

# PAPAL COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS IN SCOTLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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## I. THE SYSTEM

BEFORE we can profitably consider the papal taxation to which Scotland was subject in the Middle Ages, and the method by which the fiscal decrees of Rome were executed, we must understand the system, which, beginning at Rome, sooner or later embraced all Christian lands. There grew up, particularly in the fourteenth century, a papal organisation which threw its tentacles into every realm, and which under stress of increasing financial needs turned local taxes into the papal coffers, invented new taxes with alarming fertility, and exacted them with a stringency which recked little of local needs or religious requirements, being almost wholly concerned with the clamant necessities of Rome. Speaking of fourteenth-century France and papal taxations, Michelet says, "Les finances remplissent tout. Elles sont l'alpha et l'oméga de l'administration romaine. Au total c'est l'histoire, moins du pontificat ou de la souveraineté, que d'une maison de commerce."<sup>1</sup> And this impression deepens as the records are consulted; the system grew in thoroughness through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in spite of protests by clergy, kings, and parliaments; in Scotland it was slow to get under weigh as compared with France, that milch-cow of the mediæval papacy; its very thoroughness was its final undoing, and it broke down badly all over the Roman Church early in the fifteenth century. The system was to a large extent the creation of the Pope's excursions into the Crusades; it died under the crushing weight of its own abuses. "He who squeezes too hard, draws blood."

The financial department at the papal court was called *Camera Apostolica*. It gathered the money and it spent it. It had at the head two chiefs:—

(1) The *Camerarius*, who was nominated by the Pope, and was always

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. de France*, VII, 349-350.

a bishop or an archbishop; promotion to cardinal's rank involved resignation as Camerarius, though there is one exception to this, Arnold de Canteloup (1305-07). The Camerarius had vast powers—he could act “en dehors de la cour,” and in the Pope's absence; he had charge of all officials of the Camera throughout Christendom; he nominated all collectors, oversaw their work, recalled them at will; he granted delay of collection and could remit the sum due at pleasure; he gave receipts and verified accounts; all documents came from him, all communications went to him; he was the instrument of the papal policy, and when business took him beyond the court, a Vice-Camerarius was appointed; when the Pope went to Avignon, he became his vicar-general even to the administration of justice; he had a seal for great documents, and a signet for lesser, such as letters to collectors at their stations. It was the Camerarius of Urban V—c. 1366-7—who brought the system to its greatest perfection of working.

(2) The *Thesaurarius*, who also had great powers—he had charge of the cash and treasure, he was the banker; generally he held bishop's rank, but several held minor office; at times there were two Treasurers, or a Treasurer and a Vice-Treasurer; he had many of the powers of the Camerarius over the collectors—power of nomination, of investigation of accounts, to grant delay or remission of debts—but he was always under the authority of the Camerarius, and did not write in his own name without quoting his authority; he submitted his register every year to the Camera Apostolica, over which the Camerarius presided.

Below these two notables there was a large number of lesser men, among whom were Notaries to draw up contracts, verify collectors' accounts, etc., and with the Camerarius and the Thesaurarius form the supreme council of the Camera; Scribes, and Couriers, who were a kind of messenger-at-arms, citing delinquents and carrying letters and commissions—often dangerous duties that might bring them against an angry abbot or an indignant bishop.

## II. THE TAXES

The taxes imposed variously on the Church by the Camera at the Pope's command were of two kinds:—

(1) Taxes due to be paid at the Curia by beneficiaries or their agents, such as the fees payable by bishops and abbots on nomination or confirmation by the Pope—these were known as *Servitia Communa*; fees of chancellery, payable by those who received bulls; payments due on the visits which bishops were obliged to make at regular intervals to the tombs of the apostles (difficult to gather, but if a bishop omitted a visit

or two, the collectors were authorised to exact them); and fees on receipt of the pallium. These do not concern us in this paper.

(2) Taxes imposed at various times either on the whole of Christendom, or on some part of it, according to the needs of Rome; some of them local in origin and intention, but all of them finally seized upon by the Roman Curia, developed, and applied to the general needs of the Church. These taxes were:—

(a) The tenth. This was imposed by various popes on ecclesiastical revenues, and comes into evidence at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when partly owing to the internal organisation of the Church, but chiefly owing to the Church inculcating the Crusades, the Church was pressed for largely increased financial resources; when subsidies for the Holy Land were no longer required, the Roman See was in no difficulty in providing other reasons, generally advancing “the burdens of the Roman Church.” Special agents were sent out to assess the value of benefices after deduction of all charges; this nett revenue, called the *taxatio*, became the basis of imposition of the tenth. A benefice so assessed was called *taxatus ad decimam* or *taxatus*. Non-taxed benefices paid in the same proportion, but after 1382, the tax in such benefices was called *sub-sidium loco decimæ*.

From the tenth there was no escape except for Cardinals and the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, though from time to time various mitigations were made in Scotland and England and Ireland in favour of the militant orders and others. In 1291, *e.g.*, instructions were issued to the Bishops of Carlisle and Caithness, who had been appointed collectors for Scotland, that they were not to exact the Holy Land tenth “from lazar and poor houses, nuns and other religious, whose revenues are small, and who are obliged to beg,” or from secular clerks whose income is less than six marks. Monks’ pittance are not to be tithed, nor the *exenia* of prelates and other ecclesiastics; but those who sell the income of their benefices in which residence is not required are to pay a tenth, as are also vicars and beneficiaries. Provisions are made concerning woods, pastures, meadows, fisheries, hunting and other rights; those who from monasteries and churches obtain priories, granges, houses, rents, pensions, and cess, are to be dealt with according to the circumstances of each. Money procurations gathered by prelates are to be tithed. Necessary expenses only may be deducted by those who have to pay the tenth. Officials, judges and others are to have certain expenses; bakeries and mills are to pay; marriage and burial fees, fees for sealing, fines paid by excommunicated persons, are to be tithed, as are also legacies left to churches and offices. The tenth is to be paid in current money of the land in which it was collected, and none are to be compelled to change it. Bishops and abbots and other honourable ecclesiastical persons are

to be left to their consciences to pay what is due ; but those who pay nothing, or knowingly pay less than what is right, are to be compelled by ecclesiastical censure ; rectors who have many parishioners and have to provide one or more chaplains may deduct the salary of these. Funds for the fabric of churches are to pay, but alms and oblations for building and other offerings are exempt, as are monies collected for the poor, and for lights, crosses, and chalices. Prelates and clerks of whatever rank and condition who are out of the realm are to pay. Expenses for trenching and improving lands, repairing mills, houses, barns, and the like, are not to be deducted, nor are those for maintaining castles. Small oblations received by persons for their churches, for burials, and for penances are to be tithed. Daily distribution of church proceeds, as Pope Clement ordered, are to be tithed. The tenth of fruit and vegetables which are sold is to be paid, also of flocks and herds ; what is eaten or used by the owners is exempt. The income tax acts of to-day have nothing to teach the papal Camera of the thirteenth century ; the exemptions granted only show the small mesh of the collector's net.

