

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES

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ON

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THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SCOTLAND

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON THE CONTEMPORARY  
RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SCOTLAND

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# THE INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SCOTLAND -----

## INTRODUCTION -----

The "Deus vult" with which the Council of Clermont in 1095 acclaimed the exhortation of Pope Urban II to all Christian nations to take arms for the deliverance of the Holy Land inaugurated a remarkable movement in history. The enterprise which was then set on foot claimed the attention of the European peoples for two centuries, and exacted from them a tremendous sacrifice both in men and in money. It drew together in a common cause men of all ranks from different countries. It did more than claim the attention of the Christian nations for two centuries. It exercised a profound influence upon them in many ways. The effects of it were greater and reached further than either Pope Urban or those with him at Clermont could ever have dreamed.

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been attracting increasing numbers of the pious. At best the journey was a difficult one. It was made even more difficult through the sacred places being in the hands of the infidels. At times they had been tolerant towards the Christian pilgrims, but the conquest of Jerusalem by the Seljukian Turks had brought in a time of oppression when pilgrims were made the victims of exaction and robbery, and all



manner of insults were offered not only to themselves but also to their Faith. It might be thought that such dangers would deter the pious from setting out, but their enthusiasm gathered strength from difficulty. Numbers embarked on the enterprise, many of whom never returned. Those who were fortunate enough to see their homes again, brought back sad tales of the cruelty of the infidels, and of the profanation of the sacred places. The listeners were filled with horror and moved with indignation by what they heard. It needed but the fervid eloquence of Peter the Hermit, and the summons of Pope Urban II to stir men to action, and to send the Christian nations of Europe on the great venture of the Crusades, in order that the sacred places might be wrested from the hands of those by whom they were profaned.

The enterprise which was then undertaken was one that was distinctly religious. The Crusaders were convinced that they were doing the will of God in seeking to free the Holy Land from the oppression of the unbeliever. It might not be the only motive that induced them to assume the Cross. In an age which attached much importance to prowess in arms, there were those who looked upon the Holy Land as a field where adventure was to be sought and honour was to be gained. At a time when the sword could win broad acres and rich possessions, the hope of a rich inheritance to be acquired through the martial

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enter prise of the Crusaders was present in the minds of some of those who devoted themselves to the sacred cause. To those of lesser degree, the hope of booty or of freedom from a hard, monotonous servitude afforded a prospect which they did not affect to despise. With it all was the pious resolve to deliver from profanation the land made sacred by the Founder of the Christian Faith. The task was undertaken by those who were deeply concerned about their spiritual welfare, and welcomed the prospect of pardon held out to them by the Church, even though it meant the sacrifice of life itself, a sacrifice which was willingly made, if, perchance, it might bring to them the glory of the martyr's crown.

It is possible to recognise the religious purpose animating the Crusaders, without being blind to the defects and weakness which in this enterprise so many of them revealed. Among men of simple piety and high moral ideals were those who had but little claim to either. The Crusaders were not all saints, and they were not always wise. If it had not been for their faults and weaknesses, the history of the enterprise might have been different. Jerusalem was won for the Christians and was lost again. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem rose and fell. Two centuries of steady warfare with tremendous loss in blood and treasure found the Christian forces even further from the attainment of their object, than they had been at the beginning.

So far as the deliverance of the Holy Land is concerned the Crusades must be reckoned a failure. Yet even amid failure we must recognise much that was heroic, and much that was noble. If we are tempted to bewail the dissensions and divisions which so often served to frustrate the efforts that were made, we should do well to remember the different nationalities and the rival interests in the crusading forces. When we remember that, we find it surprising that the dissensions were not more numerous, and that among that varied army it was possible to lay aside enmity and jealousy so far as to unite in one aim, and to fight together in one cause. If we are inclined to lament the wastage of the long campaign, and the lives that were lost ineffectively, we should do well to remember that the Crusaders were at a disadvantage. They were fighting under conditions that were strange to them, against enemies with whose methods of warfare they were unfamiliar, and in a climate that was trying to those accustomed to more temperate lands. If we are tempted to censure the moral failings of those whose venture in so sacred a cause might lead us to expect better things, we need not forget that they lived in a rude age, and that the undisciplined crowd which made up a crusading camp was composed of men and even women of all ranks as well as of all stages of moral attainment. It is possible to be fully aware of what should have been, and yet be appreciative of what actually was. It is possible to recognise much that was tragic in the history of the movement as it unfolds itself, and

yet to do justice to whatever of merit the movement reveals. It is possible to be critical of what transpired in the carrying out of the enterprise, and at the same time to recognise that it was a great enterprise, enlisting the sympathies of men to an extraordinary extent, and reacting upon the institutions of the Christian nations of the west in real and noticeable ways.

It is when we look to the effect of the Crusades on the life and institutions of the Christian nations of Europe that we come to recognise that they did result in many things. If the Holy Land was not effectively freed from the domination and profanation of the infidel, at least the two centuries of effort left their mark on Europe, and it was a mark which was both deep and lasting. We miss the force of the Crusades when we regard them merely as incidents in history, and not as an influence. This influence was one which was felt in many directions. It impressed itself upon such things as art and architecture, upon literature, upon the social, political, and religious life of the time. As a religious movement it naturally affected the religious life of the age to a surprising extent. Scotland felt the influence of it, just as other European countries did. When we examine the often scanty records of the time, we see obvious signs of its effects. The nature of the influence of the Crusades on the contemporary religious life in Scotland is a question that throws open a

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field of investigation in which is to be found much that is interesting, and also much that is helpful to a clearer understanding of the history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in that kingdom.

**PART I**  

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**THE CONTRIBUTION OF SCOTLAND TO THE CRUSADES**

- Chapter I                      The First Crusade.
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of the Twelfth Century.
- Chapter III                  Scottish Crusaders in the Second Half of  
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- Chapter IV                  Scottish Crusaders in the First Half of  
the Thirteenth Century.
- Chapter V                    Scottish Crusaders in the Second Half of  
the Thirteenth Century.
- Chapter VI                  The Contribution of Scotland to the  
Crusades.

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## PART I

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SCOTLAND TO THE CRUSADESCHAPTER ITHE FIRST CRUSADE

The call of Pope Urban II for the deliverance of the Holy Land met with a ready response. The enthusiasm which it aroused must have exceeded the expectations of even the most sanguine. Describing the effect of it Ordericus Vitalis declares, "Its thunders echoed through England and the other islands of the ocean, nor were they drowned by the roar of the waves which in their deep channels separate these islands from the rest of the world."<sup>(1)</sup> There is every evidence of the wide-spread interest which the summons to the Crusade evoked. "The fame of what had then taken place," Roger of Wendover says, "Spreading through the world stimulated not only the Mediterranean provinces to this pilgrimage, but all those also who in the remote islands or in barbarous nations had heard the name of Christ."<sup>(2)</sup> Before the time for the gathering of the Crusaders had passed, Peter the Hermit with Walter the Penniless had started out with their undisciplined following. Emico, Count of Leiningen, was the leader of a similar horde.

(1) Ordericus Vitalis Lib. IX Cap. IV p. 658

(2) Roger of Wendover I p. 378

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The monk Gotschalk was at the head of another band of disorderly enthusiasts. In due course the better equipped and more orderly bands of Crusaders under leaders of renown set out, and came together at Constantinople. Henry of Huntingdon had some justification for saying, "It was the Lord's doing, a wonder unknown to preceding ages and reserved for our days, that such different nations, so many noble warriors should leave their splendid possessions, their wives and their children, and that all with one accord should in contempt of death direct their steps to regions almost unknown."<sup>(1)</sup> With every allowance for exaggeration we can hardly doubt the widespread interest in the First Crusade.

All the references to the First Crusade are not in such general terms. The names of different countries engaging in the enterprise are given even by English chroniclers. Roger of Hoveden mentions Italy, Germany, France and England.<sup>(2)</sup> Henry of Huntingdon's list is fuller, and speaks of Crusaders from England, Normandy, Brittany, Aquitaine, Spain, Provence, France, Flanders, Denmark, Saxony, Germany, Italy, Greece, and other countries.<sup>(3)</sup> There is, however, no definite mention of Scotland in either. The chronicles of Scotland and England

- (1) Henry of Huntingdon VII para.5 p.219
- (2) Roger of Hoveden I p.152
- (3) Henry of Huntingdon VII para.6 p.220

are strangely silent over Scotland's part in the First Crusade with one exception. William of Malmesbury mentions Scotland although not in the most complimentary way. The passage in which he refers to Scotland as taking part in the First Crusade describes the interest aroused by the summons to take arms for the deliverance of the Holy Land. "The good news becoming generally reported," he says, "Refreshed with a gentle breeze the minds of the Christians, and becoming universally diffused, there was no nation so remote or secluded as not to contribute its portion: for this ardent devotion not only inspired the continental provinces but even all who had heard the name of Christ whether in the most distant lands or savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting, the Scot his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking party, the Norwegian his raw flesh. Lands were deserted of their husbandmen, houses of their inhabitants, even whole cities migrated."<sup>(1)</sup> This somewhat unflattering reference to Scotland would hardly leave us very enthusiastic. Of course we do not find the Scottish chronicles at this time as satisfactory as could be desired. We can also understand that English chroniclers might not be ready to become enthusiastic over Scotland and its concerns. Outside of these, however, there are references to Scotland

(1) William of Malmesbury Lib.IV para.348

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which serve to show that that country was among the number of the nations which heard and responded to the call of Pope Urban.

We find Scotland expressly mentioned along with the other countries sending men to the Crusade by Sigebert in his "Chronica",<sup>(1)</sup> by Ekkehard in his "Chronicon Universale",<sup>(2)</sup> by Bishop Otto in his "Chronicon",<sup>(3)</sup> by Gaufred, Prior of Vigecois, in his "Chronicon",<sup>(4)</sup> as well as in the "Chronicon Turonense",<sup>(5)</sup> in the "Historia Regum Francorum",<sup>(6)</sup> in the "Chronica de Origine Ducum Frabantiae",<sup>(7)</sup> in the "Abrégé de l'Histoire de France composé en Latin sous le Règne de Philippe Auguste et traduit en François par l'Ordre d'Alphonse, Comte de Toulouse, et Frère de S. Louis",<sup>(8)</sup> and in the "Annalista Saxo".<sup>(9)</sup> So formidable an array of authorities might seem overwhelming, but a careful examination of the references is necessary. Such an examination reveals the fact that there are practically two lists of those engaging in the First Crusade. Sigebert, the "Chronica de Origine Ducum Frabantiae", and the "Historia Regum Francorum" are practically word for word the same, while the "Chronicon" of Gaufred, the "Chronicon Turonense", and even also the "Abrégé de l'Histoire de France" are sufficiently like the first

(1) Pertz Vol.VI p.367

(2) " " p.213

(3) " Vol.XX p.249

(4) Recueil Vol.XII p.427

(5) Recueil Vol. XII p.466

(6) " " p.218

(7) Pertz Vol.XXV p.408

(8) Recueil Vol.XII p.222

(9) Pertz Vol.VI p.729

three to suggest the possibility of a common origin. On the other hand Ekkehard, the "Annalista Saxo", and Bishop Otto's "Chronicon" are also identical in their list which they give of the countries involved, this list differing from the other list, among other things, in mentioning not only "Scotia" but also "Hibernia". In the first group of chroniclers it would almost appear as though Sigebert were the original and that the others were copies sometimes with slight variations. In the second group of chroniclers everything would seem to point to Ekkehard as the original. In both cases the authority is good. Sigebert was a Benedictine monk who was born about the year 1030 and died in 1112. He was therefore contemporaneous with the events leading up to the capture of Jerusalem by the Christian forces. Ekkehard was also contemporaneous with the First Crusade. He accompanied a band of Crusaders in 1101, writing his history about the year 1112. The catalogue of countries given by Sigebert as engaging in the First Crusade is as follows, "Hispania, Provincia, Aquitania, Britannia, Scotia, Anglia, Normannia, Francia, Lotharingia, Burgundia, Germania, Langobardia, Apulia". The list that is given by Ekkehard details, "Aquitania, Normannia, Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia, Britannia, Galicia, Wasconia, Gallia, Flandria, Lotharingia".

Mr. A.O. Anderson in his "Early Sources of Scottish

"History" raises the question as to what is meant by such references to Scotland. He suggests that those described as Scots, who shared in the Crusade in 1096, appear to have been from Ireland.<sup>(1)</sup> His suggestion is quite a pertinent one. The name Scotia originally given to Ireland had not been for any great time applied to Scotland, and there is a natural hesitation as to which country is meant when the name Scotia is given at this time. However, there would not seem to be any question about what is meant by Scotia in the lists which have been quoted, and particularly in the list of Ekkehard, who takes care to mention not only Scotia but also Hibernia. Mr. Anderson's suggestion would hardly seem to have real justification, because in addition to this there is other evidence that the Scots were actually engaged in this campaign.

Fulcher of Chartres, who was born about 1059, and was a priest at the time of the Council of Clermont, went with Stephen of Blois on Crusade in 1096. In 1097 he became Baldwin's chaplain. He was not present at the siege of Antioch, or at the siege of Jerusalem, being then at Edessa with Baldwin, whom he accompanied later to Jerusalem. In his "Historia Hierosolymitana" he gives his account of the expedition. He speaks of the confusion of tongues in the crusading army through so many different nations being brought together. He gives as the different nations present, "Franci,

(1) "Early Sources" Vol. II p. 98

Flandri, Frisi, Galli, Allobroges, Lotharingi, Alemanni, Palearii, Normanni, Angli, Scoti, Aquitani, Itali, Daci, Apuli, Iberi, Britones, Graeci, Armeni<sup>(1)</sup>. Whatever doubt there might be as to those whom he describes as "Scoti", there can hardly be the same uncertainty in a similar reference by Guibert de Nogent. Guibert was born probably at Clermont about 1053. He became a monk in 1064, and was elected Abbot of Notre Dame de Nogent in 1104. His "Gesta Dei per Francos" was written between 1108 and 1112. Although not himself a Crusader he speaks intimately of the expedition. He refers like Fulcher to the uncouth tongues among the Crusaders, as well as to the outlandish accoutrements with which they were provided, and he singles out the Scots for special mention.<sup>(2)</sup> He lets us see what he means by "Scoti" when later in the same work he refers to King William the Elder who subdued the kingdoms of the English and the Scots.<sup>(3)</sup> Now William the Conqueror certainly advanced into Scotland and made the King of Scotland acknowledge himself as "his man". The conquest of Ireland may have been a dream of William the Conqueror, but it was certainly never more than a dream, and he did not set foot in that country much less conquer it. It seems quite clear then that, when Guibert mentions the Scots as being

(1) Fulcher Lib I, Cap XIII, 4

(2) Guibert Lib I, Cap I, para. 370, p. 686

(3) " Lib II, Cap VII, para. 15, p. 711



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present on the First Crusade, he means by "Scoti" the inhabitants of Scotland. The "Scotichronicon" quotes Sigebert accurately and acknowledges that the quotation is from that chronicler. (1) There would hardly seem to be any doubt that Scotland was represented among those who took part in the First Crusade.

The times were such as would be likely to encourage many to go on crusade. At the time of the Council of Clermont Scotland was divided under the rule of Donald Bane and Edmund. The two years that had elapsed since the death of Malcolm Canmore had witnessed rapid changes in the Scottish throne. Donald Bane had succeeded Malcolm, but a year had been about the duration of his authority, when he had given place to Duncan, and after six months of Duncan's rule Donald Bane had again returned to the throne, although this time he divided the kingdom with Edmund. This division in the kingdom lasted but three years, then Edgar succeeded in 1097. Therefore the opening of the First Crusade found Scotland torn with the rivalry of jealous factions. Under such conditions it might be urged that the Scots had enough to do at home without venturing on any foreign enterprise. A feature, however, of the rivalries of these unsettled years was a marked antipathy towards those who had come from England after the Norman Conquest, and had settled down within the northern

(1) Scotichronicon Vol I, Lib. VII Cap. XXXVIII p.417

kingdom. On the death of Malcolm Canmore the Saxon followers of Edgar and Margaret were driven away by the Gaels. Even when Duncan came to the throne the Celts would not submit until he had agreed never again to introduce Normans or English.<sup>(1)</sup> When Donald Bane was again restored to the throne the English were driven from Scotland.<sup>(2)</sup> What could be more natural than that those from the southern kingdom who had come to make their home in Scotland, and were now far from welcome there, finding no encouragement to settle again in England, should embark on a wider enterprise, and take the Cross with its opportunities of adventure, its hopes of advancement in worldly things, as well as its spiritual call and prospects for the weal of their souls. There would be others of the type of Robert, the son of Godwin, whom the Scotichronicon describes as "vero Scoticatus et bonus Scotus effectus".<sup>(3)</sup> The experience of this man in England under the reign of William Rufus drove him back upon Scotland again for refuge, encouraged thereto by Edgar, although there was in that country a marked unfriendliness towards such refugees. Ultimately he took leave of Edgar and "set out for Jerusalem in that great expedition of Godfrey of Bouillon, where he also with his other Scots left very many evidences of his valour." The words "in that great expedition of Godfrey of Bouillon"

(1) "The Saxon Chronicle" p.307

(2) Simeon of Durham para.175 p.224

(3) Scotichronicon Vol I, Lib. V, Cap. XXXIV, p.283

as well as the words "with his other Scots" are not found in every version of the "Scotichronicon". At least this affords a suggestive instance of the conditions prevailing. The unsettled conditions in Scotland so far from demanding the presence of many of these warriors, would actually set them free from home interests for some such venture as the Crusades afforded.

We know that Edgar Atheling was with the Crusaders in the early years of the expedition. <sup>(1)</sup> Edgar Atheling was not unknown in Scotland whether from his relationship to Queen Margaret, or from the sojourn which he made in that country, which had hospitably opened its doors to him, when England did not find his presence acceptable. Many, particularly of the Saxon refugees in Scotland, were attached to him, and he would hardly be the only one, who had found a home in Scotland, to feel the Holy Land calling him particularly under the circumstances of the time.

The "Statistical Account of Scotland" describes an erect stone in the east end of the church at Glenbervie which in its inscription provides the information, among other things, that Osbert Oliphant was in Syria with Godfrey of Bouillon, and <sup>(2)</sup> that he perished in battle.

(1) Ordericus Vitalis Lib. X, Cap. X, p.746

(2) Statistical Account of Scotland XI p.453 note

The conditions were distinctly favourable to Scotland's giving its contribution of men to the First Crusade, and we have evidence enough to lead us to conclude that Scots were among those who at Urban's call set out with enthusiasm for the deliverance of the Holy Land.

## CHAPTER II

SCOTTISH CRUSADERS DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The First Crusade in spite of many mistakes and misadventures achieved its object. In 1099 Jerusalem was rescued from the infidels, and became the possession of the Christians. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was established with Godfrey as head. For the next two centuries there was almost incessant warfare in the east. The Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights became in time a standing army at the seat of war, and were reinforced by drafts belonging to their own Orders from the Christian countries of Europe, as well as by bodies of Crusaders, which set out from time to time for the help of those engaged in conflict in the Holy Land. What we know as the subsequent Crusades were not so much separate attempts to achieve the deliverance of the Holy Land, as reinforcements sent to the field at critical times at the call of the Popes or the urging of such an one as St. Bernard. Such a concerted movement to support the defenders of the Holy Land is usually known as the Second, the Third or the Fourth Crusade. This gives, perhaps, a wrong impression of what was taking place, and may prove rather confusing, as all historians are not in agreement in the numbering of the Crusades. It is simpler to identify the particular accession of men to the forces in the field by the name of the outstanding leader, and it is well at the same time to recognise

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that outside the larger accessions of new recruits to the warfare in the east, there were from time to time smaller bodies of combatants setting out, of which it is necessary to take note.

It might be thought that the enthusiasm at the outset of the First Crusade and the very generous response which was then made would have exhausted the interest in the enterprise at least for the time, particularly after the Christians succeeded in gaining Jerusalem. Yet the close of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century saw various separate bands departing for the east. There are not many references to departures from Scotland during this period, but such exist and call for mention here.

Bohemond of Antioch who had returned to Italy in 1104 took back with him to Palestine a considerable number of recruits. We are told by Ordericus Vitalis that many thousands of the people of the west enlisted under the command of Bohemond of Antioch in the wars against the infidels.<sup>(1)</sup> This statement is couched in too general terms to help us regarding the question of Scotland's part in this venture.

About the year 1107 Sigurd the Crusader put himself at

(1) Ordericus Vitalis Lib. IX Cap. I p.647

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the head of a naval force, whose destination was the Holy Land. The fleet was composed of sixty long ships, and went by way of England. An account of this expedition is given in the

(1)  
 "Heimskringla" of Snorri Sturlason, who wrote in the first half of the thirteenth century. Ordericus Vitalis puts Sigurd's

departure on this venture before he came to the throne of part  
 (2)  
 of the Kingdom of Norway. In this he was mistaken. Sigurd

started out after he became King of Norway and the Orkneys. On the death of Magnus Barefoot he succeeded in 1103 to one third of the realm. Before that he had been appointed Lord of the Orkneys. Now Orkney was not yet part of Scotland, and did not come into that kingdom for some time. Besides we have no definite information that the Orkneys provided any part of the naval force, which sailed direct from Norway to England without, so far as we can learn, touching at the Orkneys.

There is an account of one Scot who went to the Holy Land although rather that he might escape ecclesiastical discipline

(3)  
 than as a combatant Crusader. This was John, Bishop of

Glasgow. Archbishop Turstin had demanded the submission of

John, and when that cleric refused, the Archbishop suspended

him from his office. The Bishop of Glasgow took the matter

to Rome to lay the case before the Supreme Pontiff, but, find-

(1) "Heimskringla" Vol. III pp. 247-261

(2) Ordericus Vitalis Lib. X, Cap. V, p. 727

(3) Simeon of Durham para. 203 p. 264

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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ing that he made but little progress, he went on to Jerusalem where he stayed for several months with the Patriarch, and officiated often in his episcopal duty. This took place in 1122.

