo generali, cujus corpus apud Wardoniam in dominica prima (April 1). . . . Ejusdem loci cum debita reverencia tumulatur, in cujus loco, ANDREAS, Prior de Neubotil, quondam Prior de Pluscardin, ordinis subrogatur, et in vigilia epiphanie (January 5) curam animarum de K. ll' su (scepit) ei erig. tur et in choro ejusdem loci a patre abbate dap. . . . op. . . . ingenti (!) etitia installatur. Quia a ter. . . . de d. . . . processit talis electio."

—*Chronica de Mailros*, p. 222.

¶ By an unusual oversight, Mr Chisholm Batten, in his "History of Beaully," after quoting the Charter of 1239 with Prior Symon's name, passes on to remark that he seems to have been a long time Prior, for Dominus Symon is witness to a Charter by John de Moravia, which Mr Innes puts down as of the date 1284. Mr Batten had already, pages 56 and 57, recorded Sir William as Prior of Pluscardyn in 1274.

** Regis. Morav., p. 156.

Bishop of Moray, and very likely the settlement of 1330, and the declaration of 1345, may have had some connection. At all events, we can scarcely wonder that longing eyes were cast on the Pluscardyn possessions, for in 1274 Bagimond's Roll rated our Priory's income at £533.

In 1367 we find the earliest mention of THOMAS, who continued Prior till his resignation in 1398. Thomas must have had considerable vigour and success in his earlier years, for it is to him Patrick Dunbar yields the claims for multures to which previous reference has been made. In the following year, 1368, King David II. confirmed the gifts of 1236 to the Priory. At this period we find Thomas present as witness, and taking part in various Acts of the Chapter of Moray.*

In his later years he seems to have been less successful, notwithstanding the powerful aid of the Bishop of Moray. The CHISHOLMS were too strong and too independent of the Church,† and the Bishop's hands were too full of personal troubles and calamities to make it reasonable to expect him any longer to protect our Prior and his lands and rights without more direct returns for his services. Accordingly, in 1398, a suitable successor having been found in the House itself, Thomas sadly resigned his place, and ALEXANDER was elected by the Brothers and installed by the Bishop—a radical change thus entering into the internal administration of Pluscardyn. True, Alexander's earthly possessions were the very kind of aid which Pluscardyn then required, as ruin and desolation were everywhere conspicuous; but at the same time this help seems to have been procurable by the Monastery only by a surrender of privileges for which John Wysi prepared the way in 1345. The peculiarity of the case is, that Alexander accepted the surrender of independence in the position of the House, and was at the same time willing to give his money to repair the desolation of the buildings and property. If Alexander fulfilled the expectations of his fellow-monks—and it is most probable that he did—he has left no other mark behind him. To the Hutton MSS. we first owed the name of the next Prior, EUGENIUS, who is there said to have been Prior during the time that William Blair was Abbot of Kinloss. From Ferrerius' "History of Kinloss" we can fix one date of his Priorate, as he there appears as a witness in a law-suit, in which the Abbot prevailed, October 20, 1417.‡ We have only one other Prior to mention of the Order of Vallis Caulium, Prior ANDREW HAAG. It is remarkable that his name is not found in any of the lists of Priors hitherto made, except in the work of Mr Chisholm Batten, already frequently quoted,§ and even there he is not

* Reg. Morav., pp. 368, 168, 169, 171.

† "Familie of Innes," p. 65.

‡ Idem Abbas sub Episcopo Moraviae Henrico litem movit magistro Columbæ Dumbar de annuo censu solidorum 100 a Dundurcus, et viciti, *praesente Eugenio Priore a Pluscardy*, Anno Domini 1417, die 20 Octobris.—Fer. "Hist. Abbatum Monas. de Kynlos," p. 20.

§ "History of Beaully," p. 187.

mentioned in the Index among our Priors. We have found his name in two distinct documents. The oldest document in which it occurs is a transumpt made in 1449 of the Charter of David II. in 1367, which has been already quoted and entered in the Appendix. The transumpt states that the Venerable Father, *Andrew Haag, Prior of Pluscardyn*, appeared at the Chapter-House of the Cathedral Church of Moray, with the document above referred to in his hands, still having the royal seal in white wax attached to it. Of this Charter he humbly asked a transumpt. That transumpt now lies before us, and we have made our extract from it. It is a remarkably clear and distinct parchment, written in a bold, firm hand, by John de Duffhous, N.P. Unfortunately, both the attached tags want their seals—a misfortune singularly general in the case of our Pluscardyn Charters. The later document in which the name of Andrew Haag appears is a Papal Bull, printed by THEINER in his *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, and also preserved in transumpt, as we shall soon have occasion to explain. This is the famous Bull of Pope Nicolas V., dated 1454, commanding the union of the Priories of Urquhart and Pluscardyn. We shall close this brief chapter by collecting the names, and giving the sources from which we have drawn them, of the Priors of the Order of Vallis Caulium whom we have found at Pluscardyn between 1230 and 1454—the former the year of the foundation of our Priory, and the latter that of its union with Urquhart.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--|
| 1. | SYMON, - - - | A. D. 1239.—Reg. Morav. |
| 2. | JOHN FREE, - - - | - - - Duff House Charter, 1432. |
| 3. | JOHN SURYASS, - - - | - - - Do., and "Familie of Innea." |
| 4. | ANDREW, - - - | A. D. 1264.—Chalmers' His. Dunfer., and Chron. de Mailros. |
| 5. | SIR WILLIAM, - - - | 1274.—His. of Beaully Priory. |
| 6. | SIMON, - - - | 1286.—Reg. Morav. |
| 7. | JOHN WYSL, - - - | 1345.—Reg. Morav. |
| 8. | THOMAS, - - - | 1367-1398.—Reg. Morav. |
| 9. | ALEXANDER, - - - | 1398.—Reg. Morav. |
| 10. | EUGENIUS, - - - | 1417.—Hutton MSS. and Ferr. His. Abbat. de Kynlos. |
| 11. | ANDREW HAAG, - - - | 1449-1454.—Stuart Charters, and Theiner. |

CHAPTER IX.

The Cell of Dunfermline.*

THE great ambition of Malcolm, his Queen Margaret, and their family, seems to have been to make Scotland as like England as possible. To effect this a twofold process is traceable, viz.:—The importation of Englishmen, lay and ecclesiastic, into Scotland, at the same time presenting them with the best places in the country; and the planting of settlements of half-made Englishmen in all parts of the country. The depopulation of Moray, and the importation thither of so much south-country, and even English blood, is one of the most conspicuous instances of this State policy. Fife, the seat of Government, and Moray thus became closely related in place and family names, while one of the earliest monastic foundations of David in the north is that of *Urquhart*, in Moray, as a Cell of Dunfermline. It would be a great mistake to suppose that this and similar institutions of religion were either a missionary agency or the supply of a want felt by religious persons in the community. They were rather the foisting upon the country the religious features and the material supremacy of aliens, whom social and State prejudices and power had placed upon a vantage ground for restraint and imposition. These Monasteries were peopled by aliens from England and France, and the bodies and souls of the natives† were equally entrusted to them for both cure and custody.

The only generally allowed religious benefit which Scotland received and retained from Queen Margaret and her family was that of higher notions of observance of the Lord's-day. In this respect the Queen Saint made a real and deep reformation in the country; and, strangely enough, this, the only

* "Every Monastery had a number of dependent establishments of greater or less size: *cells* on its distant estates; *granges* on its manors; *chapels* in places where the Abbey tenants were at a distance from a church; and often *hermitages* under its protection."—Cutt's "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages." For a history of the earlier use of the term *cella*, see Dr Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities"—*sub. CELLA*.

† The very name *natives* or *neyts* (*nativi*) was understood to mean *serfs* or *villains*. "*Cum natis et eorum Sequelis*," in the old Charters, corresponds exactly with a horse-dealer's phrase, "a mare with her followers," only in the former case the bodies and souls of men are the market article. The Church had quite as little conscience as any baron about receiving and retaining men and women in serfdom, and dealing with them as ordinary property, whether serfs *regardant* or *in gross*. INNES' *Leg. Antiq.*, p. 50, sqq. It is perhaps interesting to remark that the peasant fashion of saluting, by pulling the front tuft of one's hair, is an old serf habit of acknowledging subjection to a master, while the indignity in pulling one's nose arose from its being a right of a superior when making good his claim to a runaway serf. ROBERTSON'S "Scotland under her Early Kings," vol. II., p. 314.

remnant of her so-called religious reforms now abiding, is that in which the men in whose interest she spent her life and influence think they find the most remarkable instance of their neighbours' superstitious exclusiveness. Scotland is, in this matter at least, more grateful to Queen Margaret than many of those are to serve whom she in several respects spoiled Scotland.*

No one requires to be reminded how much Malcolm, Queen Margaret, and their family did for Dunfermline. Whether the so-called *Foundation Charter* of the Church of Dunfermline be genuine or not, the foundation may be almost certainly dated between 1070 and 1080.†

It is usual, from the mention of a *Prior* of Dunfermline in 1120,‡ to suppose that up to that time Dunfermline had not attained the higher place of *Abbey*, but was only a *Priory*. The argument is certainly insecure, for the presence of a *Prior* in an *Abbey* is as usual as his presence in a *Priory*, though in the *Abbey* he did not stand in the same relative position to the other inmates.

In 1124 David completed the work of building and organisation which his brother and predecessor, Alexander I., had left almost perfected. From that time Dunfermline appears with all the dignity and equipment of an *Abbey*. *Thirteen*§ Monks were taken from *Canterbury* to complete an establishment of twenty-six Monks, there being *thirteen Culdees* already resident.

Old Wyntoun says on this—

“ Of Cawntyrbery in Dunfermylne
Monkis he browcht, and put thame syn,
And dowyt thame rycht rychely,
Wyth gret possessyownys and mony.”||

It is an interesting fact that the old Vulgate Bible used at service in the *Abbey* from the year 1124 onwards till 1560 may still be seen in the *Advocates' Library* at *Edinburgh*. We can thus connect the past with the present by a most characteristic link.¶

* “Solebant quoque neglecta Dominicorum dierum reverentia ita illis sicut et aliis diebus quibusque terreni operis insistere laboribus; quod non licere ratione pariter auctoritate ipsa ostendebat. Dominicum, inquit, diem propter Dominicam, quae in eo facta est, resurrectionem, in veneratione habemus, ut in eo servilia opera jam non faciamus, in quo nos a servitute diaboli redemptos novimus. Hoc etiam B. Papa Gregorius affirmans dicit: ‘Dominico die a labore terrena cessandum est, atque omnimodo orationibus insistendum, ut, si quid negligentiae per sex dies agitur, per diem Resurrectionis Dominicae precibus expietur.’ . . . His sapientis reginae rationibus contrae non valentes, ita postmodum reverentiam Dominicorum dierum ejus instautia observarunt, ut ne onera quaelibet his diebus quisquam portare, nec alius alium ad hoc auderet compellere.”—HADDAN’S “*Councils*,” &c., vol. II, part I, p. 158.

† Professor Innes is against the Charter, while Dr Henderson vigorously maintains its authenticity. *Registrum de Dunfermline*, preface xx., xxi. Dr Henderson’s “*Annals of Dunfermline*,” Appendix A., pp. 709-712. See also Chalmers’ “*History of Dunfermline*,” vol. I., pp. 167, 168.

‡ Keith’s “*Bishops*,” pp. 246, 247.

§ Reg. de Dunfermline, preface xi.

¶ Cronykil, B. vii., C. vi. Vol. I., pp. 291, 292.

¶ Chalmers’ “*History of Dunfermline*,” vol. I., p. 156, sqq. Dr Henderson’s “*Annals*,” p. 42.

The year following the completion of the Abbey found David in Morayshire, founding the Priory of *Urquhart* as a Cell of Dunfermline. The Abbey had no Abbot at this time in full authority, for GAUFRID or GEOFFREY, who was appointed in 1124, was not consecrated till 1127,* and so up to that date he had no legal jurisdiction. He continued as Abbot till his death in 1154. All the authorities are agreed in describing him in very high terms. He had been *Prior* of Canterbury previous to his removal to Scotland, and his name was held in such veneration that his death was annually celebrated on the 2d Ides of October (October 14).†

It is worthy of note that the Monastery of Urchard occurs in neither of David's Charters of benefaction to the House of Dunfermline. The later of the two Charters of Confirmation seems to belong to the year 1130,‡ and consequently might be expected to contain a reference to Urquhart. As bearing on the Moray history, with which we are chiefly concerned, it should be borne in mind that it was not till 1150 that the Abbey Church was consecrated in full Romish manner. Up to that time the Culdee element prevailed equally with the Romish, but the removal of that old Scottish feature may be taken as occurring in connection with the ceremony of that year. In the Papal Bulls of Confirmation, dated 1163 and 1182,§ Urquhart appears as a possession of Dunfermline.

We have in one of our introductory sections seen something of the rise of the Ancient Orders of Monks. Within the *Benedictine* rule there were various reforms. Among these we found those of the *Cistercians* and *Carthusians*, each a departure in the direction of more purity and austerity. On the Carthusians, the Order of Vallis Caulium was a reform. This Order, however, possessed many features of the Cistercian Order. The Cistercians introduced a change on the Benedictine dress, which was *black*, and from their use within their own precincts of a white gown and hood, they were known as *White* monks, to distinguish them from other Benedictines, who retained the common dress, and were known as *Black* monks.||

The monks of Dunfermline were of the "original unreformed rule of S. Bernard,"¶ Professor Innes tells us. He, however, surely means *S. Benedict*, as Bernard (of Clairvaux) was himself a Cistercian, and founded no Order, though, from his influence and name, the Cistercians were often called *Bernardines*.** They were, however, *White monks*, as mentioned above, while the monks of Dunfermline were *Black monks*.

* Walcott's *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 247, says 1128.

† Chalmers' "History of Dunfermline," vol. I., p. 179, and authorities there quoted.

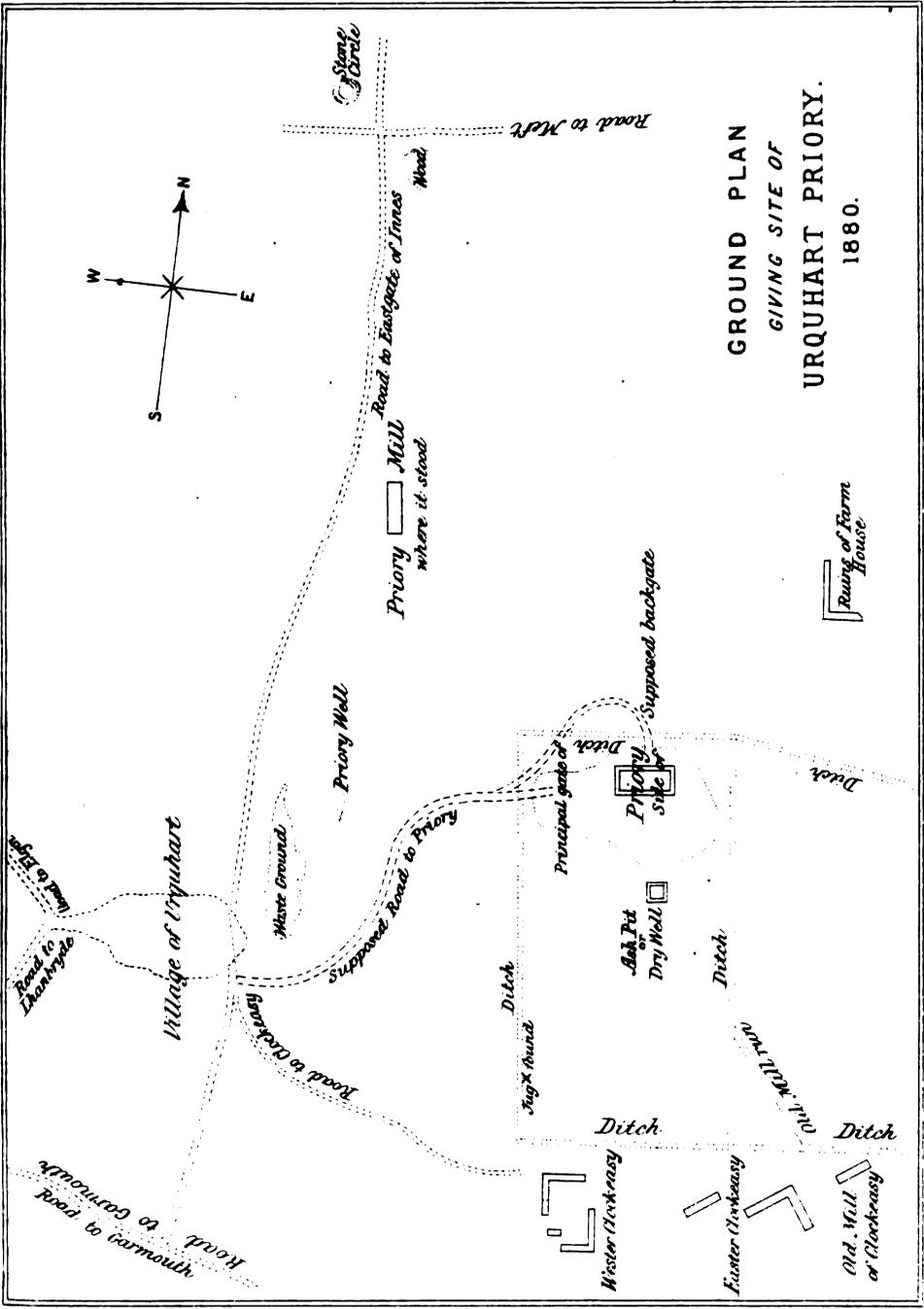
‡ Dr Henderson's "Annals," p. 49.

§ "Reg. de Dunferm.," pp. 152-154. See also pp. 156-175.

|| Cutts' *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 17. Fosbroke's "Brit. Mon.," p. 286, sqq.

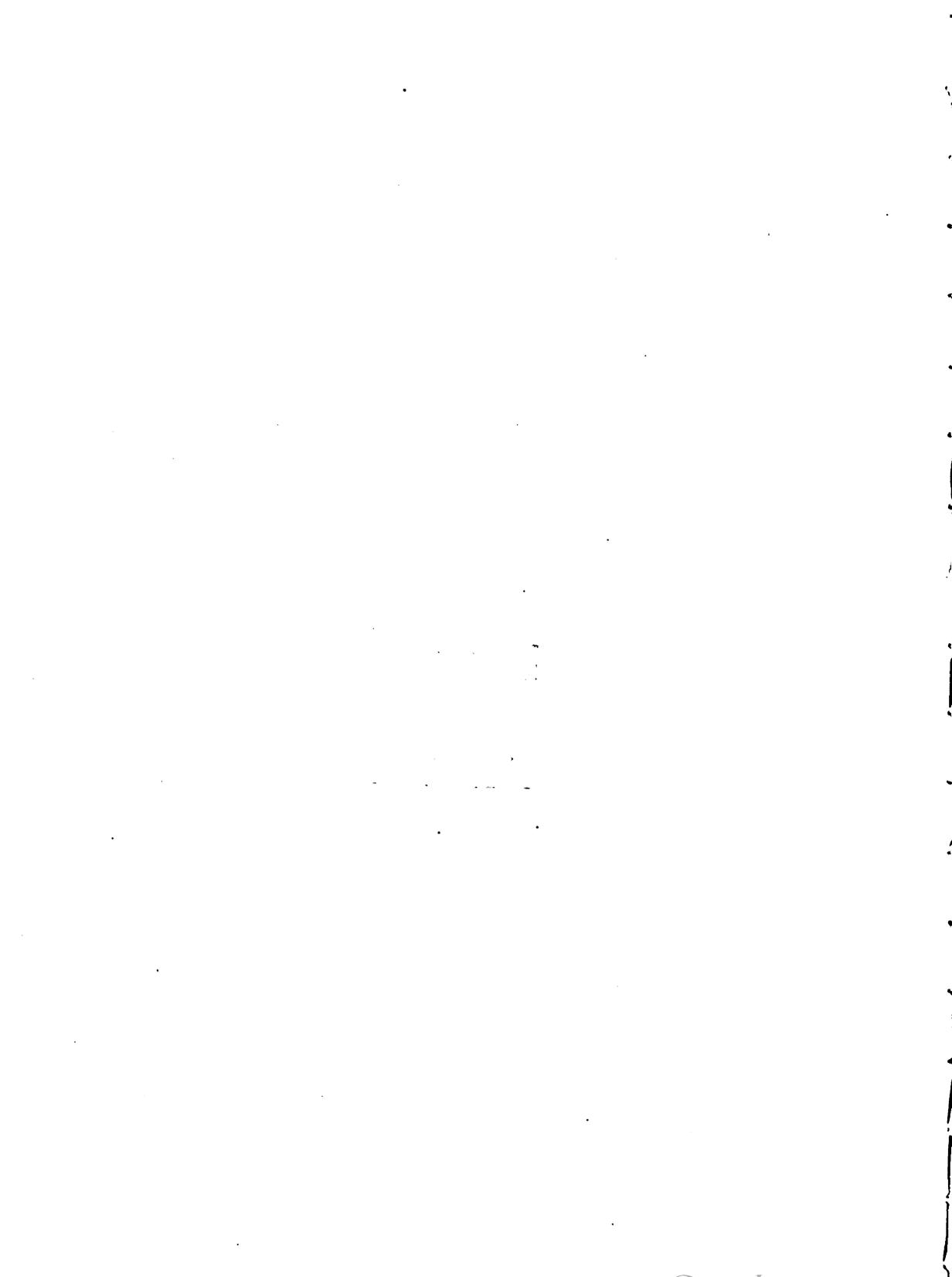
¶ Prof. Innes' "Leg. Antiquities," p. 164.

** Keith's "Bishops," p. 254.



GROUND PLAN
 GIVING SITE OF
 URQUHART PRIORY.
 1880.

See Appendix A 18 210.



Thus we see that while the monks of Pluscardyn were of Vallis Caulium, and *White* monks,* those of Urquhart, as derived from Dunfermline, were old Benedictine or *Black* monks. This external difference suggested many more important respects in which the monks, *White* and *Black*, differed from each other.† Unless we find it in the name, whose syllables mean *a hill* and *a fort*,‡ it were difficult to suggest a reason why David should have selected *Urquhart* for the site of a Priory, which must have been, as was no doubt intended, much more important politically than religiously. Morayshire was only very superficially reduced to royal obedience, and the great depopulation had not yet taken place when in 1125 the king introduced (thirteen) Canterbury monks into the House he then founded near where the village of Urquhart now stands. The Church of the Priory was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, as was the Church of the Abbey under which it was placed, and to which it was gifted. The Church of the district was dedicated to the king's mother *Margaret*, and the Prior of Urquhart was constituted its patron. That church stood close by where the Free Church now stands, and the material of which it is built is believed to be largely that of the old dedication. It is certainly constructed out of the previous Parish Church, which in 1843 might not be given to, but might be pulled down and rebuilt, as it was, by the Free Church congregation of the village and district. These things, however, belong to another chapter of royal supremacy and intrusion than that which now concerns us.



BRONZE VESSEL found on Site of URCHARD PRIORY, now at Duff House, Banff.

The site of the Priory can be best gathered from the accompanying chart, which, under Mr Galloway Mackintosh's pencil, owes much of its detail and accuracy to the supervision and information of Rev. James Morrison, of Urquhart, to whose archæological researches that part of Morayshire owes only less than to his devoted and earnest ministry. The surrounding of the Priory site is a bog, but was probably previously a lake. In this bog there is the mound on which the Priory was built, and it is quite possible that here we have the remains of one of the old *Crannoges* § so well known in Scotland and Ireland. The site reminds us of the better known ruins of the Monastery of

* See Page 26 sqq.

† In Neander's "Life of St Bernard," various interesting illustrations of this remark will be found.

‡ See Page 61.

§ See Geikie's "Prehistoric Europe," pp. 370-372.

St Columba in Kilmuir, Skye, though the accessory buildings there must have been built on a much more extensive scale. A bronze vessel, figured on the preceding page, was found at the point indicated in the chart, where there were also found large beams of oak used in the construction of some pit or underground store. The vessel is by no means uncommon in form ; several, almost identical, may be found in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum, and Mr Anderson says that no date can be certainly assigned to them, as the form is common through many centuries.

CHAPTER X.

History of the Priory of Urchard.

THE Priory of URCHARD or HURCHARD was founded by King David in 1125,* one hundred and five years earlier than the Priory of Pluscardyn. It was situated not far from the village of *Urquhart*—a spelling of the name which has been in use since before the middle of the sixteenth century.† General Hutton has left some correspondence relative to Urchard, which may be seen in the Elgin volume of his MSS., in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. The Rev. Mr Gordon, of Urquhart, writing to the General in 1788, says: "There is not a vestige remaining of the Priory of Urquhart, the whole having been carried off for the purpose of building the farm houses in the neighbourhood, and the place where it stood is now a part of an arable field. It was situated in the midst of a bog, about a mile north of the post road, and at an equal distance from the town of Fochabers and the burgh of Elgin. As there are no monuments nor inscriptions remaining, neither are there any traditions concerning the Priory." Another correspondent, W. Rose, Esq., of Montcoffer House, Banff, Factor to the Earl of Fife, after enumerating several Charters in the Chartulary of Moray, states that "The papers relative to this Priory are either in the possession of the family of Gordon, who purchased the Lordship of Urquhart, or among the representatives of the Kilsyth family, now in Holland, or perhaps in the Records at Edinburgh, in the process of the judicial sale." It thus appears that those most likely to know all that was discoverable last century regarding the Priory, thought it an almost hopeless task to endeavour to revive its history. Indeed, so far as can be gathered from these letters, there does not seem to have been, even on Mr Rose's part, a recognition of the connection between Pluscardyn and Urchard.

It was under GEOFFREY, first Abbot of the new House of Dunfermline, that Urchard was founded. Geoffrey was succeeded by his nephew of the same name, who continued Abbot till 1178, when ARCHIBALD became Abbot. It was not till after the death of Archibald in 1198 that we find the name of a Prior of Urchard. There are various documents relating to Urchard before 1198, but they are always signed by the Abbot of Dunfermline, who mani-

* WALCOTT'S *Scoti-Monasticon* and HADDAN'S *Councils*, &c., have 1124.

† Regis. Morav., 422-424. In the transcript of the earliest Charter of the Priory, the orthography is URQWHARD.

festly attended to his own affairs in Morayshire. Nor is this difficult to understand, for from the terms of the foundation Charter of Urchard, it is clear that Dunfermline possessed territory in Moray before the founding of Urchard. Besides, we must remember that the monks who originally occupied the Priory were Englishmen, as were also those in power at Dunfermline.

Chalmers, in his "History of Dunfermline,"* states that the monks of Urchard were transferred from Dunfermline by David, and Dr Henderson, † with no other reference than to Chalmers, specifies the number as *thirteen*. This is scarcely probable, as only the year previous there were not more than that number of Benedictines in residence at Dunfermline.

It is unfortunate that we have no very accurate transcript of the foundation Charter of the Priory. One occurs in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, and is printed. ‡ Two others also exist in the Chartulary of Moray, but in so unsatisfactory a state that both have been collated with that in the Chartulary of Dunfermline for the copy in the printed volume. § This Charter of David is issued by him as king of Scots, but is addressed to "all men of his entire realm, Franks, Angles, and Scots." The property which he bestows on the Prior and monks of Urchard is the two FINFANS, FOCHOVER (Fochabers), a fishing on Spey, and twenty shillings from the burgh of Elgin, the cane tithes of ARGYLE, MORAY, and the PLEAS, and the whole rent of the same Argyle, also PENIC, near Erin (*Nairn*), by its right divisions, and the shealings of FATHENECHTEN, || and all the rights which the monks of Dunfermline were wont to have in Moray.

It seems uncertain whether *Fathenechten* or *Pethenach* is the correct reading here. If *Pethenach*, the Charter of bestowment is preserved in the Chartulary of the Abbey as a previous gift. On the same page another of David's gifts here mentioned occurs, viz., the twenty shillings in the burgh of Elgin. ¶

A document of the year 1237 throws some light on the additional lands which came to the Priory on its foundation, and which previously belonged to Dunfermline. This interesting Charter is preserved for us in the Moray Chartulary.** It appears that from time immemorial the lands of URCHARD, MEFT, INAYS, SALLELCOT, BYN, GARMAUCH, had belonged to the Priory, so that Urchard had three of five parts into which the tithes were divided, the remaining two parts belonging to Eskyl. By the arrangement of the Charter

* Vol. I., p. 204.

† "Annals of Dunfermline," p. 42.

‡ Pages 17, 18.

§ See Reg. Morav., preface xi., and for the text pp. 329, 330. The Charter is printed in our Appendix as given in the Moray Register. Appendix V.

|| *Pethenach*, is the reading in the Dunfermline Chartulary, and recurs in all the Charters indicating the property of Dunfermline either alongside of Urchard or without the introduction of the Priory. Soon after Urchard begins to appear, the mention of *Pethenach* is dropped.

¶ Regis. de Dunferm., p. 14. Appendix W.

** Reg. Morav., pp. 101 and 424. Appendix X.

mentioned, all the tithes were to accrue to Urchard on condition of the Prior and monks there paying annually to the Church of Eskyl "twenty-four merks sterling" (*xriiij marcas sterlingorum legalium*), one-half at the feast of Pentecost, and the other half at the feast of St Martin in winter. The signatures on the part of the Monastery are those of WILLIAM, Prior; Adam, William, Andrew, and Henry, Brothers, and are affixed at Kenedor, May 8th, 1237. A transcript of this Charter, also in the Moray Chartulary, is dated 1531.

This William is the third Prior of Urchard whose name we have found. RICHARD, Prior de Hurchard, occurs as witness in the "Magna Charta" of Bricius, which settled the cathedral seat of Moray at Spynie. The date is not absolutely certain, but may be stated as between 1208 and 1215.* His place is second after the Bishop, the Abbot of Kinloss preceding him. We have thus a well-marked point in Morayshire history from which to begin our enumeration of Priors of the House of Urchard.

The next Prior, whose name is at present known, is THOMAS, who in 1226 signed no fewer than *five* documents which have come down to us.† Two years following another Charter has his signature, and in 1229 three more. In the year 1232 his name appears at two additional documents.‡ Evidently this Prior was a man of much consequence in his day, and not a little impressed the future history of his Monastery. Five years after the last signature referred to, another name appears as Prior of Urchard. It is that of WILLIAM, to whom reference has been already made in connection with the tithes belonging to Eskyl. In 1248 SIR JOHN is Prior,§ and appends his name, with those of five monks, to a document in which John Gellard makes quit-claim of "Siwin Keeth," surrendering it to the Priory. The possession of this document is very fortunate, as it enables us to break in on what otherwise would have been probably considered a very long tenure of office, inasmuch as the next Prior is designated SIR WILLIAM. His name occurs first in 1263,|| and in 1286 he is found signing an interesting Charter, along with the Abbot of Kinloss and the Prior of Pluscardyn, in which Dandelyth is given by Hugh Herrock, an Elgin burgess, to found two Chaplaincies. One is struck, in reading Charters of benefactions of this time, with the fact that so many of them are made either on Sunday or some Saint's Day.¶ We can discover here, no doubt, the

* Reg. Morav., p. 43 and Tab. 46. Wilkin's "Concilia," p. 533, gives references to Richard extending from 1203-1221.

† Reg. Morav., pp. 23, 25, 76, 78, 132.

‡ Reg. Morav., pp. 122; 26, 68, 69; 83, 30.

§ Reg. de Dunferm., p. 97.

|| Reg. Morav., p. 138.

¶ In "The Familie of Innes," p. 10, we find that William's signature appears in an indenture of marches, and Duncan Forbes, the historian of the "Familie," remarking on the date of the document, says: "We may be sure it was after the lands of Ester Urcharde were taken from the family of Innes, and given to the Kirk, because William, a Prior of that place (and it's like the first of them),

beginning of many of the religious usages connected with these days in after times, and from which they have not yet been dissociated in many localities.

When previously referring to Scotland's first Parliament, in 1289, we found that the Prior of Pluscardyn had a seat there. Another of the *nine* Priors convened at Briggham was our Prior of Urchard. Scotland lost much of its most valuable historical material in connection with the events which followed the disastrous issue of the alliance there agreed upon, and the history of Moray has its own perplexing blanks about this time not less than other parts of the country. It is not till 1343 that we discover the name of another Prior of Urchard. We are indebted to the history of the Kilravock family for the document which records his name. This Charter is also valuable as giving us additional information regarding the property of the House. Like the last whom we have mentioned, this Prior is also William,* and is designated Sir WILLIAM DE BUTYRGAK. Were it not that the Kilravock history begins so late as 1290, we should probably find much more connection with Urchard than we have now any means of discovering. Urchard held on the Kilravock lands a brew-house, pasturage for a considerable number of cattle, sheep, and horses, besides forest and other rights which are mentioned in the Kilravock Charter. The Vicar of Dalcross was required to celebrate twice a week in the chapel there, and the Prior agreed to furnish all that was necessary for these celebrations.

Ten years later we come upon a brief history which has more than the usual amount of life and movement found in those *dry-as-dust* Charter histories. Our interest is removed first to the Continent of Europe, and then to Dunfermline. Alexander de Berewick, Abbot of Dunfermline, had gone to Rome to beg from the Pope a general indulgence. On his way home through Lombardy he was seized by the plague, and, with his *entire retinue*, perished at Stephano, in 1353. A young monk of Dunfermline, JOHN STRATHMIGLAW, was then at Paris pursuing his studies; but no sooner did he hear of his Abbot's death than he hastened to Avignon, where he contrived to secure from the Pope a Bull conferring on him the Abbey. Hastening to Scotland, he found that the monks had already filled up the vacancy, and had appointed their cellarer, JOHN BLACK, in the place of Alexander de Berewick or Ber. Here was an awkward position for both the Johns. Strath-

is a tryster there." Forbes fixes the date as 1270, which is quite consistent with William's Priorate, as we have documents with his hand from 1263 to 1286. That he was *first* Prior, as Forbes supposes, is evidently a mistake, as he is fifth even in our probably imperfect list. The indenture here mentioned is that which we found in the transumpt at Duff House (see page 90); but the Prior's name is not there given among the signatures, only the fact of his seal being attached.

* "The Family of Kilravock," pp. 117, 118, and Appendix Y.

miglaw's apology must be that when church offices fell vacant through accidents in foreign travel, the Pope had always assumed the right to present the successor. Perhaps Strathmiglaw feared that alien hands might receive the presentation, and hence the haste he displayed. Such, at least, is Fordoun's explanation,* only we must remember that the fear of offending the living may have been on Fordoun's pen when he thus wrote.

On Strathmiglaw approaching the Abbey, Black went out to meet him, carefully concealing his intention in so doing. Clothed in full vestments, and in solemn procession, Abbot Black encountered the Papal nominee. Chanting the *Te Deum*, Black conducted his rival to the choir, and there stripping himself of his abbatial robes, he handed Strathmiglaw his staff of office, and before any other had time to consider what all this meant he prostrated himself before Strathmiglaw in token of submission. Thus quietly and strikingly † the Papal nomination took effect. Strathmiglaw was not ungrateful, for he presented John Black with the Priory of Urchard when it fell vacant. There seems, however, to have been some difficulty in effecting this. The Dunfermline Chartulary (page 266) preserves a convocation of the Chapter of Moray, presided over by the Bishop, at which John, Abbot of Dunfermline, is present, and alleges and protests the right of the Abbot of Dunfermline to nominate and appoint in the Priory of Urchard. An instance of irregularity in the election of MICHAEL OF INVERKEITHING is brought forward by the monks, but circumstances are adduced and allowed in extenuation of the offence. All the Chapter are satisfied, and the sequel we learn from Fordoun, which is that Strathmiglaw appoints JOHN BLACK Prior of Urchard in succession to Michael, who had been irregularly honoured with the office. This was probably in the year 1358, that of the Chapter meeting at Elgin. ‡

This Priorate was not of long duration, for in 1369 we find Prior ROBERT attaching his name to an enactment of the Chapter of Moray "*de Cariantibus*." § Robert seems to have made but small impression on history.

In 1388 we find that Episcopal interference had gone very far in regard to Urchard. So recently as 1358 the Bishop of Moray was clearly of opinion that the Abbot of Dunfermline had the exclusive right to appoint to the Priorate (an opinion not accepted by the monks, however, who claimed elective right); but in 1388 a complaint is lodged against his having himself usurped the right of appointing to Urchard, and alleging that he had conferred the Priorate on JOHN MASON when

* Fordoun, xiv., 8.

† See Regis. de Dunferm., preface, and Fordoun, Vol. II., xiv., and page 266.

‡ See Reg. de Dunferm., pp. 266 and 267, and our Appendix Z. Walcott and Chalmers seem at fault in dating John Black's Priorate, 1353, and in ignoring Prior MICHAEL, mentioned in the Charter under consideration.

§ Reg. Morav., pp. 167, 168.

there was already a lawfully appointed head of the House named ADAM DE HADYNGTON.* The protest and appeal are much more eloquent and earnest than such generally are on parchment, and are made by William de Bushby, a monk of the convent, in the name of the Prior, the Brethren, and all whom it concerns. The good monk appeals (*instantanter, instancius et instantissime*) to men on earth, but also to the apostles, against the Bishop, and makes public his protest in the Cathedral Church of Moray. The Bishop acknowledges the appeal, and cists procedure, notwithstanding the investiture of his nominee, till the case be settled. The matter is referred to the civil power, and King Robert sends first a letter, and afterwards a Parliamentary decree, in 1390, by way of settlement of the difference. The former is dated 23rd January, in the first year of the king's reign, and the latter 12th March of the same year. The former emanates from Edinburgh, and is authenticated with the Privy Seal, the latter is from the Parliament at Scone, and is directed to the Viscount of Elgin,† while the former was forwarded to the Bishop. The substance of these letters is even more interesting than their settlement of the point at issue. In the former, the king speaks of the grievous complaint of "William Bushby, Prior of Urchard, against the introduction of Adam of Hadyngton into the Priorate by the Episcopal nomination." The king enjoins that William receive his Priorate. A more thorough misunderstanding of a petition could not be imagined. William had no pretensions to the Monastery, and Adam was the wronged man according to William's representation of the case. The second letter is a Parliamentary decree, and enjoins that William surrender the Priorate conferred on him by the royal letter, and that Adam de Hadyngton be restored to his office—notwithstanding any letter of the king to the contrary. Thus ends this strange little chapter of blundering and high-handedness, which made four separate Priorates in one year—viz., Adam's, John Mason's, William Bushby's, and Adam's again. So much for patronage, civil and ecclesiastical, in those old Moray days!‡

The year thus reached in our history is the famous year of Morayshire—that of the burning by the Wolf of Badenoch. That some Pluscardyn Charters were perhaps lost in that sad time of pillage and fire we have already seen, and the Papal Bull requiring search to be made for all that could be collected in 1394, includes Urchard among the places whose Charters were believed to be lost in the burning of the Cathedral.§

We have thus reached a point very near the end of the separate and independent history of Urchard. Our sketch has been brief and

* Regis. Morav., pp. 350-352.

† See Acts of Parliament of Scotland.

It seems a little strange that our modern historians above-mentioned should insert Adam's name under 1388, and William Bushby's under 1390, without note or comment.

‡ Reg. Morav., p. 423.

superficial, though we believe considerably more elaborate than has been hitherto attempted. Indeed, so little help has been derived from previous efforts to narrate the history of this House, that an unpleasant shade of antagonism has, we fear, now and again stolen in among our remarks, and, we suspect, yet more must follow. We close this chapter by recounting the Priors whose names have come down to us, so far as at present known. Let us again mention that for a considerable time the Abbot of Dunfermline signed all documents where we should have expected to find the name of the Prior of Urchard. Though founded in 1125, it is not till 1203 that we find the name of a Prior of the House.

RICHARD, 1203—1221.*	JOHN BLAK, 1358.
THOMAS, 1226—1232.	ROBERT, 1369.
WILLIAM, 1239.	{ ADAM DE HADYNGTON, 1388.
SIR JOHN, 1248.	{ JOHN MASON, 1388.
SIR WILLIAM, 1263—1286.	WILLIAM DE BUSHBY, 1390.
SIR WILLIAM DE BUTYRGAK, ... 1343.	ADAM DE HADYNGTON, 1390.
MICHAEL OF INVERKETHVNG, ... 1358.	

The events which led to the union of our two Priories, and the consummation of that union, we reserve for the next chapter.

* We have not thought it necessary, as in the case of Pluscardyn, to recapitulate all the sources from which we have derived the names and dates.

CHAPTER XI.

The Union of Urchard and Pluscardyn.

MR ROBERT YOUNG, in his "*Annals of Elgin*," tells us that "about the middle of the fifteenth century the Prior and Cistercian monks of Pluscardyn had become very licentious, and had given themselves up to gross immoralities, thereby breaking through the rules of their Order, and they were expelled from the Monastery. This took place about the year 1440, when John Fleutere was Abbot of Kinloss."* Mr Young quotes as authority the introduction to the *Chartulary of Kinloss*, by Dr J. Stuart,† to which we shall have occasion to refer as we advance. Shaw's "Moray" mentions the union of the two Priors in somewhat similar terms:—"The monks of Pluscardyn, at first independent, afterwards becoming vicious, the Priory was reformed, and became a cell of Dunfermline."‡ Chalmers, in his "*History of Dunfermline*," follows Shaw, using almost his very words.§ Grose, in his "*Antiquities of Scotland*,"|| adopts similar language in describing the circumstances of the union. The same line of remark has been followed by all other writers who have touched on this subject, with the one exception, so far as we have found, of Mr Chisholm Batten, in his history, already frequently quoted. Mr Batten's remarks must have escaped Mr Young's notice, else he would certainly have modified his statement in reference to the cause of the union of the two Priors.

We have not been able to gather a solitary reference from the history of Pluscardyn to throw any light upon the events leading to the union. That irregularities in profession had something to do with it we may accept, since universal tradition tends in that direction. But as there were two Priors concerned, we must look at both of them when endeavouring to ascertain where the irregularities certainly were. As we have seen, the traditions are against the monks of Pluscardyn of the Order of Vallis Caulium—an Order that for centuries of tradition has had no friendly voice to speak in its favour. When we turn to the records of Urchard, we find pretty clear marks of the footprints we are trying to trace to their true source. In the *Chartulary of Dunfermline* there have been preserved two letters of Columba, Bishop

* "*Annals of Elgin*," p. 31.—*Elgin*, 1879.

† "*Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*." Dr J. Stuart. Edin., 1872.

‡ Shaw's "*History of the Province of Moray*," p. 300.

§ Chalmers' "*History of Dunfermline*." Edin., 1844. Vol. I., p. 235.

|| Vol. II., p. 273. London, 1797.

of Moray—the one to the Lord Abbot “against the Prior of Urchard,” and the other a letter of monition to his diocese in a summons of the same Prior, ANDREW RAEURN. These letters are both dated January, 1429. In addressing the Abbot he declares that he was agreeable to a commission of visitation at Urchard, because there had reached his ears, in reference to the Prior and Convent, statements of certain “*crimina, scelera, et flagitia; defectus et deformitates.*”^{*} It would appear that the royal assent had been previously procured to this visitation and investigation. The letter of monition is addressed to the officials of the diocese, instructing the appearance of the Prior, Sir Andrew Raeburn, in the Chapter-house of the Monastery, ten clear days after the promulgation of the said letter—viz., on the 9th February, with certification that judgment on the matters requiring investigation would then and there be given, either by himself or by John Schaw, procurator of the Abbey of Dunfermline. It is interesting to remark that the Bishop refers to the threefold citation, still observed in cases of discipline; and the ten clear days still allowed were probably also a portion of the legal requirement in such cases.† We have no information as to the result of the commission of inquiry.

The next document of any consequence which we possess is a Papal Bull of Nicholas V., providing for the union of the two Priors of Urchard and Pluscardyn. Fortunately the Bull is historical as well as authoritative, and we shall examine it first historically, before looking at the provisions for the proposed union.

As previously stated, there has not been the slightest suspicion among our historical authorities that a document existed which would throw light on the subject, and the most remarkable fact of all is that a transumpt of this Bull was in the possession of Dr Stuart when he compiled the Records of the Kinloss Abbey. This transumpt is dated at Elgin, 1551, the original Bull, with leaden seal attached, having been produced in court to be transumed. With this Bull there is also written the Charter of 1237. They together fill a large parchment twenty-one inches long by nineteen wide, very closely written, and signed by John Gibsone, notary public. The transumpt was made at the request of Alexander, Prior of Pluscardyn, to whose eager desire for copies of Charters of his Priory we owe much of what remains to us of the Charter history of Pluscardyn. Since the publication of Theiner’s valuable compilation of “*Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum, 1216-1547,*”[‡] the existence of this Bull has been known; but probably only now is the fact disclosed that we possess a transumpt directly from the original, as retained in the archives of the House of Pluscardyn. We print Theiner’s transcript in the Appendix.§

^{*} Reg. Dunf., pp. 282, 283.

[‡] Rome, 1864.

[†] See Appendix AA for these letters.

[§] Theiner, No. 769, p. 391 sqq. See Appendix BB.

Let us now examine the historical facts of this Bull. Nicholas tells us that he had taken action, with a view to a union of the two Priors, because of a petition which had reached him from the Prior of Urchard, John Benale. The petition stated that the Monastery was reduced to *two* monks, while at Pluscardyn there were seldom above *six* resident brothers. The troubles of the time, and the reduced revenues, made it impossible to maintain both Houses in efficiency. The heads of Pluscardyn were far removed in France, and direction could scarcely be expected from so remote a region. It was proposed that as the buildings of Pluscardyn were more extensive and more stately, the monks of Urquhart should remove thither and unite their possessions and revenues to those of the Pluscardyn House; while the Abbey of Dunfermline should assume the charge of the newly-combined brotherhood, and impart to them its dress and rule. Æsop himself could not have announced a more subtle division of honour contrived by one of his judicial foxes. The Prior of Pluscardyn, good ANDREW HAAG, whose acquaintance we have already made, was a party to the arrangement, and had agreed to accept a retiring pension. Of course compensation should be made to the Grand-Prior and Order of Val des Choux, and the royal James' assent must be secured for the entire business.

There is evidently no coercion, no reflection on Pluscardyn of any kind—Andrew acts "*sponte et libere*," and the Pope's appointed investigators and executors are only to accomplish the union should they find all the facts as described, and the utmost readiness on the part of all to enter into the entire details. The Abbot of Lindorés, of the diocese of St Andrews, and the chancellor and treasurer of Moray, are appointed to act for the Pope, and the Bull is dated 1453.

We have thus found the real circumstances of the union of the Priors to be entirely of a worldly character, and having no reference to morality. The only traces of immorality which we detect are in the Urchard House; and if there is any immorality in the schemes for union it must lie at the same door, and with the clever John Benale. When the Black Monks got into Pluscardyn it was easy to create a prejudice against their predecessors there. History has, however, been more just than tradition, and moral reflections must enter the door of Urchard, not of the Vallis Caulians. Apparently through mistaking the whole circumstances, John Benale is represented by previous writers as a Prior of Pluscardyn at the union. By Walcott, in his "*Scoti Monasticon*," he is placed as Prior of Pluscardyn in 1452, and ignored in the list of Priors of Urchard.* Chalmers is equally wide of the facts in his lists and remarks on the Priors of both Monasteries.† Dr Stuart, in his Preface to the Kinloss Charters, as already indicated, adopts the common account of the immoralities at Plus-

* Pages 293 and 251.

† "History of Dunfermline," vol. I, pp. 236 and 233.

cardyn, and writing of Sir John Fleutere, Abbot of Kinloss, who was degraded in 1440, adds, "In his time the Cistercians were banished from Pluscardine, and the Benedictines introduced in their places. Two of the Cistercians were sent to Kinloss, one of whom, after showing his base habits, was transferred to the House of Deer, where he died in old age."* This narrative is taken from Ferrerius' History, which says, "IN HUIUS ABBATIS MAGISTRATU DEJECTI SUNT MONACHI ALBI A PLUSCARDY, ET NIGRI INTROMISSI." This is certainly wrong, as our Charters have shown, for Fleutere, according to Ferrerius himself, was degraded in 1440, "*Dejectus sub Abbate Joanne Elem, 20 annos totos private postea vixit.*" To say the least, there is something misleading in referring the union to the time of Sir John Fleutere, for, though he lived till 1460, he ceased to be Abbot of Kinloss in 1440—thirteen years before the Bull appeared which appointed the union.

The clause regarding the two monks transferred to Kinloss also requires a note of caution. Dr Stuart suggests that the manners of Pluscardyn were those shown at Kinloss. Even Ferrerius can scarcely be said to have done so much. Here are his words—"Ex albis duo excepti sunt in Kynlos, viz., Dominus Joannes Henry, et Dominus Joannes Bynes. SED HIC BYNES CUM TURPITU VIVERET in Kynlos postea ab Joanne Ellem Abbate transpositus est in Deir, ubi et plenus Annis diem clausit extremum." †

There was, of course, no difficulty found by the Pope's representatives in the course of their investigation, and accordingly, in the Dunfermline Register, we have, of date a few months later, a commission to receive the professions of the monks of Pluscardyn who were prepared to change their monastic rule. ‡ Already Abbot Richard complacently speaks of "*the Priory of Pluscardyn, our Cell, and the Monastery there of the said Order of St Benedict.*" Thus placidly has Pluscardyn undergone a radical change, and plainly those who will not now receive the profession of Black Monks must remove. WILLIAM DE BOYIS, Sacristan of Dunfermline, is appointed to receive the professions of the brothers of Val des Choux at Pluscardyn, and to take full and formal possession of the House. This commission is issued at Dunfermline, 8th November, 1454.

Exactly two years later (7th November, 1456 §), Richard again addresses his venerable John Benale, Prior of Pluscardyn. He forwards to him another commission in favour of the same William de Boyis. This time William is setting out to inquire, punish, and reform monks and all others and things

* Preface. pp. xl, xli.

† Ferrerii Historia, p. 30. (Banatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1839.) It may not be without suggestiveness to remember that at this time Arthur, a monk of Kinloss, was elected to the charge of the House of Deir. (See Ferrerius.)

‡ Reg. Dunf., pp. 333-335. Appendix CC. § Reg. Dunf., pp. 337, 338. Appendix DD.

whatsoever, for the savour of their religious life is not all that could be desired. This is, no doubt, strange and discouraging so soon after a fresh start, but what follows will probably explain all.

On the same day that this letter is addressed to John Benale as Prior of Pluscardyn, Abbot Richard addresses another to the Bishop of St Andrews, acquainting him that William de Boyis, Sacristan of Dunfermline, had that day made an unconditional surrender of his office. At the same time he proposes and announces as his successor a monk of the same Order, John de Benale.* The hour for retiring to rest seems to have found the good Abbot without having completed the literary portion of his elaborate scheme. Next day, however, he resumed his desk and the perfecting of his task. He now wrote to John, Abbot of Kinloss, and James Stewart, Dean of Moray, acquainting them that John Benale had expressed a desire to resign his Priorate at Pluscardyn, and requesting them to see that the new Prior, when elected, should be properly installed and established in office. No one will be surprised to learn that the next name of a Prior of Pluscardyn which we encounter is that of WILLIAM DE BOYIS, who, however, as the document where his name occurs is strictly legal, is designated "*Prior of the Priories of Pluscardyn and Urcharde.*"† This is in 1460, and in exactly another hundred years the last monastic Prior of Pluscardyn will be found to have just passed away.

* Reg. Dunf., p. 339. Appendix EE.

† Reg. Dunf., p. 353.

CHAPTER XII.

Done John Bonalda.

UNDER this venerable name we propose to gather a few facts which throw some light upon the history when the ascendancy of Dunfermline culminated in the glen of Pluscarden. We hope thus to afford an illustration of the character of Church life and influence in the fifteenth century. There can be no doubt that the entire preliminaries which resulted in the union of Urchard and Pluscardyn and the Priorate of William de Boyis were most carefully and successfully elaborated on the spot, so that there was no hitch of any consequence. John Benale seems to have been possessed of more than ordinary



OFFICIAL SEAL OF THE PRIORY.

"Sigillum Conventus Vall[is Sancti] Andree in Moravia."

sagacity and influence. The Abbot could scarcely have found a man more capable of serving him in his own position, while the influence of John in the society of the province must have been very great, suggesting much of the social prominence of some modern representatives of the same Church. The post of Prior of Urchard, with only two resident brothers, was sufficiently humble to provoke no one's jealousy, while the address of the Prior was such as to make him indispensable in the semi-religious circles which made up

every little court of nobility in the province. Besides, the Prior was a laird, and a laird in almost every separate district of the province, so that his interests touched those of the world secular, while his jurisdiction over his own belongings, human as well as territorial, was more absolute than that of any other proprietor.

The Seal of the Priory of Pluscardyn here introduced dates from the year after the accomplishment of the union. It is taken from the impression used by Mr Laing, and described by him in his book of Ancient Scottish Seals, No. 1098.* Mr Laing's entry is as follows:—"A very singular design, emblematic of delivering souls from purgatory. 'SIGILLUM CONVENTUS VALL[IS SANCTI] ANDREE IN MORAVIA.' A.D., 1455.—*The late D. Gregory, Esq.*" As the Seal is subsequent to the union, we cannot be sure whether it is a new Seal prepared in the altered circumstances, or that formerly in use in the House.† The design adopted to represent deliverance from purgatory is by no means peculiar. We find it underlying the religious beliefs of various peoples. The serpent's head, which appears with gaping jaws, from which two forms, one male and one female, are issuing, has just emitted an evil spirit, which is vanishing in front of the delivered souls. A very similar representation may be seen, on an enlarged scale, in Hone's Ancient Mysteries, where our Lord appears with a crossed staff, to which a pennon is attached, drawing a soul out of the mouth of hell.‡ Singularly enough, the soul is that of a man who grasps the hand of a female, who follows him from the throng collected there. The crossed staff is thrust by our Lord into the open jaws of hell. The engraving is taken from Hearne's "*Forduni Scotichronicon*," vol. V., and has been the subject of not a little learned writing and blundering, in which Dr Samuel Johnson plays a not unimportant part, and is found erring beyond most others. Somewhat similar illustrations may be found in Waring's "*Ceramic Art*," plate 51.§ We may believe that, in a general way, Mr Laing's account of the symbolism of the Seal is correct, though, perhaps, *Resurrection* is as probable a view of the intention of the artist or monkish designer. We have not been able to find an original impression of the Convent's Seal attached to any Charter, except one too much broken to be of any practical service. In General Hutton's "*Sigilla*," || No. 51, the Seal appears, and the drawing is exactly the same as Mr Laing's, but more complete, for the surrounding scroll reads—

"SIGILL' CONVENTUS VALLIS NTI ANDREE IN MORAVIA."

* "*Ancient Scottish Seals*," H. Laing, Edinburgh, 1850, p. 197.

† It would appear that symbolic designs on ecclesiastical seals were introduced about the close of the previous century.—"*Laing's Seals*," Preface, p. xiv.

‡ "*Ancient Mysteries Described*," Hone, 1823, opposite p. 138.

§ "*Ceramic Art*," J. B. Waring, London, 1875. || Hutton's "*Sigilla*." MS. in Society of Antiquaries' Museum, Edinburgh.

To this the remark is added—"Drawn from an impression communicated by William Rose, Esquire, of Montcoffer, near Banff. Upon the label is written, 'James, Prior of Pluscardine in 1519.' Mr Rose informs me he has the Charter to which the Seal belongs." The broken impression which we found at Duff House belongs to a document of date 1558.

In the Miscellany of the Spalding Club * there is a marriage settlement of the very year from which we trace this Conventual Seal, which was confirmed by the Seal of our Prior, because "Elizabeth, Countess of Murra, in absence of her awin sele, has procurit the sele of a worshipping fader, Done John Bonalda, priour of Pluscardin."† Thus John made himself necessary to the nobles of Moray. It, no doubt, appears strange to us to find a seal used by a Countess other than her own, but it seems to have been quite consistent with the ideas of the times to use another's seal, if its owner was mentioned in the body of the document. This is done very expressly in the marriage contract quoted, for it is there added, "And this procurit sele is the common sele of Pluscardin, with consent of the Convent." We ask attention to the fact that Benale is in 1455 termed "Prior of Pluscardine." Referring to the book of the Innes family,‡ we find there that a transumpt of two Charters was obtained in the Parish Church of Urchart on June 10th, 1454, in presence of a venerable man, "John of Bonale, prior of Urchart; Bartholomew, a monk; and John, son of Alan, a priest." Here is Benale's original designation in Morayshire, and, if his petition to the Pope was true, we have here also all the monastic brotherhood at Urchart. There remains a transumpt, dated 1551, of a curious document of 23rd June, 1456, when Benale was still Prior at Pluscardyn. Sir Thomas Cumming, of Altyr, emits a declaration that, having consulted with members of his house, he there and then recalled the fact, which he had previously denied, that the Mill of Altyr belonged, and ever did belong, to the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew, and he solemnly swore to throw no longer any obstacle of any kind in way of the entire and unfettered possession of the same by Prior John and his Convent. He, besides, besought pardon and the removal of the sentence of excommunication, which were granted most formally and paternally. The document proceeds to inform us that Thomas Cumming made this declaration beside the Cross of Forres, at two of the afternoon of the after-named day. This document has been printed in the edition of 1827 of Shaw's "Moray," with a long note, which begins—"This instrument is a striking warning against admitting the influence of Roman Catholic dignitaries, or even inferior priests, among the nobles, much less among the populace of our great empire." §

* Vol. IV., p. 130.

† We wonder if this be the very impression of the Conventual Seal drawn by Mr Laing.

‡ "Familie of Innes," p. 76. § Shaw's "Moray," Additional Appendix, p. 430 sqq.

every little court of nobility in the province. Besides, the laird and a laird in almost every separate district of the province, interests touched those of the world secular, while his own belongings, human as well as territorial, was more than any other proprietor.

The Seal of the Priory of Pluscardyn here introduced a year after the accomplishment of the union. It is an impression used by Mr Laing, and described by him in his *Scottish Seals*, No. 1098.* Mr Laing's entry is of a singular design, emblematic of delivering souls from purgatory. CONVENTUS VALL[IS SANCTI] ANDREE IN MORAVIA. "D. Gregory, Esq." As the Seal is subsequent to the year 1707, be sure whether it is a new Seal prepared in the reign of George II. or that formerly in use in the House.† The design represents deliverance from purgatory is by no means peculiar to the religious beliefs of various peoples. The Seal appears with gaping jaws, from which two female figures, are issuing, has just emitted an evil spirit, and is at the front of the delivered souls. A very similar representation is enlarged scale, in Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, which is a crossed staff, to which a pennon is attached, drawn from the mouth of hell.‡ Singularly enough, the soul is that of a female, who follows him from the throne of the devil. The staff is thrust by our Lord into the open jaws of the devil. See Hearn's *"Forduni Scotichronicon,"* vol. II. It is not a little learned writing and blundering. The Seal plays a not unimportant part, and is found in many other what similar illustrations may be found in the same work. We may believe that, in a general way, Mr Laing's description of the Seal is correct, though, perhaps, it is not the intention of the artist or monkish designer. We find an original impression of the Seal of the Priory of Pluscardyn, except one too much broken to be of any use. See Hutton's *"Sigilla,"* || No. 51, the Seal appears the same as Mr Laing's, but more complete.

"SIGILL' CONVENTUS VALLIS

* "*Ancient Scottish Seals*," H. Laing, Edinburgh, 1830.

† It would appear that symbolic designs on seals were not in use in the previous century.—"*Laing's Seals*," Preface.

‡ "*Ancient Mysteries Described*," Hone, 1819. || Hutton's "*Sigilla*," Waring, London, 1875.

To this the remark is added—"Drawn by
William Rose, Esquire, of Montecroce, near
'James, Prior of Pluscardine in 1510.' M...
to which the Seal belongs." The br...
House belongs to a document of date 1510.

XIII.

and his Successors.

In the Miscellany of the Spalding...
the very year from which we trace...
by the Seal of our Prior, because...
her awin sele, has procurit the seal...
priour of Pluscardin."† Thus John...
Moray. It, no doubt, appears...
other than her own, but it seems...
of the times to use another's seal...
the document. This is done...
quoted, for it is there added...
Pluscardin, with consent of...
that Benale is in 1455 term...
of the Innes family,‡ we...
obtained in the Parish Ch...
venerable man, "John of...
and John, son of Alan...
Morayshire, and, if his...
the monastic brotherhood...
1551, of a curious docu...
at Pluscardyn. Sir...
having consulted with...
fact, which he had...
ever did belong...
swore to throw...
unfettered pos...
besides, besoug...
tion, which was...
proceeds to inf...
Cross of For...
document has...
long note, wh...
admitting the...
among the...

used when printed BOECE; thus suggest-
This family name reached us from
to the forms already given, those of
Bois. It was not long ere it cast its
non English surname, WOOD.* William
first came into contact with Pluscardyn
Sacrist at Dunfermline. The earliest
are in 1434, and again in 1438, when he
ary of St Andrews.† In 1440 he is entered
the "venerable religious man, William de
Dunfermline."‡ In the same year he again
University of St Andrews and sworn notary under
December, 1448, William is Sacrist of Dun-
noting that the same Charter which records
a "discreet man, Alexander de Boyis, one of the
1454, William was appointed to go to Pluscardyn,
sions of the monks who were disposed to change
to be White Monks and becoming Black Monks of
information of Ferrerius, already quoted, we should
was unanimously settled in connection with the
William, appearing again at Pluscardyn with a com-
reformation in his hands, was appointed Prior—John
being announced on the same day as that on which the
A Charter** confirming the possession of Kildon, in
his name as "prior prioratum de Pluschardyn et Urcharde"
now designated simply "William, Prior of the Monastery
Andrew of Pluscardyne," obtained a decree of sentence
chancellor of Moray, confirming the claim of our Monastery
undry belongings of Dingwall.†† On the 20th May of the

* Vol. II. p. 35. † Reg. Prior. S. Andree, pp. 410, 432.
† We... § Reg. Dunf., p. 300. †† Reg. Dunf., p. 309. ¶ Reg. Dunf., p. 395.
: "F... and Reg. Dunf., p. 353. †† Reg. Dunf., p. 366.

One fact more may be added, which is of consequence as throwing some probable light on the internal character of the House about this time. So far as can be gathered, the famous "*Book of Pluscardine*," quoted by Buchanan, was, about 1460, prepared for Abbot Richard in our Priory. We shall subsequently return to this subject. Meantime we refer to it as a proof of the mental as well as social activity which belonged to this period of the Convent's history. If there be any truth in the tradition which makes Florentius Volusenus a native of Pluscarden, his parents would themselves be reared amid the quickened impulses of the vigorous life which Benale infused into the glen.