The Holy Land tenths were irregular in their incidence—sometimes, as in 1311, at the Council of Vienne, a tenth was imposed for six years, sometimes for four, three, two years, or even one ; but they were more or less always with the Churchmen, and the arrears of the former tenth were seldom paid before the next was upon the burdened ecclesiastics. Ostensibly they were in aid of the Crusades, but were paid over so often to the Kings of France and England, who used them for national wars and postponed the promised Crusades, that the Pope, urged by frequent complaints of prelates kicking against the constant bleeding process even to enduring excommunication rather than paying, bargained with the crusading king to pay him only if, and when, he really set sail for the East. The willingness of the Popes to impose Holy Land tenths was not entirely due to zeal for the recovery of Jerusalem ; the tenths were sometimes imposed for other purposes, such as the needs of the Church ; sometimes they were to be shared between the Pope and the King to whom the tenth was given (as in the case of a tenth to be raised in Navarre, France, and Burgundy, for two years, granted by John XXII to Philip V of France), though once, in 1336, the Pope refused to pay over a tithe he had given to the King of France when that King would not keep his vow, and ordered repayment to be made to the payers. On occasion the Pope had to mitigate the demands of the tenth—once John XXII promised in the face of revolt to relieve the French clergy of irregular tenths if they would pay up arrears ; and always the collectors had to be armed with powers of severest ecclesiastical censure with which to extract the tenth from unwilling bishops and churchmen. In France the protests were frequent and determined, until finally after

1405, when what proved to be the last French tenth was declared, the French Government abolished all papal tenths, allowing only royal decrees for such impositions.

In 1363 Urban V halved the *taxatio* in provinces ravaged by war or plague, and Gregory XI extended this to all provinces. This was called *nova taxatio*; the earlier was now called *antiqua taxatio*; both of them are met in Scottish history. But there is reason to think that in several places the opportunity was taken to make a new valuation, and in those dioceses no benefit would be felt from the *nova taxatio*.

(b) *Firstfruits of new collections*. At first this tax only amounted to half of the revenue for the first year, but in the fourteenth century it came to include the whole net revenue after expenses had been deducted. Before the Council of Vienne it was called *fructus primi anni* or *annalia* or *annualia*; later it was *annata* (hence "annate") or *prima annata provisionis* or *prima annata ratione provisionis*, since it was exigible only on a new provision. This tax existed in the twelfth century under the title of *jus deportus*, and was receivable by the bishops or used for "pious purposes"; but in 1306 Clement V enacted that beneficiaries in England and Scotland should pay the firstfruits of those benefices that were vacant within a period of three years. So encouraged, John XXII, who needed no such encouragement, by the bull "*Si gratanter advertitis*" (December 8, 1316) reserved to the papal Camera with some exceptions the *annata* of all benefices vacant at that date or within three years, in Germany, England, Castille, Aragon, etc. France was brought under this tax in 1326. For some years no more such decrees were issued, Benedict XII being content to gather the arrears of earlier decrees. But Clement VI, from May 20, 1344, reserved to the papal Seat the first year's fruits of all vacant benefices, and he spread the tax to include all benefices, with or without cure of souls, every ecclesiastical office, secular or regular, exempt or non-exempt; and though in May 1344 the reservation was prorogued for two years, it was extended in the following November to cover all benefices, churches, monasteries, priories, parsonages, prebends, dignities, offices, etc.—a decree which heavily burdened ecclesiastics at the very outset of their administration and often involved them and their benefices in debt, from which death freed the incumbent but often not the benefice. In 1357 Innocent VI gathered into the net vacancies due to exchange, appointments confirmed by the Holy See, and disputed cases referred to the Pope for settlement. Gregory XI in 1376 added beneficiaries appointed by metropolitans, bishops, and others.

It was open to the collector to take for annate, either the *taxatio* or the surplus, whichever was the greater; and he marked in his records either "*taxam elegi*" or "*residuum elegi*." When the *taxatio* was halved

by Urban V, the *residuum* became the more profitable for the collector to seize.

In the case of untaxed benefices, the Camera and the incumbent divided the sum of the fruits, the incumbent paying the expenses. Vacancies might occur twice in one year, but annates were only due once in such a case. The Council of Vienne decreed that the *taxatio* was to be the basis of the annates, and John XXII brought this exaction into smooth working, and in spite of efforts to evade payment, there was the same stringency in exacting the tax as had been noted in the case of the tenth. For instance, in 1319, Rigaud de Asserio, papal nuncio and collector, is given power to exact the first year's fruits of benefices void during three years in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; and for a second period of three years if their fruits have not been exacted during the first period. In 1320 the same collector receives a letter from John XXII that the Pope is surprised to hear that the first year's fruits of void benefices, a moiety of which was granted to the king, were not collected in that but in the second year, and he is directed to pay the said moiety to the king.

In 1316 or 1317 Rigaud de Asserio is instructed in exceptions to the collections of annates—priors, regular and conventional, only pay if it is expressly so stated; vicarages and chaplaincies and other benefices whose value does not exceed six marks are free; deaneries and archdeaconeries whose income is derived from visitations and fines alone, and other benefices not taxed for tithe, are to pay half the average yearly income. The collector is to take care that payments are not exacted by persons taking advantage of his ignorance of the value of benefices.

(c) *Procurations*. In origin these were moderate allowances to a bishop or his nominee for visiting the churches in his diocese; they were payable by the churches and might be in money or in victuals. They were rights of hospitality for him and his suite. This tended to become a money payment, and as Clement V gave power to the bishop to visit his parishes by delegate, there was ample opportunity for abuse—the bishop ceased to visit but still exacted the procuration. To John XXII belongs the discredit of authorising, in a Bull of January 1, 1319, a special collector to exact the procurations due to the late Archbishop of Bourges in parts of his province unvisited when he died; this proceeding was enacted very soon again on several occasions in Spain, and the exceptional exaction soon became a habit. Sometimes the prelates concerned compounded with the Pope for an annual payment, calling it an *ex sua mera liberalitate et spontanea* payment towards some cause for which the Pope required money. But the new income was too attractive to remain unappropriated, and though Innocent VI tried to reform the

abuse, the method he used only deepened the hold of the evil custom. On September 23, 1355, he lamented that the neglect of pastoral visitation had led to great slackness, and therefore he delegated to the collectors in France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Italy, etc., to visit personally all benefices and thoroughly reform the institutions that need reforming. For speed they were to visit several churches the same day and to receive a procuration from each. In 1364, however, he actually authorised certain bishops not to visit their dioceses in person, and whereas procurations had been regarded as a voluntary gift by a bishop to the Camera, they were now to be regarded as the right and property of Rome. Half of all procurations were to go to the papal Camera. Only Les Chartreux escaped the general tax of half of the procurations. Out of the other half the bishop had to pay his expenses. "No procurations, no visit" became the rule, and so corrupt did Church and State become, that in 1394 the bishops of France sent three ambassadors who persuaded the Pope to allow the bishops to visit their dioceses and to receive procurations, which Benedict XIII enacted on June 2, 1395, but half procurations are to go to the Pope, payable half yearly. This wrought no change from the earlier custom, by which the collectors gathered the procurations and gave his half to the bishop. The Council of Constance finally condemned the levy.

Procurations were no easier to collect in Scotland than elsewhere. In 1316 William de Balæto, collector in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland is authorised to collect, along with the tenth, Peter's pence and other cess due to the Roman Church, the balance of the procurations due to former legates and nuncios. In 1323 the balance of the procurations of legates and nuncios is inserted in the mandate to Hugh de Engolisma, collector in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. In 1360 William de Greenlaw is inhibited from making visits to Cistercian houses in Scotland and is ordered to restore procurations received.

The right to receive procurations is mentioned from John XXII onwards in the faculties given to collectors lest they be contested by the unfortunate payers; they may be collected by the bishop, who would render account to the collector.<sup>1</sup> In 1386 Walter, bishop of St Andrews, is instructed about his procurations for visiting his diocese—"Those who cannot pay in full are to pay according to their means; those who cannot pay anything are not to be compelled." The papal Camera could be generous in remitting taxation that did not come its way.