The year 1128 saw the arrival in England of a Templar, Hugh de Payens, on a recruiting expedition to augment the depleted forces of his Order. The "Saxon Chronicle" declares that he also came to Scotland, and that he was not unsuccessful in his quest. "This same year," says the "Saxon Chronicle", "Came from Jerusalem, Hugh of the Temple to the King in Normandy, and the King received him with much honour, and gave him rich presents in gold and in silver. And afterwards he sent him into England, and there he was received by all good men, who all gave him presents, and in Scotland also: and by him they sent to Jerusalem much wealth withal in gold and in silver. And he invited folk out to Jerusalem, and there went with him and after him more people than ever did before since that the first expedition was in the day of Pope Urban." <sup>(1)</sup> This statement also leaves uncertain as to whether Scotland supplied many men in response to the pleading of Hugh the Templar.

The close of the first half of the twelfth century witnessed the beginning of the ill-fated Crusade of Louis VII and Conrad. This Crusade was of brief duration. It lasted

(1) "Saxon Chronicle" p.357



# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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about a year. It was marked by a series of costly blunders, and did more to weaken than to strengthen the cause in the east. Again the English chroniclers speak enthusiastically of the response made to the call of St. Bernard. William of Newburgh tells us that "a countless multitude from all Christian nations, tribes and languages, bearing the ensign of Christ Crucified entered on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem".<sup>(1)</sup> The date of the Crusade of Louis VII and Conrad is 1147. Henry of Huntingdon details the French and the English as taking part in this Crusade.<sup>(2)</sup> John of Hexham declares that "a multitude well nigh innumerable, moved by a similar impulse set out from every kingdom and province of Christendom".<sup>(3)</sup> The "Scotichronicon" mentions a naval expedition of about two hundred ships which sailed from England, and was composed of men from "Anglia, Scotia, Flandria, Lotharingia".<sup>(4)</sup> Of this expedition we have ample confirmation in the "Osbernus de Expugnacione Lyxbonensi", a curious tract illustrating the character of the large bodies of independent pilgrims or volunteers who accompanied the expeditions to Palestine. This work describes the siege and capture of Lisbon by these Crusaders in 1147, and is confirmed by the "Annals of S. Disibod of Disenberg".<sup>(5)</sup> Both Osbern and the writer of the description in the "Annals of S. Disibod"

(1) William of Newburgh Lib.I, Cap.XVIII p. 57

(2) Henry of Huntingdon VIII paraXXV p. 279

(3) John of Hexham p. 2F

(4) "Scotichronicon" Vol.I, Lib.VII, Cap.LVIII p. 440

(5) Pertz Vol. XVII pp. 27, 28

(6) Osbernus pp. 157-158

SCOTTISH CRUSADERS DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

were present with the expedition, and were in fact attached to the same division. Osbern distinctly mentions Scots as being present, and pays them a compliment when he says, "For who can deny that the Scots are barbarians? However they have not at any time exceeded among us the rule of due friendship."<sup>(1)</sup>

The First Crusade had its Scottish recruits, and the Crusade of Louis VII and Conrad found Scots again enlisted in the enterprise.

(1) Osbernus pp.157-8

### CHAPTER III

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#### SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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The beginning of the second half of the twelfth century witnessed a naval expedition to the east from the Orkneys. An account of this venture is given in the "Orkneyinga Saga" <sup>(1)</sup> and also in the "Heimskringla" <sup>(2)</sup> of Snorri Sturluson. At this time Earl Rognvald was King of the Orkneys, still outwith the Kingdom of Scotland. Earl Rognvald was delayed in setting out, as he was waiting for the contingent from Norway under Erling and Eindrid the Young. The Norwegians with a considerable force proceeded to Orkney, where they were joined by Earl Rognvald and Bishop William. The expedition setting out amounted to fifteen long ships, which arrived at Acre in 1152. This expedition was one of the independent enterprises, and coincides with none of the recognised Crusades.

The second half of the twelfth century witnessed the menace of the rise of Saladin to the stability of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This renowned warrior set himself to gain Jerusalem from the Christians. It fell into his hands after a brief siege in 1187. Ten years before this, according to Roger of Hoveden, the Earl of Flanders and the Earl of Essex with many barons and knights of various countries assumed the sign of the Cross and set out for Jerusalem. <sup>(3)</sup> The danger

(1) "Orkneyinga Saga" Vol. III p.163

(2) "Heimskringla" Vol. III pp. 371-3

(3) Roger de Hoveden II p.132

## SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

to the Latin Kingdom had not been unforeseen in Europe, but until Saladin had actually gained possession of Jerusalem, the task of stirring the Christian nations to another Crusade had been far from easy. Henry II of England was not too keen on crusading, and found many an excuse for staying at home. A Council was held at Clerkenwell by Henry at which the King of Scotland and his brother David were present. At this Council in 1185 permission was given to assume the Cross, and, according to Roger de Hoveden, nearly all the earls, barons and knights of England assumed the Cross. <sup>(1)</sup> Hoveden speaks only of the English as assuming the Cross, but at the Council the King of Scotland and his brother were present and were witnesses of the enthusiasm.

The fall of Jerusalem into Saracen hands stimulated the Christian nations to action. Roger de Hoveden quotes a letter of the Emperor Frederick I which says, "You shall now become acquainted with the rage of Germany, who even in peace brandishes her arms. the untamed head of the Rhine, the youths who know not how to flee, the tall Bavarian, the cunning Swede, wary France, cautious England, Albania, Cambria, Saxony that sports with the sword, Thuringia, Westphalia, active Brabant, Lorraine unused to peace, restless Burgundy, the nimble inhabitants of the Alps, Frisonia darting on with javelin and thong. Bohemia delighted at braving death, Polonia fiercer

(1) Roger de Hoveden II p. 301

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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than her own wild beasts, Austria, Styria, Rutonia, the parts of Illyria, Lombardy, Tuscany, the March of Ancona, the pirates of Venice, the sailors of Pisa." <sup>(1)</sup> This letter to Saladin is certainly bombastic, and marshals the possible crusading nations in as formidable array as Frederick can. If we are to take, as has been suggested, Albania as meaning Scotland, it is evident that, either by past knowledge of its participation in the Crusades, or from the expectation that it would rally to the cause, Frederick the Emperor reckons on it as one of the powers with which to threaten Saladin, and puts it in the formidable list of those nations which the Saracens will have to face.

If Henry II of England was not himself a very ardent Crusader, he at least did his best to see that Scotland made her contribution towards the crusading cause. On the eleventh day of February 1188 he held a great council at Geddington at which Archbishop Baldwin and the Bishop of Rochester preached the Crusade. As the Crusades required not only men but also money, it was agreed to levy a tenth on all revenues for this purpose. Hugh, Bishop of Durham, was dispatched to the King of Scotland <sup>(2)</sup> to get him to follow the example of England. The Bishop of Durham was not very successful in his mission.

(1) Roger de Hoveden Vol. II p. 358

(2) Benedictus Abbas Vol. II p. 44

## SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

William the Lion declined to allow the collectors to enter Scotland, offering instead a sum of five thousand marks, an offer which was refused. <sup>(1)</sup> In this the King had the support of the Bishops, Earls and Barons. Indeed the opposition of the Bishops, Earls and Barons to the exaction of the tithe was even stronger than that of the King.

The death of Henry II of England in 1189 raised to the throne one who made up for his father's indecision by a zeal for the cause that was impatient to set out. Hardly had Richard I mounted the throne than he proceeded to make his preparations for that Crusade which is associated with his name. As money was required for the expedition, he took steps to provide the money by, among other things, resigning to the Scottish King all the rights over Scotland, which had been conceded to Henry II, along with the Castles of Roxburgh and Berwick for the sum of ten thousand marks. It was quite a good bargain for Scotland. Richard's need of money restored the fullest liberties to Scotland at a price which cannot be considered as anything else than modest. Having collected his men, and money for the cost of the expedition, Richard set

(1) Roger de Hoveden Vol.II p.339

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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out for the Holy Land in 1190, the year after his coronation.

The Crusade of Richard introduces us to one whose life is surrounded with much romance, and also with much uncertainty, in David of Huntingdon, the brother of the Scottish King. He was born about 1144 and was the third son of Henry of Huntingdon, who was the son of David I by Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon. David of Huntingdon is represented by Fordun as being older than his brother William. In his "Chronica" Fordun tells us that Malcolm was born in the eighteenth year of David I's reign, David in the nineteenth year, and William in the twentieth. <sup>(1)</sup> The Trinity College, Dublin, Manuscript of the "Annalia" makes David the elder, but <sup>(2)</sup> other editions show him as younger than William. William is <sup>(3)</sup> older than David in the "Scotichronicon". There is obviously some confusion in Fordun's mind as to whether William or David <sup>(4)</sup> is the elder. Wyntoun refers to this confusion.

It becomes necessary to account for William's succession to the throne on Malcolm's death, and this is accounted for in Fordun and Wyntoun by David's absence in foreign parts, <sup>(5)</sup> such as being on crusade. We can have no difficulty, of course, in dismissing the other statement of the "Scotichronicon" that when Malcolm was crowned William was then

(1) Fordun "Chronica" Lib.V, Cap. XXXIII, p. 233

(2) " " "Gesta Annalia" I p. 254 & IV p. 257

(3) "Scotichronicon" Vol. I, Lib. VIII, Cap. I p. 447

(4) Wyntoun Lib. VIII, Cap. VI, line 1213

(5) Fordun, "Hist. Ann." IV p. 257 and Wyntoun as in (4) line 1223

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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(1)

across the seas contending against the heretics. Malcolm the Maiden was crowned in 1153, and at that time William can only have been ten years of age. Surely that would make him too young to bear the brunt of an arduous campaign. Andrew of Wyntoun in the "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland" ascribes the Crusade in which David engaged to the time when William was crowned.

"And as men sayd in Sarzines

(2)

He trawalyd quhen Willame crownyd wes."

William the Lion was crowned in 1165, by which time David would be about twenty-one years of age. This agrees with the Trinity College, Dublin, Manuscript of Fordun, which instead of having David in England at this time, has him fighting against the Saracens with a great army across the seas.

(3)

In the "History and Chronicles of Scotland" by Hector Boece there is an account of David as being on crusade with Richard. It tells us that when King William had received all his lands, and castles, he made his brother Earl of Huntingdon, and sent him with five thousand men to support King Richard in his wars. Boece also gives an account of his adventures in coming back again, which seem almost to rival the adventures of Richard himself. According to Boece he was shipwrecked, and many of

(4)

(1) "Scotichronicon" Vol.I, Lib.VIII, Cap.I, p.447

(2) Wyntoun Lib.VIII, Cap.VI, line 1223

(3) Fordun "Gesta Annalia" IV p.257

(4) Boece Vol.II, Lib.XIII, Cap.VII p.323



# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

his fellow-travellers perished, although he escaped to land and was brought to Alexandria, where he was held captive. He was bought by Venetian merchants, and taken to Constantinople ultimately reaching Venice. This time he was ransomed by English merchants, who brought him to Flanders. The force of the elements seemed to be against him once more. Setting sail from Flanders a storm broke out, which drove the ship near Norway and Shetland. As the danger continued, he vowed, if he should escape, that he would build a church in honour of the Virgin. In course, his ship arrived in the Tay, beside Allectum which was called thereafter Dundee, or the Gift of God. The church built by David in fulfilment of his vow was the Abbey of Lindores, a house of the Benedictine Order.<sup>(1)</sup> A variation of this story given in the "Liure des Trois Filz de Roys" is referred to by Bishop Dowden. According to Bishop Dowden the account given by it mentions a Scottish Prince, David, who had fought in the Holy Land. With many points of resemblance to the story of Boece, there are, however, many differences which would make it difficult to say that Boece got his story from it.<sup>(2)</sup> There are thus two accounts of crusading on the part of David of Huntingdon. Wyntoun agreeing with the Trinity College, Dublin. Manuscript of Fordun places the time at about 1165 or before. Boece, on the other hand, makes David take part in Richard's Crusade.

(1) Boece Vol.II, Lib.XIII, Cap.VII p.323

(2) "Chartulary of Lindores" p.XXX

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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David's participation in Richard's Crusade is discussed very carefully by Bishop Dowden in his introduction to the "Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores". He dismisses as highly improbable the story of Hector Boece. He has four objections to it. His first objection is that, supposing David to have been on crusade with Richard, the founding of Lindores could hardly be an accomplished fact in the year 1191, the date to which he assigns it. His second objection is that there is no reference to it in Fordun, the "Chronicle of Melrose", Roger de Hoveden, Walter of Coventry, nor even in the "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi". His third difficulty is that nothing is found in the charter giving the Abbey, which would seem to indicate that the gift was made in fulfilment of a vow such as Boece describes. His fourth objection is that David's marriage to Matilda, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Chester, took place on the twenty-sixth day of August 1190,<sup>(1)</sup> while Richard sailed from Marseilles on the seventh day of August 1190.<sup>(2)</sup>

While it is impossible to do anything but share in Bishop Dowden's suspicion and uncertainty, looking at each of his objections separately, they hardly appear as conclusive as one could wish. Regarding his first objection that David's

(1) Benedictus Abbas Vol. II p.146

"Chronicle of Melrose" p.99

(2) "Itinerarium Peregrinorum" p. CXVIII

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

being on crusade with Richard is inconsistent with his founding of Lindores in 1191, it is quite clear that he puts all the weight on the evidence of the "Scotichronicon" that Guido, first Abbot of Lindores, died in 1219, having ruled over his monastery for twenty-eight years. (1) Now elsewhere the "Scoti-chronicon" puts the founding of Lindores as early as 1178. (2) Besides, as Bishop Dowden himself admits, there is a charter preserved in the collection known as the "Campbell Charters" in the library of the British Museum. He himself quotes and translates this charter. "Let all present and to come know that I, Osbert Abbot, and the Convent of the Church of Kelso have quitclaimed from subjection and obedience of every kind Sir Guido, elected to be Abbot of the Church of St. Andrew's of Lindores. (3) At the date of this charter, probably about the beginning of 1195, Guido was obviously only Abbot elect. Guido witnesses a charter together with Adam, Abbot of Coupar, and Adam resigned the Abbacy of Coupar, according to the "Chronicle of Melrose" in 1194. (4) It would appear, according to Bishop Dowden's own confession, that there is some doubt as to the date. In addition, the "Scotichronicon" does not say that Guido ruled the monastery for twenty-eight years. It says for "about" twenty-eight years. Clearly Bishop Dowden has fixed on the year 1191 for the founding of Lindores

(1) "Scotichronicon" Vol. II p.34 ("fere per viginti octo")

(2) " " Vol. I p.475

(3) "Chartulary of Lindores" p.284

(4) " " p.302

(5) "Chronicle of Melrose" p.102

## SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

in spite of the uncertainty and contradictions. As this is inconsistent with David's being on crusade with Richard, David's participation in Richard's Crusade must go. It must also be remembered that the Crusade of Richard was over in 1192, although Richard's adventures did not allow him to return until 1194.

The second objection, that there is no reference to David's going with Richard on crusade in Fordun, the "Chronicle of Melrose", Roger of Hoveden, Walter of Coventry, and in the "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi", is hardly conclusive. We have seen that the Scottish chronicles have not been too ready to mention Scotland's part in the Crusades, even where we have other evidence of it. The same is true of the English chronicles, which are not inclined to devote much time in doing justice to Scotland. Besides David was one whose movements were hard to follow at times.

The third objection that there is no mention in the charter conveying the gift that the founding of the Abbey is in fulfilment of a vow, is hardly more conclusive. The charters of the time seem almost to follow a stereotyped form so far as the opening words are concerned, with only the difference of names and places. Even if the contention were right, it would only affect the founding of the Abbey, and not David's part in the Crusade of Richard.

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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Perhaps the strongest objection is to be found in David's marriage, which took place on the twenty-sixth day of August 1190. (1) It certainly seems strange that he should set out on crusade so soon after his marriage. However, while Richard sailed from Marseilles on the seventh day of August 1190, (2) his progress was slow. He was at Messina on the twenty-third day of September 1190, and remained there till April 1191. (3) There was thus ample time for David to follow, and to overtake him on the way to the east.

On the other hand, as Bishop Dowden admits, we cannot prove that David was elsewhere than on crusade between the date of his marriage, and the year 1194 when he witnesses a charter of King Richard. (4) Nor can we prove that he was anywhere else than on crusade between the year 1163, when he was given by Malcolm as a hostage to Henry, (5) and the year 1170 when he was present with King William at a council held by the King of England at Windsor on the fifth day of April. (6) In addition there is a distinct tradition that David was on crusade, whether it was about 1165, or 1190, or both. The mere fact that the traditions do not agree with each other rather strengthens their evidence than otherwise, as showing that

- (1) Benedictus Abbas Vol. II p. 146 & "Chronicle of Melrose"
- (2) "Itinerarium Peregrinorum" p. CXVIII (p. 99.)
- (3) " " " Lib. II, Cap. XIII
- (4) "New Foedera" Vol. I p. 62
- (5) Robert de Torigneio Vol. IV, p. 218
- (6) Benedictus Abbas Vol. I p. 4

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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they are not mere copies. More important still, Scotland had good reason to be grateful to Richard at this time for the good bargain that Richard's necessity had afforded in the return of the rights over Scotland conceded to Henry. David had also reason for gratitude to Richard by reason of his confirming to David the Honour of Huntingdon. <sup>(1)</sup> It seems hardly reasonable that Scotland should reap the advantage of Richard's crusading zeal without some attempt to support him in the undertaking.

If we are to discredit the story of Boece, which deals with David's participation in Richard's Crusade, we must also discredit his other quaint story of Scots at the siege of Acon. Among the Saracens in the town was one Oliver, who had been banished from Scotland, and had somehow gone over to the infidels. Having lived for a time with them, and speaking their language freely, the Saracens had no suspicion of him. Happening to see a kinsman named John Durward in the following of the Earl of Huntingdon, he sought communication with him, and bargained that he would give the Christians entry into the town on condition that Earl David would restore his land in Scotland. <sup>(2)</sup> The town was ultimately taken.

We have certainly mention of one Scot as being in the

(1) "New Foedera" Vol. I p.48

(2) Hector Boece Vol. II, Lib.XIII, Cap. VII, p.324

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Crusade with Richard. The authority is the "Itinerarium Peregrinorum". Richard sends to Tyre for Conrad and the Saracen hostages, but the Marquis refuses to obey. He then sends the Duke of Burgundy and with him Robert de Quincey.<sup>(1)</sup> This Robert de Quincey was Justiciar of the Lothians, having been made so in 1175. We can hardly imagine that he was the only representative from Scotland in Richard's Crusade.

(1) "Itinerarium Peregrinorum" Lib. III, Cap. III  
p. 242.

## CHAPTER IV

SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The end of the twelfth century witnessed the brief and ineffective Crusade organised by Henry VI, who, however, did not himself set out with the expedition. The death of Saladin in 1193 with the succession of Saphadin his brother caused dissensions among the Saracens, which were almost as much a hindrance to the success of the Saracens, as the dissensions of the Christians were to their cause. A determined and well-devised effort by the Christian nations in the beginning of the thirteenth century would have made the position of the Latin Kingdom secure, but by this time the Christian nations seemed to have lost the power to repeat the efforts of the First Crusade. Although Innocent III set himself to stir the Christian world to fresh effort, although Peter the Hermit and Bernard had their successor, in seeking to inspire by eloquence the European nations, in Fulk of Neuilly, even although the people appealed to responded, and continued to send vast numbers to the east, the thirteenth century saw but little progress against the infidel in the Holy Land, and ere it had closed the Latin Kingdom had ceased to be as much as the shadow of a reality, the combatants had withdrawn from Syria altogether, and the Crusades existed thereafter, perhaps as dreams in the minds of ardent men, but nothing more. Indeed Popes immersed in their political intrigues seemed not always



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encouraging to the crusading cause, while they still called for volunteers, and appeared even more active than ever in their efforts to obtain subsidies for the deliverance of the Holy Land.

The Crusade associated with the names of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, and Dandolo spent itself in the capture of Constantinople, and the setting up of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which subsisted till 1261. The Crusade of Andrew, King of Hungary, in 1216 was abandoned after an unsuccessful attack on a castle on Mount Thabor. Frederick II, the grandson of Barbarossa, in his expedition in 1228 managed to conclude a treaty with the Sultan Kameel for the surrender of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem and Nazareth to the Christians, and a truce was made for ten years, both sides being exhausted by the struggle. The expedition of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1240 succeeded in gaining even more favourable terms for the Christians. In 1242 an invasion of the Korasmians, who overran Syria, and struck terror into the hearts of those who were there, reduced the Holy Land once more to a miserable plight, even though in the end the invaders were defeated. The First Crusade of Louis IX with its record of disaster to the Christian cause closed the first half of the thirteenth century.

In Scotland this period is one which gives obvious signs of crusading activity. As early as the year 1202 we have a

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record of events in the north which not only throws light on the conditions there, but introduces us to one who was made a Crusader not from choice but by necessity. Crusading might be not only a voluntary undertaking, but also a penalty imposed by the Church or King. Harald the Younger received from the King of Norway the half of Orkney, and from King William the Lion half of Caithness. He found it a difficult matter to gain possession of his domain. An army was gathered together in Caithness and he called upon Earl Harald the Elder to surrender the half granted to him by the King. Harald the Elder replied by invading Caithness, and in the encounter the younger Harald was slain. King William sent an army under the King of the Hebrides, who took possession of the district and left it under the charge of three prefects. Harald the Elder was not inclined to submit. He returned with an army and landed near Thorsa, where he was met by Bishop John of Caithness, who sought to intercede for the men of Caithness who had submitted to the King. Harald the Elder caused Bishop John to be seized and his tongue and eyes cut out. The Bishop of Orkney was shocked by the outrage and informed the Pope. Lombard, a layman, was involved in the outrage, having cut out the Bishop's tongue, although he declared that he had been forced to it by the Earl's soldiers. As a penance it was decreed by the Pope in 1202 that he should walk for fifteen days through the surrounding country barefoot, with his tongue projecting and tied with a string bound round his neck, undergoing discipline

# SCOTTISH CRUSAIDERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

prostrate on the ground before the door of the church, with rods which he carried in his hand. He was to partake only in the evening and then only of bread and water. At the end of the fifteen days he was to make ready to set out for the Holy Land and to labour for three years in the service of the Cross. The narrative does not record whether he survived the first part of the penance or whether he did go to the Holy Land. <sup>(1)</sup> Such a sentence was not always carried out by the one on whom it was imposed.