As Dr Henderson, in his "*Annals of Dunfermline*,"* refers to the succession of William de Boyis as Prior of Pluscardyn in consequence of the dismissal of John Benale because of the state in which William found the House, it may be well, in closing, to remark that William's appointment to visit, and John's appointment as Sacristan of Dunfermline, happened on the same day. This all the Charters referred to in last chapter make remarkably clear. Unfortunately we cannot follow Benale to Dunfermline, where, no doubt, his special talents must have displayed themselves. When Abbot Richard died in 1464, the glory of Dunfermline began to fade, and the grey streaks of Reformation dawn speedily forced themselves upon public notice, especially through the scandal of many violent proceedings on the part of the royal Stewarts. Religious impulses were, however, but scantily felt in the district with which we are chiefly concerned.

* "*Annals of Dunfermline*," E. Henderson, LL.D., Glasgow, 1879, p. 160.

CHAPTER XIII.

William de Boyis and his Successors.

THE name BOYIS is more easily recognised when printed BOËCE; thus suggesting the celebrated historian so called. This family name reached us from France, and early assumed, in addition to the forms already given, those of De Bois, Dubois, Boys, Boyce, and Bois. It was not long ere it cast its French dress, and became the common English surname, WOOD.* William Wood, whose name heads this chapter, first came into contact with Pluscardyn when he occupied the position of Sacrist at Dunfermline. The earliest records of him which we have found are in 1434, and again in 1438, when he acted as bedellus and imperial notary of St Andrews.† In 1440 he is entered in the Dunfermline Chartulary as the “venerable religious man, William de Boyis, monk of the Monastery of Dunfermline.”‡ In the same year he again appears as bedell of the University of St Andrews and sworn notary under imperial appointment.§ On 3rd December, 1448, William is Sacrist of Dunfermline,|| and it is worth while noting that the same Charter which records this fact contains the name of a “discreet man, Alexander de Boyis, one of the Bailies of Kirkcaldy.”¶ In 1454, William was appointed to go to Pluscardyn, there to receive the professions of the monks who were disposed to change their dress and rule, ceasing to be White Monks and becoming Black Monks of Dunfermline. But for the information of Ferrerius, already quoted, we should have supposed that all was unanimously settled in connection with the transfer. Two years later, William, appearing again at Pluscardyn with a commission of visitation and reformation in his hands, was appointed Prior—John Benale’s resignation being announced on the same day as that on which the commission was signed. A Charter** confirming the possession of Kildon, in Ross, contains William’s name as “*prior prioratum de Pluschardyn et Urcharde*” in 1460. In 1463, Boyis, now designated simply “William, Prior of the Monastery of the Vale of St Andrew of Pluscardyne,” obtained a decree of sentence pronounced by the Chancellor of Moray, confirming the claim of our Monastery to the Church and sundry belongings of Dingwall.†† On the 20th May of the

* Anderson’s “Scottish Nation,” *sub voce*.

† Reg. Dunf., p. 295. § Reg. Dunf., p. 300.

** See last Chapter and Reg. Dunf., p. 353.

† Reg. Prior. S. Andree, pp. 410, 432.

|| Reg. Dunf., p. 309. ¶ Reg. Dunf., p. 395.

†† Reg. Dunf., p. 366.

year following, an instrument of arrangement about the lands of Rye Drumdelgy, &c., appears in the Moray Chartulary, and William—as he is now called—with Abbot John de Ellem and others, is called in to adjudicate the disputed dues.* Thus, when Maurice Buchanan was busily engaged transcribing and perfecting the past history of Scotland, his Prior was no less busy in the world without, attending to all the necessary details of the entangled ownership and widely scattered tithes and dues on much of the industry and territory of other men.

By means of a venerable Charter already quoted, of date 1482, discovered in the Charter Chest of Duff House, we are enabled to supply the name of a Prior to whom no other reference has been found. In Chalmer's list of Priors no one is named after William de Boyis till 1529. Walcott's list we are unable to understand from any facts which have come under our notice, and his exclusion of Benale and William from among the Benedictine Priors may dispose us to be less concerned that the names which follow theirs are inserted without any authority beyond the fact that Ferrerius says there were two monks with these names who left Pluscardyn at the union.†

In 1482, DAVID was Prior of Pluscardyn, and procured the transumpt previously referred to, settling the relation between himself as Prior and the laird of Innes. This Charter, though written in a very small hand, is singularly legible, and, though of small consequence intrinsically, being simply a settlement of pasture lands of Kers between Innes and Leuchars, it has helped us more than any other one Charter in determining the Priors of our Monastery. Twelve years later we find another Prior, named ROBERT, or Robert Harwor.‡ The earliest notice of him yet encountered is in a parchment dated 4th June, 1495, which is entitled, "A decret arbitral on a submission between the Prior and Convent of Pluscardyn on the one part, and James Douglas of Pittendrech on the other, of disputes between them regarding the erection of a mill on the lands of Pittendrech, and the right of the *sucken* of the mill of Elgin." The submission was dated 9th July, 1494, and there Robert's name occurs as Prior.§ Among our *fac-simile* Charters we now reach that of 1499 [1500], which is a letter of Bailzery in favour of James Dunbar of Cumnock for his term of life, granted by Robert and his Convent, with the approval of Bishop Andrew of Moray and his Chapter.|| The first signature is that of the Bishop, after which follow those of Robert and six monks. In the other

* Reg. Morav., p. 230. † See Chapter XI.

‡ "Records of Kinloss," p. 26—"Ac priorem a Pluscarde dominum Robertum Harwor, praeter aequum piscationes a Fernanen occupantem, parvo conatu sed pecunia majore ita attrivit toto triennio, ut dimidium illius cujus gratia litem iniverat in perpetuum acceperit." See also *Ferrerii Historia*, p. 67.

§ See Appendix FF.

|| This Charter belongs to the collection of the late Dr Stuart, and is marked 13. Appendix GG.

And the same of the same within ye
of murray our ordinar done & accepted of ye same
ye put her many assents and ordains are not
landis with ye same hand within ye possession
to set the malis of them to aft zach and zachaw and
to punish and in amendment to put the assent
attachit or avestit to agane borow & repleg and
to or may bailheid and them to & put & return
to ye office of bailheir pteub or of lauch and
and bailhe or his substitut in the office of bailheir
ill ye said forsaich of his luff by virtue of the
ye forsaich the said returning forsaich And the
ye tryng as apperit at the curth & all to ye

Willa⁹ poss⁹
ing pub⁹ p⁹
6

year following, an instrument of arrangement about the lands of Drumdelgy, &c., appears in the Moray Chartulary, and William—as he is called—with Abbot John de Ellem and others, is called in to adjudicate the disputed dues.* Thus, when Maurice Buchanan was busily transcribing and perfecting the past history of Scotland, his Prior was busy in the world without, attending to all the necessary details of entangled ownership and widely scattered tithes and dues on much industry and territory of other men.

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* Reg. Morav., p. 230. † See Chapter XI.

‡ "Records of Kinloss," p. 26—"Ac priorem a Pluscarde dominum Robertum Harwar, praeaequum piscatione a Fernanen occupantem, parvo conatu sed pecunia majore ita attrivit triennio, ut dimidium illius cujus gratia litem iniverat in perpetuum acceperit." See also *Ferrers' History*, p. 67.

§ See Appendix FF.

|| This Charter belongs to the collection of the late Dr Stuart, and is marked 13. Appendix GG.

And the grace of the same...
of money our ordinar some & chepten of ye same
yd put his make ofrent and ordaind are noble
landis with yd pincy hand woldy ye poffidant
to set the malis of thyan to ase zark and zafam and
to puny and yd and yd to put the poffidant
attachit or avestit to agane borow & replegi and
to ye offir of bauldry pomb or of laok and
and bauldy or hys substitut in the offir of bauldry
all ye said poffidant of hys liff by warrunt of the
yd poffidant the said poffidant poffidant poffidant
ye tym as apperit at the cathedraal court

Nulla pars
substituo

ASTORIA, OREGON
JAN 10 1917
ASTORIA, OREGON
JAN 10 1917

column are the names of the Chancellor, &c., of Moray. This interesting Charter, which Messrs Stewart & Co. have so faithfully reproduced, even in its faintest tints of colour, has the additional interest to commend it that it is in our own language, and more legible than most documents of its time. Another Charter of the following year occurs in "The Family of Kilarvock,"* and ordains the multures arising from the crops of Penyek to be paid to William Hay, "larde of Louchloys myll," who, in return, agrees to pay to Prior Robert, "ane boll of malt and ane boll of meill" yearly. The arrangement was to continue in force till the Priory might build a mill of their own at Penyek. The signatures of the House are the same as in the *fac-simile* Charter of the previous year, with the exception that Andrew Brown is not called sub-prior, the name of Adam Forman is introduced, and that of John Scot omitted.



"WE ROBERT PRIOR SUBSCRIVIS."

Eight days later Adam Forman appears in a promulgation of a Papal Bull, executed at the Castle of Spynie, as sub-Prior of Pluscardyn. He, with his Prior, Robert, are witnesses of this interesting though very lengthy docu-

* Pages 171, 172.—Be it kende till all men be this present writ, ws, Robert be the permissione of God prior of Pluscarden and the conuent of the samyn chaptourlie gaderit, riplie auisit, our vtilite and profit considerit and profitis to be gottin quhair nane wes of befor, to haue annexit and affixit all and hailt the cornys growand til our tennentis off Penyek, to the Larde of Louchloys myll, callit Williame Hay, and thair to be multurit to the twenty ane curne; that is to say, ane pek of the five firlatis; the said Wilyame Hay and his ayeris payand yeirly till ws and our successouris j boll of malt and ane boll of meill for the said multuris; and the said annexatione of the forsaid cornys to the forsaid myll till indure ay and quhill we or oure successouris thinkis speidfull to big ane myll of our awin or caus ony vthir to big in our name a myll to grynd our forsaid tennentis cornys. And gif the forsaid Williame or his ayeris failyeis in the payment of the forsaid tway bollis of victuall at the Candilmes nixt folowande the date of this present writ yerlie, it salbe lefull till us to draw our forsaid cornys fra that myll to quhat vthir we plesse. And we the forsaid prior and conuent to this present annexatione sall stand ferme and stable in all abone wrettin. And gif the said Williame or his ayeris hurts or skaithis our said tenentis in thair cornys grynding, or our said tennentis drawis thair cornys fra the myll; at the complaintis of thame baitht, we sall reforme and punys the faltouris in our awne curtis efter the ordour of lawe. And this contract wes maid at Pluscardin wndir oure common seill with our subscriptiones manuelle, the thirde day of Februar in the yere of God a thousand and five hundreitht yeris.

Ego ROBERTUS prior ad suprascripta subscribo.

Et ego ADAM FORMAN ad idem.

Et ego ANDREAS BROWN ad idem.

Et ego ANDREAS ALANI ad idem.

Et ego JACOBUS WYOT ad idem.

Et ego JOHANNES HAY ad idem.

Et ego JACOBUS JUSTICE ad idem.

ment.* Robert continued Prior some years longer, for on October 13th, 1508, an interesting Charter was granted by him, bestowing two coble fishings, for nine years, on Robert Innes of Roth-Mackenzie, and others. The occasion of this gift was for "service and defence done to the Abbey,† especially in removing of robbers, and for providing twa tabernacles in the Abbey—that is to say, ane at the hie altar, and ane ather to our Lady—both made in Flanders."‡ After two ineffectual hunts we were at length fortunate in finding this Charter in the Charter Room at Duff House. In addition to Robert's signature, there occur the names of seven Brothers, only three of whom are the same as in the previous Charters quoted. The tag is attached, but no part of the Prior's seal remains. There is more pulse of life here than in most of these old writings; and it is some small insight to know that while there were robbers without lying in wait, there was some pious interest inside the Convent walls in conducting the services of religion in a becoming and elegant manner. Of what material the tabernacles were for which Flanders was famous we cannot ascertain, but we may be sure there was some good feeling at this time in our Priory, and Robert's influence, which was evidently pacific, was perhaps also religious. We must not forget that we owe to Robert a fine transumpt of the Episcopal Charter of 1233, whereby we are able to restore a few time-eatings of the original. The transumpt was made in 1507 by John Spens.

Immediately after the accession of James IV. to the throne, he summoned a Parliament of the three Estates at Edinburgh, on October 6th, 1488.§ The Prior of Pluscardyn was among those who appeared there.|| We cannot determine whether David or Robert was then Prior, but with the name of one or other of these we may almost certainly associate this honour, as our only mention of David is in 1482, and our first mention of Robert in 1494. The Parliament met exactly intermediate between the two dates.

The next Charter which we encounter is an Indenture of Marches between GEORGE, Prior of Pluscardyn, and Robert Innes of Roth-Mackenzie.¶ This is a very beautiful and clear document, with the tag attached, but no seal remaining. Twelve Brothers sign along with their Prior, and Alexander Adamson is now sub-Prior. The names of BRYNA and LYEL are also

* "History of Beauly Priory," pp. 113-119.

† This is the first time we have seen the term Abbey applied to our Priory.

‡ "Familie of Innes," p. 92. Appendix HH, where it is given in full.

§ Leslie's "De Rebus Scotorum," p. 317. Balfour's "Annals." Vol. 1., p. 215.

|| Acts of Parliament of Scotland. Vol. II., 200 a.

¶ In Hutton's SIGILLA reference is made to JAMES, Prior in 1519. The evidence for this Prior is that Mr Rose, Montcoffer, had a parchment of this date with James as Prior, and from that Charter he sent General Hutton a drawing of the Conventual seal, on which we remark elsewhere.

found among the monks. The opening sentence states that it was "maid at Urquhart, ye sextene day off December, in ye zeir off God ane thousand fywe hundreth and twenty-four zeris." The marches in dispute were those of the Barony of Urquhart, the property of Pluscardyn and of Garmouth and Corskie, which belonged to Robert Innes.* Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen, had been called in to settle the disputed marches between the Priory lands of Meft, Leuchars, and Urquhart on the one hand, and those of Alexander Innes and Robert Innes of Roth-Mackenzie on the other. The Bishop is most minute in his settlement, and by the erection of various stones he makes the boundary very clear and distinct. This settlement is dated 25th June, 1524, and we have found two old copies of it (one of them a translation of the main parts of the arbitration), in addition to the original, signed by GAWINUS ABERDON: EPS. Three tags remain, but their seals are completely gone.† In 1529 this same Gavin founded two chaplaincies in the Cathedral of Moray, to be paid out of the lands of Querelwod and Lidget. These foundations were in honour of the Trinity, Saints Columba and Thomas the Martyr, and in behalf of the souls of the king, his predecessors and successors; his own parents, Alexander Dunbar of Westfield and Elizabeth Sutherland, his wife, besides some others, his own soul being the last-named burden on these foundations; but they were believed capable of reaching the need *aliorum Christi fidelium*. The document is extremely interesting and instructive, as it carefully details the daily and yearly duties of the chaplains, the places of their service, their necessary personal character and education for the duties, and their ability to render effectively the Gregorian chant. It is, besides, provided that the names of the persons intended should be named at the various masses said on their behalf. The two witnesses who stand first are George, Prior of Pluscardyn, and Sir Hector Forman, a monk of the same.‡

Georgius pbr de pluscardyn

"GEORGIUS PRIOR DE PLUSCARDYNE."

In closing this chapter, before proceeding to the history of the last Monastic Prior of Pluscardyn, Alexander Dunbar, it may be well to bring

* Found in the Charter Chest at Duff House. See Appendix II. A copy of this Indenture is to be found among the papers at Floors Castle.

† In Duff House Charter Chest.

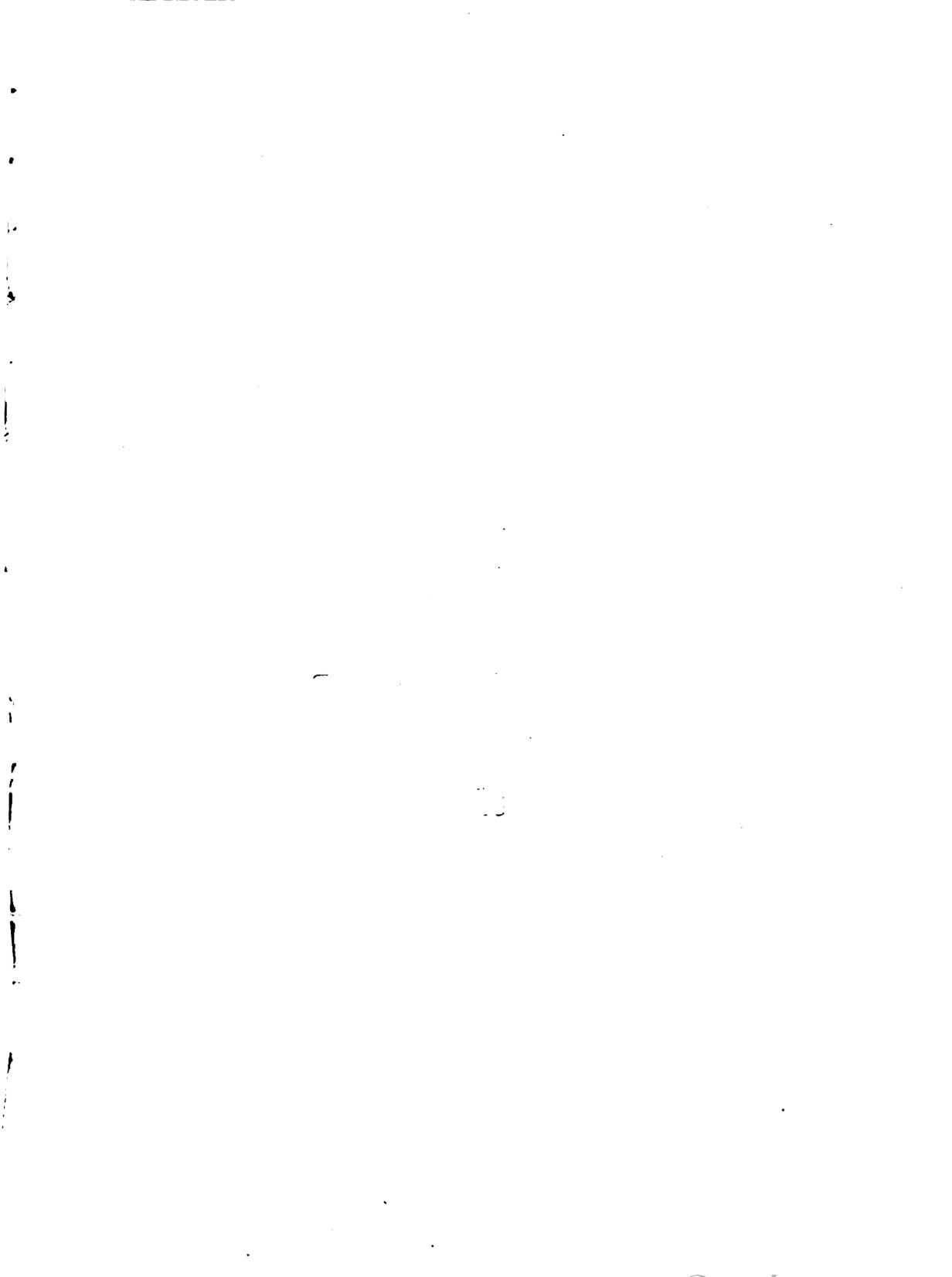
‡ Reg. Morav., pp. 417, 418. A fine transumpt of the Charters of 1272 and 1330, of this Prior's time, lies at Duff House.

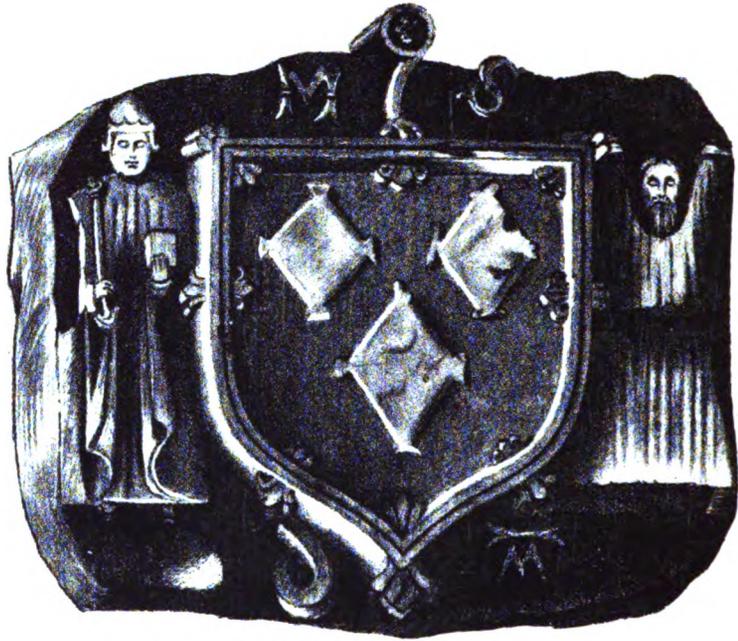
under our eye the different names which we have found possessing the title of Prior since the union of the two Monasteries.*

ANDREW HAAG, Vallis Caulium (resigned),	. . .	1454.
JOHN DE BEMALE, of Urchard (resigned),	. . .	1456.
WILLIAM DE BOYIS,	- - - - -	1456—1464.
DAVID,	- - - - -	1482.
ROBERT HARWOR,	- - - - -	1494—1508.
JAMES,	- - - - -	1519.
GEORGE,	- - - - -	1524—1529.
ALEXANDER,	- - - - -	1533—1560.

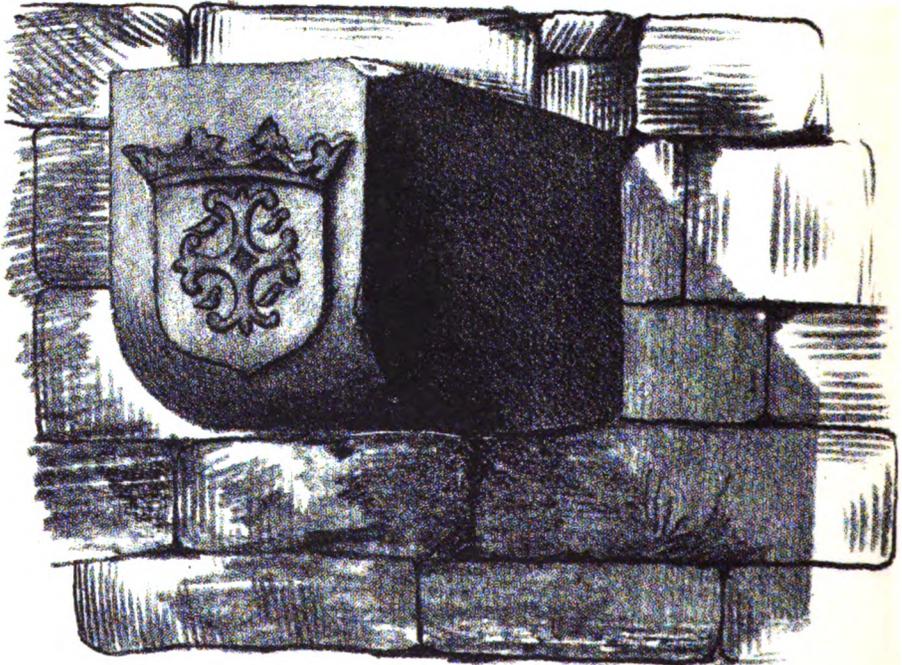
* As the authorities for each name are so fully given in the text and appendix, we have not again recapitulated them as was previously done.

Signature of GAVIN DUNBAR, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN.





Dunbar Arms, from the roof of the "Dunbar Vestry" NE corner of Priory.



Corbel, from East side Cloister Court, Pluscardyn.

CHAPTER XIV.

Alexander Dunbar, the last of the Priors.

To trace the personal history of the last Prior of Pluscardyn would be to prepare a very strong argument for the necessity of the Reformation. And what was true in the quiet glen was even more sadly true in the Episcopal Palace and Cathedral of Moray, where Patrick Hepburn lived from 1535 to 1573. Nor were they alike in vicious personal character only. Both of them, with clear perception of the approaching Reformation, contrived to alienate to their own families, or to convert into money, no small part of the properties entrusted to their administration as ministers of religion. The name of DUNBAR is that which most attracts notice in the monumental remains of our Priory, and the beautiful boss on the roof of the "*Dunbar Vestry*," figured on the opposite page, from a wax cast taken in 1878, is a sufficient indication that the Dunbar influence was very strongly and practically exercised in the management of the House. The earliest mention which we have come upon * of Alexander Dunbar as Prior of Pluscardyn is dated 1533. In 1559 and 1560 we have Charters of Alexander in favour of Alexander Innes of Crombie, and BEATRIX † DUNBAR, his spouse. This Beatrix Dunbar was the Prior's own daughter, and mother of Robert Innes of that ilk, called "*the Glead Laird*," who was married to the sister of Secretary Elphinstone, and both of whom lie buried in the Elgin Cathedral. Their monument has been lost, but the inscription is preserved in Monteith's "*Theatre of Mortality*," p. 252, and quoted thus in Mr R. Young's "*Annals*," p. 670, and "*Innes Familie*," p. 164:—

"Requiescunt hic Robertus Innes ab eodem, et Elizabetha Elphinstone, ejus conjux, qui fati concesserunt, 25 Septemb. et 26 Febr., anno sal. hum. 1597 et 1610. Ideoque in piam gratamque memoriam charissimorum parentum, hoc monumentum extruendum curabit Robertus filius." ‡

Beatrix Dunbar predeceased her husband, and some years before his tragical murder in Aberdeen by Innes of Invermarkie, in 1580, § he had married Isobel, or "*Ele*," Forbes, daughter of Arthur Forbes of Balfour. ||

* "*Familie of Innes*," p. 203. "*Familie of Innes*," p. 118.

† Called ELIZABETH in "*Familie of Innes*," p. 29.

‡ A fragment of this stone is perhaps that which remains in the Cathedral with the initials R. I. and E. E.—*Familie of Innes*, p. 259.

§ "*Familie of Innes*," p. 137.

|| "*Familie of Innes*," p. 199 and p. 29.

When this second marriage took place we have not found, but we can trace its existence to 1573.* We have discovered no trace of how Alexander Dunbar came to give his daughter to Innes of Crombie, but we have a Charter of Alexander in favour of this Innes of date 1548, signed by himself and twelve monks of the House. Yet our Prior is named first among the Dunbars who were assaulted during vespers in the Cathedral in Elgin by an armed band of eighty Inneses, on New Year's-day, 1554. It is true the aggravation of the offence seems to have been that the murderous onset was made "*in presence of the holy Sacraments.*" Sooth to tell, however, by a remarkable coincidence the Dunbars were able to draw lethal weapons from under their gowns, provided, as the legal investigation disclosed, with intent on that same day to make away with William Innes of that ilk and his immediate attendants. We may suppose that it was religious zeal that inspired the Dunbars, inasmuch as the said William Innes sat, in 1560, among the Barons who abolished in Scotland the jurisdiction and authority of the Bishop of Rome.† If such was the moving cause of their evil intent, there was a retribution, for Prior Alexander's grandson was a foremost man among the Covenanters in the North.

As we have previously mentioned, our earliest notice of Alexander Dunbar is of date 1533, and we can trace his tenure of office for a period of twenty-seven years. Of the year 1560 there are, as we shall see, extant Charters with his signature, and the year following he was certainly dead. How much more than twenty-seven years he presided over Pluscardyn we have not been able to ascertain. The latest date of a former Prior, as we found in the last chapter, is 1529. Walcott, under date 1529, gives "Gregory, Bishop-Coadjutor to the Bishop of Aberdeen," and then closes his list of Priors (*Abbots*, he terms them,) with "George, Coadjutor to Bishop Dunbar." To this latter name he assigns no date.‡ Chalmers' list does not mention Alexander before 1549. Mr Young, in his "Annals," dates the beginning of the Priorate "about 1540." In the Duff House Charter Chest there is an instrument of Sasine in favour of Alexander on the resignation by Wm. Sutherland, of Duffus, of two roods of land in Elgin. This Charter is dated 1533. The Charter of resignation, signed by Wm. Sutherland and Robert Innes of Roth-Mackenzie, is also there, of the same date. Two years later (1535) Alexander witnesses a contract "betwix the laird of Invermerky and the laird Innes for the landis of Ogistoun." §

This year is remarkable in the history of our Priory, as furnishing a document which indicates that Pluscardyn had before this time been erected into a regality. The Charter proceeds from James, Archbishop of St Andrews,

* "Familie of Innes," p. 29. Our account does not at all coincide with that of the Lion King-at-Arms.—"Innes Familie," p. 47.

† "Familie of Innes," p. 128.

‡ Walcott's "Scoti-Monasticon," p. 293.

§ "Familie of Innes," pp. 98-100.

and George, perpetual Commendator of Dunfermline. Four persons were appointed to hold Justiciary Courts of regality.* The names of those thus appointed *ballivos et justiciarios generales*, are interesting, viz.—Robert Dunbar of Durriss; Alexander Innes, son and heir-apparent of Alexander Innes of that Ilk; Walter Innes, of Touch; and William Hay, of Mayne. We have here the source of the claim of the Dunbars of Durriss to the title

“*Ballivus de Pluscarte*,”

which we shall find among the monuments in the Lady's Chapel of our Priory. Dr Henderson, in his “Annals of Dunfermline,” assumes that this document is not one of appointing Bailies, but of the erection of the Regality.† Yet the date,‡ of the death of Alexander Dunbar, whose grave claims for him the title of “Bailie,” is 1527. The Alexander of the monumental slab was succeeded by Robert of the Charter.§ There remains, however, a more important document of this year. It would appear that the covetous eyes of the Bishop of Moray were upon the lands and importance of the Prior of Pluscardyn. He accordingly demanded certain very considerable services and acknowledgments which our Convent was not prepared to concede or recognise as legitimate. With a view to some settlement of the points at issue, the Prior made an application to the Pope, Paul III., to nominate a commission to hear and determine the differences between him and the Bishop. The Pope, accordingly, issued a commission for this purpose, at St Peter's, on May 5th, 1535. The commission, which was in favour of Donald, Abbot of Ferne, and others, was transumed, at the instance of the Prior, in 1551. It is this transumpt which has come down to us, written on a skin, in a very small, but by no means indistinct hand. We give the Papal portion of the transumpt, omitting the notarial verbosity, which occupies two-thirds of the whole.||

In 1540 James V. having convened a Parliament at Edinburgh, the Prior of Pluscardyn took his seat there, and two years later, after the death of James, he recorded his vote for Arran, who had been appointed tutor and Regent, in opposition to the efforts and forgeries put forth by the unscrupulous Cardinal, David Beaton. The Parliament of the year following, which Alexander also attended, seems to have had for its chief business the establishment of the COLLEGE OF JUSTICE—an institution which had a future bearing on the history of Pluscardyn.¶ Some part of this year must have been spent in Moray, for we find the Prior witnessing an obligation of Lord Lovat to the Earl of Huntly.** Balfour has a note of this date which may help to explain

* Reg. Dunf., p. 385. See Appendix JJ.

† “Annals of Dunfermline,” p. 192.

‡ See Chapter XV., p. 128.

§ “Thanes of Cawdor,” p. 221.

|| See Appendix KK. Also, Spal. Miscell.

¶ Acts of Parliament of Scotland. Vol. II., pp. 355, 410, 427, 443, 594.

** Spal. Miscel., IV., 208.

the care of our Prior about this time to put his house in order. Says Balfour (Annals I., 277)—“This zeire in Scotland began the Gospel to display its beams.” In 1528 Patrick Hamilton had died at the stake, and James Beaton’s familiar said truly, “The reek of Mr Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it did blow upon.”

A Privy Council, which our Prior attended, was held at St Andrews in 1546, the same year that witnessed the martyrdom of George Wishart, and the end of Cardinal Beaton.* We learn that Alexander was present from a note in the Register of Council. Two years later (1548) a Charter in Duff House makes good the conveyance of *Milend*, in Urquhart, to David Dunbar. Six monks join the Prior in the transfer. To the same year belongs a Charter, already referred to, which is a precept from Alexander and twelve of his monks to his “*Bailies*”—only one of whom is mentioned, Wm. Haye, of Mayne, a blank space being left in the parchment for the names of the others. In this Charter Alexander Innes, of Cromy, is emphatically designed as legitimate and proper heir to James Innes, his father. To this Innes Prior Alexander married his daughter Beatrix, according to the authority which we have followed.†

In 1549 Bishop Patrick and Prior Alexander drew up a submission for the settlement of their disputes. Places and parties were named on both sides, where and by whom the points at issue might be heard, according to convenience. In the event of either side failing to appear, it was agreed to hold that the side so failing had determined to fall from its position, and decree was to be given in favour of the other party. The submission was drawn up in English. Again and again the time and place of determining this case were altered, the apparent reason being the Bishop’s engagements and wanderings in “Southland” and “*ad australes*.” Among the various protective clauses of the submission the Bishop is bound over, more than once, not to seek to obtain a Papal decree terminating the dispute otherwise than by the terms of the agreement. On the 4th of July, 1551, the Prior obtained from the Commissary of Moray a transumpt of the submission, and its various “continuations.” Apparently no settlement had been made; and so, according to the terms of the agreement, Alexander could claim that the case ended in his favour.

* “As for the Cardinal, I grant
He was the man we weel could want,
And we’ll forget him soon;
And yet I think, the sooth to say,
Altho’ the loon is weel away,
The deed was foully done.”

—*Sir David Lindsay.*

† See Appendix LL.

The transumpt granted on the 4th July has come down to us, and is, as might be supposed, an exceedingly prolix document, containing not merely the usual notarial phraseology, but, in addition, the scarcely less verbose adjuncts of each separate "continuation." The parchment measures 29 inches wide and 14 long—each line containing from sixty-five to seventy words. The original terms of the submission will be found in the Appendix.* In the same year the Prior procured the valuable transumpt, already referred to,† of the Bishop of Moray's Charter of 1233, and the Papal Bull ordering the union of the Priors of Urchard and Pluscardyn. The Convent, in 1553, obtained a Charter from George, Earl of Huntly, confirming them in possession of the lands and towns (villas) of "Drummynde, Preslay, Logyurwell, and Ardaucht," apprized from Cummyne of Altyr.

The properties of Incharnock and Croy, overlooking the Pluscarden valley, were, in 1554, made over by Charter of Alexander and nine monks to Alexander Dunbar;‡ and in the same year, according to a Charter at Floors Castle,§ the Prior promised to deliver to Alexander Innes a tack of one-half coble-fishing in Spey, for seven years, provided that, on delivery of the tack, the sum of £500, "usual money," were paid down. The tack was to be delivered in Edinburgh, and we find that our Prior was there present that year at a Convention of Estates.|| At this time he procured an Act of Parliament, and in execution thereof an instrument of Sasine on a Charter given by the Earl of Huntly, making over the lands of Meikle and Little Brounquehill and Cragtoun, which were apprized from Alexander Cuming of Altyr. It is provided that when the money owing on these lands was paid they should return to the hands of the Cummings. Two years later the Queen-Regent, by royal precept, restored Alexander Cumming to the lands of "Brunechill, Cragtoun, Cragmill, Drummyne Loge, Urwell, and Preslay." The royal decree of Sasine is dated from Aberdeen, November 10th, 1556. In the Parliament of November, 1558, which sanctioned the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin of France, when George, Lord Seton, was appointed one of the eight commissioners on behalf of Parliament to be present at the marriage, our Prior was present, and took part in the proceedings. In the Prior's absence, John Blaket, Sub-prior, and nine monks, granted a mandate to defend an action brought against the Convent in reference to the Spey fishings. This document is interesting, as the first we have found pertaining to the Priory written on paper, and the only one which has the Convent seal still attached—impressed on the paper. There are several Charters, of various kinds, in connection with the Spey fishings, giving considerable insight into the perplexities and pro-

* Appendix MM.

† Chapter XI.

‡ Charter in Duff House.

§ See Appendix NN.

|| Acts of Parliament of Scotland, II., 603.

lixities of legal proceedings at the time. We do not think these have so much interest as to demand more extended mention here.

In 1559, Alexander granted a feu charter of the town and land of Leuchars to Alexander Innes of Crommye, son and heir of James Innes of Roth-Mackenzie and Beatrix Dunbar, his wife.* This is the earliest discovered mention of Beatrix. The following year, a Charter of Alexander—which now lies at Dunrobin—confirms to Crombie and Beatrix a half-coble fishing on Inverspey.† On September 12, Alexander and four monks subscribed a grant of “the land and town of Westerton of Pluscardin” to John Dunbar, brother of Patrick Dunbar of Sanquhar, in consideration of certain sums of money given by him to the Convent, and for a certain rent-annual to be paid by him.‡ In the event of heirs failing to John Dunbar, the property was to pass to “Alexander Dunbar, his brother,” whom failing, to “Patrick Dunbar of Sanquhar,” whom failing, to “David Dunbar of Bennethfield.” This grant was confirmed by James VI. under the Great Seal in 1586. It is worth while calling attention to the fact that the said Patrick Dunbar was Alexander’s own son, and that Sanquhar had been made over to him some time previous. There is a slight sense of propriety observable in calling John, who now got Westerton, Patrick’s brother, as that was more becoming than to say he was the Prior’s son.

In July, 1560, Alexander granted to Alexander Dunbar of Cumnock, and Patrick Dunbar, his son, a coble, a half-coble, and a-third coble on Inverspey. The Dunbars were to pay for the coble’s fishing 200 merks yearly, for the half-coble 100 merks, and for the one-third coble’s fishing sixteen barrels of salmon—“*sufficientis marchimenii magne ligature de Leyth*”—and a stone of wax. It is interesting to note that instead of the salmon £3 6s 8d might be paid for each barrel. An instrument of Sasine was obtained in Parliament in 1560, and a Papal confirmation, dated 24th June, 1561. All these Charters are in Duff House, and the last is interesting as having still the seal attached by the Papal Cardinal Raynutius, in a tin case. Before this confirmation was obtained, Alexander had passed away; for a summons, dated February, 1561, begins: “After the death of Alexander, the Prior,” &c.§ Thus some time between September 12, 1560, and February, 1561, Alexander died, but we have found no more specific record, neither do we know more about the place of his burial than the uncertain tradition that he lies in front of the high altar in the Choir of the Priory. It is certainly unfortunate that we have no means

* “Familie of Innes,” p. 203.

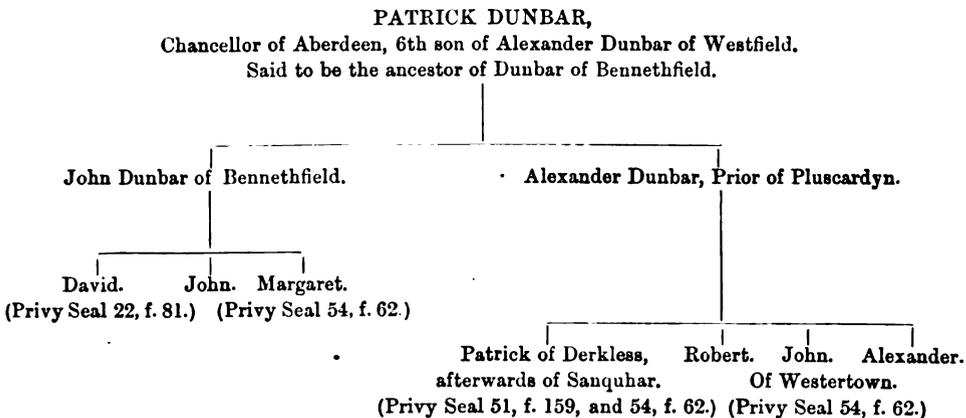
† “Familie of Innes,” p. 118.

‡ This Charter was in the possession of the late R. Young, Esq., of Elgin, but has gone amissing since his death.

§ Duff House Charters.

of knowing something more definite of the life and surroundings of our Prior.* The feuds of the Dunbars and Inneses do not much impress us with the tone or character of the men on either side, and the nature of their retaliations and inroads on each other are characteristic of only the rudest and most barbarous peoples. The influences of the Reformation were but faintly felt among them, even when attachment to that cause was professed. To Alexander we owe little gratitude, except for transumptis which have preserved for us some valuable documents, which otherwise we should have almost certainly lost. We cannot but regret that those transumptis, whose originals we also possess, are by no means so strictly accurate as the notarial declarations would lead us to expect. Evidently, the North stood in need of a change of moral tone and of religion as much as when the first missionaries came among the Picts. Religion generally had certainly sunk very much lower than it was in Morayland when David came to plant the Priory of Urchard, and Alexander II. that of Pluscardyn. And what was true of the people generally was ten times more true in reference to those who were the ministers of religion. But we benefit nothing by suggesting these humiliations of Christianity. The removal of the last ecclesiastical Prior of Pluscardyn, by a striking coincidence, corresponds with the establishment of the reformed religion in Scotland. To the year 1560 we assign both events.

* Among some papers belonging to the late Dr Stuart, kindly lent by Rev. Mr Woodward, there is a half-sheet which seems to be in the handwriting of A. H. Dunbar, Esq. This page purports to suggest the family connections of our Prior.



Our facts, otherwise collected, will be found to add somewhat to the number of the Prior's children, and also to suggest the same relation to the Dunbars of Bennethfield. John Dunbar, above-named, lies in the North transept of Elgin Cathedral. He died 1590. In addition to those above-named, he had a son Nicol, a bailie in Elgin.—*Young's "Annals,"* p. 672.

CHAPTER XV.

The Commendators.

VARIOUS writers have stated that at the Reformation the Prior and monks were driven from their old home in the Priory. This was not so. Previous to the death of Alexander Dunbar, royal provision had been made for the possession of Pluscardyn, and that provision, which was wholly in the interest of persons firmly attached to the worship and supremacy of the Romish Church, was carefully carried out. We shall, indeed, find a short period when the Priory possessed one who was probably a Protestant Commendator, but the original arrangement very soon came again into operation, *the Maiden* clearing the way for the Romish favourite. For twenty years after the Reformation we find still attached to Pluscardyn Charters signatures to which we had become accustomed in the time of Alexander Dunbar, and as late as 1586 one of these signatures still remains—Thomas Ross being described in our *fac-simile* Charter of that year as the sole remaining monk of the Monastery. The signature of this monk first occurs, so far as we have found, in 1548, where it stands last of twelve monks who sign a Charter of Prior Alexander. There is no evidence whatever of any sudden change in our Priory at the Reformation; and it is well known that Bishop Patrick continued, notwithstanding the overthrow of the Romish Church, to occupy the Palace of the Cathedral Seat of Moray at Spynie till his death, in 1573, which closed one of the most shamelessly immoral lives of even that period of glaring and widespread ecclesiastical licentiousness.* We have seen that Prior Alexander was dead in 1561, and in that year the Commendator who was appointed was as firm and strict a follower of Queen Mary, loyally and religiously, as she possessed. All readers of Scotch history know how closely George, fifth Lord Seton, clung to the fortunes of his Queen.† He had gone to France to treat regarding her marriage with the Dauphin, and afterwards accompanied Mary to France, where the marriage was celebrated in Notre Dame, April 24, 1558. In remembrance of his services, he received a valuable gift of silver plate, and afterwards enjoyed from the King of France a yearly pension of 1200 francs. The Queen was in his protection at

* Keith's "Bishops," p. 88. Reg. Morav., Preface, pp. xv., xvi.

† Seton seems at one time to have tended towards the side of the Reformation, but soon returned to the old form.

Niddrie Castle after her escape from Loch Leven; and at the battle of Langside, in 1568, he was at her side. When Mary went to England, Lord George Seton fled for his life to Flanders, where he remained in exile two years. He was there so reduced that "he drove a waggon of four horses for his livelihood." * From Flanders he went to Holland, where he narrowly escaped death, having been detected endeavouring to seduce the Scotch regiments. Though condemned "*to ride the cannon*," such was the influence of the Scotch officers, and their attachment to Lord George, that they procured his pardon. The haughty independence of Lord George is well illustrated by the words which the Queen employed to express her experience of this nobleman:—

*Sunt comites, ducesque alii, sunt denique reges:
Setoni dominum sit satis esse mihi.†*

Lord George was for some years Provost of Edinburgh, and was much trusted by James VI., as well as by his mother. He had several sons, the fourth ‡ of whom, *Alexander*, was "*so named by Queen Mary, who gave to him ane god-bairne gift, the lands of Pluscalie in Murray.*"§ This was in 1555, five or six years previous to the death of Prior Alexander Dunbar. Evidently the boy was intended for the Church, and he was accordingly sent, at an early age, to Rome, to be prepared for his future Priorate and other ecclesiastical benefits.

We have found considerable difficulty in determining the dates of various incidents of the following years. Mr Young, || quoting from Tytler's life of Thomas Craig (p. 230), states that in 1565 young Alexander Seton was made Commendator of Pluscardyn, at the age of ten. The same remark is made in Forsyth's "Survey," ¶ and Shaw's "Moray."** Among the recognitions bestowed on Lord George Seton, on his return to Scotland, was his appointment as Manager (*Æconomus*) and Commissioner of Pluscardyn. This appointment is dated April 17, 1561, †† a few months later than Alexander Dunbar's death, which, as we have seen, occurred between September, 1560, and February, 1561. In the Charter Room at Duff House there is a summons to "Lord Seton, Prior of Pluscardin," dated 1567. According to Records of Council, held at Elgin 24th June, 1569, George, Lord Seton, was then in possession of the Priory. How little Lord Seton regarded the necessities of the Reformed Church can easily be gathered from the Minute of Council which follows.

* "House of Seytoun" (*Bannatyne Club*), p. 56.

† *Ylia des comtes, des roys, des ducs; ainsi,
Cet assez pour moy d'estre Seigneur de Seton.*

—"House of Seytoun," p. 57.

‡ Douglas' "Peerage," vol. I., p. 480, calls him *third* son.

§ "House of Seytoun," p. 63. || "Annals of Elgin," p. 32. ¶ "Survey of Moray," p. 79.

** "History of the Province of Moray," p. 301.

†† Anderson's "Scottish Nation," vol. II., p. 104.

The method of obtaining the "*Sustentation Fund*" is singularly characteristic of State authority as distinguished from the method employed in Edinburgh about the same time to collect the salary of John Knox* :—

Apud Elgin, xxiii Junii, anno, etc. lxi.

Sederunt. Jacobus Dominus Regens. Jacobus Comes de Mortoun. Joannes Comes de Atholl. Patricius Dominus Lindesay. Joannes Dominus Glammiss. Dominus Gray. Joannes Dominus Invermeyth. Commendatarius Dunfermling. Commendatarius Balmernoch. Clericus Registri. Balnaves.

Anent the complaint maid to my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Secreit Counsale, be James Lindesay collectour of Murray, makand mentioun. That the thrid of the Priorie of Pluscardin is restand awand of the croppis and yeris of God j^mv^clxvii, lxviii, and of the Witsunday term j^mv^clxix yeir instant, quhair of the said Collectour can get na payment to the releif and sustentatioun of the Precheouris and utheris travelling the charge of ministerie within the kirk of God. Upoun quhill complaint my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis foirsaidis causit call ane greit nowmer of the tenentis of the said Pryorie, and als James Seytoun, servitour to George Lord Seytoun; and eftir ressoning of the mater in presence of the saidis tenentis and James, my Lord Regentis Grace, with avise of the saidis Lordis, ordanis lettres to be direct, to fense and arreist, all and sindry males fermis proffettis and dewiteis of the said pryorie, to remane in the handis of the tenentis, fewaris and possessouris, of the landis, teindis, fischeingis and possessionis pertening thairto, ay and quhill the said Collectour be satisfit and payit, of the thrid of the said Priorie of the saidis yeris and terme bigane restand awand unpayit; and to that effect, that ye command and charge all and sindry the saidis tenentis, fewaris and possessouris, of the landis, teindis, fischeingis, and possessionis, pertening to the said Pryorie, to answer and mak payment of the first and reddiest thairto to the said Collectour, ay and quhill he be payit of the said thrid of the yeris and terme abonewrittin, within ten dayis nixt eftir thai be chargeit thairto, under the pane of rebelloun and putting of thame to the horne; and gif thai failye thairin, the saidis ten dayis being bipast, to denunce thame rebellis and put thame to the horne, and to escheit, etc.

Another Minute of Council, in July of the same year, marks the difficulty experienced by Regent Murray in realising any assistance, in even necessary Church work, from the "*Pryour or Yconomus of Pluscardin*" :—

Apud Abirdene, octavo die mensis Julii, anno, etc. lxi^o.

Sederunt. Jacobus Dominus Regens. Jacobus Comes de Mortoun. Joannes Comes de Atholl. Patricius Dominus Lindesay. Magister de Marscheall. Commendatarius Dunfermling. Commendatarius Balmernoch. Thesaurarius. Clericus Registri. Clericus Justiciarie.

Forsamekill, as my Lord Regentis Grace, ane reverend Fader in God Patrik Bishop of Murray, the Chantour, Thesaurare, and diverse utheris Channonis of the cathedrall Kirk of Murray, willing to repair the samyn, hes condiscendit to satisfie, content and pay ane

* See "Edinburgh Burgh Records."

ressonabill contributioun, for mending, theking and reparaling of the Cathedral Kirk of Murray, to the effect that the same may be a convenient place to convene the people for hering of the Word of God; and considering that thai frelie and liberallie hes condiscendit to this lovabill werk, tending to the commoun weill, the furthsetting of Goddis glorie and decoratioun of the cuntre, it is ressonabill that the Prelattis, Channonis, and benefic men within the diocie of Murray contribute with thame that hes ellis willinglie offerit contributioun; swa that the support of mony concurring togidder, the burding may be the mair tollerabill to the hail. Quhairfor, and to the effect that the weill willing may be rememberit, and the obstinat constrenit to thair dewitie, my Lord Regentis Grace, with avise of the Lordis of Secreit Counsale, ordanis lettres to be direct, chargeing Walter Abbott of Kinloss, Pryour or Yconomus of Pluscardin, the Dene, utheris Channonis, Personis, Vicaris, and utheris benefic men within the boundis of the said diocie of Murray, that thai and ilkane of thame, within the space of xv dayis nixt eftir the charge, be thame selffis or thair sufficient procuratour in thair name, pas to the toun of Elgin to Maister Hew Cragy Persoun of Innerkething, appointit maister of the said werk and ressaver of the said contributioun, and thair enter in roll, and nominat quhat speciall and certane sowme that thai will gif to the help and support of the said werk, according to the rait and quantitie of thair benefices, and as utheris hes grantit unto of the lyke qualitie; and in caise of thair failye heirin, with power to the said reverend Fader, with sa mony of the Channonis of the said Cathedrall Kirk as sall happin to be present with him, the saidis xv dayis being bipast, to taxt, set and imput ane ressonabill contributioun upoun everie persoun failyeand, quhilk thai salbe na les detbund to pay nor gif thai had grantit the samyn thame selffis; and the saidis sowmes being anis appointit, owther be thair awin consentis, or in caise of thair failye, be the said reverend Faderis and Channonis present with him taxatioun and modificatioun, that than thai charge thame to mak payment of the saidis sowmes to the said Maister Hew Cragy, ressaver and maister of werk foirsaid, at sic termis as salbe appointit be the said reverend Fader and Channonis, and as the werk sall proceid and pas furthwart, under the pane of rebellious and putting of thame to the horne; and gif thai failye thairin, the termis of payment being bipast, to denunce thame rebellis and put thame to the horne, and to escheit, etc.*

The damage to the Elgin Cathedral, for the repair of which these levies had become necessary in 1569, was not the result of any Reformation "rook harring." The Cathedral had been stripped two years previously, in consequence of an order of Privy Council, dated Edinburgh, February 14, 1567-8:— "*Seeing provision must be made for maintaining the men of war, whose services cannot be spared, until the rebellious and disobedient be reduced, therefore appoint that the lead be taken from the Cathedral Churches of Aberdeen and Elgin, and sold for sustentation of said men of war.*"† Good Lachlan Shaw tells us that the lead so stripped sunk the vessel that bore the spoils of sacrilege on her way to Holland. The death of the "Good Regent," in the year following the Aberdeen Council Minute, put an end to the effort to restore the Cathedral.

* "Register of Council," vol. I., pp. 677-678.

† "Register of Privy Council," vol. I., pp. 608, 609.

In the Register of Privy Seal there is entered the letter by which Pluscardyn was formally conveyed to Alexander Seton by Queen Mary and Darnley, very soon after their unfortunate union. The letter bears date 17th September, 1565. Through the kindness of Thomas Dickson, Esq., we are able to insert this letter, those portions only being omitted which are purely technical, and common to all such grants:—

Ane lethe maid makand mentioun that oure soueranis lord and lady takand respect to the thankfull and obedient seruice done to thair Maiesteis be thair cousing George Lord Seytoun. Thairfore in his fauouris and to his vtilitie weile and proffite Ordanis ane lettre, &c. to thair weilbelouit Alexander Seytoun son to thair said cousing gevand, grantand and disponsand to him for all the dayis of his lyfe the Priourie of thair Abbay of Pluscardin liand within the diocie of Murray with the place, housis, yairdis, orcheardis, with all and sindrie landis, rentis, teindis, mylnis, multuris, fischeingis, fruitis, emolumentis, profitis, casualiteis, priuilegis and dewiteis quhatsumeuir quhilkis in ony times bigane hes perteuit or may pertene to the said Priourie and benefice thairof in ony tymes to cum. . . . Attoure oure soueranis lord and lady will and grantis for thame and thair successouris that this present gift and dispositioun of the Priourie of the said Abbay is now and salbe in all tyme cuming of als greit strenth, force and effect as the samin had bene provydit in the Court of Rome be the ordour thairof obseruit in tymes bipast and to be als sufficient in the self as ony vthir prouisioune of benefice quhilk is grantit to vthiris and provydit thairto in the Court of Rome of befor quhatsumeuir actis or statutis maid in the contrar: Auent the quhilkis thair Maiesteis dispensis be thir presents, etc. At Dunfermeling the sevintene day of September, the yeir of God j^m v^e thre scoir fyve yeiris.—*Regist. Secreti Sigilli*, lib. xxxiiij., fol. 98.

This letter can only be one of confirmation, as Pluscardyn was the Queen's "god-bairne gift" to Alexander, and his father had already for more than four years been in possession of Pluscardyn, and, as we have already seen, continued to retain possession four years afterwards. There is a letter from the Lords of Council, dated 1575, among the Duff House Charters, setting free the fishing of Alexander Dunbar of Cumnock on the Spey from the arrest of the Prior of Pluscardyn, who is designed as Lord Alexander Seton, son of George, Lord Seton, who acted as governor in his son's room. We know that in 1571 Alexander was in Rome pursuing his studies, and he is still in 1575 represented by his father at Pluscardyn. Two years later another Commendator appears at Pluscardyn. How George, Lord Seton, surrendered his claims, or had them set aside, we do not know; but in the year that Morton resigned the regency his natural son, James Douglas, appears as "Prior of Pluscardyn." From an Act of Parliament of 1581 we know that James Douglas claimed the Priory as a royal gift. We owe our earliest mention of his Commendatorship to the Elgin Burgh Court Records, which begin in 1540.

A Burgh Court was held in the Tolbooth, Elgin, by David Winchester,

one of the Bailies, on May 10th, 1577.* “The which day compeared judicially John Douglas, parson of Russell, and produced a commission of a venerable father in God, James, by permission of the same Prior of Pluscardin, under his proper signet and subscription manual, as appeared of the date at Dalkey the xxi. day of April last bypast, directed unto the Provost and Bailies of the Burgh of Elgin, for receiving the oath of fidelity of the said John Douglas for leal and true administration of justice in the office of bailzery of the Lordship of Pluscarden, aye and till he be discharged.”† The commission was received and read, after which the oath was administered, conformably to the tenor of the commission. Thereafter follows the commission at length, but it is not of so much interest as to be worth recording here. We have, in the above extract, given a more modern form to the words than they assume in the Burgh Records, where many of them are written as though contracted, half the word being put in a small character above the line. This John Douglas, parson of Russell, seems to have been at the same time a procurator for Alexander Innes of Cromby, by whom he is named this same year.‡ Our fear, therefore, is that parson John was more likely to attend to the material interests of his superiors than to the spiritual interests of the people, as we might have hoped from his office.

Of Prior James Douglas we have not at present another notice till 1580. Some charters of that date, signed by him, occur in the Charter Room at Duff House. His signature, “PLUSCARDEN,” is extremely clear and beautiful. That same year, when confirming Robert Falconer in Incharnoch and Croy, he claims to be “Jacobus, permissione Divina, Prior Monasterii de Pluscardin.” Of that date also are defences which he entered in a process in connection with the Spey fishings. These are sufficient references to indicate that the conduct of affairs in the glen was very much the same after the Reformation as we have found previous to 1560.

Lord Morton and his family were arraigned on charge of concealment, and *art and part* in the murder of Darnley. The trial went against Lord Morton, who, to the last, denied *art and part*, though he acknowledged concealment. The character of the trial was such as is common under a foregone conclusion. The Lord Seton was among his accusers and judges. The trial was held on June 18th, 1581, and the day following he and all his family—among them James, Prior of Pluscardyn—were be-

* That James was Commendator that year is also proved by a Charter of the lands of Dunse in Berwickshire, and of Easter Spott in Edinburgh, which were then granted by George Home, fiar of Spott, to “James Douglas, Commendator of Pluscardine, natural son of James, Earl of Morton, and to Agnes Hume, then his future spouse, in conjunct fee.” The Charter is dated 31st January, 1577-78, and is confirmed under the Great Seal, 24th February, 1577-78.—Mag. Sig. LXXXIII, No. 144. Douglas’ Peerage, vol. II., p. 271.

† “Elgin Court Book,” pp. 455, 456.

‡ “Familie of Innes,” p. 136.

headed by the "Maiden"—an invention of Morton's own Regentship. We may hope he was as prepared to die as his last words indicated. The continuator of Hollinshead has preserved for us a very long account of the interview between Morton and John Dunie and Mr Walter Bancanquell.* The continuator having recorded many of his words to the last, "*Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,*" adds, "Now, whatsoever he had been before, he certainly died the servant of God." On the fifth day of Parliament sentence was passed on the Douglas family, and immediately thereafter there follows a ratification of the grant to the Prior of Pluscardyn—"Our Sovereign Lord, with advice of the three estates of Parliament, has ratified, approved, and confirmed the grant to Alexander, Commendator of Pluscardyn, by our Sovereign Lord's dearest mother, . . . and declares the pretended gift to James Douglas, son natural to late James, Earl of Morton, of nane avail in all times coming." (*Acts*, p. 276.)

Alexander having now come into possession of our Priory, it may be interesting to abstract from the family history what was thought of him by his own relations and admirers:—

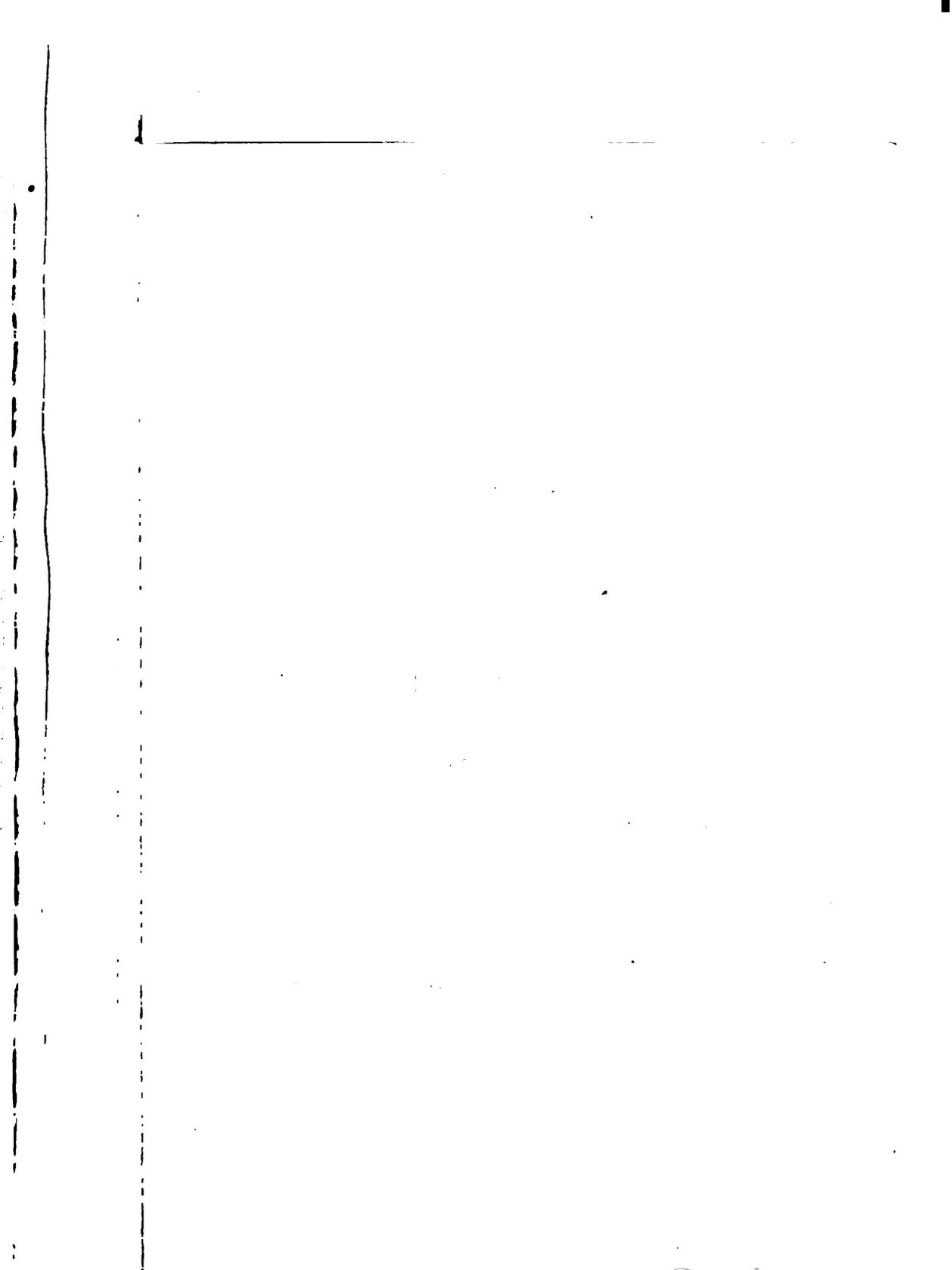
"He was sent by his father when he was young to Rome, finding him of a great spirit, intending att that time to make him a churchman. At Rome he was bred young in the Roman Colledge of the Jesuites, where he excelled in learning. He declaimed, not being 16 years of age, ane learned oration of his own composing, *De Ascensione Domini*, on that festivall day, publickly before the Pope, Gregory the 13th, the Cardinall, and other prelates present, in the pope's chapel in the Vatican, with great applause. He was in great esteem att Rome for his learning, being a great humanist in prose and poecie, Greek and Latine; well versed in the mathematicks, and had great skill in architecture and heraldrie. I was told at Rome, if he had stayed there, it was not doubted but he had been Cardinall. After he came from Italy, he studied the law in France. Shortly after that he came to Scotland, he made his public lesson of the law before King James the Sixth, the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, and Advocats present, in the chapell royall of Holyroodhouse, in his lawer gown and four nooked cape, as lawers use to pass their tryalls in the universities abroad, to the great applause of the King and all present. After which he was received by the colledge of justice as ane lawer; and some years after made lord of the Session; not many years after that made president of the Session (the earle of Montross being then chancellour) and Lord Fyvie of parliament. After the earle of Montross his death, he was made lord high chancellor of Scotland."†

Spotswood says that Alexander Seton actually took holy orders, and Scot of Scotstarvet asserts that the chalice with which he said mass was sold in Edinburgh on his return from Rome.‡ In 1583 he seems to have gone abroad with his father, and some say that he remained for some years on the Continent. By another and more reliable account, he was made an extraordinary Lord of Session

* Hollinshead, pp. 418-425.