(d) *Jus spoli.* When a bishop or any prelate died possessed of goods, the law of the land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries does not seem

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Rigaud de Asserio, about 1316-20.

to have been strong enough to prevent the pillaging of his house by unscrupulous laymen. To prevent this sacrilege, the Church determined to do the pillaging itself; first the abbots, then the bishops, began to seize the spoils of their underlings at death. This custom was a settled policy in the thirteenth century, and about 1250 the Popes began to cast longing eyes on this plunder. In 1246 Innocent IV intended to decree that the goods of intestate clerics belonged to the Holy See, but opposition delayed the promulgation of the order. About 1311 Raymond Lulle hinted to Clement V that the goods of deceased bishops would give him money for the Crusades; but again it was John XXII who put the hint into practice. Gradually the *jus spoli* was made to cover a wide area, and few clerics escaped. In 1334 one genius, Pierre de Castelnau, bishop of Rodez, tried to evade the tax by bequeathing one thousand florins to the Pope, and sent two emissaries to him to persuade him to ratify the will, but the ruse did not succeed. The right to make a will was taken away, and was only granted as a special favour to individuals, probably in return for a consideration. At first in Britain, as in France, each reservation of goods was made separately, but in 1345 an ordinance made it general in France, and efforts were made to apply it to Scotland, as we shall see. A little imagination will show us the collector arriving at the house of the dead man, sealing the door with his seal and taking possession in the name of the Holy See. The hint of an ecclesiastic being sick unto death was enough to bring the collector. Everything is seized—in one case a door ready for hanging but not yet hung; in another a chasuble is taken off the body of the priest as he lies waiting burial. The heirs and successors have some rights, but very few; the local church has rights in books, chalices, crosses, vestments, necessary for the services, so long as these were not purchased in order to evade the *jus spoli*; bedding, wines, arms, cows, etc., and agricultural implements are exempted, but the collectors are ordered to send to the Pope with all speed lists of books, gold or silver vessels, rings, precious stones, chapels, mitres, pastoral staves, and other jewels, and only to sell on orders from him. The exactions were so severe that many a church had to sell ornaments, or pawn them, to keep solvent.

In Scotland the papal decrees were in opposition to an established custom of the land that the goods of deceased prelates belonged to the king. In 1371, on the petition of the bishops of Scotland, the Pope confirms the grant by David, late King of Scotland, with the consent of his nephew Robert, now king, then Steward and Earl of Strathearn, of the said Robert's children, and other barons and nobles, and of the three estates of the realm in full Parliament, abolishing for himself and his successors of the ancient custom whereby the moveables of deceased bishops were applied to the uses of the king and could not be disposed of



by will.<sup>1</sup> But all this safeguarding of the grant is in vain, for in 1375 the Pope requests Robert, King of Scotland, to put an end to "a certain pretended custom or rather abominable abuse abolished by the late King David," and to restore the goods of Bishop Walter of Glasgow, falsely reported as having died at the Roman court. Later, in 1375, an inhibition is sent, detailing that certain officials and others in King Robert's name have presumed to appropriate such property to the royal treasury or other uses, and threatening excommunication, till the hour of death, to all who carry on the said detestable custom.

In 1373 William de Grenlaw is instructed that by ordinance of the present Pope, Gregory XI, churches and monasteries are to be allowed out of the property of deceased prelates the debts contracted by the deceased for the benefit of his Church, and the cost of a decent burial, and that books and other property belonging to his patrimony are to be deducted only when he has a legitimate heir; books, chalices, crosses, vestments belonging to the churches and monasteries are not reserved to the Pope, or arms, or goods and animals, used for agriculture.

(e) *Grateful subsidies.* This type of subsidy was in the first place an episcopal exaction. Bishops, and later abbots, who desired to buy a house, or build a barn, or go on a journey, asked their clergy for a gift. John XXII adopted the episcopal *ex gratia*, so-called voluntary, payment and asked for subsidies for various objects, which were always indicated—"for the Holy Land," "against the Turks," "against rebels," "for the burdens of the church," "against heretics"—excuses never being difficult to find. "Voluntary" meant only that the amount was indeterminate. Kings persuaded the Pope, no doubt for a *quid pro quo*, to grant them such subsidies for various reasons. In the case of papal subsidies the threat of excommunication made the payers reasonable to the demands of the collectors. Clement VII, in ten days of August 1390, imposed five subsidies on Brittany alone.

In 1247 the Bishop of Dunblane is to collect in Scotland a twentieth of Church revenues, and the fees for the redemption of vows, offerings, and legacies for the Holy Land, and to give three thousand pounds of Tours to certain crusaders.<sup>2</sup> In 1251 the King of England was refused a tenth of Scottish Church proceeds. In 1265 the Pope warns and mandates the bishops of the realm and others who are detaining the tenth which they have collected, granted for the defence of the kingdom, to assign it to the quarters indicated, and to use it in no other way; he writes, too, that though he styles them his beloved sons, and sends them his apostolic blessing, he does not intend thereby to absolve them from sentences issued by him when legate, which sentences the present legate, Ottobon, is to publish. In 1266 Henry III of England is granted a tenth

<sup>1</sup> Theiner, pp. 346, 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

in Scotland to pay the debts of his Queen, if the consent of Alexander of Scotland be obtained. In 1267 the Queen's debts, sixty thousand pounds of Tours,<sup>1</sup> is ordered to be paid from the English debt ; so Alexander did not consent.

In 1284 Edward I is given a tenth in England, Ireland, and Wales if he takes the Cross before Christmas, and a tenth in Scotland if the King of Scotland agrees, in which case Edward would require to subsidise the magnates from Scotland who joined him in the Crusades. In this case the King of Scotland agreed, for in 1291 the Bishops of Carlisle and Caithness are to warn all persons not exempted to pay to the King a tenth for six years, compelling where necessary ; but as Rome is gentle in exactions she is not to handle, the bishops are to tax the value as the churches and their rectors may be able to endure it. In 1319 the King of England is given a tenth to be paid promptly by all abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, and prelates, regular and secular, for the defence of the realm, and of the churches, which have suffered by the invasion of the Scots, the Hospitallers being exempted.

In 1372 the Scottish bishops are ordered to levy each in his own diocese a tenth for one year of Church revenues for the recovery and the preservation of the lands of the Roman Church, to be paid half at Easter next and half at Michaelmas, and assigned to the Camera within a month thereafter. In England the Pope bade the clergy consider in paying this subsidy that unlike the clergy of other regions they have not been wasted and desolated by wars.

(f) *Vacantes, or fructus medii temporis, or fructus intercalares.* These are different from the *annata*, and signify the fruits of benefices whose collation is in the hands of the Pope, *i.e.* *vacant in curia*. The Pope claimed the revenues of the vacancy up to the nomination of a new beneficiary. The *vacantes* were gathered, not simply from the income of bishoprics and abbacies, but from all minor benefices whose next incumbents were due to be provided by the Pope. In such vacancies the papal agents administered the property in the name of the Camera. Benedict XII was charged with prolonging vacancies to gather in the fruits ; Clement VI was content to collect the arrears of Benedict's exactions ; but after Clement VI this collection was used to bring in considerable sums.

In many cases clerics enjoyed benefices for years before it was discovered that there was a flaw in the appointment—either the provision was not canonical, or the cleric was a pluralist, and therefore under the constitution *Execrabilis* ; or he had not received ordination within the required period, or he had not been dispensed for being too old. Such appointments were void, and the fruits since the vacancy first occurred

<sup>1</sup> £1 of Tours = about 5s.

belonged to the Pope, though in practice he was lucky if he got even a small portion of his dues ; often he got nothing. Generally the benefice was provided anew to the same person after resignation, and the tax was paid in an agreed sum. Such money was generally earmarked for the Holy Land or other papal causes, but Benedict XII and the Popes of the Great Schism used it for the general papal revenues.

In 1323 the collector is empowered to exact all first year's fruits, rents, and residues of void benefices. Archiepiscopal and abbatial churches are exempted, as also benefices with a value not exceeding six marks, and benefices void by exchange, vicarages and chaplaincies, and other temporary endowments and gifts. The system was to be tightened later to include most of these.