The year 1212 saw the beginning of a vigorous recruiting campaign for the Crusades. In that year Pope Innocent III issued a general mandate summoning to a General Council to be held at Rome. In the meantime pastors were "to arouse those who were confirmed, and moreover to seal them with the sign of the Cross for the aid of the Holy Land of Promise, which at that time the Saracens handled too wickedly and unbefittingly". <sup>(2)</sup> A council was called at Perth by William Malvoisin, Bishop of St. Andrews and Legate of the Pope. At this council the Bishops agreed to preach a Crusade and did so successfully, although, as the "Scotichronicon" says, it was remarked that among the multitudes who took the Cross there were "few of the

(1) "Orkneyinga Saga" III p.226-229

Torffaeus Lib.I c. 38.

"Scotichronicon" Vol.I, Lib.VIII, Cap.62. p516.

Bliss Vol. I p12.

(2) "Chronicle of Melrose" p113.

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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(1)  
rich or great of the Kingdom". The "Book of Pluscarden" confirms the crusading zeal of the time, and tells us how, "In these days at the command of the Apostolic See, and at the instance of its legates, numberless nobles of Scotland and England, and likewise of other kingdoms took the Cross for the Holy Land in defence of the faith". (2)  
The absence of any record of outstanding names of Scottish Crusaders at this time lends colour to the statement of the "Scotichronicon" that while there were many volunteers, there were few of the rich or great. Of course those who took the Cross would not necessarily proceed to the east.

We find a notice of two contingents dispatched from England to the east. One of these set out in the year 1227, and Roger of Wendover tells us that it was declared to number as many as forty thousand. (3) Seeing that the information comes from one of the papal recruiting agents, it may well be an exaggeration. Matthew Paris describes the expedition of Earl Richard in 1240, and the numbers from England who joined it. (4)  
We have, however, no information as to any contingent from Scotland embarking with either expedition.

Among the circular letters emanating from the Apostolic

- (1) "Scotichronicon" Vol.I, Lib.VIII, Cap.LXXVIII p.534
- (2) "Book of Pluscarden" Lib.VI, Cap.XLIII p. 50
- (3) Roger of Wendover Vol.II p.323
- (4) Matthew Paris Vol.IV, p. 44.

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See at this time, it is generally found that Scotland was one of the nations to which such letters of exhortation were sent, while, in addition, special letters were sent from time to time setting forth the needs of the Holy Land. The number of these and their steady flow to Scotland show that the Popes regarded that country as a profitable recruiting ground and one which was worth cultivating. The demand was not only for men but also for money. Some of those willing to go were unable to equip themselves at their own expense. Even if they could do so, they could not always contribute to the upkeep of their more needy brethren. The crusading expeditions involved considerable expenditure, which it had not been easy to meet by those who embarked on the enterprise. The consequence is that we find an increasing insistence upon the need of financial contributions, as well as for actual volunteers. (1) This is not only the subject of circular letters, but (2) also of instructions expressly sent to Scotland.

It was sought to raise the money in various ways. Those who had in their enthusiasm taken the Cross, but found that either from poverty, age, or weakness they were unable to proceed to the Holy Land, were absolved on payment of the sum which they would actually have spent had they gone in person. This sum was to be paid to those fit to take part in the Crusade,

(1) Elias p. 38

(2) " p. 38

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

who might be prevented from setting out by the lack of the necessary means required for providing equipment and defraying their expenses in the campaign. Instructions are given that this is to be done in Scotland under the date 1238.<sup>(1)</sup> There were other ways of providing for needy Crusaders such as we have in the case of Richard de Thony, the Treasurer of Angers, a Crusader who was nephew of the King of Scotland. Richard held certain benefices which he surrendered for reasons of conscience. His uncle the King made request to the Pope that from the surrendered benefices a grant should be given to Richard in order that he might be enabled to fulfil his Crusader's vow. A mandate by the Pope gave instructions that this should be arranged as the King desired.<sup>(2)</sup>

We have another case of compulsory taking of the Crusaders' vow in the Bissets whose story is fully set forth in Matthew Paris, the "Book of Pluscarden", the "Scotichronicon" and Hector Boece. The Earl of Atholl was killed under suspicious circumstances at Haddington. The place in which he was sleeping during the night was burned to the ground. The friends of the Earl suspected foul play. One of the Bissets had been overthrown by the Earl in a tournament, and the defeated man had not concealed his resentment. Retainers of the Bissets had been recognised that night in Haddington. The Bissets

(1) Bliss p.169, Theiner 38, XCVI  
 (2) " p.175

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disclaimed all connection with the Earl's death, and declared that they had not been near Haddington on the night in question.

The friends of Atholl were keen on revenge, and were resolved to take extreme measures against the Bissets. The Bissets appeared before the King, who did his best to protect them, but the utmost that he could do for them was of little avail. The Bisset lands were confiscated, and they were banished out of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England and France, under a vow that they would go at once to the Holy Land, and labour there all their lives. The names of the Bissets involved are variously given, but there would seem to have been three involved, William, John and Walter. The vow was taken to go to the Holy Land but it was not kept. They proceeded to England, and there is no record of their having made any move to  
(1)  
go on crusade.

In the closing years of the first half of the thirteenth century the Papal Letters to Scotland reveal considerable activity in the way of providing intending Crusaders with the necessary means for the journey. In the year 1247 the Bishop of Dunblane is instructed to collect a twentieth of church revenues, the redemptions of vows, offerings and legacies for the Holy Land, and to transmit three thousand pounds of Tours

- (1) Matthew Paris Vol.IV p.201  
Hector Ponce Vol.II, Lib.XIII, Cap.XV, p.343  
"Scotichronicon" Vol.II,Lib.IX,Cap.LXI p.74  
"Book of Pluscarden" Lib.VII, CapXI, p.75

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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(1)  
to certain Crusaders. The names of the Crusaders mentioned  
(2)  
are Petrus de Cortiniaco and Gualtherus de Iovigniaco.

Provision is made for Scottish Crusaders by a mandate in the year following to the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Glasgow to collect and distribute to those who personally set out the redemptions of Crusaders' vows and legacies and gifts for the Holy Land. (3)  
A similar injunction was sent to the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen to collect legacies and offerings from all sources in Scotland for the Holy Land, and after satisfying those Scottish Crusaders to whom any share of the same has been promised by the Pope to assign the rest (4)  
to the King of England when the King has set out.

Scotland was to contribute something more even than men and money at this time. We learn from Matthew Paris that Hugh de Chetelion, Count of St. Paul and Blois, "who was killed by a stone hurled from a mangonel at Avignon in the contest which the King was engaged in with the citizens of that place, before he set sail, had had built a handsome ship at Inverness, in the County of Moray and in the Kingdom of Scotland, in which he might be able to cross the sea with the Bolognese and Flemings, and those commonly called men of Avalterre". (5)

The contribution of men at this time shows not only that

(1) Bliss p.237

(4) Bliss p.263

(2) Theiner p.48 CXXVIII

(5) Matthew Paris V, 93.

(3) Bliss p.243 and Theiner p.49. CXXXII



# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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the commoner class was represented, but that there was a fair sprinkling of those who can be described as the rich and great. The First Crusade of Louis IX was a disastrous one, but there was a strong contingent from Scotland in the enterprise. The expedition set out in 1248, and Hector Boece tells us that chosen men were sent by King Alexander of whom none returned, being all slain by sword or pestilence.<sup>(1)</sup> The "Scotichronicon" also declares that many Scots were engaged in this expedition,<sup>(2)</sup> and that a large number perished in the course of the campaign. Hector Boece is perhaps exaggerating the mortality among the Scots in this Crusade, but we know that it proved disastrous to many of them. The names of some of the principal Scottish Crusaders at this time are disclosed. The chronicles and records are becoming fuller, and place more information at our disposal.

The most prominent among the Scottish Crusaders in the first campaign of Louis IX is Patrick, Earl of Dunbar. The fact is recorded in the "Chronicle of Melrose",<sup>(3)</sup> the "Chronicle of Lanercost",<sup>(4)</sup> Matthew Paris,<sup>(5)</sup> Hector Boece,<sup>(6)</sup> and the "Scotichronicon",<sup>(7)</sup> as well as in Dugdale's "Monasteries".<sup>(8)</sup> It was

- (1) Hector Boece Vol.II, Lib.XIII, Cap.XV, p.343
- (2) "Scotichronicon" Vol.II, Lib.IX, Cap.LXII p.76
- (3) "Chronicle of Melrose" p.177
- (4) "Chronicle of Lanercost" p.54
- (5) Matthew Paris Vol. V p.41
- (6) Hector Boece Vol.II, Lib.XIII, Cap.XV, p.343
- (7) "Scotichronicon" Vol.II, Lib.IX, Cap.LXII p.76
- (8) "Monasticon Anglicanum" Vol. VII p.1155

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

as an act of remorse that the Earl of Dunbar undertook this pilgrimage. Irritated at the length of an ecclesiastical dispute, he had done some injury to the monastic house of Tynemouth, a cell of St. Bathans. He seems never to have reached Palestine, for, according to the "Chronicle of Lanercost", he died at Marseilles.

With him was David Lindesay of Glenesk, who is mentioned as present in this Crusade of Louis IX by Hector Boece, the (1) "Scotichronicon", and Dugdale's "Monasteries". (2) (3) Sir James Balfour Paul in his edition of Douglas "Peerage" transfers his going on crusade to the second expedition of Louis IX, and gives Dugdale as his reference, but the reference of Dugdale is to the Crusade of 1248, the same as that in which Patrick, Earl of Dunbar died.

Another mentioned by Dugdale is Edward Maxwell, Baron of Carlaverock. Edward was the second son of Aymer of Makeswell, Sheriff of Dumfries, and Justiciar of Galloway 1241-1266. He belonged to the house of Carlaverock, although he was not (4) Baron of Carlaverock.

Hector Boece and Dugdale mention as present on the same Crusade. (5) Walter Stewart of Dundonald. This is most probably

(1) Hector Boece Vol.II, Lib.XIII, Cap. IV, p.343

(2) "Scotichronicon" Vol.II, Lib.IX, Cap.LXII, p.76

(3) "Monasticon Anglicanum" Vol. VII p.1155

(4) "The Book of Carlaverock" Vol.I, p.80

(5) Hector Boece Vol.II, Lib.XIII, Cap.XV p.343

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

the Walter Stewart, or Walter Bulloc, third son of Walter, the third High Steward of Scotland. He became fifth Earl of Menteith through his marriage with Mary, Countess of Menteith. He evidently survived the Crusade. His effigy with that of the Countess in the Priory of Inchmahome is among the few monuments from that age in Scotland. (1)

There is mention of still another Crusader at this time. A papal dispensation is given at the request of Thomas de Normanvilla, a Crusader, Baron of the King of Scotland to Walter de Albamara, Rector of Skilligate in the Diocese of Bath, to hold one benefice in Scotland besides the two which he now has. (2) According to Chalmers the progenitor of the Anglo-Norman family of Normanvilles came from England into Scotland during the twelfth century. (3)

"The Red Book of Menteith" states that Alexander, who became fourth High Steward of Scotland, accompanied his brother Walter on this Crusade, (4) but while there may be some tradition to this effect, there is little in the way of contemporary reference or in the chronicles of the time to justify it.

"The Genealogical History of the Stewarts" states that John, son of Walter, and therefore another brother of the High

(1) "Monumental Effigies" Brydall p.352

(2) Eliss p.244

(3) "Caledonia" Chalmers Vol.I p.530

(4) "The Red Book of Menteith" Fraser Vol. I p.60

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Steward was killed at the taking of Damietta in 1249, but there is nothing more given in defence of the story than "it is said".<sup>(1)</sup> There is, however, sufficient to show the presence of a Scottish contingent in the First Crusade of Louis IX, and that among these was a representation of the rich and great.

(1) "Genealogical History of the Stewarts", Andrew Stuart p.11

## CHAPTER V

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### SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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The second half of the thirteenth century in the Crusades is memorable only for the effort associated with the name of Louis the Ninth. It was the second attempt which he made to achieve the deliverance of the Holy Land, an object dear to the pious monarch's heart. Louis was destined to go no further than Carthage, falling a victim to plague, which broke out among the crusading army. It was a last organised attempt to check the aggression of the infidel into whose hands Nazareth, Arsouf, Safed, and finally Antioch had again fallen. Although in 1271 Nazareth was again taken by the Christians, and one year later a peace was made to last for ten years, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was tottering to a fall. The year 1291 saw the last unsuccessful struggle at Acre, and the evacuation by the Christians of the Holy Land.

During this period there are many signs of crusading activity in Scotland. In the opening years of the second half of the thirteenth century there is a record of provision made for several Crusaders. It is made by the Pope on the request of the King of Scotland. Richard Giffard, a kinsman of the King, is going to the Holy Land with five knights, and to defray his costs the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld and the Abbot of Dunfermline are to give him four hundred marks before Christmas out of the redemptions of Crusaders' vows

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and legacies and other grants in Scotland towards the relief of the Holy Land. Suitable sums are also to be assigned to Thomas Paynel, Alan de Lasceles, and Adam Penkethan, his (1) cousins who are going with him at their own expense.

According to Chalmers the Giffards came to Scotland under (2) David I.

It shows, perhaps, a decline of the crusading spirit, that Crusaders were so anxious to have their expenses defrayed, although that may have been necessary to enable them to set out. It shows, perhaps, a decline of crusading zeal on the part of the Popes that they were so much concerned with the financial side of the question, however pressing that might be. The papal mandates which follow each other in a continuous stream lay particular emphasis upon the pressing demand for money. In the year 1263 the Bishop of St. Andrews is instructed to preach a Crusade with the promise of plenary remission to those who personally assist, and this is extended to those who send men as well as to those who go at the expense of others, with a proportionate pardon to those who assist otherwise, such assistance to include penitents who attend processions and (3) sermons. The same Bishop is also authorised to collect a yearly hundredth of all Church revenues for five years for the Holy Land, and he is urged to induce and incite or by censures (4) to compel all men to assist in the Crusade. Two years

(1) Bliss p. 231 Theiner p. 52 CXLII (3) Bliss p. 394  
 (2) "Caledonia" Chalmers Vol. I p. 516 (4) " p. 394

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later Ottobon was enjoined to preach a Crusade in Scotland with the inducement of the same pardon to those who directly or indirectly assisted as was granted to those who actually went to the Holy Land. Power is also given to commute crusading

(1)  
vows for an adequate payment. The Apostolic See was set on Henry III leading a Crusade, but that monarch, while fully alive to the financial side of the question, displayed a reluctance which makes us sceptical as to his intentions.

He was promised the tenth from Scotland provided the Scottish King was willing. (2) The Scottish King was definitely against it, and claimed that there was being sent from his own Kingdom (3) a suitable contribution to the Crusades.

About this time there arose a complicated case, which tells of two who had taken the Cross, although, of course, everyone who took the Cross did not go on crusade. Some satisfied their consciences by the payment of a suitable sum, or by sending deputies, and this also satisfied the Church. Some delayed their departure indefinitely. The succession to the Earldom of Menteith was in question. It was held by Isabella, the widow of Walter Cumyn. On his death she had married an Englishman, John Russel. The alliance had received the consent of the King, but was not regarded with much favour

(1) Bliss p.427

(2) " p.432 and Theiner p.99 no 249

(3) "Scotichronicon" Vol.II, Lib.X Cap.XXIV p.109

"Gesta Annalia" Fordun LIX p.303

"Book of Pluscarden" Lib. VII, Cap.XXVII p.104

## SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

by the potentates of Scotland, who had little inclination to see an obscure Englishman by right of his wife holding the distinguished title, and the possessions and prominence which it carried. Their objections to John Russel found expression in a charge that he and his wife had poisoned Isabella's former husband, Walter Gumin. The translation by Bliss of the papal mandate states that John Russel and his wife Isabella "had joined the Crusade" but the actual word in the original is "crucesignati" which means that they had taken the crusading vow, although it does not necessarily imply that they ever went on crusade. The crusading vow was taken not only by men but also by women. Both men and women went on crusade. The magnates who brought this charge against John Russel and Isabella had the two taken captive, and compelled them by force to give up their possession, and to renounce the Earldom. This they claimed to have done with the authority of the King, and they had procured that Walter Bulloc and his wife Mary, who claimed the Earldom, should be invested with it. The matter came to the Pope on appeal. He instructed his chaplain Pontius Nicolai, Provost of Mount Genis, to investigate. Pontius seems to have acted rather tactlessly, citing the King and prelates beyond the realm, and this they resisted. In the end the Pope had to revoke what Pontius had done, and to remit the settlement of the difficult question to the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen with the Abbot of Dunfermline. The papal



# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

mandate to these ecclesiastics furnishes the particulars of  
(1)  
this curious incident.

The participation in the second expedition of Louis IX by a body of men from Scotland is fully attested. Hector Boece mentions one of the principal Scottish Crusaders, and tells how many noblemen passed with him to the Holy Land. He adds that few of them returned owing to plague or the insufferable heat.  
(2) Fordun declares that a great many Scottish nobles perished in this Crusade. Among the distinguished Scotsmen who embarked on this Crusade was David, Earl of Atholl.  
(3) He died at Carthage on the sixth August 1270. The "Chronicle of Melrose", which is not over ready to supply us with information regarding Scottish Crusaders, mentions his death.  
(4) It is also recorded in Fordun's "Gesta Annalia",  
(5) and in the "Scotichronicon".  
(6) He had been granted by Henry III in 1270 a protection of four years' freedom from pleas and complaints, such as was commonly granted to other Crusaders at this time.  
(7)

Along with David, Earl of Atholl, there went on this expedition Adam of Kilconquhar, who, in right of his wife Margaret, was third Earl of Carrick. He also died in this

- (1) Bliss p. 408 & Theiner p. 93 CCXXXVII
- (2) Hector Boece Vol. II, Lib. XIII, Cap. XX p. 355
- (3) "Gesta Annalia" Fordun LX p. 304.
- (4) "Chronicle of Melrose" pp. 216-217
- (5) "Gesta Annalia" Fordun LX p. 304
- (6) "Scotichronicon" Lib. X, Cap. XXVI XXVII p. 111
- (7) "Cal. Doc. Scot." I 2400, 2416, 2455, 2531

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Crusade, his death taking place at Acre. This is mentioned  
 in the "Chronicle of Melrose",<sup>(1)</sup> in Fordun's "Gesta Annalia",<sup>(2)</sup>  
 as well as in the "Scotichronicon",<sup>(3)</sup> and Hector Boece.<sup>(4)</sup>

With them is said to have gone on crusade Robert de Brus  
 le Jayne. He is said to have returned with the evil tidings  
 of the death of the Earl of Carrick, and that soon after he  
 married the widowed Countess of Carrick. By her he was  
 father of King Robert the Bruce. In support of this we have  
 a record of the protection which was given by Henry III for  
 four years to Robert de Brus as he is going to the Holy Land.<sup>(5)</sup>  
 The date of this is 1270. A similar protection is given to  
 Richard de Brus as a Crusader in the same year.<sup>(6)</sup> Robert had  
 a brother Richard who died about 1286.

It is suggested that Sir Adam Gordon may have been on  
 this Crusade, and that his disposal of certain rights of  
 pasturage to the monks of Dryburgh may have been in preparation  
 for his setting out.<sup>(7)</sup> In the "Genealogical History of the  
 Earldom of Sutherland" by Sir Robert Gordon it is claimed that  
 Sir William Gordon was sent with John Stewart and the Earls  
 of Carrick and Atholl and a thousand soldiers into Africa to

- (1) "Chronicle of Melrose" p.219
- (2) "Gesta Annalia" Fordun LX p. 504
- (3) "Scotichronicon" Vol.II, Lib.X, Cap.XXIV, p.109
- (4) Hector Boece Vol.II, Lib.XIII, Cap.XX, p. 354
- (5) "Cal. Doc. Scot." 2F75
- (6) " " 2F59
- (7) "Records of Aboyne" p. 356

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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assist Louis IX against the Saracens, and that Sir William Gordon was slain in the expedition. (1) There is but little evidence to support the contention that either of the Gordons took part in this expedition, and the circumstances concerning the latter are certainly obscure. The same lack of authority holds in the contention that Sir William of Douglas surnamed "Le Hardi" was a Crusader at this time. (2)

We have, however, in the "Chronicle of Melrose" an account of one of humbler origin in a squire called Nicholas, who was in the following of a certain Scottish knight named Alexander de Setun. He was carrying his master's shield, and was captured in a successful assault made on the Saracens. (3) Although the assault was so satisfactory to the assailants, it was carried out with no further loss than the capture of Squire Nicholas, whose presence on crusade would never have been known to history had it not been for the fact that it seems to have fastened itself upon the chronicler's mind, and has been set down for subsequent ages to read, reminding them of other unmentioned ones of lowly rank whose names are not recorded in the doings of these times.

In 1272 Prince Edward of England returned once more to his own country, and the Crusade, which is the second associated

- (1) "Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland" p.36
- (2) "The Douglas Book" Fraser p.73
- (3) "Chronicle of Melrose" p.218

# SCOTTISH CRUSADERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

with the name of Louis IX was over. An attempt was made to revive enthusiasm when Gregory X was summoned from Acre to fill the chair of St. Peter, and, having been himself a witness of the calamities in Palestine, called the nations of Europe to a new effort in the east. A council held at Lyons decreed a new Crusade. Gregory, however, died in less than two years after the Council of Lyons, and the dream of a new campaign died with him. In pursuance of his crusading zeal Gregory X wrote to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland and to all the Bishops in Scotland urging them to preach the Crusade. (1) In the same year the Dominicans and Franciscans were instructed by the Pope to preach the Crusade in Ireland and Scotland. (2) Financial support for the Crusade was not forgotten. Boiamund de Vitia, Canon of Asti, and Chaplain of Cardinal Deacon Ubertus of Saint Eustace, was authorised to collect a tenth in Scotland for the Holy Land during a period of six years from 1274. (3) In 1282 Master Geoffrey de Vecano, Canon of Cambrai, Clerk of the Papal Chamber, is the receiver of the redemptions of Crusaders' vows, legacies, and any other sums except the tenths designated for the Holy Land, in Scotland as well as in England, Wales and Ireland. (4) Edward I is granted by the Pope the tenth collected for the Holy Land subsidy, if the

(1) Theiner p.103-104 no 257

(2) " " pp.105-106 no 260

(3) " " p.104 no 258

"Gesta Annalia" Fordun LXII p.308

(4) Theiner p.126 CCLXXIX & Bliss p.476

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Scottish King gives consent, part of it to be applied for the expenses of the Scottish magnates joining a Crusade. <sup>(1)</sup> This grant is made for three years, but is later extended. In 1291 the grant is given for six years of the offerings from Scotland as well as from England, Ireland and Wales to be applied to Edward's expenses on setting out for the Holy Land. <sup>(2)</sup> Edward did not set out, and in 1296 there is in the hands of the Bishop of Carlisle a substantial sum of ten thousand marks collected by him in Scotland as Holy Land tenth, about the disposal of which instructions are given. <sup>(3)</sup> Scotland had provided its contribution, sometimes unwillingly, towards the expenses of the Crusades. Nor was there any further need to subsidise Scottish Crusaders, for the prospect of a Crusade might be with ardent souls still a dream, but it was a dream that was not destined to take shape in any fresh conquest of the Holy Land by the Christians of the Middle Ages. The Crusades were past with all their weakness, their mistakes, their follies, and yet with all their aspirations, their self-sacrifices, their heroisms. The Holy Land was lost to the Christians for centuries to come, but the inspiration and influence of the Crusades remained, and this influence was one which lingered among the Christian nations of Europe.