† "House of Seytoun," pp. 63, 64.

‡ Anderson's "Scottish Nation," vol. II., p. 104.



in 1585, with the style of "Prior of Pluscardyn."* He was admitted an ordinary Lord of Session 16th February, 1588, with the title of Lord Urquhart. In 1593 he was elected Lord President, and five years later became a peer, with the title Lord Fyvie; the lands of Fyvie having become his property, were at that time erected into a free lordship. Along with this new honour he was appointed tutor and custodier of the young Prince Charles—afterwards Charles I. Public feeling seems to have varied very much in relation to him. At one time we find him summoned as a heretic, or, at least, suspected person, before the Synod of Lothian; and then we find him elected, on several successive occasions, as Provost of Edinburgh. At this time he seems to have been also Provost of Elgin, where he frequently resided in the Bishop's palace within the Cathedral City.† Mr Young believes he was Provost there about 1591, and mentions documentary evidence in the hands of Captain Dunbar Dunbar of Sea Park, to show he was *prepositus* of Elgin in or about 1606.‡ So far as we recollect, the earliest Charter which we have seen with Alexander's signature is dated October, 1582. It is interesting, not merely for its signature, but no less because it confirms certain lands§ in Urquhart to *John Maver*—one of a family whose name lingers in the district in the place known as *Maverston*, which belonged to them in 1592, being then in the hands of Walter Maver. This family afterwards took a prominent place among the Covenanters. The signature adopted in 1582 was "*A. Setonius*," and two monks still remained in the House, who also sign—viz., THOMAS ROSE and ROBERT ARTH.

The Douglases received an Act of Rehabilitation in 1585, but it was expressly provided by Parliament that Alexander's right to the Priory should not thereby be interfered with. || In 1586, he granted by Charter a half and a third coble's fishing on Spey to James Dunbar of Cumnock. This Charter, which is our *fac-simile* of his time, is signed "PLUSCARDEN," and has the additional interest of adding to the Prior's new style the signature of the last monk of the monastery. In the body of the Charter Alexander is designed "*Commendatarius perpetuus Monasterii de Pluscardin*."¶ In 1587, King James, having reached his majority, granted, under the Great Seal, a Charter confirming Alexander "*jampridem commendatarius de Pluscardin*" in the regality and patronage of Urquhart.** Mark, the son of John Maver of

* Douglas' "Peerage," vol. I., p. 480.

† This residence is locally known as the *Dunfermline House*, but is generally pointed out as the Palace. It is suggested by Rhind that it was built by David or Andrew Stewart, whose arms are on the walls. Seton became proprietor of the House on the alienation of the lands of the Bishopric. — "Rhind's Sketches," p. 88, and plates.

‡ "Annals of Elgin," pp. 33, 495-622.

§ Threpland and Crookedwood.

|| "Acts of Parliament," vol. III., p. 398.

¶ See Appendix OO.

** Copy among Duff House Charters.

Urquhart, received, in 1590, a Charter of Confirmation from "A. Seton, Urquhart."* King James, "having reached his majority," granted, in 1591, a Charter to "Alexander Seytoun de Urquhard, one of the Senators of the College of Justice," confirming to him, under the Great Seal, all rights, tithes, and property in Pluscarden and Urquhart. Two years later, "Urquhart" became president of the Court of Session, and in the same year Anne of Denmark made him *heritable Bailie of Dunfermline*. Alexander sold Pluscardyn in 1595, but retained the lordship of Urquhart, and the Pluscardyn mansion house in Elgin. In the Charter of sale, now at Duff House, he designs himself "Alexander preses Collegii Justicie," and signs "A. Seton, Urquhart." His wife, "Lilias Drummond," also signs this Charter. Lilias was the first of

*Alexander Seton
Lilias Drummond*

three wives whom Alexander married. By her he had six daughters, of whom the *fourth*, Lady Margaret, born 1599, married COLIN, first Lord Seaforth.† Any particulars which may be interesting in connection with the sale of our



SEAL OF ALEXANDER SETON AS "PRIOR OF PLUSCARDEN."

and one that hated lying and dissimulation, and above all things studied to

Priory we shall reserve for next chapter. Meantime, it only remains to add that honours continued to flow in on our Prior. In 1604 he was made Lord High Chancellor for Scotland, and in 1606 he was created FIRST EARL OF DUNFERMLINE. He died at the age of sixty-seven in 1622, within his mansion of Pinkie, which he had himself built. Spotswood‡ says of him that "he exercised his place with great moderation, and to the contentment of all honest men; he was ever inclining to the Roman faith, as being educated at Rome in his younger years, but was observant of good order,

* Duff House Charter Room.

† Douglas' "Peerage."

‡ "History," p. 543.

maintain peace and quietness." Calderwood's estimate of him is somewhat similar.* Arthur Johnston thus panegyricizes our Commendator:—

*"Sub Jove liquit humum, spreta Themis aurea coelo
Nunc tecum in terris, Hæye! tribunal habet."* †

Attached to the Charter of 1586 there is found, though much damaged, Alexander's Seal. We are here able to give a much more perfect representation of it. The description of this Seal, given by Mr Laing in his "Scottish Seals," may be valuable:—"Three niches: in the centre one a figure of St Andrew, holding the Cross before him with his right hand, and in his left a book. In the dexter niche a figure of the Virgin and Infant Jesus, and in the sinister a figure of St Margaret, with a book in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. In the lower part of the Seal is a shield, bearing within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered, three crescents, the arms of Seton. Above the shield is the head of a crozier, between the letters A. S. **S. ROTUNDUM ALEXANDRI, PRIORIS DE PLUSCARDIN,** c. A.D. 1586.—*Original brass matrix formerly in the collection of the late Mr Thomas.*" ‡

An exactly similar representation of the Seal occurs in Hutton's "Sigilla," No. 36. A pencil note by General Hutton informs us that he had possession of the matrix:—"The matrix has since (1794) been presented to me by Mr Forbes, now of Boyndie, near Fraserburgh." We have not been able to trace this matrix. Our impression was procured from Mr Laing's collection, now in the British Museum.

* "House of Seytoun," p. 100. † Douglas' "Peerage," vol. I., p. 481.

‡ "Ancient Scottish Seals," No. 1099.



"A. SETON'S latest Signature."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Lairds of Pluscarden.

THE "HISTORY OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSE OF PLUSCARDYN" might with propriety be said to have ended with the termination of Thomas Ross's occupation of the old Monastery. Henceforth,

"The monks are gone. Their shadows fall no more,
Tall-frocked and cowed, athwart the evening fields
At milking-time; their silent corridors
Are turned to homes of bare-armed, aproned men,
Who toil for wife and children."*

From the foundation of URQUHART in 1124 to the death of Prior Alexander Dunbar in 1560, we have almost exactly the time covered by the ascendancy of the Church of Rome in Scotland. In the brief outline of four and a-half centuries embraced in the previous chapters, we have not found much to impress us with high ideas of Christian life or character among "the Religious" of Morayshire. We are, however, conscious that in our own day the better life of churches and communities is often lost sight of in the obtrusiveness of public discussions and differences. These, because much more interesting to the public mind, are duly chronicled, and so become the general impression as to what Church life and work really are. We know this impression to be utterly erroneous, and that there is a vast amount of the best and noblest work, and with very remarkable and valuable results, accomplished by multitudes whose names are never before the world, and whose voices are never heard in the public places where great principles are discussed, and great differences adjusted or more deeply embittered. Thus we must not conclude that there was no real Christian life in these old monastic days because we cannot trace anything better than secular disputes, such as those which we have recorded. Towards the time of the Reformation, there was, we must allow, little evidence that even decency was much considered in monastic or ecclesiastical life. The general character of Cathedral-city life was such that to our own day the stamp then struck on social morality in great Church centres has not been effaced, and the continued degradation of even such neighbourhoods as that

* George Eliot—"Agatha."

of Westminster tells too true a tale of what Church and social life became under the principles by which Rome sought to secure and retain her ascendancy. But let us acknowledge that there was a Robert Reid at Kinloss, as well as a Patrick Hepburn in Elgin, and an Alexander Dunbar at Pluscardyn. It was, however, morally as well as religiously, high time for some cleansing flood to invade and purify the Church of God. Efforts made within the Church to meet by improvement the rising Reformation tide were thwarted by the counsels and influence of men in foremost places, who were too much committed in vice and indifference to care to aid their Church. Personally, these men had no desire to reform, and besides, they had such power, under royal erections of regality, that they were able to alienate as they willed the possession of the Monasteries and Bishoprics. As the history of our own Monastery, not less than that of other places, makes very clear, these alienations were, in many cases, made under the most flimsy pretexts to the illegitimate sons and daughters of bishops, ecclesiastics, and monks.

We shall not attempt, neither is it desirable to follow very minutely the disintegration of the property of Pluscardyn Priory. Already, under Alexander Dunbar, considerable tracts had been made over by Charter to children of the Prior or to persons who had a claim, or, by pecuniary payments, procured a claim, on the Prior and Convent. Much, however, remained and came into the hands of the Seton family in 1561. We have not found any considerable alienations under the short priorate (commendatory) of James Douglas, which terminated in 1581. Pluscardyn was sold in 1594-95 (23rd February), by Lord Urquhart, as Alexander Seton had then become.* With Pluscardyn there were also sold Oldmills and the church lands of Durris.†

The purchaser of the Priory and lands was "KENNETH M'KENZIE DE KINTAILL PARTIBUS," as the Charter of sale designates him. This Charter, which now lies before us, is signed, as already stated, by his wife, Lilius Drummond, as well as by "A. Seton Urquhart." Certain reservations were made in the sale which we need not particularise. In the *Precept of Sasine*, dated 27th February of the same year, King James calls Seton his well-beloved cousin and counsellor. This *Precept* is very beautifully and distinctly written, and has still attached a portion of the Great Seal on either

* Notwithstanding the sale and change of title, Seton is in 1596 called "Sir Alexr. Seattone of Pluscardey" in Balfour's "Annals" (vol. I., 399), where he is mentioned as one of the "Octavians for ruling the King's rents and exchequer."

† Forsyth, following Shaw, seems wrong in saying (p. 79) that Grangehill was included in the sale. It was not disposed of till 1608, when Mark Dunbar of Durris, having sold his patrimony to Sir John Campbell of Calder, purchased from the Earl of Dunfermline *Grangehill*, and thus the old family of Durris came to be *Dunbars of Grangehill*. The estate was again sold in 1749 to Sir Alex. Grant, who changed the name to *Dalvey*, which is its present designation. See Young's "Annals," p. 673

side of the strip of parchment, which has been partly detached from the body of the Charter to receive it.

As our Priory was for about seventy years in the hands of the House of *Kintail*, it seems desirable to give a brief account of this family. The KENZIE HOUSE, or CLAN-KENNETH, claim to have received Kintail by Charter in 1266. This Charter unfortunately seems, according to Mr Skene, to be a rude forgery.* Colin of Kintail, who died in 1278, had a son Kenneth whose son was also Kenneth, and generally known as *Mac-Kenneth*, or *Mackenny*, or *Mackenzie*.† From him the family took its name. Up to 1476 the Mackenzies were vassals of the Earl of Ross. Their great opponents ever after were the Macdonalds. Kenneth, grandfather of the Kenneth who purchased Pluscardyn, was son of John of Kintail, who fought at Pinkie as chief of the Mackenzies. In 1556 Kenneth came into possession of Kintail. From his custody Queen Mary rescued Mary Macleod, who was one of her maids of honour for several years. Colin succeeded his father, and fighting beside Queen Mary at Langside secured royal favour for his family. He became one of the Privy Councillors of James VI. This honour also belonged to Kenneth of Pluscardyn, who succeeded his father in 1594, the year before he purchased our Priory. He led a life of much conflict and ambition; was at one time a prisoner in Edinburgh, and at another time very high in royal favour. In 1607 he obtained "*the Manor of Pluscardine*," in junction with his wife, Isobel Ogilvy.‡ In 1609 he was made a peer, under the title of LORD MACKENZIE OF KINTAIL. Having reached his life-long ambition of becoming master of the Lewis, he died in 1611, and was succeeded by his son Colin, second Lord Kintail, who, in 1623, was created first LORD SEAFORTH. Lord Colin married Lady Margaret Seton, a daughter of the Earl of Dunfermline. He had no sons, and was succeeded in 1633 by his half-brother *George*, full brother of Sybella (afterwards Mrs Macleod of Macleod) and of Thomas, well known as "*Laird of Pluscardine*." Lord George sold Pluscardyn to his brother in 1633, and both of the brothers became conspicuously connected with the Presbyterian struggle in Scotland. Pluscardyn belonged to Lord George by direct succession from his father, for in the "*Abbreviatio Retornatarum*," under Jan. 14, 1620 (thirteen years before he became Lord Kintail and Seaforth), the following entry occurs:—

“Georgius Mackenzie, hares masculus Kennethi, Domini Mackenzie de Kintail, patris, in terris, Baroniam ꝑc. subtus specificatis, viz., Manerie de Pluscarden, terris dominicalibus de Pluscarden, Villa occidentali de Westertown, Quheitruff, Barnhill, Over-

Mr Skene, in his "*Celtic Scotland*," vol. III., p. 351 sqq., quotes the Charter, and enters minutely into a discussion of its errors. He also criticises the narrative of Mr Fraser in his "*Earls of Cromarty*," vol. II. We have been chiefly guided by Anderson, "*Scottish Nation*," vol. II.

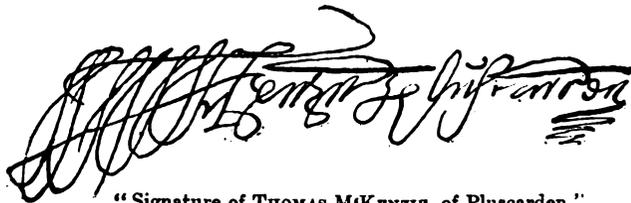
† Skene writes the name *M'Channich*. "*Celtic Scot.*," vol. III., 352.

‡ Douglas' "*Peerage*," vol. II., 481.

town, Inchellon, Drinkinghill, Incharnock, Crossleyis, Croy, Auchtertyre, Forresterseat, Netherbyre, Hills—Eister and Wester, Rudvie, Bellilone, Apilward, Molendino de Pluscarden, cum decimis garbalibus in Valle lie Glen de Pluscarden cum molendinis de Elgin, et libera regalitate capella et cancellaria et advocacione et jure patronatus ecclesie de Dingwall."

This extract is interesting, not simply as establishing the connection of Lord George with Pluscarden, but still more as giving us in the orthography and place-names of the period a tolerably full detail of the separate portions of the Regality of Pluscarden.*

Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscarden figures largely in the movements in the North in connection with the restoration of Charles II. He seems to have been little more stable in his adherence to the Covenanted cause than his brother the Earl. In 1646 (*Sess. 10, Junii 13, ante meridiem*) the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland issued an "*Ordinance for Excommunication of the Earle of Seafort.*" It began—"The Generall Assembly having taken into their serious consideration that perfidious band made and contrived lately in the North, under the name



"Signature of THOMAS M'KENZIE, of Pluscarden."

of '*An humble Remonstrance against our Nationall Covenant and the League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms,*' &c., and finding that George Earle of Seafort hes not only most perfideously himself subscribed the said wicked band, contrary to his solemne oaths in the Covenants aforesaid, &c. . . . Therefore the Assembly, moved with zeal of God, do, without a contrary voice, decerne and ordain the said George Earl of Seafort to be summarly excommunicate," &c. The Rev. Robert Blair was appointed to declare the Earle "ane ethnik and publicane" in the East Kirk of Edinburgh, on the 14th June, and afterwards publication of the same to be made throughout the kingdom in all kirks upon a Sabbath day before noon.† Seafort soon after repented. Thomas of Pluscarden was about the same time made prisoner in Inverness for his defection to Montrose. Yet so recently as 1639, Thomas, Laird of Pluscarden, was ruling elder from the Presbytery of Elgin to the General Assembly. On

* Douglas' "*Peerage,*" on authority of the Great Seal (L. lv., Nos. 230, 319), refers to a Charter to "Thomas Mackenzie and to Jean Grant, his wife, of the Barony of Pluscardine, 25th July, 1636."

† "*Acts of General Assembly,*" 1646—Edinburgh, 1843—pp. 136, 137.

the execution of Charles I., in 1649, the Earl retired to Charles II. to Holland. Subsequently, he was one of those who entered into the Oath of Engagement in behalf of Charles for the maintenance of the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant. Charles had named him as Secretary of State for Scotland, but he died early in 1651.

On May 4th, 1649, a proclamation was made at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, "*against the rebellione in the North, called Pluscardies.*" A copy, "the doubell," is preserved in Balfour's "*Annals,*" where Thomas Mackenzie is declared to have been found by the "Staits of Parliament" guilty of the crime of high treason.* On the 22nd February, followed by Urquhart, Fraser, and Munro, Pluscarden entered Inverness, and demolished its walls and fortifications. General Leslie having reached the North, Pluscarden's troops fled, and Urquhart, Fraser, and Munro made terms with the General. No sooner had Leslie turned his back than Pluscarden was again in arms, scouring the country, but was soon after again reduced by Leslie.† Laird Thomas appears at the fatal battle of Worcester in 1651, as Colonel of a Highland regiment. Before this, however, he had lost Pluscardyn, which Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat had acquired in 1649 by a *Charter of Appraising*. Sir George's son became, in 1703, first Earl of Cromarty. He was strongly attached to the civil and religious principles and practices of the House of Stuart, and under them held almost all possible chief offices of State. In the Duff House Charter Chest there is a very long document (paper) of disposition and ratification, dated 1687, signed by "Colin Mackenzie of Pluscarden," stating that he is the son and rightful heir of Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscarden. The Charter of Appraising is recognised, and also later sales, to which we shall immediately refer. Colin makes over all claim whatsoever which he had in Pluscarden to Lodovick Grant. This document, which is briefly referred to in the *Abbreviatio Retornatarum*, under the year above mentioned,‡ gives a complete summary of the lands and possessions embraced in the property of Pluscarden, and an account of the various hands through which it passed. We are thus able to supply a few links whose absence from previous notices of the sales of our Priory made the narratives rather perplexing.§ In 1655,

* Balfour's "*Annals,*" III., 401 sqq. See Appendix PP.

† We must not omit to notice that our Laird was one of the principal men at the well known "Trot of Turreff" (February 14, 1639). Along with him were to be found Sir Robert Innes, the Sheriff of Moray, and the Lairds of Tarbat, Brodie, and several others, with twelve score well horsed gentlemen of Moray. Two years later he was appointed, with some others, a sort of Ecclesiastical Commissioner in the King's name for the trial and punishment of those committing witchcraft and other serious crimes.—"Familie of Innes," pp. 164, 165. ‡ See Young's "*Annals,*" p. 720.

§ "Colin Mackenzie of Pluscardine was served heir and heir male of Thomas, his father, in his estates in the Counties of Banff and Elgin, 6th and 13th May, 1687."—Douglas' "*Peerage,*" vol. II., p. 481.

Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat, son of the Sir George who obtained our Priory, was in possession.* In 1662 Sir George sold the Priory and lands to GEORGE, EARL OF CAITHNESS, MAJOR GEORGE BEATMAN, and JOAN FRASER, his wife.† Two years later, the Earl of Caithness surrendered all his claim to Major Beatman and his wife Joan, in whose hands the Priory remained for thirteen years. In 1687, Brodie of Lethen purchased it for JAMES GRANT, his grandson, and second son of Lodovick Grant of Grant. The price paid was £5000. Lodovick held the lands as tutor and trustee for his son till 1709, when James entered in possession, and the year following sold the whole to WILLIAM DUFF OF DIPPLE.

Our Laird, JAMES GRANT, became heir of the estates of Grant in 1719, having previously, in 1702, married Anne Colquhoun of Luss, when he assumed the name of Colquhoun. On succeeding to the Grant estates, he resumed the name Grant, and passed that of Colquhoun to his second son. James' great grandson became EARL OF SEAFIELD. William Duff, who purchased Pluscardyn, was succeeded by his only son William, who, after various other distinctions, was created, in 1759, EARL OF FIFE AND VISCOUNT MACDUFF. The House and lands still continue in the hands of the family of Fife.

Thus our little Priory has belonged to an unusual number of the leading families of the kingdom of Scotland. The Seton family, the Morton family, the Earl of Dunfermline, the Lords Kintail and Seaforth, the Earl of Cromarty, the Earl of Caithness, the Seafield family, and the House of Fife, have all had possession, besides other families scarcely less distinguished, and no less historical in the annals of Scotland, which have either possessed it directly, or by marriage relations can claim to have had some intimate connection with it.

* Young's "Annals," p. 719.

† Colin Mackenzie's Disposition as above.

The image shows two handwritten signatures. The first is 'Ludovick Grant' in a large, flowing cursive script. Below it and to the right is a smaller, more compact signature, identified as 'Wm. King'. The signature of Wm. King appears to be 'W King' with a decorative flourish underneath.

"Signatures of LUDOVICK GRANT and WM. KING." *

* We believe it will be agreeable to Elgin men generally to see Wm. King's signature, as attached to that of Ludovick Grant in a tack of Oldmills. Wm. King is here designated "of Pannes." The tack is dated 1687.—*Duff House Charters*.

CHAPTER XVII.

Religious Life after the Reformation.

THERE is not much to attract in this chapter. It has been found impossible to trace, till a comparatively recent period, almost any marked indications of religious life in the glen of Pluscardyn. It is true that Commendators and Lairds had more or less of a name in the religious movements of the post-Reformation times; yet Pluscardyn is known only as a secular title—too much what we have found it all along. In Forsyth's "Moray," page 139, there is a touching lamentation over the valley as "the only district of the country which seems to suffer by the substitution of the Reformed for the Roman Catholic religion, by which they enjoyed the pompous establishment of the Priory in the midst of this sequestered vale. The minds of the people were cheered through the day, and soothed, even during the stillness of the midnight hour, by the solemn sound of the consecrated bells calling the venerable inmates to their statutory devotions, and they had access to the consolations of the sixteen holy men in every season of distress. . . . They had the means, also, of educating, in the most commodious manner, their little ones, in a share of the literature of the times, and numberless important advantages beside." We certainly trust it was so, but such is not the kind of life or influence which we are able to trace in the neighbourhood of this or other similar religious foundations, when we attempt to invade the matter-of-fact and unpoetic realities of the state of conventual dependencies. The squalid, ne'er-do-well misery which to this day clusters round old monastic neighbourhoods, makes it painfully apparent that the impress left by these institutions on the surrounding population was most undesirable, morally, intellectually, and socially. The Reformation, as we have already seen, was slow in reaching Pluscardyn and the surrounding district, and the sixteenth century was closing ere the Priory left the hands of Romanists. We found, in a previous chapter, that the difficulty of securing even royal demands from the Seton House for purposes of religion, was extremely great. When it fell into the hands of the Mackenzies, we know that more insecure religious sentiments could not have been found in all the kingdom than those expressed by them—at one time representative elders of the Kirk, at another excommunicated by the Assembly; at one time engaged in drawing up a Solemn

League and Covenant, and at another denounced for high treason at the Market Cross of Edinburgh; at one time on the side of the Covenant, and in arms on this behalf, and then again intriguing and entering into treaty to subvert this cause. Such was the unsatisfactory character of the Lairds of Pluscarden in the early half of the seventeenth century.

Where there is so little to tell, it would be useless to draw distinctions between the Prelatic and Presbyterian administration of the district. Our information is equally defective as regards both forms of government and worship within the glen of Pluscarden for nearly a century and a half. It is true, we have evidence that within the seventeenth century true Christian light and example were to be found in the valley, as the following interesting extract will prove. Still, this is almost all we know from which to feel encouraged to hope much better things than those described in Forsyth's "Moray." In the year 1701 there was held a court at Netherbyre, at which all the tenants of the glen appeared. Having carefully examined the minutes of that court, we regret that we must confess that scarcely a single tenant was able to write his or her name. By oath they declared they could not write, and their "mark" was all they personally affixed to the very lengthy minutes of court.* In that same year, the vicarage teinds of Pluscardyn were included in the stipends of the Elgin ministers, and thirteen years later the vicarage, converted for £100, was allowed for communion elements to the Church of Elgin.† The extract to which reference has just been made, is from "Brodie's Diary," a most valuable record of the general and religious history of Moray in those days. We should have had comparatively meagre ideas of the religious character of Moray, and the difficulties of Christian life in places of prominence during the troubles of two centuries back, but for the valuable heart and family unfolding of old Alexander and James Brodie of Brodie. Then, as in most ages of the Church, the influence of the "honourable women" was extremely great, and Flora Macdonalds, of a higher and no less patriotic cause, abounded in Moray and Ross.‡ We have not ascertained what precise part of the old Priory lands belonged to John Brodie, referred to by his worthy relative:—

"23rd September, 1680.—I went to Pluscarden at night, and staid with John there. We went thorou that old ruined palace at Pluscarden, and did sie the vestiges of a great old building and edifice.

"30th September.—This day, in the morning, I got an account of the death of my worthie, honest friend, Jo. Brodie, in Pluscarden, who died suddenlie the night befor; and was in the mercat all day, cam hom at night, satt down to tabl with his famelie at supper,

* These minutes are in Duff House Charter Chest, with others of a later date, where the same features are prominent.

† Shaw's "Moray," p. 378.

‡ See Anderson's "Ladies of the Covenant," p. 394.

commended his hous to God, and after he had gone to bedd, died within a quarter of an hour, without anie bodies getting a word of him. This is not only a sore stroke on the hous he belongs to—a weil governd hous, such as ther are few like it in the countrey, both husband and wiffe godlie persons and worthie children—I am also smitten in this stroke, and desirs to be humld under it. I went in the evening to visit them at Pluscarden. I found the woman; her cariage most Christian, and she appears to be a pattern of peace and grace, and submission to God's hand and will. I cam to Tho. Gordon's at night.

“*October 1.*—The corps of my honest, worthie friend, John Brodie, was transported from Pluscarden to Forres this night, after which I cam hom, and Milton with me.

“*October 2.*—This was the day of the burial of my honest, worthie friend, Jo. Brodie, who was brought from Forres to Dyk. After the burial, friends took a word, and appointed a meeting on Saturday next at Pluscarden concerning the affairs of our removed friend. This day's work might afoord me mater of exercise. This was a man in vigour, strenth—a man of conscience, having a weil-ordererd famely, trained up in the fear of God—a man of my familiar acquaintance, taken away on a sudden. This I desyr to be instructed, and taught, and warn'd by.

“*October 8.*—We went to Pluscarden, where we saw a societie and famely sympathising one with another. The widow's cariage was such as might evidence much of the grace of God in her. Ther was such compliance one with another as gave friends litl to doe. We cam to som setlment betwixt the mother and children, in which I desyr to acknowledg God. I went at night with Petgownie (Brodie of Pitgaveny).”

We learn from Dr Scott's "*Fasti*"* that Michael Cumming took his degree of A.M. at St Andrews in 1659, that he became Chaplain to the Laird of Pluscarden and was ordained to Drainie, March 14, 1666. We may hope that the people of the Glen received some small spiritual benefit from the brief chaplaincy of Mr Cumming. Though the Revolution settlement occurred in 1688, it was not till 1696 that Elgin secured a settled minister. There were, however, previous to the Revolution two very worthy men Bishops of Moray, viz.—James Aitken, who succeeded the apostate, goose-hunting, quondam Covenanter, Murdoch Mackenzie; and, after him, Colin Falconer, who died in 1686, being the last Bishop in residence at Spynie. Robert Langlands was Elgin's first minister under William and Mary. He was a man of remarkable talent and piety. His ministry was exceedingly brief, not extending beyond a few months after his removal from the Barony Church, Glasgow. His successor, Alexander King, was inducted in April, 1701. In the second, or collegiate charge, the same Episcopal influence prevailed which kept the first charge unoccupied till 1696. In that same year, however, and on the same day on which good Robert Langlands was admitted, a worthy colleague was also set apart in the person of James Thomson, who continued

* "*Fasti Ecclesie Scoticane*" (W. Paterson, Edinburgh). Vol. III., p. 161.

his ministry till 1726, much beloved by the people of his parish. With such a minister in Elgin, those in the Glen who desired spiritual help, and possessed moderate health and strength, would not find much inconvenience in taking the road to the city on a Sunday morning. To the present hour many go quite as far, and very frequently on foot, to the calling voice of the same bell, which has rung since before the Reformation.* It is certain, however, that many did not avail themselves as they might have done of this supply for their spiritual need; and, if tradition be at all correct, the moral condition of Pluscarden was at the time of James Thomson's ministry as low as it could well be. In the next chapter, on the "Traditions of the Glen," will be found an interesting account, in the language of the traditions still extant, of the condition of things when, about the year 1730, the ministers of Elgin, then James Winchester and Joseph Sanderson, went out to the Priory to see what could be done to bring the inhabitants of the district under Gospel influence. They had procured a grant from the Royal Bounty Scheme of the Church of Scotland, and they had also secured a preacher whom they hoped to settle in the Glen, should the people of the district be willing to tolerate his presence. This preacher was probably JOHN TOUCH, a native of Banff, who was stationed in Pluscarden in 1736,† was ordained to Aberlour in 1739, translated to Mortlach in 1763, and died in 1780. Dr Scott has preserved for us‡ fair evidence of the muscular energy of mind and body possessed by Pluscarden's first Reformation preacher:—"His aspect was equally revered and handsome; his delivery dignified and graceful; his action natural, gentlemanly, and animated; and the tones of his voice manly, strong, musical, finely modulated, and deeply impressive; while his pastoral success was such that no sect of Christians could ever boast of a single proselyte from his audience—he *out-prayed, out-preached, and out-lived* all of them." When Mr Touch left the Glen a vacancy occurred of some years. FRANCIS HASBANE, who succeeded, was not appointed till 1743. The late Mr Robert Young once informed us that Mr Hasbane was grand-uncle of the late Dr James Taylor, of Elgin, the well-informed and much-respected author of "Edward I. in the North of Scotland." Mr Hasbane's ministry in the Glen extended to 1770. In the south wall of our Lady's Chapel may be seen a stone slab commemorating the life work of this servant of God, whose name and good

* The smaller Elgin bell—the "*Prayer Bell*"—commonly called "*The Ministers' Bell*," the gift of Thomas de Dunbar, seems to have been cast in 1402. It bears this inscription—"Thomas de Dunbar, me fecit, 1402."—Rhind's "*Sketches of Moray*," p. 44.

† The grant was obtained in 1730, but we have no record of a settlement till 1736. If this date be that at which muscular Christianity prevailed with the people of the Glen, then the famous Lachlan Shaw, the historian, was one of the Elgin ministers.

‡ "*Fasti*," vol. III., p. 211.

service remain fragrant in the district's traditions as well as upon his epitaph. How he contrived to live on £8 a year may probably be explicable by the abundant measure in which gifts of farm produce used to pour in on the manse in these old times, and still abound in some parts of the country, so as even to become perplexing at certain seasons when favourite preachers are in residence at the manse. We believe it will be generally pleasing to our readers to have before them the words of Mr Hasbane's epitaph:—

**“ HERE LYES MR. FRANCIS
HASBEN LATE PREA-
CHER OF THE GOSPEL
IN PLUSCARDEN WHO
FOR 27 YEARS LA-
BOURED IN THE WORK
OF HIS MASTER WITH
THE GREATEST FAI-
THFULNESS & DILIG-
ENCE & DIED MARCH
3, 1770 AGED 72
YEARS.”***

Mr Hasbane was succeeded by Mr MUNRO, a man who was, perhaps, less of a scholar, but not less devoted to his Master's work. According to the local tradition, which is all we meantime possess regarding him, he was the first who enjoyed full ministerial status in the Glen. He seems to have been a man of remarkable pulpit power and attractiveness. When one hears of the flocking from Elgin, Dallas, Forres, Rafford, Dyke, and even Nairn, to the preaching of this remarkable man, we are reminded of the earlier Moray days when Ross, and Hog, and Urquhart were the centres of spiritual attraction. Report says that some of the ministers of the neighbourhood were by no means pleased that the Glen minister was so popular, and those of Elgin are said to have remarked that if Mr Munro were away they would get the Glen a minister who would allow their people to remain at home. Mr Munro seems to have wrought a great change on the moral condition of the district around the Priory, though, from some stories which we have heard, he was, perhaps, somewhat too much of a moral spy as well as a spiritual guide. For some unexplained reason he left for America rather unexpectedly—it is generally

* The above is inserted on a plain stone slab in the south wall of Lady's Chapel, about the point marked F. in the plan.

believed because of pressure from his ecclesiastical superiors. His place was filled by Mr LACHLAN M'PHERSON, A.M. It is to be feared that the Elgin ministers kept their word in the person of Mr M'Pherson, to whom the popular tradition gives the credit of having created a strong current of dissenting feeling in the Glen. He seems to have been ordained to Pluscarden in 1789, and continued there till his translation to Knockando in 1806.* When Stoddart visited Pluscarden in 1799 he was much pleased with Mr M'Pherson, and writes of him:—"He has one of the few charges which are dependent on superior benefices, and which are paid as ill as those poor curacies which are the disgrace of the English Church. I persuade myself that the respectable character, the benevolence, and the learning of Mr Macpherson, have ere this recommended him to a situation in which his good qualities may be more effectually exercised and more justly rewarded."† Very amusing stories are still told of Mr M'Pherson's eccentricities, which were of a singularly unattractive kind, and seem to have given many a good housewife not a little trouble and concern, with occasional alarm, when the strangely abnormal habits of the minister were not understood beforehand. The next minister of Pluscarden was Mr JAMES THOMSON, Mathematical teacher in the Elgin Academy, to which he was appointed August 4, 1803.‡ When appointed to Pluscarden, January 31, 1807, Mr Thomson agreed to teach his class for one year longer at a salary of £21.§ He was the first married minister of Pluscarden, and, by a strangely sad providence, he, his wife, his servant, and the schoolmaster, became lunatic about the same time. || His ministry extended to 1838, and the following year he was succeeded by Mr Dunbar, ¶ who exercised his ministry till 17th February, 1859, when he died. His successor is Mr ALEXANDER ROBB, who continues (1881) to minister to the good people of the Glen in the old portion of the Priory, and has for his vestry the (so-called) Prior's chamber, but which may more probably be the sub-Prior's room when in charge of the dormitories.**

* Dr Scott's "*Fasti*," vol. III., p. 224.

† Stoddart's "*Remarks on Scotland*," vol. II., p. 123. Mr M'Pherson's salary is said to have been £20 - £7 more than Mr Munro's.

‡ Elgin Council Minutes.

§ Elgin Council Minutes.

|| Mr Thomson was Clerk to the Synod and Presbytery of Elgin. The Glen people seem to think that the office of Presbytery Clerk was a perquisite of their minister.

¶ Mr Dunbar was the first minister elected by the people. They owed this privilege to the generous wisdom of Lord Fife, who also bestowed on the congregation and their minister a manse and glebe—kindnesses still continued and secured to them.

** We cannot refrain from acknowledgment of many most kind and serviceable courtesies from Mr Robb and his good lady on the occasion of not a few visits to the Glen, and subsequent inquiries by letter. To say that Mr Robb has been as zealously considerate of our antiquarian needs as of the spiritual good of the people of the Glen, will convey to all resident in the district around a correct impression of our grateful feeling to the occupants of the manse.

From time immemorial, the road from Elgin approached the Priory by the old eastern gate, now closed. When near this entrance it swept round by the north wall of the precincts past the northern gate, also now closed. At a short distance from the eastern entrance were the well-known buildings of Netherbyre, representing the old *store and market-place* of the monks—the proprietors of all the produce of the district. This store, which, after the Reformation, was the seat of the local Courts of Regality, became converted, on the erection of a Mission at the Glen, into a place of worship, and was known as the “*Old Ha’*.” It is said that at a comparatively recent period the causeway surrounding the Ha’ was tolerably complete, and that the form of the market cross was easily distinguishable among the causeway blocks. The outlines and stone ruins of the Ha’ buildings remain, and measure 18 feet N. and S., by 54 feet E. and W.

A few residents in the Glen still tell of their attendance there both at kirk and school. The pulpit occupied the centre of the south wall, the worshippers entering the Ha’ on either side of it. The general appearance of the building has been described as remarkably similar to that of the Free Church at Rafford. For the patronage of the kirk the Earls of Fife agreed to maintain the building; but they did not limit their interest to this small assistance. When Forsyth’s “*Moray*” was compiled (1798) it was stated “that the people of this district, consisting of about a hundred families, support a schoolmaster wholly from their own funds. . . . They have, without a murmur, maintained also a Chapel of Ease among themselves for almost forty years.” The income, which then amounted to £20, was made up by a legacy of £5 left by Rev. Dr Hay, of Elgin; £3 from Lord Fife for rent of house, and a small farm of two or three acres, together with an annual dole of a guinea from each of the Elgin collegiate ministers.* The remainder was found by the people. The income of the minister now approaches ten times the old amount, even though the legacy and the guineas have not found their way to the Glen minister for about forty years.† This loss is, however, undoubtedly an accident of history, which time and change alone can alter.

When, about 1821, James, Lord Fife, entered on the improvements and alterations to which we shall refer more at length in a subsequent chapter, he intended to fit up the Choir of the Priory as a place of worship. For temporary use, he fitted up the old parlour of the monks as a church, removing the pews of the Ha’ to their present position there. Various circumstances led to delay in executing the proposed changes, and the internal condition of

* Forsyth’s “*Moray*,” p. 140.

† Mr Duff, of Dipple, left, in 1724, £83 6s 8d; John Murdoch left, in 1753, £11 2s 7½d for the poor of Pluscarden. Dr Hay left £100 in 1785, and John Petrie £10, in 1797, for the minister of Pluscarden. These Funds are managed by the Elgin Kirk Session.

the old parlour is almost entirely the same as when it was fitted and partly remodelled for a temporary church. In no part of the buildings are we more struck than here with the very superior quality of the stones and the masonry. There is certainly an utter want of ornamentation, but otherwise the workmanship commands much interest.

When the Disruption of the Church of Scotland occurred in 1843, Lord Fife considerably and generously determined that the section of the Church for which the people of the Glen should declare generally, would be allowed occupation of the Priory parlour, and other privileges of his bounty. Mr Dunbar, and most of the people, adhering to the Free Church party, continued in possession, and thus one of the few Free Church congregations may be found in Pluscardyn which still worship in the same building where they met previous to that great struggle, which resulted in so many having to leave their homes and churches for conscience sake. By a most remarkable omission on the part of Dr Scott, there is no place found in his "*Fasti*" for the congregation or church in the Glen. Probably the plan in Dr Scott's mind forbade their mention in his careful and valuable volumes. That it was not oversight is plain from the repeated references we have made to his "*Fasti*" for information regarding the ministers of the Glen who happened to be subsequently settled elsewhere. We have tried to suppose the reason may have been conscientious difficulty in reference to ministers and a people using an old Romish building and an Episcopal pulpit. We have, however, been driven from this by various considerations clustering round Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dunkeld, and other places.

Only one other point of interest remains for notice in this chapter. The old church of St Giles, in Elgin, fell on June 22, 1679—the same day as the battle of Bothwell Brig was fought. In 1680, the Elgin Council resolved to proceed to rebuild the church. The contract cost was £4003 Scots money, of which sum the pulpit cost £244. The pulpit and magistrates' loft were of oak, and, with the rest of the edifice, were completed in 1684.*

On the 2nd October, 1826, the last sermon was preached in this old church of 1684. No sooner had Dr Rose, the preacher, finished, than the contractor for the present church of Elgin began dismantling the old edifice. We have been informed—if we remember correctly, by Mr Alexander Lawson, Lord Fife's factor in Elgin—that the old pulpit was purchased by Lord Fife for £5. It was removed to Pluscardyn, where it now stands, with its precentor's desk and other antique appertainings attached. In this old pulpit in the monks' parlour we have a striking reminder of the changes of the last two hundred years, not more in the secular than the religious history of Scotland. Few more impressive remains of the Romish ascendancy could be found in our land

* Shaw's "*Moray*," pp. 87, 88.

than the quiet, sweet beauty of Pluscardyn Priory, and there are not many such relics in Scotland of the times of prelatie sway as the oaken pulpit. We have ourselves felt the no doubt somewhat sentimental influence of realising the singular combination of history in connection with which we have had the opportunity of preaching Reformation doctrine in that most interesting place, under the outspread beams and wings of the oaken Sun of Righteousness in relief on the pulpit canopy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Traditions of the Glen.

A VERY considerable proportion of the local traditions has already found a place in the preceding chapters. We now purpose to gather a few of those stories which linger among the older residents, but which have no very definite relation to any part of the history, and may perhaps have but rather meagre value beyond the interest which attaches to such local folk-lore.

The earliest of these old sayings is one which, in various forms, may already be met with in the scanty notices of Pluscardyn previously printed. It has reference to the erection of the Priory. We shall follow an interesting little MS. sketch of our Priory, compiled by Mr Alexander Ritchie from materials in common use, but made interesting by sundry traditional additions and personal reflections. He says the Priory "was built of freestone from Heldon, and the sharpest markings of the chisel still stand as good as the day they were made, six hundred years ago. The materials show a quality the Cathedral (at Elgin) freestone cannot boast of, as there the tracings round the windows and the stone generally are wasting into decay. For some reason, not now to be explained, they wrought two separate quarries—one at Netherbyre and one at Torrleston. At these places they have left the marks that they were tidy, economical workmen. We are not told how they conveyed the stones from Netherbyre. Those from Torrleston they conveyed on rafts. To enable them to do this they raised a dam dyke across where the Nessend Bridge now crosses the Blackburn. By this means they formed a lake with sufficient water to float their rafts, loaded with stones, west, to the scene of building operations." There is a current quotation of wages in the old times which states that the workmen received eightpence Scots money per day, while building our Priory.

Among the names held firmly by tradition none is so conspicuous as that of DELTY. He is the great reference for all past facts and features, which no authority besides can substantiate. This man was clearly *the character* of the Glen, but the character of importance and ken-authority rather than of kindly toleration and amusement. There are traces of this latter type of humanity also preserved by tradition, and among them a certain "*fool*," given to high climbing on the old Priory, is conspicuous. The bait by which alone he could be caught and kept near *terra firma* was *block ale*, of which he seemed to be-

lieve he was the true patron saint within his own dominion. There are, of course, connected with such hoary ruins—especially since the charming potency of the peals of consecrated bells ceased there—not a few indications of free access for inferior spirits to wander about and commit lawless acts. The town of Forres has the traditional honour of supplying the man, and he a mason, who “settled the De’il” in Pluscardyn.

Coupled with the name of Delty is a reported statement by him that in his youth one could walk on the tops of oak trees all the way from Whitetree to the Priory, so thickly did they then stand. Of these old giant oaks all that now remains are huge trunks occasionally dug up in the agricultural improvements of the district, which give clearer evidence that a noble forest once stood there, than is perhaps given even by the Charter of 1236. For it should be remembered that the term *forest* in our old Scotch deeds does not bear the meaning which we now attach to it. Mr Innes, in his “Sketches of Early Scottish History,” refers to the mistake thus made by ordinary readers, who forget that the word *forest* in charter language refers to a range having certain legal privileges for the *preservation of game*.^{*} Accordingly the grant “*in liberam forestam*” has reference to game and the privileges of what we now call *sport*.[†] Delty’s account is probably an exaggeration, but the evidences are sufficient to indicate that a *forest*, as we now employ that term, did surround the old Priory grounds. We have often been amused by the supercilious air of strangers, who, travelling through Scotland, and in the region of what are known as old *forests*, expressing the utmost disgust with the paltry brushwood of forests, and even Royal forests, in Scotland; at the same time displaying their sharp humour in remarking on heather being forest trees with us. Possibly they did not relish quite so much as their own wit the assurance that ignorance on their part accounted for the disappointment, and not a misuse of language on the part of Scotland.[‡]

As some clue to the dim religious notions of the times of old Delty, a story is very current, but in rival forms. We have adopted that form of the story which is the less romantic, but perhaps better authenticated. Old Delty was beginning to feel that advancing years and their infirmities were telling rather severely on him. He had some faint conception that there was something immortal about him, and a somewhere in which his immortal somewhat had better spend its hereafter. Beyond this his ideas were very confused. Living at Whitetree, he had some considerable competence of worldly gear, and by means of this he hoped somehow to secure a something for eternity worth his effort. Accordingly, after much careful consideration and weighty balancing

^{*} “Sketches of Early Scottish History,” pp. 100, 101.

[†] “Legal Antiquities,” p. 41.

[‡] The connection of *fera* and *foresta* is too probable to cause much difficulty as to the manner in which forest came to be associated with *trees*.

of probabilities and ways and means—for there was no wiser man in the Glen whom he might consult—he one day picked out the best wedder at Whitetree, and made his way to the factor. Another version of the story says that he went to Burgie House. The factor looked somewhat concerned when he received this seer's portion, and inquired what old Deltly required by way of aid or redress. Deltly replied that it “wisna' that ava—that he had sheep enou', and gold enou', but he wis gettin' to be an auld man, and fan this life wis deen, he thocht there was like tae be anither, but he didna' ken fat it wis, nor fat tae dae to get it, an' as the factor had helpit him afore noo, maybe he could help him about this tee.” The factor's reply was that he had the same thought and the same difficulty himself, but was sorry he could not help his aged friend. When the story takes the road to the laird of Burgie, Deltly is made ask for a certificate from the laird, for “nae doot the good word o' sic a gentilman would gang far in the neist warld.” Such is the local record of the sad decay of knowledge and light in the Glen after Reformation times.

The state of things in the Glen when the first post-Reformation minister was settled there we could not describe so well as it has been narrated by Mr John Ross of Forsterseat, to whom we owe very many of the traditions we have secured, and not a little topographical information. Mr Ross's statements we have always found remarkably accurate whenever they could be tested by records, to which he had no possible access, and, as he has the true antiquarian spirit, and a love of absolute accuracy without any tendency to embellishment, we have followed his large and valuable information with peculiar confidence. Mr Ross, referring to the state of matters described in connection with Deltly's spiritual enlightenment, says:—“The Sabbath was still observed as a day in the week on which they did not work in the fields nor thresh in the barn. They devoted it to amusement. In summer they gathered in groups to this and that place and hillock, some holed bykes, and some caught trout in the burns. In winter they visited each other's houses, drank ale, discussed the gossip of the day, recounted the various genealogies of kith and kin, &c. Sabbath thus held a place in the week as did many other feast days. Chief in the whole list were the Christmas holidays, both as regards their observance and celebrity. The thirteenth night o' Eel was called *uphellie nicht*, and was considered the heartiest night of all the Eel time. Tradition observed on that day what was no doubt a Priory institution. The farmer who lived at the Priory was styled the Prior, and throughout the day the young men collected there and played at the *chou* (ball), tried feats of strength, &c. In the evening the married men and their wives arrived and dined with ‘the Prior.’ By the time the dinner was over the lads had assembled with their lasses. The amount provided by the Prior for the day's entertainment was a leg of beef and a brewing

of half a boll of malt.* We have an interest in this day and in this festival. On one of these occasions the two Elgin ministers† made the Glen a visit. The folks were busy at their games. The ministers stood for a while and looked at them. A good deal of suspicion was felt by both parties. The ministers feared that when they explained the nature of their mission neither it nor they would be very favourably entertained. The Glen folk suspected them to be *gaugers* or some such unpopular visitors. After some short time one of the ministers says to the other: 'Tak' ye the ae hail head, and I'll tak' the ither.‡ So they played a good while at the ball, and then stopped to tell what they had come for. They also said that they had brought a minister to them, and that if they were willing to keep him they would leave him with them. When they heard this they all ceased playing, and gathering together agreed to keep and maintain their new friend as their future minister." Mr Ross says that he had this account from his father, who was told it by one of those who played ball with the ministers on that eventful day.

A good story, besides that of Dely, comes from Whitetree, and belongs to somewhat more recent times. The date is last century, and the hero is John Chapman, tenant of Wester Whitetree.§ The said John was in his youth a preacher and chaplain at Duff House, to the then Earl of Fife. When with the Earl he had learned to use his sword to advantage, and being a strong muscular man, his sword skill brought him at least as much respect as his more ghostly Christianity. The laird of Altyre had set his heart, it is said, on some portion of the Pluscarden ground, and had crossed from Dallas by the hill of the Wangie, accompanied by eight of his men, laying new march stones as his eye desired and his courage dared. Thus he had embraced a good bit of Pluscarden, and all Whitetree to the south of the Blackburn. News reached John Chapman that the laird was poaching with his march stones. Down comes the old broad-sword, and out from its scabbard it leaps, while John issues in hot haste to meet the laird. As Altyre was mounted John seized hold of the bridle and stopped him, and informed him that one or other of them would not leave that hill alive unless every stone were lifted by the same hand that put them there. The laird looked at his men, and the men looked at Chapman, but whether they perceived a special keenness in his blade, or believed a supernatural strength to reside in his arm, tradition sayeth not, but no man spoke. The laird soon asked to be allowed to retire; John

* This seems very small when we read that every week the Abbot of Furness required for his dependants 600 gallons of ale, besides what was required within the precincts.

† See Chapter XVII.

‡ The various forms in which games with balls were played may be found in STRUTT'S "Sports and Pastimes of the People of England," pp. 91-110. (Hone's Edition.)

§ The family has a place of burial in our Lady's Chapel, where their shrine may be seen.

followed slowly behind till he saw him lift every stone he had set up. John died not long after, and the Earl, hearing of the brave deed, visited his widow and offered to her, and to her heirs, perpetual possession of Whitetree and its 400 acres at £5 a-year. The good woman declined the offer, fearing it might turn out a rack-rent in the days of some of her descendants!*

The Priory vaults are now nearly forgotten, but we have conversed with those who had explored them before the improvements made by Lord Fife closed their entrances. Our last and surest informant on this matter was the late Mr John Cameron, so well known in the district and so highly respected.† His father, if we mistake not, was in charge of the Priory during his lifetime, and lies in the "*Ogilvie aisle*," as the Glen folks call what is really the *Choir* of the Priory.‡ The entrance to the vaults was a little north-east of the east corner of the present Church, which was of old the calefactory or parlour. They would be readily approached from the Prior's house, and by reference to Nattes' most accurate drawing the points of entrance are unmistakable. At the beginning of the century all possible mystery was gathered around these vaults and what they contained, to say nothing of the sights and sounds which haunted them. The reason, however, was less ghostly than most supposed, for the quality of spirit originating there was well-known in the Glen, and found to be very potent and abundant, the gaugers notwithstanding. A farm whose *eight space rigs* can yet be traced even in the forest on the top of Heldon, was known as the "*good bere toon*," because there the best barley was grown in all the district, most of which found its way to the Priory vaults. There are traditions of other vaults or passages which are not quite so well authenticated, though we have never remarked any hesitation in speaking of them. The entrance to these was at the corner of the wall enclosing the precincts. In former times this wall extended to what was then the water-side, while on the other side of the water was the *Barnhill*—which still retains its name. The passage referred to is said to be under the old water-course, and running from the south-west corner of the wall to *Barnhill*. It is asserted that about 60 years ago part of this passage fell in, which was the means of its discovery in later times. No investigations have been made so as to test this tradition, which seems universally accepted as unquestionably correct.

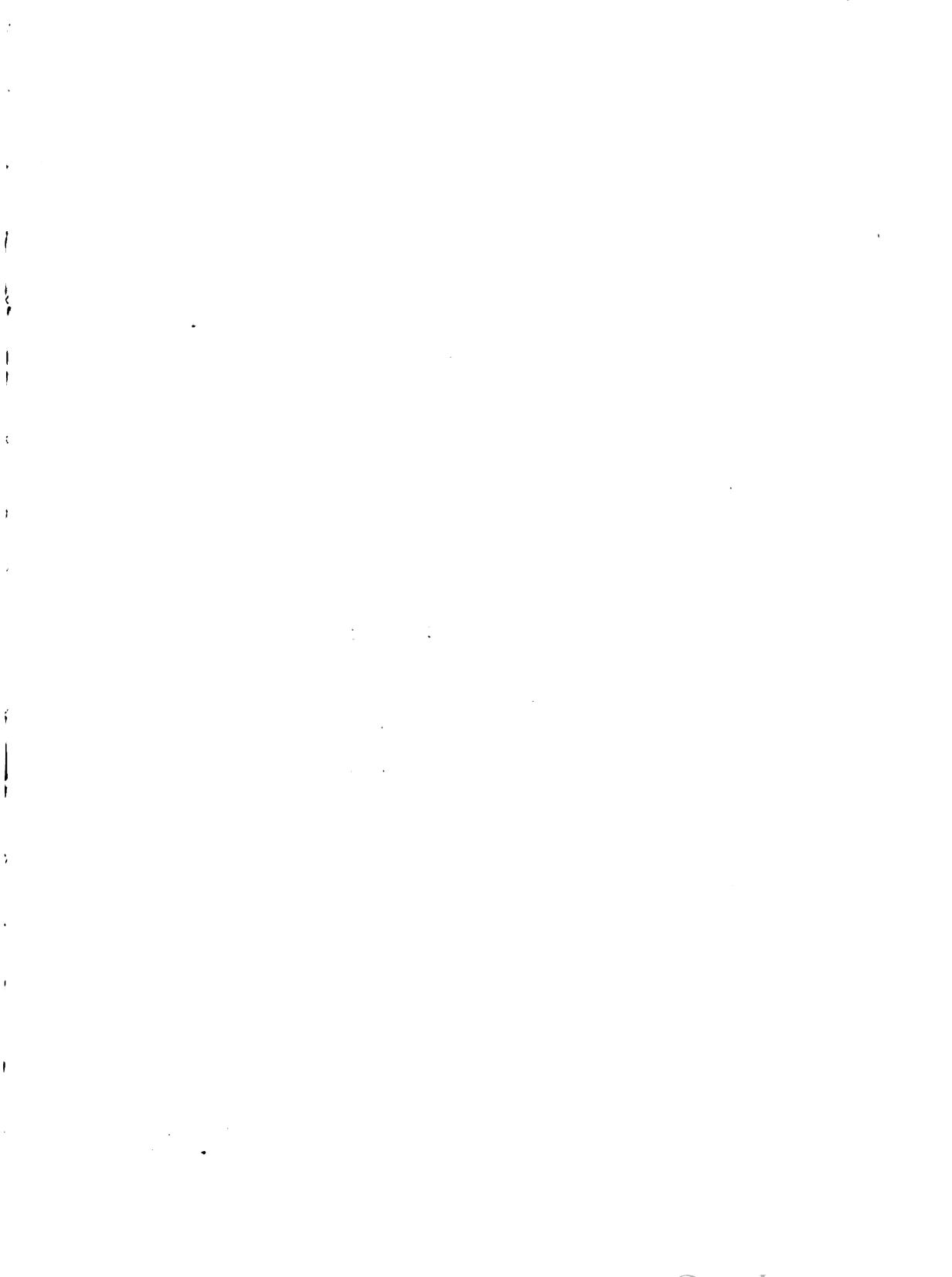
* This story we owe to Mr Cruickshank, who is tenant of the united farms of Easter and Wester Whitetree.

† Mr Cameron was father of three much respected ministers of the Free Church, at Glasgow, Greenlaw, and Jedburgh. His father, Mr Charles Cameron, is said to have been the last buried inside the old Priory.

‡ By a somewhat similar appropriation of what was of old considered to belong only to the most noble and eminent servants of the Church, the Paisley Abbey has its most honoured place reserved for its gravedigger, according to Dr Lees.

A somewhat amusing story, illustrative of the ignorance of the Glen folks at no very remote antiquity, connects itself with a man named *Anderson*, one of seven generations, Mr Ritchie says, who lived in Westerton:—"This man, being very lame, solemnly bound in his friends to bury him close to the East Gate, 'as on the resurrection morning,' he said, 'there will be an unco thrang, and as I'm cripple, if ye dinna bury me close to the gate and I'll win out amang the first, they will ca' me o'er and tramp me, so that I'll be left ahin.'" We have heard the story told as though Anderson were buried within the Priory itself. Fortunately topographical accuracy does not now endanger the fulfilment of the promise.

It seems generally believed that the last person who frequented the Priory for purposes of Roman Catholic observances was a Mrs Gordon of Westerton, who "on certain days" repaired thither with her servant girl to worship. This was about 1753. The only other notice of this good lady which has survived is, that after dining together she bought a mare on a Sunday from John Smith, tenant of the farm of Croy. This circumstance has stamped them both in local tradition as persons by the certain end of whose evil ways others should be deterred from like profanity.



CHAPTER XIX.

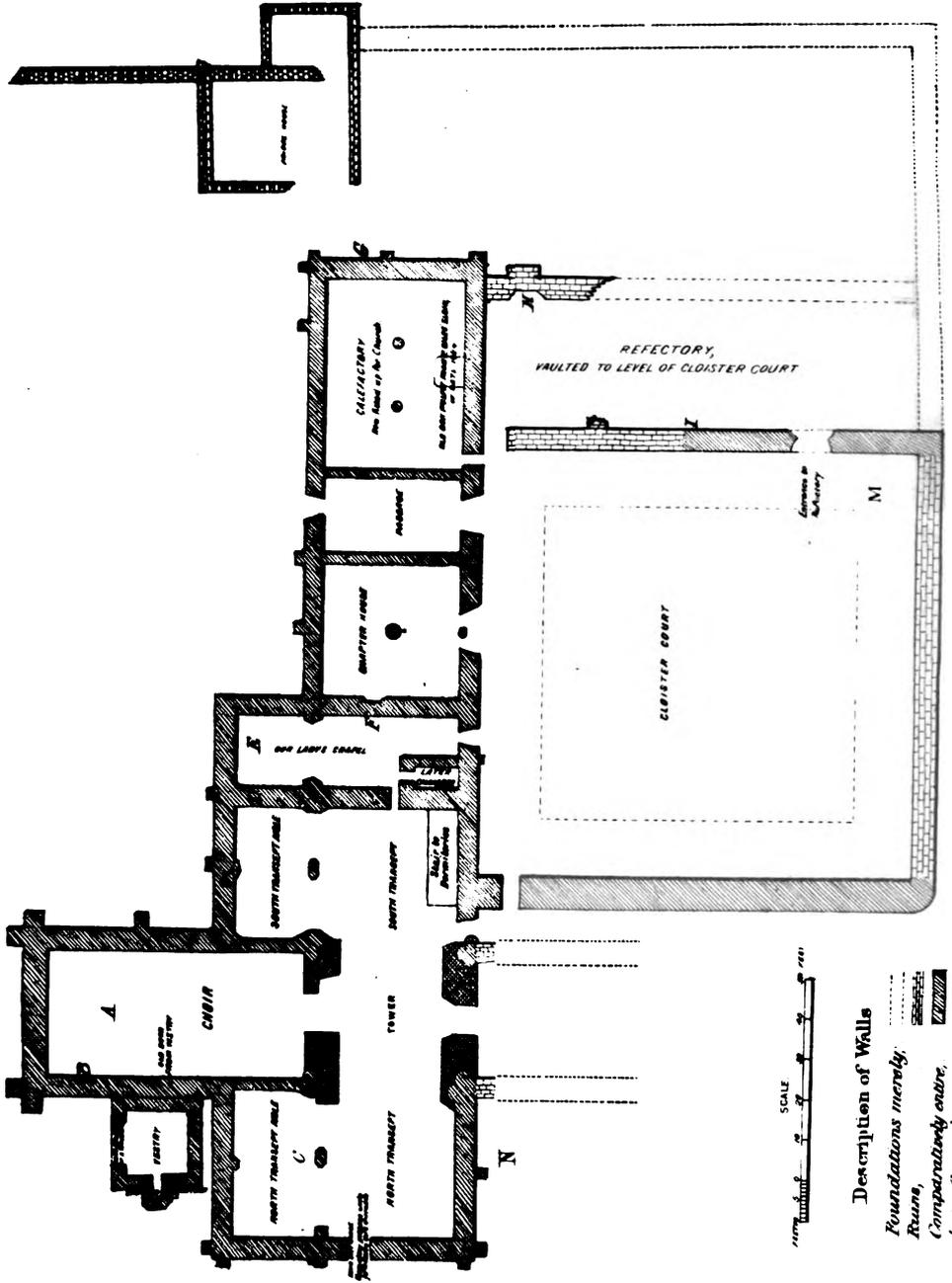
The Precincts and Ruins of the Priory.

IN this chapter we shall adopt very much the character of a cicerone. The plan—prepared from careful measurements which we took on the spot, and laid out by the deft pencil of Mr Galloway Mackintosh—will be found a sufficient guide to our descriptions. Additional information, given with much more architectural knowledge than we can command, will be found in the Appendix.*

There seem to have been two principal entrances to the precincts. One, still easily discoverable in the enclosing wall, was on the East, an old road from Elgin coming directly up to it. This road then swept round to a North entrance, under the farms of Easter and Wester Hillside. By reference to the map of the Glen, it will be seen that a *smithy* existed not far from the North entrance. From the East gate, a magnificent avenue of trees, and almost complete at the beginning of this century, extended to the Priory, passing the venerable *thorn tree* which remains, and has some weird, dim traditions clustering round its hoary form. At the North entrance may still be seen the porter's chamber, and the *almonry*. The present powder magazine, here situated, is no doubt the old prison of the Manor Court of the House, and perhaps in the ruins on the upper storey we have the old Monastic Court Room of the regality. We suggest this as an arrangement subsequent to the use of the *Old Ha'*, already spoken of, because buildings suitable for these purposes are undoubtedly to be found at this entrance, and in other Monasteries the arrangement indicated obtained. That the precincts have been extended at some date subsequent to the erection of their earliest portions, may be seen by examining the North wall east and west of a line drawn from the West Cloister wall. The masonry also west of this division, and embracing the North entrance, is undoubtedly less ancient, and generally the walls in this newer portion are higher, some parts being still quite twenty feet.