In 1341 Master Bernard Sistre, papal collector in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, is mandated to gather information about the annual fruits of all void benefices, dignities, parsonages, and offices which John XXII had reserved to the Holy See ; also about the unpaid residue of fruits of void benefices, reserved to the Holy See, to compel payment, and to report to the Pope. In 1358 mandate is received by Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen, and William de Grenlaw, dean of Glasgow and papal collector in Scotland, to inform themselves touching the alleged occupation of benefices void for twenty years by persons without lawful title and institution, and to remove them, taking account of fruits received, and dues paid to the papal Camera, re-admitting said persons if found fit, and reporting to the Pope.

In 1374, John de Peblis, collector in Scotland, is to gather, *inter alia*, the rents and rights pertaining to the archiepiscopal and abbatial *mensae* during voidance, and the fruits and rents during voidance of all benefices reserved in any way to the Pope.

(g) *Peter's Pence*. In its origin this was a distinctively English tax of very early date ; it is mentioned by Canute in a Latin letter of 1031 as due to Rome by ancient law. It was payable on August 1, the feast of St Peter ; originally it amounted to a penny if smoke came from the taxpayer's house, later a penny if he had a yearly rental of thirty pence. It was abolished in England in 1534 ; since 1860 the name has been given to the voluntary contributions of Roman Catholics to the papal treasury. Coverdale refers to it as a pestilent tax. It was small, but it gathered in much money. Although it was English in origin it was applied to Scotland by the Roman See ; in 1329 Bernard Cariti and Raymund de Quercu are given faculty to exact Peter's pence from ecclesiastics and seculars in Scotland, and from all persons, regular and secular, exempt or non-exempt. But this is the only clear order I can find applying the tax to Scotland. In several appointments of collectors to England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, Peter's pence and the yearly

cess are mentioned (the latter being 1000 marks—700 for England, 300 for Ireland, as promised in 1213 by King John when he resigned his kingdom to the Pope); but these were included for the English exactions only, and the mandate to Bernard and Raymund to collect Peter's pence in Scotland is a solitary command, and was probably the last. I do not think Scotland can have taken to it kindly.

Those, then, are the papal taxes imposed on the faithful by a rapacious papal Camera, often amidst vehement protestations. It is with no surprise that one reads in the papal records of 1375 a complaint by the Priory of Wirkesop that "they were reduced to penury by the various and almost daily exactions imposed in these days, beyond what was wont, on ecclesiastics and especially on religious, and that they were heavily burdened with debt."

### III. THE COLLECTOR

The agent of the papal Camera's grinding financial machinery was the collector, set over an area of various size. Sometimes England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland formed one *collectorium*, although separate mandates might be given for each country; later, when the system was fully organised, a separate collector or collectors was appointed for Scotland. Sometimes, as we shall see, he was appointed for one special exaction, sometimes he had a mandate to collect all moneys due to the Camera. Sometimes the Scottish collector was put under the general collector in England, who might also be the English collector; generally the collector in Scotland was answerable to the Pope; always he was appointed by the Pope.

The collector in Scotland was always a *nuntius apostolicus*, unless he were a local bishop appointed to gather a particular tax; all *nuntii* were not collectors, but all collectors were *nuntii* except in the case mentioned. There is great variety in the ecclesiastical rank of the collector—Rigaud de Asserio is "D.C.L., auditor of the papal palace, canon of Orleans"; John de Lascapon is "clerk of the papal camera"; William de Balæto is "archdeacon of Forli, papal chaplain"; John de Opizis is "canon of Ferrara, papal chaplain and auditor"; Peter de Monte is "an apostolic notary," and also I.U.D., [*Utriusque Juris ac Artium Doctor*] and M.A., but he was in minor orders only, and at the date of his appointment as collector was not even sub-deacon, though he had the tonsure; Bernard Cariti was "archdeacon of Lavour." The collector generally gathered to himself ecclesiastical offices without cure in several dioceses if possible; often he became an archdeacon, combining with it one or two canonries; they were men of great power and could get preferment with compara-

tive ease ; if the Pope desired to honour a collector, he made him a papal chaplain or an apostolic notary or gave him other dignity.

On his appointment the collector received his papers, which included a safe-conduct if he had to travel to his collectorship ; if he were not already at Rome, and could not go there, he was instructed to what bishop to repair for the taking of his oath of faithful administration. His papers were quite voluminous, when the system was in full order, and provided him with faculties and powers of great variety. The papers of John de Peblis, dated September 1374, from Gregory XI at Avignon, may be taken as a good example :—

1. His appointment as collector with the usual powers of censure and compulsion, which included the invoking of the secular arm.
2. Safe-conduct.
3. Power of censure, and to cite before the Pope if necessary, any who he fears may injure or hinder his sub-collectors or himself.
4. Long and detailed instructions about property of deceased prelates.
5. Power to carry out all papal commissions addressed to previous collectors in Scotland. [Nov. 1374.]
6. Power to impose a *gratum subsidium* on all ecclesiastical persons in defence of the Pope and the Roman Church, except on the Cistercians who had compounded for 30,000 gold florins. Powers to compel by censure and sequestration. [Nov. 1374.]
7. Faculty to collect sums due to his predecessors. [Nov. 1374.]
8. and 9. Repetition of 4, with unimportant modifications. [Dec. 1374.]
10. Mandate to receive procurations from visits paid to churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical places in Scotland. [Oct. 1374.]

Other papers follow in all cases from time to time giving instructions, indults, recommendations to the king or some noble, exhortations, or new powers. Generally the details of what the collector is to collect are very full ; *e.g.* in 1385 Sir James Dardani, canon of Tropea, archdeacon of Norfolk, is appointed nuncio and papal collector in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and is given “ plenary faculty and power to exact from prelates, chapters, colleges, convents, and other ecclesiastical persons, secular and regular, exempt or non-exempt, and from even lay persons, all sums and goods due, even if such be confiscated ; likewise, the first year’s fruits of benefices collated by the Pope or to be collated by the Pope or by the Pope’s authority ; to hear and examine the accounts of collectors and sub-collectors, inquisitors of heresy, preachers of the crusade, etc., and to receive what they have received ; to compel payment by ecclesiastical censure, sequestration of goods, imprisonment, and other remedies of the law, without appeal and by excommunication ; to proceed against, and if necessary, to cite before the Pope or the chamberlain those who hinder or injure him or his officials ; and to invoke the aid of the secular arm.” He is not to allow a delay of more than a year

in payment, and he must send to Rome the names of the sub-collectors appointed, and to render accounts every two years.

Such documents show the difficulties that faced the collectors ; they required to be placed above bishops, and to be given powers beyond even the law of the land and the freedom of the Church. On occasion, as in 1316, even a king of England could be told by the Pope not to hinder the collector, William de Balæto. It is little wonder that they often exceeded their office, and even that some fell to the temptation of laying up treasure for themselves. When John XXII became Pope, he ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to receive the oath from William de Balæto—"the collection hitherto made has been scanty." In 1378 Clement VII, anti-Pope, gives mandate to his nuncio to restrain collectors who take a percentage for themselves, overcharging the estate of deceased prelates, *i.e.* taking a penny in the shilling and two gold florins per cent at time of payment for themselves, and the notaries, who take five, six, or even eight gold florins and other immoderate fees for themselves. In 1407 the collector in England, having been repeatedly admonished, is threatened with loss of his church and a fine four times as large as he is due to pay, if he does not come to the Pope in person within a fortnight. In 1444 the Archbishop of Canterbury and two others are mandated to enquire into the rumours that Peter de Monte has received thousands of sums of money whereas he has paid over comparatively little.