(1) Theiner p.130 no 287 & Bliss p.479

(2) Bliss p.581

(3) " p.564

CHAPTER VITHE CONTRIBUTION OF SCOTLAND TO THE CRUSADES

The financial contribution of Scotland to the Crusades is to be more fully dealt with later. At this time it is sufficient to note that there were numbers in Scotland who took the Crusader's vow, although they were relieved from it by papal permission on payment of a suitable sum. The reasons which prompted them to seek relief were not all honourable. In some the momentary enthusiasm, which inspired them to take the Cross, evaporated in time, and on quiet reflection they became more and more disinclined to set out on the journey. Some would take the Cross for very shame, not wishing before their fellows to appear lacking in courage or self-sacrifice. Some with calculating prudence would be ready to take the Cross because of the advantages which this act conferred on them not only spiritually, but in respect of their property and its security, and also because of the advantage in civil pleas which was considerable. With these rather doubtful reasons for taking the Cross and then purchasing relief, it must be recognised that many who took the Cross had good reason for accepting relief from its obligations to go on crusade. Age, poverty or sickness would have made Crusaders that were more of a hindrance than a help in an expedition which was trying even for the hardest. It was much wiser to supply the wherewithal for some more likely antagonist to take their

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places in the combatant forces, and it was an advantage that those who could not go at their own expense should not thereby be prevented from setting out, but should be subsidised at the expense of those, who, perhaps, would have wished to go, but found themselves prevented from taking the journey. There were obviously those in Scotland who, whatever their motives, were ready to avail themselves of the offer to commute their vow for a cash equivalent. The sums raised in this way reached a respectable amount, and were worth the attention of the Apostolic See, its agents and collectors. In addition to this there were the levies made, which were often given grudgingly, but were rigorously exacted. The crusading spirit affected a number in addition to those who actually set out for the east. The successive calls to action influenced more than those who were actually constrained to venture their lives in the cause.

The attempt to estimate the extent of the response that was made by those who engaged in one or other of the Crusades is a difficult matter. No muster roll of volunteers was kept, or, if it was, it has not come down to us. Numbers are seldom given, and, even were they given, they would not be of much help in assessing the extent to which Scottish warriors embarked on the Holy Land venture, particularly in view of the manifest exaggeration in the numbers quoted with regard to other nations involved. The Scottish chroniclers are not very full at the best, and are hardly satisfying in the early

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days of the Crusades. The "Chronicle of Melrose", for instance, is, curiously enough, silent, even when we get our information elsewhere. That Chronicle has references to the Crusades from time to time but it seems to record rather what was doing in the Holy Land than the recruiting that was taking place at home. Fordun and the "Scotichronicon" are not always dependable and seem to be suffering from lack of information such as perplexes us now. Hector Boece makes up for the scantiness of his information by an over-lively imagination. With the exception of papal letters which are abundant and well preserved, charters and documents of a like nature are only beginning to be of use in helping to a knowledge of contemporary affairs. The English chroniclers are, naturally enough, full of England's doings in the Crusades, but they cannot be expected to waste much time or speak with enthusiasm of what concerns Scotland save in respect of something specially outstanding. The records of eye-witnesses, and the chroniclers on the Continent, dealing with the Crusades, are more intent on the history of the movement than with the extent of the response to it from Scotland. They record the names of the outstanding leaders, and those incidents which strike them most in the course of the campaign. It need not surprise us to find that references to Scotland and its Crusaders are few.

With it all we have a certain amount of information that is helpful, and certain names are brought to our notice among



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the imperfect records of the time. Such names are not to be taken as exhaustive, but as representative, as representative of others who had their part in the Crusades, although that part has not been placed on record. There would be squires like Nicholas who followed their masters to the east, even though the exploits on which they were engaged did not catch the attention of some writer of chronicles. There must have been others like Lombard or Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, who accepted the Crusades as a penance, although, unlike Lombard, their doings were not bound up with high affairs of state that found a record in the history of the times, or, unlike Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, they were not sufficiently exalted in status to excite much attention by their penitence or the way in which they sought to relieve their consciences. There would be others, perhaps not so conspicuous as the Earl of Carrick or the Earl of Atholl, who ventured east like them, but are not mentioned because they are more obscure. Then when nobles like these led, they would not go alone. Others would follow, although their crusading attracted but little attention.

It is wise to avoid any exaggerated idea of the numbers flocking from Scotland to the east. At the same time it is right to avoid falling into the opposite extreme of imagining that Scottish recruits were negligible in the Crusades. Scanty though the information may be, it yet points to the fact that there were Scots engaged in the Crusades, and that

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from the beginning. Perhaps Scotland sent not such a large proportion as England, just as England hardly comes up to France and Normandy in its crusading zeal. The contribution from Scotland was made, and it would seem to be, as King Alexander III urged, quite in keeping with the resources of the Kingdom. With such an approximation we must be satisfied.

PART II

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

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|--------------|---|
| Chapter I    | The Military Orders.  |
| Chapter II   | The Founding of the Hospitallers.                                       |
| Chapter III  | Early Records of the Hospitallers.                                      |
| Chapter IV   | The Founding of the Templars.   |
| Chapter V    | Early Records of the Templars.  |
| Chapter VI   | The Suppression of the Templars.  |
| Chapter VII  | Later Records of the Military Orders.                                   |
| Chapter VIII | The Strength of the Military Orders in Scotland.                        |
| Chapter IX   | Possessions of the Military Orders in Scotland.                         |
| Chapter X    | Further Contributions of the Crusades to the Monastic Life in Scotland. |

# EDITIONS TO WHICH REFERENCES ARE MADE IN PART II

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"Acta Parliamentorum Scotorum".

"A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church", Henry Charles Lea L.L.D..

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## PART II

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 THE INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
 RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN SCOTLAND
 

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## CHAPTER I

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 THE MILITARY ORDERS
 

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One obvious result of the Crusades was the introduction of the Military Orders. These soon found their way into Scotland and established themselves there. Not only did this add two important organisations to those already in existence, but it brought about a wider conception of monasticism itself. The Military Orders played an important part in the fighting in the east. They reached to wealth and influence among the Christian nations of the west, and the new conception of the monastic life which they gave was far reaching in its effects. They therefore call for careful consideration in seeking to estimate the influence of the Crusades.

It is easy to see how they made a strong appeal to the spirit of the age. It was a time which attached considerable importance to martial achievements. Prowess in combat was the passport to distinction. Skill in arms opened the door that led to wealth and honour. Even the cleric would be moved at times by the martial impulse. He would on occasion don armour, deal and receive blows in battle, and the age saw nothing incongruous in it. The warrior stood high in the estimation of

all classes. If it was a martial age, it was also a religious age. According to the notions of the time the ideal of the religious life was to be found in monasticism. The monk stood out as the saintly man. Yet monasticism with its seclusion and contemplation, however highly it might be esteemed from the religious point of view, was an ideal out of reach of the warrior of the age. He might look upon it as a possibility once the ardour of active years was past, and he might hope with failing powers, and the lust of combat gone, to shelter in some quiet monastery, where he could give himself to that pious meditation for which he had a deep respect. In his prime at least the reconciliation of the martial with the religious ideal seemed out of the question. The Military Orders presented a way for the reconciliation of the two great ideals of the time. Men found it possible to attain the ideal of the spiritual life as it was conceived at the time, and also to satisfy the martial ambitions of the age. The warrior could be a monk and still remain a warrior. In this way the Military Orders made a strong appeal. They attracted many of the noblest into their ranks. They were supported by munificent gifts, and they were possessed of great and valuable properties which their admirers were keen to bestow. They became a power in Western Europe, and in common with the other Christian nations Scotland was moved to welcome them, and felt the influence which they exercised upon its religious life.



THE MILITARY ORDERS  
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During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was in Scotland a remarkable extension and development of monastic institutions. The splendid generosity of David I gave an impetus which was confirmed and augmented by his successors. The royal example was followed by those of lower rank. Monasteries were founded and enriched by noble gifts. In this generosity the Military Orders undoubtedly shared. They on their part contributed to the development of monasticism. The wider conception of the religious life which they expressed paved the way for such additions to the Religious Orders as the Mendicant Friars, besides giving a stimulus to monasticism generally. The close of the Crusades found in Scotland not only numerous Religious Orders, but vast possessions at their disposal. While it cannot be urged for a moment that all this was due to the Crusades, and to the Military Orders which the Crusades brought into being, it must at least be recognised that they were an influence in this development, and an influence strong enough to deserve attention.

Even apart from the influence which they exercised upon the religious institutions of the time, there is a real interest that attaches to the Military Orders, which played a prominent part in the crusading ventures. If the imperfect records of these days fail to supply us with as much information as we should wish, at least it is of importance to know what light

they do throw upon organisations, which were the peculiar product of the age, and were destined to leave their mark upon the national and religious life even after their time of usefulness was past, and the movement which called them into being had ceased to be a real force in the history of the world.

## CHAPTER II

## THE FOUNDING OF THE HOSPITALLERS

Of the Military Orders which established themselves in Scotland the Knights of St. John had certainly the advantage of an earlier beginning. As we should expect in an Order which attained such prominence both in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and throughout Europe, the origin of the Hospitallers is fully described. Such chroniclers of the Crusades as (1) William of Tyre and (2) Jacques de Vitry provide full accounts of its beginning, and as the accounts are in agreement, we are furnished with reliable information, which enables us to trace the Order from its modest commencement. The origin was modest enough, and gave but little indication of the wealth, fame and greatness, which the Order should one day attain.

Before the Crusades while the Holy Land was still in infidel possession, there were Syrian Christians who dwelt there, and to them was assigned a part of Jerusalem, where they were allowed to reside. In addition to these Syrian Christians there were occasional sojourners in Jerusalem, pilgrims whom the glamour of the sacred places had drawn on a perilous journey from western lands, and also merchants who brought the products of the west, and found a ready market for them among the lords of the Holy Land and the possessors of the sacred soil. Prominent among these merchants were

(1) William of Tyre Lib. XVIII, Cap. I. p. 711

(2) Jacques de Vitry p. 114

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traders from Amalfi, near Salerno, who did a thriving trade in Syria, and were frequently led in the way of commerce to Jerusalem. These gained the goodwill of the authorities, who not only tolerated their presence, but even encouraged their visits to the extent of allowing them to build in the Christian quarter of Jerusalem. The Syrian Christians adhered to the Greek Church, but the Amalfi merchants as well as the majority of the pilgrims were loyal to the Latin Church. It was therefore natural that on their ground at Jerusalem the merchants of Amalfi should build a religious house and secure for it monks with an abbot following the Roman forms. The monastery was erected within a stone-throw of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and was dedicated to the Virgin. In time a nunnery was added and was dedicated to Mary Magdalene. In monastery and nunnery assistance was given to the poor and ailing pilgrims who, without such a place of refuge, would many a time have perished. Later for those who might need the monastic hospitality another building was added and was dedicated to St. John of Alexandria. It was ruled over by the monastery and was supported by the monastery and by other gifts received. Such was the Hospital of St. John when the Crusaders wrested the Holy City from the power of the infidel, and themselves entered into possession of it.

The Crusaders found the Hospital in charge of Gerard, a man of both sanctity and charity. By him and by his associates

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the sick and wounded among the Crusaders were carefully tended. They were generous in their hospitality, although the brothers themselves lived austerely and even meanly. The Crusaders were lavish in their gratitude, and not only showered gifts upon the Hospital, but on returning to Europe spread through their own countries the fame of the good work done. This made a strong appeal to sympathy and to generosity with the result that in an incredibly short time the Hospital found itself endowed with property in the Christian countries of the west, and became possessed of wealth which kings might have envied. Gerard and his associates had assumed a regular habit. On this they had a white cross as their distinguishing badge. They took the monastic vow of poverty, obedience and chastity. By a Bull of Pope Paschal II in 1113 the Order was established. The Rule which they adopted was modelled on that of St. Augustine.

The successor of Gerard in the Hospital of Jerusalem was a man of more militant temperament by name Raymond du Puy. Under his government there was added to the vow of poverty, obedience and chastity a vow to bear arms in defence of the Christian Religion. This militant purpose soon became the main aim of the Hospitallers. Their original purpose of succouring the poor and ailing pilgrims sank more and more into the background until like the Templars they became almost entirely a fighting force. Through the greater part of the

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history of the Latin Kingdom they shared with the Templars the arduous warfare, and the distinction of being the backbone of the standing army. Without them a footing could hardly have been maintained so long in the Holy Land.

As part of the standing army of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem the Hospitallers were well equipped for the purpose. The vast possessions which generosity showered upon them gave them an ample provision to maintain them during the campaign. The various preceptories scattered through Christian Europe sent a continuous supply of recruits to the fighting area. Their wealth gave them a distinction and their prowess commanded an admiration which drew the noblest into their ranks. Only those of noble birth were eligible to enter the Order in the ranks of the knights. As well as knights they admitted chaplains of the Order, and of lower rank there were also serving brothers who wore the habit and formed part of the powerful organisation. Such were the Knights of St. John who played an important part in the campaign in the east, gained wealth and honour in Christian Europe, and established themselves in Scotland.

The introduction of the Hospitallers into Scotland took place not long after the Order had fully established itself in the east, and had begun to be popular among the Christian nations of the west. A definite date can hardly be assigned to the first settlement of the Knights of St. John in the

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territory of the Scottish Kings, but we are fairly safe in saying that it was during the reign of David I that this Order came to Scotland. There are no charters or references to prove it, but at least the indications seem to point in that direction. In the reign of his successor, Malcolm the Maiden, we find the Knights of St. John established in the land.

J. Delaville le Roulx in his "Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem" provides us with copies of the existing royal charters as well as with copies of other charters which give us interesting information regarding the Order in Scotland. The charter of Malcolm the Maiden is brief. <sup>(1)</sup> It conveys to the Order a toft in each of the Royal Burghs. The tenure is to be as well and freely as they hold their other charities. From this we may conclude that they had already established themselves at their headquarters at Forphichen. A charter of Malcolm in the "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree" <sup>(2)</sup> is signed by Richard of the Hospital of Jerusalem, and would serve to show that about as early as 1160 the Order was quite at home in the country.

In his introductory notes Le Roulx speaks of William the Lion continuing and adding to the privileges and possessions of these Knights. However no charter is given, nor is there any reference to it in the "Excerpt from a Perfect Inventor

(1) Le Roulx Vol. IV p.313, no 214

(2) "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree" p.205

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of all the Pious Donations given to the Kirks and Hospitals in Scotland since the Days of King James I to the Reign of King James VI with Additions" by Robert Mylne of Balquharage, which is quoted in the "Hugae Derelictae".<sup>(1)</sup> The "Inventor" mentions the charter of Malcolm, and the charters of Alexander II and Alexander III, but makes no mention of a charter of William the Lion.

The successor of William the Lion, Alexander II, in the seventeenth year of his reign confirms by charter the gifts and possessions belonging to the Hospitallers.<sup>(2)</sup> This charter is longer and fuller than the charter of Malcolm. It confirms the Order in its present possessions, and in addition it details rights and privileges conferred on them. They are to have full jurisdiction within their territories, excepting only the four cases reserved for the Crown, murder, fire-raising, rape and robbery. They are to be free from tolls and secular service as well as from market dues and customs. This charter is also given in the "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubotle".<sup>(3)</sup>

Alexander III, the son and successor of Alexander II, confirmed by charter the Knights of St. John in their possessions

- (1) "Hugae Derelictae" XVI
- (2) Le Roulx Vol. II p.436 no 2020
- (3) "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubotle" no 222 p.178



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(1)

during the thirty-fifth year of his reign. There is nothing added by this document to what has already been given and is now enjoyed, but the Order has its previous rights and possessions ratified.

(2)

There is also in the Record Office, London, a charter dated 1305 which is given on the petition of the Order to the King seeking confirmation of their privileges. These are fully granted to the Brethren.

Such royal charters may not have much to tell us as to the extent of the possessions of the Knights of St. John during the crusading period. The only gift of land expressly mentioned in these charters is the gift of a toft in the Royal Burghs by Malcolm the Maiden. They reveal, however, a chain of royal charters from the time of Malcolm the Maiden with the exception of William the Lion's reign. There was either no charter given by him, or else it is missing. we cannot tell which. This chain of charters shows the direction of the royal sympathy. It tells of liberties and privileges conceded. It leaves us to conclude that the possessions of the Order were such as to make it desirable to secure from each succeeding monarch a full confirmation. Property with so many rights and privileges can hardly have been negligible, or else the series of charters would have been little more than

(1) Le Roulx Vol. IV p.356 no 3869  
 (2) " Vol. IV p.112 no 4688

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a farce. If there is little mention of further royal gifts, and only a confirmation of what has already been given, with the exception of Malcolm's charter, may it not have been because David I had already shown to the Hospitallers the lavish generosity which we know he bestowed upon other religious institutions, and succeeding monarchs felt that the crown had been sufficiently impoverished already so that the most which could be expected of them was the confirmation of the possessions in the hands of the Order? At least the Knights of St. John were firmly established from the time of David I.

## CHAPTER III

EARLY RECORDS OF THE HOSPITALLERS

In addition to the royal charters already mentioned there are records of the Hospitallers which bear dates of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. These are certainly not numerous and give but little idea of the extent and value of the property held by the Knights of St. John in Scotland during the years of the Crusades. At least they give us some idea of the working of the Order and the nature of their possessions during these two centuries.

One of the earliest records of Hospitaller property is contained in a charter of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews. <sup>(1)</sup> In it he gives to the Canons of the Church of St. Andrews a full toft in the Burgh, which is described as being situated next the toft of Peter Flandrensis, and it is stated that Peter Flandrensis holds his toft from the Brothers of the Hospital of Jerusalem. There is a reference also to the tofts which the Knights of St. John have in each burgh. The date of this charter is between the years 1163 and 1178. In the time of the same Bishop Richard of St. Andrews there is an agreement <sup>(2)</sup> before him between the Church of Linlithgow and the Hospitallers. It concerns a burial place for the men of Torphichen. The arrangement is that the Hospitallers shall have the burial

(1) "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree" p.139

(2) do

p.319

# EARLY RECORDS OF THE HOSPITALLERS

place, and shall receive the dues. The payment to be made is a silver mark annually to the Church of Linlithgow. To the same century belongs a charter in which the Prior of the Brothers of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England confirms to the Canons of Holyrood lands in Galeweia for which lands a payment of forty shillings is to be made annually to the

(1) Hospital. The date of this charter is 1192. In the second half of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century a charter of Gaufrid Cook gives to the Hospital of Jerusalem an oxgang of land in the territory of Wittun in the vicinity of Morebattle. (2) Again in King William's reign there is record of a gift to the Hospitallers in the "Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh". One Jordan Brac gives to the Church of St. Kentigern of Lanark certain land lying next to (3) that already given by him to the Brothers of the Hospital. The approximate date of this charter is 1214.

Early in the thirteenth century there arose a question over the tithes and dues of Ogglisphas, which were claimed by the Brothers of Torphichen, and also by the Canons of Holyrood. The tithes and dues are awarded to the Hospitallers, who are to make to the Canons a payment of four silver marks (4) annually. The revenues of the Order came not only from lands and tithes, but in other ways as well. The claim of the

- (1) "Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis" p.48 no 54
- (2) "Liber Sancte Marie de Melros" p.148 no 161
- (3) "Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh" p.156 no 216
- (4) "Liber Cart.S.Crucis"p.36 no 48 &"Lib.Cart.Prior.S.And" p.320

# EARLY RECORDS OF THE HOSPITALLERS -----

Hospitallers to the patronage of Ouchyltre in the Diocese of Glasgow is the subject of two charters. (1) It seems that Lord John de Colville, patron of the church and Lord of the Barony had two brothers William and Thomas. William received from John the Church of Ouchyltre and Thomas received from John the Barony. On the death of Thomas, William succeeded also to the Barony. Lord John being displeased that his brother William should be both Rector and Lord of the Barony, conferred the right of the patronage of the church on the Hospital of Torphichen. The matter was in dispute for some time, and was eventually settled in the time of Reginald le Cheyn. The right of patronage was to remain with Reginald's wife and her heirs, but payment of fourteen pounds per annum was to be made to the Hospitallers by the rector who was presented. The patronage of the church seems ultimately to have been bestowed (2) by the wife of Reginald upon the Monastery of Melrose.