St Margaret's Well, in the North-east corner of the precincts, was connected with the well in the hill, referred to in Chapter II., and has become dry

* The description in Appendix QQ is from the pen of Rev. Alexander Miller, M.A., B.D., Free Church minister, Buckie, and was undertaken when this volume was in its earliest lecture-form. We take this opportunity of acknowledging much indebtedness to Mr Miller for many suggestions regarding the architectural details of the building. The text has, however, been prepared without any reference to Mr Miller's description, which was not forwarded till after this chapter was in type. We remark this to account for divergence between the two narratives so far as suggestions are concerned.



Ground Plan of the Priory of Physcardyn, according to male

Description of Walls

- Foundations merely. (dotted line)
- Ruins. (dashed line)
- Comparatively entire. (solid line with diagonal hatching)
- Later Casting. (solid line with cross-hatching)

CHAPTER XIX.

The Precincts and Ruins of the Priory.

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only since the planting of the hill, and the consequent diminished effluence of the upper well, whose water, we have heard say, is, or was, the purest in Scotland. Some old trees in the nursery are worth attention, as well as the recesses in the North wall for *bee hives*, wax for the altar being a great monastic requirement, and Moray being one of the finest possible regions for bee farming. The present entrance-way to the precincts is only a contrivance suited to the recent alterations. There was, according to tradition, a very beautiful and ornamental entrance on the South side. This must have been a passage-way to the lake, which then possessed the low ground South of the Monastery, and probably this gate opened to the boats on the lake from the Prior's lodging, which would of course be the place of entertainment of all the nobility who visited him. Another passage to the outside world was by the Barnhill subterranean way, which is said to have terminated at the South-west corner of the precincts. The vaults—two in number—which were entered in front of the mill beside the Prior's lodging, extended under the buildings of the Priory.* A lance window may still be seen in the South end of the Calefactory, which no doubt belongs to one of these vaults.

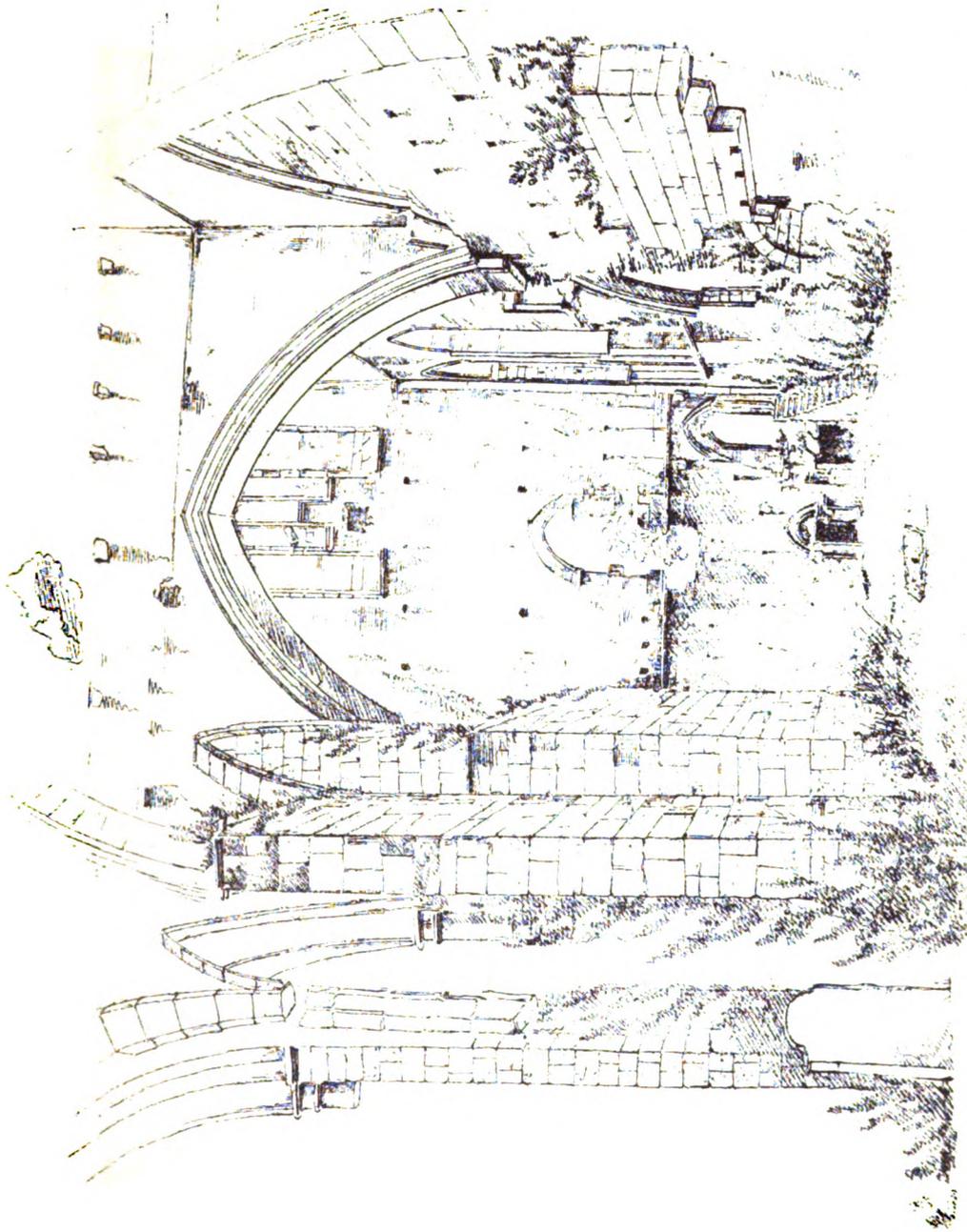
Approaching the Monastery from the East or North, it must have presented a most attractive appearance. Like Elgin Cathedral, our Priory is partly of the *First-pointed* period, but follows it in passing through various features of *transition* to definite *Second-pointed* details. Pluscardyn inclines very strongly to second-pointed character. The notices of the architecture of the House are very few, those in Mr Muir's "*Old Church Architecture of Scotland*," being much the most serviceable, have been largely employed in the following notes. A very few points have also been gathered from Mr M'Kenzie Walcott, whose historical notices in his "*Scoti-Monasticon*" have not much assisted us, and even in his description and plan of the Priory much more accuracy might easily have been secured. Mr Miller's Appendix will show how considerably we are indebted to him for several points relating to the arrangements of the buildings. These were discussed on the spot in more than one visit to the Priory.

We now propose to visit the various portions of the ruins, and approaching by the present avenue, we turn aside upon the fine lawn, and walk northwards past the great Eastern window. Here, under its heavy ivy mantling, we see what is generally called—

THE DUNBAR VESTRY.—We enter this, which is perhaps the latest portion of the Priory, by an Eastern entrance, which has some appearance of having been made by cutting down a window to the ground.† This part of the

* Their exact position can be found by examination of Nattes' drawing.

† Mr Billings has restored the window here, and also put an additional storey to the Vestry.



Reproduced by G. Stewart & Co. Edin.

FROM A DRAWING BY NATTES, IN 1799.

The property of D. Douglas, Esq., Edinburgh. This Copy is reduced from the Original by Photography

Inside view of Nattes

Pl. 7.

NEW YORK
JUN 10 1961

Priory—now unfortunately degraded to the confused service of a tool house—is generally believed to have been built by one of the later Priors, and Prior Alexander Dunbar is the Dunbar after whom it is supposed to have been named “THE DUNBAR VESTRY.” What is now the window into the Choir was evidently originally the door from the Vestry to the Choir and the altar. The Vestry was also left by a spiral staircase, the remains of which may still be seen outside of the North end of the room. This staircase came out into a passage over the present roof of the Vestry. This passage commanded the upper windows on the North side of the choir, entered the clerestory passage at the North-west corner of the Choir, and at this point ran on the right hand to the North entrance of the Church, where it terminated.* To the left, it ran by the rood loft, the clerestory passage above the aisle of the South transept, through the dormitories and an opening still visible in the South wall of the Priory, along a bridge-way to the Prior’s house.

Within the Vestry there are not many objects now left to attract our attention. That which has made this small room specially interesting and attractive is the coat of arms on the boss of the groined ceiling, to which reference has been already made in connection with the Dunbar occupation of the Priory. There can be no mistake as to the *three cushions* of the Dunbar arms upon the shield, and the saintly and churchly supporters probably put us in possession of St Andrew and the ecclesiastic whose combined favour built the little chamber.†

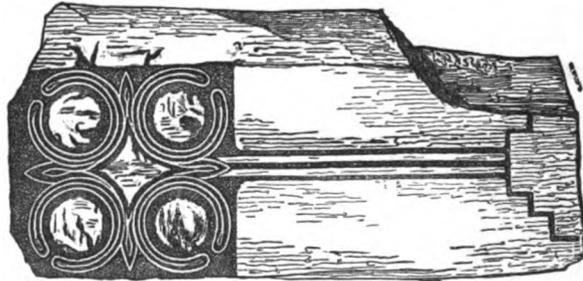
Another interesting stone, lately discovered in this Vestry, deserves to be now noticed. It first attracted our attention when making special notes in reference to the entrances to and from the Vestry. The upper lintel of the window—formerly the door—into the Choir, was discovered to have some figuring cut upon it, of which a rubbing was taken. Subsequently, by kind permission of the present Lord Fife, a mason was employed to lay bare a considerable portion of the slab, which is deeply built into the walls. After hours of toil by several strong arms upon the marvellously compact and adamantine masonry, the stone was almost entirely laid bare. The illustration on following page is prepared from a very careful series of rubbings, made before restoring some parts of the masonry for security to the window. Evidently this old Sepulchral Slab was found within the precincts when the

* To reach the top of the Vestry, the best plan is to get a ladder to this point, whence the Prior viewed all lay comers into the Church, and then reverse our descriptive course.

† In Rhind’s “Sketches,” the shield alone is given of this interesting relic. We cannot omit to mention the kind and obliging services of Mr and Mrs Ritchie, of Paul’s Bridge Lodge, but for whom it would have been extremely difficult to have procured the wax cast from which our illustration is drawn. This was only one of many “good turns” done by these worthy custodiers of the ruins.

Vestry was being built,* and was made do service above the living instead of the dead. Similarly figured crosses may be seen in Cutts' "Manual of Sepulchral Stones and Crosses," Plates XLIV. and XLV., where the stones belong to the thirteenth century. Another (Plate VI.), of the twelfth century, is very similar. We have found much valuable information in reference to "incised cross slabs" in the letterpress of this work, to which we would refer the interested reader.

A stone, with incised cross, in form and ornamentation not unlike that of our Priory, is to be seen at Rosemarkie, and is figured in Muir's "Old Church Architecture of Scotland," page 110. In the chancel at Furness Abbey we have seen a slab almost identical in form with that in Pluscardyn, while several very much similar may be seen inside Cartmel Church, near the Lake district. Most of these point to the *thirteenth century* as their date. If we may go so far back with our incised slab, then we have here much the oldest monumental stone now to be seen in Pluscardyn, though no doubt many more



SEPULCHRAL SLAB, 5 feet 7 inches long, and 2 feet 3 inches broad,
in the Window of the DUNBAR VESTRY, PLUSCARDYN.

of nearly equal antiquity lie buried under the beautiful lawns which now surround our Priory.

Leaving the Vestry, we turn round to the North or Hill side of the Priory. Here we encounter the few remains of the stair referred to, and pursuing our course, observe that there is a small space between the walls of the Vestry and of the North transept of the Church. We now approach the North entrance of the Church of the Priory, which was generally regarded as the entrance for the laity.

THE TRANSEPTS, TOWER, AND CLERESTORY PASSAGES.—We group these together, because the eye catches all of them at once when entering by the North door of the Priory. Immediately over this door is the termination of the

* From the deep hold this stone has upon the wall, it seems difficult to believe that it was not there before the time of Alexander Dunbar.

passage which leads directly from the Dunbar Vestry, as already described. In front, the West wall bears evident marks of fire, and specially are to be seen the charred ends of beams. Tradition speaks of at least two burnings of the Priory—one of them by the town's folk of Elgin upon a certain holiday. It is said that the valuables of the Priory were then removed to Slacknavaldoch, beside Brockhillock, where they are, of course, still believed to be. Against the same wall the stair to the dormitories was built. It has been supposed that the present stair was built as part of the changes made by Lord Fife, early in the present century, but the drawing by Nattes in the closing year of last century puts an end to this idea—though apparently the stair was then much narrower than now and left some entrance exposed which is now concealed. Of this same interior view, which we owe to the kindness of David Douglas, Esq., of Edinburgh, there is a finished and shaded copy, apparently by Nattes himself, in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh. Our illustration is a photo-lithograph from an unpublished volume of drawings by Nattes, and is the only interior view of Pluscardyn which we have seen, except the recent one by Mr Billings, which shows the North wall with part of the East aisle of the North transept.

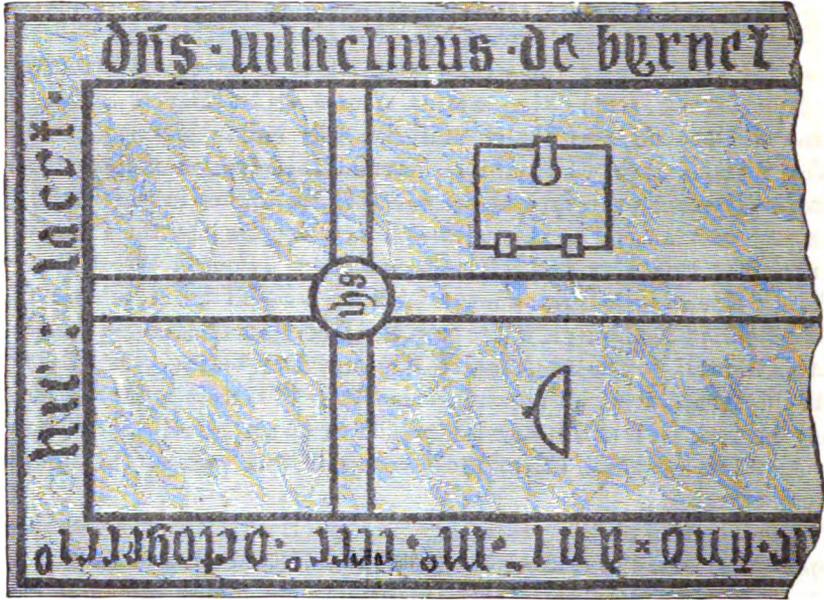
The changes of eighty years have not much affected the interior of the transepts. Perhaps the critical eye may have some doubts as to the absolute correctness of Mr Nattes' architectural delineations. Still we have gratefully employed this drawing to represent the portion of the Priory we are now engaged with. It will be observed that there is somewhat of a peculiarity in our transepts having no West aisles. This has been remarked by Mr Muir in the work already quoted,* where he points out that the same feature is noteworthy at Dundrennan, New Abbey, and Elgin, and also, though less clearly, at Melrose, St Andrews, Arbroath, and Dryburgh. In the aisle of the North transept is the oldest gravestone which we have found apparently *in situ* within the Priory.† It is erected over Sir William de Byrnet or Byrnych, who died A.D. 1480. Sir William was a *priest*, or perhaps only a *deacon*, as the *Book and Chalice* on the stone seem to indicate. Somewhat similar representations may be seen among the Plates in Cutts' "Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses,"‡ and in the letterpress Mr Cutts says—"This Book is perhaps the *Textus* or *Gospels*, and the symbols have been thought to be those of a deacon. We have seen that there is a probability that the Chalice was used as a general symbol of an ecclesiastic; in the note we see that the *Textus* was peculiar to the deacon. Nevertheless, these symbols, Chalice and Book, do occur on the gravestones of priests." The letters *J. J. S.* at the intersection of the pieces of the Cross are too well understood to require any remark here.

* Muir, *ut supra*, p. 42.

† Marked C in plan of Priory.

‡ See Plates V., IX., XII., XXIII., XXVIII., and page 36.

It may be well to state that the surname of this Sir William is by no means uncommon in Morayshire among the ecclesiastics of the time, and even in the



"Hic : jacet.

Dominus. Wilhelmus. de Byrnet
 ne. Anno. Domini. M^o. cccc^o. Octogesimo."

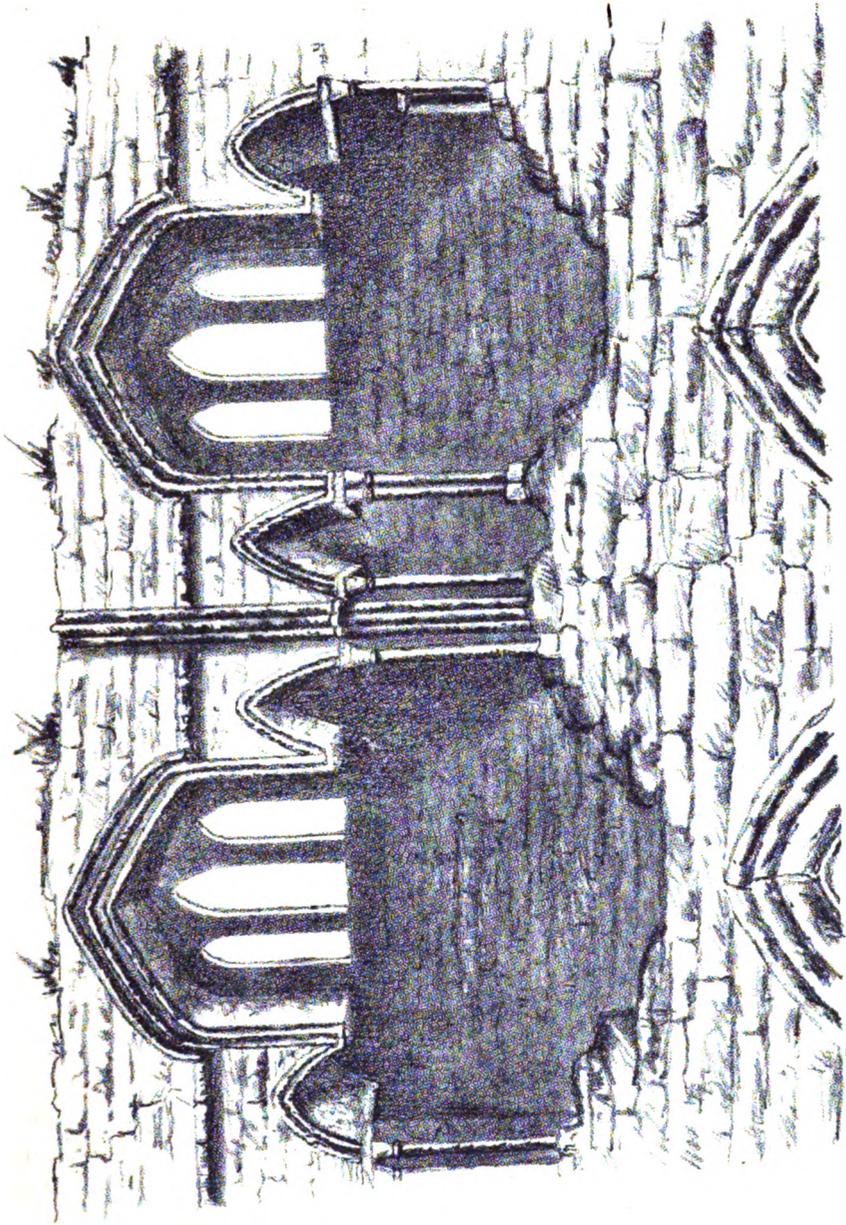
Monastery we find the name among the signatures of monks. The neighbourhood of *Birnè*, better known in charter orthography as *Byrneth*, is sufficient reason for the recurrence of the name.

The pillar which stands in front of this stone is much broken, but its general character may be gathered from the accompanying outline section. The Restored appearance and form of this pillar may be seen in Mr Billings' interior view of the North transept.

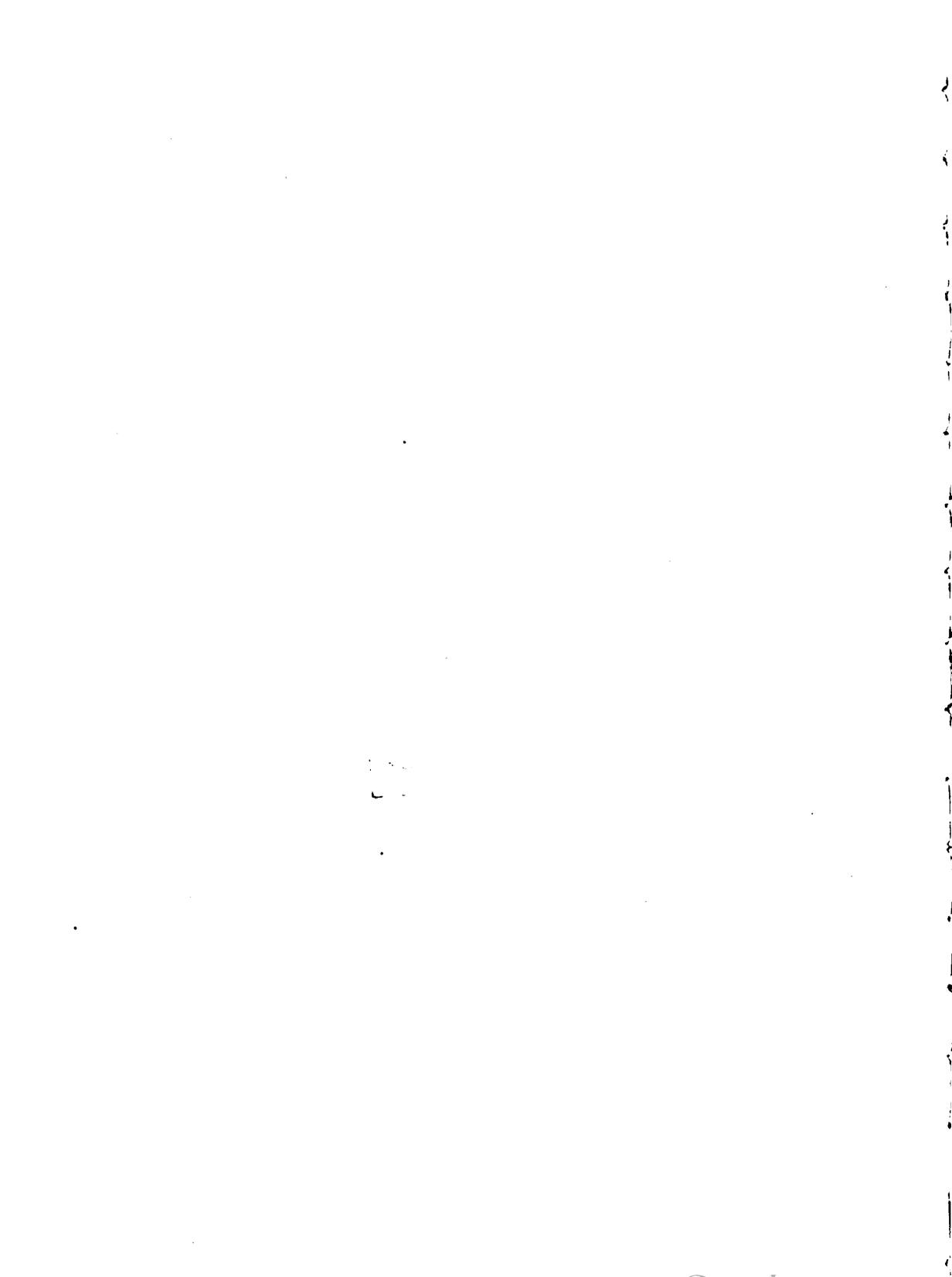


"PILLAR OF NORTH TRAN-
 SEPT AISLE."

We are much struck as we advance with the Square Masonry built upon the slender and elegant pillars which belonged to the first design of this portion of the Priory. The substructure was evidently found incapable of supporting the weight of superincumbent building which the plan required. Hence very strong and carefully hewn *casings* were put upon the main pillars. These may be seen in the plan. By this means a stair was allowed to run up from the entrance of the Choir to the clerestory passage and rood



Portion of Clerestory over Aisle of S. Transept, Pluscardyn.



loft. The original archways have also been lowered and narrowed in several places as the work proceeded. All this, with the building up of the great Rose window in the North wall, which probably could never have been made secure in any other way, suggests that the drawings of the plan, which must have looked very beautiful on parchment, as they do in Mr Billings' engravings, were found quite too airy and graceful for terrestrial laws when the attempt was made to plant the plan in the substantial form of stone and lime.

In the great archway at the Choir entrance there are to be seen some faint traces of colour and design. We can still follow Mr Cordiner's account of the beautiful brilliancy of the frescoes there, as they were found by him last century, though but for his guiding we might have some difficulty in verifying the impression of the now faint details:—"The most plain and obvious of these (fresco paintings) is on the lofty arch of the entrance to the sanctuary of the great altar: There St *John*, about to write, in an attitude expressive of attention to the objects before him, is seated under a canopy, and accompanied by his well-known eagle, lifts his eyes to the concave of the arch above, where the glowing colours of that splendid bow which is seen in the cloud in the day of rain (Rev. iv. 3) attracts our notice. It was a primæval sign, a symbol of the sanctuary held in the highest veneration. . . . Within the lofty arch the sun and moon, an arrangement of constellations, and some other splendid characters are painted."*

Mr Stoddart,† writing a little later, is much less complimentary, and merely remarks on "some coarse fresco paintings of the evangelists in tolerable preservation." The Rev. Joseph Anderson, of Birnie, writing to General Hutton, November 21, 1789, says, "The day being clear, several remains of excellent painting would be seen; particularly a representation of John the Divine sitting, with a pen in his hand, and writing in a Book what the angel revealed to him; nigh to him was the picture of an eagle, and some stars, in pretty lively colours, drawn upon the top of the gate leading into the chancel."‡

As remodelled, there is no object of interest in the aisle of the South transept beyond the remains of another aumbry, as we suppose, at the squint window opening into the Lady's Chapel, to whose altar it seems to have pertained. This slanting window was used by the acolytes when preparing their censers. These were lighted upon a signal given in the transept. As the sculpture will be more fittingly described when we enter the Lady Chapel, we

* "Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of North Britain." By Rev. C. Cordiner, Banff, 1788, No. 17.

† Stoddart's "Remarks on Scotland," Vol. II., p. 122.

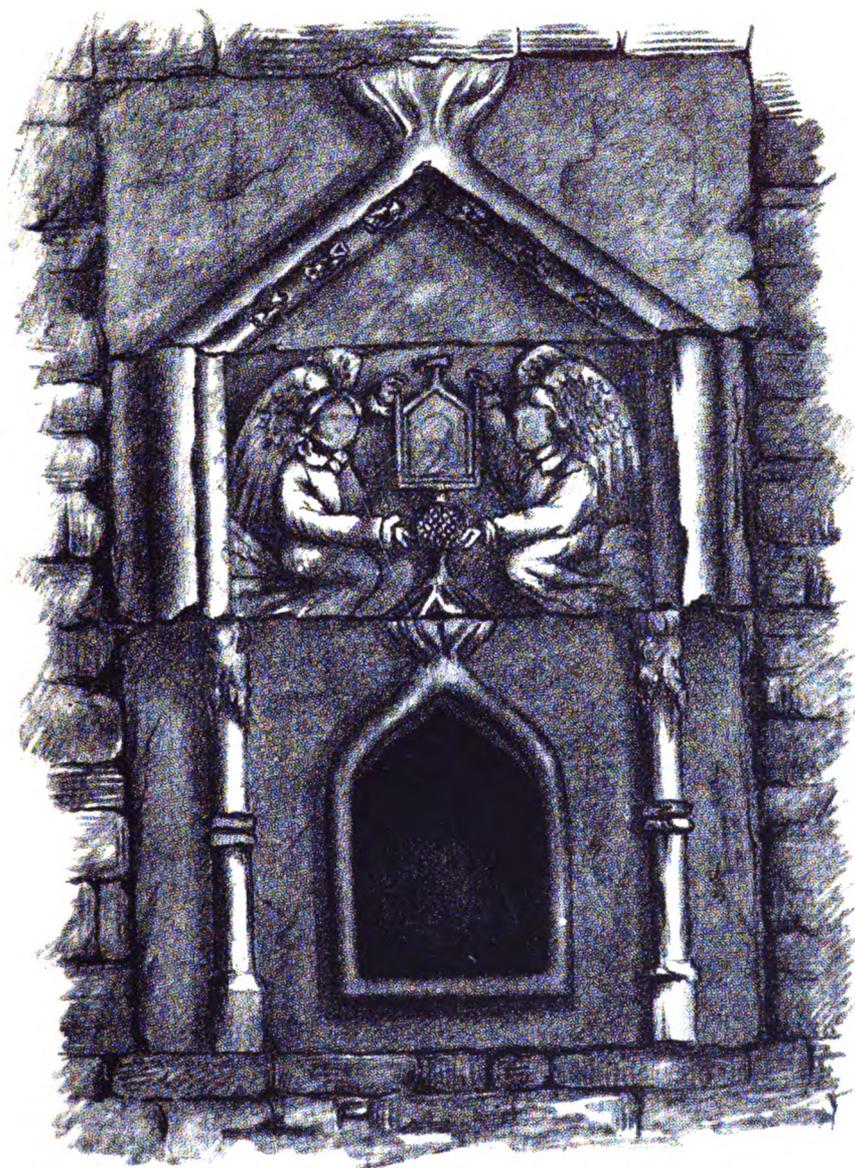
‡ Hutton MSS., "Elginshire," in Advoc. Lib., Edin.

shall not now refer to it more at length; only remarking that there are still traces of fresco painting on the plaster over this window. Some years ago the colours were much more vivid, as we can recollect them, than they are now. The West side of the transept has nothing to attract us beyond the doorway by which to pass towards the cloisters, and the large, rugged opening which forms the exit to what little there is to mark the NAVE. On this side of the transepts the clerestory passage runs from the dormitories to a point near where the South wall of the nave extended, according to the plan. It may be seen terminating there. We have already traced its course on the East side, and the general character of this portion of the Priory may be gathered from the accompanying drawing of a portion above the South transept aisle. The graceful lightness of the masonry here has been much admired. Mr Walcott describes the clerestory as consisting of "three circles sunk in spherical triangles." This description can only apply to some one point, probably noticed in an illustration. The general character of these passages at Pluscardyn may be gathered from our illustration, representing a small portion of that over the East side of the South transept.

It only remains to refer to the Square Tower, which is still very nearly complete. As a rule, these central towers "are not elevated more than one square above the apex of the church roof. . . . Saddle-back capings occur occasionally, as at Crichton, Dundee, Dysart, New Abbey, Pluscardine, and Torphichen."* The tower of our Priory is subsequently singled out by Mr Muir as one deserving notice. Its general character and roof-lines can be readily recognised by a reference to the frontispiece to this volume.

THE CHOIR.—There is little now, as compared with three centuries ago, to attract our notice in the Choir. We look in vain for the monuments which once occupied the side walls, and not a trace can be seen of fittings for celebrations of any kind. We are reminded of where the high altar stood by the rectangular open grave which was immediately in front of it, and where tradition says Alexander Dunbar, the last monastic Prior, was laid. In the North wall there is a very suggestive erection. This is the elegant aumbry which is delineated on the full page illustration opposite. Cordiner gives a drawing of this aumbry as it appeared towards the close of last century. His details are more sharp than in the stones, as now to be seen, which do not, indeed, in all respects suggest certain portions of Cordiner's elaborate and highly symbolic representation. His account of this sculpture, remarkably like one in the

* Muir, *ut supra*, p. 89. "SADDLE ROOF of a tower, so called where the roof has two gables, sometimes termed a Pack-saddle, a Saddle-back roof."—*Glossary of Architecture*. Parker & Co.

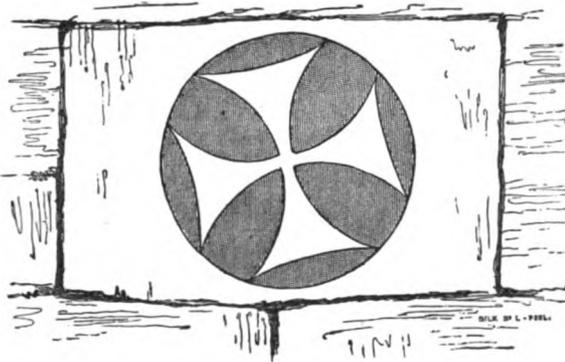


Aumbry, Choir, Pluscardyn.

From the wall to right of High Altar at spot marked B in ground plan of the Priory

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Chapel of the Castle of Deskford, is the only special reference we have found to this interesting sacramental relic. Messrs Audsley, in their "Dictionary of Architecture and the Allied Arts,"* quote, under article ALMERY, from the *Rites of Durham*, a passage which seems to indicate for us the precise purpose of this old "*credence*," as Walcott terms it. "In the North side of the Quire there is an almerye neere to the high altar, fastened in the wall, for to lay anythinge in pertaininge to the high altar." We are also told that in many cases the Eucharist, reserved for the last communion, was stored in an aumbry near the altar, as is still the case in Italy. The illustration of an aumbry accompanying the article is almost identical in shape with that now under consideration, and is taken from the church of St Peter, Claypole, Lincolnshire. Ours is, however, much more suggestive of the use referred to than that figured by the Messrs Audsley, for the angels manifestly bear a chalice surmounted by a box for the *host*. The central ornamentation on the stalk of the chalice, representing a grape cluster, makes the design unmistakably clear.



DEDICATION CROSS, CHOIR, PLUSCARDYN.

Not much less interesting than this aumbry are the numerous *Dedication Crosses*, already referred to, on the North and South walls of the Choir. Muir, in his "Old Church Architecture of Scotland,"† says:—"A strictly conventional form for these crosses seems to have been used—a cross pattée inclosed in a circle of about a foot in diameter—as no varieties occur. Examples of them are preserved on the walls of the Churches at Linlithgow, Stirling, and Crail, Pluscardine Abbey-church, Elgin Cathedral, and on the two buttresses against the east end of the Cathedral at Iona." Our illustration is from a drawing by Mr Galloway Mackintosh, of one of those in the Choir at Pluscardyn.

* Henry Sotheran & Co., London. Vol. I., p. 43.

† Muir, *ut supra*, pp. 97, 98.

In the work from which we have just quoted, there is a reference to the East window of the Choir, which is described as "a pyramidal group, consisting of a base tier of four contiguous lancets, over this a three-light window, with plain intersecting tracery, then an oval aperture, and surmounting that a trefoiled triangle in the apex of the gable."* Our coloured *frontispiece* makes abundantly conspicuous almost every detail of this description. Mr Muir evidently paid much attention to all parts of our Priory.† At another place (page 45) he mentions that "the Choir consists of three bays without aisles, 56 feet 8 inches in length," and then adds:—"Of the nave, nothing remains but a fragment of the South wall."

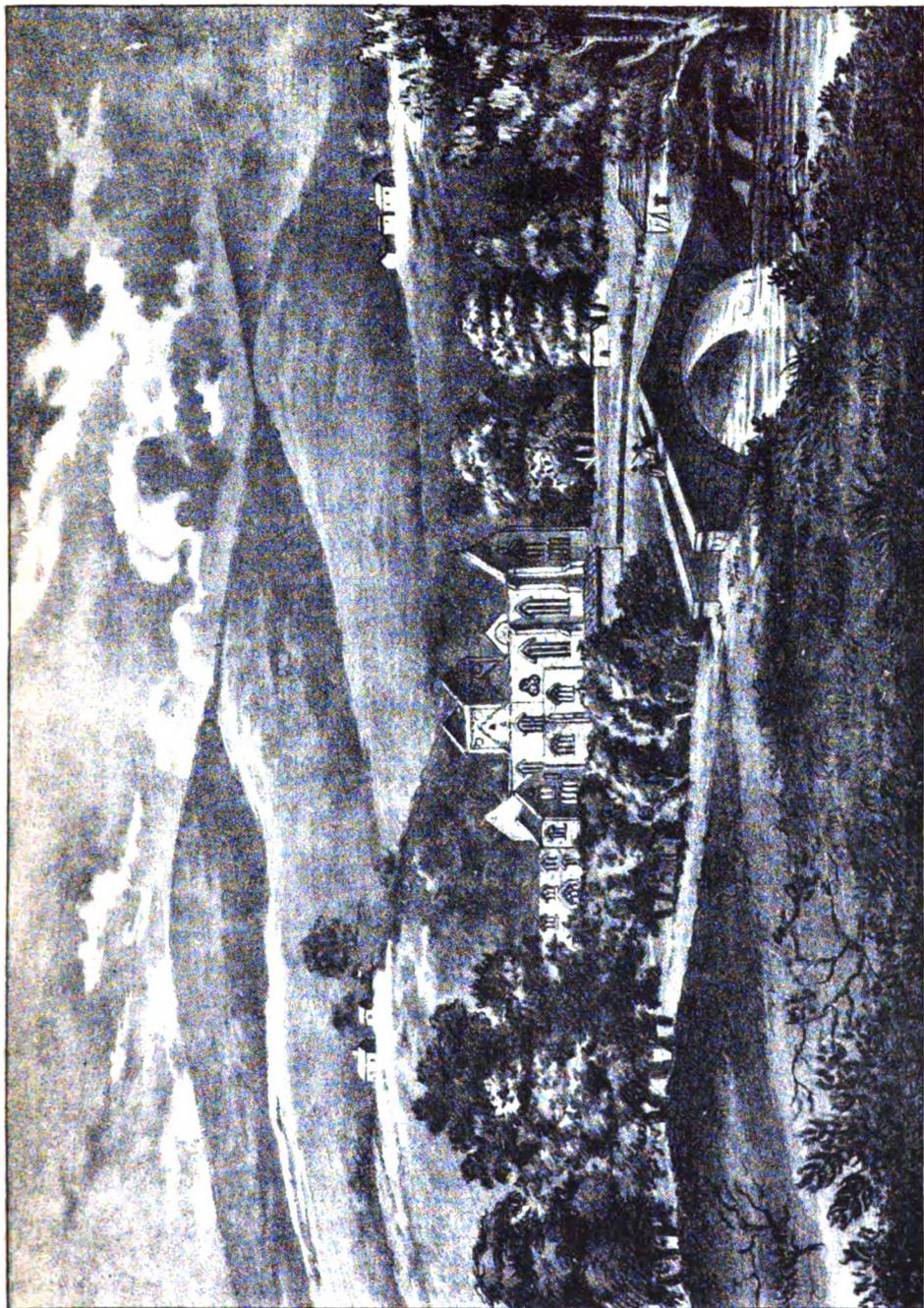
Before leaving the Choir, it may be desirable to brush aside a little of the dust of time and decay from beneath our feet. We have previously referred to the fact that the Choir is popularly known as the "Ogilvie Aisle." For some time we were perplexed to account for the name, but clearing away the overlying earth from two gravestones about the middle of the Choir, they were found to mark the resting-place of a family of Ogilvies, once occupants of the Glen. The date found on one of these stones is 1643, and the fact is very legible that one of the Ogilvies (Andrew) "dwalt in the Ester hil of Pluscarden." This "Ester hil" farm is now only recognisable in the drawing by Nattes, which we have adapted from Stoddart. The *lion* of the Ogilvies is carved on each of the stones, one of which bears also within the shield the arms of Ogilvie's wife, *J. R.* Another grave, covered with a blue hill-stone, may be seen inside the Choir on the left hand, close to the entrance. It seems to be a farmer's grave, from the implements inscribed on it. At the top of the stone are the letters so common at Pluscardyn, *J. R.*

Making our way from the Choir, under the tower, and along the South transept, we enter the Lady Chapel, beside the stair leading up to the dormitories. We observe that in making the lateral additions to this stair since Nattes visited the House last century, moulded stones have been used, taken from other portions of our Priory. The doorway to the Chapel is worth noticing before entering

THE LADY CHAPEL.—This portion of our Priory is in some respects the most interesting. The interest does not arise from any special attraction of the Chapel itself, but from the monumental stones which are found in it. The Lady Chapel was most frequently placed to the east of the Presbytery, but sometimes, as in the present case, parallel to the Choir. There are two entrances to this Chapel—one from the South transept beside the stair leading to the dormitories, and the other from the cloisters. A small chamber, filling

* Muir, *ut supra*, pp. 59, 60.

† Mr Billings has restored this window in one of his beautiful architectural plates of our Priory.



PLUSCARDYN PRIORY.
NEAR THE END OF THE XVIII. CENTURY
Corrected from Stoddart's "Remarks on Scotland."

100

the angular space between the two doors, seems to be of later construction, and suggests a pantry, though dim notions of monastic violence and immorality cluster round this cell.* Indeed we have tried spade and mattock here in vain for calcined bones and other horrors connected with monastic underground pits and concealments. Sooth to tell, our monks do not seem to have been careful to conceal themselves or their actions. What they were must have been pretty well known, at least in their later, and certainly degenerate days. Mr Cordiner has provided us with an interesting and almost awe-inspiring account of the remarkable frescoes to be seen in this Chapel. Our difficulty in receiving his testimony is, that while the paintings already mentioned have been several times noticed in writings of last century, Mr Cordiner is alone in calling attention to those of this Chapel, which, as described by him, are certainly far the most interesting and suggestive.

As Mr Cordiner's book is not very easily accessible, we give his description in full, only omitting the pious and learned "animations" with which he has embellished and "improved" his description:—"In the Sacristy, more complicated designs and more wonderful schemes of theology, seem to have been pursued. . . . In Pluscardine Abbey it is a long vaulted gallery, the roof and walls of which has been wholly covered with emblematical paintings: Considerable traces of these remain, exhibiting evangelists and apostles nearly as large as life, accompanied with their several characteristic attributes, and many allegorical representations thronged around. In the midst of them the august symbol of the church—'a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars'—attracts peculiar attention. But there is a yet more striking and awful figure above, replete with more daring allusions, which one could have scarce ventured to describe were it not for the corresponding of design observable in it to some of those incomprehensible pieces of sculpture executed in the early though darker periods of Christianity that are preserved with such care in museums on the Continent. . . . The MESSIAH, seated on a throne, in the attitude of benediction, is mysteriously veiled; his head encircled with solar rays, in reference to the declaration, 'I am the light of the world,' but the allusion is carried on by characters or designations of the planets being placed around the THRONE of light. On the four angles of the square which contains the figures, there are symbols of the elements; a crescent is placed before the throne, and an expressive alpha and omega indicate the sacred reference of the whole; while St *John* and the Holy Virgin are bending with veneration towards these sacred insignia!"†

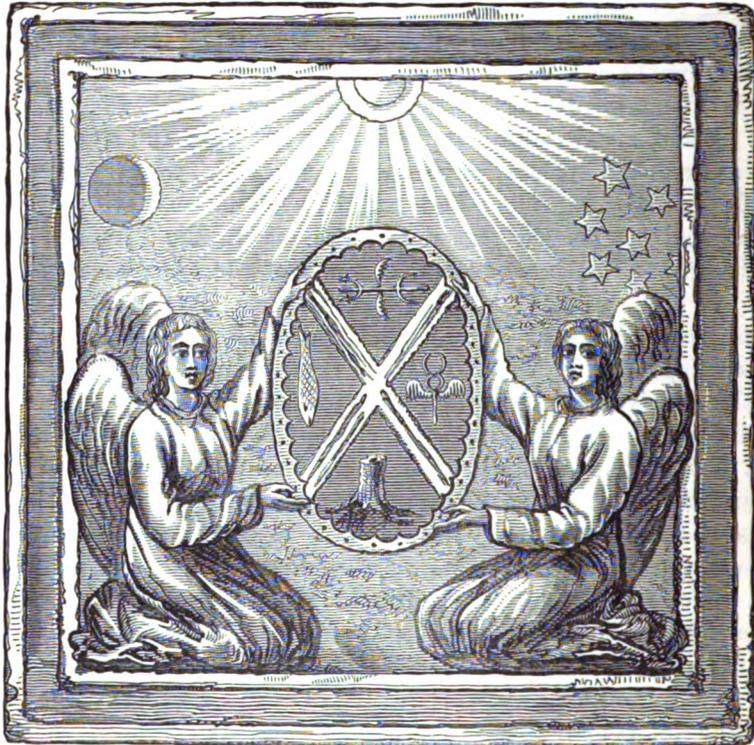
In the brightness of a forenoon sun there are still to be seen upon the North wall of the Chapel distinct traces of large figures, and considerable

* Could this have been the Sacrist's dormitory?

† Cordiner, *ut supra*, No. 17.

masses of delicate colour. We cannot say that we have been able to follow the details of Mr Cordiner's description. Perhaps something might even yet be done to give more prominence and permanence to these few remaining traces of wall painting. In the accompanying full page illustration we give the only distinct painting which we have found here—a design, in deep blue, upon the moulded ribs of one of the groined arches near the North entrance.

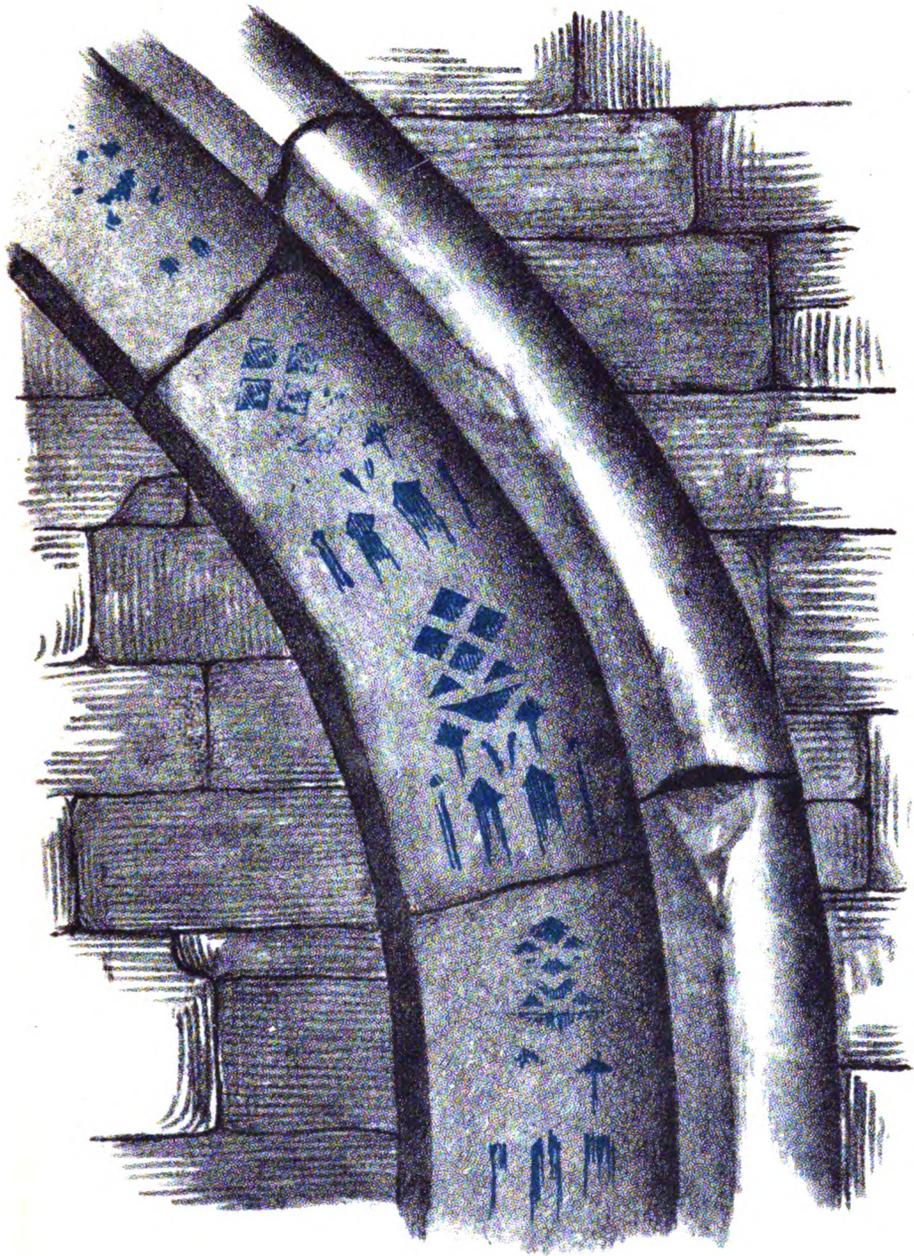
Approaching the East end of the Lady Chapel we find a window-like opening into the South transept aisle, as already referred to. On the left of



ELEMENTAL SYMBOLISM, LADY CHAPEL, PLUSCARDYN, 1788.

this opening we observe a floral bracket, while on the right is a much-effaced stone, on which, however, two supporting angels are yet distinctly visible. Previous to our acquaintance with Mr Cordiner, we supposed that when complete this stone formed an *aumbry* closely resembling that in the Choir. Mr Cordiner has given an illustration of this stone, touched up from his knowledge of the Eleusinian and other mysteries. From this drawing we have copied the remarkable illustration given above, and believe that only Mr Cordiner's description would be adequate by way of explanation.

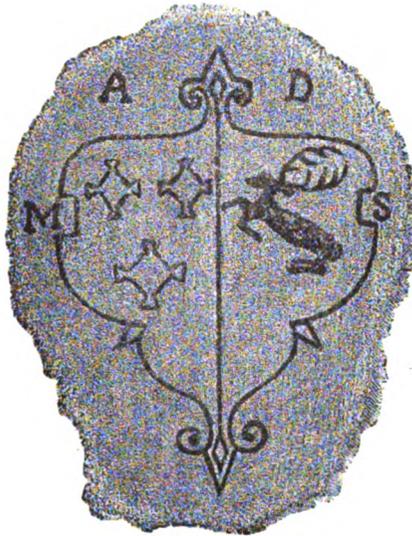
“In the four divisions of the shield made by the cross the elements are



Fresco ornamental painting in "Ladys Chapel" Pluscardyn.

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characterized. These had been judged to have some primitive reference to the solemnities of the altar, and their high import has been often felt. It will be scarce admitted as an argument of much moment in this disquisition that, in the appropriate language of several churches, the symbols of the ecclesiastical sacrifice are still distinguished by the title of THE ELEMENTS. . . . A cup, a fish, or waving lines beneath a crescent, implied the element of WATER. A quill, or feather, was the most simple, a caduceus the more complex



SHIELD ON STONE OF A. DUNBAR, EAST END OF LADY CHAPEL.

symbol of the properties of AIR. The winged thunderbolt, a forked flame or dart, was put for the penetrating power of FIRE. And a dry tree indicated EARTH, or matter, seemingly deprived of the action of the other elements.*

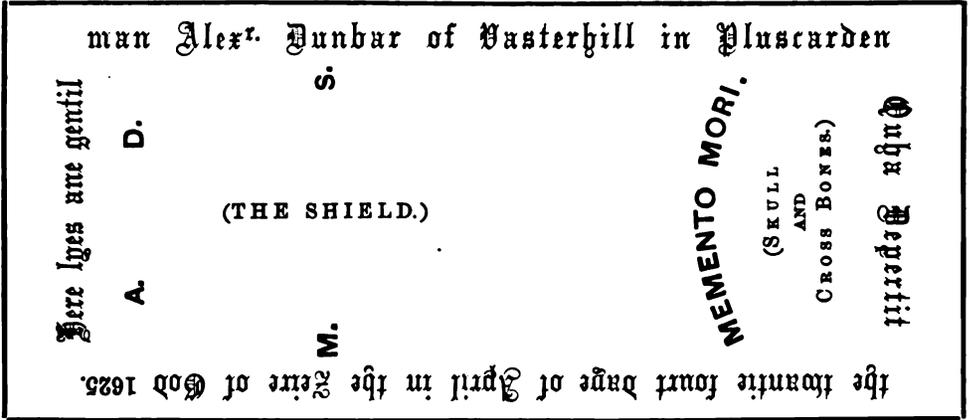
If we receive our author's details, we may feel sure that the sick and stranger monks, for whom the Lady Chapel seems to have been chiefly intended,† found abundant material for deep and varied reflection among the paintings and sculpture here.

Our attention should now be turned to some of the gravestones lying about the Chapel, few of them, we fear, *in situ*. At the East end that which attracts our notice is a stone placed to mark the resting-place of Alexander Dunbar, who died at Wester hills of Pluscarden, in April, 1625. Above the shield are his initials, A. D., and on the side of the shield the letters M. S. The dexter-side has the *three cushions* of the Dunbars, and the sinister a stag

* Cordiner, *ut supra*, No. 17.

† Fosbroke's "British Monachism," p. 205.

salient. The shield is represented in the zincograph on the preceding page, and the entire inscription is as follows:—



The most generally interesting of all the stones in this Chapel is that of another Alexander Dunbar, who, if the stone lies *in situ*, was buried under the place where Mr Hasbane's stone is fixed in the wall. There are two difficulties about this stone. The one is the date of Alexander Dunbar's death, and the other the contracted word which precedes "DE PLUSCARTE." In the "Ferne Kalendar," at Dunrobin Castle, an entry occurs which seems to determine what the letters on the stone must mean. There we read—

"Obitus Hono^{lis} Viri Alex^{ri} Dunbar de Durris nono Junij 1527 et Sepultus est in Pluscarden."

Comparing this with the stone,



ALEXANDER DUNBAR, OF DURRIS, &C. 1527. LADY CHAPEL, PLUSCARDYN.

we believe we can follow the date—Q[ui] O[biit] A[nn]o D[omin]i M[illesimo]o Q[uintesimo] V[icesimo]o; and now, passing to the second line of the inscription above the cross, we find the remainder, S[eptimo]o.* The subsequent letters of that line have received no satisfactory decipherment or explanation. Various suggestions have been made by experts, chiefly with a view to find the initials of the date, 9th June, or of some pious breathing. Without claiming the probability of a discovery, we may suggest that the letters are *d. m. r.*, and may be read D[ie] M[argarit]e R[egin]e. On reference to the "Ferne Kalendar," we find that the 10th June was kept as the day of Queen Margaret. The entry is,

"x g. iiii Id [Margarete regine. ix. l.]"†

The other difficulty encountered with this stone is the peculiar form of the contracted word BALLIVUS, as we must no doubt read the designation preceding "de Pluscarte." We have already seen (page 122), on Charter authority, that the Dunbars of Durris, afterwards of Grangehill, were heritable bailies of Pluscardyn. The inscription may therefore be read—

"Hic jacet || honorabilis Vir Alexander Dunbar || de Durris et || Ballivus de Pluscarte qui obiit Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo Vicesimo || Septimo die Margaritæ reginæ."

This Alexander Dunbar of Durris was son and heir to David, fifth son of Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield. Sir Alexander died 10th March, 1497-8, two years after he put his son David in possession of Durris. David died 23rd February, 1521-2, and Alexander, whose gravestone we are now considering, succeeded him, but, as we see, did not long survive.

Two other stones in this Chapel are worthy of a passing notice. At the West entrance there lies, in a sadly broken condition, portions of a stone intended to mark the resting-place of two men of the name of Lyel. We have already found this name among those of monks of the House. The name of Robert Lyel is introduced as "*honorabilis Vir.*" The other name is James, who died "i.iii. Idūs. Aprilis. † Anno. Virginis. in. pa. xx. M^occcc^o." This date shows the stone we are now examining to be the oldest in the Lady Chapel. Near the pedestal of the cross which runs along the length of the stone there are a shield on the one side, and a skull on the other. The shield is quartered first and fourth a *cross patée*; second and third a *star with six points*.

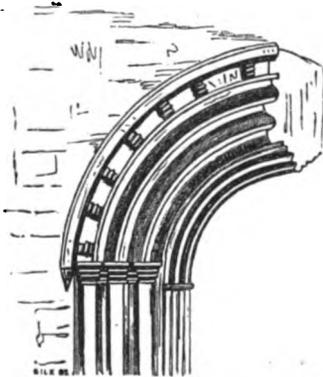
* We owe the extract from the "Ferne Kalendar," and the above reading of the date, to A. H. Dunbar, Esq.

† Forbes' Kalendars, p. 72. Notwithstanding the presence of June 10th as the commemoration day of Queen Margaret in the *Menologium Scoticum* (Forbes, *ut supra*, p. 202), as well as in the "Ferne Kalendar," it seems right to state that authority seems to lean to the belief that this day for commemorating the saintly Queen was only fixed at the instance of King James VII., in 1693. (Forbes, p. 390.) If this be so, then the suggestion of the text will be necessarily valueless.

‡ April 6th.

The letters *f. l.* are on the right and left. A drawing of this stone, made about twenty years ago, inserts what looks like a coronet above letters still visible, which seem to be *m. r. a.* Mr Meikleham, the teacher of the Glen, whose interest in this work is gratefully acknowledged, made the drawing twenty years ago, and distinctly remembers the presence of the figure, though it is now worn out by constant treading of the feet over the fragments of the stone. A family of the name of *Urquhart* also claims a place in this portion of the Priory. Their stone is beside that of the Lyels. The shield on this stone has the letters *I. V.* and *I. B.* The inscription is merely, "HERE LYES JAMES URQUHART." Other gravestones to be found in this Chapel either have been already noticed, or do not call for special remark.

THE NAVE AND CLOISTERS.—When we leave the Lady Chapel by the West entrance, we see in front of us the Cloister garth. Passing to the right, we find in the Cloister north wall a gateway leading towards the Nave. This is the finest of several elegant doorways found at our Priory, some of which are pointed, two at least are semi-hexagonal, and several semi-circular. Mr Muir, in his work already frequently quoted, having spoken of doorways at Roslin, Dryburgh, Dunfermline, Holyrood, &c., adds:—"But infinitely richer and more



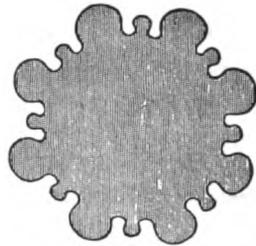
Portion of Doorway North Side
CLOISTERS, PLUSCARDYN.

elegantly designed than any of the foregoing, are the doorways in the Abbey-church at Pluscardine, though unfortunately they are all more or less in a sadly mutilated condition. They are, for the most part, arched semi-circularly, and range from one to six orders, with jamb-shafts (now mostly destroyed), and plain tympanum, supported on brackets."* Mr Billings has given a beautiful little woodcut of the doorway we have now reached. His drawing is, as usual, a restoration. We give a sectional drawing of this doorway, which exhibits all the features and presents an accurate representation of the present condition of the portion delineated.

Making our way through this doorway, we expect to find the NAVE, but only a few ragged projections from the transept are visible. So far as we can ascertain, the Nave was never built, though in old drawings ruins are visible which may have belonged to the Nave, or were portions of buildings put up where the Nave should have been. Striking the ground where we see from the broken masonry of the transept wall that the Nave must have been

* Muir, *ut supra*, p. 86.

intended to run, we believe we come upon foundations, but the old ruins referred to may have been all that ever stood here. Returning by the doorway already spoken of, we find on our left hand a lavatory, and along the same wall a considerable number of corbels, mostly with floral designs. One, which is singularly like a St Edward (the Confessor's) shield,* surmounted by a crown, though only four birds are now visible, having the cross apparently *pierced*, has been copied, and may be seen on the same page as the *Dunbar Arms*, in the Dunbar Vestry. It may not be out of place to remark that the position of the Cloister here, to the South of the Nave, is that ordinarily found, and where the Nave remains it generally forms the North side of the Cloister Court. The Cloister Court was the nucleus of a Monastery. "It was a quadrangular space of green sward, around which were arranged the Cloister buildings, viz., the Church, the Chapter-house, the Refectory, and the Dormitory. The Court was called the *Paradise*—the blessed garden in which the inmates passed their lives of holy peace. A porter was often placed at the Cloister-gate, and the monks might not quit its seclusion, nor strangers enter to disturb its peace, save under exceptional circumstances. . . . There was sometimes a fountain at the corner of the Cloister, or on its South side, near the entrance to the Refectory, at which the monks washed before meals."† The remains of the covered *ambulatory* round this Court are easily distinguished in the numerous corbels which still project from the walls. There is nothing specially noteworthy here, except the elegant entrance on the South side of the Court into the Refectory. By a comparison of "mason-marks" (if any reliance can be put upon their *date-value*), this doorway was probably built at the same time as the North wall of the Choir.



SECTION OF PILLAR IN CHAPTER-HOUSE, PLUSCARDYN.

THE CHAPTER HOUSE AND PASSAGE WAY.—The *Chapter-houses* were always situated on the East side of the Cloister Court. In monastic buildings they were not so many-sided as in those belonging to secular canons. Here in Pluscardyn the Chapter-house is a square, with the roof supported by a central pillar, of which a section is given in the accompanying illustration.‡ A very beautiful engraving of the Chapter-house in a ruined state, and not as now restored, may be seen in Mr Billings' architectural drawings. The

* See Boutell's "English Heraldry," pp. xv., 18.

† Cutts' "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," p. 72.

‡ Mr Muir, *ut supra*, p. 77, remarks on Pluscardyn as possessing a fine and perfect form of *Second-pointed* Chapter-house, viz., "a square with enriched roof, centrally supported by a clustered pillar." Subsequently, p. 114, Mr Muir speaks of the Chapter-house as having "a fine and curiously moulded pillar."

bosses on the arches of the roof are all floral, with the exception of an *Agnus Dei*, which has been copied by Mr Cordiner (No. 23), and was almost the latest sculpture with which he occupied his mind. The Prior's seat, slightly elevated, occupied the East end, and in front of it a desk was placed. Here lessons or *Chapters* were read by novices, and expounded by the Prior, after which names held in honour were read out, and a *requiescant in pace* said when the roll was ended. The remarkable acoustic properties of the Pluscardyn Chapter-house must have given singular richness and impressiveness to the readings and prayers. A very slender voice seems powerful and musical in the striking resonance of this little chamber.*

Adjoining the Chapter-house is a passage-way, by some believed to have been constructed for the convenience of the Prior passing from his house to the Cloisters. Others believe it to be no more than a passage for general use from the eastern to the western portions of the buildings, while some regard this space as the *penitential* cell. It is not peculiar to Pluscardyn, but may be seen similarly situated in other monastic buildings. Adjoining this is that portion of our Priory now fitted up as a church, which is generally spoken of as the KITCHEN of the Priory, though no doubt it was what we have termed it in the plan, the *Calefactory* or *Frater-house*.