The difficulties of the collectors were immense. In Scotland they moved in a poor country, among civil wars, and Crusades ; they were collecting from a Church that still had a tradition of Church life independent of Rome, and they lived in a country where enmity to England encouraged unwillingness to do as England did at the Pope's bidding ; even the order of the Pope that Scotland was subject to the Roman See directly was more a sop to a difficult Church than an acknowledgment of a high obedience. Even in 1237, the Pope sent a Cardinal "to correct and reform whatever is necessary in the Scottish Church, which does not recognise the Roman Church as its sole mother and metropolitan." Besides, the collector wanted money, and a lot of money, and he wanted it often, and often at inconvenient seasons, and he wanted to take it out of the country and he brought nothing in. In 1266 Sinicius is commanded to warn the prior and chapter of Whitehern to pay to him or his agent thirty-six marks, collected for the Crusade by Ivo of the order of Friars Preachers of Ar, and deposited with them ; Pope Alexander ordered the prior to pay over the deposit at the house of the Templars in London ; but as it was uncertain whether those papal letters reached their destination, he ordered the deposit to be paid to members of a firm of Florentine merchants, or their agents, bearer of his letters. When, in the time of

Urban, no money had been paid, the prior and chapter were ordered to pay it to Master Leonard, precentor of Messina, who was not only refused payment, but his messenger was also beaten by them, whereupon he excommunicated them.

Another difficulty lay in the opposition of the kings to money leaving their realm. John XXII sends his collector, Rigaud de Asserio, to demand of the King of England the restoration of 1200 marks taken from the money collected for the Holy Land by William de Balæto (this money is elsewhere called "stolen"), £87, 13s. 4d. taken from the triennial tenth imposed by Boniface VIII, £280 of the triennial tenth imposed by Clement V, and £21 taken from the procurations of Arnald, papal nuncio. In 1265 Ottobon is instructed to compel prelates and other detainers of it to give up what they have collected of the tenth granted for the defence of the realm. In 1358 the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow are to investigate the charge that Robert de Den, canon of Glasgow, sub-collector, had not paid over his gatherings to William de Grenlaw. If a collector died, the Camera appointed a commissioner at once, sometimes the next collector, to make up a full statement of his affairs, even sequestrating the property till the debts are paid. The Camera was always quick to act on rumours of slackness or peculation, and collectors were sometimes recalled for extortion, or bribery, or malversations.

By 1423 nuncio-collectors are paid a fixed yearly stipend out of procurations payable by priories, churches, and other benefices. Before that time they were allowed a fixed sum for expenses—one collector of the tenth in England, who was superior of the Church of Milan, received 8s. per day, while his companion, Friar John, got only 3s. 6d.; William de Balæto was entitled to 7s. daily in 1313; and it seems to have remained at that sum till 1344 at least. Over and above these they had ecclesiastical incomes from canonries or other offices, which they held though non-resident, and there grew up the plan of giving to them an increasing number of faculties, sometimes repeated when they had run out, to dispense a stated number of excommunicated persons, to dispense a fixed number of persons male and female living in marriage within the third or fourth degree of relationship, to dispense a fixed number of men and women of illegitimate birth, to dispense a fixed number of clerics of illegitimate birth or on account of age, to allow a certain number of people to choose their confessors, etc.—all of which were meted out for a consideration. Many also received privileges to have a portable altar and to hear mass even in places languishing under interdict.

## IV. BANKING ARRANGEMENTS

The transference of money to the Camera was in the early days a matter of difficulty. There were robbers by the way, powerful barons, financially hungry kings and their servants; there was the sea to be crossed; and at first the collector seems to have placed his gatherings on deposit in some monastery or with some trusted person, and to have been content to wait even years for the opportunity of safe transit. In 1309 John de Lascocon was licensed to transmit money at the risk of the Camera, or to deposit it safely. Ere long there grew up a banking system, and the firms of Bardi, Alberti, Azayali, Perusii, Spini, Bonacursi, and others appear as papal bankers and exchangers of money into the florins which the papal Camera desired. The system can be seen in growth. In 1332 Itherius paid over money to the English representative of the Azayali of Florence, and the Pope authorises the firm to pay 3000 florins to an Avignon merchant sent by the Camera to purchase goods in Flanders and Brabant. In other cases, money was paid to kings by the authority of the Camera, so that only a cross entry was required in the collectors' accounts; in one case, the papal household bills, including the butcher's bill, was paid to the English representative of the papal bankers out of English collections; and little by little there was laid the foundation of modern exchange banking. The rates of exchange are often stated:—

|               |                     |   |   |   |                |
|---------------|---------------------|---|---|---|----------------|
| In 1329       | (Bardi)             | . | . | . | 1 florin = 3/7 |
| "             | "                   | . | . | . | " = 3/5½       |
| "             | (Perusii)           | . | . | . | " = 3/5½       |
| 1331          | "                   | . | . | . | " = 3/4        |
| "             | (Bardi)             | . | . | . | " = 3/4        |
| 1333 and 1334 |                     | . | . | . | " = 3/2        |
| 1337          | (Bardi and others). | . | . | . | " = 2/11½      |
| 1339          | .                   | . | . | . | " = 3/4        |
| 1341          | (Bardi)             | . | . | . | " = 3/0        |
| 1343          | 1 mark = 5 florins  | . | . | . | " = 2/8        |
| 1343          | 1 " = 4 "           | . | . | . | " = 3/4        |
| 1344          | .                   | . | . | . | " = 2/9        |
| 1345          | .                   | . | . | . | " = 2/8½       |
| 1346          | .                   | . | . | . | " = 2/8        |
| 1347          | .                   | . | . | . | " = 2/8        |
| 1348          | .                   | . | . | . | " = 2/9        |

By 1378 the Camera worked with a gold coin of its own, called "florin of Camera," in the effort to stabilise its income, its value in 1414 and in 1428 being about 3s. 4d. All sorts of coins were flowing to Rome, and some common denominator was required. For instance, in a list of dues from monasteries in England, Scotland, and Ireland, sent out in



1282, the following coins are mentioned—a silver mark, a gold piece, a malachin (Hispano-Saracenic), an oz. of gold, a bezant, an obolus massabut, an obolus massamutinus, a mark, and shillings. In Scotland the list runs, “in diocese of St Andrews which belongs to the pope, the abbey of St Thomas the martyr, Aberbunchre, 2 bezants; the abbey of Lindores, 2 bezants; the abbey of Kelso, 1 mark Sterling; in diocese of Glasgow, which belongs to the pope, the Cathedral church, 3 marks yearly; the abbey of St Mary, Jeddewrth, 1 marabut and 1 campul; in diocese of Aberdeen, which belongs to the pope, Willicrist, earl of Mar, 2s. which he ought to send by the Hospitallers by order of Cardinal J. de Salerno; the Church of St Mary, Mutimusth, 2s.”

## V. SCOTTISH PAYMENTS

It is not possible to say how much money was collected in Scotland, for it was only in 1329 that Scotland was separated from England and made into a separate *collectorium*. Up till then, while the collector of general dues was appointed to England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, his collections were slumped together; but in 1329 Bertrand Cariti and Raymund de Quercu were appointed collectors in Scotland only, that is, Scotland became a *collectorium* by itself, and these two were not long in getting to work. In 1331, 12,000 florins are acknowledged of the three years' tenth; in November 1331 Bertrand is recalled because the business in Scotland can very well be transacted by one collector; in 1332, 4000 florins are acknowledged—the proceeds of the three years' tenth and of the fruits of void benefices—and the same year 4600 from the fruits of void benefices. These are the only payments I have been able to identify as distinctly Scottish in origin. As the system of banking grew it would not be necessary for the Pope to acknowledge payments to the collector. Besides, the collector in the fourteenth century was required to send copies of his accounts every two years to the Camera. Before this, the rendering of statements was haphazard, the Pope having in one case to order his collector to write more frequently on the matter of his mission. In any case, papal acknowledgments of money received fall out of the papal records of Scotland after 1332.