The interests of the Hospitallers seem to have been varied. They had an interest in salt-works, then a matter of importance. A charter of King Alexander dated the nineteenth year of his reign shows them to have had an interest in salt-works in Carse, although the nature and extent of that interest is not clearly defined. (3) There is a further interesting document of date

(1) "Liber Sancte Marie de Melros" Vol. I p. 288 no 327  
do Vol. I p. 363 no 400

(2) "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis" Vol. I p. 224, no 264

(3) "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle" p. 131 no 164

# EARLY RECORDS OF THE HOSPITALLERS

about 1250. This document is a charter given by the Hospital-  
 lers to the Monastery of Newbattle granting permission to the  
 monks of Newbattle and their men to have passage through the  
 lands of Torphichen by the roads which they have been in the  
 habit of using, as well as the right to leave their vehicles  
 or pasture their animals on the common grazing, if unavoidably  
 detained in passing through the grounds of Torphichen, or  
 having to spend the night there. (1)

There are also in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries  
 charters and other documents which have reference to the  
 privileges of the Order. What these privileges were we can  
 gather from the Decrees of the Lateran Council in 1179. These  
 are referred to by Roger de Hoveden, (2) and are dealt with at  
 greater length by William of Newburgh. (3) It is evident that  
 even at this early date Jealousy had been aroused by the  
 privileges of the Hospitalers and the Templars, and that  
 complaints had been made that they were exceeding such privileges  
 to the defiance of episcopal authority and to the detriment  
 of parish churches. The complaint is that the Hospitalers  
 and the Templars were receiving churches from the hands of the  
 laity, that they were admitting excommunicated and interdicted  
 persons to ecclesiastical rights, and giving them burial, and  
 that they were instituting and removing priests from their

(1) "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle" p.159 no 200

(2) Roger de Hoveden II p.188

(3) William of Newburgh Lib.III, Cap.IIIp. 515

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churches without legal authority. The Lateran Council in reply to such complaints decreed that they were not to receive churches or tithes from the hands of the laity without the consent of the bishops; that excommunicated and interdicted persons were to be shunned; that priests to be instituted to churches not wholly in full right belonging to them were to be presented to the bishops; and that once instituted they were not to be removed without consulting the bishops. It was, however, granted to the Hospitallers and the Templars when they come to an interdicted church that they are to be admitted to ecclesiastical service once a year, but that they shall not bury the dead there.

The Hospitallers were favoured in being exempted from tithe on various occasions. The mandate to Ottobon in 1265 giving papal instructions to collect a tenth of all church revenues in Scotland exempts various religious orders, and among them the Hospitallers. (1)

The same exemption of the Hospitallers is made from the collection of the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues in Scotland for six years in 1291. (2)

The "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" has several papal bulls granted to the Brothers of the Hospital. One is a bull of Pope Innocent. (3) This document refers to the Hospitallers

(1) Le Roulx Vol.III p.141 no 3224 & Bliss I p.429 & Theiner p. 98 CCXLVI

(2) do Vol. III p.522 no 4150 & Bliss I p.551

(3) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" II p.261

# EARLY RECORDS OF THE HOSPITALLERS

as possessors of special privilege, and gives instructions that they and their churches are not to be excommunicated or interdicted without reference first to the Roman Pontiff.

Another Bull of Pope Innocent gives instructions to bishops to warn under threat of excommunication that no one is to make any exactions on the Hospitallers in victuals, garments, animals or customs. (1)

Still a third Bull of Pope Innocent directs that, after warning given, sentence of excommunication be passed on those who invade the possessions or houses of the Hospitallers, pronounce sentence of excommunication or interdict upon them in opposition to the indulgences of the Apostolic See, or extort from them tithes of possessions cultivated by the Order. (2)

Of the members of the Order in Scotland at this time we have, as already noted, the signature of Richard of the Hospital of Jerusalem to the charter of Malcolm IV in 1160. (3)

In the charter of King William regarding the titles of Oxlisphas, the Master of Torphichen is mentioned as Walter by name. (4)

In the "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree" on the same question Brother H. Arundel and Brother Galtum de Stanford are mentioned as among the Brothers of Torphichen. (5) In the charter

(1) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" Vol. II p. 262

(2) do Vol. II p. 262

(3) "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree" p. 205

(4) "Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis" p. 36 no 46

(5) "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree" p. 320



# EARLY RECORDS OF THE HOSPITALLERS -----

to the Monastery of Newbattle giving passage through the lands of Torphichen, Archibald is the Master of the House of Torphichen. (1)  
 In 1252 a confirmation by Alexander, son of Walter, Steward of Scotland, of gifts to the monks of Paisley is signed by Brother Theobald, Master of Torphichen. (2) In 1291 Alexander de Welles was Master of Torphichen. He was slain fighting on the English side at Falkirk in 1298. (3)

These early details regarding the Hospitallers help us but little in ascertaining the real extent of their property or the numbers in the Order in Scotland. They show at least that they were firmly established in the land. They reveal the fact that their property was varied in lands, tithes, patronage and salt-works. We can see that as an Order they were specially privileged. The Grand Prior of England who was over the Order in Scotland personally visited the Order in Scotland or sent his agents for that purpose. We have records of such visits in 1268, (4) 1284, (5) 1285, (6) and 1302. (7)

An interesting attempt to assess the value of the property of the Knights of St. John in Scotland during the crusading period is to be found in the valuation by Prior Philip de Thame

- (1) "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle" p.159 no 200
- (2) "Registrum Monasterii de Passelet" p. 90
- (3) "Scotland in 1298" Gough pp. IV & XI
- (4) Le Roulx Vol.III p.176 no 3295
- (5) do Vol.III p.471 no 3885
- (6) do Vol.III p.485 no 3918
- (7) do Vol.IV p.31 no 4567

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of England submitted to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova in  
(1)  
1338. This is quoted in the "Knights Hospitallers in England"  
by Lambert B. Larking. Here it is stated that on account of  
the wars nothing can at present be raised from the property in  
Scotland, but that in other times it was wont to return two  
hundred marks. This does not give the impression of the  
possession of any great extent of property in Scotland. Even  
taking the return to headquarters at one third of the value of  
their income, it would only amount to a value of four hundred  
pounds each year. We have a valuation of the income of  
Dryburgh Abbey of date about 1290 which makes it amount to two  
(2)  
hundred and seventy seven pounds per annum. It is necessary  
to look to later charters for a better idea of what must have  
been in possession of the Knights of St. John in Scotland while  
the Crusades were being carried on.

- (1) "The Knights Hospitallers" Larking p.129  
(2) "Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh" p.329 XXXVII

## CHAPTER IV

## THE FOUNDING OF THE TEMPLARS

The Knights of the Temple were of later origin than the Hospitallers, but in a very short time they became their equals, even their superiors, in fame and in wealth. They had their beginning after the arrival of the Crusaders in Palestine, when the City of Jerusalem had passed into Christian hands.

(1) (2)

William of Tyre and Jacques de Vitry give as full an account of the founding of the Templars as they do in the case of the Hospitallers. This is natural because no history of the Crusades would have been complete without full reference to this Military Order.

With the wresting of the Holy Land from the infidel there came a new impulse to pilgrimage. Men and women were drawn even more than before to visit the sacred places. In spite of the fact that the Christians now possessed Jerusalem, these pilgrims were subjected to many hardships, and had to encounter many difficulties. Bands of brigands infested the pilgrim routes and made the journey one of great danger. It was this that brought the Templars into existence. Certain men of noble birth banded themselves together for the purpose of ridding the pilgrim routes of the assailants who infested them.

(1) William of Tyre Lib XII, Cap. VII p. 526

(2) Jacques de Vitry p. 118

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Their efforts, admirably conceived and sedulously carried out, brought appreciation from the pilgrims themselves, and won commendation from the authorities of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the beginning they were few in number, not more than nine. They bound themselves by vow which they took before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, but they wore no regular habit. Their clothing was only such as the faithful gave them in charity. They vowed to guard the pilgrim routes, and to defend the pilgrims themselves, as well as to fight in the defence of the Christian Faith, in addition to the monastic vow of poverty, obedience and chastity. They were maintained by the gifts of the charitable and, in order to supplement this, certain benefices and other property was assigned to them. They seem to have called themselves originally "The Poor Fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ". They were known afterwards as the Knights of the Temple, because the accommodation given to them within the Precincts of the Royal Palace was situated near the Temple. They lived as canons regular, and their leaders were Hugues de Pains and Geoffroi de Saint Aldemar.

After they had served in this way for nine years they received a rule of their own. St. Bernard of Clairvaux was an admirer of the Templars, and to him they owed the seventy-one rules which governed the Order. Their constitution was fixed at the General Council of Troyes in 1128. In the Order were not only knights, but chaplains and also serving brothers.

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Their dress was a white vestment, and in the time of Pope Eugenius there was added to the white vestment the distinguishing decoration of the red cross. Once established the Order increased quickly in wealth and numbers. The Order was recruited from the noblest among the western nations. Only those of high rank were admitted as knights. Yet in spite of their strict requirements they found no difficulty in securing many recruits. The Christian countries of the west supplied them not only with the necessary warriors but also with splendid gifts. William of Tyre assures us that not a single Christian province failed to make some contribution to the wealth of the Order. As in the case of the Hospitallers the property of the Templars was used for the maintenance of the Order, and supplies were sent to provide for the wants of the combatants in Palestine. The Houses of the Order in Europe also sent a regular supply of reinforcements to the Holy Land for the warfare there.

The Templars shared with the Hospitallers the duty of providing the backbone of a standing army during the continuance of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It is true that the two Orders did not always work harmoniously together. Jealousies and dissensions between them were often a cause of weakness to the crusading cause. This was particularly true during the later stages of the warfare in the east. Wealth and distinction brought pride and enmity that more than once proved to be an

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obstacle in the way of success. Yet it is difficult to see how the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem could have maintained itself in the Holy Land as long as it did, but for the efforts of the Military Orders. They had many great faults and it is impossible to deny them, but they showed great heroism, and kept to their task with perseverance. While one may blame their faults, their courage commands respect. In the end they paid, and more than paid, for their faults in the cruel persecution with which they were rewarded when the Crusades had ended in failure. In the beginning they were welcomed and honoured by the Christian nations of the west. In this approbation Scotland had its share.

As with the Knights of St. John so also we must place the settlement of the Knights of the Temple in the Kingdom of Scotland during the time of David I. Hugh de Payens, who was at the head of the Order, made a recruiting expedition among the western nations immediately after the Templars were settled with their own rule. His purpose was to gain the sympathy of the Christian nations, and to secure for his Order an accession of men with gifts for their maintenance. In this he was remarkably successful. We know that he visited England, <sup>(1)</sup> and <sup>(2)</sup> the "Saxon Chronicle" tells us that he also visited Scotland. We are given to understand that he had a favourable reception.

(1) Roger de Hoveden I p.184

(2) "The Saxon Chronicle" p.357

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We learn of David's partiality towards the Order. Fordun tells us that he kept beside him the Brothers of the Temple and made them the guardians of his morals day and night. (1) They were evidently established in the land during the reign of Malcolm, his successor, for the same charter of Malcolm's which is signed in 1160 by Richard of the Hospital of Jerusalem is signed also (2) by Robert, Brother of the Temple.

There are few early charters concerning this Order, and only one royal charter. This does not imply that such did not exist. The suppression of the Templars after the crusading period evidently involved the scattering of the charters in their possession, or their total destruction. The Marquis d'Albon in his "Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre du Temple" gives no royal charters such as we find in the case of the Hospitallers.

It would seem, however, that like the Hospitallers they acquired tofts in each of the burghs. Reference is made to this in the "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree". In the record there of a gift of three tofts in the burgh to the Church of St. Andrews by Robert the Bishop, reference is made to the tofts held by the Templars in the burghs throughout the land. (3) There is at least one royal charter of confirmation which makes up for the want of other royal charters. It is preserved in the "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis". (4)

(1) "Chronica" Fordun Lib.V, Cap.XLI p.242

(2) "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree" p.205

(3) do p.124

(4) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" p.269 Vol.II

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The King who grants it is Alexander II, successor of William the Lion. It is dated the twenty-second year of his reign. This is a lengthy document which is more detailed than the royal confirmations given to the Hospitallers, and would seem to indicate that even in comparison with the Hospitallers, the Templars were specially favoured by the crown.

The charter of Alexander II begins with a confirmation of all gifts made by the King's predecessors as well as by others. This shows that gifts had been made by previous Scottish Kings, although no charter record of them remains. It ends by placing the Templars, their men and possessions under the special royal protection. The privileges are more fully detailed than in the case of the Hospitallers. The Templars are given full jurisdiction within their own territory and no exception is made even of the four causes usually reserved for the Crown. They are made free from tolls and customs. They are exempted from all secular services such as work usually demanded on royal houses or the fortification of castles. They have also liberties conceded with regard to the taking of wood from forests for their use, and in the cultivation of land reclaimed from the forest. Their liberties are not to lapse in cases where they have not been exercised. Everything is safeguarded to show them as specially privileged and exceptionally favoured.

While this charter gives but little indication of the



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extent of the Templar possessions in Scotland during the crusading period, it at least leaves us to infer that possessions so carefully guarded and specially privileged could hardly have been insignificant. We are led to expect, as we find it to have been the case, that the Templars in possessions and privileges were more favoured than the Hospitallers. At any rate we see the Order under special protection of the Crown. While there is wanting any chain of charters from succeeding monarchs, conveying new gifts or confirming old gifts, there is every indication that such must have been, and that the Templars were not behind the Hospitallers as recipients of the royal bounty, and in the esteem of the rulers of the land were set even above those of the other Military Order which established itself in Scotland.

## CHAPTER V

EARLY RECORDS OF THE TEMPLARS

The twelfth and thirteenth century documents and charters give only occasional glimpses of the nature and extent of the Templar property in Scotland. Such as they are, they merit attention. In the "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis" a charter, dating between 1175 and 1199, by Raan Corbeht, Master of the Temple in Scotland, gives to William Gley that full toft in the Burgh which the Templars had received from Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, together with the right to one net of fishing in the Clyde. The value of the property is twelve pennies per annum. (1)

In the first half of the thirteenth century the "Registrum Domus de Soltre" provides us with a charter of Duncan of Swaynystoun conveying land in the territory of Swaynystoun, which is described as next the land of the Templars beside Alricloue and the Spring of Chester. (2) Of later date in the same charter book there is reference to the land of whytwel, which is held from the Templars to the value of thirteen pennies annually. (3) The "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubotle" has two charters concerning land near Pefre and a toft and croft in the territory of Estfenton upon which an annual charge of thirteen pennies is due to the House of the Templars. (4)

(1) "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis" Vol. I p. 37 no 41

(2) "Registrum Domus de Soltre" p. 18 no 21

(3) do p. 28 no 34

(4) "Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle" pp. 26-27 nos 117-118

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Like the Hospitallers the Templars had interests in salt-works, to which two charters in the "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle" refer. The one charter, dated 1237, refers to possessions in Carse of Kalentyr. (1) The other charter refers to an agreement between the Monastery of Kelso and the Monastery of Newbattle. (2) In this agreement the rights of the Templars are assessed at fifteen shillings annually.

The "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" records the gift of the Church of Obeyne to the Templars by Randolph, Bishop of Aberdeen. (3) The gift is made about the middle of the thirteenth century to the Brothers of the Temple settled at Cultre. The church is given with chapels, lands, tithes, oblations and customs. The Brothers of the Temple are to have the right of presentation of a vicar, and are to allow him a suitable maintenance. He is to be responsible to the bishop in spiritual matters, but to the Templars in temporal concerns. This was confirmed by King Alexander.

Perhaps the most interesting document of this time is an agreement reached in a difference arising between the Templars and the Monastery of Kelso over the Chapel of the House of the Temple at Cultyr. The matter was debated before the Abbots

- (1) "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle" p.127 no 160
- (2) do do p.134 no 169
- (3) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" Vol.II pp.271-2

of Jedburgh and Holyrood, appointed for this purpose by the Apostolic See. The Abbots appointed the Sub-prior and Sacrist of Dryburgh their commissioners. The contention of Kelso was that they had obtained for their own use the Parish of Cultyr in the Diocese of Aberdeen. They quote an indulgence of Pope Urban IV to the effect that no one can build chapels in parishes obtained by them without their consent. They claim the greater and lesser tithes of the lands cultivated by the Templars there. The Templars on the other hand plead their special privileges from the Apostolic See. They claim their freedom from tithe, and their right to build chapels, and to reserve burying places for themselves and their men. They plead also their privileges with regard to the cultivation of waste land or forest. They urge that on their side there is peaceful possession for forty years and more. They maintain too the difficulty for their men of crossing the river. Both parties agree amicably to a settlement of the question. The Templars are to have their chapel with cemetery and baptistery. They are also to have the tithes, and for any part of the land of Kincoley, Esttully and Deliburry they are to pay annually (1) eight and a half marks. The date of this agreement is 1287.

Balantradoch was the headquarters of the Templars in Scotland, but the above charter shows that the Templars had

(1) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" Vol.II p.288  
 "Liber S. Marie de Calchou" Vol.I p.181 no 223

not only wide possessions in Culter, but also had an establishment there with a chapel. We see Culter to have been one of the Templar stations in Scotland, next in importance to Balantradoch.

Another interesting document may be mentioned here, although it belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century. It shows how this Order sometimes obtained possession of property, not from sympathetic generosity, but for reasons less creditable to both donor and Templars. John Edwards in the "Scottish Historical Review" gives an account of the charter of Brother Thomas de Lindesay, Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, to Robert, son of Alexander Symple of Haukerstoun. This is dated 1354.<sup>(1)</sup> The story seems to have been as follows. Certain land belonging to Robert the Scot descended to his daughter Christiana, who married William son of Galfrid. William conveyed the land to the Templars during his life, stipulating for his maintenance in the House of the Temple. A residence was assigned to Christiana and her three boys. On the death of the husband the Templars sought to eject from the property the widow and the three sons. In the course of the ejection some violence was used, and Christiana had one of her fingers cut off. An appeal by the widow to the King brought about her re-instatement, but during the war between Scotland and England she was again ejected. Brian de Jay,

(1) "Scottish Historical Review" Vol.V, p.17 -Oct.1907

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(1)

Master of the Temple in England, who was with the English in command of a body of Welsh soldiers at the Battle of Falkirk, was appealed to by Christiana, and it seems that at his instigation the eldest son Richard was treacherously slain. The matter ultimately came before the court of the Order at Balantradoch, when the property was restored to the widow. The document is interesting because it lets us see what the Order could sometimes do, and it is also interesting because of the list of tenants who were jurors in the court of Balantradoch. The names of the jurors are William Slyeth of Temple, Laurence son of Peter, Thomas de Megeth, John de Elewoldschawe, Richard de Yorkistoun, Adam Hoy, Richard de Esthouse, William Brown, Richard Doune, Richard de Groshauhope, William son of Mariota, Hugh de Haukyrstoun and Patrick son of David sutor of Arnaldistoun. As tenants of Templar land this list gives names of Templar property which it is not always easy to identify.

Regarding the privileges of the Order, Pope Innocent in 1139 forbade the exaction of tithes from the Templars in all lands, and confirmed to them other tithes gained with consent

(1) Matthew of Westminster, "Flores Historiarum"  
p. 527

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(1)  
of bishops either from clerics or laymen. There is also a mandate dated 1144 conferring on the Order generally, that when they arrive at any place interdicted, the church may on one occasion in the year be opened and divine offices celebrated, those excommunicated being excluded. (2)

Again a Bull of Pope Alexander directs bishops and archbishops generally to see that no one takes away or withholds what belongs of right to the Templars, and lays it down that if due warning fails to bring restoration the culprits shall be excommunicated. (3)

Like the Hospitallers the Templars were accused of exceeding their privileges or of presuming upon them in receiving churches from laymen, admitting the excommunicated and interdicted to ecclesiastical rites and giving them burial, instituting and removing priests from churches without due authority, and also of exceeding the privilege of having the church of an interdicted place opened once in the year. By decree of the Lateran Council of 1179 they are forbidden to receive churches or tithes from laymen without consent of bishops. They are to shun excommunicated and interdicted persons. They are not to institute priests to churches that do not wholly in full right belong to them, and they are not to remove them once instituted without consulting the bishop. At the same time the right is confirmed to Templars as well as Hospitallers to be admitted

(1) D'Albon V p.375

(2) do VIII p.381

(3) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" Vol.II  
p.259

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to ecclesiastical service in the church of an interdicted place once in the year and no more, but they are not to bury there any dead bodies. (1)

There is a Bull of Honorius confirming to the Templars the right to take the third part of all the goods of any of their men leaving an heir behind, and half of the goods of those who die without heirs. (2) They are being resisted in this by others of the clergy, who are warned to leave the Templars in this accepted right. A papal mandate of 1247 instructs the Bishop of St. Andrews to see that Templars going to the Holy Land are not molested. (3) The Templars are with the Hospitallers and certain other religious orders exempted from the collection of a tenth of church revenues in Scotland, which collection is entrusted to Ottobon in 1265. (4) The Templars and Hospitallers are alone exempted from the collection during six years of the tenth of church revenues in Scotland in 1291. (5)

There are but few names of Templars given during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries so far as Scotland is concerned. The charter of King Malcolm of date 1160, which is signed by Richard of the Hospital of Jerusalem, is also signed by Robert,

(1) William of Newburgh Lib.III, Cap.III, p. 515

Roger de Hoveden II p.189

(2) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" Vol.II p. 260

(3) Bliss Vol.I, 232

(4) " Vol.I p.429 & Le Roulx Vol.III p.141, 3224

(5) " Vol.I p.551 & do Vol.III p.588, 4150



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(1)  
 Brother of the Temple. The charter of Raan Corbeht, Master of the Temple in Scotland conveying the toft in the Burgh of Glasgow is witnessed by Brother Roger the Almoner, Brother Alan the Preceptor, Brother Anketino, Brother William and Warin the Chaplain. There are also as witnesses Peter, described as our cleric, and Walter our cleric, also John and

(2)  
 Hugh our clerics. It is suggested by John Edwards in the "Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society" that Alan the Preceptor may have been in charge of the Templar

(3)  
 House at Maryculter. In the "Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis" the confirmation of the gift of a toft and croft by the Bishop between the years 1224 and 1242 is signed by Henry the  
 (4)  
 Templar.

Like the Hospitallers the Templars in Scotland were part of the English Province, and were under the Head of the English House. The documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries give us but little assistance in estimating the extent of the Templar property, but at least we learn something of its varied nature, and catch a glimpse of privileges which the Order enjoyed. We see also something of the arrogance which marks their treatment of the widow Christiana. Yet with it all we see little of the hostility against the Order which

- (1) "Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree" p.205
- (2) "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis" Vol.I. p.37 no41
- (3) "Scot. Ecc. Soc." IV p.42 (1912-3)
- (4) "Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis" no 96 p.111

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was soon to be shown in other countries in which the Templars had established themselves, a hostility which ultimately led to the suppression of the Order, and the handing over of their possessions, or part of them, to the Hospitallers.