THE CALEFACTORY.—Those who know the open secrets of the *Combination-room* of a modern college will understand the general intention of this portion of the monastic establishment. In Pluscardyn the usual form is given to this room, whose axis run North and South. We think some traces of fresco may still be detected on the walls. No doubt the fire-place was where popular remark places it, behind the present pulpit, which, as we have seen, originally belonged to St Giles' Church, Elgin, and was presented, some tell us, by the Lords in Council to Elgin about the same time that they also bestowed the gift of a *gallows*! In Mr Nattes' drawing, as photo-lithographed in this volume, it will be seen that a doorway passed out to the East side of the House, opposite where the present door is. Traces of this door are still distinctly visible in the masonry.

THE REFECTORY AND KITCHEN.—We have already remarked the entrance into the Refectory from the South side of the Cloister Court. Under the South cloister-wall the ground is much lower than the court above. On examination we see that the Refectory was under-arched so as to form cellars. The marks of these arches are still easily traced upon the wall, and the arches were, no doubt, removed for building purposes. The stones used in

* Shaw, in his "Moray," speaks of the Chapter-house as an "Octagonal Cube."

the construction of the new mill of Pluscarden, as well as in buildings nearer to the House, bear unmistakable marks of their preparation for our Priory. These arches * raised the floor of the Refectory to the level of the entrance from the Cloister Court. The plan shows a cross wall terminating the Refectory on the East, at some distance from the Calefactory. At this point no doubt the Kitchen began, and had its great fire-place at the East end, corresponding to the back of the pulpit of the Calefactory. There is evidence of cellarge and other storage in this portion of the building, an arrangement of such convenience, lying between the Calefactory and Refectory, that the kitchener and cellarer could not have been more favourably situated. Apartments seem to have been built above the Kitchen, or, at least, a stair ran up here to the dormitories by which the monks could descend directly to the Cloister Court. Within the Refectory, "on the left hand, was an almy, where stood the grace cup, out of which the monks, after grace, every day drank round the table. . . . At the West end was a loft above the cellar, ascended by stairs with an iron rail, where the convent and monks dined together. . . . Two windows opened into the Refectory from the great Kitchen, the one large for great days, the other smaller for every day, and through these the meat was served." †

Probably other buildings occupied the West side of the Cloister Court, where we should expect to find the *Hospitium* or *Guest-house*, and over it the chambers provided for strangers. In the same neighbourhood we should also expect to find a Guest-Chapel, such as we found at Vallis Caulium. Of these, however, there are not now any distinguishable traces. Of separate buildings only two remain for mention.

THE PRIOR'S LODGING AND THE MILL OF THE MONASTERY.—These two stood together in remarkable proximity between the lake and the calefactory. It is not many years since a portion of the axle of the mill wheel remained, and the nether mill-stone may probably yet be taken up and examined in the "Prior's Room," so called, which is used as the minister's vestry. There is little to remark about the Prior's house, save that it continued to be occupied till some time last century. The man who farmed the nine acres of the precincts was termed the Prior, and the immediate surrounding was known as the "*Prior's yird*." We have already seen that a passage-way extended from the Prior's house to the dormitories. The entrance may be seen in the wall above, and we may now mentally step across by the monastic draw-bridge into the chambers of the monks.

* See I in the Plan of the Priory.

† Fosbroke's "*British Monachiam*," p. 216.

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1585, with the style of "Prior of Pluscardyn."* He was admitted an ordinary Lord of Session 16th February, 1588, with the title of Lord Urquhart. In 1593 he was elected Lord President, and five years later became a peer, with the title of Lord Fyvie; the lands of Fyvie having become his property, were at that time erected into a free lordship. Along with this new honour he was appointed tutor and custodier of the young Prince Charles—afterwards Charles I. Public feeling seems to have varied very much in relation to him. At one time we find him summoned as a heretic, or, at least, suspected person, before the Synod of Lothian; and then we find him elected, on several successive occasions, as Provost of Edinburgh. At this time he seems to have been also Provost of Elgin, where he frequently resided in the Bishop's Palace within the Cathedral City.† Mr Young believes he was Provost there about 1591, and mentions documentary evidence in the hands of Captain Robert Dunbar of Sea Park, to show he was *prepositus* of Elgin in or about 1616.‡ So far as we recollect, the earliest Charter which we have seen with Alexander's signature is dated October, 1582. It is interesting, not merely for his signature, but no less because it confirms certain lands in Urquhart to the family of *Maver*—one of a family whose name lingers in the district in the place known as *Maverston*, which belonged to them in 1592, being then in the hands of Walter *Maver*. This family afterwards took a prominent place among the nobles and barons of the country. The signature adopted in 1582 was "*A. Setonius*," and two years afterwards it remained in the House, who also sign—viz., THOMAS ROSE and ROBERT ARTH.

The Douglasses received an Act of Rehabilitation in 1585, but it was expressly provided by Parliament that Alexander's right to the Priory should not thereby be interfered with.¶ In 1586, he granted by Charter a half and a third coble's fishing on Spey to James Dunbar of Cumnock. This Charter, which is our *fac-simile* of his time, is signed "PLUSCARDEN," and has the additional interest of adding to the Prior's new style the signature of the last monk of the monastery. In the body of the Charter Alexander is designated "*Commendatarius perpetuus Monasterii de Pluscardin*."¶ In 1587, King James, having reached his majority, granted, under the Great Seal, a Charter confirming Alexander "*jampridem commendatarius de Pluscardin*" in the regality and patronage of Urquhart.** Mark, the son of John *Maver* of

* Douglas' "Peerage," vol. I., p. 480.

† This residence is locally known as the *Dunfermline House*, but is generally pointed out as the *Palace*. It is suggested by Rhind that it was built by David or Andrew Stewart, whose arms are on the walls. Seton became proprietor of the House on the alienation of the lands of the Bishopric.

—"Rhind's Sketches," p. 88, and plates.

‡ Threpland and Crookedwood.

¶ See Appendix OO.

¶ "Annals of Elgin," pp. 33, 495-622.

¶ "Acts of Parliament," vol. III., p. 398.

** Copy among Duff House Charters.

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our Priory.
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THE DORMITORY.—This is a long room, extending the entire length of the Calefactory, passage, Chapter-house, and the width of the Lady Chapel. If the present Dormitory was built before the occupation of our monastery by the Black Monks, the brethren must, in all probability, have had separate cells, where they passed great part of their monastic life, and was usual in Carthusian Houses, and at Vallis Caulium, at least originally. After the introduction of the Black Monks of Dunfermline, no doubt this was changed, and the Dormitory would be converted into what very nearly resembled a large ward in one of our hospitals. Perhaps, as was common, the *Scriptorium*, or writing-room, would be partitioned off above the Chapter-house. The small room, called the Prior's, with the yet smaller one from it, may have very probably been the apartment of the sub-Prior, as charged with the responsibility of the monks in dormitory. It may quite as probably be a remnant of the older arrangements of the House, and found convenient under an altered *regime* for other purposes of either worship or retirement.

These seem to be all the more important features of the Buildings, so far as they can now be traced after the many spoliations to which they have been subjected. Views of the Priory are not known earlier than last century. Stoddart, Cardonell, Grose (Vol. II.), Shaw (succeeding editions), Cordiner, "Beauties of Scotland" (Vol. IV.), Hutton's MSS. "Elginshire," besides others, some of them already referred to, have given different views of our Priory. Those found in the present volume are, with the exception of the exquisite plates by Mr Billings, probably the most careful in detail hitherto published.

CHAPTER XX.

Literature, Art and Industry—Conclusion.

SIR JAMES STEPHEN, in his essay on *The French Benedictines*,* informs us that "their rule assigned an eminent place among monastic virtues to the guardianship and multiplication of valuable manuscripts. It taught the copyist of a holy book to think of himself as at once a pupil and a teacher—as a missionary while seated at his desk, using each finger as a tongue, inflicting on the Spirit of Evil a deadly wound at each successive line—and as baffling, with the pen, the dread enemy who smiles at the impotent hostility of every other weapon grasped by the hand of mortal man. In each Benedictine monastery a chamber was set apart for the discharge of this sacred office. In this *Scriptorium* some of the monks plied their pens assiduously, and in profound silence, to produce faultless transcripts of the best originals. To others was committed the care of revising the text of such works as were then held in highest esteem. . . . A tribute of writing materials at the commencement of each novitiate, and another of books at its close, with an annual impost of manuscripts on the inferior Houses, were continually augmenting the libraries of the greater convents." The accompanying illustration will afford a tolerable idea of the furniture of a *Scriptorium*. It is intended to represent the Apostle John engaged in writing the fourth Gospel. How far our monks at Pluscardyn may have devoted themselves to this department of intellectual and spiritual effort we do not know. Only one book has reached our time which owes its origin to our Priory, and it has done



SCRIPTORIUM,† with Apostle John.

* "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," p. 238. Longman, Green & Co., London. 1860.

† See *Calendar of Prayer Book*. Parker, 1867.

more than all else to keep up the memory and the fame of the House. We fear we cannot congratulate ourselves on possessing the original, but we certainly possess two early and probably immediate copies of this famous work—the “LIBER PLUSCARDENSIS.” We have no trace of any Chartulary of the House having ever been made.* Several of the Charters emanating from the Monastery are written in a style worthy of the best efforts of the *Scriptorium*; and the number of the *Brothers* who sign in a good bold hand seems to encourage the hope that above the Chapter House, and round the ambulatory of the Cloister Court, not a little intellectual labour may have been conducted besides the solitary literary effort which has reached us. It may be added that, in the neighbouring House of Kinloss, there was certainly, under the better Abbots, a considerable mental stimulus given to the Brotherhood, and we have preserved for us an indication of the character of the library to be found and the nature of the lectures addressed to the monks there.† While Kinloss and Pluscardyn had some difficulties to settle at law, they seem to have been ready to borrow from each other those advances in art and industry which tended to promote comfort and display. Perhaps we may also hope that there was a similar interchange of literary fellowship. Previous to the union of Urquhart and Pluscardyn, there can be no good reason to doubt the existence of this intercourse; and perhaps the feeling of antagonism between the Houses was not so deep as some historical hints would lead us to fear after the union and the introduction of the Black Monks within our Priory. Closely allied to the literary work already referred to was a kind of semi-religious education, provided at certain

* We have been anxious to place before our readers a complete *Rental* of the Priory. A very long one is to be found in the Hutton MSS. in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. The original paper from which this *Rental* was copied had been forwarded to General Hutton by Mr Rose of Montcoffer House, Banff, who stated that he believed that it was prepared by JAMES JUSTICE, a monk of the House, in 1500. The name of James Justice occurs, under the Priorate of Robert, in two Charters given in this volume, the one at page 117, and the other the *facsimile* Charter of 1499. General Hutton has noted that his reading of the old *Rental* fixes its date nearly half a century later. Mr Rose's own note books also contain the *Rental*, and as he possessed much local knowledge, as Lord Fife's “man of business,” the old document is transcribed by him in a much more intelligible form, with remarks and sundry additions from other sources where the original was torn or rusted. Both copies are, however, in so extremely imperfect a condition that it has been considered better that neither of them should be printed. A much more satisfactory *Rental* is found in the “Book of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices,” as furnished in 1560; and by the kindness of Thomas Dickson, Esq., we are able to give this *Rental* as found in the MSS. just named, lying in the General Register House, Edinburgh. See Appendix RR.

† Interesting notices of the Kinloss Library and Lectures will be found in the Preface to Dr Stuart's “Records of the Monastery of Kinloss.” Robert Reid seems to have founded the library, which was much enriched by his successor, with such books as the Old and New Testaments, in six volumes; Jerome's Epistles, in three volumes; St Ambrose, in two volumes; St Chrysostom, in four volumes. The works of Bernard, Aquinas, Augustine, &c., were also added in whole or in part. For a full account of the lectures and books used at Kinloss, see Ferrerius' *Historia Abbatum*, p. 43, sqq.

seasons, and believed to be more or less God-service. The *mystery* plays—performed in churches, and by ecclesiastics and monks—were a striking feature of the middle ages. There seems a strong tendency to their revival in school and religious life at present, and the current is not less strongly marked in Protestant Mission and Sunday School “Services of Song,” with readings and lantern illustrations, than in Romish open and pronounced school and chapel theatrical representations. We do not know how nearly the following entries have been again realised in our modern revivals of these old ecclesiastical entertainments, but no doubt we shall soon reach something very similar. On Corpus Christi Day, 1490, the following charges were entered for the play, besides so much for drink to the players between play-times, also “at the Swanne dore,” also “at the tavern,” &c. :—

<i>Imprimis</i> ,	to God (<i>i.e.</i> , Jesus Christ), . . .	ij*
Item,	to Cayphas,	iiij* iiij ^d
Item,	to Pilattee’s wife,	ij*
Item,	to the devyll and to Judas, . . .	xviiij ^d
Item,	to Pilattee,	iiij*
P ^d	to Fawston for hanging Judas, . .	iiij ^d
P ^d	to Fawston for coc-croying, . . .	iiij ^d *

We well know that the outcome of these representations was the production of vice and the death of all true religion in the public mind—a vague, meaningless sentiment taking the place of true worship. No doubt our monks, like others, had their entertainments of a similar kind, and the result on their neighbourhood was certainly not higher than elsewhere.

But while we may feel quite sure that such representations were provided within our Monastery, and formed a sort of intellectual occupation for the Brothers, we have no details or records by which to refer more definitely to this matter.

The oldest literary certainty which we possess is the production of the *LIBER PLUSCARDENSIS* by a resident of the House. To this work we must now briefly refer. Having no original information or suggestion to make, we shall confine our notice to a free use of the materials gathered for us in the Introductions to the two volumes of the published edition of the work.† From those volumes we learn that there are at present six MSS. of the work. Two of these are apparently copies from the original, and are known as the *GLASGOW MS.*, in the Glasgow College, and the *FAIRFAX MS.*,‡ in the Bodleian Library. The former of these was evidently made between 1478 and 1496, as we know in whose

* Wright’s “*Essays on Archæological Subjects.*” Vol. II., pp. 175, 176.

† “*The Historians of Scotland,*” Vols. VII. and X. Edin., 1877 and 1880. Edited by Felix J. H. Skene.

‡ A *facsimile* page of this MS. is given in “*The National MSS. of Scotland,*” Vol. II., No. lxxx.

time it was prepared.* The latter was made in 1489, and apparently remained at Dunfermline till 1525, when it passed to the Drummonds of Hawthornden, from whom it was sent to Fairfax, whose name it now bears. The remaining four MSS. of the work are copies of these—two being made from each of the original copies. Those from the Glasgow MS. are the *Cavers* and *Edinburgh Advocates' Library* MSS.; those from the Fairfax MS. are the *Marchmont* and *Bibliothèque Royal, Brussels*, MSS. All the copies are on paper. The question of the authorship, so far as at present known, is answered by an interesting and ingenious induction by W. F. Skene, Esq., communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh.† Mr Skene assigns to MAURICE BUCHANAN, a cadet of the house of Lennox, the honour of having compiled this history of Scotland, founded on, and to a large extent a transcript of, BOWER'S *Scotichronicon*. From references to events in which the author took part on the Continent,‡ and from various introductions of the name of Maurice Buchanan as a Scot, a Highlander, a treasurer to the Dauphiness, Queen Margaret of Scotland, and a "clericus," it is inferred that the two lines of historical events and personal description converge on this Maurice. The history has internal evidence of having been produced in 1461, under the patronage of the Abbot of Dunfermline—a date which entirely corresponds with the supremacy of Dunfermline in our Monastery, the union with Urquhart having been accomplished in 1454.§ The title by which this old chronicle is related to Pluscardyn we owe to George Buchanan, who does not seem to have known the name of the author. The references by Buchanan to this work are two—"Verum liber Pluscartensis interemptum tradit ab Alexandro Macelselano;"|| and again, "Et qui librum Pluscartensem scripsit," &c.¶ In both places the MSS. to which we have referred contain the facts described by Buchanan as being peculiar to the "*Liber Pluscardensis*." It may be added that Spottiswood, in referring to Pluscardyn, says, "It is commonly reported that the famous Book of Pluscarden, seen and perused by George Buchanan, was penned here."***

It would be out of place to enter more fully into this discussion when we have nothing to add to the labours of others. Towards the close of the XI. Book of the Chronicle there is a poetic chapter *in Scotch*, entitled, "*A morality*,

* This MS. wants some of the Latin, and all the Scotch. It seems to have been made by a French transcriber. The other principal MS. has the omitted parts and the Scotch.

† See Proceedings Soc. Antiquaries, Scotland, Vol. IX., p. 447, sqq.

‡ These passages are enumerated and discussed by Mr F. J. H. Skene. Lib. Plus., vol. II. Introduction, p. xxv., sqq.

§ We note again that Ferrerius' mistake about the union of Pluscardyn with Urquhart, while Fleutere was Abbot, has been followed in the preface to the *Liber Pluscardensis*.

|| "Rerum Scotticarum Historia," Bk. x., p. 329.

¶ *Ib.*, p. 348, 349.

*** Prof. Lib. Plus., vol. I., p. xxii.

representing the state of a kingdom by the figure of a harp." Our author says it is "by a hungerer and thirster after justice." We give three verses as a specimen of our author and his thoughts.*

" Rycht as stringis ar reulit in a harp
 In ane accord, & timyt al be ane uth,
 Quhilk as a king than curiously thai carp,
 The sang is sueyt quhen that the sound is suth,
 Bot, quhen thai ar discordand, fals and muth,
 Thair wil na man tak pleassance in that play :
 Thai mycht weil thole the menstrale war away.

" Gude justice has twa partis principale :
 The tane is dome and richtuis jugement ;
 The tothir is to mak the scathis hale,
 Eftir the dome the partyis to content,
 And thair of mak thame sikkir in continent,
 Eftir the terme of law al vtirly ;
 Or ellis the jugs is dettur verryly.

" Bot of a thing al gude men mernalis mair :
 Quhen grete counsale, with thine awn consent,
 Has ordanit strate justice na man to spair,
 Within schort tym thou changis thine entent,
 Sendand a contrar lettir in continent,
 Chargeand [that] of that mater mair be nocht,
 Than al the world murmuris [that] thou art bocht."

Another name has been claimed for Pluscardyn, though we regret that we have mislaid our reference to the source from which we have drawn the tradition. FLORENCE VOLUSENUS, so well known for his dialogue, "*De Animi Tranquillitate*," is in most lives said to have been born "ad Lossæum amnen amænissimum, haud procul ab Elgino oppido." The lost reference states that the writer had heard that Pluscarden was "the place near Elgin." If this was so, then certainly our Glen can claim a very distinguished rank among the birthplaces of great men. As is well known, Volusenus (Wilson?) was on very intimate terms with Cardinal Wolsey and George Buchanan, having for his fast friend the liberal and enlightened Cardinal Sadoleto. After many and varied fortunes Volusenus died on his way to his native land in 1546, at the time of the Reformation struggle, about which his mind was much exercised. An epigram was written by his old friend and admirer, George Buchanan :—

" Hic musis, Volusenus, jaces carissime, ripam
 Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria ?
 Hoc meruit tua virtus, tellus quæ foret altrix
 Virtutum, ut cineres conderit illa tuas."†

* "*Liber Pluscardensis*." Vol. I, pp. 392, 398, 399.

† Preface "*De Animi Tranquillitate Dialogus*," Florentio Voluseno, Scoto Auctore. Edinr. 1707. We owe our perusal of this work to Rev. J. Watson Geddie, of Banff, who has added many similar kind offices on the occasion of repeated visits to Duff House.

No Moray man will require to be reminded that Volusenus has embodied in his "Dialogue" a most warm and impressive description of the Ladyhill at Elgin. Dr James Taylor, already referred to as the author of "*Edward I. in the North of Scotland*," published a very interesting account of Volusenus on the occasion of presenting a copy of his famous "Dialogue" to the Elgin Museum and Institute. We wonder that some small monument has not, ere now, been erected on the Ladyhill to perpetuate the memory of Volusenus, who did more for Elgin's honour and fame than many who have been rewarded more magnificently than the simple tribute which Dr Taylor claimed for Volusenus.* The tradition, that Volusenus was born in Pluscarden, seems to have escaped Dr Taylor's careful investigations.

The name of Alexander Seton, first Earl of Dunfermline, has been so much dwelt on in a previous portion of this volume that we do not now require to make any explanations regarding his connection with our Priory. Alexander Seton's earliest literary effort was his famous oration at Rome, "*De Ascensione Domini*." There is not much extant from his pen. We are acquainted with an epigram to Sir John Skene, and another prefixed to Bishop Leslie's *De Origine Scotorum*. Edin., 1675.† The latter we think it desirable to insert here:—

" Dum patrias habitare domos, dum regna tenere
 Scotica, dum licuit res agitare graves :
 Non caput innumeris dubitasti opponere telis,
 Aut ferre hostiles pro pietate minas.
 Nunc tibi (proh dolor) est horum sublata potestas,
 In patriam pietas attamen usque viget.
 Presentis jam sæpe tuo defensa periclo
 Regna, exul scriptis vis celebrare pius.
 Quàm felix tanto dicenda est Scotia patre
 Tam patria dignus tu meliore fores."

Passing from Literature to ART AND INDUSTRY, there are a few very interesting notices connected with our Monastery. We have already made particular mention of the frescoes upon various portions of the walls. Kinloss and Pluscardyn seem to have held correspondence in this art. Ferrerius informs us that Robert Reid, the eminent Abbot of Kinloss, afterwards Bishop of Orkney, invited to his Abbey Andrew Bairhum, who spent three years in painting chapels and the Abbot's residence.‡ Not improbably about the same

* "A Memoir of Florentius Volusenus," by James Taylor. Elgin, 1861. The prefatory note gives hopes of such a monument, but we have never since heard of it.

† Hollinshead has inserted a short tribute to Queen Mary by A. Seton, "Scotus," which we suppose to be also from our commendator's pen. Appendix SS.

‡ Ferrerius' account may be welcome to some readers at a time when there is a revived interest in old wall-painting:—"Sub annum 1538 dominus abbas accivit sibi pictorem Andream Bairhum in arte sua egregium, sed hominem quidem tractatu difficilem et contentiosum, non minus quam animi impotentia laborantem quam corporis imbecillitate, ut qui utroque pede claudicaret. Eum

time, and perhaps by the same hands, or those trained under him, the frescoes in Pluscardyn may have been executed. Few specimens of this period of fresco-painting in Scotland now remain. The "Book of Deer" has a beautiful representation of the now famous fresco figure of St Ninian in the church of St Congan at Turriff.* The few remains at Elgin and Pluscardyn might surely be preserved, at least from greater damping, by a very little care.

Among other arts and industries which occupied our monks we may certainly include *horticulture*. To the present hour there are remains within the precincts of the old Monastic plantings. Even last century a casual traveller was sure to be told of the remarkable fruit trees of our Priory. One traveller informs us—"A few miles up from Elgin, in a beautiful sequestered valley, stands the Abbey of Pluscarden, renowned in this part of the country for its fruit trees. I have been repeatedly told that the best fruit trees in Scotland are to be found in the gardens of the old religious houses, and that they are all planted on circular causeways of flat stones. . . . The bed of stone prevented the roots of the trees from striking downwards—gave them a horizontal direction, and brought them into a wider contact than they would have otherwise felt, with the genial mould at the surface of the earth."† In a pleasant little volume by the late Professor Cosmo Innes, on "*Elgin, Past and Present*," we are told that when, a hundred years ago, the last of the old pear trees of Kinloss were blown down in a storm, it was found that they had been under-paved with flat flag-stones, after the most approved manner of modern orchard cultivation. . . . Some papers at Kilravock show that the good old gardens got some of their trees from Kinloss, while the finer kinds came from Normandy.‡ Ferrerius, again, assists us to trace the rise of this high attainment in arboriculture. He records that one *Wm. Lubias*, a good man, and skilled in planting and grafting (*inferendi*) fruit trees, was brought to Kinloss from Dieppe in 1540. The historian adds that all Morayshire derived benefit and beauty from the skill of this remarkable man. Poor fellow! he had an infirmity, like the painter, having lost one foot near Marseilles when fighting under his king—Francis—against the Spaniards.§ Lubias had other useful

tamen, quanta humanitate fieri potuit, toto triennio retinuit apud Kynlos, quo quidem tribus diversis tabulis pictura plane graphice depictis tria Sacella in suo templo exornavit, viz., Magdalenes, Joannis Evangelistæ, et divi Thomæ Cantuariensis. Depinxit quoque, sed *pictura leviore* quæ nunc est per Scotiam receptissima, cubiculum et oratorium abbatis, simul cubiculum majus ante gradum quod itur ad abbatis cubiculum."—*Historia Abbatum*, pp. 50, 51.

* See also "Proceedings Soc. Antiquaries," Scotland, Vol. VI., Plate XXVI.

† "A Tour in England and Scotland," by T. Neute, Esq. (London, 1791), p. 156. We do not recommend any Elgin reader to verify our quotation, for the same reason that he should not read "Campbell's Journey."

‡ "Elgin, Past and Present," by C. Innes (Elgin, 1860), pp. 45, 46.

§ Ferrerius, *ut supra*, p. 48.

acquirements, besides his skill in gardening, by which he made himself generally useful. In passing from this point we may remark that though Kinloss has lost all its old pear trees, Pluscardyn can still boast of both tree and fruit.

Perhaps the most ancient industry of our Glen was the working of *iron*. It would seem that from the earliest times to which our historical records refer some operations in iron were carried on. The claim of the Brothers of the Monastery to the tithes of the minerals of the Glen is very definitely declared in the earliest Charters of the House, and the Papal Bull of ratification and protection, in 1263, is perfectly explicit concerning the "*decimas de ferro quod in forestis foditur supradictis.*"* There are various places where ironstone may be found pretty abundantly, and we have beside us now lumps of slag which prove that iron working was carried on in more than one part of the South side of the Glen. Perhaps the most abundant evidences of the old operations in iron may be found near the *Midland Burn*, which rises in the hill above Incharnock.† Somewhat less extensive traces may be seen at Torhead and Callimuckie, to the South of Torhead. The museum in Elgin contains many specimens from other neighbourhoods, proving the general prosecution of the industry; and, being furnished by that veteran in all departments of learned lore, ancient and modern, the Rev. Dr Gordon, of Birnie, fullest reliance may be put on every note or suggestion which accompanies them, however modestly expressed.

A few years ago, not far from the *Midland Burn*, at Bridgend, an interesting discovery was made. A portion of the ground there was known as the *Glazin' Kilns*, but there seems to have been little interest—beyond a vague tradition that there the monks made glass—to attract notice to the spot. Agricultural operations having been begun, the ground showed under the spade and pick-axe very considerable remains of pottery and glass.

The neighbourhood was that of one of the old raised beaches so conspicuous in the Incharnock and Croy district, and not far distant from the old Scots road, few traces of which now remain, though not long since men have been encountered who drove their sheep southwards along its course. The pottery thus disinterred seems to have been simply huge vessels in which the glass was contained in the kilns. Several fragments of both now beside us seem to leave no doubt on this point. The glass is of various tints, mostly bluish green, though some of it is remarkably clear and pure. By the kindness of Mr Sim, of Bridgend, we were able to procure several specimens still *in situ*, besides a few superior fragments previously secured by him.‡ The interior

* Appendix L. See also Appendices G, H, I, J.

† When first discovered the slag there was in one huge solid cake. It is now much broken and scattered about, but forms a striking feature of the ground where it lies.

‡ Some of the best specimens from this old kiln may be seen in the Elgin Museum.

diameter of the first discovered kiln, Mr Sim has informed us, was about eight feet. Near one side was a great quantity of "white freestone," much whiter than any known in the district, and in a "half smelted state."* Other similar kilns were found in the same neighbourhood. The jars seem to have been from a half to three-quarters of an inch thick, with a diameter of about sixteen inches. Considerable notice was taken of this discovery at the time of the meeting of the British Association at Aberdeen. We have been told that Dr Macdonald (now of Ayr) prepared a memoir of the discovery for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.† We are not able to assign any certain date to these glass works. The general opinion that glass manufacture was not introduced into Scotland till the reign of James VI. is, however, surely disproved by this discovery. Wemyss, too, must part with the honour which has been claimed for it as the first place where glass manufacture was carried on in Scotland, and the monopoly given, about 1610, to George Hay was forestalled by the workers in Pluscardyn.‡

We have now reached the concluding paragraphs of our history of the Religious House of Pluscardyn. We have seen that the House was founded in the same year as the two other Houses in Scotland of the same Order—viz., *Ardchattan* in Argyllshire, and *Beaulieu* in Ross. As there seems little prospect, so far as we can ascertain, of any one undertaking a history of the Priory of Ardchattan, we here introduce the seal of that Priory.§ It was intended, when the earlier sheets of this volume passed through the press, to print the seals of the three Priors on one page. This has been departed from, and the seals of Ardchattan and Beaulieu are introduced here as the most suitable place. The seal of the Priory|| of Beaulieu has been given by Mr Laing in his



"SIGILL' CONVENTUS DE ARD-KATAN IN ARDGADIA."

* It may be well to mention that the local tradition asserts that *bracken*, so full of *silicious* matter, was the chief substance from which the glass was made by our monks.

† We have failed to discover this Paper among the Volumes of the Society's proceedings.

‡ The story of the introduction of painted or coloured glass into ecclesiastical buildings is told in Hawkins's *Gothic Architecture* (p. 148, sqq.). Abbot Suger is named as the first to employ this art for purposes of church adornment, about A.D. 1150. In an appended chapter (pp. 227-240) Mr Hawkins gives an instructive and somewhat old-world account of coloured glass manufacture from Felibien's "*Principes de l'Architecture*." Paris, 1699.

§ Laing's Seals, No. 1113. See also Hutton's "*Sigilla*," MS. Soc. Antiq., Edin.

|| Laing's Seals, No. 1117. "Inscription not legible."

Scottish seals, but is so indistinct that it must be received entirely on his authority. We have not happened to come across any copy of the seal, though probably one more distinct might be found. The interest attaching to the fact that the only three Houses of the Order of Vallis Caulium known to have existed outside of France were in Scotland, led us to enquire in reference to the official seal of the Mother House. We have not, up to the time of writing, been fortunate in procuring more than the *Badge* of the Order, kindly communicated to us by M. Mignard of Dijon, to whose valuable researches we have been so greatly indebted in the introductory portion of this Volume. Our representation of this badge is a most faithful copy of that sent us by M. Mignard, beneath which is written, "MONASTÈRE du VAL des CHOUX, grand-prieuré, chef d'ordre."* The chief elements of the badge are the Shield of Burgundy overlying that of France.



Seal of PRIORY OF BEAULY.

There are many points of interest omitted from the history now completed. The details have been somewhat difficult to collect, and yet more difficult to unite into even a partial harmony. To our own want of skill has been added the untrodden character of the soil, a circumstance which has, however, afforded some of the pleasurable feelings of making discoveries in historical regions. The transfer of our Priory from one Order to another, while it has considerably increased our labour, no doubt tended to prolong the interest of the history, as well as the importance of the House. On the whole we must acknowledge that this monastery did not contribute much impulse to moral and religious life in the district where it was planted. If it ever did so, the better record is lost, and where the light of history breaks in we feel there was here, as elsewhere, too much truth in Count Walter's challenge—

" Will you be cozened, sir, by these air-blown fancies,
 These male hysterics, by starvation bred,
 And huge conceit? Cast off God's gift of manhood,
 And like the dog in the adage, drop the true bone
 With snapping at the sham one in the water!"†

True, there were men everywhere who wore their sackcloth next their skin, and put on more attractive robes to meet the outside gaze. But more frequently we fear the modern manner prevailed of silken skin-cloths overlaid with haircloth hardships, which intermitted no joy, luxury, or indulgence of the world without, against which it cried "Good Lord, deliver us." The monastic

* The badge is introduced at the close of the introductory sections of this volume.

† Kingsley's "Saint's Tragedy," p. 53.

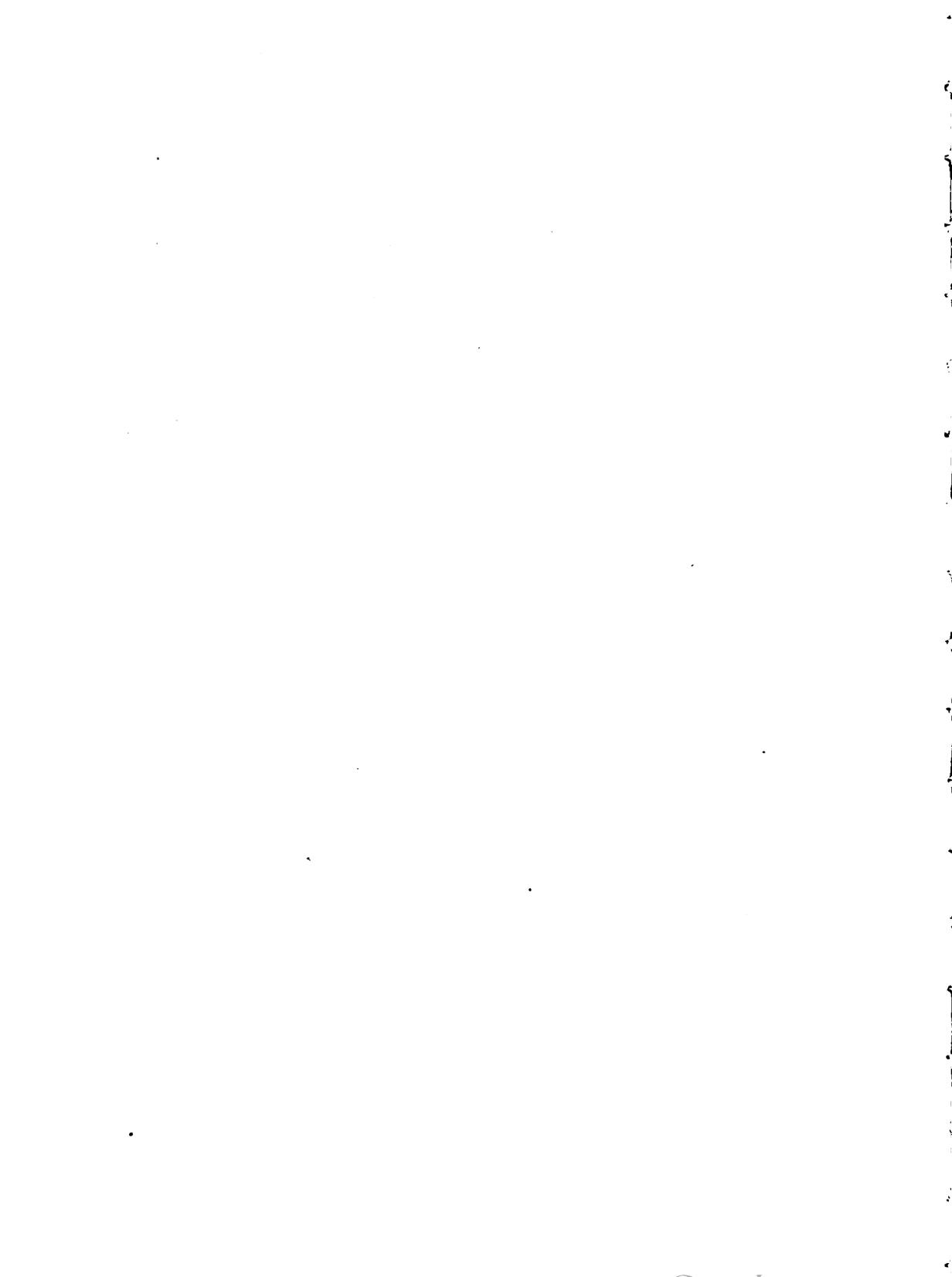
life at its best, with all its voluntary moralities, observances, vigils, and charms,* in the long run is found to be but a poor defence against the powers without and within, which beset the path of all of us.

If we shall be found to have contributed anything to the justly proud attachment of Moray men to this ancient pile of sweetness and beauty, and if we shall be found to have made the interest more wide and intelligent in the history of the old Priory, then this work will have the reward coveted, to which the author only seeks to have added the richest blessing of God on the Glen of Pluscarden and all who visit its ancient Priory and sequestered sweetness.

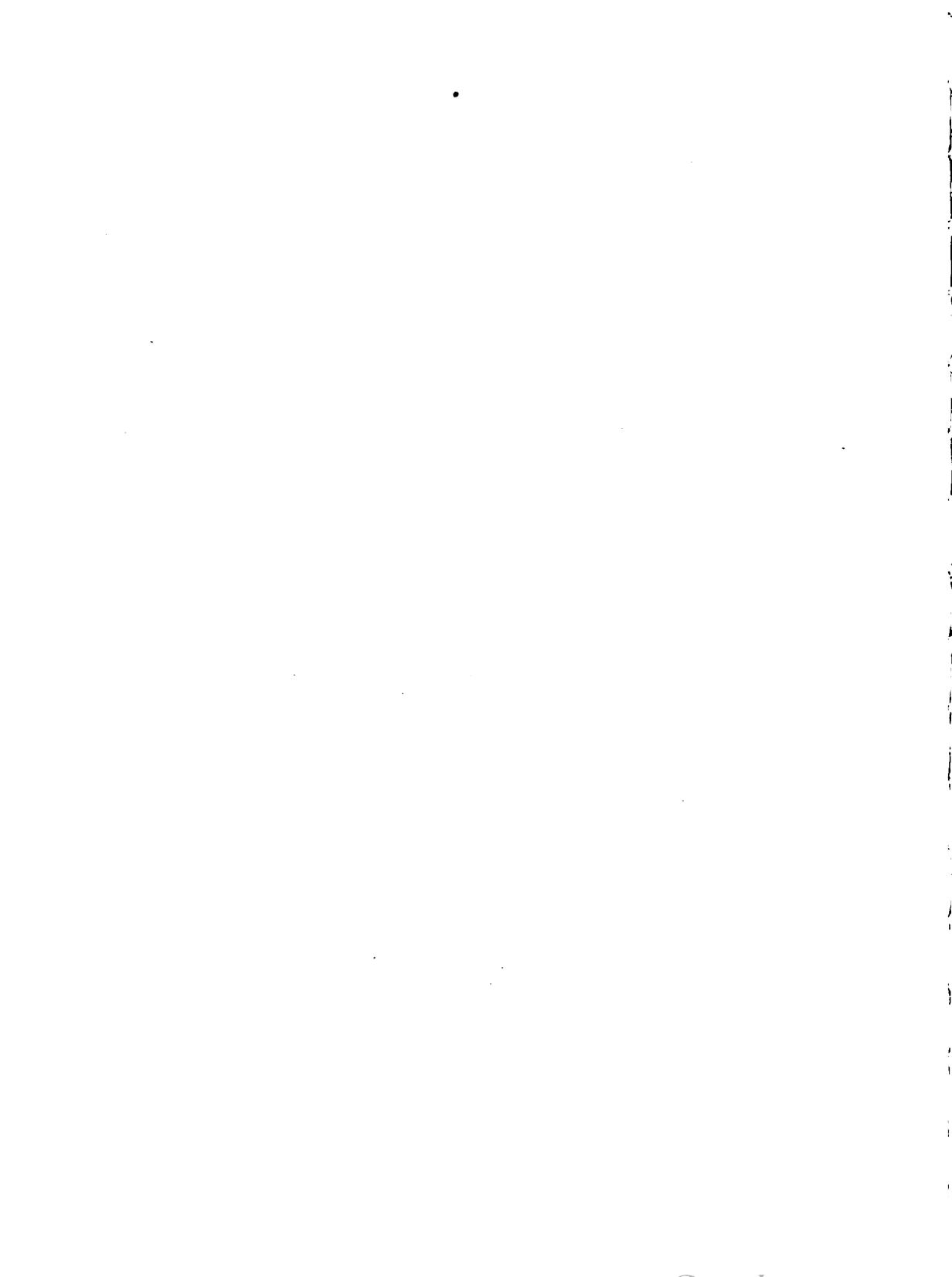
* The massive gilt silver ring represented below, inscribed with the names of Jesus and Mary, was most kindly given us by J. J. Mackay, Esq., Jeweller, Elgin. It was dug up several years ago in the Priory precincts.



GILT SILVER RING, PROBABLY OF XV. CENTURY, FOUND AT PLUSCARDEN.



APPENDIX.



A P P E N D I X .

A.—PAGE 14.

BULL OF INNOCENT III. CONFIRMING THE ORDER OF VALLIS CAULIUM, AND TAKING THE MONKS UNDER THE APOSTOLIC PROTECTION, 10TH FEB., 1205-6.—*Registrum Moraviense*, p. 331.

INNOCENTIUS episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis Priori et fratribus Vallis Caulium salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Solet annuere sedes apostolica piis votis et honestis petentium [precibus] favorem benevolum impertiri. Ex literis sane venerabilis fratris nostri .G. electi Remensis accepimus quod dum transiret per diocesim Lingonensem vos invenit in Valle Caulium novellam institutionem ordinis assumpsisse, de cujus meritis diligenter inquirens nil in eo nisi religiosum comperit et honestum. Invenit siquidem prout eodem litere continebant quod inter vos unus monachorum quem vos filii monachi eligetis debeat esse Prior. cui omnes monachi videlicet et conversi quorum societas vicesimum numerum non transcendet tanquam spirituali patri reverentiam et obedientiam curabitis exhibere. Nullus vestrum proprium possidebit. In conventu singulis diebus missa et hore canonicè cantabuntur. Privatas quoque missas qui voluerint celebrabunt. Capitulum tenebitis omni die facturi .xii. lectiones temporibus constitutis. Simul laborabitis. Et simul in refectorio comedetis carnibus et sagimine non utentes. Prior vobiscum in eodem refectorio comedet simili cibo et veste contentus. A festo resurrectionis Dominice usque ad exaltationem Sancte Crucis bis comedetis in die. residuum temporis sub jejuniorum abstinentia transcursuri. pane et aqua et uno pulmento contenti .vj^{te} feria existentes. In die nativitatis Dominice non jejunabitis. nec .vj^{te} feria in estate ubi festum intervenerit .xii. lectionum. Vivetis de redditibus. silentium servaturi. Femine interiores terminos non intrabunt. nec vos exteriores excepto Priore nisi causa ordinis transcendetis. Prior tamen si occupatus fuerit vel egrotans et urgens necessitas vel evidens utilitas postularit poterit unum quem voluerit destinare. Cilicia induetis ad carnem, eos qui ferre non poterunt non cogentes. Lineas et canabinas vestes nullatenus induetis. grosse lane vestes non tinctas et pelliceas habituri. Cum tunicis cingulo et caligis omnes jacebitis. et preter hec vos filii monachi cum cuculla. nusquam et nunquam super culcitrus quiescentes. Erunt novicii vestri in probatione per annum. Et vos filii monachi a matutinis usque ad horam laboris et a vespers usque ad occasum solis lectioni orationi et contemplationi vacabitis. exceptis quos Prioris discretio pro aliqua certa et necessaria causa duxerit retrahendos. Nos autem vestris justis postu-

lationibus annuentes personas vestras et locum in quo divino obsequio estis mancipati cum omnibus que in presentiarum rationabiliter possidetis aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium seu aliis justis modis prestante Domino [poteritis] adipisci sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus. Specialiter autem ordinem ipsum provida deliberatione de assensu diocesani statutum auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre protectionis et confirmationis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum [incarnationis Dominice anno mcccv.]. iij. Idus Februarii. pontificatus nostri anno. vij.

B.—PAGES 14 AND 30.

BULL OF HONORIUS III. RELAXING THE RULE OF THE ORDER OF VALLIS CAULIUM, 13TH APRIL, 1223.—*M. Mignard, Histoire Gr. Pr. de Trap. du Val des Choux, pp. 215, 216.*

HONORIUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis Priori et fratribus ordinis Vallis Caulium salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Juxta vocem Dominicam *spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma*, unde contingit quod fervor spiritus aliquid interdum amplectitur, cui post modum carnis infirmitas reluctatur, sane petitio vestra nobis exhibita continebat quod preter Beati Benedicti regulam quam professi estis et servatis, quantum fragilitas humana permittit, quasdam vobis speciales observantias indicastis quarum rigorem, pro eo quod annotate sunt in confirmatione vobis ab apostolica sede concessa, veremini autoritate propria temperare; propter quod cum frequenter ingerant vobis difficultatis articulum, apostolice provisionis remedium implorastis. Nos igitur presentium autoritate concedimus, ut ii qui in domo vestra vel aliis sibi subjectis per tempora Priores extiterint rigorem observantiarum hujusmodi non obstante quod annotate sunt in confirmatione predicta temperare valeant, in vestro generali Capitulo prout viderint expedire. Indulgemus etiam ut ordinis vestri Prioribus benedicere liceat ordinis ejusdem novitios, et fratribus suis beneficium absolutionis impendere cum in se invicem manus injecerint violentas. Adjicimus insuper ut trahi non possitis in causam per litteras apostolicas, nisi expressam de ordine vestro fecerint mentionem. Ad hec presentium autoritate districtius inhibemus ne quis talliis, collectis seu aliis quibuslibet exactionibus insolitis et indebitis vos aggravare presumat, vel a vobis de hortis et virgultis vestris aut vestrorum animalium nutrimentis decimas extorquere. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre concessionis et inhibitionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incussurum.

Datum Laterani, Idibus aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

C.—PAGES 16 AND 36.

COMMISSION BY THE GENERAL OF THE ORDER OF VALLIS CAULIUM APPOINTING THE PRIOR OF BEAULY VISITOR OF THE MONASTERY OF THE ORDER AT ARDCHATTAN, 7TH MAY, 1506.—*Macfarlane MSS., Adv. Lib. 35. 2. 4., p. 424.*

FRATER Jacobus Quartus Prior Vallis Caulium Venerabili in Christo nobis præcarissimo priori nostro Monasterii de Beauling in Diocœsi Rossensi in Scotia salutem. Et proximorum utilitati ex caritatis fervore diligenter intendere nostræ superioritatis officium nos incessanter excitat et inducet, ut ad ea per quæ Monasteriorum nobis subjectorum status in utroque regimine salubriæ suscipiat incrementa solerter intendamus. Hinc est quod vobis, de cujus providentia zelo et discretione plenam in Domino gerimus fiduciam, Monasterij nostri de Ardchattan in Diocœsi Argadiæ, nobis et nostro Monasterio Vallis Caulium immediate subjecti, visitationem omnimodam damus et committimus, dantes vobis auctoritatem et nostram plenariam potestatem ibidem, quotiens opus fuerit, in capite et in membris visitandi, reformandi, corrigendi, emendandi, instituendi et destituendi, quandocunque, secundum Domus et ordinis Statuta, visitationis, reformationis, correctionis, emendationis, institutionis et destitutionis Sarculo indigere cognoveritis. Et si contingat, quod dictum Monasterium de Ardchattan, per cessionem, mortem, vel alias viduare pastore, in electione futuri præsideatis, conventui licentiam eligendi conferatis, electam personam si sufficiens et ydonea fuerit, et in Ordine nostro professa, instituat, installetis, et in possessionem realem et actualem ipsius Monasterij ponatis et inducatis. Si vero jus providendi, nobis, ratione nostræ Superioritatis, devolvatur, auctoritate nostra paterna, supradicto Monasterio de personæ prædictis qualitatibus qualificatæ provideatis, cæteraque omnia et singula circa præmissa et ea tangentia faciatis et exequimini, quæ faceremus et exequeremur, si præsentem essemus, Salvis per omnia nostri Ordinis et Papalia institutis, confirmatione tamen penes nos reservata; omnibus dicti loci personis districte præcipiendo, quatenus vobis in omnibus præmissis et eorum dependentijs pareant et obediant tanquam nobis, præsentibus usque ad nostram specialem revocationem in suo vigore permansuris.

Datum in nostro prædicto Monasterio Vallis caulium sub appensione Sigilli nostri die septima mensis Maij Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo sexto.

LETTER FROM THE GENERAL OF THE ORDER TO THE PRIOR OF BEAULY CERTIFYING HIM THAT THE MONASTERIES OF THE ORDER ARE NOT EXEMPT FROM EPISCOPAL VISITATION, 18TH DEC., 1506.—*Macfarlane MSS., Adv. Lib. 35. 2. 4., p. 437.*

NOS Frater Jacobus Courtois, humilis Prior Prioratus Monasterij Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Valliscaulium, Caput sive Generalis dicti ordinis Valliscaulium, situati in Ducatu Burgundiæ juxta Castillon supra Senam, Notum facimus, quod die datæ præsentium comparuit in dicto nostro Prioratu quidam Scotus Presbyter nomine Gulielmus Tomson et certas litteras

papireas, non signatas, nulloque Sigillo munitas, de data diei decimi mensis Novembris novissime elapsi, nobis præsentavit. Quas quidem litteras, sic nobis per præscriptum Dominum Gulielmum ex parte carorum et dilectorum nobis in Christo fratrum Prioris et Conventus Beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Bello loco in Scotia situati in Diocœsi Rossensi præsentatas ad longum vidimus ac legimus et ad vos super contentis in hujusmodi vestris litteris respondendum nobis videtur: quod doletis et conqueritis, quod Reverendus in Christo pater Dominus Episcopus Rossensis aut ejus officialis vult aut volunt: vos aut supradictum Monasterium visitare, nec non in eodem Monasterio seu Prioratu vestro, jura visitationis ac procurationis solita et consueta capere et levare, et quod eidem non vultis obtemperare, dicentes, vos esse exemptos ab hujusmodi visitatione, prout vobis videtur, quia Valliscaulium religio, nec non omnia Monasteria ejusdem sunt exempta a Jurisdictione Episcopi. Quod non est verum. Quapropter, et ne vos litibus seu processibus involvatis notum vobis facimus, et certificamus, quod non habemus in partibus Gallia, nisi tredecim parvas domus ordinis Valliscaulium locatas et situatas in quinque Diocœsibus—Videlicet, Lingonen. Eduen. Senonn. Trecen. et Verdunen. in Lothoringia a quibus Episcopis aut eorum Commissarijs sumus singulis annis visitati, et capiunt expensas et provisiones a nobis; qua de re vobis insinuamus, ut in hac materia uti velitis bono consilio.

Item desideratis habere copiam authenticam Institutionis et confirmationis ac privilegiarum nostri jam dicti ordinis Valliscaulium, quod pro nunc non est possibile, ut relatu dicti Domini Gulielmi percipere poteritis, quia omnes dictæ confirmationes et Privilegia in Nostro Thesaurio apud Divionem consistunt, et ad ipsas, propter instans festum Dominicæ Nativitatis, ac adversam nostram valetudinem illo accedere miuime possumus. Et vos, Domine prior, non valemus satis mirari, quo Privilegij titulo munitis potestis regere, et gubernare dictum Prioratum de Bello loco, et alia Monasteria ex eo dependentia, eo maxime attento, quod huc nunquam venistis aut misistis, pro vestra institutione et confirmatione dicti Prioratus ac ejus membrorum habendis. Quare vos monemus sub poenis ordinarijs in nostro ordine factis et declaratis, quatenus vos recipiatis, seu compareatis in Capitulo nostro, quod celebraturi sumus in Festo Inventionis Sanctæ Crucis, proxime venturo, aut Festo Johannis exinde proxime insequenti, quia illic vobis monstraturi sumus Confirmationem Statuta et Privilegia ordinis, favente Altissimo, cui precamur, ut vobis et religiosis vestris det lætitiã, nos nihilominus vestris orationibus commendantes. Dominus Prior quoque, Prædecessor vester novissimus, nobis promisit, quod ipse aut ejus Procurator de quadriennio in quadriennium compareret in nostro Capitulo generali: Concessimusque eidem Priori aut ejus Procuratori de gratia nostra speciali, et quia longe a nobis, sive in longinquis partibus estis constituti, terminum comparationis hujusmodi de sex annis ad sex annos. Ipse tamen Prædecessor vester aut ejus Procurator, neque vos aut persona pro vobis, miuime comparuistis, seu comparuerunt, in nostro Capitulo prædicto, quare de vobis contentos nos reddere non debemus; Quanquam etiam idem Vester Prædecessor seu ejus Procurator nobis promiserit mittere [pisces] Salmones nuncupatos, ex partibus, seu rivis et aquis vestris, apud oppidum Brugen. sive Valentinen. ubi commisimus Mercatores, qui dictos pisces recipere, et nobis apud Divionem deferrent, non tamen unquam aliquid ab eodem Prædecessore aut suo procuratore exinde percepimus; sed quia prefatus Dominus Gulielmus præsentium lator asseruit nobis, vos esse virum tantæ nobilitatis, veracitatis ac bonæ religionis, credimus quod, favente Altissimo, non solum pro prædecessore sed et pro vobis

hac æstate proxime futura, rationem estis reddituri. Scriptum seu datum apud Valliscaulium die decima octava mensis Decembris anno Millesimo quingentesimo sexto. In testimonium affixiones Sigilli nostri et signi manualis præsentibus appositi.

D.—PAGE 31.

“SALVE Regina, mater misericordiæ
 Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, Salve.
 Ad te clamamus exules filii Hevæ
 Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.
 Eia ergo advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte
 Et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende,
 O clemens, O pia, O dulcis virgo Maria.”

—DANIEL'S *Thesaurus Hymnolog.*, II., 321.

E.—PAGE 32.

“I WENT to sleep and now I am refresh'd,
 A strange refreshment : for I feel in me
 An inexpressive lightness, and a sense
 Of freedom, as I were at length myself.
 And ne'er had been before. How still it is !
 I hear no more the busy beat of time,
 No, nor my fluttering breath, nor struggling pulse ;
 Nor does one moment differ from the next.
 I had a dream ; yes :—Some one softly said
 ‘He's gone ;’ and then a sigh went round the room.
 And then I surely heard a priestly voice
 Cry ‘Subvenite ;’ and they knelt in prayer.
 I seem to hear him still : but thin and low,
 And fainter and more faint the accents come
 As at an ever-widening interval.”

—*Dream of Gerontius*. NEWMAN'S *Poems*, p. 301.

“*Egressa autem anima, dicitur hoc.* Subvenite sancti Dei, occurrite angeli Domini : suscipientes animam ejus : offerentes eam in conspectu Altissimi. Suscipiat te Christus qui vocavit te, et in sinum Abrahamæ angeli deducant te. Suscipientes. Requiem æternam dona ei Domine, et lux perpetua luceat ei.”

—*Ordo Commendationis Animæ*. BREVIARIUM ROMANUM.

F.—PAGE 53.

A COPY OF THE LETTER WHICH POPE GREGORY SENT TO THE ABBOT MELLITUS, THEN GOING INTO BRITAIN, 17TH JUNE, 601.—*From Bede, B. I., c. xxx., Bohn's Translation.*

To his most beloved son, the Abbot Mellitus; Gregory the servant of the servants of God. We have been much concerned, since the departure of our congregation that is with you, because we have received no account of the success of your journey. When, therefore, Almighty God shall bring you to the most reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what I have, upon mature deliberation on the affair of the English, determined upon, viz.: that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected and relics placed. For if those temples are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God, that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed. And because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices to devils, some solemnity must be exchanged for them on this account, as that on the day of the dedication, or the nativities of the holy martyrs, whose relics are there deposited, they may build themselves huts of the boughs of trees, about those churches which have been turned to that use from temples, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the Devil, but kill cattle to the praise of God in their eating, and return thanks to the Giver of all things for their sustenance; to the end that, whilst some gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of the grace of God. For there is no doubt that it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds; because he who endeavours to ascend to the highest place, rises by degrees or steps and not by leaps. Thus the Lord made himself known to the people of Israel in Egypt; and yet he allowed them the use of the sacrifices which they were wont to offer to the Devil, in his own worship; so as to command them in his sacrifice to kill beasts, to the end that, changing their hearts, they might lay aside one part of the sacrifice, whilst they retained another; that whilst they offered the same beasts which they were wont to offer, they should offer them to God, and not to idols; and thus they would no longer be the same sacrifices. This it behoves your affection to communicate to our aforesaid brother, that he, being there present, may consider how he is to order all things. God preserve you in safety, most beloved son.

Given the 17th day of June in the nineteenth year of the reign of our Lord, the most pious emperor, Mauritius Tiberius, the eighteenth year after the consulship of our said Lord. The fourth indiction.

G.—PAGE 69.

INSTRUMENT OF TRANSMPT BY ANDREW, BISHOP OF MORAY, AND HIS CHAPTER, OF CHARTERS BY ALEXANDER II., KING OF SCOTS, IN FAVOUR OF THE BRETHREN IN THE HOUSE FOUNDED BY THE KING IN HIS FOREST OF ELGIN, 30TH APRIL, 1240.—*From a Copy in Dr Stuart's Collection, but source not indicated.*

OMNIBUS hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Andreas diuina permissione Morauiensis episcopus. S. decanus et capitulum Moraniensis ecclesie eternam in domino salutem. Cum fortuna sit instabilis et uarii rerum sint euentus prudencie consilium commendatione dignum merito dicendum est, quo damna precauere satagit; que casus fortuiti poterunt irrigare, et cautela preparare studetur, qua futura negocia commodius valeant expediri. Hic est quod cum viri uenerabiles prior et conuentus Uallis sancti Andree in Morauia plurima et diuersa de terris possessionibus et rebus aliis, necnon et libertatibus et immunitatibus ab Alexandro Dei gratia rege Scotorum illustri concessis eis et collatis confecta habeant instrumenta, quibus uti opus habent multociens contra conantes ipsos ledere et eorum libertates que per loca uaria circumferendo periculum non est tutum exponere que in itineribus possent eisdem crebro contingere et cum frequenter in causis et capitulis uel aliis locis aut negociis, aliquos de contentis in predictis instrumentis articulis oportuerit fortasse declarari. Facilius erit unicam rimando scriptam inuenire quod fuerit ostendendum quam plures que confusionem inducent girare et reuoluere diuersas. ad instanciam predictorum prioris et fratrum, predicta instrumenta in Synodo nostra legi fecimus et publice recitari, quibus per omnia repertis laudabilibus et in nulla sui parte uiciatis, contenta in eis in unum hoc et publicum instrumentum redigi fecimus ea exemplando sic. Alexander Dei gratia rex Scotorum omnibus hominibus totius terre sue salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri nos pro amore Dei et pro salute anime nostre et animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrorum, dedisse concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Deo et beate Marie et beato Andree apostolo et fratribus ordinis uallis caulium seruientibus et seruituris Deo in domo quam fundauimus in foresto nostro de Elgin in loco qui uocatur Uallis Sancti Andree totum forestum nostrum de Ploscardin et totum forestum nostrum et totam terram nostram de Huchtertyr sicut illa tenuimus in manu nostra et per illas diuisas per quas illustris Rex Willelmus pater noster eadem foresta latius plenius et diffusius tenuit, infra quas si aliquid ab aliquo fuerit obtentum uel contra predictos monachos aliquo tempore disrationetur, nos et heredes nostri inde plenum eisdem, faciemus excambium et conueniens, in loco congruo et competenti infra Morauiam inter Spe et Ins. Item dedimus et concessimus et hac carta nostra confirmauimus predictis fratribus in excambium viginti et quatuor retium que dicti fratres ex collatione nostra habebant super aquam de Finderia pro viginti quatuor libris, has terras, uidelicet, Fernanan, Thulidoni, Kep, Kinthessoc maicrem. Item dedimus concessimus et hac carta nostra confirmauimus eisdem fratribus terram nostram de Mefte cum uno reti tantum de Spe spectante ad eandem terram. Salua Anego filio Eugenii et Eugenio filio suo tenura dicte terre de Mefte in uita eorum. Que omnia terras et foresta uolumus et concedimus predictos fratres habere tenere et possidere per rectas diuisas suas in bosco et plano in terris et

aquis in pratis et pascuis, moris et maresiis in lacubus et stagnis in moleaduis et piscariis in vastis et saluagiis in uis et semitis et omnibus aliis iustis pertinentiis suis cum omnibus querelis et placitis in predictis omnibus contingentibus agitandis et terminandis in curia sua quam eisdem damus adeo libere quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut nos liberius quietius plenius et honorificentius curiam nostram in predictis omnibus et forestis si in manu nostra essent tenere debemus, exceptis hiis que ad coronam nostram pertinent, ita quod predicti fratres nobis uel successoribus nostris nullo unquam tempore nec aliquo casu contingente uel aliquo tempore pacis uel guerre infra regnum nostrum uel extra aliquod seruicium seculare faciant pro eisdem terris et forestis, set libere quiete et pacifice diuuis uacent obsequiis et oracionibus pro salute nostra et statu regni nostri. Detinuimus autem ad opus nostrum et heredum nostrorum in predictis forestis, tantum, ceruum et ceruam, caprosum et caprosam, aprum et apram, ita tamen quod nec nos nec heredes nostri ullo unquam tempore in predictis forestis habebimus ullum forestarium uel custodem, set forestarii predictorum monarchorum quos ipsi ad custodiendum dicta foresta posuerint, nobis uel balliuis nostris presentabuntur fidelitatem nobis de predictis feris facturam. Predicti autem monachi in predictis terris et forestis ad capiendum dictas feras [n]ullo modo uenabuntur nec aliquem alium patientur uenari, ullo unquam tempore, nisi pedicas ponendo ad capiendum lupos. Volumus etiam [et] concedimus ut predicti monachi de predictis terris et forestis et omnibus aliis in eisdem contentis preter feras nostras predictas in omnibus totum uelle suum et libitum faciant disponant et ordinent et utantur eisdem pro uoluntate et libito suo et quibuscumque modis uoluerint et potuerint ad profectum suum et commodum convertant in usus suos et commoditates, nec occasione ferarumstrarum predictarum uel ulla alia hoc omittant facere, uel aliquo modo unquam impediatur. Item dedimus et concessimus et hac carta nostra confirmauimus eisdem fratribus in exchange foresti de Lanarc quod eis prius dedimus viginti retia super Inuerspe. Preterea dedimus eisdem et concessimus molendinum nostrum de Elgin cum omnibus aliis molendiis ad idem molendinum pertinentibus, et molendina nostra quondam pertinentia ad castellum nostrum de Forays, et molendinum nostrum de Dulpotiu in balliua de Forays, tenenda sibi et habenda cum tota multura proueniente de terris omnibus de quibus tempore huius concessionis multuram recepimus, uel percipere debemus si culte essent, et cum aquis et stagnis suis. Volumus etiam et concedimus ut ad facienda stagna predictorum molendinorum, et ad eadem reparanda et conseruanda, terram lapides et ligna predicti fratres et eorum molendinarii capiant sine omni contradictione et impedimento in locis uicinis commodis et competentibus. Volumus et concedimus ut predicti fratres omnia predicta et omnia que in presentiarum habent et futuris temporibus in regno nostro iustis modis poterunt adipisci, habeant, teneant, et possideant, in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam, ab Eo solo per quem reges regnant, adeo libere, quiete, plenarie, et honorifice, sicut aliqua elemosina in regno nostro liberius, quietius, plenius et honorificentius habetur et possidetur. Item volumus et concedimus ut sepedicti fratres et homines eorum in predictis forestis et terris manentes liberi siut et quieti ab omni thollonagio et consuetudine de propriis cattallis suis per totam terram nostram et ut nani eorum uel predictorum hominum suorum non capiantur pro alicuius debito, nisi pro debitis eorundem propriis. Suscepimus autem predictos fratres et domum eorum homines et possessiones omnes, et bona eorum et hominum suorum omnium, in nostra firma pace et protectione et prohibemus

firmiter ne aliquis eis uel alicui eorum iniuriam molestiam uel grauamen iniuste inferat super nostram plenariam forisfacturam. Siquis autem contra premissa temere in aliquo uenire presumpserit, diocesanus in cuius diocesi hoc factum fuerit iniuriantem per censuram ecclesiasticam predictis fratribus satisfacere compellat iuste, a quo si propter contumaciam suam excommunicationis sententia fuerit innodatus et ecclesie mandatis pertinaciter resistens obedire contempserit, et per quadraginta dies in excommunicationis sententia perstiterit, balliuus noster et heredum nostrorum, in cuius balliua excommunicatus ille fuerit ipsum capiat et in prisionem nostram detrudat. Quod si balliuus ille tercio requisitus, hoc facere neglexerit, excommunicationis sententia mediante iusticia processatur. Uolumus autem et concedimus ut quociens predictis fratribus uel eorum hominibus iniuriatum fuerit super terris suis molendinis uel terrarum diuisis possessionibus uel rebus aliis, Balliui nostri et heredum nostrorum requisiti ab eis secundum assisam et consuetudines regni nostri non expectato mandato regio speciali plenariam eis et celerem iusticiam exhibeant et non omittant. Precipimus etiam ut natiuos suos et terrarum suarum extra dominia nostra inuentos, nullus detinere presumat iniuste super nostram plenariam forisfacturam. Si quis autem dictos fratres contra predictas libertates suas aliquo modo inquietare presumpserit, sciat se turbatorem pacis nostre esse et nos ipsos in capite infestare et omnino inimicum nostrum esse, predictos uero fratres diligentibus et in suis libertatibus conseruantibus, sit pax nostra, sit dilectio nostra, sit salus infinita. Amen. His [presentibus] de supradictis regiis instrumentis sumptis et ad eorum exemplaria in hanc scripturam publicam redactis et conscriptis coram nobis in supradicta synodo publice lectam et intellectam episcopali nostra et synodali auctoritate et sigillorum nostrorum apensione fecimus auenticam, ut ei tanquam ipsis originalibus scripturis et exemplaribus fides in omnibus indubitanter adhibeatur, et ubique et eundem uigorem et auctoritatem eandem cum predictis originalibus instrumentis obtineat ad usum et tuitionem fratrum predictorum, quocumque casu de predictis originalibus contingente. Actum anno gracie, M^o cc^o. xl. pridie Kalendas Maii. In Synodo celebrata in ecclesia sancti Egidii de Elgin.