One or two minor points may be stated. The collector had power to appoint, and to remove, and to receive the oath of faithful service from, his sub-collectors. Some Popes, though not all, thought it wise to renew the commissions to the collectors who were in office at their elevation to the papacy. The collector was given authority to appoint a stated number of notaries.

## VI. THE GREAT SCHISM

The Great Schism brought difficulties to Scotland as elsewhere, and in the records of the papal collectors there are some interesting notices. Scotland adhered to the Anti-popes at Avignon, along with France and its dependents in the Empire, as well as Savoy, Spain, and Portugal. In April 1380 the Pope commands Master Cosmatius Gentilis, collector of papal dues in England, to compel all preachers and publishers of the processes lately made by the Pope against the Anti-pope Robert, *i.e.* Clement VII (1378-94), and his followers in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, to assign sums received and to be received by them on that account to the Guinisii, bankers at Lucca; and on the same date, he receives faculty to order the collectors and nuncios in Scotland to assign as above all sums they have or shall have. There cannot have been much forthcoming from Scotland, or many preachers and publishers of the papal processes in that realm. Naturally both Pope and Anti-pope issued their decrees in Scotland as elsewhere, and claimed tenths and other taxes, but the papal letters would gain little following in Scotland which held to the Anti-pope, even after France withdrew its obedience in 1408. The Popes found very soon, no doubt, that their writs did not run in Scotland. The election of John de Peblis, the collector in Scotland, to the Bishopric of Dunkeld, almost coincided with the death of Gregory XI in 1378; and during the Schism (1378-1417) no appointment was made by either Pope of a definitely Scottish collector, though Scotland was included in the Pope's mandate to Cosmatius Gentilis in 1380, and in the Pope's mandate in 1388 to Sir James Dardani, both of whom were collectors for England, Scotland, and Ireland; but such papal appointments during the Schism meant nothing, and from hints in the records we can see the extraordinary loyalty of Scotland to the Anti-popes which would give the papal commissioners no chance of gathering much treasure. The third Pope, John XXIII, had considerable confidence in his ability to draw to him the allegiance of the whole Church, even of Scotland, for in 1413 he sent his English nuncio, Anthony de Challant, as legate to Scotland, with faculty to absolve the adherents of Peter de Luna (Anti-pope, Benedict XIII) and of Angelus Corario (Pope Gregory XII) on their returning to the true and due obedience of the Roman Church, to deprive all who do not return, to make collation of their benefices to others, and to notify the Camera of the names and dates of such fresh collations. There are no indications of any upheavals as a result of this legate's visit; it is easy for a Pope, even a third Pope, to issue mandates, but the man on the spot knows the trouble and is often wise and does nothing.

Light is thrown on the situation in Scotland by four references in the papal records—

(1) On March 1, 1418, Martin V sends to Scotland in his first year of office Griffin, bishop of Ross, and Finlay de Albania, a friar preacher, S.T.B., as papal nuncios to Scotland, giving them faculty to receive the submission of all adherents in Scotland of Peter de Luna (Anti-pope, Benedict XIII), and to grant absolutions: also to receive oath of fealty and obedience from King James, from the governor of the realm, from all the Lords, and from the three estates. Griffin was only *de jure* bishop of Ross, having been appointed by the Pope; the *de facto* bishops were Anti-pope collations.

(2) Under date 1418, Benedict XIII, deposed 1417, but alive till 1423, pardons John Lithstare in the following circumstances—John Lithstare, bachelor of canon law, procured the appointment of James de Haldeston to the priory of St Andrews, and by order of the chapter goes with James to the pretended court of the intruder, called Martin V (1417–31, the great Pope who ended the Schism), to whom he paid obedience; but on his way home John finds at Bruges papal letters of Benedict XIII (Anti-pope) appointing John himself to the priory of St Andrews; this is too good news for John, who now deserts his friend James and renounces his obedience to Martin V, for we read “whereupon, coming to himself, he wept bitterly,” and “now prostrates himself before the Pope (Benedict XIII, deposed Anti-pope), saying ‘God be merciful to me a sinner.’” I fancy that John was brought to his senses in the matter when he attempted to claim the priory; for Scotland by this time was giving obedience to Martin V along with the most part of Christendom.

(3) In 1420 Martin V gives dispensation on account of irregularity to, and rehabilitates Andrew de Hawyke, priest in the diocese of St Andrews, in these circumstances:—following the common opinion of Scotland, Andrew adhered to Benedict XIII, Anti-pope, even after the Council of Constance, 1417, had deposed him, and had, “in ignorance of the decree by which the said realm gave its obedience to the present pope, repaired as envoy of Robert, duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, to the said Benedict, from whom as soon as he had heard of the said decree [evidently Benedict was unwilling to take authority that he knew had passed from him], he departed, without finishing his business, and returned to Scotland;” subsequently he paid to Edward de Lawedre, priest of the diocese of St Andrews, a sum of money in exchange for the Church of Linton, and he is now to resign Linton, because his adherence to the wrong Pope had already caused it to become void. The conversations of Andrew of Hawyke and John Lithstare, when they met at St Andrews, on how to choose a Pope are unfortunately lost.

(4) On February 1, 1423, Martin V provides to the bishopric of Ross, the bishop in possession, John Bullock, who had been provided to the See by Benedict XIII (Anti-pope) after the Council of Constance, but

before Spain and Scotland withdrew their obedience from him and yielded to the Council. Martin V regularised the position by transferring Griffin, the *de jure* bishop, to the bishopric of Hippo on the same day as he provided John to Ross.

## VII. SCOTTISH TENTHS

It is well to have a conspectus of the tenths imposed on Scotland. Here is the list :—

1213. A Holy Land subsidy, to be collected by the Bishops St Andrews and Glasgow.

1238. A thirtieth of Church revenues in aid of the Eastern Empire and the Holy Land.

1247. A twentieth for the Holy Land, to be collected by Clement, bishop of Dunblane.

1251. A tenth of Scottish Church revenues is refused to the King of England by the Pope.

1265. Ottobon to preach a crusade and impose a tenth on Scotland (also on England, Wales, and Ireland) for the Holy Land. In 1266 this is to be gathered by Master Sinicus.

1266. Henry III of England is given a Scottish tenth if the King of Scotland consents. The King of Scotland refused.

1291. The Bishops of Carlisle and Caithness to order all in Scotland to pay to the King of England a tenth for the Holy Land during six years, if the King of Scotland consented, as he did. This was Gregory X's decree at the Council of Lyons of 1274.

Nicholas IV (1288-92) ordered a tenth for six years.

Boniface VIII (1294-1303) ordered a tenth for three years.

Clement V (1305-16) ordered a tenth for six years, at Council of Vienne.

John XXII (1316-34) ordered in 1316 a tenth for four years, and suspended for three years Clement V's six years' tenth.

1372. The bishops of Scotland, each in his own diocese, are to collect a tenth for one year for the recovery of the lands of the Roman Church.

1455. Nicholas V imposed a universal tenth for defence against the Turks.

The difficulty of collecting the tenths is shown by such facts as these : Gregory X's tax of 1274 is still being collected in 1329, as are the tenths of Nicholas IV, Boniface VIII, and Clement V, and John XXII, all by the same collector ; the money for John XXII's four years' tenth of 1316 is still being received in 1337 ; Boniface VIII's three years' tenth is coming into the Camera in 1331 and 1332, though he died in 1303. No wonder that the three years' tax of the fruits of void benefices, imposed in 1316 in aid of the Church against heretics, is still unpaid in 1329, when the Pope orders the three years to run from that year. And there were other and serious collections for Scottish churchmen to bear, all making together an accumulative load under which the Church staggered along wellnigh crushed by its loyalty.