We have the same valuation of the property of the Templars in the time of the Crusades as we have in the case of the Hospitallers. Prior Philip de Thame who valued the returns from the Hospitaller property as two hundred marks per annum, valued the Templar property in much the same way. At the time of his valuation in 1338 he says that the Templar property was returning nothing because of the destructive war which had continued for some time, but he adds that formerly it could (1) be reckoned on to provide three hundred marks each year. A sum of two hundred pounds as the annual return to headquarters from Templar property in Scotland does not seem to give an impression of great wealth. Even when we reckon the return to headquarters as about one third of the annual income, it does not seem particularly large. At least it serves to indicate that of the two Military Orders in Scotland the Templars were wealthier, and that as compared with the Hospitallers their property was half as much again. This estimate is helpful when we come to deal with the property of the Hospitallers after the Templars were suppressed and the greater part

(1) "The Knights Hospitallers in England" Larking p.201

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of what they possessed had come into the hands of the Knights of St. John. Of the joint property we are fairly safe in saying that two fifths belonged originally to the Hospitallers, and three fifths to the Templars.

## CHAPTER VI

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS

Hardly had the Crusades reached their unsuccessful conclusion, and the Christian combatants withdrawn from the Holy Land before dark accusations began to be heard against the Templars. Their wealth had excited the envy of the avaricious. Their pride and their privileges had gained the ill-will of the clerics. The gravest suspicions were voiced and found credence. It was maintained that the neophyte was required thrice to renounce Christ, and to spit on the crucifix; that indecent kisses were exchanged between the preceptor and the neophyte; that the belts worn by the knights had been consecrated to idolatry; that the priests failed to consecrate the Host in the Mass; that a cat was worshipped in the Chapters; that the Grand Master or Preceptor could absolve from all sin; that the Brothers were ordered not to confess to priests outside their Order; that all were required to gain property for the Order by fair means or otherwise. It was a heavy indictment, and in the various countries in which the Templars had established themselves an examination was ordered.

We are fortunate in having a full account of the examination of those of the Order in Scotland.<sup>(1)</sup> This took place in the Abbey of Holyrood at Edinburgh in the year 1309

(1) "Processus factus contra Templarios in Scotia" in "Spottiswoode's Miscellany" Vol.II p.7

before William, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Iohannes de Solerio, papal clerk, who were commissioned for this purpose by mandate of Pope Clement V. The record of the proceedings by the notary makes interesting reading. There are only two Brothers of the Order remaining in Scotland, and their examination comes first.

Walter de Clifton is the Preceptor of the Order at Balantradoch. In the course of his evidence he brings to light the following facts. He is English by birth, and has been about ten years in the Order, having been received into the Order at Bruera in the County of Lincoln by William de la More, Master of the Order in England and in Scotland. The Brothers of the Order received their observances from the Master in England, who, again, received them from the Grand Master of the Order and from statutes and observances of his Chapter General. The Order in England has been visited from time to time by the Grand Master or his delegates. The details of his admission to the Order are given. At his earnest supplication, there being no barrier, his request is granted. On his knees with clasped hands he promises to be the servant of the Master and Brothers for the defence of the Holy Land. Having risen again, he takes the vow of poverty, chastity and obedience on the Gospels and the Cross. Giving him the mantle of the Order, and placing the cap on his head, the Master admits him with a kiss upon the mouth. At the initiation no one outside the

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Order is present, for this is the custom. He himself has been stationed for three years at Balantradoch in Scotland, for three years in England at Newsom, for one year at London, and for three years at Reckelay and Hasdakely. Two of the Order have abandoned the Order and fled on the outcry being raised against them, namely Brother Thomas Tucci and Brother John de Huseflete, the latter having been for two years his predecessor as Preceptor at Balantradoch. Both of these Brothers are English by birth. He denies all the charges against the Templars, only he says that the Grand Master, Preceptors and visitors could grant absolution to the Brothers except for homicide, or laying violent hands on a priest. They have this power from the Holy See. At two chapters held he has seen the Master absolve all the Brothers generally. The year of probation is not required before admission.

The other Brother who is examined is William de Middleton. He is English by birth, and was admitted to the Order before Brian le Jay, who was then Master of the Order in England. Since his admission he has been for five years in different places in England, For two years he has been in Scotland at Balantradoch and Maryculter. He has been in Northumbria by turns for three years in different places. He has never seen anyone admitted to the Order in Scotland. Other evidence which he gives is in agreement with that of Walter de Clifton. With regard to the visitation of the Order in England, he has seen

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Hugo Perraut on his visitation from France, and has heard of another visitation made by him. The Head of the Order in England was in the habit of attending the Chapter in France every five years. On his reception into the Order he was enjoined by the Master that he was not to accept any service from women, not even water to wash his hands.

In addition to these two Brothers forty-nine witnesses were examined. The majority of these were clerics and men of various religious orders, although there were also laymen among them. There were Abbots from various monasteries, Dunfermline, Holyrood and Newbattle. There were representatives from the friars. There were chaplains who were neighbours and had done duty for the Templars. The last witness whose evidence is detailed was one who had been for seventeen years a servant of the Order in Scotland.

The first of these witnesses, the Abbot of Dunfermline, states that he does not know for certain, but has heard it said that they have sinister rites. He has a strong suspicion against them because of the secret initiation of the Brothers, and because their chapters are held by night. He has never heard of any of the Order being initiated in Scotland. The next four witnesses corroborate the evidence of the first. The sixth witness confirms their testimony, and adds that he has never known any of the Order make confession to the friars or the secular clergy, and with this evidence the seventh witness

agrees. The eighth witness adds the information that the Templars seek to obtain the possessions of their neighbours by fair means or foul, and that only the rich and powerful receive their hospitality. The next four witnesses have nothing to add to what has already been said, and the same is true of the one who follows. Another witness in addition to supporting what has already been declared says that he has neither seen nor heard where any Brother of the Temple is buried, or that he died a natural death. Then follow eleven witnesses who repeat the evidence already given. The next nine are in the same position. The evidence of six witnesses is now given to the effect that they know nothing against the said Brothers, and cannot speak of their initiation which is always secret, a fact which in itself is suspicious because it is different with the other religious orders. Their final argument is that if the Templars had been good Christians they would not have lost the Holy Land. The last witness, who has been a servant of the Templars, contributes the information that he has seen the Templars absolve the excommunicated on the ground that they had papal authority for doing so. At least this is the last witness whose evidence is quoted. Eight neighbours and cultivators of Templar land, who follow, simply corroborate.

Such is the account of the examination of the Templars in Scotland. It is interesting to note that there are the two Templar seats in Scotland, Balantradoch and Maryculter, the



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former being the headquarters of the Order in the Kingdom. At the time of the examination there are only two Brothers of the Order remaining in Scotland. It is true that there had been two others who had forsaken the habit and fled. At the most there were only four Brothers ultimately in Scotland, although, of course, by this time the Order had been subject to many casualties in the east and had fallen on evil days. This hardly gives the impression that Scotland gave residence to a large number of the Order. Of the four Brothers referred to in the inquiry all are of English birth, and the evidence seems to show that there was seldom an initiation in Scotland.

The evidence given against the Templars in the course of the examination seems mild. One wonders what a court of justice would make of it in present days. The worst that is said about the Order is that they have raised suspicions by their clandestine proceedings, and that the impression is abroad that in the matter of absolution they have tended to exceed their powers. In fact the evidence is rather tame, and though many witnesses of all sorts are questioned, there is no great heat of hostility shown. Perhaps to one present there may have been some sign of it, but at least the notary in his record of proceedings has reduced the evidence to a very colourless affair. At the same time the impression is left that there was little of the violent antipathy to the Order which can be seen in other countries. They do not seem to have

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made so many bitter enemies as elsewhere. One would like to think that our country adopted a more merciful attitude than was taken by others. It is perhaps nearer the mark to recognise that the possessions of the Order in Scotland were more modest, and not so likely to arouse cupidity in the other religious orders, or among the other clergy, or even among the laity. It would seem that with fewer numbers in Scotland their arrogance was not so conspicuous, and did not prove so annoying. At any rate the inquiry at Holyrood does not reveal any very great faults in the Order, nor does it reveal any great enmity against it.

We may be thankful for this mildness of animosity against the Templars, for the Order can hardly have been as bad as the worst that was said of it. Its main defect in the eyes of Christian Europe was that it had become too wealthy, and there were those who cast envious eyes on its broad acres and rich possessions. One cannot help feeling that if the Order had been poorer, its sins would not have been regarded as so heinous. The witness at Holyrood who stated as the great crime of the Templars that they had lost the Holy Land was nearest of all to the truth. The wars in the east were past. The Holy Land had been evacuated by the Christians. There was no longer need of such a standing army as the Templars and other Military Orders had for two centuries provided, nor was there need any longer for the rich possessions in Christian Europe

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to supply the wants and to provide the recruits of the Templars in the fighting line. The Templars had shown many faults, but they had also shown much courage and endurance, and it might be wished that their suppression had not been accompanied with the cruelty shown by many nations. Wealth and privilege however excite envy, and wealth and privilege the Order had enjoyed. Now that the object for which they had been brought into existence no longer required their services, these services were soon forgotten, and envy remained. The envy which remained showed neither mercy nor honesty. The suspicions of a superstitious age made much of little, and the once proud Order was soon humbled.

By a Papal Bull of Clement V and a decree of the Council of Vienna the Templar lands were transferred to the Hospitallers. From this time on we must reckon the Templar and Hospitaller property as one. It is not easy to distinguish between them sometimes, but we have always the estimate of them about this time as three fifths Templar and two fifths Hospitaller, which gives us something to go on. It is by no means certain that all the Templar property found its way into the possession of the Knights of St. John, but at least a great part of it seems to have done so, and we have many records of the joint property in the following years.

## CHAPTER VII

LATER RECORDS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS

For a fuller idea of the possessions of the Templars and the Hospitallers we must look to records and documents later than the thirteenth century. These do not describe fresh gifts bestowed upon the Military Orders, but refer to property already in their possession. Such later documents have this disadvantage that they are dealing with joint property, and therefore do not always reveal with distinctness whether they had been originally Hospitaller or Templar, but they let us see something of the property ultimately in the hands of the Order of St. John, and they can generally be allocated in the proportion set forth in the valuation of Philip de Thame, namely two fifths Hospitaller and three fifths Templar. These documents may be divided into two classes. There are those which give indication of different places where there were possessions of the Military Orders, and there are those which deal with these properties generally.

There is a charter of about the beginning of the fourteenth century in the "Registrum Monasterii de Passelet" which refers to land belonging to the House of Torphichen in the town of Mearns. It is a gift of land by Herbert of Maxwell to the Church of St. James and St. Mirrin of Paisley, and designates the land belonging to the House of Torphichen as one

# LATER RECORDS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS

(1)

of the boundaries. In the "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubotle" we have two charters which show that Torphichen had an interest in a tenement in Leith on which was due to the

(2)

Order of St. John the sum of one pound per annum. The date of one of the charters is 1327. About the year 1330

we have the record in the "Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou" of a gift by Sirildis Saddeler in augmentation of a chantry in the Church of St. James of Roxburgh. The land conveyed

lies in the town and territory of Heton in the Barony of Oxenham, and is held from the Hospital of St. John for payment yearly of the service due to the Hospital. The "Spottiswoode

(3)

Miscellany" quotes a charter belonging to Sir Norman Macdonald Lockhart of Carnwath in which is granted to Adam Pakok by William More, Guardian of the Hospital of St. John of Torphichen and Brother Robert of Culter, Procurator of the Hospital, half of all the lands of St. John in Cowanston. The payment to be made to Torphichen is two shillings a year. This charter belongs to the reign of David II.

(4)

Coming to the first half of the fifteenth century we find that the Knights of St. John have an interest in the Prebend of Kinkel which is restored to the Church of Aberdeen in 1420.

(5)

- (1) "Registrum Monasterii de Passelet" p.379.
- (2) "Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle" p.39 no 50 & p.230 no 270
- (3) "Liber S. Marie de Calchou" p.381 no 491
- (4) "The Spottiswoode Miscellany" Vol. II p.4
- (5) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" Vol.II p.253

# LATER RECORDS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS -----

Lands of Fayrlaw and half the lands of Litil Werthill are given by Alan de Futhas, Canon of Moray and Ross, for the upkeep of a chaplain in the Church of Aberdeen. On this land service is

(1) due to Torphichen. There is also mention of Templar

land in the vicinity of Corstorphine in a charter of the "Ecclesia Collegiata de Corstorphine" in the "Registrum Ecclesie Collegiate Sancte Trinitatis de Edinburgh". (2) We

have already seen the tithes of the Church of Obayne confirmed to the Templars at Culter, and we find in the Exchequer Accounts of 1438 that a sum of twenty three pounds six shillings

and eight pence is received by Sir John Kyndeloch and Thomas of Torphichen in lieu of the teinds of the Churches of Obyne and Kylbethow. (3)

The "Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis" has a group of charters concerning possessions of the Templars near Kethik. They consist of a Templar croft and tenement lying in the town of Kethik in the County of Forfar, and a certain piece of land lying within the town of Dalzady. The extent of the ground seems to be about four acres of arable land and the payment made for it to the Order of St. John is six shillings and eight pence annually. It was originally in the hands of David Conan who disposed of it first to David Dempster of Ouchterless and ultimately to the Bishop of Brechin. (4)

(1) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" Vol. I p. 220

(2) "Registrum Ecclesie Collegiate Sancte Trinitatis de Edinburgh" p. 297

(3) "Scottish Historical Review" Vol. IX no 33 p. 52 Oct. 1911

(4) "Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis" Vol. I p. 37 no 27 p. 89 no 52, p. 97 no 55, p. 104 no 57, pp. 141-2 nos 70-71, p. 144 no 73, p. 165 no 81.

# LATER RECORDS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS

The transactions took place about the middle of the fifteenth century.

In the second half of the fifteenth century we have reference to certain land in Renfrewshire which was held by the Military Orders. The "Nugae Derelictae" of James Maidment and Robert Pitcairn quotes a document dated 1460 in which Henry of Levyngstoun, designated Commander of the Temple of St. John, makes Sir Johne Rosse of Hawkehed and Johne of Modyrvell, Chaplain, his procurators in all pertaining to the lands of the Ryvra in the Barony of Renfrew, comprising a tenandry and toft of St. John. (1) While in the "Scottish Historical Review" there is quoted by John Edwards a charter by Sir William Knollis, Preceptor of the Hospital of St. John, to Bartholomew Johnson of Northbar in 1472 granting the lands of Tucheen, at Inchinnan, Renfrewshire, formerly held by Robert, Lord Lyle. These lands are to be held for a sum of seven shillings yearly. (2) The "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" in a charter of lands in the Burgh of Kyntor makes mention of the Temple land of the House of St. John of Torphichen there as one of the boundaries. (3)

In the beginning of the sixteenth century there is

(1) "Nugae Derelictae" VII

(2) "Scottish Historical Review" XII no 47 p.380 -April 1915

(3) "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" Vol. I p.340

# LATER RECORDS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS

recorded the transfer of fourteen acres of Templar land in the town and territory of Gullyne, which appear to have been of the annual value of five marks. <sup>(1)</sup> In the "Acta Dominorum Concilii" at the beginning of the sixteenth century there is mention of a suit raised against the Magistrates of Stirling by George, Lord St. Johns, for breaking the privilege of St. John and taking a Temple land in the Burgh from one Thomas Bynny. <sup>(2)</sup> Spotiswood in his "Religious Houses" refers to a charter by Walter Lindsay, Lord of St. John and Preceptor of Torphichen, granting to James Dundas of Craighton and Elizabeth Hamilton the lands of Nether-Newliston. This is dated 1533. <sup>(3)</sup>

Towards the end of the sixteenth century there is mention of lands of the House of Torphichen in the town of Leith. They are given as a boundary for a tenement conveyed by Jacobus Bannatyne to his son. <sup>(4)</sup> In the year 1596 there is a charter by James Sandilands, Lord Torphichen, giving to John Swintoun, son and heir of Robert Swintoun, the Templar lands called Tempilhous in Whiteburn with garden and croft and the Templar land of Stridlingis, extending to two husband-lands, near Swintoun. The annual payment is small, namely twelve pence. <sup>(5)</sup>

About 1620 in an abstract of the tax of the teinds of

- (1) "Reg. Ecc. Coll. S. Trin. de Edinburgh" p.383 Dalkeith
- (2) "Nugae Derelictae" III p.6 (XIII)
- (3) "Religious Houses" Spotiswood Cap. XIV p.439
- (4) "Reg. Ecc. Coll. S. Trin. de Edinburgh" p.146 no 119
- (5) "The Swintons of that ilk" A.C.S. p.CXLV



LATER RECORDS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS

the Churches of the Abbey of Dryburgh there is a letter of tack of date eighteenth day of July 1604 set to Sir John Ker of Firsell of the teind sheaves of certain lands in which are included the Temple lands of St. Boswells. (1) There is also in the "Chartulary of Torphichen" an abstract regarding the Barony and lands of Auldliston, of Tempill of Ballintrado with Faistoun and the land of Twaddil. Temple Mains and the teind sheaves of Temple Parish are assigned to Andrew Lindsay for a yearly payment of six marks. To Andrew Lindsay is also assigned the six mark land of Outherston and the four mark land of Caldwellis as well as the ten mark land of Yorkstoun. (2) The "Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum" has very frequent references to what is described as Templar land.

Apart from records of separate possessions held by the Military Orders there are documents dealing with the property generally. There is the text of an Act of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John, by name Philibert de Naillac, which is recorded in the archives of Malta. (3) Philibert de Naillac was Grand Master from 1396 to 1421, and his Act is dated 1418. The original is quoted by John Edwards in the "Scottish Historical Review". The property of the Military Orders is divided into three. Brother John Benyn receives the Church

(1) "Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh" p.320 XXXVI

(2) "Chartulary of Torphichen" quoted in "Scot. Ecc. Soc" IV pp. 8-9

(3) "Scottish Historical Review" Vol. IX p. 52 no 33-Oct. 1911

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of Torphichen with teinds, oblations and other emoluments by reason of the cure of souls, together with the rents of the lands of Locharis in the Barony of Torphichen, the value of which amounts to about two hundred and sixty pounds a year, and out of this Brother Benyn is to pay to the common treasury of the Order a sum of about eighty pounds. The second Brother Thomas Gudwyn, the Preceptor, receives the Church of Balantradoch, the teinds, oblations and other emoluments by reason of the cure of souls, together with the two mills and rents of the lands of Hudepath and Esperstoun and Utherstoun, amounting annually to one hundred and forty pounds from which he shall return to the treasury approximately forty four pounds. The remainder of the emoluments and dues of the Order in the Kingdom go to Brother Alexander de Lahton who will pay to the treasury roughly three hundred and twenty five pounds. The annual value is not stated, but, assessed at the same proportion as the others in respect to the annual contribution to the treasury, it would amount to over one thousand pounds. According to this the total property would be worth something like fourteen hundred pounds per annum from which the total contribution to the treasury of the Order would be about four hundred and fifty pounds. The comment of John Edwards on this document is that obviously the first two are chaplains with the cure of souls, and the third is the head in Scotland and not a chaplain.

# LATER RECORDS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS

The lands of Drem were an important part of the possessions of the Military Orders. In the beginning of the fourteenth century Reginald More would seem to have been the holder of at least part of them. In "An Index, drawn up about the Year 1629, of many Records of Charters granted by the different Sovereigns of Scotland between the Years 1309 and 1413, most of which Records have been long missing" by William Robertson there is a charter of the time of King Robert I to Reginald More of the lands of Templestoun and Scheills, given to him by Rodolphus Lindsay, Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

(1) About the middle of the fourteenth century there is a "Mandatum Citationis" on behalf of Alexander de Seton of Torphichen from which it appears that Sir William More and his father Reginald had obtained lands of St. John to the value of four hundred and twenty one pounds sixteen shillings and six pence.

(2) In the list of charters of David II's time there is one to Alexander Haliburton of the lands of Dreme in the shire of Edinburgh which William More resigned.

(3) When we come to the year 1606 we find that there is the confirmation of the sale of certain Templar lands, which were purchased by Robert Williamson and James Tennent of Lynehouse.

(4) Tennent sold his

(1) Robertson's "Index" XXXVI p.11

(2) "Registrum de Dunfermelyn" p.196 no 308

(3) Robertson's "Index" XLIV p.31

(4) "Acta Parliamentorum Jacobi VI" 1606 cap. 82

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share to Williamson who obtained a charter disjoining his purchase from the Barony of Torphichen and Liston in the County of Edinburgh, Denny in the County of Stirling, Thankerton in the County of Lanark, Balantradoch in the County of Edinburgh, Maryculter in the County of Kincardine, and Stanhope in the County of Peebles. There were also exempted the Temple lands of Paistoun, Templehall, Templehirst, a Temple land in Corstorphine, Halkerstoun, Rylawknow, Castletoun, Snypis, Deniside, Harberstoun, a Temple land in Crichton, Langton, Harperrig, and Kirknewton all in the County of Edinburgh. The property was later sold to Lord Binning, afterwards Earl of Taddington, who obtained a charter erecting the lands into  
(1)  
the Barony of Drem.

The last Preceptor of St. John of Jerusalem resigned his possessions into the hands of queen Mary who gave them to him in feu for ten thousand crowns and a yearly payment of five hundred marks. The charter is given in the "Spottiswoode Miscellany" and the property is described as the lands and baronies of Torphichen, Liston, Ballantradoch, Thankerton, Denny, Maryculter, Stanhope and Galtua in the Counties of Edinburgh, Peebles, Linlithgow, Stirling, Lanark, Kincardine

(1) "Nugae Derelictae" XIII

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(1)

and Kirkcudbright. Spotiswood in his "Religious Houses" tells us that the lands in East Lothian and Fife were afterwards made over to George Lauder of Bass. Those within the Sheriffdom of Perth and the Stewartry of Strathern were made over to David, Lord Scone. Those within the Shires of Dumfries, Lanark, Wigtown, and the Stewartries of Annandale and Kirkcudbright were transferred to Captain William Ross and from him  
(2)  
to Ross of Auchlossin.

Such documents serve to give us an idea of the possessions of the Military Orders and show us that they were far from being negligible. We see that they were more extensive than the earlier charters would seem to show, and that they were more valuable than the estimate of Philip de Thame might seem to indicate.