H.—PAGE 69.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY ANDREW, BISHOP OF MORAY, IN FAVOUR OF THE BRETHREN OF THE ORDER OF VALLIS CAULIUM OF PLUS-CARDYN, A.D. 1233.—*From original in Dr Stuart's Collection.*

UNIERSIS sancte matris ecclesie filiis hoc scriptum uisuris uel auditoris Andreas diuina permissione Moraniensis episcopus eternam in domino salutem. Noueritis vniuersi nos domum que dicitur Vallis Sancti Andree quam Dominus noster Alexander illustrissimus Rex fundauit in foresta de Plochardon et fratres ordinis Vallis Caulium ibidem deo seruiantes et seruituros in perpetuum. necnon et bona eorum homines et possessiones et omnia que nunc iuste possident uel futuris temporibus iustis modis consequentur. sub nostra firma pace et protectione suscepisse. Quibus auctoritate diocesana qua fungimur concedimus. et presenti pagina confirmamus. locum ipsum et forestam predictam cum tota terra de Hochtertyr per suas rectas diuisas. cum omibus

pertinenciis suis et cum omnibus aliis que ex collatione fundatoris sui predicti regis sunt adepti uel ex eiusdem regis et aliorum fidelium largicione in posterum sunt adepturi. Quorum quedam propriis nominibus exprimenda et huic scripture duximus inserenda. Videlicet, viginti retia super Inverspe. Molendinum de Elgin cum moleudinis de Dunkinedin et de Molen. cum tota multura pertinente ad molendina predicta. Molendina quondam pertinentia ad castellum de Forais. molendinum de Dulpotin in ballia de Forais. cum tota multura pertinente ad dicta molendina. Pischariam de Polfode cum omnibus polis et pischariis quas Dominus rex predictus habuit in Fynderyn. de predicta pischaria de Polfode ascendendo. Exceptis pischariis pertinentibus ad castellum suum de Forais et exceptis pischariis que pertinent ad Thainagium de Farnanan. Dedimus eciam et concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmamus deo et beate Marie. et Sancto Johanni baptiste. et Sancto Andree. et fratribus predictis. et successoribus suis ad instanciam et petitionem domini nostri Alexandri illustrissimi Regis veri patroni ecclesie de Durres: ipsam ecclesiam de Durres. cum omnibus pertinenciis in terris. decimis. oblacionibus. obuentionibus. et omnibus rectitudinibus ecclesiasticis. Uolumus eciam et concedimus ut predicti fratres habeant ad sustentacionem suam in perpetuum omnes decimas Garbarum. et Bladi. prouenientes infra parochiam ecclesie predictae. cum decima molendinorum et cum omnibus terris pertinentibus ad eandem ecclesiam. habendas et possidendas in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Quociens autem predicta ecclesia uacauerit: Prior et conuentus predictae domus presentabunt vicarium ydoneum ad predictam ecclesiam saluis sibi pre-nominatis decimis. et superius expressis. Qui vicarius respondebit episcopo diocesano de spiritualibus. et predictis priori et conuentui de temporalibus. Idem eciam vicarius respondebit de omnibus oneribus predictam ecclesiam contingentibus. Preterea dedimus et concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmamus predictis fratribus et successoribus eorum omnes decimas Garbarum prouenientes infra diuisas foreste supradicte et predictae terre de Hochthyr in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. cum tota decima molendini siti in Ploschardin et cum tota decima ferri prouenientis infra diuisas eiusdem foreste. et cum tota decima ferri quod in mineriis eiusdem foreste inuenietur. Ratas eciam et gratas habemus omnes libertates et immunitates eisdem fratribus concessas a uenerabili quondam patre nostro Honorio papa bone memorie. per quas immunes sunt* de prestacione decimarum de ortis suis et de nutrimentis et de exitu animalium suorum. Quare uolumus et concedimus ut predicti fratres et successores eorum habeant teneant et possideant in perpetuum omnes decimas Garbarum et bladi prouenientes infra parochiam predictae ecclesie de Durres cum tota decima molendinorum. et cum terris pertinentibus ad eandem ecclesiam. Volumus eciam et concedimus ut idem fratres sibi et successoribus suis habeant teneant et possideant omnes decimas garbarum prouenientes infra diuisas supradicte foreste. et predictae terre [de] Hochthyr cum tota decima molendini siti in Ploschardin et cum tota decima ferri prouenientis infra diuisas eiusdem foreste.

* At this point the following curious interpolation is found in a transumpt made in 1551:—a tallis et collectis seu aliis quibuslibet exactionibus ordine suo insolitis per quas eciam libertates indultum est eis ne trahi possint in causam per literas apostolicas nisi expresse de ordine suo fecerint mentionem. Concessimus eciam eis ut immunes sint et absoluti a decimis piscationum que in mari fieri possint vel exerciri. Quare Volumus, &c.

et cum tota decima ferri quod in mineris eiusdem foreste inuenietur. Adeo libere. quiete. plenarie et honorifice sicut aliquę decime garbarum. molendinorum. feni. ferri. cum aliqua terra ad aliquam ecclesiam pertinente ab aliqua domo religiosa in diocese nostra liberius. quiccius. plenius. honorificencius tenentur et possidentur. In premissorum uero firmum et indubitabile testimonium presentem cartam appositione sigilli nostri corroborauimus. Actum anno gratie Millesimo. ducentesimo. tricesimo. tercio. Testibus Magistro Willelmo de Duffus precentore. domino Willelmo cancellario et officiali. Magistro Willelmo Griffin. Magistro Johanne de berewich. Johanne Bernardi. Johanne nigro clericis nostris. Domino Alexandro vicecomite de Elgin. Andrea Wisman. et multis aliis.

I.—PAGE 69.

TRANSLATION OF THE PRECEDING CHARTER.

To all the Sons of Holy Mother Church who shall see or hear this writing, Andrew, by Divine permission Bishop of Moray, wisheth Eternal Salvation in the Lord.

Know ye all, that the house which is called The Vale of Saint Andrew, which our most illustrious Lord, King Alexander, founded in the forest of PLOSHARDIN, likewise the Brothers of the Order of Vallis Caulium serving and who may yet serve God there in all time coming, likewise also their goods, their men and possessions and all which they justly possess or may in future obtain by just means, we have taken under our firm peace and protection.

By the diocesan authority vested in us we concede and by this present page confirm to the aforesaid the place itself and the foresaid forest, with all the land of Hochtertyr marked off by specific boundaries, with all thereto pertaining, and with all besides which by deed of gift of the aforesaid King their founder they have obtained or which they may yet obtain from the bounty of the same King or of others among the faithful. Certain of these possessions we have caused to be denoted by their proper names and introduced into this present writing, viz.—Twenty nets above Inverspe, the mill of Elgin, with the mills of Dunkinedir and Molen, with all multures pertaining to these foresaid mills; the mills once pertaining to the Castle of Forais, the mill of Dulpotin in the bailiary of Forais, with all multures pertaining to these foresaid mills; the fishing of Polfode, with all poles and fishings which our foresaid Lord the King held in Finderyn as you ascend from the foresaid fishing of Polfode. There are excepted the fishings which belong to his Castle of Forais, and those also which pertain to the Thainage of Fernanan. We have also given and conceded, and by this our present charter we confirm to God, to the Blessed Mary, to St John Baptist and St Andrew, and to the foresaid brothers and their successors, at the instance and request of our most illustrious Lord King Alexander, the true patron of the Church of Durres, the church itself of Durres, with all thereto pertaining in lands, tithes, offerings, emoluments, and all ecclesiastical rights. We desire also and grant that the foresaid Brothers have for their sustentation in all time coming all tithes of sheaves and of corn accruing within the parish of the aforesaid church, with the tithe of the mills and

with all lands pertaining to the same church, to be held and possessed in pure and perpetual alms.

But as often as the aforesaid church shall have become vacant the Prior and Convent of the aforesaid house shall present a suitable vicar to the foresaid church, reserving to themselves the forenamed tithes above indicated. And the vicar shall account to the diocesan Bishop regarding spiritualities and to the foresaid prior and convent regarding temporalities. The vicar shall also account for all burdens which pertain to the foresaid church.

Farther, we have given and conceded, and by this our present charter we confirm to the foresaid brothers and their successors all tithes of sheaves accruing within the boundaries of the abovenamed forest and foresaid land of Hochtertyr in pure and perpetual alms, with the whole tithe of the mill situated in Ploschardin and with the whole tithe of the iron forthcoming within the boundaries of the said forest, and with the whole tithe of iron which shall be found in the mines of the same forest. We likewise ratify and approve all liberties and immunities conceded to the said Brothers by our late venerable father Pope Honorius of happy memory, by which they stand exempt from tithes on their gardens, their smaller stock, and the issue of their larger animals.

Wherefore we will and concede that the foresaid Brothers and their successors have, hold, and possess for all time all the tithes of sheaves and of corn accruing within the parish of the aforesaid church of Durres, along with all the tithe of mills, and with the lands pertaining to the said church. We will also and concede that these same Brothers have, hold, and possess for themselves and their successors all tithes of sheaves accruing within the boundaries of the abovenamed forest and foresaid land of Hochtertyr, with all the tithe of the mill situated in Ploschardin, and with all the tithe of iron forthcoming within the boundaries of the said forest, and with all the tithe of iron which shall be found in the mines of the said forest as freely, quietly, fully, and honorably as any tithes of sheaves, mills, hay, iron, with any land pertaining to any church are held and possessed by any religious house in our diocese.

And for the firm and indubitable witnessing of the premises, we have corroborated the present charter by the affixing of our seal. Done in the year of Grace one thousand two hundred and thirty-three. Witnesses—Master William of Duffus, Precentor; Sir William, Chancellor and Official; Master William Griffin, Master John de Berewick, John Bernard, John Black, our Clerks; Sir Alexander, Sheriff of Elgin; Andrew Wiseman, and many others.

J.—PAGE 70.

CHARTER BY ALEXANDER II., CONTAINING EXCAMBIONS AND GRANTS OF FISHINGS, MILLS, AND LANDS, &c., 7TH APRIL, 1236.—*From original in Dr Stuart's Collection.*

ALEXANDER dei gratia Rex scotorum omnibus hominibus totius terre sue clericis et laycis salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri nos pro amore dei et pro salute anime nostre. et animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrorum. dedisse et concessisse et hac carta

nostra confirmasse deo et beate Marie et beato Andree apostolo et fratribus ordinis valliscaulium seruiantibus et seruituris deo in domo quam fundauimus in foresto nostro de Elgin in loco scilicet qui appellatur vallis sancti Andree apud Pluscardin in excambium foresti de Lanarch quod eisdem fratribus prius dedimus, viginti retia super inuerspe in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam, preterea damus et concedimus et hac carta nostra confirmamus eisdem fratribus molendinum nostrum de Elgin cum omnibus aliis molendinis ad idem molendinum pertinentibus et molendina nostra quondam pertinentia ad castellum nostrum de Foreys, et molendinum nostrum de Dulpothin in balliua de Foreys, ita ut predicti fratres omnia predicta molendina habeant teneant et possideant in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam cum tota multura proueniente de terris omnibus de quibus tempore hujus concessionis multuram percepimus uel percipere debemus si culte essent cum aquis et stagnis suis. Uolumus etiam et concedimus ut ad faciendā stagna predictorum molendinorum et ad eadem reparanda et conseruanda terram, lapides et ligna predicti fratres et eorum molendinarii capiant sine omni contradictione et impedimento in locis uicinis commodis et competentibus. Item damus et concedimus et hac carta nostra confirmamus predictis fratribus in excambium viginti et quatuor retium que monachi et dicti fratres ex collatione nostra habebant super aquam de Finderin pro viginti quatuor libris has terras subscriptas, per rectas diuisas suas et cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis uidelicet, Fernanan, Thulidoni, Kep, Kyntessoch maiorem tenendas et habendas sibi in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam. In boscho in plano in pratis et pascuis in moris et maresiis in stagnis molendinis et aquis et piscariis ad dictas terras pertinentibus, liberas et quietas ab omni exactione et seruitio et demanda et consuetudine cum omnibus querelis et placitis in predictis omnibus contingentibus in curia sua quam eisdem damus agitandis et terminandis exceptis hiis que specialiter ad coronam nostram pertinent. Uolumus etiam et concedimus ut ipsi de omnibus propriis catallis suis liberi sint et quieti per totum regnum nostrum ab omni tholeonagio et consuetudine, omnia autem predicta que in presentiarum habent et que futuris temporibus in regno nostro iustis modis poterunt adipisci, uolumus et concedimus ut habeant teneant et possideant in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam secundum tenorem et formam donationum eisdem factarum uel faciendarum adeo libere quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut aliqua elemosina in regno nostro liberius quietius plenius et honorificentius ab aliquibus religiosis habetur tenetur et possidetur. Suscepimus autem predictos fratres et domum eorum, homines omnes et uniuersas possessiones et bona eorum et hominum suorum omnium in nostra firma pace et protectione et prohibemus firmiter ne aliquis eis uel alicui eorum iniuriam molestiam uel grauamen iniuste inferat super nostram plenariam forisfacturam et ne quis namum eorundem uel hominum suorum capere presumat pro aliquo debito nisi pro debito suo proprio, quod ipsi uel eorum homines debuerint super nostram plenariam forisfacturam, siquis autem contra premissa temere in aliquo uenire presumpserit diocesanus in cuius diocesi hoc factum fuerit iniuriantem per censuram ecclesiasticam predictis fratribus satisfacere iuste compellat, a quo si propter contumaciam suam excommunicationis sententia fuerit innodatus et ecclesie mandatis pertinaciter resistens obedire contempserit et per quadraginta dies in excommunicationis sententia perstiterit, balliuus noster et heredum nostrorum in cuius balliua excommunicatus ille fuerit ipsum capiat et in prisonem nostrum detrudat, quod si balliuus ille tertio requisitus hoc facere neglexerit

excommunicationis sententia percellatur mediante iustitia. Uolumus autem et concedimus ut quociens predictis fratribus uel eorum hominibus iniuriatum fuerit super terris suis molendinis uel terrarum diuisis possessionibus uel rebus aliis balliui nostri et heredum nostrorum requisiti ab eis secundum assisam et consuetudines regni nostri non expectato regio mandato speciali plenariam et celerem iustitiam exhibeant eisdem. et non omittant. Precipimus etiam ut nativos suos et terrarum suarum extra dominia nostra inventos nullus detinere presumat iniuste super nostram plenariam forisfacturam. Testibus. Willelmo episcopo glascuensi Cancellario nostro. Andrea moraviensi episcopo. Willelmo abbate de Dunfermilin. Herberto abbate de Kelchoch. Radulfo abbate de Aberbruthock. Gilberto abbate de sancta cruce. Patricio Comite de Dunbar. Malcolmno Comite de Fif. Waltero cumin Comite de Menetheth. Rogero de quinci Constabulario nostro. Waltero filio alani Senescallo nostro et Justitiario scotiae. Waltero olifard Justitiario Laodonie. Inggeramo de balliol. Rogero auenel. Waltero Biseth. Thoma filio Ranulfi. Archebaldo de Dufglas David Marescallo. apud castrum puellarum septimo die aprilis. Anno Regni Domini Regis. vicesimo secundo.

K.—PAGE 72.

RELEASE BY ANDREW, BISHOP OF MORAY, AND HIS CHAPTER, OF THE TEINDS DUE FROM THE MILLS AND LANDS GRANTED BY THE KING TO THE BRETHREN IN THE HOUSE FOUNDED BY HIM AT PLUS-CARDYN, A.D. 1237.—*From original in Dr Stuart's Collection.*

OMNIBUS sancte matris ecclesie filiis has literas uisuris uel auditoris Andreas diuina permissione morauiensis episcopus eternam in Domino salutem. Noueritis vniuersi quod cum dominus noster Alexander illustris Rex Scotorum ad sustentationem domus vallis Sancti Andree de ordine vallis Caulium quam fundauit in pluscardin. et ad sustentationem fratrum ibidem deo seruientium et imperpetuum seruiturorum contulisset in puram et perpetuam elemosinam molendinum de Elgin cum omnibus molendinis et aliis ad illud pertinentibus. Item molendinum de foreyis et de Dulpotin cum omnibus molendinis et aliis ad eadem molendina pertinentibus de quibus ecclesia de Elgin et de foreys et de Dyc decimas percipere consueuerunt ad instanciam eiusdem domini nostri Regis predictae domni et predictis fratribus de consilio et consensu capituli nostri et Rectoris ecclesie de foreys. scilicet. Archidiaconi morauiensis quietas clamauius omnes decimas de predictis molendinis et aliis si qua fieri contingerit infra socham predictorum molendinorum quam habuerunt predicta molendina tempore confectionis huius scripture. Exceptis decimis de lucris molendinariorum predicta molendina tenentium. Eidem etiam domni et eisdem fratribus ad instanciam eiusdem domini Regis quietas clamauius omnes decimas que nobis solui solebant et episcopis morauiensibus imperpetuum solui debuerunt de redditibus prouenientibus et prouenturis de terris de fernanan. tulidum. kep. magna kintessoc. saluis matricibus ecclesiis in quarum parochia predictae terre existunt aliis decimis ad easdem pertinentibus. predictus autem dominus noster Rex indemnitati nostre et successorum nostrorum et ecclesie morauiensis maiora largiendo de gratia sua benigne prouidit et

vberius satisfecit. Nos autem ecclesie de foreys et archidiaconis morauiensibus de hiis que ad eos pertinebant plenius satisfecimus. In premissorum uero firmum et indubitabile testimonium huic scripto vna cum sigillo nostro appositum est sigillum capituli nostri cum subscriptionibus fratrum. Actum anno graciae. M^o cc. xxx. vii^{mo}.

+ Ego Andreas episcopus morauiensis et canonicus sancte Triunitatis de Elgin subscribo.+

Ego Willelmus cantor morauiensis subscribo.

Ego Willelmus cancellarius morauiensis ecclesie subscribo.

Ego Willelmus morauiensis archidiaconus subscribo.

Ego Johannes de berewic canonicus morauiensis ecclesie subscribo.

Ego Andreas canonicus morauiensis subscribo.

Ego Johannes canonicus de Crumbdol subscribo.

Ego Walterus subdecanus morauiensis subscribo.

Ego Archebaldus canonicus de Croyn subscribo.

Ego Willelmus canonicus de Ky[ngu]ssi subscribo.

Ego R. canonicus de Duppel subscribo.

Dorso. Carta nostra de acquisitione decimarum de molendinis et de terris ultra findern.

L.—PAGE 72.

BULL OF POPE URBAN IV. TAKING THE PRIORY OF PLUSCARDYN, WITH ITS POSSESSIONS, UNDER HIS PROTECTION, 5TH JULY, 1263.—From the Hutton MSS., Vol. X., No. 103. Adv. Lib.

URBANUS episcopus seruus seruorum dei dilectis filiis Priori Monasterii Uallis Sancti Andree ejusque fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris regularem vitam professis in perpetuum. Religiosam uitam eligentibus apostolicum convenit adesse presidium ne forte cuiuslibet temeritatis incursus aut eos a proposito reuocet aut robur quod absit sacre religionis infringat. Ea propter dilecti in domino filii uestris iustis postulationibus clementer annuimus et monasterium sancte dei genetricis et uirginis Marie vallis sancti Andree morauiensis diocesis in quo diuino estis obsequio mancipati ad instar felicitis recordationis Gregorii pape predecessoris nostri sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et presentis scripti priuilegio commuimus. In primis siquidem statuentes ut ordo monasticus qui secundum deum et beati Benedicti regulam atque institutionem fratrum valliscaulium in eodem monasterio institutus esse dinoscitur perpetuis ibidem temporibus inuolabiliter obseruetur. Preterea quascunque possessiones quecunque bona idem monasterium impresentiarum iuste ac canonice possidet aut in futurum concessione pontificum largitione Regum uel Principum oblatione fidelium seu aliis iustis modis prestante domino poterit adipisci firma uobis vestrisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. In quibus hec propriis duximus exprimenda uocabulis. Locum ipsum in quo prefatum monasterium situm est cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Ecclesiam sitam in villa que nominatur dures cum

decimis Garbarum eiusdem loci et aliis omnibus pertinentiis suis. Jus partonatus quod in eadem ecclesia obtinetis. Decimas Garbarum quas habetis in forestis que Pluskardin & Wthtityr uulgariter nuncupantur. Decimas quas habetis in molendinis positis in forestis eisdem necnon et decimas de ferro quod in forestis foditur supradictis, vsu piscandi cum viginti retibus quem habetis in flumine quod Spee uulgariter nuncupatur, molendinum cum aquarum decursibus et omnibus pertinentiis suis quod habetis in villa que nominatur Elgyn. Terras et possessiones quas habetis in locis que fernanan. Thulidoni, kep. Kiu-tessoth maiorem et mefth uulgariter nuncupantur. Terras et foresta que habetis in locis que Pluskardin et Wthtityr uulgariter nuncupantur cum terris pratis nemoribus usuagiis et pascuis in bosco et plano in aquis et molendinis in uis et semetis et omnibus aliis libertatibus et immunitatibus suis. Sane de ortis uirgultis piscationibus et pratis uestris ac uestrorum animalium nutrimentis nullus a uobis decimas exigere uel extorquere presumat. Liceat quoque uobis clericos uel laicos liberos et absolutos e seculo fugientes ad conuersionem recipere ac eos absque contradictione aliqua retinere. Prohibemus insuper ut nulli fratrum uestrorum post factam in monasterio uestro professionem fas sit sine Prioris sui licentia nisi artioris religionis obtentu de eodem loco discedere. Discedentem uero absque communium litterarum uestRARUM cautione nullus audeat retinere. Ad hec etiam prohibemus ne aliquis monachus uel conuersus sub professione uestre domus strictus sine consensu et licentia Prioris et maioris partis capituli uestri pro aliquo fidembeat [fidem det?] uel ab aliquo pecuniam mutuo recipiat ultra summam capituli uestri providentia constitutum nisi propter manifestam domus uestre utilitatem. Quod si quis facere forte presumpserit non teneatur conuentus pro hiis aliquatenus respondere. Licitum preterea sit uobis in causis propriis siue ciuilem siue criminalem questionem contineant fratrum uestrorum testimoniis uti ne pro defectu testium ius uestrum ualeat in aliquo deperire. Preterea cum commune interdictum terre fuerit liceat uobis nichilominus in uestro monasterio excommunicatis et interdictis exclusis non pulsatis campanis suppressa uoce diuina officia celebrare dummodo causam non dederitis interdicto. Obeunte uero te nunc eiusdem loci Priore uel tuorum quolibet successorum, nullus ibi qualibet surreptionis astutia seu uiolentia preponatur nisi quem fratres communi consensu uel fratrum maior pars consilii sanioris secundum deum & beati Benedicti regulam prouiderint eligendum. Paci quoque et tranquillitati uestre paterna in posterum sollicitudine providere uolentes auctoritate apostolica prohibemus ut infra clausuras locorum seu grangiarum uestRARUM nullus rapinam seu furtum facere ignem apponere sanguinem fundere hominem temere capere uel interficere seu uiolentiam audeat exercere. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat prefatum monasterium temere perturbare aut eius possessiones auferre uel oblatas retinere minuere seu quibuslibet uexationibus fatigare sed omnia integra conseruentur eorum pro quorum gubernatione ac sustentatione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura. Salua sedis apostolice auctoritate et diocesani Episcopi canonica iustitia et in predictis decimis moderacione concilii generalis. Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisue persona, hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens contra eam temere uenire temptauerit secundo tertioe commonita nisi reatum suum congrua satisfactione correxerit potestatis honorisque sui careat dignitate reamque se diuino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine dei et domini redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi aliena fiat atque in extremo examine districte subiaceat ultioni, Cunctis autem eidem loco sua iura

seruantibus sit pax domini nostri Jesu Christi quatinus et hic fructum bone actionis percipiant et apud districtum iudicem premia eterne pacis inueniant. Amen. Amen.

Ego Urbanus catholice ecclesie episcopus.

Ego Symon tituli Sancti Martini presbiter Cardinalis.

Ego anchorus tituli Sancte praxedis presbiter cardinalis.

Ego frater Guido tituli Sancti Laurentii in Lucina presbiter cardinalis.

Ego Guillelmus tituli sancti Maros presbiter cardinalis.

Ego odo t episcopus.

Ego Stephanus prenestinus episcopus.

Ego frater iohannes portuensis et sancte Ruffine episcopus.

Ego Radulphus albanensis episcopus.

Ego hen.....tensis & velletrensis Episcopus.

Ego guido episcopus.

Ego Riccardus Sancti Angeli Diaconus Cardinalis.

Ego Octavianus Sancte Marie in via lata Diaconus Cardinalis.

Ego Johannes Sancti Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano diaconus cardinalis.

Ego O.....Sancti Adriani diaconus Cardinalis.

Ego Jacobus Sancte Marie in Cosmydin diaconus Cardinalis.

Ego Gottifridus Sancti Georgij ad velum aureum diaconus cardinalis.

Datum apud urbem ueterem per manum Magistri Michaelis de Tholosa Sancte Romane ecclesie vicecancellarii iij Nonas Julii Iudictione vj. Incarnationis dominice anno m° cc° lxiii° Pontificatus uero domini URBANI pape iij. anno Secundo.

M.—PAGE 72.

CHARTER OF KING ALEX. II. GRANTING THE LANDS OF TULYCHEN AND ROTHEUAN TO ANDREW, BISHOP OF MORAY, FOR HIS SURRENDER OF AN ANNUAL PAYMENT DUE FROM LANDS GIVEN BY THE KING TO PLUSCARDYN, 8TH FEB., 1236-7.—*Registrum Moraviense*, p. 32.

ALEXANDER Dei gratia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Andree episcopo Moraviensi et successoribus ejus episcopis Moravie terras nostras de Tulychen in Strathspe. et de Rothuan in Stratheren in Moravia. per rectas diuisas suas et cum omnibus justis pertinenciis suis. in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam. pro quieta clamatione. xlviij. solidorum quos dictus Episcopus annuatim percipere consuevit de terris nostris de Fernanan Tulyduuin. magna Kentessoch et Kep. quas terras monachis de Pluscardyn dedimus in excambium viginti quatuor librarum quas habebant in piscariis nostris de Fyndaryn et pro quieta clamatione decem solidorum et octo denariorum qui debebantur predictis episcopis singulis annis de reddito nostro de dicto Tuliken. scilicet duarum marcarum. Quare volumus et concedimus ut predictus Episcopus et successores sui episcopi Moravie habeant et possideant predictas terras de

Thulechyn et de Rothuan per rectas divisas suas et cum omnibus justis pertinenciis suis. in bosco et plano. in terris et aquis. in pratis et pascuis. in moris et maresiis. in stagnis et molendinis. et omnibus aliis ad predictas terras juste pertinentibus. Salva Gyllecris Gartanach heremite tenuta sua terre de Rothuan in vita sua. adeo libere quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut aliqua elemosina in regno nostro liberius quietius plenius et honorificentius tenetur et possidetur. Concedimus etiam predicto. A. episcopo Moraviensi et successoribus suis episcopis Moraviensibus ut in predictis terris liberam curiam suam habeant. Testibus. W. filio Alani senescallo justiciario Scocie. W. Cumyn comite de Meneteth. W. Olifard justiciario Laudonie. W. Byseth. Rogero Auenel. David Marescallo. Apud Edinburg octavo die Februarii anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio.

N.—PAGE 75.

WRIT ON THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF PLUSCARDYN ON THE ONE PART, AND THE BURGESSES OF ELGIN ON THE OTHER, TOUCHING THE SERVICES DUE OUT OF THE LANDS OF THE PROVOSTRY OF ELGIN, FOR UPHOLDING THE MILLS OF ELGIN AND THEIR DAMS, 6TH DECEMBER, 1272.—From a Notarial Transumpt in Duff House.

NOUERINT omnes hoc scriptum visuri uel audituri quod cum mota esset controuersia inter Priorem et conuentum de Pluscardine ex vna parte. et burgenses de Elgyn ex altera. super seruicijs debitis ad instauracionem et reparacionem molendinorum suorum de Elgyn et stangnorum. de terra prepositure de Elgyn quam dicti burgenses tenent ad feodamfirmam de domino Rege. sic demum inter partes facta est hec finalis conuencio. anno Domiij millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo secundo. die Sanctj Nicholaj episcopi. sub hac forma. videlicet. Quod dicti burgenses. ex consensu et assensu communi omnium et singulorum. precipue Adami filij Stephani et Patricij Herocis tunc temporis prepositorum de Elgyn. Hugonis Herocis. Thome Peyne. Andree Viss. Mathei Blac et alterius Willelmi Blac. filij quondam Simonis Herocis. vnacum dictis Adamo et Patricio prepositis terram dicte prepositure de Elgin tunc temporis tenentium. reliquique tocuis vulgi eiusdem ciuitatis dicto die super hoc in cimiterio Sancti Egidij congregati. dederunt et concesserunt pro se et heredibus suis et hoc presenti scripto in modum cyrographi confecto confirmarunt Deo et Beate Marie et Sanctis Johanni Baptiste et Andree Apostolo et Fratribus in domo de Pluscardyne. Deo seruientibus et imperpetuum seruituris. Totam terram illam que die huius finalis conuencionis interiacebat duobus molendinis suis de Elgyn. aquis omni ex parte circumdata. que etiam eodem die erat de terra dicte prepositure. cum omnibus libertatibus et asiamentis infra dictam terram pertinentibus uel pertinere ualentibus. Tenendam et habendam dictis Fratribus et eorum successoribus de dictis burgensibus et eorum heredibus libere quiete plenarie et honorifice et integre cum omnibus libertatibus et asiamentis suis pro quieta scilicet clamacione seruiciorum que dicti Fratres ad reparacionem et instauracionem dictorum molendinorum suorum et stangnorum de terra dicte prepositure a dictis burgensibus ante diem huius finalis conuencionis exigebant. Salua semper eisdem Fratribus et eorum successoribus integre consueta multura quam dicti burgenses

eisdem Fratribus exhibebant de terra dicte prepositure. Reddendo tantum annuatim dictis burgensibus et eorum heredibus per manus cuiusdam tenentis dictam terram duodecim denarios ad duos terminos medietatem scilicet ad Penticosten et aliam medietatem ad festum Sancti Martini in yeme pro omnimodis seruicijs auxilijs consuetudinibus exactionibus et demandis que aliquo tempore per quemcunque uel per quoscunque exigi poterunt de dicta terra dictis Fratribus data et concessa. Hec autem datio et concessio a dictis burgensibus dictis Fratribus facta est saluo scilicet situ molendini heredum de Duffus in dicta terra. Dicti insuper Fratres concesserunt pro se et successoribus suis quod neque per se, neque per quemcunque tenentem ab ipsis dictam terram, aliquam in ea exercebunt negociacionem que libertatem dictorum burgensium poterit ledere aut dampnificare, eisdem nichilominus terra existente libera ab omnibus exactionibus et demandis ut predictum est et ad omnes vsus reliquos ad vtilitatem dictorum Fratrum cedentes uel aliquo modo cedere valentes. Preterea si dicta molendina a dictis Fratribus qualicunque escambio ad dominum Regem redierunt dicta terra ad dictos burgenses sine omni cauillatione et excepcione redibit prius tamen saluis dictis Fratribus expensis suis positis in edificijs et alijs huiusmodi infra dictam terram. Dicti uero burgenses et eorum heredes de omnibus seruicijs exactionibus et demandis de dicta terra exigui ualentibus respondentes eandem terram contra omnes homines et feminas dictis Fratribus imperpetuum varrantizabunt et defendent. Et ad hec omnia fideliter et integre observanda vtraque pars iurisdictioni Episcopi Moraniensi se obligauit vt liceat eidem Episcopo quicunque pro tempore fuerit per omnimodam ecclesiasticam censuram ad obseruacionem omnium prescriptorum partem compellere negantem. In cuius rei testimonium illi parti huius scripti in modum cyrographi confecti que manet penes dictos Fratres appositum est commune sigillum de Elgyn, illi uero parti que est penes dictos burgenses sigillum dictorum Fratrum est appensum.

O.—PAGE 76.

GRANT TO PLUSCARDYN BY REGINALD LE CHEN OF A SITE FOR A MILL GIVEN HIM BY THE KING NEAR THE MILL OF ELGIN, DUFFUS, 25TH MAY, 1295.—*Hutton MSS., X. 106., Adv. Lib.*

OMNIBUS CHRISTI fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel auditoris, Reginaldus Le Chen, miles, et Maria uxor ejusdem salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis nos dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Deo et Beate Marie et Beato Andree Apostolo et fratribus de Pluscardyn ibidem Deo seruiantibus et in perpetuum seruituris, unum locum molendini quem habuimus per donacionem regiam juxta molendinum suum de Elgyn cum toto jure nostro faciendi ibidem molendinum, tenendum et habendum eisdem fratribus in perpetuam elemosinam, adeo libere, quiete, plenarie et honorifice sicut nos illum locum liberius possedimus per cartam regiam inde confectam quam cum toto jure nostro in premissis, pro animabus nostris et antecessorum et successorum nostrorum una cum presenti scripto predictis fratribus deliberauimus, tantummodo participacione oracionum suarum et omnium bonorum suorum spiritalium quam nobis et antecessoribus et successoribus nostris promiserunt et concesserunt in perpetuum. In cuius rei

testimonium presens scriptum predictis fratribus sigillis nostris dedimus consignatum. Testibus viro religioso Domino W. priore de Hurchard, Dominis Hugone, Roberto, Petro, Johanne, capellanis, Roberto falconario, et aliis. Datum apud Duffus anno gracie m^o. cc^o. nonagesimo quinto. Die Sancti Urbani pape et martiris.

P.—PAGE 76.

CHEIROGRAPH ON SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF PLUSCARDYN ON THE ONE PART, AND THE BURGESSES OF ELGYNE ON THE OTHER, TOUCHING THE MULTURES PAYABLE BY THE LATTER TO THE FORMER, 5TH DECEMBER, 1330.—Original in Floors Castle.

IN dei nomine Amen. Concordatum est inter religiosos viros Priorem et Conventum de Pluscardyn ex una parte et Burgenses communitatis de Elgyne ex alia, Presentibus venerabilibus viris et discretis Domino Thoma dei gratia Abbate de Kynloss, magistro Adam Herrok thesaurario ecclesie Moraviensis, Domino Symone de Curry canonico ejusdem, et nobilibus viris dominis Rachenaldo de Lethen justiciario, Roberto de Lauyder militibus, Willelmo de Foderth, Willelmo de Innes baronibus et Roberto Davidis vicecomite de Elgyne et aliis in hunc modum: Videlicet quod cessante omni altricatione habita inter partes super multuris dictorum Burgensium omnium generum bladi tam ex cultura quam ex emptione ipsorum undecunque dicti burgenses ac communitas tenebantur solvere monachis praedictis septemdecimum vas vel saccum precise absque omni alia exactione in hoc adjecto [?] expresse inter partes. Et actum quod si contingant molendina de Elgyne destrui incendio vel alio fortuito casu vel inundatione aquarum impediri ne molant: dicti burgenses et communitas fide prestita corporali respondebunt et dabunt praedictis monachis duas partes praedictae multurae et pro tertia parte molabunt ubicunque voluerint quousque reparentur dicta molendina ut molare possent. et si reperiat quod aliquis se substrahat transportando granum sive in equo sive in dorso hominum qualitercumque et per dictos monachos seu eorum ministros deprehendatur saccum cum grano farina vel braseo cedet monachis in eschaetum et equus et ductor ballivo domini comitis praesentabitur pro forisfactura. Actum est etiam inter partes quod quater in anno quicunque fuerit habitus de multura suspectus non soluta exigitur juramentum ab eodem quod si reuerit facere serviens villae qui cum servientibus monachorum inerit ad hoc exigendum districtum capiet et dictis servientibus monachorum liberabit. Actum est etiam quod si applicantibus navibus dicti burgenses frumentum aut aliud genus graui emerint ab iisdem nauibus vel aliunde pro mercimoniis suis exercendis de hujusmodi grano nulla exigitur multura nisi quantum in usos proprios converterint. Et ad haec omnia et singula servanda in perpetuum dictus prior nomine suo et conventus sui Walterus filius Radulphi major Thomas Hermet et Willelmus de Strabrok ballivi de Elgyne nomine communitatis ejusdem fidem praestiterunt corporalem, adjecta poena centum mercarum sterlingorum applicandarum fabricae ecclesiae cathedralis de Elgyne ab ea parte quae contraverit presenti huic conventioni principali conventionione ut praemittitur nihilominus in suo robore permanente. In cujus rei testimonium huic praesenti scripturae

per modum cirographi confectae quae penes dictos monachos de Pluscardyn remanet appositum est sigillum commune burgi de Elgyne una cum sigillis dicti domini abbatis de Kinloss magistri Ade Herrok thesaurarii et prenominatorum nobilium dominorum Reginaldi et Roberti militum. alteri vero parti penes burgenses remanenti appensum est sigillum commune domus de Pluscardi cum sigillis praedictorum dominorum ad futuram rei memoriam. Actum apud Elgyne quinto die mensis Decembris A.D. millesimo trigentesimo tricesimo.

[The above is taken from a transumpt found in Duff House, but has been compared with a recent copy from the original in Floors Castle.]

Q.—PAGE 77.

WRIT BY DAVID II., KING OF SCOTS, IN FAVOUR OF THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF PLUSCARDYN, TOUCHING THEIR RIGHT TO THE MULTURES OF LANGMORGYN AND OTHER LANDS, 19TH MAY, 1368.—*From a Notarial Transumpt, dated 30th August, 1449, in Dr Stuart's Collection.*

DAVID Dei gracia rex Scottorum vicecomitibus de Elgyn et fforeys, salutem; sciatis quod cum per inspeccionem cuiusdam carte recolende memorie quondam Alexandri regis Scocie predecessoris nostri facte religiosis viris priori et conventui de Pluscardyn nobis clare constet ipsos religiosos esse infeodatos de molendinis de elgyn et de fforeys cum aliis molendinis ad eadem molendina pertinentibus, cum tota multura proueniente de terris omnibus de quibus tempore infeodacionis idem rex predecessor noster multuram percepit uel percipere deberet si culte essent, quarum quidem terrarum quam plurime que tempore concessionis predictae carte in cultura non fuerant, ut de lanmorgyn, quarelwode, tulache, ternway et schanchery infra ballias vestras in culturam sepius rediguntur, quas sub dicte carte tenore non est dubium contineri; Vobis igitur et vestrum cuilibet firmiter percipiendum mandamus quatenus faciatis [dictos] religiosos habere saysinam et pacificam possessionem multurarum de terris prenominatis; et si qui forte in solucionem uel reddicionem dictarum multurarum dictis religiosis aliquo tempore in futurum contradicere presumpserint, ipsos ad satisfaciendos dictis religiosis de multuris per illos forte contradicendis, denegandis, uel abstrahendis per capcionem et namacionem bonorum eorundem taliter compellatis quod super hoc ulterius clamorem non audiamus aut queremoniam sub pena que exiude poterit prouenire. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus vobis ostensuris penes que predictos religiosos perpetuo remansuris, sigillum nostrum precepimus apponi, apud Innernys decimo nono die maij anno regni nostri tricesimo octauo.

R.—PAGE 78.

INDENTURE BETWEEN THOMAS, PRIOR OF PLUSCARDYN, ON THE ONE PART,
AND ROBERT OF CHESHOLM, KNIGHT, ON THE OTHER, FOR SETTLING
DISPUTES RELATIVE TO THE MULTURES EXIGIBLE OUT OF THE LANDS
OF QUARELWOOD, 25TH JANUARY, 1370.—*From a Transcript of the Original in the
Innes Charter Chest at Floors Castle.*

HÆC indentura testatur quod cum inter viros religiosos dominum Thomam priorem et Conuentum de Pluscardyn ex parte una et nobilem virum dominum Robertum de Chesholm militem dominum de Quarelwod ex parte altera supra multura de Quarelwod orta fuisset materia questionis grauis tandem constitutis coram reuerendo patre domino Alexandro Dei gratia episcopo Morauien supradictis dominis priore et Roberto in ecclesia parochiali de Rothes. Anno domini millesimo. ccc^{mo}. septuagesimo. die Conuersionis Sancti Pauli. dicta controuersia finem et terminum per hunc modum de predictorum consilio recepit. Videlicet quod discussis et post diutinam ventilationem conceptis et intellectis tam fundatione infeodatione et collatione recolende memorie domini Alexandri Regis Scotorum factis et concessis priori et conuentui de Pluscardyn de molendinis de Elgyn cum omnibus molendinis ad dictum molendinum pertinentibus et cum tota multura pertinente de omnibus terris de quibus tempore fundationis ipsius ipse Rex multuram percepit uel percipere debuit si culte essent ac etiam deliberatione serenissimi principis domini dauid dei gratia Regis Scotorum supra fundatione infeodatione et collatione supradicti sui predecessoris antedicti ex deliberatione consilii sub magno sigillo suo procedente ac possessione per prefatum dominum Dauid Regem Thome priori et conuentui memoratis tradita. necnon processibus supra antedictis multuris de quarelwod coram prefato episcopo et suis commissariis cum maxima maturitate deductis sepedictis dominus Robertus de Cheshelm post diutinam et frequentem deliberationem communicato et recepto consilio cum predictis recognoscens et clare concipiens prefatas multuras ad priorem et conuentum antedictos pertinere et suas proprias esse. Ad amputandum tollendum et removendum ulteriores strepitus et vexationes partium et amicorum. Prenominatus dominus Robertus obligauit se et heredes suos et quoscunque sibi successuros in perpetuum pro dictis multuris de Quarelwod prefatis priori et conuentui soluere annuatim apud Pluscardyn quatuor solidos sterlingos ad duos anni terminos medietatem ad festum penthecostes et aliam medietatem ad festum Sancti Martini hoc etiam adiecto quod prefatus dominus Robertus et heredes sui cum incolis de quarelwod quicunque fuerint et quocunque tempore sequentur molendinum de Elgin predicti prioris tanquam sokyn ad molandum cum omnibus bladis prouenientibus de tota terra de quarelwod uel in futurum prouenire valentibus pro qua molutione soluent vicesimam bollam tam de bladibus per ipsos venditis et vendendis quam in proprios vsus conuersis sine omni alio ouere uel exactione alicujus alterius multure uel seruicii a prefato domino Roberto uel suis ratione prefate molutionis in posterum exigendo. Et si contingat dictum molendinum impediri quod molere non possit aliquo tempore notabili licebit domino Roberto et suis alibi molere considerata exigentia expensarum domus sue et suorum sine solutione multure de illis bladibus pro illo tempore omni fraude et malitia exclusis primo termino solutionis

quatuor solidorum predictorum incipiente ad festum penthecostes. Anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo}. septuagesimo primo. Et si per quindecim dies post quemlibet terminum de solutione dictorum quatuor solidorum non fuerit satisfactum concessit idem dominus Robertus quod ipse et heredes sui et incole dictarum terrarum qui pro tempore fuerint compellantur et artissime distringantur sicut et alii de patria qui multuram predictis molendinis solent compelli quousque plenarie fuerit satisfactum. Et ad maiorem securitatem roborandam et ad omnia ista obseruanda prefatus dominus Robertus se et heredes suos iurisdictioni dicti episcopi Morauiensis qui pro tempore fuerit obligauit. In quorum omnium testimonium presenti indenture per modum cyrographi confecte partes predictae sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Et sigillum dicti reuerendi patris Episcopi Morauiensis ad securitatem maiorem ad instantiam predictarum partium eidem est appensum die loco et anno supradictis.

S.—PAGE 79.

**NOTARIAL INSTRUMENT ON CLAIM BY THOMAS, PRIOR OF PLUSCARDYN,
AGAINST ROBERT DE CHESHELM, KNIGHT, FOR THE MULTURES OF
THE PROVOSTRY OF FORRES, 16TH APRIL, 1390.—From a Transcript of the
Original in the Innes Charter Chest at Floors Castle.**

IN Dei nomine. Amen. per hoc presens publicum Instrumentum Cunctis pateat euidenter. quod anno domini. millesimo. ccc^{mo}. nonagesimo in mensis Aprilis die decimasexta Indictione xiii. pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris domini domini Clementis diuina prouidentia pape vii. [anno] duodecimo in capitulo ecclesie Cathedralis de Elgyn. In mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presentia propter hoc personaliter constitutus Religiosus Vir dompnus Thomas prior domus de Pluscardyn coram reuerendo in Christo patre. ac domino suo domino Alexandro dei gratia episcopo Morauensi suo iudice ordinario et Dyosesano specialiter in hac causa. prout (in quadam) carta. . . . Alexandri ibidem lecta et ostensa continebatur. citato nobili viro domino Roberto de Cheshelm (Milite) ad instantiam dicti prioris in causa possessionis cuiusdam multure. prepositure de fores. proposuit et dixit. quod predictus Robertus de Cheshelm domum de Pluscardyn. et ipsum priorem nomine eiusdem prioris de dicta multura in predicta prepositura de fores spoliavit liare fecit minus juste. de qua multura dicta domus de pluscardy a tempore quo non est memoria fuerat possessa pacifice sine questione qualicunque. quas possessionem et spoliationem ibidem probauit dictus prior. et quod de ipsa possessione erat per dictum dominum Robertum spoliatus iniuste in manibus dicti domini Episcopi sui Iudicis ordinarii. decem librarum prestitit cautionem. Quare predictus dominus prior nomine domus sue antedictae dicto domino Episcopo petijt quod ipse suas et ipsum priorem nomine dicte domus in possessionem pacificam dicte multure imponet et ipsos defendet in eadem. Quibus auditis. probatis. et intellectis. predictus dominus Episcopus. predictam domum de Pluscardy et priorem eiusdem in possessionem predictae multure cum pertinentiis imposuit et ipsos restituit ad eandem. predicto domino Roberto Inhibendo sub excommunicationis pena. quod in predicta multura dictos domum et priorem non turbaret. et de iude ablatione minus juste ipsis

satisfaceret competenter. predictus dominus de Cheshelm. dictum dominum Episcopum tanquam non suum iudicem in hac causa prima facie declinavit et recessit. Super quibus omnibus predictus dominus prior a me notario publico infrascripto sibi fieri petijt publicum Instrumentum. presentibus discretis viris dominis Johanne de Arde succentore. Alexandro de Urchard. Johanne de Abberkerdore ecclesie Moraviensis canonicis. Adam flemyng. Alexandro de Junes. Thoma de Vrchard armigeris. et Andrea filio Roberti burgensi de Elgin et multis aliis ad premissa vocatis specialiter et Rogatis in testimonium veritatis. omnium premissorum. Et ad maiorem euidentiam predictus dominus Episcopus suum sigillum apposuit autenticum presentibus perpetuo remansurum.

Et ego Willelmus gerland clericus Moraviensis diocesis publicus Imperiali auctoritate notarius premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut premittitur agerentur et fierent una cum prenonimatis testibus presens interfui eaque omnia sic fieri vidi et audivi et in hanc formam publicam redegi signoque meo consueto Signavi Rogatus.

T.—PAGE 82.

NOTARIAL INSTRUMENT CONTAINING THE GROUNDS AND EVIDENCE ON
THE CLAIM OF THE BISHOP OF MORAY TO VISIT THE PRIORY OF
PLUSCARDYN, 20TH Oct., 1345.—*Reg. Moraviense*, pp. 156, 157.

IN nomine Domini amen. anno incarnationis ejusdem. M^o. ccc^o. xlv^o. indictione. xiv. pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini domini Clementis pape sexti anno quarto. vicesimo die mensis Octobris. in capitulo cathedrali ecclesie Moraviensis. in presentia reverendorum in Christo patrum dominorum Johannis et Richardi Dei gratia Moraviensis et Dunkeldensis ecclesiarum episcoporum. dominorum decani et capituli Moraviensis et mei notarii publici infrascripti presentia et testium subscriptorum personaliter constituti domini Johannes Wysi prior et Adam Marescallus subprior. Willelmus de Inuernys et Adam Yung monachi domus vallis Sancti Andree de Pluskardy Moraviensis dyoceseos a predicto domino Episcopo Moravie in virtute sancte obedientie et sub pena excommunicationis legitime moniti et interrogati ut super articulis infrascriptis plenam dicerent veritatem. sponte confessi sunt et recognoverunt quod a prima fundatione dicte domus de Pluskardy sicut a suis predecessoribus audierunt. et suis temporibus etiam hoc viderunt. episcopi Moravienses qui pro tempore fuerunt quotienscunque videbatur eis expediens habuerunt et tenuerunt et exercuerunt visitationem et correctionem. institutionem et destitutionem in predicta domo prioribus et fratribus ejusdem. et procuraciones receperunt. nullamque exemptionem seu privilegium contra hec se habuisse vel habere recognoverunt Prior et monachi supradicti. et quod in possessione et exercitio predictorum omnium Moravienses episcopi singuli suis temporibus sunt et fuerunt a tempore de quo memoria non existit. Dominus etiam Willelmus de Longovico monachus Remundi Vallis Tullensis dyoceseos ordinis Vallis Caulium nuncius et procurator prioris domus Vallis Caulium Lingonensis dyoceseos ut ipse dicebatur in presentia predictorum reverendorum in Christo patrum et mei notarii publici infrascripti et testium subscriptorum personaliter constitutus et interrogatus super articulis infrascriptis sponte confessus est et recognovit

quod episcopi et archiepiscopi dyocesani tam in Almannia quam in aliis partibus transmarinis in quorum dyocysibus domus ordinis Vallis Caulium site sunt hactenus habuerunt et habent singuli in suis dyocisibus visitationem et correctionem in domibus supradictis. ac etiam procuraciones receperunt et recipiunt. et quod nullam exemptionem vel privilegium habent vel habuerunt contra eadem. Acta sunt hec anno. indictione. pontificatu. die. mense et loco supradictis. presentibus prefatis reverendis in Christo patribus et magistro Johanne de Inuernys cancellario et officiali Moraviensi. dominis Reginaldo de Ogiston cancellario Glasguensi. Johanne de Kynnaird thesaurario Dunkeldensi. et canonicis ecclesie Moraviensis predictae. testibus ad hoc specialiter vocatis et rogatis. quorum reverendorum in Christo patrum autentica sigilla una cum sigillo officialitatis curie Moraviensis presenti instrumento sunt appensa in testimonium premissorum.

Et ego Thomas Johannes Boner Rossensis Dyoceseos publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius premissis omnibus et singulis dum per predictos ut premittitur sic agerentur una cum testibus prenominatis et cum supradictorum reverendorum in Christo patrum et officialitatis positione sigillorum presens interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi et in hanc publicam formam redegei signoque meo et nomine consuetis signavi in testimonium premissorum vocatus et rogatus sub anno indictione pontificatu die mense et loco predictis.

U.—PAGE 87.

CHARTERS RELATING TO THE RESIGNATION OF PRIOR THOMAS AND THE ELECTION AND SETTLEMENT OF PRIOR ALEXANDER, A MONK OF PLUSCARDYN, AUG. 1398.—*Reg. Moraviense*, pp. 355-358.

RENUNCIATO PRIORATUS DE PLUSCARDYN.

REVERENO in Christo patri domino Willelmo Dei gratia episcopo Moraviensi suus humilis et devotus Thomas prior prioratus vallis Sancti Andree de Pluscardyn ordinis Wallis Caulium reverenciam in omnibus et honorem. Licet dictum prioratum multis annis et duris temporibus ut melius potui gubernaverim. Jam tamen gravi egritudine laborans et confractus senio sentiensque me insufficientem oneri regiminis ipsius prioratus. non vi coactus nec dolo inductus sed ex mea mera et spontanea voluntate et quia hoc ipsi prioratui utile reputo. ipsum prioratum in manibus vestris pure libere et simpliciter per presentes renuncio et dimitto. paternitati vestre reverende supplicando quatenus istam renunciacionem meam velitis recipere. et mihi de provisione aliqua competenti pro tempore vite mee in prioratu ipso de bonis ipsius de consilio et consensu conventus secundum facultates loci et juxta mea merita dignemini providere. In premissorum testimonium sigillum prioratus predicti presentibus apposui. Datum in prioratu predicto de Pluscardyn septimo die mensis Augusti. anno Domini .M^o. ccc^o. nonagesimo octavo.

DECRETUM ELECTIONIS PRIORATUS DE .P.

Reverendo in Christo patri domino Willelmo Dei gratia episcopo Moraviensi sui humiles et devoti Thomas Fullonis senior monachus prioratus de .P. et ejusdem loci conventus obedienciam. reverenciam et honorem. Vacante prioratu nostro predicto per renunciacionem Prioris ultimi in manibus vestris factam et admissam. nos certa die ad hoc assignata

infra tempus juris ad electionem futuri prioris per viam scrutinii processimus. et eo publicato invenimus fratrem Alexandrum de Pluscardyne monachum nostrum ab omnibus fuisse concorditer nominatum et electum. virum utique providum et discretum in spiritualibus et temporalibus circumspectum. regulam ordinis nostri expresse professum. in sacerdotio et etate legitima constitutum. de thoro legitimo procreatum. scientem et potentem jura et possessiones prioratus nostri predicti jam exiles et tenues defendere et meliorare. et ruinas ecclesie et habitationum reparare. quem servatis servandis senior nostrum vice et de mandato omnium nostrum elegit in hunc modum. Ego Thomas Fullonis senior monachus hujus conventus de Pluscardyn vice mea et totius conventus ac de mandato et potestate per conventum mihi traditis fratrem Alexandrum de .P. monachum hujus conventus nomino et eligo in Priorem de .P. Quam electionem nos omnes approbamus. et statim cantando *Te Deum laudamus* electum nostrum deduximus ad magnum altare. et electionem factam de ipso fecimus publicari. ac ipsi electo ad prestandum consensum suum presentari. qui per nos requisitus dicte electioni consensit nolens divine resistere voluntati. quem nos paternitati vestre reverende cum reverentia debita presentamus. supplicantes devote ut electionem sic per nos de ipso concorditer celebratam dignemini de vestro pontificali officio et auctoritate ordinaria ex certa scientia confirmare. Ut autem sciatis nos ipsum concorditer elegerisse sigillum commune conventus nostri huic decreto sue electionis fecimus apponi. Datum in domo nostro capitulari. xiii. die mensis Augusti anno etc. nonagesimo octavo.

MANDATUM DE PROCLAMATIONE ELECTIONIS.

Willelmus miseratione divina episcopus Moraviensis domino. M. de .D. capellano salutem. Ne celeritate confirmationis electionis. licet in concordia celebrata existat. de domino Alexandro monacho de .P. in priorem prioratus ejusdem contra doctrinam Apostoli scribentis ad Tymotheum. *Nemini cito manus imponas.* facere videamur. vobis committimus et mandamus quatinus etsi nullus coelectus vel oppositor apparet generaliter in ecclesia prioratus de .P. in qua electio de ipso facta est intra missarum sollempnia publice proclamatis in isto festo Assumptionis beate Marie Virginis et moneatis ut si qui sint quorum interest qui se volunt opponere sue electioni compareant coram nobis in ecclesia nostra cathedrali Moraviensi die Mercurii. xxi. die hujus mensis Augusti. quem eis pro termino peremptorio assignamus. ea que opponere voluerint legitime probaturi. intimantes eisdem quod si in dicto termino non venerint ipsos post lapsum illius termini ab audientia excludemus. In hujus mandati nostri testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus fecimus apponi. et vos in signum executionis per vos facte sigillum vestrum presentibus apponatis. nobis dictis die et loco presentantes easdem. Datum sub sigillo nostro apud. A. in vigilia Assumptionis beate Marie anno etc. nonagesimo octavo.

CONFIRMATIO ELECTIONIS.

Universis presentes literas inspecturis Willelmus miseratione divina episcopus Moraviensis eternam in Domino salutem. In vestrum omnium deducimus notitiam quod nos. examinato electionis decreto celebrate de religioso viro fratre Alexandro monacho de .P. in priorem prioratus ejusdem ut decuit. factaque proclamatione in ecclesia in qua electio exstitit celebrata si esset aliquis qui se vellet opponere huic electioni vel electo quod compareret hodie coram nobis in ecclesia Moraviensi oppositurus que vellet opponere

contra electionem vel electum. et quia nullus contra ipsum comparuit. nos electionem ipsam auctoritate ordinaria et episcopali confirmamus. ac curam et administrationem bonorum dicti prioratus ipsi committimus et ipsum per anulum nostrum investivimus de eisdem. reservantes nobis et successoribus nostris visitationem annuam et correctionem in ipso prioratu. et omnia alia devoria et jura predecessoribus nostris prestita et nobis debita de consuetudine et de jure. In premissorum testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus fecimus apponi. Datum in ecclesia nostra Moraviensi. xxi. die mensis Augusti anno etc. nonagesimo octavo.

V.—PAGE 100.

CHARTER BY DAVID I. IN FAVOUR OF THE PRIOR AND MONKS OF URCHARD.

—*Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 329, 330.

DAVID REX SCOTTORUM episcopis. abbatibus. baronibus. justiciariis. vice-comitibus et omnibus hominibus totius terre sue Francis Anglicis et Scotis salutem. Sciant tam posteri quam presentes me ad domum Dei dilatationem et ad sancte religionis propagationem dedisse et concessisse Deo et ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis de Urqward et hac mea carta Priori et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus confirmasse Urqward per suas rectas divisas. et duas Finfans per suas rectas divisas. et Fochober per suas rectas divisas et communionem pascuum animalibus. et unam piscariam in Spe. et in firma burgi de Elgyn. xx. solidos. et de dominiis hominibus eorum qui sunt in Fochober rectitudinem piscis que ad thaynum pertinet. et decimam cani de Ergaithel. de Muref. et placitorum. et totius lucri ejusdem Ergaithel. Preterea concedo et hac mea carta confirmo donationem Abbatis et totius conventus de Dunfermeline scilicet Pethnec juxta Erin per suas rectas divisas. et scalingas de Fathenechten. et omnes rectitudines quas monachi de Dunfermelyne in Murrefe habere solebant. quas tali conditione ecclesie de Urqward et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus liberas et quietas ab omni exactione mea concessione et confirmatione concedunt. ut obeunte persona alia de electione fratrum et de concilio Abbatis de Dunfermelyne et assensu Regis si ydoneus ibi inveniatur subrogetur. sin autem de ecclesia de Dunfermelyne accipiat. Hec personarum subrogatio inviolabiliter inperpetuum inter eos sicut predictum est conservetur. Volo etiam et precipio quod ecclesia predicta et prior et fratres ejusdem loci habeant et teneant res predictas ita libere et quiete sicut aliqua ecclesia in terra mea habet et tenet quietius et liberius. Testibus Andrea episcopo et multis aliis.

W.—PAGE 100.

GRANT BY DAVID I. OF XX. SHILLINGS YEARLY FROM HIS BURGH OF ELGIN TO THE MONKS OF URCHARD.—*Reg. Dunf.*, p. 18.

DAVID Rex Scottorum. Episcopis Abbatibus: Comitibus. Baronibus. Vicecomitibus. prepositis. et omnibus probis hominibus tocius muref et Scociæ Salutem. Sciatis me in perpetuum dedisse deo et monachis de Urchard ibi deo famulantibus dum devote et

religiose se continuerint .xx. solidos singulis annis ad vestimenta eorum de firma burgi mei et aquarum de Elgin. Quare præcipio quod præpositus ejusdem burgi eis illos denarios sine omni disturbacione faciat haberi. Teste Herberto Camerario et Alwino filio archil. Apud Banef.