## VIII. SCOTTISH COLLECTORS

It is time to see the men who were the instruments in Scotland of this financial despotism, and it will be convenient if we understand that for long Scotland was included in one *collectorium* with England, Wales, and Ireland, and that during this period, which lasted till 1329, the collectors in Scotland were either special commissioners of one tax only, of which there were four only before 1329, or were sub-collectors, probably several in number, appointed by the collector for England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, reporting to him, and not direct to Rome, and therefore not appearing in the papal registers—the unknown working bees of the hive that foraged over Scotland. In 1329 Bernard Cariti and Raymund de Quercu received a separate commission as collectors in Scotland, and from then till 1378 Scotland had the questionable honour of a collector of its own. During the Great Schism, the Scottish collector of the period having been made Bishop of Dunkeld a few months before Gregory XI died and the Schism began, no definitely Scottish appointment was made, the two collectors during the Schism being appointed by the Pope to England, Scotland, and Ireland, a useless appointment so far as Scotland was concerned. In 1419, however, the honour is restored to Scotland of being a separate *collectorium*. In some cases, the collector is a different person from the contemporary English collector, though in several he is the same person; if he is the same person, a separate mandate is sometimes given to him from 1425 onwards, though sometimes his appointments to Scotland, England, and Ireland appear in the same mandate. As well as collectors of the general dues in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, England, like Scotland, had on occasion collectors sent to it in the interests of special taxes; sometimes there were special collectors sent to England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, sometimes they were mandated to England only. So much it is necessary to understand as we go through the lists of Scottish collectors.

# APPENDICES

## I

### GENERAL COLLECTORS TO E. S. I. W. OR LATER TO E. S. I.<sup>1</sup>

1262. *Master Leonnard*. England and Wales only, but is asked by Pope to demand from the Bishop of Glasgow the balance of 200 marks of a debt of 800 marks, within 15 days on pain of public excommunication.
1265. *Ottobon*. To impose a tenth on E. S. I. W. for defence of the realm.
1266. *Master Sinicius*. To gather all taxes due. E. S. I. W.
1282. *Master Geoffrey de Veçano*. All taxes in E. S. I. W.
1309. *John de Lascapon*. Collector of Nicholas IV's six years' tenth; also papal agent E. S. I. W.
1316. *William de Balæto*. Collector of tenth, Peter's pence, and other cess due to former nuncios, Holy Land subsidy. E. S. I. W.
1316. *Master Rigaud de Asserio*. Collector of first year's fruits, rents, etc., of void benefices in gift of Pope, during three years. E. S. I. W.
1317. *Bishops of Winchester and Exeter*. To collect Holy Land tenth in E. S. I. W.

### DEFINITELY COLLECTORS TO SCOTLAND

1213. *Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow*. Collectors of Holy Land subsidy.
1238. Effort to get a thirtieth for Eastern Empire and Holy Land; no collector named.
1247. *Bishop Clement of Dunblane*. A twentieth for Holy Land.
1291. *Bishops of Carlisle and Caithness*. The tenth of Gregory X (1274) for six years to be given to the King of England going on Crusade.

<sup>1</sup> In the Appendix, E.=England; S.=Scotland; I.=Ireland; and W.=Wales.

1323. *Hugh de Engolisma*. In 1316 had received same mandate as Rigaud de Asserio; in 1323, receives the sole mandate; and there is added in 1323 the Holy Land tenth. E. S. I. W.
1328. *Itherius de Conquoreto*. All taxes. E. S. I. W.
1335. *Master Bernard de Sistre*. All taxes E. S. I. W.
1343. *Raimund Pelegrini*. All taxes. E. S. I. W. First fruits of void benefices, 1344.
1380. *Cosmatus Gentilis*. All taxes E. S. I. W. Appointed by Pope, therefore no power in Scotland.
1388. *Sir James Dardani*. All taxes E. S. I.
1425. *John de Opizis*, canon of Ferrara, E. I. S.
1435. *Peter de Monte*, an apostolic notary, E. S.
1441. *Adam Moleyns*, formerly sub-collector, now made collector till 1 October 1443, E. S. I.
1329. The first general collectors in Scotland—*Bernard Cariti* and *Raymund de Quercu*. After 1331, Raymund alone.
1345. William, Bp. of Aberdeen. All taxes in S.
1352. *William de Grenlaw*. All taxes.
1358. Robert de Den, canon of Glasgow, sub-collector.
1361. Adam de Tiningham, dean of Dunblane, sub-collector.
1374. *John de Peblis*, M.A., D.C.L. Provided to Dunkeld 1378. I can find no reason for M'Ewen's strictures (I. 287-288). See app. II.
1378. Walter Bricii, vicar of Cader, sub-collector in city and diocese of St Andrews.
- 1378-1417. The Great Schism.
1419. *James de Haldenston*, prior of Isle of May, afterwards of St Andrews.
1425. *John de Opizis* receives separate appointment for S.
1441. *Master John de Castiglioni*, apostolic notary.

1441. *Master John de Castiglioni*, apostolic notary, E. I. S. In 1444 appointed to collect in E., and continent the universal tenth against the Turks, imposed 1439 for one year by Council of Basel, and confirmed by Pope, 1442.

1445. *Master John de Opizis*, appointed again on recall of Castiglioni. Separate appointments for E. I. S.

1459. *Francis*, bishop of Terni, collector of tenths in E. S. I. To collect the tenth for one year imposed by Pope at Mantua to build a fleet against the Turks. In 1460, appointed to collect all moneys for this sacred work. The tenth was reduced from three years to one year owing to the disturbances in E. S. I.

1445. *Gilbert Forstar*, archdeacon of Brechin, vicar of Innerleithen, Excommunicated for laying violent hands on John, Bishop of Brechin (1448).

1445. *Master John de Opizis* appointed a second time.

1447. *Patrick Yhong*, dean of Dunkeld, collector general.

1456. *Lewis Gazeti*, a Carthusian prior, and *Anthony Remersona*, a canon in Zeeland. To collect in S. (and continental countries) Nicholas V's tenth against the Turks.

1456. *Andrew*, bishop of Glasgow. To gather fruits of benefices simonically taken and therefore void; one half to go to camera, one half to pious uses.

1463. *Richard Wyly*, archdeacon of Brechin. Collector of all dues.



## II

NOTES ON GENERAL COLLECTORS TO  
E. S. I. W. (LATER E. S. I.)

MASTER LEONARD, precentor of Messina.

OTTOBON, Cardinal of St Adrian's, papal legate to E. S. W. I. In 1265 mandated to preach a crusade in all four countries; licensed to deprive of their benefices the sons of noblemen and nephews of prelates in E. W. S. I. who foster the disturbances therein; to compel prelates and other detainers of it, to give what they have collected of the tenth to prelates named by him; to compel prelates, nobles, all clergy and laymen to give up to the king all his cities, fortresses, lands, towns, castles, goods, and rights; it is explained to him by the Pope that the Pope's use of the term "beloved son" does not absolve from censures. 1267, asks to be recalled, the task being beyond him.

MASTER SINICIUS, papal nuncio; 1268 "clerk of the papal Camera." In 1266, to receive in E. W. S. I. papal and Holy Land cess, Peter's pence, and debts contracted by vow or promise, tenths or twentieths, redemption of crusaders' vows or others, deposits, legacies, or goods of intestate clerks, etc. In 1266, England's yearly cess of 1000 marks had not been paid for five years; in 1301, it was eleven years overdue.

MASTER GEOFFREY DE VEÇANO, canon of Cambray, clerk of papal Camera, and nuncio.

JOHN DE LASCAPON, clerk of papal Camera, canon of Dublin (1323), archdeacon of Nantes (1323). Died before 18 Kal. Oct. 1329. In 1309, transmits £1800, his expenses being £326.

WILLIAM DE BALÆTO, archdeacon of Forli, papal chaplain and nuncio. In 1323, referred to as "the late." King of England was ordered not to hinder him. 1318, has to resign treasurership of Lincoln, being a pluralist without dispensation; 1317, has 1200 marks stolen from him, which sum the Pope asks the king to restore; ordered to hand over his papers, etc., to Rigaud de Asserio, and report himself at Rome for investigation of his diligence.

MASTER RIGAUD DE ASSERIO, canon of Orleans, D.C.L., auditor of the papal palace. In 1319, rector of St Stephen's, Toulouse, papal chaplain; prelates to pay him 7s. per day; 1319, bishop-elect of Winchester; King of England ordered to restore £388 and 1200 marks taken from various tenths, subsidies, etc.; on receiving bishopric ceases to be collector.

HUGH DE ENGOLISMA, sacristan of Narbonne. Joint mandate with Rigaud above; 1323, papal nuncio; 7s. per day for expenses; 1327, exhorted to continue in spite of sufferings from climate, urged to use all diligence and ordered to write fully to the Pope about his mission; 1328, granted leave for ill-health.

ITHERIUS DE CONQUORETO succeeds Hugh above. Canon of Salisbury, papal nuncio. In 1335, charged with extortion, bribery, or malversation, and ordered to hand over to

MASTER BERNARD DE SISTRE, canon of St Hilary's, Poitiers; 1335, papal nuncio; 1341, archdeacon of Canterbury; died before June 1343; his accounts rendered by heirs before the end of 1344.

RAIMUND DE PELEGRINI, canon of London, papal nuncio; 1345, ordered to

write more frequently about collections ; 1344, 7s. per day as expenses ; 1365, his estate sequestrated till his heirs satisfy the Camera, he having been so thoughtless as to die before he had rendered his accounts to Rome.

COSMATUS GENTILIS, nuncio ; 1380, chancellor of Capua, licentiate in canon law, papal chaplain, receives faculty to compel all preachers and publishers of processes lately made by the Pope against the Anti-pope Robert (Clement VII) and his followers in E. S. I. to assign sums received by them on that account to the Guinisii, bankers.

SIR JAMES DARDANI, canon of Tropea, archdeacon of Norfolk ; 1381, called "clerk of the Camera" ; 1388, nuncio and collector ; 1398, his affairs to be investigated by Peter, Bishop of Dax, Dardani being dead.

JOHN DE OPIZIS, canon of Ferrara, papal chaplain and auditor. In 1427, Pope complains that John has been put in prison, and offers to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to find remedies for all causes that "an execrable statute against ecclesiastical liberty" was made to meet ; 1431, given faculty to dispense 15 people on account of illegitimacy, 100 from excommunication, 20 ecclesiastics on account of age, to make 10 notaries, to dispense 12 men and women for marriage in third or fourth degree ; 1439, described as "an Italian, a noble of Lucca, an old member of the papal court from the time of John XXIII, an auditor of causes of the papal palace, who had been long in England even under the present Pope (Eugenius IV) as papal collector and nuncio, and had come to the Pope for affairs of the General Council, held for the reduction of the Greeks" ; 1446, canon of York.

PETER DE MONTE, apostolic notary, nuncio, and collector of papal Camera ; 1435, D.C.L. and I.U.D. ; 1438, called *plebanus plebis* ; 1435, has the tonsure, is in minor orders, and is proceeding to subdeaconship.

ADAM MOLEYNS ; 1435, D.C.L. and chamberlain to the Pope ; 1439, archdeacon ; 1442, dean of Salisbury ; 1444, apostolic notary, appointed to investigate the rumours about Peter de Monte ; 1446, Bishop of Chichester.

MASTER JOHN DE CASTIGLIONI, apostolic notary, papal collector and nuncio. Also M.A. Removed from collectorship in 1445, and made Bishop of Coutances.

FRANCIS, BISHOP OF TERNI, papal nuncio and orator. 1459-60, to give to persons of both sexes, who give to the Crusades as much ready money as they would spend for maintenance of their whole household in a week, plenary indulgence, etc.

### III

#### NOTES ON SCOTTISH COLLECTORS

For Scottish Bishops, cf. Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1912.

BISHOP CLEMENT OF DUNBLANE. See *Transactions of Stirling Nat. His. and Archæ. Soc.*, 1924-25.

BERNARD CARITI, archdeacon of Lavour, papal nuncio ; joint collector with Raymund de Quercu. 1329, faculty to exact Peter's pence from ecclesiastics in Scotland without exception ; first fruits of void benefices for three years, ordered in 1316 in aid of Roman Church burdened by attacks of heretics and schismatics, the money to be paid half yearly ; 2 florins per day for expenses ;

1331, three receipts each for 4000 florins [1012½ marks]; 1332, receipt for 1000 marks; 1331, recalled "inasmuch as their business in Scotland can very well be transacted by one nuncio."

RAYMUND DE QUERCU, canon of Langres. Joint collector in Scotland in 1329; sole collector in Scotland after 1331.

WILLIAM DE GRENLAW, archdeacon of Brechin, dean of Glasgow, archdeacon of St Andrews, M.A.; a great seeker after offices, being at various times, actually or by reservation, as above, and also canon of Aberdeen, Moray, Embrun, and Glasgow; 1370, papal chaplain; died before Dec. 1374. Evidently held in great honour by the Pope; had influence with Joan, Queen of Scotland. 1345, appointed collector; 1360, ordered to cease visiting Cistercian houses. A very typical and able collector of the period when the system was in good working-order. 1373, mandated not to give more than two years' delay of payment.

JOHN DE PEBLIS, M.A., treasurer of Glasgow, archdeacon of St Andrews, bachelor of canon law, later D.C.L. Other offices held at various times—canonry of Glasgow, and of Aberdeen, Church of Glenqwym, canonry of Barnalark, Church of Duglas; 1374, collector and nuncio in Scotland; 1378, bishop of Dunkeld; later, the king's chancellor. M'Ewen (I. 287-8) makes certain strictures on him, and speaks of him escaping to a bishopric. I can find no reason for these; for (1) to get a bishopric was natural promotion; (2) the Schism was at hand and probably made things difficult before it finally led to cleavage; (3) I have found no trace of inefficiency; (4) in 1377, all delays of payment were withdrawn owing to the financial stringency at Rome, and very severe rules were enforced—which would give Peblis a harder task and a less kindly reputation than his predecessor had.

JAMES DE HALDENSTON, an Augustinian canon, prior of Isle of May, afterwards of St Andrews; 1419, collector; S.T.M., and O.S.A. 1418, gets indult for self and successors in priory of St Andrews to wear the mitre, ring, pastoral staff, etc., in parliaments, etc.; 1423, the first nuncio-collector to get a fixed yearly stipend. Of noble birth.

GILBERT FORSTAR, papal collector 1445-6; "of a noble race of barons."

PATRICK YHONG, dean of Dunkeld; archdeacon of Whiteherne; of noble birth; M.A. of Paris; ambassador to Pope; 1447, canon of Glasgow. To render accounts every two years.

ANDREW, BISHOP OF GLASGOW. The Pope, having learned that divers natives of Scotland have simonically taken many benefices, secular and regular, and that on account of wars, dangers of sea, distance, lack of means, etc., cannot go to Rome to implore remedies and are therefore excommunicate, gives to Andrew, whom he is sending to Scotland (1456) for divers grave business, faculty to rehabilitate them, half of the payments to go to the Camera, half to pious uses. Andrew was not a regular collector.

RICHARD WYLY, archdeacon of Brechin after much litigation; collector. In his appointment, September 28, 1463, he is ordered to return to Rome under pain of excommunication and loss of all benefices within eight months from July 10 of next year, to render account. M.A., and a Scot. Had a retinue of six.