X.— PAGE 100.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PRIOR OF URCHARD AND THE RECTOR OF
ESKYL REGARDING THE TITHES OF MEFT, INNES, &c., MAY, 1237.—*Reg.
Morav., pp. 101-103.*

NOVERINT omnes hoc scriptum visuri vel audituri quod cum a longinquis temporibus et hominum memoriam excedentibus ita est optentum quod ecclesia de Urchard habitantibus in terra de Meft. de Inays. Sallelcot. Byn et Garmauch divina et ecclesiastica sacramenta omnia ministrante decimarum omnium infra limites predictarum terrarum provenientium divisio fieret in quinque partes quancumque essent recipiende. de quibus portionibus ecclesia de Urchard tres partes haberet. et ecclesia de Eskyl duas partes residuas plenius optineret. Hiis igitur usque ad tempus presens non sine crebris contentionibus rixis et incommoditatibus et gravibus difficultatibus optentis et observatis. placuit utriusque ecclesie rectoribus scilicet Willelmo priori de Urchard et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus ex una parte et Roberto thesaurario ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis apud Elgyn ex alia ad pacem tranquillitatem et commodum predictarum ecclesiarum et personarum. consultius et magis honeste et provide super hoc ordinari. Unde super hoc expediendo facta a predictis partibus diligenti et attenta supplicatione Symoni decano et capitulo predictæ ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis nec non et Andree episcopo dyoceseos. et eisdem partibus predictis se ordinationi predictorum Decani et capituli et Diocesani super hoc committentibus. habito tractatu et deliberatione diligenti. ut omnes contentiones rixe et incommoditates et difficultates evitentur in posterum. ita est a predictis ordinatoribus provisum et ordinatum. scilicet quod ecclesia et domus de Urchard omnes decimas infra limites dictarum terrarum provenientes integre et absque omni diminutione et divisione habeat et percipiet perpetuo. et in nullo de aliquibus decimis vel aliis ecclesiasticis rectitudinibus quantum ad predictas terras pertinet vel poterit pertinere respondebit ecclesie de Eskyl vel alicui ipsius rectori. vel thesaurario predictæ ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis ullo unquam tempore. sed eas omnes et totas quam plenissime habeat ecclesia de Urchard et domus et prior et fratres ibidem Deo servientes et servituri. Ita tamen quod ecclesia de Urchard et domus et prior ejusdem loci et fratres qui pro tempore ibidem fuerint solvent singulis annis in perpetuum ecclesie de Eskyl et singulis ejus rectoribus et illi qui pro tempore ejusdem ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis thesaurarius extiterit .xxiiiij. marcas sterlingorum legalium. medietatem scilicet ad Pentecosten et aliam medietatem ad festum Sancti Martyni in hyeme. termino hujus solutionis incipiente ad idem festum Sancti Martini proximum post hujus scripture compositionem. Ad premissorum autem firmam et fidelem observationem utraque partium se obligavit tam pro se quam pro suis successoribus juramento corporaliter prestito. hoc addito quod quotiens predicta pecunia ad terminos predictos non fuerit plenarie soluta

ecclesia de Urchard prior et fratres ejusdem loci solvent episcopo Moraviensi nomine pene .xii. denarios singulis diebus quibus mora solutionis extiterit. Ut autem hec omnia supradicta rata sint et inconcussa in omnibus et per omnia illi parti hujus scripture in modum cyrographi confecte que penes predictam ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis residet appensa sunt sigilla Abbatis et conventus de Dunfermelyn. item sigillum Prioris et fratrum cum eorundem subscriptionibus. cum sigillo dyocesani Episcopi. alteri vero parti quam habent dicti Prior et fratres apposita sunt sigilla predictorum ordinatorum scilicet Symonis decani et capituli et Andree diocesani episcopi cum eorum subscriptionibus. Actum anno gratie m^o cc^o xxxvii. mense Mayo. apud Kenedor. Ego Willelmus prior de Urchard subscribo. Ego frater Adam subscribo. Ego frater Willelmus subscribo. Ego frater Andreas subscribo. Ego frater Henricus subscribo.

Y.—PAGE 102.

INQUISITION REGARDING THE RIGHTS OF THE PRIOR OF URCHARD IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHAPEL OF KILRAVOCK, A.D. 1343.—*Family of Kilravock, pp. 117, 118.*

ANNO Domini millesimo tricentesimo quadragesimo tertio, die mercurii proximo post festum beati Andree apostoli, in capitulo ecclesie cathedralis de Elgyn, ex consensu et assensu domini Willelmi de Butygrak, prioris de Urchard, et Hugonis de Ros domini de Kylrauoc, facta fuit inquisitio per dominos Martinum tesararium ecclesie Moraviensis, Symonem de Krael succentorem, et Johannem de Dychton subdecanum ejusdem ecclesie, commissarios ad hoc vocatos et autoritate domini Episcopi specialiter deputatos, super jure et libertatibus ad terram capelle de Kylrauoc ratione prime infeodationis et antique consuetudinis pertinentibus; necnon super servitio dicte capelle debito. In qua quidem inquisitione declaratum fuit et manifeste recognitum per fidedignos viros subscriptos ex utraque parte electos, legitime citatos et fideliter juratos, videlicet dominos Adam del Strath vicarium de Elgyn et canonicum ecclesie cathedralis, et Adam Gobinol decanum ruralem, capellanos, Johannem clericum de Pethnyc, Douenaldum filium Walteri, Adam Purs, Thomam Flex, et Nicholaum Heritage heremitam capelle sancte Marie de Rath, seculares: In primis, quod idem Prior vel sui tenentes predictae terre habebunt in eadem unam bracinam libere, tresdecim animalia provecte etatis, cujuscunque generis fuerint, quater viginti oves, sive multones usque ad predictum numerum, duos equos, unam suem matricem, et duas aucas. Predicta vero animalia et oves estivo tempore pascent cum pecoribus domini de Kylrauoc in omnibus pascuis estivalibus: aliis vero temporibus anni pascent communiter cum eisdem. Equi vero habebunt pasturam cum equis domini de Kylrauoc. Tenentes etiam predictae terre habebunt meremium pro edificiis in eadem terra construendis, et ligna focalia tam ad bracinam quam ad alios usus, in nemoribus domini supradicti: Ita tamen quod hec fiant cum visu forestarii. Habebunt etiam focale in moris, turbariis et petariis, ubi dominus et heredes sui habebunt. Definitum est etiam ibidem quod vicarius de Dalcros qui pro tempore fuerit, tenetur celebrare bis in ebdomada in prefata capella; Prior vero de Urchard pro divinis celebrandis in eadem administrabit

necessaria. Et ut ista premissa robor perpetue firmitatis obtineant et utrique parti et successoribus suis in perpetuum valeant, huic scripto in modum indenture confecto, sigilla predictorum, Prioris videlicet et Hugonis de Ros, una cum sigillis venerabilis patris in Christo domini Johannis Dei gratia episcopi Moraviensis, et predictorum commissariorum, alternatim sunt appensa; parti videlicet penes predictum Hugonem remanenti, sigillum dicti Prioris cum sigillis prenominaſtis est appensum; parti vero penes predictum Priorem remanenti, sigillum dicti Hugonis, cum eisdem sigillis supradictis, est appositum. Actum et datum anno die et loco supradictis.

Z.—PAGE 103.

PROTEST BY THE ABBOT OF DUNFERMELYN REGARDING THE ELECTION OF THE PRIOR OF URCHARD, 2ND MAY, 1358.—*Reg. Dunf.*, pp. 266, 267.

IN dei nomine amen. Anno a nativitate ejusdem millesimo. trecentesimo quinquagesimo. octavo. Indictione xj. die. secunda mensis Maij pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri Innocencii divina providencia pape vj. anno sexto in capitulo cathedralis ecclesie Moraviensis. presentibus Reverendo in Christo patre ac domino. domino Johanne dei gratia Episcopo Moraviensi. dominis decano et quibusdam aliis canonicis ad hoc specialiter vocatis. Venerabilis in Christo pater Johannes permissione divina Abbas Monasterii de Dunfermelyn. asseruit et allegavit. quod virtute prime institutionis et fundacionis prioratus de Vrchart et consuetudine approbata optenta. et huc usque vsitata. Vacante dicto prioratu. consilium dicti domini Abbatis super negocio imminentis electionis monachi ipsam electionem celebraturi Requiritere cum instantia ac petere deberent protestando dictus dominus Abbas de infirmacione et informitate ultime Eleccionis de persona domini Michaelis de Inuerkethyn ibidem celebrate. consilio suo ad hoc vt decuit minime requisito. Prefatus vero dominus episcopus ex deliberacione sua et ejusdem capituli dixit asseruit et Recognovit hoc debere fieri et futuris temporibus fore faciendum et firmiter observandum juxta tenorem carte sue primeve fundacionis registrate. non obstante vel impediante predicta ultima eleccione quam recognovit et affirmavit ex magna causa et imminente periculo ac impressione manus laicalis non in contemptum dicti domini Abbatis aut in preiudicium juris sui fuisse celebratam. Dominus vero prior ejusdem loci et ceteri monachi ibidem commemorantes presentes fuerunt et illud idem per omnia et singula premissa affirmaverunt. In quorum omnium testimonium predictus dominus Abbas præsens instrumentum per me notarium publicum infra scriptum scribi et publicari mandavit. præsentibus, &c.

AA.—PAGE 107.

LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF MORAY APPROVING OF A VISITATION OF THE PRIORY OF URQUHARD, 17TH JAN., 1429-30.—*Reg. Dunf.*, p. 282.

COLUMBA miseracione Divina Episcopus Moraviensis Venerabili in Christo patri Abbati monasterii de Dunfermelyn et ejusdem loci conventui salutem et episcopalem benedictionem. quia per vestras literas patentes concepimus Dominum Johannem Schaw fratrem

et commonachum vestrum in decretis licenciatum et in sacra pagina Bacallarium de consilio et assensu regis. ad visitandum inquirendum, corrigendum et reformandum prioratum et priorem celle vestre. nostre dioecesis. de Vrquhard. propter nonnulla crimina scelera et flagicia. defectus et deformitates de prioratu et priore predictis vestris auribus intonata, ut de jure consuetudinali et privilegio speciali a tempore quo non extitit memoria et a fundacione celle predictæ per cartas vestras nobis demonstratas apparuit, et dicitis vobis competere, satis juridice fuisse constitutum et ordinatum, quapropter Religionis zelo caritatis intuitu et fauore persone ad visitandum misse, nostra visitacione vestra non obstante nobis salva, eidem dedimus nostras literas patentes nostris diocisaniis de auxilio consilio et favore, exhortantes eosdem ut ipsum juuent et sibi reuelent defectus seu crimina de prioratu et priore predictis corrigendos vel corrigenda reformandos vel reformanda eidem assignando cum nostro consilio et consensu terminum videlicet nonum diem mensis Februarii ad corrigendum reformandum seu saniandum cum nostro consilio et consensu. in Capella de Vrquhard si que sint crimina contra ipsum Andream Raburne per suam inquisitionem probata seu notoria vel manifesta inventa et alia facienda que vobis circa reformacionem vel dicto prioratui sunt necessaria vel oportuna. Datum apud Elgyn sub sigillo officialis nostri venerabilis viri magistri Thome Yonge in defectu sigilli nostri proprii quod personaliter pro tunc non habuimus. Anno Domini m^o cccc vicesimo nono. die mensis Januarii xvij. coram clerico nostro magistro Edwardo Crafurd notario et aliis.

LETTER OF CITATION AGAINST THE PRIOR OF URQUHARD, 17TH JAN., 1429-30

—*Reg. Dunf.*, p. 283.

COLUMBA miseracione Divina Episcopus Moraviensis universis et singulis presbiteris curatis et non curatis notariis et tabellionibus Salutem et Episcopalem benedicionem vobis universaliter singulis insolidum et cuilibet vestrum cui presentes litere pervenerint committimus vices nostras et potestatem damus. Supplicantes quatinus dominum Andream Raburne priorem celle de Vrquhard nostre diocesis moneatis sub triplici edicto unico tamen contextu ut compareat coram nobis. vel domino Johanne Schaw procuratore monasterii de Dunfermelyn in decretis licenciato et in sacra pagina Bacallario in capella prioratus de Vrquhard nono die mensis februarii ad audiendum et recipiendum ordinacionem determinacionem sententiam vel sententias et eisdem standum quam vel quas. nos vel alter nostrum prolaturi sumus seu dicturi contra ipsum et super reformatione predicti prioratus ordinaturi sub pena privacionis ab officio et beneficio Certificantes eidem sive venerit sive non in dicto termino procedemus justicia mediante. Datum apud Elgyn sub Sigillo officialis nostri Magistri thome Yonge quia proprium pro tunc non habuimus. Anno m cccc vicesimonono die Januarij xvij Coram Magistro Edwardo de Crafurd clerico nostro et notario.

BB.—PAGE 107.

BULL OF POPE NICOLAS V. FOR UNITING THE PRIORIES OF URCHARDE AND PLUSCARDYN, 12TH MARCH, 1453-4.—*Theiner Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*, p. 391.

NICOLAUS Episcopus etc. Dilectis filiis Abbati Monasterii de Londoris Sancti Andree diocesis, et Cancellario ac Thesaurario ecclesie Moraviensis, salutem etc. Ad apicem

apostolice dignitatis divina dispositione vocati, ad ea ex suscepto servitutis officio nostre solertie dirigimus curas, per que religiosorum locorum, et in eis sub regulari habitu Altissimo famulantium personarum omnium statui, honestati, commoditatibus, indemnitatibus et indigentis oportune consulitur, et divinorum cultus continuum suscipere incrementum, necnon personis illa resignantibus, ne rerum prematur inopia, utiliter et salubriter provideri valeat: ad eos quoque gratiam nostre liberalitatis extendimus, quos religionis zelus et alia propria virtutum merita laudabiliter recommendant. Exhibita siquidem nobis pro parte dilecti filii Iohannis Benale, Prioris Prioratus de Vrcharde ordinis sancti Benedicti Moraviensis diocesis petitio continebat, quod fructus, redditus et proventus tam ipsius Vrcharde, quam de Pluscardyn ordinis Valliscaulium dicte diocesis Prioratum, qui conventuales, curati et electivi, ac de fundatione Regum Scotorum, qui pro tempore fuerunt, fore noscuntur, propter guerras, mortalitates et alias calamitates varias que retroactis temporibus in partibus illis diutius vigerunt, et de presenti vigent, adeo actenuiti et dimuniti sunt, quod ex illis singuli eorum Piores pro tempore existentes cum Religiosis in decenti, et competenti numero ad divinum cultum inibi necessarium decenter sustentari, et non solum aliquorum, quamvis tenue, inchoatorum perfectioni, sed aliorum valde pro usu et habitatione Religiosorum ipsorum necessariorum edificiorum constructioni, edificationi, reparationi et conservationi intendere, aliaque onera sibi incumbentia supportare commode nequeunt, quin ymo divinum officium cum cantu ac regulari observantia, sicuti deceret et congrueret, inibi non viget, presertim cum in de Pluscardyn non ultra sex, et in de Vrcharde Prioratibus ipsis non ultra duo Religiosi communiter cum eisdem Prioribus degere consueverunt: et sicut eadem petitio subiungebat, si dictus Prioratus de Pluscardyn, qui dignior et melior, ac in suis structuris et edificiis facilius reparandis fore dignoscitur, quique membrum dependens de Prioratu conventuali Valliscaulium Lingonensis diocesis in Galliis, et partibus a Scotia valde remotis constitutus existit, et propter nimiam distantiam locorum et alia incommoda ab illo, seu suppositis eiusdem visitari, et aliquod auxilium consequi commode nequit, a dicto Prioratu Valliscaulium penitus dismembraretur et separaretur, nec non privilegiis, concessionibus, indultis et gratiis illi et eidem ordini Valliscaulium hactenus concessis in suo robore permansuris, ordine Valliscaulium in Prioratu de Pluscardyn huiusmodi suppresso et extincto in eo, dictus ordo sancti Benedicti institueretur, et deinceps eiusdem ordinis sancti Benedicti efficeretur et intituleretur, illique prefatus Prioratus de Vrcharde qui a monasterio de Dunfermelyno ipsius ordinis sancti Benedicti Sancti Andree diocesis dependet, perpetuo uniretur, annecteretur, ac idem Prioratus de Pluscardyn, quemadmodum dictus Prioratus de Vrcharde censetur ab eodem monasterio, quod famosum et insigne fore perhibetur, et in quo regularis observantia laudabiliter viget, et per cuius medium ipse Prioratus de Pluscardyn plurimum reformari poterit, immediate dependeret, et membrum ab eo dependens censeretur: Religiosi quoque eiusdem Prioratus de Pluscardyn habitum per monachos monasterii et Prioratus de Vrcharde predictorum gestari solitum gestarent, ac se regularibus institutis illorum et huiusmodi sancti Benedicti se conformarent, per hoc divinus cultus in ipsis Prioratibus taliter unitis et unum conventum facientibus non modicum augmentaretur, ac illorum Prior, qui pro tempore esset, cum Religiosis inibi degentibus sustentari, et perfectioni, constructioni, edificationi et conservationi edificiorum huiusmodi commodius intendere, aliaque onera

sibi incumbentia supportare posset, idque etiam cederet ad decus et decorum Prioratum sic unitorum et ordinis sancti Benedicti predictorum: ac sicut accepimus, dilectus filius Andreas Haag, modernus Prior dicti Prioratus de Pluscardyn, ad effectum premissum eundem Prioratum, quem obtinet sponte et libere resignare proponit. Quare pro parte carissimi in Christo filii nostri Iacobi Regis Scotorum Illustris asserentis, se ad ipsos de Pluscardyn et de Vrcharde Prioratus singularem gerere affectum, necnon venerabilis fratris nostri Iohannis Episcopi Moraviensis locorum ordinarii, ac dilectorum filiorum Abbatis monasterii, illiusque et Prioratum eorum Conventuum, dictorumque Andree et Iohannis Benale nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut super hiis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui cultum divinum ubilibet augere et adaugeri, ac ordinem sancti Benedicti huiusmodi propagari nostris potissime temporibus intensis desideriis affectamus, de premissis tamen certam noticiam non habentes, ac votis ipsius Andree in hac parte favorabiliter annuentes, necnon tam sibi, ne propter resignationem huiusmodi nimium dispendium patiatur, de alicuius subventionis auxilio providere, quam prefato Iohanni Benale, apud nos de religionis zelo, vite ac morum honestate aliisque probitatis et virtutum meritis multipliciter commendato, horum intuitu specialem gratiam facere volentes, huiusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum super premissis nobis expositis, et eorum circumstantiis universis auctoritate nostra vos diligenter informetis, et si per informationem huiusmodi ita esse reppereritis, super quo conscientias vestras oneramus, a prefato Andrea, vel procuratore suo ad hoc specialiter constituto resignationem huiusmodi, si eam in manibus vestris sponte et libere facere voluerint, ut prefatur, eadem auctoritate nostra hac vice dumtaxat recipiatis et admittatis: et ea sic recepta et admissa, necnon aliqua congrua recompensa, de qua vobis rationabiliter videbitur, propterea Prioratui et ordini Valliscaulium huiusmodi facta et assignata, ac alias de consensu, quorum interest, dictum Prioratum de Pluscardyn cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis a prefato Prioratu Valliscaulium dicta auctoritate penitus dismembretis, et separetis, ac in eo privilegiis, concessionibus, gratiis et indultis prefatis nichilominus in suo robore permansuris, ipsum ordinem Valliscaulium omnino supprimatis et extinguat, et in illo ordinem sancti Benedicti huiusmodi de novo instituatis, ac per illius S. Benedicti etiam Prioratus de Vrcharde et monasterii predictorum monachos deinceps et in perpetuum gubernari, ipsumque Prioratum de Pluscardyn membrum dependens ab eodem monasterio, ad instar eiusdem Prioratus de Vrcharde, fore decernatis, ac etiam ipsum Prioratum de Vrcharde, cuius quinquaginta, etiam cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis eidem Prioratui de Pluscardyn, cuius etiam quinquaginta librarum sterlingorum fructus, redditus et proventus secundum communem estimationem valorem annum, ut ipse Iohannis Benale asserit, non excedunt, dicta auctoritate imperpetuum uniatis, annectatis et incorporetis, ita quod liceat Priori pro tempore existenti dicti Prioratus de Pluscardyn fructus, redditus et proventus eiusdem Prioratus de Vrcharde auctoritate prefata recipere, ac in suos et eorundem Prioratum usus et utilitatem convertere, diocesani loci et cuiuscumque alterius licentia super hoc minime requisita, et insuper dictum Prioratum de Pluscardyn sive per reservationem huiusmodi tunc, sive alias quovis modo, aut ex alterius cuiuscumque persona, vel per similem resignationem dicti Andree, seu alterius de illo extra Romanam Curiam, etiam coram notario publico et testibus sponte

factam, aut constitutionem felicis recordationis Iohannis pape XXII. predecessoris, que incipit: Execrabilis, vacet, etiam si tanto tempore vacaverit, quod eius collatio iuxta Lateranensis statuta Concilii ad sedem apostolicam legitime devoluta, ipseque Prioratus de Pluscardyn dispositioni apostolice specialiter, aut quia conventualis et electivus est, generaliter reservatus existat, et super eo inter aliquos in dicta curia vel extra eam lis, cuius statum presentibus haberi volumus pro expresso, pendeat indecisa, cum annexis ac omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis Iohanni Benale conferre et assignare, ac Andree prefatis pensionem annuam duodecim librarum sterlingorum similium cum dimidia, ac sufficienti victu pro se et uno famulo, scilicet quod alii dicti Prioratus de Pluscardyn monachi, quotiens inibi moram trahunt, percipere consueverunt et percipiunt, pro una videlicet in domini nostri Iesu Christi, et alia medietatibus pensionis eiusdem in beati Iohannis Baptiste nativitatibus festivitibus annis singulis in loco dicti Prioratus de Pluscardyn eidem Andree, quoad vixerit, vel procuratori suo ad hoc legitimum mandatum habenti, per dictum Iohannem Benale et successores suos ipsius Prioratus de Pluscardyn Priores pro tempore existentes integre persolvendam, sub sententiis et censuris ecclesiasticis ad id per vos de ipsorum Andree et Iohannis Benale consensu statuendis reservare, constituere et assignare eadem auctoritate curetis, inducentes per vos vel alium seu alios eundem Iohannem Benale, vel procuratorem suum eius nomine in corporalem possessionem Prioratus de Pluscardyn, iuriumque et pertinentiarum predictorum, et defendentes inductum, amoto exinde quolibet illicito detentore, ac facientes ipsum Iohannem Benale vel dictum procuratorem pro eo ad huiusmodi Prioratum de Pluscardyn, ut est moris, admitti, sibi que de illius cum eisdem annexis fructibus, redditibus, proventibus, iuribus et obventionibus universis, necnon dicto Andree de pensione prefata iuxta reservationis, constitutionis et assignationis earundem, si illas feceritis, tenorem integre responderi, Contradictores auctoritate nostra, appellatione postposita, compescendo, Non obstantibus pie memorie Bonifacii pape VIII. etiam predecessoris nostri, et aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, necnon statutis et consuetudinibus monasterii, prioratum et ordinum predictorum, iuramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quacumque firmitate alia roboratis, contrariis quibuscumque, aut si aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de Prioratibus huiusmodi speciales, vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis partibus generales dicte sedis, vel legatorum eius litteras impetrarint, etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem et decretum, reservationem vel alias quomodolibet sit processum quas quidem litteras et processus habitos per easdem, et quecumque inde secuta, quoad ipsum Prioratum de Vrcharde non extendi, et quibus omnibus dictum Iohannem de Benale in assecutione ipsius Prioratus de Pluscardyn anteferri volumus, sed nullum per hoc ius quoad assecutionem Prioratum seu beneficiorum aliorum preiudicium generari, seu si Episcopo Moraviensi et Abbati dicti monasterii pro tempore existentibus, necnon prefatis Conventibus, ac Iohanni Benale et successoribus, vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim a dicta sit sede indultum, quod ad receptionem vel provisionem, aut prestationem seu solutionem pensionis alicuius minime teneantur, et ad id compelli, aut quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint, quodque de Prioratibus huiusmodi vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis, ad eorum collationem, provisionem, presentationem, electionem seu quamvis aliam dispositionem coniunctim vel separatim spectantibus, nulli valeat provideri per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad

verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, et quibuslibet aliis privilegiis, indulgenciis et litteris apostolicis generalibus vel specialibus, quorumcumque tenorem existant, per que presentibus non expressa vel totaliter non inserta effectus earum impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri, et de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus habenda sit in nostris litteris mentio specialis. Proviso, quod dictus Prioratus de Vrcharde propter unionem, et annexionem et incorporationem huiusmodi debitis non fraudetur obsequiis, et animarum cura in eo nullatenus negligatur, sed eius debite supportentur onera consueta: attente quoque provideatis, ne in resignatione huiusmodi, si fiat ex parte Andree et Iohannis Benale predictorum aliqua pravitas interveniat, seu etiam corruptela. Volumus autem et apostolica auctoritate decernimus, quod si dismembratio, unio et alia premissa per vos fieri contigerit, ut prefertur, electio Prioris pro tempore dicti Prioratus de Pluscardyn quotiens deinceps illum vacare contigerit, cessantibus reservationibus apostolicis, ad Prioratus, si tunc reperiantur religiosi ydonei, alioquin per devolutionem ad monasteriorum predictorum Conventus huiusmodi perpetuo pertineat et spectet, quodque religiosi ipsius Prioratus de Pluscardyn illum gement habitum ordinis sancti Benedicti, qui in ipso monasterio geritur, ac se regularibus institutis illius conforment, necnon Prior pro tempore existens, et Conventus dicti Prioratus de Pluscardyn cum eodem Prioratu et membris suis, omnibus et singulis privilegiis, immunitatibus, graciis, concessionibus, favoribus et indultis Prioratui et ordini Valliscaulium huiusmodi hactenus quomodolibet concessis, et quibus antea ipse Prior et Conventus, qui pro tempore fuerunt, quomodolibet gaudebant et utebantur, seu gaudere et uti poterant, in omnibus et per omnia uti, frui et gaudere possint et debeant, Non obstantibus omnibus supradictis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Preterea ex nunc irritum decernimus et inane, si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Datum Rome apud S. Petrum Anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo-tertio, IV. Idus Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

CC.—PAGE 109.

COMMISSION IN FAVOUR OF WILLIAM DE BOYIS, SACRISTAN OF DUNFERMLYN, TO VISIT AND RECEIVE THE PROFESSION OF THE PRIOR AND MONKS OF PLUSCARDYN, 8TH Nov., 1454.—*Reg. Dunf.*, p. 333.

RICARDUS permissione divina Abbas monasterii de Dunfermlyn ordinis sancti benedicti sancti andree dyocesis. Venerabili et Religioso viro Johanni de benaly priori prioratus de Pluscardyn celle nostre et ejusdem loci conventui nunc dicti ordinis moraviensisque dyocesis. et omnibus aliis quorum interest seu interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum salutem et omnium incrementa virtutum. Cum enim incumbentia nobis onera quibus assidue premimur intenta consideracione pensamus et inbecillitatis humane prospicimus imperfectum videntes quod nequimus exsolvere circa singula per nos debitum pastoralis officii nonnunquam aliquos in partem nostre sollicitudinis juxta qualitatem agendorum assumimus quorum laudabilia merita per operum evidentiam in conspectu nostro sub publica noticia presentantur, et quorum solerti ministerio sperati fructus de commissis sibi laboribus et negociis valeant veresimiliter provenire. Hinc est quod licet de

singulis locis nobis et cure nostre subjectis quantum nobis ex alto permittitur, curam vigilem habeamus tamen circa statum dicti prioratus monasterio nostro nuper autoritate apostolica subjecti et circa ejusdem constructura ut in divino servicio et institutis regularibus dicti nostri ordinis debitam [accipiat] reformationem eo majori redimur attentione solliciti quo de novo dicto nostro monasterio tanquam membrum dependens ab eodem ad instar quondam noster prioratus de Vrchard dicta autoritate constat esse annexum. Et quia corde gerimus ut in eodem prioratu et nostra cella divinum servicium honeste et debite secundum consuetudinem dicti nostri ordinis in omnibus celebretur religionis puritas deuote obseruetur, et vt nobis tanquam filia matri legitime ac regulariter subiciatur personam ad hoc perficiendum utilem et vt speramus ydoneam decreuimus ad dictum prioratum nostramque cellam de gremio nostro quam tocuis destinandam cuius industria ut credimus sit salubris et sedula ad nostre religionis et dicti ordinis institutionem et instructionem auida plantatrix scienciarum et virtutum et constans ac prouida expugnatrix abusionum et viciorum. Cum autem circa premissa ad presens personaliter intendere nequiamus vt permittitur plurium dicti monasterii nostri negociorum varietate occupati, Venerabilem et religiosum virum Willielmum de boyis dicti monasterii nostri sacristam in decretis licenciatum de cuius circumspeccione et industria in sibi commissis plurimam in domino fiduciam optinemus ac de consensu et assensu tocuis capituli nostri omnibus melioribus modo jure et forma quibus possumus et debemus ipsum nostrum commissarium procuratorem deputatum et nuncium specialem serie presentium fecimus constituimus et ordinamus nostram plenariam potestatem eidem committentes et vt in eodem prioratu et cella euellat et destruat dissipet et disperdat edificet et plantet sicut pro institutione dictorum nostri ordinis et religionis et eorundem conseruacione viderit expedire insuper eidem eciam tenore presentium damus et concedimus nostram veram legitimam et plenariam potestatem ac mandatum speciale ad intrandum nomine nostro ac pro nobis et recipiendum possessionem dicte annexionis et juris subieccionis dicti prioratus et celle nostre prioris et confratrum eiusdem eorundemque confratrum regularem professionem secundum consuetudinem dicti nostri ordinis ac priorum et eorundem confratrum et monachorum manualement regularem obedienciam nobis de jure debitam et eisdem confratribus et monachis habitum monachalem in nostro monasterio a monachis eiusdem gestari solitum ac instituta regularia tribuendum et exhibendum ipsumque habitum ac monachos secundum consuetudinem eciam dicti ordinis benedicendum sentencias suspensionis et excommunicationis in rebelles et contradictores siqui fuerint in premissis seu aliquo premissorum ferendum et promulgandum ac pro reformatione dicti loci et institutione dicti ordinis et religionis salubriter statuendum et ordinandum. Ac omnia alia et singula faciendum gerendum et exercendum que ad officium veri commissarii procuratoris deputati ac nuncii specialis circa premissa aut eorum aliquod fuerint necessaria seu eciam oportuna et que nosmetipsi faceremus seu facere possemus si in premissis presentes ac personaliter interessemus Nos vero ratum et gratum firmum atque stabile promittimus habere quicquid et totum per dictum nostrum commissarium procuratorem deputatum et nuncium specialem rite factum fuerit in premissis aut aliquo premissorum ac sentencias si quas in huiusmodi rebelles et contradictores protulerit seu fulminaverit seruabimus et a nostris subditis obseruari inuolabiliter faciemus vsque ad satisfaccionem

condignam. Insuper vobis priori et monachis dicti prioratus et celle precipimus et mandamus quatenus dictum nostrum commissarium procuratorem deputatum et nuncium specialem immo pocius nos in Christo benigne recipientes et honorifice pertractantes eidem tanquam nobis in omnibus intendatis humiliter et deuote obedire et monita ac precepta quae vobis ex parte nostra mandauerit efficaciter adimplendo quod propter hec non solum diuine retribucionis premium verum etiam nostram beneuolenciam et gratiam plenius in postrum valeatis promereri Datum apud monasterium nostrum de Dunfermelyn antedictum sub sigillo communi capituli nostri octauo die instantis mensis Nouembris Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quarto.

DD.—PAGE 109.

COMMISSION IN FAVOUR OF WILLIAM DE BOYIS TO VISIT THE PRIORY OF PLUSCARDYN, 7TH NOV., 1456.—*Reg. Dunf.*, p. 337.

RICARDUS permissione diuina Abbas monasterii de Dunfermelyn et eiusdem loci conuentus ordinis sancti benedicti sancti andree dyocesis. Venerabili et religioso viro Johanni de benaly priori prioratus de pluscardyn et eiusdem loci conuentui dicti ordinis morauiensisque dyocesis. salutem et omnium incrementa virtutum. Cum enim incumbencia nobis onera quibus assidue premimur intenta consideratione pensamus et imbecillitatis nostre perspicimus imperfectum videntes quod nequimus exsoluere circa singula per nos debitum pastoralis officii nonnunquam in partem nostre sollicitudinis aliquos iuxta qualitatem agendorum assumimus quorum laudabilia merita per operum evidenciam sub publica noticia sunt deducta et quorum sollerti ministerio sperati fructus de commissis sibi laboribus valeant veresimiliter prouenire. Hinc est quod licet de singulis locis cure nostre subiectis quantum nobis ex alto permittitur, curam vigilem habeamus tamen circa statum dicti prioratus ut in diuino seruicio et institutis regularibus debitam accipiat reformacionem eo majori reddimur attentione solliciti quod de nouo monasterio nostro tanquam membrum dependens ab eodem auctoritate apostolica constat esse anexum. Set quia circa premissa ad presens personaliter intendere nequamus ut permittitur pluribus dicti monasterii nostri negociis occupati. Venerabilem et religiosum virum Willelmum de boyis dicti monasterii nostri sacristam in decretis licenciatum de cuius circumspeccione et industria in sibi commissis plurimum in domino fiduciam optinemus ex vnanimi consensu et assensu nostro omnibus melioribus modo iure et forma quibus possumus et debemus ad exercendum et perimplendum visitationis officium, ipsum nostrum commissarium deputatum et nuncium specialem serie presentium fecimus constituimus et ordinamus ad euellendum destruendum dissipandum et dispergendum aedificandum et plantandum in dicto prioratu sicut pro reformacione nostri ordinis et religionis et eorundem conseruacione sagacius viderit expedire Dantes et concedentes dicto nostro commissario deputato et nuncio speciali nostram veram liberam et plenariam potestatem ac mandatum speciale ad visitandum dictum prioratum et cellam nostram tam in capite quam in membris et ad inibi inquirendum puniendum reformandum et monachos et confratres nostros inibi degentes et quemlibet eorundem quando sibi visum fuerit

expediens ad nos et claustum nostrum remittendum et destinandum corrigendum priorum et monachorum nostrorum ibidem degentium et cuiuslibet eorum excessus et crimina prout delictorum qualitas et excessus quantitas et enormitas exigerint ac precepta et mandata constitutionem et statuta pro conseruacione et reformatione dicti ordinis condendum statuendum et ordinandum prout sibi videbitur expedire et omnia alia et singula faciendum gerendum et exercendum que ad officium visitatoris commissarii deputati seu nuncii specialis incumbunt et ipsius autoritas postulat et requirit invocando ad hoc si necesse fuerit auxilium brachii secularis. Quocirca vobis domino priori et confratribus nostris in dicto prioratu commorantibus tenore presentium precipimus et mandamus in virtute sancte obediencie et sub excommunicationis pena quam in omnes et singulos rebelles et contradictores exnunc prout extunc ferimus in hiis scriptis quatenus dictum nostrum commissarium prompto et benigno affectu recipientes eundem tanquam commissarium et deputatum nostrum ad premissa suscipiatis et admittatis ac eidem in hiis que secundum deum ad nos et iurisdictionem nostram qualitercumque spectant vel spectare poterunt pareatis efficaciter et obediatis prout nobis obedire et parere tenemini. Alioquin processus quos legitime fecerit et sententias quas rite tulerit in contradictores et rebelles Ratas et gratas habebimus et eos ac eas faciemus auctore domino inuiolabiliter obseruari Datum apud monasterium de Dunfermelyn antedictum sub sigillo communi capituli nostri septimo die mensis Nouembris Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo sexto.

EE.—PAGE 110.

PRESENTATION TO THE OFFICE OF SACRISTAN OF DUNFERMLYN IN
FAVOUR OF JOHN DE BENALY, 7TH Nov., 1456.—*Reg. Dunf.*, p. 339.

REVERENDO in Christo patri ac domino Jacobo dei et apostolice sedis gracia Episcopo sancti andree Ricardus permissione diuina abbas monasterii de Dunfermlyn et eiusdem loci conuentus ordinis sancti benedicti vestreque dyocesis sui humiles et deuoti oratores seipso cum omnimodis reuerentia obediencia et honore. Quia venerabilis et religiosus vir Willelmus de boyis sacrista monasterii nostri ex certis et rationabilibus causis se moventibus dictum officium suum proponit prout informamur in manibus paternitatis vestre pure et simpliciter resignare, cuius quidem officii presentacio ad nos et monasterium nostrum collacio vero ad vestram paternitatem de iure et consuetudine pertinere dinoscitur. Cum igitur dictum officium sacristie ex huiusmodi resignacione vel ex promocione dicti Willelmi de boyis ad quodcumque aliud beneficium cum dicto officio incompatible vel alias quouismodo vacare contigerit, Venerabilem et religiosum virum Johannem de benaly nostrum confratrem et commonachum ad officium sacristie dicti nostri monasterii eidem paternitati vestre reuerende tenore presentium presentamus eandem humiliter et deuote deprecantes quatenus huiusmodi nostrum presentatum seu eius procuratorem ad dictum officium sacristie admittere et eidem de eodem graciose prouidere ac ipsum in eodem inducere et instituere ac curam et regimen animarum parrochianorum de Dunfermlyn sibi committere inductum et institutum canonicè defendere et sibi de fructibus

prouentibus redditibus iuribus et obuencionibus ipsius officii pacifice responderi facere dignemini contradictores et rebelles per censuram ecclesiasticam arcus compacentes. In cuius nostre presentacionis fidem et testimonium sigillum commune capituli nostri presentibus est appensum apud monasterium nostrum de Dunfermlyn antedictum septimo die mensis Nouembris Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo sexto.

FF.—PAGE 116.

DECRET-ARBITRAL ON A SUBMISSION BETWEEN THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF PLUSCARDYN, ON THE ONE PART, AND JAMES DOUGLAS OF PETTINDRECH, ON THE OTHER, OF DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM REGARDING THE ERECTION OF A MILL ON THE LANDS OF PETTINDRECH, AND THE RIGHT OF THE SUCKEN OF THE MILLS OF ELGYN, 4TH JUNE, 1495.—
From a Transcript in Dr Stuart's Collection.

VNIUERSIS et singulis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentes litteras inspecturis, visuris lecturis et audituris David Meldrum officialis Sancti Andree principalis, Gauinus Dunbar, decanus Moraiensis, Hugo Spens canonicus ecclesie collegiate sancti saluatoris infra ciuitatem Sancti Andree, et Johannes Yowng canonicus Dunkeldensis, arbitri arbitratores et amicabiles compositores, vna cum egregio viro Magistro Roberto Keith, rectore vniuersitatis Sancti Andree, nostro in hac parte collega, per venerabilem virum Robertum permissione Diuina, priorem monasterii Vallis Sancti Andree, Pluscardyn vocati, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, et conuentum eiusdem, ab vna; et honorabilem virum Jacobum Dowglas de Pettindrech, super nonnullis debatis, litibus, questionibus et discordiis, inter eos motis seu mouendis partibus ab altera; Salutem in omnium saluatore. Noueritis quod pridem dictus prior ab vna interueniens expresso consensu sui conuentus, et prefatus Jacobus partibus ab altera, volentes huiusmodi litium amfractus, questiones, debatas et discordias inter ipsas sic motas seu mouendas penitus extinguere et amputare, pro bono pacis et concordie in nos, tanquam in arbitros arbitratores et amicabiles compositores pure et simpliciter se compromiserunt, et compromisso huiusmodi iuramento vallarunt huiusmodi sub tenore, IN DEI NOMINE AMEN per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat euidenter, quod anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo quarto, mensis vero Julij die nona, indictione duodecima, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Alexandri, diuina prouidentia pape sexti anno secundo, in mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presentia personaliter constituti honorabilis vir Jacobus Dowglas de Petindrech ab vna, et venerabilis vir magister Johannes Andree, clericus Sancti andree diocesis, procurator et eo nomine venerabilis patris Roberti, permissione diuina prioris monasterii vallis Sancti andree et Pluscardyn, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, moraiensis diocesis, de cuius procuracionis mandato ad infra-scripta michi notario publico liquide constabat documentis partibus ab altera, sponte, libere, et ex certa sua scientia, omnibus melioribus modo, via, forma, jure et causa, quibus melius potuerunt compromiserunt, ac in alto et basso compromissum fecerunt et conuenerunt in venerabiles viros et dominos, magistros Robertum Keith rectorem de

Disart, ac rectorem alme vniuersitatis Sancti andree, Dauid Meldrum officialem Sancti andree, ac canonicum Dunkeldensem, Gauinum Dunbar decanum Morauiansem, Hugonem Spens canonicum ecclesie sancti saluatoris, et Johannem Yhounge canonicum Dunkeldensem, tanquam arbitros arbitratores et amicabilem compositores inter partes communiter electos, ibidem presentes et presencialiter existentes, omnis presentis compromissi et singulorum in eodem contentorum, in se sponte acceptantes, dantes et concedentes predictis dominis arbitratoribus arbitris et amicabilibus compositoribus, cuiuslibetque eorum, plenam, liberam et omnimodam potestatem et auctoritatem, ac mandatum speciale et generale, in vberiori forma compromissi per dominum speculatorem extensi et in forma eiusdem que omnia et singula inibi proposita et expressa, dictus Jacobus et procurator predictus habent pro hic sufficienter expressis et expositis laudandos, decidendos, finiendos et terminandos, omnes et singulas lites, discordias, questiones et controuersias, inter ipsas partes motas seu mouendas, de et super erectione, edificacione et constructione, cuiusdam molendini infra limites terrarum ville de Petindrech, de sequela molendinorum de Elgyn, monasterio et priori predictis ut predicatur pertinente, et ea quauis occasione, principaliter uel incidentaliter, ad constructionem uel distructionem dicti molendini, rebusque aliis circa presentem materiam deducendis summarie, et de plano juris ordine seruato, uel obmisso, partibus presentibus uel absentibus, vocatis vel non vocatis, ferialibus diebus vel festis, necnon in premissis et quolibet premissorum ac certa ea principaliter uel incidentaliter concernentia arbitrandi, arbitramentandi, componendi, concordandi, et finem litibus imponendi. Et nihilominus dictus Jacobus pro se et prefatus procurator pro dicto domino priore procuratorio nomine quo supra, tactis sacris sanctis ad sacra Dei ewangelia iurauerunt, in manibus mei notarii publici stipulantes omnia et singula, per dictos dominos arbitros arbitratores siue amicabilem compositores, uel maiorem partem eorundem, in premissis seu quolibet premissorum ordinanda, laudanda, arbitrandi, diffinienda, uel pronuncianda, in futurum inconcusse obseruare, custodire et perimplere, et contra nostrorum decretum uel arbitramentum nunquam dicere, facere, appellare, seu ad arbitrium boni viri querelam interponere, dicere, facere, uel procurare, uel in iudicium deducere, publice uel occulte, directe uel indirecte, quouis quesito, colore, uel ingenio, sub pena in dicta forma speculatoris positis. Preterea volunt consentiunt et compromittunt singulis premissis quod dicti arbitratores siue amicabilem compositores conueniant singulis diebus et terminis ad considerandos in premissis, presertim dominica die decima tertia mensis Julij proximi futuri, ad inchoandam considerationem presentis compromissi, et omnium et singulorum in eodem expressorum, et aliis diebus per eos statuendis, ad eorum beneplacitum, sic quod finiant debatas et controuersias predictas, iuxta tenorem presentis compromissi, inter hinc et festum Sancti Michaelis archangeli proximum futurum, saluis iustis et legitimis impedimentis, ac seruata forma speculatoris predicti, omnibus fraude dolo et sinistra ymaginacione penitus remotis et abductis: Super quibus omnibus et singulis, dictus Jacobus et procurator antedictus, a me notario publico subscripto, sibi fieri petierunt, vnum seu plura publicum seu publica instrumentum seu instrumenta: Acta erant hec in ecclesia beati Leonardi infra ciuitatem Sancti Andree die mense anno indicione et pontificatu supradictis, presentibus ibidem discretis uiris, Roberto Leuenax, vicario de Merkinch, Johanne Machison, Johanne Bouer, Willelmo Colly, Thoma Esplyn, Edwardo

Stewart et Andrea Bytour, cum diuersis aliis. Sequitur tenor subscripcionis notarii, Et ego Simon Campion clericus Sancti Andree diocesis publicus auctoritatibus imperiali et regali notarius, premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic vt premittitur dicerentur agerentur et fierent vna cum prenomatis testibus presens interfui eaque sic fieri vidi sciui et audiui ac in notam cepi, ideoque hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu propria scriptum exinde confeci subscripsi et publicaui signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signaui rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium veritatis omnium et singulorum premissorum. VNDE huiusmodi compromisso coram nobis sic facto, partibus predictis coram nobis ad sacra Dei ewangelia iuratis, quemadmodum in eodem continetur, et demum nobis omnis huiusmodi compromissi in singulis suis punctis acceptantibus coram notario subscripto constitutis et postea instantibus procuratoribus hincinde partium seruatis terminis et dilacionibus conuenientibus et consuetis productis partium iuribus litteris scripturis et documentis ac testium depositionibus necnon dictus conuentus de Pluscardyn consensus et assensus ratihabicionem et approbacionem, et singulis aliis quibus ipse partes circa prescripta vti voluerint, et per nos visis consideratis, rimatis, et diligenter discussis, iuxta ea que vidimus, concepimus, intelleximus, solum Deum præ oculis habentes, eiusque nomine sanctissimo primitus inuocato, in presencia partium et eorum procuratorum, huiusmodi compromissum et omnia et singula inde secuta, ac continuationem compromissi predicti expresse de nouo ratificarunt et approbarunt, ad presentis nostri decreti siue summe arbitralis pronuntiationem et promulgacionem, per os dicti mei decani de expresso consensu omnium nostrorum factam, duximus procedendi huiusmodi sub tenore. CRISTI nomine inuocato, nos Daud Meldrum officialis Sancti Andree principalis, Gauinus Dunbar decanus Morauiensis, Hugo Spens canonicus ecclesie collegiate sancti Saluatoris, infra ciuitatem Sancti Andree, et Johannes Yhounge canonicus Dunkeldensis, arbitri arbitratores et amicales compositores vna cum egregio viro Roberto Keitht Rectore vniuersitatis Sancti Andree, nostro in hac parte collega, licet ad presens circa certa sua negocia necessaria absente, per venerabilem priorem Robertum, permissione diuina prior[em] monasterii vallis Sancti Andree, Pluscardin vocati, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, et conuentum eiusdem, ab vna, et Jacobum Dowglas de Petindrech, partibus ab altera, in forma speculatoris, communiter electi ad laudandas, decidendas, finiendas, et terminandas, omnes et singulas lites questiones et discordias, inter ipsas partes motas seu mouendas, de et super erectione, edificacione, et construccione, cuiusdam molendini, infra limites terrarum de Petindrech, dicto Jacobo hereditarie spectantium, vt de sequela et pertinentiis molendini de Elgyn, ac aliorum molendinorum ad idem molendinum de Elgyn pertinentium, monasterio predicto ac priori et conuentui eiusdem de iure et consuetudine prescripta iuste vere et indubitanter spectantium et pertinentium, ac ea alia et singula resque alias que quauis occasione principaliter uel incidentaliter certa construccionem, erectionem, edificacionem, vel destruccionem dicti molendini, ut premittitur, deducenda, venirent. Demumque partes predictæ sponte, pure et libere, tactis sacris ewangeliis, iurauerunt, se omnia et singula, que per nos uel maiorem partem nostrorum, in premissis seu premissorum aliquo laudata, decreta, arbitrata, uel summata fuerint, firmiter inconcusse ac inuiolabiliter obseruare, custodire, et perimplere, appellacione, supplicacione, querela, ac reduccionis petitione, ad arbitrium boni viri penitus remotis, et expresse renunciatis, prout hec

omnia in compromisso, inter dictas partes desuper confecto, ad plenum continentur, auditis prius partium predictarum petitionibus, responsionibus, allegacionibus, testimonique depositionibus, litteris, cartis, instrumentis et munimentis, ceterisque juribus, hinc inde propositis, per nos visis, lectis, intellectis, examinatis, rimatis, et ad plenum discussis, iuxta ea que vidimus, concepimus, et intelleximus, solum Deum præ oculis habentes, eiusque nomine sanctissimo primitus inuocato, per hoc nostrum decretum, seu summam nostram arbitralem, quam ferimus in hiis scriptis, arbitramur, decernimus et sentenciamus, prefato Jacobo nullum jus, seu juris adminiculum, erigendi edificandi seu construendi molendinum seu molendina, infra terras seu limites terrarum suarum de Petindrech, villo tempore competiisse, seu de presenti competere eumque ab omni erectione, edificacione et constructione, molendini, seu molendinorum, infra terras predictas de Petindrech, vel earum pertinencias, penitus et omnino infuturum cessare, et desistere, sibi que Jacobo, et heredibus suis, in premissis silencium perpetuum imponentes, Et pro eo maxime quod quondam excellentissime memorie Alexander Scotorum Rex illustrissimus monasterio predicto de Pluscardyne ac priori et conventui Deo deseruientibus et imperpetuum seruituris in eodem molendinum suum de Elgyn cum omnibus aliis molendinis ad idem molendinum pertinentibus et expresse de terris suis comitatus Morauiensis tunc in cultura redactis et imposterum redigendis quocunque tempore futuro cum stagnis aquis et multuris de eisdem prouenientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam contulit concessit ac libere donauit prout in ipsius carta regia desuper confecta et coram nobis producta expresse continetur, a quibus terris suis dicti comitatus Morauiensis predictæ terre de Petindrech non inueniuntur excepte seu quod extra manus dicti regis et ipsius possessiones dicte donacionis tempore quouismodo fuere. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premissorum presentes litteras siue presens publicum instrumentum huiusmodi nostrum decretum in se continentes siue continens exinde fieri et per notarios subscriptos subscribi et publicari mandauimus nostrasque subscriptiones manuales presentibus apponendas, lectum latum et promulgatum fuit hoc nostrum presens decretum siue arbitramentum per me prefatum magistrum Gauinum de expresso consensu et mandato omnium nostrorum infra ciuitatem Sancti Andree in parochiali ecclesia Sancti Trinitatis ciuitatis eiusdem sub anno a natiuitate Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonogesimo quinto, mensis vero Junij die quarto, indicione xiiij, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Alexandri diuina prouidencia pape sexti anno tercio, presentibus ibidem venerabilibus viris magistris Henrico Meldrum canonico Dunkeldense, Hugone Mertyn, vicario de Fordoun, Johanne Bosuel, vicario de Kynglasse, domino Nicholaio Merchand, presbyteris, et Andrea Ramsay, Sancti Andree diocesis, testibus ad premissa vocatis pariter et rogatis.

Ego Dauid Meldrum suprascripta approbo manu propria.

Ego Gavinus Dunbar suprascripta approbo manu propria.

Ego Hugo Spens suprascripta approbo manu propria.

Ego Johannes Yowng suprascripta approbo manu propria.

Et ego Johannes Bonar presbyter Sancti Andree diocesis publicus imperiali et regali auctoritatibus notarius quia dicte summe arbitralis siue decreti et arbitramenti pronunciationi presens interfui eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiui ac in notam sumpsit ideoque presentes litteras siue presens publicum instrumentum aliena manu scriptum

de mandato dictorum amicabilium compositorum hec supra subscripta exinde confeci subscripsi et publicaui signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signaui rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium veritatis omnium et singulorum premissorum.

Johannes Bonar, presbyter.

Et ego Simon Campion clericus Sancti Andree diocesis publicus auctoritatibus imperiali et regali notarius premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic vt premittitur dicerentur agerentur et fierent vnacum prenomminatis testibus presens interfui eaque sic fieri vidi sciui et audiui ac in notam cepi ideoque hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum de mandato dictorum amicabilium compositorum exinde confeci subscripsi et publicaui signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signaui rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium veritatis omnium premissorum vna cum domino notario suprascripto.

GG.—PAGE 116.

LETTERS OF BAILYERY BY ROBERT, PRIOR OF PLUSCARDYN, IN FAVOUR OF JAMES DUNBAR OF CUMNOK, KNIGHT, 18TH JAN., 1499-1500.—From Original in Dr Stuart's Collection.

BE it maide kende till all mene be thir present lettres ws Robert be the permissioun of God prior of Pluscardyne and the convent of the samyne within ye dioce of murray with the consent and assent of ane Reverend fader in God Andro be the grace of God bisschope of murray our ordinar dene and cheptour of ye samyn the vtilite and profit of our said place effore considerit to haue maid constitut and ordanit and be the tenor of yer present lettres makis constitutis and ordanis ane noble mane James Dunbare of Cumnok knyght our bailyhe for all ye termis and dais of his lyffe of all our landis with yer pertinentis liand within ye sereffdomis of elgin fores and narne gifand and grantand to our said bailyhe for his liff tyme our said landis to set the malis of tham to ask rais and rasae and till ws and our successouris inbringe our courtis within our said landis to hald and afferme trespasouris to punys and in amerciamenis to put the eschaetis to rais to our vs The induellaris of our said landis and yer gudis befor quahatsumeuer juge or jugis ya be attachit or arrestit to agane borow and replege and to ye fredoume of our said courtis within our said landis to agane bringe with full power to substitut ane or may bailyheis and tham to destitut and vtheris to substitut als oft as he thinkis expedient And all vthir and sindry thingis to do vs and excers that to the office of bailyery pertenis or of laow and consuetud ar knawin to pertegne ferme and stable we haldand and for to hald quahatsumeuer thing our said bailyhe or his substitutis in the office of bailyery in our nayme and our successouris dois or rychtwisly ledis to be doin in the samyn enduring all ye dais forsaide of his liff. In witnes of the quhilkis to thir our lettres of bailyery our commone sele with ye subscriptionis of our handis And to ye mayre securite the said Reuerend faderis sele And the commovne sele of his cheptour with the subscriptionis manuall of his and the channovnis of his cheptour for the tyme ar appendit at

the cathedrall kyrk of murray the xviii day of Januare the yere of God j^m four hundrethe nynty and nyne yeris

A. Episcopus Morauiensis manu propria

Nos Robertus prior de Pluscardy approbamus et ratificamus suprascripta

Et ego andreas browne subprior et dene approbo

Ego Alexander Stewart cancellarius subscribo

Ego Wylelmus lyal subdecanus subscribo

Ego Robertus letht canonicus subscribo

Ego adam gordon canonicus subscribo

Ego thomas lesly Rector de kyngussy subscribo

Ego Willelmus mowat prebendarius . . .

Et ego andreas alani subscribo

Et ego jacobus ryoc subscribo

Et ego Johannes scot subscribo

Et ego Johannes hay subscribo

Et Ego Jacobus Justice subscribo

HH.—PAGE 118.

CHARTER BY ROBERT, PRIOR OF PLUSCARDYN, LETTING THE FISHING OF TWO COBLES IN SPEY TO ROBERT INNES OF ROTHNAKENZIE AND OTHERS, 13TH OCT., 1508.—*From Original in Duff House.*

BE it kende to all men be yir presentis lettrez Ws Robert be ye permissione of God priour of pluscardyne and ye convent of ye samyne cheptourly gaderit. The gret vtilite and profit of our place seyne and considerit, And in speciale for augmentacioune of our Rentalle maid be the persons vnderwritin And for ye help fordering supple and defence to be maid be yame in tymes cuming And for ye peceable bruiking of our twa cobillis fysching of ye watter of Spey witht ye profitis and pertinentis, And removing of robaris and pokaris yarefra at yare gudly poweris And debursing of yare money largely for ws now To ye help making and putting of twa tabiraclez in ye said abbay That is to say ane to ye hie alter and ane oyer to our lady alter to ye making in flandris as ye Indentouris maid yerapon proportis To have set and to maill lattin And be ye tenour of yis present writ for ws and our successouris settis and to maill lattis To Rycht honorable men Robert Innes of Rothnakenze Jhone Dunbar alderman of fores and Alexander Catour burgess of Elgin ane of our saidis cobillis fyschingis of Spey and to Robert Murray of fokaberis and James Tullauch of yat Ilk ane oyer cobillis fysching of ye said watter of Spey and to yare servandis for all ye days and termez of nyne yeris nixt and immediatly folowand ye date of yis present writ The entres of ye saidis persons yerto to be at ye fest of Sanct Androu nixt and immediatly followand ye date of yis present wryt And sa to indur ay and quhil ye saidis nyne yeris be fullely runnyed and haill complet witht all and sindry profitis commoditez and aysiamentis but ony revocacioun condicioun or impediment of ws or our successouris in tymes cuming The saidis personis

or quhilk of yame happinnis to be levand for ye tyme occupearis of ye saidis fyschingis payand to ws and our successouris yerly ye sowme of twa hundreth merkis gud and vsuall money of Scotland in our said abbay. That is to say for ilk cobillis fysching ane hundreth merkis And ane barel of Salmoun gud and sufficient stuff to ye said convent At yir termes in ye yer, yat is to say ane hundreth merkis at ye fest of Sanct Petir callit ad vincula or xx days yerefter And ye other hundreth merkis at ye fest of ye nativite of our lady or tuintj days yerefter but ony langar delay, for ye payment of ye quhilkis soumez and securite yerof to be maid yerly and termly as said is, The saidis persons ar be the tenour of yis present writ and fatht and trewth in yar bodeys coniunctly and seueraly renuciand ye before divisioun bundin and oblist fathtfully for oyeris And athir of yame is bundin and oblist and becumis surety and dettour for oyer to ws and our saidis successouris for payment of ye saidis twa hundreth merkis and barrel of Salmont yerly and termly as said is And gif it sall happin ony of ye saidis persons to decess within ye termes of yis present assedacioun The persons of yame beand for ye tyme levand but ony renovatione or expiratione of yis assedacione efter ye tenour of ye samyn to vse joise and bruk ye samyn cobillis and fyschingis to ye vsche and complet rynnng of ye saidis nyne yeris, The quhilk yis our present assedacione we ye saidis priour and convent byndis and oblessis ws be ye fatht in our bodeis and our successouris gudis and benefitis movable and immovable to acquiet kep warand and defend ye saidis cobillis and fyschingis of Spey to ye saidis persons and ye langast levaris of yame in forme abone written, As law will aganis all mortall In witness of ye quhilk thing we ye saidis priour and convent cheptourly gaderit as said is hes appendit our commone sell herto togidder witht our subscriptions manuellis At pluscardyne ye xiiij day of Octobre ye yere of God ane thousand fyve hundreth and aucht yeris before yer witnes Maisteris Androu Sinclare and Robert Logy notaris publice witht oyeris diverse

We Robert prior subscrivis

Et ego Andreas browne ad idem

Et ego Jacobus Justice ad idem

Et ego iohannes blacat ad idem

Et ego Jacobus Wryct ad idem

Et ego Alexander Ademson ad idem

Et ego Hector freman ad idem

Et ego Alexander Lawsone ad idem

Et ego Johannes Spendluffe

II.—PAGE 119.

INDENTURE BETWEEN GEORGE, PRIOR OF PLUSCARDYN, AND ROBERT INNES OF ROTHNAKENZIE, REGARDING THE MARCHES BETWEEN THE LANDS AND BARONY OF URQUHART, AND THE LANDS OF GARMOUTH AND CORSKIE, 16TH DEC., 1524.—*From Original in Duff House.*

THIR Indenturis maid at Wrquhart ye sextene day off December in ye yeir off God ane thousand fywehundreth and twenty four yeris proportis and beris witnessng in yar

self yat it is accordit and finalie aggreit betuex ane venerable fadir in God George be ye permissioun of ye samen prior off pluscardin for him self and in name and behalf of his convent and said place off pluscardin, and successouris on ye tane part And ane honorable man Robert Innes off Roithnakenze for him self and his airis on ye tothir part Tweching setting off certane methis and marchis betuix ye landis and baronie off Wrquhart pertening to ye said venerable fadir and his place off pluscardin and landis off Garmouth and Corskie pertening to ye said robert as eftir followis That is to say ye said venerable fadir for his self his convent and place of pluscardin togiddir with ye said robert riding and considering ane moss lyand betuex ye baronie off Wrquhart on ye southsyd ande ye landis of garmouth and corskie beand for ye tyme commoune to ye tenentis of Wrquhart and of garmouth and corskie The allegationis rychtis and ressonis of baith partis beand proponit and ansurit be athir till otheris, the profitis commoditeis and aismentis off tenentis off ye samen landis for ye present and to cum beand considerit and riplie awisit togiddir with occasioun of debatis inconvenientis and trublis in tymis bygane in providing of gudis and stopping of fewelle in falt of methis and marchis to be withdrawin and put away It is appointit accordit and finalie aggreit be ye said partis concurrand in ane woce sa, yat ane corss of tre is set wp be yaim and at yar command, at ye heid of ye stripe rynnnyng throwe ye said moss at ye west end yareoff in ane grene gait cumand fra ane litill loich callit ellebege and lyand ourthowet ye west end of ye moss, And yarefra to discend northest linealie be ane lyne to be ymaginit and drawin be ye sycht and E, to ane poynt nuke or hillake on ye southsyd of ye said moss betuex it and ye nowlandis of Corskie quhilkis ye said robert wynniss out of mure on ye same southsyde and yare ane othir corss of aike siclike is set and infixit on ye southsyde of ye stripe rynnand throu ye moss hard by ye said poynt and nuke, And yarefra to discend siclik lynealie be ye sycht and E est to northin throu ye moss to ane gryt erdfast qwhin stane lyand on ye northest syde of ye grene gait passing athowrt ye est end of ye said moss, And siclik to pass fordwart to ye see be certane erdfast stanis lyand almost lynealie est to northin, And certane new furris drawin be ane plewcht ye said arth to ye see banke, quhare ane othir corse of aike is infixit and set ewin aboune ane gret stane lyand at ye fute of ye sebanke, Quhilkis thre corsis and stanys and ye lynis to be ymaginit and drawing by ye E, betuex yaim in tyme cuming and for ay salbe tane repute and halding as verray methis marchis and boundis betuex ye propir landis of ye baronie of Wrquhart and landis of garmouth and corskie sa yat ye landis and moss lyand on northside ye saidis corsis stanis, and lynis to be ymaginit and drawin betuex yaim be ye E, sall pertene abyde and be propir landis to ye baronie of Wrquhart, And siclike ye landis and moss on ye southsyde of ye corssis stanis and lynis to be drawin as said is, to pertene and be propir landis to ye townis and willagis of garmouth and corskie for tyme to cum but demand or reclame of ye said venerable fadir his convent place or successouris and of robert Innes or his airis. In witnes of ye quhilk yir Indenturis are maid interchangeable in dowble forme, Ane part yareof is hwng with ye seill of ye said robert to remane with ye said venerable fadir his convent and successouris for ewir, And yis othir part of yir said Indenturis is subscriwit and hwng with ye subscriptionis of ye said venerable fadir and his conuentis and commoune seill of Pluscardin to remane with the said Robert and his airis for ewir Before yir witnes discreit men master Dauid florret person of bon-

noch Sir Daid fothringame vicar of archidule notaris publice Alexander Strathachin and Andro cowentre with othir diuerss &c

Georgius Prior de pluscardyne
 Et ego Alexander Adamson sub prior subscribo
 Et ego Jacobus Justice subscribo ad idem
 Et ego Henricus Herwke ad idem
 Et ego Johannes blacatt ad idem
 Et ego dominus Hector subscribo
 Et ego Alexander lowson ad idem
 Et ego Jacobus Wrycht ad idem
 Et ego Alexander byrna ad idem
 Et ego robertus lyel ad idem
 Et ego Johannes Salter ad idem
 et ego Joannes dule ad idem
 Et ego Johannis Wyschart ad idem

JJ.—PAGE 123.

CHARTER BY JAMES, ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, AND GEORGE, COMMENDATOR OF DUNFERMLYN, CONSTITUTING ROBERT DUNBAR OF DURRIS, AND OTHERS, BAILIES FOR HOLDING COURTS OF JUSTICIARY OF THE REGALITY OF DUNFERMLYN, WITHIN THE LORDSHIP OF URQUHART, UNITED TO PRIORY OF PLUSCARDYN, 1535.—*Regist. Dunf.*, p. 385, *Abbruiat.*

JACOBUS archiepiscopus Sancti Andree Regni primas legatus natus monasterii de Dunfermling administrator generalis necnon Georgius prefati monasterii commendatarius perpetuus constituerunt Robertum Dunbar de Durris Alexandrum Innes filium et heredem apparentem Alexandri Innes de eodem Walterum Innes de Touchis Willelmum Hay de Mayne balliuos et justiciarios generales ad tenendas curias itinerum justiciarie regalitatis de Dunfermling infra dominium de Vrquhart in Morauia prioratui de Pluscardyn ex monasterio de Dunfermling filiato et dependenti. Datum apud Dunfermlyn die 1535.

KK.—PAGE 123.

COMMISSION BY POPE PAUL III. TO DONALD, ABBOT OF FERNE, AND OTHERS, TO ACT AS JUDGES IN THE CLAIM OF EXEMPTION FROM THE JURISDICTION OF THE BISHOP OF MORAY, ASSISTED BY ALEXANDER DUNBAR, PRIOR OF PLUSCARDYN, 5TH MAY, 1535.—*From a Transcript in Dr Stuart's Collection.*

PAULUS episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis abbati monasterii de Ferne, [decano] ac cancellario ecclesie Rossensis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem in Domino. nobis dilecti fratres Alexander prior et conuentus monasterij per priorem soliti gubernari Vallis Sanctiandree de Pluscardin ordinis Sancti Benedicti morauiensis [diocesis] mon-

straverunt quod licet dictum monasterium cum personis membris et bonis suis ab litis jurisdictione et superioritate venerabilis fratris nostri moderni et predecessorum suorum qui fuerunt pro tempore episcopi morauisenses . . . preuilegio apostolico cui non est hactenus in aliquo derogatum exempti fuerint et sint etiam de presenti in exemptionis huiusmodi possessione seu quasi a tempore concessionis preuilegii predicti existentes pacifice et quiete et non debuerint nec nunc deberent aut nec debeant in eorum possessione seu quasi huiusmodi ab eodem episcopo vel suis officialibus contra formam dicti preuilegii molestari aut nouis et insolitis oneribus et exactionibus etiam ratione succentorie ecclesie morauisensis quam ipse Alexander prior ex concessione et dispensacione apostolica in commendam seu alias forsitan in arrendam obtinet pregrauari Tamen idem episcopus siue Thomas Gaderor eius Assertior Commissarius premissis nonobstantibus priorem et conventum prefatos occasione certi pretensi caritatiui subsidij per episcopum siue commissarium predictos extraordinarie impositi pro tribus capellis eidem monasterio perpetuo canonice vnitis siue ab illo dependentibus ac sub preuilegio exemptionis predictae existentibus ac trecentarum marcarum omnes et singulos dictarum capellarum fructus absorbentium Alexandrum vero priorem prefatum ad quinquaginta aliarum marcarum monete regi Scocie ratione similis subsidij pro eadem succentoria in sua sinedo decem librarum moneti aliarum partium respectiue summarum solutionem eidem episcopo contra formam eiusdem preuilegii faciendam pro pretensa pena non comparicionis predictae compellere et e diuinis per suam sententiam suspendere presumpsit hactenus et presumit Quare a parte prioris et conventus predictorum exinde inter alia indebiter se grauari ad sedem fuit apostolicam appellatio Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus vocatis qui fuerunt euocandi et auditis hincinde prepositis quod iustum fuerit appellatione remota decernatis facientes quod decreueritis ab eodem episcopo auctoritate nostra ab aliis vero per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter obseruari Tales autem qui fuerunt nominati si se gracia odio vel timore subtraxerint censura simili appellatione cessante veritati testimonium perhibere. Et si non omnes hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, duo aut vnus vestrum ea nichilominus exequantur. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quinto tertio nonas Maij, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

LL.—PAGE 124.

PRECEPT OF SASINE OF THE BARONY OF FOCHABERS IN FAVOUR OF
ALEXANDER INNES OF CROMMY BY THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF
PLUSCARDYN, 24TH JUNE, 1548.—*From the Original in Duff House.*

ALEXANDER permissione divina prior monasterii de Pluscardin et ejusdem loci conventus dilectis nostris Willelmo Hays de Mayne balliuis nostris in hac parte coniunctim et divisim ad infrascripta specialiter constitutis salutem. Quia nobis et nostro conventui clare constat et est notum quod quondam Jacobus

Innes de Crommy pater Alexandri Innes latoris presentium obiit vltimo vestitus et sasitus vt de feodo ad pacem et fidem supreme domine nostre Marie Dei gracia Scotorum regine de totis et integris terris baronie de Fochabres de Westerfochabres et Esterfochabres necnon in terris de Ardedaracht cum suis pertinentiis Jacentibus infra vicecomitatum de Elgin et fores et quod tenentur de nobis in capite et quod dictus Alexander est legitimus et propinquior heres sui quondam patris antedicti de huiusmodi baronia et terris cum pertinentiis prout in retornato iuxta formam breuis supreme domine nostre regine dicto Alexandro desuper confecti latius continetur Vobis igitur et vestrum cuiilibet coniunctim et divisim firmiter precipimus et mandamus quatenus visis presentibus indilate statim sasinam hereditariam et possessionem realem actualem et corporalem prefate baronie de Fochabres viz Westerfochabres Esterfochabres et Ardedaracht cum suis pertinentiis super solum earundem per terre et lapidis traditionem dicto Alexandro Innes vel suo certo attornato presentium latori in feodifirma et hereditarie tradatis et conferatis seu alter vestrum tradat et conferat secundum formam carte nostre quam dictus quondam Jacobus pater dicti Alexandri de nobis inde habuit et hoc nullo modo omittatis salvo iure cuiuslibet ad quod faciendum vobis et vestrum cuiilibet ballivis nostris antedictis coniunctim et divisim nostram plenariam et irrevocabilem per presentes committimus potestatem. In signum vero huiusmodi sasine et possessionis per vos tradite sigillum unius vestrum sasinam dantis in secunda cauda post nostrum presentibus appendatis penes ipsum sasitum perpetuo remansuris seu aliter per instrumentum notificari faciatis. In cuius rei testimonium hiis presentibus manualibus subscriptionibus nostri et conventus dicti monasterii subscriptis sigillum commune dicti conventus et monasterii est appensum. Apud idem monasterium vicesimo quarto die mensis Junii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo octavo coram hiis testibus Alexandro Innes capitano Orchardie, Dominis Johanne Gibsoun et Willelmo Young presbyteris, Willelmo Gaderar burgense de Elgin, et Johanne Ruderfurde, cum diversis aliis.

Alexander Prior de Pluscarden.

Robertus Farguson subprior.

Et ego Jacobus Justice ad idem.

Et ego Johannes ad idem Blaccat.

Et ego Alexander Lousen ad idem.

Et ego Jacobus Blayr ad idem.

Et ego Alexandyr Byrne ad idem.

Et ego Robertus Lyell ad idem.

Et ego Johannes Psalter ad idem.

Et ego Johannes Fothringame ad idem.

Et ego Andreas Allan ad idem.

Et ego Thomas Anderston ad idem.

Et ego Thomas Ross ad idem.

MM.—PAGE 125.

SUBMISSION BETWEEN PATRICK, BISHOP OF MORAY, ON THE ONE PART, AND ALEXANDER, PRIOR OF PLUSCARDYN, ON THE OTHER, FOR SETTLING ALL DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM, AND SPECIALLY THE OBEDIENCE DUE FROM THE SAID PRIOR TO THE SAID BISHOP, 12TH AUGUST, 1549.—*From a Transcript in Dr Stuart's Collection.*

AT Spyne the tuoll daye of August the yeir of God ane thousand fife hundreth fourte nyne yeris it is appointit aggreit and finallie concordit, betuix ane reuerend fader in God Patrik be ye mercie of God bischope of Murray, and Commendatour of Scone on yat ane part and ane venerable fader in God Alexander be the permissione of God prior of Pluscardene on yat other part in maner, forme and effect as efter followis. That is to say, ye said reuerend fader sall continou, and be thir presentis continowis ye summondis of deprivatione and all proces to be led therupone contrar ye said venerable fader, and all vther causes, actionis and proces mouit or to be mouit contrar him be ye said reuerend fader to ye tuoll daye of October nixt tocum inclusive and the said venerable fader in ye mene tyme sall cause Master Thomas Mariorebankis Master Henrie Lauder, Master Johne Ballendyne, Justice Clark, Master Johne Stewinsone Chantor of Glasgow Master Johne Spittell officiall of Sanct Androis, and Robert Lammaisdail burges of Aberdene, or ony twa or thre of thame to conuene within the Cathedrall Kirk of Elgin in the Cheptour of the samyn for the said venerable faderis part, and siclyke the said reuerend fader sall caus Master James Hepburne dene of Dunkeld, Master Alexander Smybaird dene of Cathnes, Master James Stratauchin persone of Balhalave, Master Johne Hepburne persone of Dalrye Master James M^cGill burgess of Edinbrucht, and Schir Thomas Wallace persone of Wnthank, or ony twa or thre of thame to conuene within the said Cathedrall Kirk in Cheptour of the samyn for the part of the said reuerend fader betwix the dait of thir presentis and the said tuoll daye of October, and sall caus thame, or ony twa or thre of thame accepte and tak upon thame all debatable actionis, causis, questionis, materis and controuerseis depending betuix the saidis reuerend fader and venerable fader, and in speciall tueching the making of obedience be the said venerable fader desirit be the said venerable [reverend?] fader, and generallie tuiching all vther actionis, questionis, querrellis, causis, materis and debatis, debatable betuix the saidis parteis, mouit or to be mouit be ather of thame in contrar vther, or that thai or ony ane of thame hes or may haif or perseu aganis vther, be quhatsumevir caus or caussis productit ye daye and dait of thir presentis And giff it sall happen the said reuerend fader to depart owt of this contracht of Murray to the Sowth land, Than and in that cais the saidis reuerend fader and venerable fader sall caus the personis forsaidis or ony twa or thre of thame electit for athir of thame to conuene in Edinbrucht in the Gray freris or in Sanct Androis in Sanct Johnnis Ile within the abbay Kirk of the samyn or in the Gray freris of Sanct Johnistown or in the parroche Kirk of Linlythquhon or in ony of the places befoir expremitt quhair it sal happin the saidis parteis to conuene togidder betuix the dait heirop and the said tuoll day of October quhilkis saiddis personis or ony tua or thre of thame electit for athir of the saidis personis being laike referreis at the acceptatione of the samyn sall thairefter cog-

nosce and decerne and thair sentence arbitrall finallie pronounce in the actiones or caussis forsaidis as said is, within the space of aucht dais nixt efter thai haif acceptit the saidis materis or caussis on thame as is abone specifeit, providing allways that giff it sall happin the said reuerend fathir to depart owt of Morraye to the Southland betwixt the dait heirof and the penult day of September nixtocum than and in that caice the day abone expremit, viz, the tuoll day of October to be prorogat to the last day of the samyn and the said reuerend fader for to remane in ony of the places forsaidis the space of fyftene dais continuallie togidder suay that the said venerable fader may commodiuslie within the tyme of the said reuerend faderis remanent in ony of the places forsaidis conuene and bring the saidis personis or ony tua or thre of thame electit for him to the effect forsaid and for ending of the premissis and the said venerable fader sall cum in ony of the places forsaidis of the Southland, quhair it sall happin the said reuerend fader to be for the tyme within the space abone expremit and sall bring with him the saidis personis or ony tua or thre of thame electit for his part to the effect forsaid. Attour giff it sall happin the said venerable fader to failye in the non compering and bringing of the personis forsaidis or ony tua or thre of thame electit for his part as he sall think expedient quhair it sall happin the said reuerend fader and venerable fader to be for the tyme in ony of the places forsaidis within the space abone expremit for completing and furthfilling of the premissis Than and in that cais the said venerable fader sall renunce his appellacione and exemptione and all vthir juris that he hes concerning his exemptione and sall mak to the said reuerend fader obedience as efferis the said day nocht being obseruit in maner forsaid and siclyke giff it sall happin the said reuerend fader to failye in the non bringing and conuening of the saidis personis or ony tua or thre of thame electit for his part in ony of the places forsaidis quhair it sall happin him and the said venerable fader to be togidder for the tyme within the space forsaid Than and in that caice the said reuerend fader sall renunce simpliciter all actionis causis pleyis and processis that he hes or may haif incontrar the said venerable fader tueching and concerning the premissis mouit or to be mouit now and in all tyme to cum And bayth the saidis parteis be thir presentis consentis and is content that all causis and actionis bayth of appellacione and depriuatione and all vthir caussis quhatsumevir mouit or to be mouit be athir of the saidis parteis contrare vthir and now depending betwix thame ceis and be continewit in the samyn force forme and effect as now is but ony preuidice of parteis iuris rychtis appellacionis or incurring of fatalis to athir of thame quhill the said tuoll day of October inclusiue giff it hapynis the said reuerend fader to remane in Murray and gif he departis to the Sowthland to the last day of October as said is and attour the said reuerend fader sall mak na persute nor diligence nor impetrat ony commissione or rescript fra the court of Rome in ony caus or caussis of appellacione or appellacionis interponit be him contrar the said venerable fader preceding the dait heirof and in speciale of the appellacione or appellacionis interponit be the said reuerend fader for the Juges diligence in Ros viz, Masteris Mungo Monepennie Dene of Ros, John Carnecors Chantor of Ros and Schir Nicholl Ros provest of Tayne be vertew of ane rescript and commissione impetrat to thame be the said venerable fader fra the court of Rome contrar the said reuerend fader betuix the dait heirof and the said last day of October, and giff the said reuerend fader makis ony persute diligence or impetratis ony commissione or rescript upone the said

appellacione or appellacionis interponit be him as said is Than and in that caice the samyn and all that he dois tharin to be null in the self and of na force forme nor effect and as nocht impetrat And siclyk the said venerable fader consentis be thir presentis quod non currant fatalia appellacioni dicti reuerendi patris stante presente compromisso interposito a dictis iudicibus diligatis and in case the said venerable fader may nocht guidlie convene and bring the saiddis personis abone expremitt electit for him or ony twai or thre of thame within the places forsaiddis within the space abone specifeit Than and in that case it salbe lefull to him to convene and bring ony vtheris tua or thre men of vnderstanding als weill nocht namit as namit within the forsaiddis places or ony ane of thame within the space abone expremitt to the effect forsaid and siclyke in caice the said reuerend fader may nocht guidlie convene and bring the personis abone expremitt electit for his part or ony tua or thre of thame within the places forsaiddis or ony ane of thame within the said space, Than and in that caice it salbe lefull for him to convene and bring ony vthir tua or thre men of vnderstanding as he sall think expedient to the effect forsaid als weill nocht namit as namit within the places abone expremitt or ony ane of thame within the forsaid space to cognosce and finallie determine in the premissis as said is and for aufald obseruing keping and fulfilling of all and sindrie the premissis and euerie point tharoff baitht the saidis parteis ar bond and oblist and to vnderly abyde and stand at the decreete of the saidis personis as said is In vitnes of the quhilkis baytht the saiddis parteis hes subscriuit thir presentis witht thir handis day yeir and place forsaiddis befor thir witness honorabill and discrete men Alexander Innes of that Ilk, James Innes de Drany, Master Henre Fores persone of Comnetane Master David Dunbar persone of Callecuddin, Patrik Kynnard, Master Alexander Douglas, Shir John Gibsone, Master William Vysman Master Mertene Logye and Shir John Andersone notaris publict sic subscribitur Pa: Morauiensis Episcopus, Alexander Prior de Pluscardene, Martene Logye notarius publicus manu propria Joannes Gibsone scriba curie consistorialis Morauiensis, notariusque publicus in premissis requisitus manu propria.

NN.—PAGE 125.

CONTRACT BETWEEN ALEXANDER, PRIOR OF PLUSCARDEN, AND ALEXANDER INNES OF CROMMY, 8TH DECEMBER, 1554.—*From a Transcript. Original in Floors Castle.*

WE Alexander Priour of Pluscardin Be the tennour heir of promittis bindis and oblistis to one honorabill man Alexr Innes sone and air of Umquhile James Innes of Routhnakenze Tha we betuix this and the feist of Candilmes nixt to cum or fyftene dayis thair-after sall bring to the burght of Edinburght ane lettre of tak maid be ws and convent of the priory to the said Alexr and his airis maill lauchfullie to be gottin of his body quhilkis failyeing to Jobne Innes his bruder german and his airis maill lauchfullie to be gottin of his body of all and haill our fyscheing of the half cowbill upoun the watter of Spay quhilk the said umquhill James Innes of Rothnakenze of befor brukit for all the dayis and termis of sevin yeris nixt following thair entre thairto quhilk salbe at the feist

of Androismes in winter in this Instant yeir of God M.D°. fyfthe four yeris ffor payment thairfoir yeirlie of the same fyfthe merkis at the faist of lammes with prouisioun as the lettre of tak beris in the self and at the deliuerance of the said tak to the said Alexr Innes sall deliuer to us or ony in our name haiffand power of ws the soume of fyf hundredth pundis wsuale money of this realme togidder with ane sufficient obligatioun as can be deuist that the said Alexr sall nocht kontrak nor mary by our aviss quhilk was promeist by George Gordoun of Geycht knycht and heirto we bind and oblissis ws faitfullie be thir presentis subscriuit with our hand at Edinburgh the aucht day of December the yeir of God M.D° and fyfty four yeris Befoir thir witnes George Meldrum of fyve knycht John Grant of ballindallocht Alexr Cone of Ouchry witht uyeris diuerss.

ALXR PRIOR PLUSCERDIN.

OO.—PAGE 135.

GRANT OF FISHINGS AT INVERSPEY BY ALEXANDER, COMMENDATOR OF PLUSCARDYN, TO JAMES DUNBAR, OF CUMNOK, 1ST MARCH, 1586-7.—*From the Original in Duff House.*

OMNIBUS hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Alexander commendatarius perpetuus monasterii de Pluscardin cum consensu et assensu Thome Ross ex toto conventu ejusdem solius superstitis salutem in domino sempiternam Noveritis nos consensu predicto pro observatione et perimptione cujusdam decreti arbitralis dicti et pronuntiati inter nos ab una et honorabilem virum Jacobum Dunbar de Cumnok ab altera partibus per honorabiles viros magistrum Joannem Lindsay rectorem de Menmure et magistrum Joannem Grahame de Halyairdis iudices arbitratores inter nos specialiter electos et constitutos de data Apud Edinburgh decimo nono die mensis Januarii anno domini instante millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo sexto et in libris Dominorum Concilii vigesimo nono die mensis predicti registrati nec non pro diversis aliis causis rationabilibus animum nostrum ad hoc moventibus utilitate et commodo nostris et nostrorum successorum dictique monasterii undique previsis pensatis et consideratis diligenti ac longo tractatu maturaque deliberatione desuper prehabitis ac pro policia hujus regni secundum acta et statuta diversorum Parliamentorum ejusdem. Nec non pro preservatione tutela et defensione nostri successorumque nostrorum et conventus dicti Monasterii ecclesie et edificiorum ejusdem ab extrema destructione et deiectione et etiam pro augmentatione rentalis nostri modo subscripto dedisse concessisse assedasse arendasse locasse et ad feudifirmam seu emphiteosim hereditarie dimittere et hac presenti carta nostra confirmare predicto Jacobo Dunbar de Cumnok heredibus suis et assignatis totas et integras piscarias seu piscationes nostras salmonum unius midietatis cimbe nec non tertie partis alterius cimbe super aqua de Innerspay cujus tertie partis altera bina pars ad comitatum Moraue ab antiquo spectavit et nunc spectat que etiam dimidietas unius cimbe et predicta tertia pars alterius cimbe predictae et salmonum piscarie earundem pluribus annis proxime elapsis per quondam Guelielmum Birnie seniore burgensem burgi de Edinburgh quondam Hellenam Achesoun ejus sponsam quondam Archibaldum Stewart postea maritum dicte quondam

Hellene Margaretam Frasser filiam ejusdem quondam Hellene et Thomam Achesoum monetarium S.D.N. regis eorumque servos factores et alios eorum nomine occupate et piscate fuerunt jacentes infra regalitatem de Vrquhart et vicecomitatum de Elgin et Forres Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas piscarias seu piscationes nostras salmonum dicte unius dimidietatis cimbe et tertie partis unius cimbe aque de Innerspay cum suis pertinentiis ut supra jacentes dicto Jacobo Dunbar de Cumnok heredibus suis et assignatis hereditarie de nobis et successoribus nostris de Pluscardin prioribus seu commendatariis ac monasterio predicto et conventu ejusdem in feudifirma seu emphyteose et hereditate imperpetuum per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas divisas solitas et consuetas pro ut jacent in longitudine et latitudine suis debitis et consuetis cum libere exitu et introitu ac cum omnibus et singulis aliis libertatibus commoditatibus proficuis asiamentis ac justis suis pertinentiis quibuscumque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subitus terra quam super terram procul et prope ad predictas piscarias et piscationes spectantibus seu juste spectare valentibus quomodo libet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sine aliquo impedimento revocatione contradictione aut obstaculo aliquali Reddendo inde annuatim dictus Jacobus Dunbar de Cumnok heredes sui et assignati predicti nobis et successoribus nostris de Pluscardin prioribus et conventui ejusdem pro dicta piscaria dimidietatis unius cimbe predicte summam centum mercarum usualis monete regni Scotie et pro piscatione dicte tertie partis unius cimbe sedecim barrilia salmonum sufficientis mercimonii magne ligature de Leith et unam petram cere et deficientibus salmonibus predictis summam trium librarum sex solidorum et octo denariorum monete predicte pro qualibet barrili dictorum sedecim barrilium salmonum firme antique et in augmentatione rentalis ejusdem summam septemdecim mercarum extendentem in toto in firma antiqua et augmentatione nova ad summam centum septemdecim mercarum monete predicte unacum sedecim barriliis salmonum predictis et una petra cere prescripte et deficientibus dictis salmonibus solito pretio predicto extendente in toto ad summam centum nonaginta septem mercarum monete predicte cum una petra cere prescripte ad festum Sancti Michaelis seu quindecim dies post terminum annuatim, et si contigerit dicto Jacobo heredibus suis vel assignatis prescriptis deficere in solucione dicte feudifirme annuatim ad terminum prescriptum sic quod duo termini absque completa solucione feudifirme in tertium concurrunt tunc et eo casu hec presens infeodatio erit in se nulla invalida et penitus sopita cum omnibus inde sequendis et dicte piscarie adeo libere ad nos et successores nostros sicuti hec infeodatio nunquam erat facta absque ullo strepitu aut vocatione judiciali revertentur. Insuper prefatus Jacobus Dunbar heredes sui et assignati predicti prestabunt nobis et nostris successoribus tres sectas ad tria nostra placita capitalia apud molendinum de Elgin seu alibi ad nostrum placitum per nos et successores nostros ballivumque seu ballivos nostros tenenda pro omni alio onere exactione questione demanda seu servitio seculari que de predictis piscariis cum suis pertinentiis per quoscumque juste exigi poterint quomodolibet vel requiri. Et nos vero prefatus Alexander prior de Pluscardyn et successores nostri de Pluscardin priores et conventus ejusdem omnes et singulas prefatas piscarias dicte dimidietatis unius cimbe suprascripte et dicte tertie partis cimbe suprascripte prefato Jacobo Dumbar de Cumnock heredibus suis et assignatis in omnibus et per omnia forma pariter et effectum ut premissum est warrantabimus acquietabimus et in perpetuum defendemus secundum

tenorem supradicti decreti arbitralis. Insuper dilectis nostris et eorum cuilibet conjunctim et divisim ballivis nostris in hac parte specialiter constitutis stricte precipimus et firmiter mandamus quatenus presentibus indilate statim sasinam hereditariam pariter et possessionem realem actualem et corporalem omnium et singularum prefatarum piscariarum prefate dimidietatis unius cimbe et tertie partis cimbe salmonum piscationum dicte aque de innerspay prefato Jacobo Dumbar de Cumnock heredibus suis et assignatis prescriptis hereditarie per traditionem retis et cimbe ut moris est tradatis et deliberetis seu alter vestrum tradet et deliberet et hoc nullo modo omittatis ad quod faciendum vobis et vestrum cuilibet conjunctim et divisim ballivis nostris in hac parte antedictis nostram plenariam et irrevocabilem tenore presentium committo potestatem. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre manu nostra subscripte una cum subscriptione dicti Thome Ross ex toto conventu solius superstitis sigillum nostrum commune dicti monasterii presentibus est apensum apud Edinburgum prima die mensis Martii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo octoagesimo sexto coram his testibus magistro Alexandro King, Davide Dumbar de Dald , Johanne Hamilton de Shenton ac Willielmo Creicton.

Et ego Thomas Ross

A. Pluscarden.

PP.—PAGE 142.

*The Doubell of the Proclamatiōe aganist the Rebellion in the North,
called Pluscardies.*

PROCLAIMED AT EDINBURGH CROSSE, 4TH MAIJ, 1649.

—From *Balfour's Annals*, Vol. III., p. 401.

WHEREAS the statts of parliament, vpon consideration of the insolent practisses, and rebellious attempts of Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscarden, and other his associatts, did, by acte of parliament, declare them and all suche as should ioyn with them guilty of the cryme of heighe tressone; and prohibit all maner of persons quhatsomeuer to give aney maner of assistance, or countenance the persons forsaid, vnder the paine of being esteimed rebels and enimies to religion, king and kingdome; and further the committee of estaits out of ther earnist desyre to preserue the peace of this kingdome, and to reclame thesse men from ther wicked wayes to ther dutiey and obedience, and especially out of ther clemency towards such as through informatione wer insnared in thesse courses, did giue pouer to L. G. David Lesley to make a generall offer to all suche as wer in armes, of freedome in ther persons and estaits, they giuing ane assurance for ther good behauiour in tyme coming; all wich, notwithstanding, James, Lord Ogilby; Lord Rae; Lues Gordon, sone to the lait Marques of Huntley; and Jhone Midletone, some-tymes called Generall Maiour Midletone; haue rissen in armes, and ioyned in opine rebellion with the said Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscarden; wich sheweth that no necessity for ther auen preserautione hathe driuen them to this course, bot ther constant malic and

wickednesse aganist this cause of God and peace of this kingdome and ane ambitious desyre to attein ther auen basse endes; for if the had aney loue to religione and the soleme league and couenant wich they haue suorne and subscribed, they wold not haue engaged in wayes so euidently destructiue therunto, aganist the mynd and judgement of the quholl kirke; or if they had aney regaird to the peace of this kingdome, they wold not begine ane vnnaturall warre, to shed the blood and teare the bowells of ther auen natiue countrey, and increase the burdens of this exhausted kingdome, and therby (if the Lord in mercy preuent not) bring one famine and desolatione; nether wold they if they had aney respecte to the king, persist in desinges so præiudicial to his pouer and weell-faire, indeuoring, so far as in them layethe, to diuert him from giuing of satisfacione to the commissioners sent from this kingdome and now attending his maiesties anssuer. Therefor, the committee of estaits, after mature deliberatione, doe heirbaye declare the saids persons, with ther adherents and abettors, and all suche as shall heirafter ioyn and concure with them, to be guilty of heigh tressone, and to be proceidit aganist accordingly; and discharges all wther persons of quahatsomeuer quality or degree within this kingdome, to assist or supplie the saids rebels and ther adherents, or aney of them, with men, money, armes, ammunitione, wictuall, counsell or intelligence, or to keepe aney correspondency, publick or priuat, or aney quho ayde or countenance them, wnder the paine of being esteemed the enimyys to religion, the Kings Maiesty, and the peace of the kingdome; and further giue pouer and warrant to all the good subjects within this kingdome to risse in armes for opposing and suppressing the saids rebels, as they shall be requyred by the Generall, Le Gen. Lesley, or aney others hauing authority for that effecte; and to the end all the kingdome may haue full satisfacione concerning equitie of our proceidinges; and that thesse now in rebellione may be zet reclaimed from ther wicked practisses and desainges, if it be possible; or wther wayes left altogider wnex-cussable. The committee of estaits is content to pas by aney thing they haue done in reference to this lait rebellione, and to allow wnto them freedome in ther persons and estaites; they renouncing and disclaiming ther present course, and giuing assurance for ther deutiful carriage in tyme coming. It being always prowdydit, that such as shall accept of this offer, shall come in to Leiu: Gen: Lesley, and giue the satisfacione betuix this and the 20 of this instant, in wich caisse they shall be free. Bot that the said declaratione shall stand in full force aganist all suche as after the tuentie day shal persiste in rebellione, or ioyn with them; and that in respecte of ther frequent outbreckings vpon all occasions, ther wiues, children and families shall be no longer wnder the protectione of this kingdome; and that suche course shall be takin for transporting them out of this kingdome into forraigne pairts, as the estaits of parliament, or other committees shall thinke fitt. And for encouragement of all suche as shall suffer in opposing or suppressing the saids rebels, the committee of estaits declares that the losses and suffringes of suche as haue, or shall be actiue in the cause aganist the rebels shall be takin into especiall consideratione, as ther carriage shall deserve, and repaired out of the estaites of suche as shall obstinatly persiste in the said rebellione. As lykwayes it is declared, that quhosoeuer hath, or shall doe aney thing aganist the saids rebels and ther adherents and abettors, or aney of them, in ther persons or goods, during the tyme of ther continuance in rebellion, shall be free of all actions criminal or ciuill, at the instance

of aney persone whatsoever for the same. And, lastlie, it is ordained, that these presents be printed and published at the mercat crosses of Edinbrughe, Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeene; wich publicatione, at the places forsaid, the committee of estaites does declare to be a sufficient intimatione to the hail persons aboue specified, and to all the leidges.

EDINBRUGHE, *Maij* 4, 1649.

THO: HENDERSONE.

QQ.—PAGE 159.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF PLUSCARDYN PRIORY.

By Rev. ALEXANDER MILLER, A.M., B.D., Buckie.

THE more important of the Priory Buildings are sufficiently entire to be good illustrations of Monastic life, and an interesting architectural study. The feature of the group which most strikes the eye when approaching the valley is the Chapel, rising on the side next the hill, and sheltering from the North the domestic buildings as the steep hill shelters the Priory and its grounds. It is crowned by a single central tower—broad, being the breadth of the church at the intersection of the cross, and so low as barely to appear above the peaked gables and the roof-line. Such a tower alone was permitted by the rule of the Cistercians, from whom the Vallis Caulians were a stricter offshoot. The ivy for which Pluscarden is famous in Scotland is thickest upon the Chapel. With its veil of leaves several feet from the wall, it effectually shrouds the minuter outlines, and, with its thick stems, it in many places encrusts the stone with a continuous mask. The portion which runs Southward from the Chapel, and faces the approach from Elgin, has had the upper parts of the wall repaired, and a new roof put on, by a recent Earl of Fife. At his direction also the stonework of some of the buildings below has been re-hewn or replaced. A kitchen chimney inserted in one of the walls of the Chapel is also recent; otherwise the building is little altered from what it was under the monks, except by injury. As in so many great religious edifices, the original plan was never executed fully, much has been removed for other purposes, some of the finer work has been defaced for the sake of the metal dowelling which bound the joints, and the burnings have left their usual trace in the scarified stones which appear, especially round the tower at and above the level of the roof.

Three lines of remark are suggested by the examination of the buildings:—I. Their form and arrangements as part of a Monastery for Cistercian monks; II. Their incomplete and altered form in view of the apparent original plan; and III. Their varieties of architectural style.

I.—*Their form and arrangements as part of a Monastery for Cistercian Monks.*—Such buildings usually keep close to one general plan. They are ranged round the Cloisters. The Chapel Nave shelters them from the blasts of the North. Its transept, with such sacred accessories as the Sacristy and Chapter-House, lie to the East, with the parlour at the Southern extremity of the range, having, at the corner, the double view and con-

stant sunlight. On the side opposite the Chapel the Refectory, with some of its accessories, and on the West subsidiary buildings.

The CHAPEL, of course, runs East and West, with transepts crossing beneath the Central Tower. The nave, which would naturally have been the longest limb of the cross, was never built beyond the foundation, except so far as to be a wall to the Cloisters, and was intended clearly to have aisles. The Choir is three bays in length, without aisles, (the high altar would stand against the wall below the four lancet windows), while each transept is two bays in length, each having an aisle to the East. The four bays provide, as is customary, four small Chapels, of which each would have its own altar. The arches between these aisles and the Choir are built up, and a stone screen separates the Choir from the transepts, which renders the Choir almost a separate building, and reduces the remainder to the position of a mere ante-chapel to it. Entering from the Choir by a door now built up, is the Vestry, with a stair to a chamber above, and to part of the clerestory passage. The vestry is no part of the original plan, is built with separate walls, and is not rectangular. The stone-built grave in front of the high altar, now lying open, is the place where the "pious founder," the first Prior, or, in a cathedral, the first Bishop often rests. The door leading from the North transept, directly to the outside, would be that used on ordinary occasions by the public attending the services. The entrance by the nave would be reserved for occasions of ceremony; those in the opposite end, next the domestic buildings, by the monks themselves. There are two there—the lower leading to the Sacristy—here used as and called the Lady Chapel—and the upper approached by the staircase, built in the corner, to the Dormitory, for convenience at the midnight and early services. The present stair, though not all ancient, is in the old position, and there is a window with remains of stone tracery in the wall beside it, by which persons in the Dormitory or its adjuncts could see into the transepts, and follow the services.

The SACRISTY, here the LADY CHAPEL, is the next building in continuation of the transept. The remains of the stone building of the altar are found in the end beneath the window (E). In the second of the four bays into which its vaulting divides it are found grooves in the stone, in which the seats and backs of the stalls were fastened. The bay next the door to the Cloister is partly occupied by two compartments covered each by a much rougher vaulting beneath the original one. One of them forms a porch, the other a chamber where vessels or vestments may have been kept. A window opens into the transept aisle (D), in the corner of which is a bracket for an image.

The CLOISTER is entered from the Lady Chapel. Its open court was usually kept in grass. The roof of the walks seems to have been of wood, but there is no trace either of arches or of pillars to support it on the interior sides.

The chamber next the Lady Chapel is always the CHAPTER HOUSE, where the monks met for business. The door by which it enters from the East walk of the Cloister is divided by a central pillar, and surrounded, as the importance of the room demanded, by much richer mouldings. The Cistercian Chapter House (unlike the octagon of Elgin, and many other cathedrals) was always square, and has the ordinary central pillar to support the vaulting.

The next door in the Cloister gives access to a passage having a door at the other

end, which would be that ordinarily used for entrance from without. It was to this lobby that the monks resorted for conversation with one another, or with visitors, in the Orders where intercourse with visitors was permitted. The last room on the Eastern side of the Cloisters is that now used by the Free Church of Pluscardyn. It is usually described as the old Refectory, or the Kitchen; and though it may have been so used at some time, it was planned, without doubt, to be the CALEFACTORY—so called from its being the place where the monks made themselves warm and comfortable. We should call it their sitting-room or parlour. The large fireplace, now hidden by the pulpit, suits the purpose. Occupying the corner of the building, the room has windows to the East and South, thus securing the earliest and the strongest sunshine. The window next the fireplace is a sample of skilful adaptation. While the rest are smaller than we might expect, this is as large as the space permits, and throws a flood of light into the comfortable corner beside the fire, and furthest from the entrance door. All this range is kept dry by being raised upon vaults, and in the Calefactory the roof, vaulted as elsewhere, rests on a central line of pillars.

The upper story of all this side belonged to the DORMITORY. That bed-rooms should be upstairs was required then as much as now, and the position above the warm parlour ensured their comfort. The repairs connected with the new roof have made it impossible to discover whether it formed a single room or not. In the parent House of the Order the Dormitory was divided into small compartments, one for each bed. Nor can it be ascertained whether there was any other access than through the transept of the Chapel. There are traces of a door leading to the roof of the Cloister walk. From the end of this room lead the Clerestory passages on either side of the transept, and one of these leads out upon the roof of the aisle of the South transept, which is formed into a most agreeable terrace. On this aisle the sloping roof has been omitted, and the flat surface of the vault has been furnished with a low parapet on the Eastern side, which is the only one not sheltered by the higher buildings. From this retreat, warm, and not overlooked, the only distant view possible from the Monastery is obtained—a view which is closed up twenty miles away by the Binn Hill of Cullen. From the same corner of the Dormitory enters a room now called the Priest's Chamber, which forms, along with a closet entering off it, an upper story of newer building to the Eastern or altar end of the Lady Chapel (E). From a step in the floor towards the Eastern end, and seats in the wall, it appears to have been intended for an ORATORY, and to have been furnished with an altar in the same position as the one below.

On the South side of the Cloister the REFECTORY or Dining-Room invariably stood. In Cistercian houses it was usually placed end on to the Cloister, and not alongside it. Here the building containing it followed the older and simpler custom. It was raised on a vault, and appears to have been vaulted itself like the others. It was divided into two chambers. The smaller is that next the parlour, and had a fine bay window to the South, and was probably one of the adjuncts to the Refectory, which would then be the larger division to the East. Each has a door of its own to the Cloister, but the remains are very defective. Near the Western of the two doors is a small opening at the floor level, *which may* have been the outlet for the water from the lavatory, which was usually a series of stone troughs in the Cloister, near the Refectory door.

The buildings adjoining the Western walk were usually cellars, kitchen, or stables. Here there is nothing but a wall traceable, and a similar wall bounds the Cloister on the North, where the nave of the Chapel would have stood if finished.

A few feet from the outer corner of the Calefactory stands a building of rougher form, known as the Prior's House, and in connection with it other buildings stretching Eastward, which may have provided the Guest House and the Infirmary. The vaults beneath the Refectory range were large enough to furnish cellars, but no door to them, or to those beneath Parlour and Chapter House, is visible. The position of the kitchen is uncertain, but doubtless it was close to the Refectory.

II.—*Incompleteness and Alteration of Plan.*—It was nothing rare that mediæval church architects should devise plans too great to be executed by the resources of many generations. Neither was it rare for the original plan to be exchanged for one more suited to the need or fashion of the time. Therefore we do not wonder that the nave and its aisles are wanting; but it is rare to find, as seems the case here, the original plan deserted as too bold for skill to execute. It seems as if the freestone of Morayshire, which lends itself so readily to the carver's skill, was found too friable for the strains it was subjected to. Such a departure from the original plan is found in the Choir and Tower, and part of the transepts of the Chapel, and that it was of old date is evident from the style and appearance of the new. The original pillars for the support of the Tower are remarkably slight. They appear to have been unable to sustain vaulting, which the hewn corbels in each corner show to have been intended, and in its place corbels for a wooden floor to the bell chamber in the summit were inserted in the upper part of its walls. Therefore, each of the pillars was encased in a mass of hewn masonry, which still remains. In addition to this, the arch leading into the Choir as well as that which would have led to the nave was built up to the top, a door being left for entry, and the transepts and central portion were thus turned into a separate antechapel. In one of these added casings, a stair is built, which led to a loft in the antechapel above the Choir door, through which the altar could be seen through small windows, and probably to another within the Choir. The West wall of the North transept is also not according to the plan of the others, but has been built in a rougher style, and in such a way as to form in its lower part a buttress to the tower pillar beside it.

The window of the North transept shows a similar change. Three long lancets fill up its central part, and a wheel window so fills the space above them as to leave hardly any wall at all around its rim. The wheel has had to be built up, and a smaller opening left in its centre, while each of the three lancets has a horizontal bar of stone, apparently inserted afterwards, across its centre. In each of the corners of the tower as it rises above the roof there is a window of a fantastic shape that is exceedingly difficult to build securely. Each of them has been built up, and a small opening of simple form left in its centre.

In the Choir, each of the bays and the East end is filled with a window space of the greatest possible width. The wall left between is so narrow as to demand outside buttresses of unusual depth and solidity, but those that exist are of an ordinary

pattern and weight. Each of the spaces, therefore, has been partially built up, and a smaller window inserted in each. A peculiar and somewhat insecure looking window in the top of the South transept gable has also been wholly built up. There are indications in some places of the surface of the stones having given way from undue pressure, or been "skirp't," as masons say. Altogether, this alteration of plan renders the Chapel an unusually perplexing building.

III.—*The Architectural Style.*—Gothic architecture in Scotland had three stages, that of the simple lancet window; that where more lancets than one are united into a single window divided by tracery; and that where the tracery in the upper portion assumes the flame-like shape which gives it the name of "Flamboyant," both in France and Scotland. It was contemporary with the Perpendicular in England, which is marked by the straight upright bars, running to the very top of the window. Of these three Scottish forms Pluscardyn affords examples. The transepts of the Chapel and most of the other buildings exemplify the transition from the first of these to the second, two lancets together or three united under a single arch being the most common form. This was the prevailing style some years after the date of the foundation in 1230. The transepts mainly follow it, and they are the most perfect part of the work. The arches which separate the Clerestory passage from the interior are of singular lightness and grace (see illustration), and this part is said to resemble portions of the Abbey of Hexham. At that date the art of Northern England and Scotland had much in common (a comparison of the masons' marks, which are frequent in Pluscardyn, would be interesting). The Choir, even in its original design, appears to be of date later by a century, one might conjecture. Much of the building was ruinous in 1398, when Prior Alexander was appointed. In its East end the lower windows, apparently afterwards built in, are four beautiful early lancets. They resemble those of the same East end in Elgin, and this may account for windows which seem to have been built along with or after those of the later form going back to the earlier type.

The Flamboyant appears in the Vestry built previous to 1561 by Prior Alexander Dunbar, also in one of the Choir windows, and the round window above the so-called priest's chamber, which are possibly also among the repairs and improvements due to him. In the Chapel the transept aisles alone are vaulted; the ribs in these, as well as the Chapter House and Lobby, are finely moulded, those of the Lady Chapel and Parlour more roughly. The spaces between the ribs are composed in all the rooms of yellow freestone in blocks like small bricks, roughly shaped. The Chapel has been roofed with wood, the walls, especially in the Choir, where the one window filled the whole height, being too slight for stone.

RR.—PAGE 180.

RENTAL OF PRIORY OF PLUSCARDYN.—From the "Books of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices."—MS. General Register-House.*

THE Rentall of the Priorie of Pluscardin, conteninge all and sindrie the fermes, mallis, sowmes of money, alsweill for the temporall landis as for the fischeingis that are in us of payment, and of the victuallis alsweill of the temporall landis as of the teindis of kirkis thairof eldar set for money or victuallis, extract furth of the register and chalmerlane comptis of the samyn for this present yeir of God j^m v^c lxx yeiris.

The Lordscipe of Pluscardin and baronies Farinen and Urquhard, conforme to the auld rentallis, registeris and the yeirlie comptis of the chalmerlane now present calculat together; and first the said thrie baronies, in money, by the fischeingis and cobillis, extendis to

- - - - -	ij ^c lvij <i>li</i> .	xvjs.	ij <i>d</i> .
And in quheit to - - -	j	chalder	j boll ij firlotis;
And in dry multuris to - -	ix	ch.	xj b.;
And in victuallis, malt, beir,			
and meill oureheid, - -	xiiij	ch.	xv b. ij f.;
And in custume aittis, - -	v	ch.	xij b.

Summa patet.

The fischeingis pertening to the said priorie, eftir the rentallis and chalmerlane comptis, presentlie :—Ane cobill, half cobill and thrid pairt cobill of lang tyme bypast in the places handis fischeit be thair awin servandis and be guid estimatioun yeirlie, gud yeir and evill yeir ourheid, wald extend to - - - - - xxx lastis salmond;

Bot now intromettit with be the schireff of Murray, allegand him to haif the samyn in few-ferme, to the grait hurt of the said place and standing under reductioun.

Ane uther half-cobill, sett for yeirlie payment of - - - - - xxxiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.

Ane uther half cobill set for - - - - - lxxvij*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*.

Summa of the fischeingis be the schireff of Murrayis

intromissioun, - - - - - j^c lib.

* The careful perusal of the old *Rental* (or, rather, *Rentals*, for the documents are of at least two dates) referred to in the note in page 180, has produced the conviction that, though much torn, and often illegible, its *place-names* give a more correct idea of the extent and variety of the possessions and taxable territory of our Priory than any documents which we have had under consideration. We have accordingly determined to place before our readers a summary of the various properties and taxations from which the Priory derived its income previous to the Reformation. It matters little whether we refer the Rental to the Priorate of Robert or of Alexander Dunbar. The later we place the date the more certain we may be that at an earlier period the possessions of the Priory were more, and not less. The Rental contains the names of those by whom the various farms, &c., were rented, and for local family history these names would, no doubt, afford much interesting material. We have, at the same time, been much struck with the extent to which the family names in the Rental have ceased to be common in Morayshire. It may be well to mention that the orthography of names in the two copies of the Rental is extremely divergent.

The lands, &c., from which the Prior and monks derived income were tabulated in the following manner :—

The Rentall of the spiritualitie and kirkis pertening to the said priorie set for money and victuallis conforme to the auld rentallis, registeris and chalmerlanis comptis as eftir followis:—

The kirk of Pluscardin, conforme to the rentall red and chalmerlanis comptis, extendis yeirlye commonlie in victuallis, meill and beir to - - - vij ch. xj b.

The kirkis of Urquharde and Bellie, conforme to the rentall ryding thairof and chalmerlane comptis, extendis yeirlye commownlie in victuallis, mel and beir oureheid to - - - - - xxviiij ch. x b. j f. j pect.

And in money, with the vicarages of the samyn, bot out of us of payment during this instant contraversie and truble - - - - - ij^c xxij*li*. viij*d*.

The kirk of Durris and Dalcous set in assedatioun for - - - - - xlvi*li*. xiijs. viij*d*.

Summa totalis of the hail money befor writtin, by the fischeingis occupyit and tane up be the schireff of Murray and the vicarages out of us of payment - - - - - iiij^c iiij*lib*. ix*s*. vj*d*.

And thair is to be deducit and defalcat thairof the ordinar chairges as eftir followis, viz., to the sustentatioun of ↗ monkis, ilk ane of thame in keching and habit silver - - - - - xvj*li*. money.

Summa, - - - - - lxxx*li*.

And to the sustentatioun of the chalmerlane and his tua servandis, contractit to gif him yeirlye, the sowme of - - - - - j^cxxxiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.

And in almous to the puir folkis and puir tennentis yeirlye, - xli*li*.

Summa deductorum in pecunia, - - - - - ij^cliij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.

And sua restis frie, of silver, - - - - - j^clj*li*. ijs. xd.

Summa of quheit free, conforme to the rentall and chalmerlanis comptis, - - - - - jch. j*b*. ij*f*. frumenti.

Summa of drie multuris free, conforme to the rentall and chalmerlanes comptis, - - - - - ix ch. xj b.

Summa of victuallis, bayth of the temporalitie and spiritualitie, as is befor writtin, - lj ch. iiij b. iiij f. jp^c victualium.

The Barony of URQUHART contained Onthank, Fynfan, Lochs, Byness (Smithy of Byness), Hills, Meft, Urquhart, Smithy of Urquhart, Byness, Lucher, Threpland, Mills of Urquhart, Cowfurde, Craige and Dunkyntyr, Vicarage of Urquhart and Kelle, besides salmon fishings—yielding in rent 24 lasts.

The Barony of PLUSCARDYN contained Whyteruff, Easter and Wester Barnhill, Smithy of Barnhill, Overtoun, Westertoun, Inchalhon, Incharnack, Corslyes, Croy, Drynkynhill, Ochintyr, Frosterseat, Netherbyre, Lyhill (East and West), Rudavie, Balletene, Appylward, the Mills of Pluscardyn, Elgyne, and Menichty.

The Barony of TARNENAN, &c., contained Tillydewye, Inchbrock, Mills of Altyr and Forres, Penicks, Grauchhill, or little Kep, Farnachty, Bothtuly, Monaughty, Fernenan, Mills of Grangegreen, Delpothy and Grangehills, New Mill, besides fishings on Findorn, &c.

The Barony of INNES contained the Church of Urquhart, Maynes of Innes, Standan' Stanes, Urquhart Riggs, Newton of Innes; also, from 1527, Cotts, Falles, East Carse Byres, Carse Leuchrs, Carse Cornes, Malt Scot, Stanewallis, Branston, Spenstown, Kempiston and Kempisley (which

Quhair of to be deducit the ordinar charges as eftir followis :—

Item, to the said fywe monkis of the convent, ilk ane of thame yeirlie haweing ane chalder fywe bollis; summa in the haill, - - - - -	vj ch. ix b.
Item, to the maister cuik, - - - - -	xiiij b.
Item, to the portar, - - - - -	xiiij b.
Item, to the maister baxter, - - - - -	xiiij b.
Item, to the gardnar, - - - - -	xiiij b.
Item, to the pur folkis and utheris pur tennentis and passingeris, - - - - -	ij $\frac{1}{2}$ ch. victualium
Item, for making of the malt, - - - - -	xiiij b.
Summa deductionum in victualibus, - -	xiiij ch. vij b.
Summa restis of frie victuall, - - -	xxxvij ch. xiiij b. iij f. j pect.

Memorandum, thair is na charge of casualities and dewties sic as fallis be accidentis nor yit of custum, muttones, kyddis, nor pultries, becaus the samyn servis bot the place and strangeris as effeiris off honour and honestie.

Summa of the chairge of aittis, - - - -	v ch. xiiij b.
And to be deducit for the chalmerlenis hors maitt, - - -	ij ch.
Sua restis frie of aittis, - - - - -	iiij ch. xiiij b.
Summa totalis frie as is befor notit :— <i>j^lij^l. ijs. xd. money; j ch. j b. ij f.</i> <i>frumenti; ix ch. xj b. dry multuris; xxxvij ch. xiiij b. iij f. j pect</i> <i>victualium; and iij ch. xiiij b. avenarum.</i>	

Sic Subscibitur,

ECONOMUS.

PRIORIE OF PLUSCARDIN.

Thrid of the money, - - - - - - *j^lxxvj^l. iijs. iiij d. ob.*
Tak

This money of the thrie baronies, viz., Pluscardin, Farnen, and Urquhard; but remember my lord comptrollare to ressave particulare assignatioun, becaus thay are gewin in ourheid in the Rentall.

together paid 193 bolls), Garmouth, Stenback and Crosky (mostly salmon), Brounhill, Mathewmiln, and Croskyn.

The Vicarage of BELLY embraced Belly Rectory, Callanhill, Ardagathers, Mill of Tynet, Auchyan Bogg, Auchinruth, Blair, Tullaich, Grencarne, Maynes of Bog, Byres, Auchinhalick, Ordenquish, Maynes of Dolloch, Balliehill, Cubrothcass, Dawlochguy, Easter and Waster Fochabar, Lownania, Inchmill, Baafour.

The Church of DURRIS embraced Kynbryly, Archodaucht, Cortlok, Erne, Crue, Ruono (?) Abstry, Bamlone, Little Bellie, Meikle Bellie, Carenach, Bracrobynie, Crichtie, Ardochtak, Bonachton, Collard, Borocht, Brodland.

The Church of DALLROSE embraced the Westleys, Medleys, and Eastleys of Dallrose, Mukke, the half of Belliebraid, Dallcross, with Kirktown, Kynray, the Grange of Kilravoke Castleton, the Milltown, the Medour, Easter Kilrawak.

Tak

The quheit out of the same baronies also, quhilkis extendis
to - - - - - v b. iij f. j pect $\frac{1}{3}$ pt pect.

Tak

The victuall and dry multuris thare:—victuall, malt, beir and
meill, - - - - - iij ch. iij b. ij f. ij p^{ct} half p^t $\frac{1}{3}$ tharof.

Tak

The victualis, malt, beir and meill of the three baronies ex-
tending to - - - - - xiiij ch. xv b. ij f.
The kirk of Pluscardin, - - - - - viij ch. xj b.
Summa, - - - - - xxij ch. x b. ij f.
Gif in - - - - - v ch. viij b. iij f. ij pectis 2 p^t pect.
Third of aittis, - - - - - j ch. xv b.

Tak

The aittis of the thrie baronies; and remember my lord comptrollare to ressaif
particulare assignatiounes thairof.

Nota, to tak ordour withe the salmond fyscheingis, viz., a cobill and half a cobill and
third pairt cobill, quhilkis ar in the Schireff of Murrayis handis and estimat to xxx last
salmond be yeir.

Item, to serche out the gressumes, canis, custumes, pultrie, caponis and all utheris
dewties omittit.

ABSTRACT OF YEARLY REVENUE.

(Probably compiled from the old Rental by Mr Rose.)

PLUSCARDEN,	£235	9	0			
Victuall,	26	chal.,	4 B.,	1 fir.,	3 pks.,	or B. 420 1 fir. 3 pks.
Farine,						16 1 3
Avenarum,	6	ch.,	8 B.,			104 0 0
						Bolls 540 3 2
URQUHART,	£150	10	0			
Victuall,	8	ch.,	10 B.,	3 fir.,	3 pks.	
Avenarum,	2		3			
Teinds,	14		3			
	25	—	3	3	or Bolls	400 3 3
TARNENAN, &c., with DALROSS, DURRIS, and BELLY—	£410	5	4	Bolls	1146	2 2
Millyns of Elgyn,					96	0 0
„ Forres					70	0 0
„ Dunkyntyrr,					20	0 0
Total, £796	4	4	Bolls	2274	1	3

Besides 468 barrels or 39 lasts of salmon, poultry, &c., &c.

THE RENTALL OF PLUSCARDINE.

Money,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v ^c xxvli. xs. ij <i>d</i> .
$\frac{1}{3}$ thairof,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	j ^c lxxvli. iijs. ij <i>d</i> . ob. $\frac{1}{3}$ ob.	
Quheit,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	j ch. j b. ij f.	
$\frac{1}{3}$ thairof,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v b. iij f. j p' $\frac{1}{3}$ p' ^c		
Victuall dry multuris,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ix ch. xj b.	
$\frac{1}{3}$ thairof,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iij ch. iij b. ij f. ij p' ^c half p' $\frac{1}{3}$ half p' ^c		
Aittis,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v ch. xiiij b.	
$\frac{1}{3}$ thairof,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	j ch. xv b.	
Victuall, malt, meill and beir,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	lj ch. iiij b. iij f. j pect.		
$\frac{1}{3}$ thairof,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvij ch. j b. ij f. j pect half pect $\frac{1}{3}$ thairof.		

Nota all gressumes, martis, muttonis, caponis, kiddis, pultreis, and sic small dewties omittit.

Memorandum tweching the Schireff of Murrayis salmond.

The Marches of Urquhart are given in so interesting a manner in the old Rental as to be worth inserting. "The Marishes betwix the Baronie of Urquhart and the Yrles lands of Murray on the West sid and South sid. . . . passand oupwart on the West hand fra the Threpland till Cormulan, and oup all the mouthe till Findlay's Sete, and syne cumand doun agane on the sid neist Spey till the heid of the Badyntenay, and sa cumand doune the Blackburn till the taille of the Ellebege, and cumand fra the taille of the Ellebege as the Geit ganges till the heid of the Moss of the Quhit cors. A continuation to the *hip thorn bush* on the king's road be that road throu Farnhead Green of Darkland to the old thorn tree of Scotstonside." A note by Mr Rose informs us that the old thorn still remained in 1803 on the public road opposite to Pittinsair, dividing the woodfield of Urquhart from Templeland and Kirkland of Lhanbride. Our readers will remember another ancient thorn within the Priory precincts. (See also our Preface.) In many Pluscardyn Charters we find mention of *oaken crosses* erected for *march-stones*. One of these we have been informed by an old man in the Glen was dug up on the Wangie Hill about forty years ago. The story goes that the Laird of Altyr, hearing of its discovery, remitted to the finder, one Robert, certain rents which he had been unable to pay, on condition that he would drive the cross to Altyr House. This cross is probably that which may now be seen at Relugas. The wife of our informant, who had seen the cross previous to its removal from the Moss where it was found, is still alive, and describes it from memory as twelve feet long.

SS.—PAGE 184.

VERSES IN PRAISE OF QUEEN MARY, BY ALEXANDER SETON, A SCOT.

From Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle, Vol. II., p. 337.

“ LEAVING the Queen therefore in this miserable plight, we will not yet forget, for the honour she once had, to set down certain verses made by *Alexander Seton*, a *Scot*, in the commendation of her ancestors and of her ; who in the first years of her government used herself to the good liking of all her subjects. In which verses *Seton* doth further mean, that *Lesle* should hereafter set forth her government, as he hath done that of other kings before her. The verses be as followeth :—

‘ Clara atavis, genus antiquo de sanguine regum,
 Nympha Caledonij gloria rara soli,
 Maiorum hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe
 Diuisit, toto cernis ab orbe legi.
 Hoc illis peperere decus, non gloria regni,
 Non genus, aut diues gaza, fauorque virum ;
 Sed pietatis honos, fidei constantia, morum
 Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor ;
 Queis tua maiores superet quum viuida virtus :
 Quæ tamen meritis laus fuit æqua tuis ?
 Vnum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta
 Scribere, consilijs multa peracta suis.
 Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda :
 A proavis ne sim degener ipse meis.’ ”

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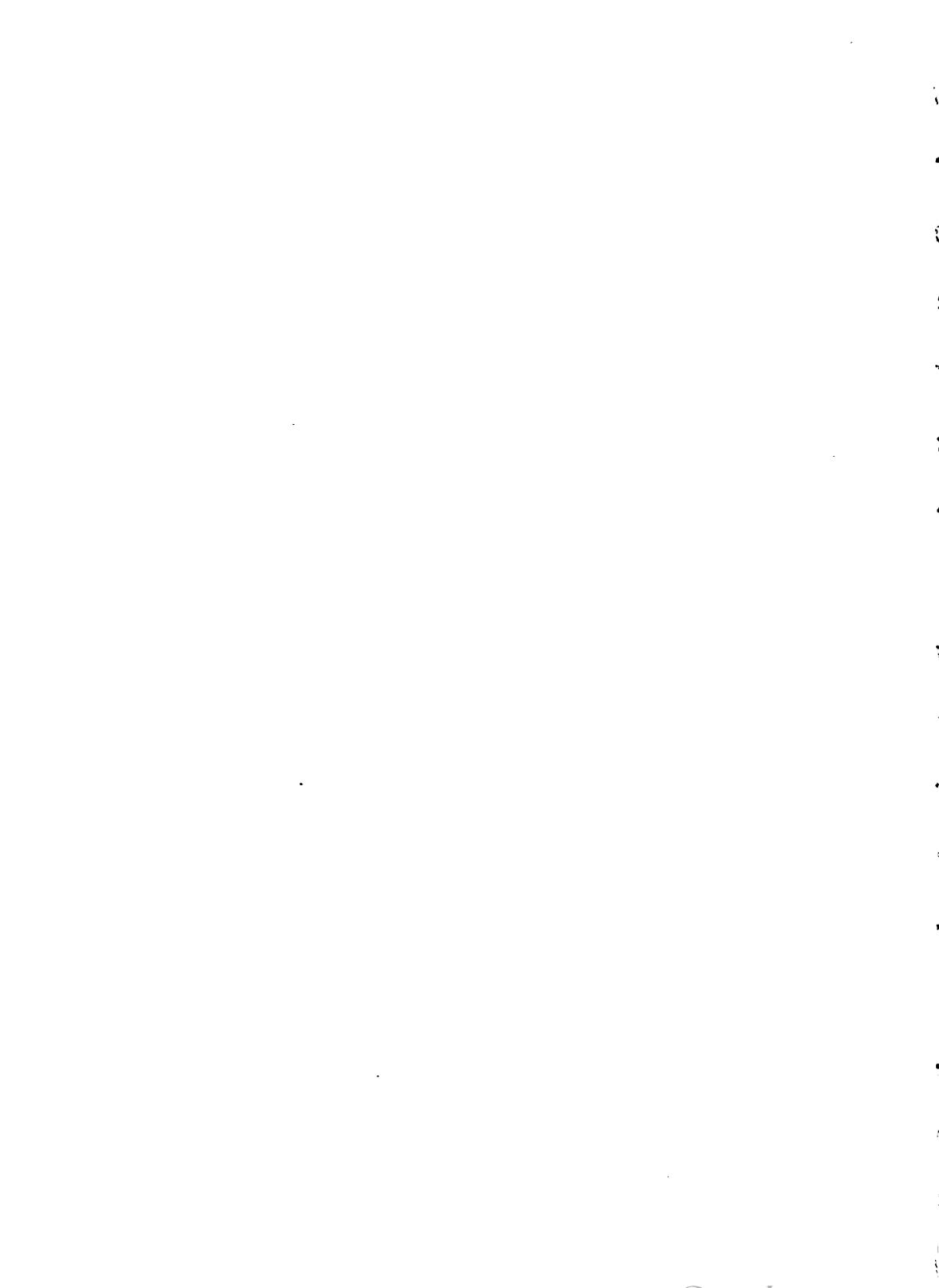
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