(1) "The Spottiswoode Miscellany" Vol. II p. 25

(2) "Religious Houses" Spotiswood Chap. XIV p. 439

## CHAPTER VIII

THE STRENGTH OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

In seeking to come to some conclusion as to the strength and property of the Military Orders in Scotland it may be of assistance to set down under the various counties a list of the places where records seem to show the existence of land either Templar or Hospitaller. Such a list is given in the next chapter. The list is not exhaustive, and at the same time there may be lands mentioned that cannot absolutely be shown to have belonged to the Knights of St. John or to the Knights of the Temple. The occurrence of the word Temple as part of the name of a place does not allow us to conclude that beyond a doubt it was Templar land, although it suggests the possibility. Still less does the name St. John as part of the designation of any property prove conclusively that the property in question was originally in possession of the Hospitallers. No more can be said of it than that it may have been.

It is also clear that the designation Templar land does not always mean that it belonged to the Templars. The designation Templar land came to be applied indiscriminately to both Templar and Hospitaller land, so that we cannot always accurately distinguish between the two in documents that bear a date later than the passing over of the Templar property to

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the Knights of St. John. With such later documents we have to take the two properties together, and to content ourselves with the estimated proportion between the two as given by Philip de Thame.

Looking at the list under the various counties we may naturally ask if all this property was in the possession of the two Orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At a later time we find them recorded as Templar or Hospitaller, but were they so during the crusading years? This is a question which it is difficult to answer with anything like certainty. It seems hardly likely that gifts would be bestowed upon the Military Orders after they had ceased to fulfil a useful purpose in the venture in the Holy Land, for which they had come into existence. It is difficult to think that many of such properties would be purchased by the House of St. John after the thirteenth century. Purchases of such a scattered nature and of small extent would hardly show much wisdom. The eagerness with which, particularly in later documents, land is claimed as Templar land would serve to arouse the suspicion that owing to the privileges attaching to the Templar land there were those who by some means passed their land over to the Order of St. John on condition that they received it back again for a nominal annual feu with the privilege of Templar land added. At the same time, if that were true, it seems strange that the Templar land often forms part of a

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greater property the remainder of which is not claimed as Templar. One can hardly think of part of a property being placed ingeniously under Templar privilege while the rest remained outside of it. Some might, of course, claim the Templar privilege without the land being in any way connected with either Military Order. There must, however, have been some kind of check on such a proceeding. We are forced to conclude that the greater part of such properties belonged to the Military Orders, and at the same time to admit that there must have been other lands of the Military Orders not mentioned in such charters as have come to us.

A consideration of the list as it stands shows us that the property was scattered, and that it was mostly made up of small pieces of no great extent and of no very high value. It was mostly spread over the south and east of Scotland. In some districts there was more of it than others. Some counties had little or no Templar property, particularly in the west and in the extreme north. Even when you find a group of properties declared to be either Templar or Hospitaller you find that the group is made up of small pieces separated from each other. John Edwards who has done valuable work in seeking to assess the extent and value of the property belonging to the Military Orders warns us against too high an estimate of the value of it. This is wise. At the same time we have some evidence that the Military Orders really had possessions in almost every part



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of the country. Those who tell us this are right. At the same time those who are modest in their estimate of the value of the Templar and Hospitaller property are also right. Was not the scattered nature of the property its weakness financially? Small pieces of land here and there throughout the country could not have been profitably cultivated by the Military Orders even had they had sufficient serving brothers to do it, and knights, chaplains or bailiffs to superintend it. The scattered nature of the gifts made to the Military Orders shows the popularity of the Orders throughout the land, at least in the earlier days of their history, but it certainly made the profitable development of the property a difficult proposition. In the case of the monasteries a fair proportion of their lands was in the vicinity of the monasteries. Besides the monks were good farmers, while the Templars and Hospitallers were not. These knights were men of the sword. Even from the earliest times the Military Orders were content to rent or feu to others the scattered parcels of land which they could not profitably cultivate for themselves. The tofts and tenements in burghs also seem mostly to have been let or fued. There is not much evidence of settlements of the Military Orders except at Torphichen, the headquarters of the Hospitallers, Balantradoch and Maryculter for the Templars. Philip de Thame with his estimate of five hundred marks as the total contribution of the two Orders to their headquarters, while modest enough, is quite consistent with numerous properties

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scattered as were the properties of the Military Orders and under the conditions prevailing. The Templar and Hospitaller property was far from being negligible and long after the Crusades it remained a subject of special privilege.

If it is difficult to estimate the extent of the property of the Military Orders in Scotland, it is even more difficult to assess their strength in men. Speaking of the Hospitallers in the "Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society" John Edwards says, "It was not so much the amount of money or the quantity of natural products of the country capable of being dispatched annually from Scotland to the east that attracted the Order and caused its permanent stay among us, as the richness of the land in men exactly suited to its constant demands for drafts of hardy warriors to fill the places left vacant by disease and death in Palestine, Egypt and other eastern lands".<sup>(1)</sup>

Whatever their expectations may have been, we have evidence of a widely distributed generosity in gifts bestowed upon the Military Orders, but little or no evidence of great recruiting success among the nobility or the commonalty of the Kingdom. The requirements in the matter of birth were high for those who would gain admission to the Orders as Knights, and we have no sign of

(1) "Scottish Ecc. Society" Vol. II p 382

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great accessions to the ranks of serving brothers or chaplains. As we have already seen, there are but few names given of those connected with the Orders in Scotland. Among the Templars Robert, Brother of the Temple, was evidently in 1160 at the Court of Malcolm IV. The charter of Raan<sup>~</sup> Corbeht, Master of the Temple in Scotland, conveying a toft in the Burgh of Glasgow, is witnessed by Brother Roger the Almoner, Brother Alan the Preceptor, Brother Anketino, Brother William and Warin the Chaplain, with also Peter, Walter, John and Hugh described as our clerics. From this it would appear that there are at this time in Scotland at least five Brothers and one Chaplain. It is, of course, quite possible that there are others in Scotland who are absent. David I made the Templars his companions, and that would seem to reveal the presence in Scotland of some in his day. Of course they were not recruited to remain in Scotland. They were recruited to be drafted to the east where their arms were needed. In 1309 there are but two Brothers of the Order in Scotland. There have been four but two have fled. Yet all four are English by birth. Naturally by this time the warfare in the east has sadly depleted the Order. It has fallen on evil days, and suspicions are rife. It would perhaps be otherwise in the more prosperous days of the Order, but our evidence is slight and is not encouraging.

THE STRENGTH OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

With regard to the Hospitallers, Richard of the Hospital is evidently in the good graces of Malcolm IV in 1160. Two names are given of Brothers of Torphichen in the dispute over the tithes of Ogilface, namely Brother H. Arundel and Brother Galtum de Stanford. About this time also Walter is Master of Torphichen. In the middle of the thirteenth century Archibald is the Master of the House of Torphichen, and in 1252 there is the signature of Brother Theobald, Master of Torphichen. The Master of Torphichen in 1291 is Alexander de Welles. During the war between Scotland and England there is but one Brother of the Order in the country.<sup>(1)</sup> The lack of evidence, however, does not allow us to presume that in men Scotland did not make its contribution to the ranks of the Templars and Hospitallers. It may well have done so although no record of it is given to us.

(1) "The Knights Hospitallers" Larking p.129

## CHAPTER IX

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

## County of Aberdeen

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

PLACE	AUTHORITY	DATE OF AUTHORITY
Aberdeen	"Retours" 234 Described as Templar land with garden in Aberdeen to the annual value of 2/-.	1638
Aboyne	"Regist. Ep. Aberdon" Vol. II pp. 271-2 The Church of Aboyne was given by Bishop Randolph to the Templars.	1840 c
Auchlownie	"Retours" 182 Lands with salmon fishing on the Dee, value 26/8 per annum.	1623
Blairs	"Reg. Ep. Aberdon" Vol. II p 288 Land belonging to the Templars at Culter.	1287
Chrystiskirk	"Retours" 178 Templar land also called Rothmurriell, value 4/- per annum.	1623
Delibury	"Reg. Ep. Aberdon" Vol. II p 288 Land belonging to the Templars at Culter.	1287
Essie	"Retours" 260 Templar land in the Barony of Strathboyle.	1642
Estertully	"Reg. Ep. Aberdon. Vol. II p 288 Land belonging to the Templars at Culter.	1287
Forgue	"Retours" 516 Temple crofts with patronage of the Churches of Forgue and Innerkeithney.	1622
Frendraucht	"Retours" 308 & 372 Templar land on the Deveron.	1651 & 1664

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Aberdeen

- Fulziement** "Retours" 260 1642  
Templar lands in the Barony of Auchindoir which along with Essie were of the annual value of 20/-.
- Hayrlaw** "Reg.Fp.Aberdon." Vol.I p. 220 1424  
Land given to the Church of Aberdeen which owes service to Torphichen.
- Kinkel** "Reg.Fp.Aberdon." Vol.II p. 253 1420  
The Prebend of Kinkel had a connection with the Order of St. John.
- Kintore** "Reg.Fp.Aberdon." Vol.I p. 340 1498  
Templar land of the House of St. John which is given as a boundary of land within the Burgh.
- Kyncolsi** "Reg.Fp.Aberdon." Vol.II p. 288 1287  
Land belonging to the Templars at Culter.
- Little Werthill** "Reg.Fp.Aberdon." Vol.I p. 220 1424  
Is mentioned along with Hayrlaw owing service to Torphichen.
- Maryculter** "Reg.Fp.Aberdon." Vol.I p. 247  
The boundaries of the Templar land at Maryculter are given.  
"Reg.Fp.Aberdon." Vol.II p. 288 1287  
The Chapel at Culter is in dispute as well as the tithes of the Templar land in the neighbourhood.
- Midltoune** "Retours" 395 & 421 1669 & 1674  
There are Templar lands in Midltoune, value £8 per annum.
- Tempillcroft** "Retours" 178 1623  
The tithes of Tempillcroft are mentioned along with Templar land evidently in the neighbourhood of Insch.
- Templeford** "Retours" 516 1699  
Mentioned with Templar lands of Forgue.
- Templeland** "Retours" 516 1699  
Mentioned with Templar lands of Forgue.
- Tulichezint** "Reg.Fp.Aberdon" Vol.II p. 288 1287  
Land belonging to the Templars at Culter.

County of Argyll.

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Ayr

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.

"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1396

- |  |                           |                    |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Auchinlek  | "Retours" 217 & 519       | 1622 & 1680        |
| Templar land with salmon fishing in the Lugar, value 22s per annum.  |                           |                    |
| Cumnock  | "Retours" 686 & 694       | 1695 & 1697        |
| A portion of the lands of Templeland within the Church lands of Cumnock.   |                           |                    |
| Dreghorn   | "Retours" 133 & 510 & 603 | 1616 & 1661 & 1677 |
| Five shilling land called Templeland of Dreghorn.  |                           |                    |
| Eister Tempeltoun  | "Retours" 551             | 1666               |
| Land in the vicinity of Dundonald of the annual value of £16.13.4. It has no further indication of connection with the Templars than the name.   |                           |                    |
| Girvan   | "Retours" 64              | 1603               |
| A rood of Templar land west of the Church of Girvan, with a piece of Templar land at the back of the cemetery and another portion of Templar land about half an acre in extent. The annual value is 2/-. |                           |                    |
| Hapland  | "Retours" 454             | 1653               |
| Described as Templar land in the district of Kilwinning. Its annual value was twelve pence.  |                           |                    |
| Kingskyl   | "Retours" 638             | 1685               |
| Templar lands and tenements in the neighbourhood of Riccarton.   |                           |                    |
| Kyllstewart  | "Retours" 638             | 1685               |
| Templar lands and tenements in the neighbourhood of Riccarton.   |                           |                    |
| Pophill  | "Retours" 709             | 1572               |
| Templar land.  |                           |                    |
| Temple Bogwood   | "Retours" 638             | 1685               |
| Mentioned with Kyllstewart and Westerinschegetrig, and worth with them 26s per annum.  |                           |                    |

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Ayr

- Temple Braidhirst "Retours" 239 1626  
Templar land in the Parish of Dundonald worth annually  
£3.6.8.
- Temple Conyngham "Retours" 225 & 420 & 525 1662-1623 & 1648  
& 1672 & 1691  
Templar land in the Parish of Kilmarnock of the annual  
value of 3/4.
- Templehouse "Retours" 405 & 637 1646 & 1685  
Templar lands in Stewarton worth annually 2/8.
- Tempill Ryburne "Retours" 454 1653  
Templar land of the annual value of ten marks.

County of Banff

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

- Dalgady "Reg.Ep.Brechin" Vol.I 1415 & 1443  
pp 37, 89, 141, 142. & 1450 & 1450  
Portion of land held from the Master of Torphichen for  
which and for Templehill of Kethik 6/8 is payable.
- Kethik "Reg.Ep.Brechin." Vol.I pp 37 1415  
& 87 1444  
Templar toft and tenement lying in the town of Kethik.
- Templehill of "Reg.Ep.Brechin." Vol. I 1443 & 1444  
Kethik pp 89, 97, 141, 142. & 1450 & 1450  
Pays to Torphichen as superior, together with Dalgady 6/8  
annually.

County of Berwick

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296.



POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

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County of Berwick

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Flanerme "Retours" 169 1630  
Templar lands in the neighbourhood of Bonate, valued at twelve pence annually.

Stridlinges "Retours" 189 1633  
Two husband-lands on east of Swyntoun in the Parish of Lubitstoun which together with Tempilhoue are valued at twelve pence per annum.  
A charter is quoted in "The Swintons of that Ilk" A.C.S. p OXLV confirming this. 1596

Tempilhoue "Retours" 189 1633  
Templar land with garden and croft which together with Stridlinges is valued at twelve pence per annum.  
This also is confirmed by charter quoted above-1596.

County of Bute

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County of Caithness

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County of Clackmannan

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Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

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County of Dumbarton

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Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

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POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Dumfries

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

Absterland	"Retours" 291	1677
Three pound land mentioned along with Templar land.		
Auchinfeichell	"Retours" 291	1677
Acre of Templar land called Temple-land-Aicker in the village of Auchinfeichell.		
Auchinfichell	"Retours" 291	1677
Two acres of Templar land in Haddam Parish.		
Petwixt-the-Gates	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land probably in Tundergarth Parish.		
Blacklands	"Retours" 291	1677
Half mark Templar lands in Midlebie Parish.		
Blanderbush	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land.		
Playbank	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in Moffat and Westerkirk Parish.		
Broomhills-meadow	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar lands in Parish of Futtoune.		
Buckriffs	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land.		
Putriss de Stablefordoun	"Retours" 291	1677
Described as in the Barony of Drem.		
Buttericouse	"Retours" 291	1677
Seven acres of Templar land.		
Cairnsallo	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land.		
Carlaverock	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land of Chapel of Carlaverock.		
Castilhills	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in Tundergarth Parish.		

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

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County of Dumfries

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Chapelcroft	"Retours" 291	1677
Tenement and garden in Hutton Parish described as in the Barony of Drem.		
Chappell-Lands	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar lands in Drysdale Parish.		
Chappellrig	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in Moffat and Westerkirk Parish.		
Christen-Meadow	"Retours" 291	1677
Meadow in Moffat Parish.		
Closs, The	"Retours" 291	1677
Six rigs of land in the Barony of Drem.		
Crocerig	"Retours" 291	1677
In Middlebie Parish.		
Dalgardno	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land.		
Dinnwoodie	"Retours" 291	1677
Sixteen acres of Templar land in Annand Parish.		
Dornagills	"Retours" 291	1677
Three pound land in Barony of Drem.		
Drysdale	"Retours" 291	1677
One mark Templar land in the Parish of Drysdale.		
Dunraggan	"Retours" 291	1677
Land in Parish of Dunacre described as in Barony of Drem.		
Flashesheills	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land probably in Ruthwell Parish.		
Gibbles-closs	"Retours" 291	1677
Six acres of Templar land in Parish of Dumfries.		
Hal'hills	"Retours" 291	1677
Twenty shilling land in Barony of Drem.		
Inchester	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land.		
Inglistone	"Retours" 165, 272, 291, 351	1638 & 1672
Forty penny Templar land in Glencairn Parish. 1677 & 1698		

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND -----

## County of Dumfries -----

Kirkhillie	"Retours" 291	1677
Land in Barony of Drem valued at 30/- per annum.		
Kirkland of Kirkpatrick	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in the Parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleeming, valued at 40/- per annum.		
Kirklands of Wauchop	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land.		
Lagran	"Retours" 291	1677
Land described as in the Barony of Drem situated in Kirkpatrick-Fleeming Parish.		
Langthorne	"Retours" 291	1677
One mark Templar land in Drysdall.		
Lederhuch	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land probably in Drysdall Parish.		
Meikle-Pulredding	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in Ruthwell Parish.		
Midlegill	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in Moffat and Parish of Westerkirk.		
Moffat	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land.		
Nunholme	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in Parish of Dumfries.		
Preistbutts	"Retours" 291	1677
Half mark land belonging to the Barony of Drem, in the Parish of Tundergarth.		
Reidhall	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in Parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleeming.		
Sanguhar	"Retours" 291	1677
Certain lands in the village were in the Barony of Drem.		
Seidhillies & Shaw	"Retours" 291	1677
Half mark land in the Barony of Drem.		
Shallbank	"Retours" 291	1677
Templar land in Tundergarth Parish.		

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Dumfries

Smealholme Templar land.	"Retours" 291	1677
St. John's-daill Templar land in Moffat Parish.	"Retours" 291	1677
Stocks One acre of Templar land in Haddam Parish.	"Retours" 291	1677
Templand Land to the value of forty shillings annually, probably identical with Fishiesheills.	"Retours" 324	1688
Templand In Parish of Lochmaben. of the annual value of forty pennies.	"Retours" 344	1698
Templand of Dalzarnok Land of twenty shillings extent.	"Retours" 38	1609
Templand-meadow Land of the annual value of 3/4.	"Retours" 165, 272, 351.	1638 & 1672 & 1698
Temploquhair There is nothing but the name to indicate a Templar connection.	"Retours" 242	1661
Tourecrofts Templar land of the annual value of twenty pennies.	"Retours" 291	1687
Trailflat Templar land of the annual value of 6/8.	"Retours" 291	1677
Tundergirth Templar land.	"Retours" 291	1677
Watcarrick Templar land called Chapel of Watcarrick,	"Retours" 291	1677
Woodland Templar land of the value of 10/- annually.	"Retours" 291	1677

**POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND**

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**County of Edinburgh**

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Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

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Arniestoun	"Retours" 1198	1672
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch comprising Bullion and Cockhill.		
Auchindinnie	"Retours" 1176	1670
Templar land.		
Balantradoch	"Retours" 408 & 420	1618 & 1622
	"Act of Grand-Master"- "Scot. Hist. Review" IX p 52 no 33 - Oct. 1911	1418
	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82	1606
Balantradoch was the headquarters of the Templars. The Barony of Balantradoch is valued at 100 marks.		
Balwoodysbrae	"Retours" 1198	1672
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.		
Bogend	"Retours" 918	1644
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.		
Caldwallie	"Retours" 1198	1672
	"Chartulary of Forphichen" pp 2-2	
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch valued at four marks.		
Caringtoun	"Retours" 1176	1670
Templar land.		
Castletoun	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82	1606
Templar land.		
Cathune	"Retours" 1198	1672
	"Scot. Hist. Review" Vol. V p 17	
	Oct. 1907	1854
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.		
Clermistoun	"Retours" 1176	1670
Templar land.		
Coitfeild	"Retours" 1176	1670
Templar land.		

## POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Edinburgh

Corstorphine	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82 "Reg. Ecc. Col. S. Trin. de Edinburgh" p 297	1606 1489
Templar land in Corstorphine.		
Gramond	"Retours" 1176 & 1096	1670 & 1662
Templar land in Gramond.		
Crichton	Act. of Parl 1606 cap. 82	1606
Templar land.		
Croschauhope	"Scot. Hist. Review" V p 17 Oct. 1907	1354
Tenant of Balantradoch mentioned.		
Deniside	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82	1606
Templar land.		
Edinburgh	"Retours" 1176	1670
Twenty-five tenements in the Barony of Drem.		
Eister Briggs	"Retours" 1044	1654
Described as in the Barony of Auldliston, value 50/- annually.		
Elewoldschawe	"Scot. Hist. Review" V p 17 Oct 1907	1354
Tenant of Balantradoch mentioned.		
Esperstoun	"Retours" 21 & 911	1598 & 1643
"Act of Grand-Master" in "Scot. Hist. Review" IX p 52 no 53 - Oct. 1911		
Lands in the Barony of Balantradoch.		
Eathouse	"Scot. Hist. Review" V p 17 Oct. 1907	1354
Tenant of Balantradoch mentioned.		
Fidlaw	"Retours" 1198	1672
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.		
Goursnout	"Retours" 1176	1670
Templar lands.		
Walkerstoun	"Scot. Hist. Review" V p 17 Oct. 1907	1354
Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82		
Templar land.		

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

## County of Edinburgh

Harberstoun	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82	1606
Templar land in the County of Edinburgh.		
Harperrig	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82	1606
Templar land in the County of Edinburgh.		
Harvestoun	"Retours" 918	1644
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.		
Hauscheid	"Retours" 421 & 1198	1619 & 1678
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch, of annual value £5.		
Howburne	"Retours" 1259	1680
Templar land of the value of 40/- per annum.		
Howgait	"Retours" 1176	1670
Templar land.		
Hudepeth	"Scot. Hist. Review" IX no 33 p 52	
	Oct. 1911	1418
Land connected with Balantradoch.		
Kirknewton	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82	1606
Possession of the Templars in the County of Edinburgh.		
Langton	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82	1606
Possession of the Templars in the County of Edinburgh.		
Leith	"Retours" 1176	1670
	"Reg. S. Marie de Neubottle" p 39 no 50	1327
	"Reg. Ecc. Col. S. Trin. de Edinburgh"	1582
	p 146 no 119	
The Military Orders had evidently two tenements in Leith.		
Locharis	"Scot. Hist. Review" IX p 53 no 33	1418
	Oct. 1911	
Land attached to Torphichen.		
Mereth	"Scot. Hist. Review" V p 17 no 17	
	Oct. 1907	1954
Templar tenant mentioned. Not necessarily in County of Edinburgh.		
Milnehauch	"Retours" 1198	1678
Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.		
Muirhouse	"Retours" 1176	1670
Templar land.		



POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Edinburgh

Outherstoun	"Chartulary of Torphichen" pp 8-9 Six mark land in Temple of Balantradoch.	
Overgorar	"Retours" 1176 Templar land.	1670
Paistoun	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82 "Chartulary of Torphichen" pp 8-9 Land of the Templars in the County of Edinburgh.	1606
Rottinraw	"Retours" 1198 Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.	1672
Rylawknow	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82 Land of the Templars in the County of Edinburgh.	1606
Sharks	"Retours" 1333 Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.	1691
Snypis	Act of Parl. 1606 cap 82 Land of the Templars in the County of Edinburgh.	1606
Southfeild	"Retours" 1096 Templar land with pasture, two parks or rixs.	1662
Swainstoun	"Retours" 1176 "Registrum Domus de Soltre" p 18 1214-1240 Templar lands.	1670
Tempillis & Tempillhouses	"Retours" 1181 & 1313 Templar lands in the Parish of Currie.	1670 & 1690
Temple	"Retours" 1195 "Scot. Hist. Review" V p 17 Oct. 1907 Templar land.	1672 1854
Templehall	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82 Land of the Templars in the County of Edinburgh.	1606
Templehill	"Retours" 1181 & 1313 Templar lands in the territory of Harperrig.	1670 & 1690
Templehirst	Act of Parl. 1606 cap. 82 Land of the Templars in the County of Edinburgh.	1606

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND ---

## County of Edinburgh ---

Temple Mains	"Chartulary of Torphichen" pp 8-9	
	Land of the Military Orders valued at six marks.	
Torphichen	"Retours" 409 & 480	1618 & 1622
	"Scot. Hist. Review" IX	
	p 52 no 33 - Oct 1911	1418
	Headquarters of the Knights of St. John.	
Whytwell	"Registrum Domus de Soltre"	
	p 28 no 34	1238-1300
	Templar land owing service to Balantradoch of thirteen pence.	
Utterstoun	"Retours" 194, 1074, 1195	1606 & 1658 & 1672
	"Scot. Hist. Review" IX	
	p 52 no 33 - Oct. 1911	1418
	Lands in the Barony of Balantradoch.	
Voltis	"Retours" 1198	1672
	Land in the Barony of Balantradoch.	
Yorkstoun	"Retours" 1195	1672
	"Scot. Hist. Review" V p 17	
	no 17 - Oct. 1907	1354
	"Chartulary of Torphichen" pp 8-9	
	Land in the Barony of Balantradoch of the annual value of ten marks.	

## County of Elgin and Forres ---

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

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Forres	"Retours" 116	1654
	Two roods of Templar land of St. John on the south side of the Burgh to the value of twelve pence per annum.	

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Fife

Both Templars and Hospitaliers had property in this County.  
 "Rotuli" Vol. E p 25 - 1296

Abercrombie Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Aberdour Four tenements in Aberdour in the Regality of Drem.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Balcorno Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Balfarge Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Balgony Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Balmullis Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Bambreiche Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Byne Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Carnebie Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Colliestoun Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Coupar Two tenements in the Burgh are in the Regality of Drem.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Cowcairny Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Craighall Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Craigtown Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Fife

Craill	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Three tenements in the town.		
Inchgall	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Inchmartein	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Innerkiething	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land and tenement in Inverkeithing also two pieces of arable land beside Inverkeithing and two Templar lands in Inverkeithing.		
Kinghorne	"Retours" 690 & 1074 & 1330	1645 & 1670 & 1692
Templar lands beside the Burgh also two tenements in Kinghorn are in the Regality of Brem.		
Kirkforther	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Leslie	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Lisk	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Little Farbert	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land with fishing.		
Lochmalony	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Londeffron	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Lundie	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Mayask	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Newingstoun	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

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## County of Fife

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Newtown Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
St. Andrews	"Liber Cartarum Prioratus S. Andree" p 139	1163-1178
	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
The Military Orders seem to have had altogether twelve tenements in St. Andrews.		
Skaviecroheard Templar land near Cupar.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Spinan de Lundie Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Stremeglo Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Struthers Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templehill Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Templesstartharlie or Sandiehillock Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Urquhart Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670
Waddieshauche Templar land.	"Retours" 690 & 1074	1645 & 1670

The total annual value of the Templar lands mentioned  
in the "Retours" 690 & 1074 was £3.

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Forfar

Both Hospitallers and Templars had property in this County.

"Rotuli" Vol I p 25 -1296

Brichtie	"Retours" 341 & 357	1654 & 1657
Four acres of Templar land within the town of Brichtie of the annual value of 20/-.		
Dowcroft -Newdask or Brewetake	"Retours" 553	1699
Templar lands of the annual value of 13/4.		
Hillend or Templebank	"Retours" 420 & 519	1666 & 1691
Situating in the village of Haltoun. The name would seem to indicate this as Templar property.		
Kinblachmont	"Retours" 130	1621
Called Templelands of Kinblachmont. Annual value 5/-.		
Kincaldrum	"Retours" 373 & 477	1659 & 1680
The Templar lands of Kincaldrum are of the annual value of 3/-.		
Kinreich	"Retours" 412	1665
Templar lands near Kirriemuir.		
Murehouse	"Retours" 341 & 357	1654 & 1657
Temple lands of the half lands of Murehouse.		
Netherdrumgley	"Retours" 331	1654
Templar lands with pasture of the annual value of eighteen pence.		
Tempillhill	"Retours" 89	1615
Name alone gives indication of Templar possession.		
Tempill-Logy-Ardoch	"Retours" 103	1618
Templar lands in Logy-Montrose of the annual value of 5/-		
Tempilltoun	"Retours" 243 & 314	1638 & 1652
Land in Errol which would seem from its name to be Templar.		
Templebank	"Retours" 254	1640
Templar land east of the village of Hayrstoun near Glamis.		

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Forfar

Templehous "Retours" 450 1671  
 The name would seem to indicate that this is Templar land.  
 The value is 6/8 per annum.

Temploun - Auchterhouse "Retours" 327 & 536 1653 & 1695  
 Templar lands of the annual value of 4/-.

County of Haddington

Aberlady "Retours" 181, 202, 203, 300, 1640 & 1645  
 303 & 1645 & 1670  
 & 1670  
 Templar land with two tenements.

Athallstainfurde "Retours" 202, 219, 300 1645 & 1649  
 & 1670  
 Templar lands in village.

Barro "Retours" 202, 300 1645 & 1670  
 Templar land in village of Barro.

Beinstoun "Retours" 202, 300 1645 & 1670  
 Templar lands.

Corsabandland "Retours" 202, 300 1645 & 1670  
 Templar lands.

Corsaehill "Retours" 202, 300 1645 & 1670  
 Templar lands.

Groce-flat & "Retours" 140 1633  
 Groce-Bethlem  
 Two bovates of Templar land called Groce-flat and the  
 Templar lands of Groce-Bethlem in Dirleton. Annual value  
 twenty pennies.

Dirleton "Retours" 148, 202, 300 1634 & 1645  
 & 1670  
 Templar lands.

Drem "Retours" 202, 300 1645, & 1670  
 Robertson's "Index" XLIV p 31 1329-1371  
 Templar lands in Drem.

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Haddington

Dunbar	"Retours" 202, 300	1645 & 1670
Three tenements in the town of Dunbar are mentioned along with Templar lands.		
Duncanlaw	"Retours" 202, 300	1645 & 1670
Templar lands.		
Wister-Tempillhall-	"Retours" 126	1629
Paistoun	Land in the Regality of Torphichen of the annual value of £25.6.0. See Paistoun under County of Edinburgh.	
Eistfortoun	"Retours" 202, 300	1645 & 1670
Templar lands in the village of Eistfortoun.		
Elbottill	"Retours" 202, 219, 300, 338	1645 & 1649 & 1670 & 1680
Templar lands.		
Estfenton	"Regist.S.Marie de Neubottle" pp 86&87 nos 117 & 118	
Land which with land near Pefre owes service to the Templars of thirteen pence.		
Fentoun	"Retours" 202, 300	1645 & 1670
Templar land with fishing.		
Garvald	"Retours" 202, 300	1645 & 1670
Templar lands.		
Gulan	"Retours" 202, 300	1645 & 1670
"Reg. Ecc. Col. S. Trin. de Edinburgh"		
p 328 no 13		1505
Templar tenements and lands of about fourteen acres.		
Hadingtoun	"Retours" 202, 300	1645 & 1670
Eleven tenements mentioned along with Templar lands elsewhere.		
Hedderweik	"Retours" 202, 219, 300, 338	1645 & 1649 & 1670 & 1680
Templar lands.		
Innerweik	"Retours" 202, 300	1645 & 1670
Templar lands in village.		
Lafnaraw	"Retours" 181, 202, 203, 300	1640 & 1645 & 1645 & 1670
Templar tenement with garden and rig.		



POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Haddington

Lesliecruik	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar lands at Dirliton,		
Lucusland	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar lands at Gullane,		
Morham	"Retours" 202,219,300,589	1645 & 1649
Templar lands,		& 1670 & 1680
North Berwick	"Retours" 202,219,300,589	1645 & 1649
Templar lands and tenement,		& 1670 & 1680
Pefre	"Reg.S.Marie de Neubottle" pp 86,87 nos 117,118	
Land near Pefre along with Estfenton owes service to the Templars of thirteen pence.		
Pencaitland	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Quhitrig	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar land in Spott,		
Rystavill	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar land in Garvald.		
St. Bothans	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar land,		
Sandersden	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Two Templar lands.		
Scheillis	Robertson's "Index" XXXVI p 11 1814-1889	
Land given by the Master of the Hospital of St. John.		
Seytoun	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar lands,		
Spensisland	"Retours" 219,589	1649 & 1680
Templar land in the village of East Fortune of the annual value of twelve pence.		
Spot	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar land in the village of Spott,		
Standandetainrig	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar lands in Spott,		

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

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## County of Haddington

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Tempihallis	"Retours" 129	1629
Land in the Regality of Torphichen.		
Tempillfield	"Retours" 202,300,388	1645 & 1670
Templar land at Haddington.		& 1699
Templecroft	"Retours" 181,203,303	1640 & 1645
Templar land of the annual value of twelve pence.		& 1670
Templestoun	"Index" Robertson's XXXVI p 11 1314-1329	
Lands of Templestoun and Scheills given by the Master of the Hospital of St. John.		
Tranent	"Retours" 202,300	1645 & 1670
Templar land.		
Tunynghame	"Retours" 202,219,300,338	1645 & 1649
Templar lands.		& 1670 & 1680
Wester Tempihall	"Retours" 126,130,273	1629 & 1630
and Toftous		& 1664
The name would seem to indicate this as Templar land.		
Annual value £2.		

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Three pounds annually was the value of all the above with the exception of Croce-flat, Croce-Bethlem, Batfenton, Eister-Tempihall-Paistoun, Pefre, Scheills, Spensisland, Templecroft, Templestoun, Tempihallis and Wester Tempihall.

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## County of Inverness

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Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.

"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

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Ardersier "Act. Parl. Scot." 1633 cap 120  
Vol. V p 127 1635

Templar lands.

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Inverness

Boigbaine Templar land.	"Retours" 77	1653
Boigschang Templar land.	"Retours" 77	1653
Boigschangend Templar land.	"Retours" 77	1653
Paddockburne Templar land.	"Retours" 77	1653
Tempell - cruik Templar land.	"Retours" 77	1653

The total annual value of all the above was 26/8 with the exception of Ardersier.

County of Kincardine

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

Auchinlownie Lands and salmon fishing in the Dee within the Barony of Maryculter worth annually 26/8.	"Retours" 72	1644
Benholme Templar lands worth nine pence per annum.	"Retours" 63	-
Blaires Land in the Barony of Maryculter.	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669 & 1674
Coattoun Land with salmon fishing in the Dee within the Barony of Maryculter.	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669 & 1674
Convalle Templar lands worth annually 3/4.	"Retours" 143	1682

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

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## County of Kincardine

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Dowcroft-Newdosk or Brewtak	"Retours" 71, 82	1638 & 1648
Templar lands of the annual value of 13/4.		
Easter Fshintillie	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669
Land in the Barony of Maryculter.		& 1674
Easter Tilliburies	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669
Land in the Barony of Maryculter.		& 1674
Eastland	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669
Land in the Barony of Maryculter.		& 1674
Fordun-Diraycroft	"Retours" 21	1607
Croft near the Temple of Fordoun. Doubtful if this belonged to the Military Orders.		
Kintewline	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669
Wood in Barony of Maryculter.		& 1674
Maines of Maryculter	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669
Land in the Barony of Maryculter.		& 1674
Strathachin or Strauchquhane	"Retours" 9	1603
Three acres of Templar land south of the Water of Feuche Annual value twelve pence.		
Templ'toun	"Retours" 70, 106	1637 & 1664
There is only the name to suggest that this is Templar.		
Templecroft	"Retours" 18	1606
There is only the name to suggest that this is Templar.		
Tullieskeith	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669
Land in the Barony of Maryculter.		& 1674
Wester Tullibouries	"Retours" 43, 113, 126	1625 & 1669
		& 1674
Lands with salmon fishing in the Dee within the Barony of Maryculter.		

Eight pounds was the total value of all the above excepting Auchinlownie, Benholme, Convalle, Dowcroft, Fordun-Diraycroft, Strathachin, Templecroft, Templ'toun and Wester Tullibouries.

**POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND**

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**County of Kinross**

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Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.

"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

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**County of Kirkcudbright**

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Balmagie	"Retours" 331	1677
Croft near Temple of Balmagie mentioned along with other Templar land.		
Ballochen	"Retours" 331	1677
Templar land in Boothill Parish.		
Chappeltoun	"Retours" 331	1677
Six acres of Templar land in the Parish of Kirkanders.		
Crocmichaell	"Retours" 331	1677
Templar croft.		
Galtneys	"Retours" 331	1677
Land mentioned along with Templar land.		
Inglistoun	"Retours" 331	1677
Templar land and croft in the Parish of Kirkanders.		
Kirkcudbright	"Retours" 331	1677
Three acres of Templar land in the Parish of Kirkcudbright and a Templar tenement with a rig of land in the Burgh.		
Knockuray	"Retours" 331	1677
Templar land and croft in the Parish of Kirkanders.		
Knok-Overgaltney	"Retours" 203	1633
Land in the Regality of Torphichen to the annual value of three pounds.		
Meikle-Galtneys	"Retours" 331	1677
Land mentioned along with Templar land.		
St. John's Croft	"Retours" 331	1677
Two and a half acres of Templar land.		

Templelandcroft "Retours" 268 1655  
A croft of the annual value of half a mark which in name  
would suggest Templar possession.

The annual value of the property in the County as given above, excepting Knock-Overgaltney and Templelandcroft, was 40/-

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

1133r	"Retours" 143	1625
Two bovates of Templar land called Stane.		

Catcastell	"Retours" 333	1675
Templar land of the value of 6/8.		

Covington	"Retours" 143	1625
Templar lands of Cumberlond, Northflatt, Paockland and Cliddisflatt of the annual value of £20.		

Cowanston "Spottiswoode Misc" Vol. II p 4 1329-1371  
The half lands of Cowanston paid to St. John two shillings  
for service.

Dalserr	"Retours" 465	1681
Templar lands of Fairlies or Hairlies with tithes		
Annual value 13/4.		

Greinsyde "Retours" 373. 464 1666 & 1686  
Templar lands in the Barony of Bothwell.

Glasgow "Registrum. Ep. Glasg." Vol. I 1175-1199  
p 37 no 41  
The Templars had a toft in Glasgow with a net's fishing  
in the Clyde. Annual value - twelve pence.

Hamilton                      "Retours" 556                      1676  
Templar lands in the Burgh of the annual value of £3.

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

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## County of Lanark

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Lanark	"Retours" 333	1675
	"Liber Cart. S. Marie de Dryburgh"	
	p 158 no 816	1814c
The Brothers of the Hospital had lands at Lanark. The lands of Chappell or Oldmansapletree in Lanark Parish were Templar and were valued at 6/8 per annum.		
Liberton	"Retours" 387	1690
Four bovates of Templar land.		
Petenane	"Retours" F	1580
Four bovates of land at Temple of Petenane called also Kirkstyle of the annual value of £6.13.4.		
Roberton	"Retours" 309	1668
Templar lands and two acres with outsetts and meadow in the village of Hadingtoun. Also Templar lands with two acres and meadow in the village of Bakbie. Of the annual value of £152.		
Rotherglen	"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25	1296
The Templars had property in the district.		
Stainhous	"Retours" 333	1675
Templar lands of Woodlands valued at 6/8 per annum and Templar lands on west of Stainhous valued at 3/4 per annum.		
Templecruiks	"Retours" 387	1690
Name indicates that this was probably Templar.		
Thankerton	"Retours" 303	1642
There were Church lands called St. John's Kirk with nothing but the name to indicate that they were the property of the Military Orders.		
Toffits	"Retours" 333	1675
Templar land of the value of forty pence.		
Wiston	"Retours" 333	1675
Templar lands called St. Ninian's Chappell. Annual value forty pence.		

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Linlithgow

Balvornie and Quhytbakis	"Retours" 55, 105, 270	1607 & 1619 & 1690
Templar lands with patronage of chaplainry in the Church of Linlithgow, valued at 20/- per annum. The value of Quhytbakis was 50/- per annum.		
Boigcoatts	"Retours" 222	1668
Land in the Barony of Torphichen of the annual value of 37/6.		
Catlaws or Gaitseyde	"Retours" 220	1667
Land in the Regality of Torphichen of the annual value of five marks.		
Craigtown or Brounlaw	"Retours" 136	1637
Templar lands.		
Duddistoun	"Retours" 182	1653
Templar lands.		
Linlithgow	"Lib.Cart.Prior.S.Andree" p 319	1163-1177
There was a cemetery here for the men of Torphichen.		
Lochquott	"Retours" 55, 105, 270	1607 & 1619 & 1690
Land in the Barony of Torphichen.		
Nethercarlowrie	"Retours" 181, 278	1652 & 1695
Templar lands.		
Oryglisphas	"Lib.Cart.Prior.S.Andree" p 320	1165-1214
"Lib.Cart.S.Crucis" p 36 no 46		
The tithes of Oryglisphas belonged to the Hospitallers.		
This may not have been in the County of Linlithgow.		
Overcarlowrie	"Retours" 181, 278	1652 & 1695
Templar lands. With Nethercarlowrie valued at 13/4 per annum.		
Philpenstoun	"Retours" 136, 220	1637 & 1667
Templar land of the value of ten pence per annum.		
Seattoun	"Retours" 182	1653
Templar lands.		
Temple Liston	"Retours" 19, 102, 109	1597 & 1618 & 1622
The lands of Liston are valued at 100 marks per annum.		



POSSESSIONS OF T-Y MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Linlithgow

Fraserburgh	"Retours" 182	1655
Templar lands,		
Upchurch	"Retours" 182	1655
Templar lands which with Fraserburgh, Duddingston and Seatonston were of the annual value of 4/-.		
Westerdudington	"Retours" 147	1642
Land once in the Regality of Forfarshire. Annual value 5/4.		
Westmidge	"Retours" 182	1655
Fifty two acres of Templar land of the annual value of twelve pence.		

County of Nairn

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Retours" Vol. I. p 85 - 1296

County of Orkney and Shetland

County of Peebles

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Retours" Vol. I. p 85 - 1296

Bourhill  
 "Retours" 147 1655  
 Templar lands and lands called St. John's Halls with croft called St. John's Croft and an acre of land called Graystaine Aiker. Annual value 5/4.

Blackburn  
 "Retours" 151, 145 1655 & 1656  
 Templar land of the annual value of 5/-.

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND ---

## County of Peebles ---

- Peebles "Retours" 179 1680  
 Tenement of Templar land in the Burgh, an acre called  
 Templeland or Rudaiker. Annual value 2/-.
- Stainhope "Retours" 54, 59 1618 & 1622  
 Act. Parl. Scot. 1606 cap. 22 1606  
 The annual value of this property is given as forty marks.
- Templehouse "New Statistical Account"  
 In Manor Parish with nothing but the name to indicate  
 possible Templar connection.

## County of Perth ---

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Rotuli" Vol. I, p 25 - 1296

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- Auchterarder "Rotuli" Vol. I, p 25 1296  
 The Templars had property in this district.
- Barthock "Retours" 508 1642  
 Templar lands.
- Balgavie "Retours" 508 1642  
 Templar lands.
- Ballegermo "Retours" 508 1642  
 Templar land of the value of twenty shillings.
- Busingtoun "Retours" 508 1642  
 Templar land.
- Concraig "Retours" 708, 880 1662 & 1675  
 Templar lands of Lintibbert, Fintallich, Drumgowrock,  
 Drumsachie and lands of Tempilhill. Annual value £6.
- Conochrig "Retours" 85 1601  
 Templar lands in Strathern.
- Cullace "Retours" 508 1642  
 Templar lands.

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Perth

Fortgundenny Templar lands.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Kinbuckis Templar land.	"Retours" FOR, 708, 880	1642 & 1662 & 1675
Kynaird Templar land.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Lassingtoun Templar lands	"Retours" 708, 880 together with Kinbuckis worth £4 per annum.	1662 & 1675
Lethuldie Templar land.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Mekle-hor Templar lands.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Monongound Templar lands.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Mossyd Templar land.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Perth Templar lands	"Retours" FOR and tenements in Burgh.	1642
Polgavie Templar lands.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Raith Templar land.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Strathern Templar land and tenements.	"Retours" FOR	1642
Tempilhill Land of the value of twenty shillings mentioned along with Templar lands.	"Retours" 88, 708, 880	1601 & 1662 & 1675
Templeland Near Scoon. The name would seem to indicate Templar possession.	"Retours" 674	1658
Tibbermawr Templar lands.	"Retours" FOR	1642

# POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

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## County of Perth

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Tilliecheppill "Retours" 508 1642  
Templar lands.

## County of Renfrew

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Greenend "Retours" 87 1685  
Templar land and tenements in the Barony of Renfrew.  
Annual value 21/-.

Inchinnan "Scot. Hist. Review" Vol. XII no 47  
p 330 April 1915 1472  
Templar lands of Tucheon of the annual value of 7/-.

Killellan "Retours" 172 1675  
Half mark Templar land. Annual value ten pence.

Mearns "Retours" 148 1655  
"Regist. Mon. de Passelet" p 379 1300 c  
Comprising Templar land of Capilrige, common pasture  
and liberty of casting turf. Annual value 6/8.

Ryvra "Retours" 66, 68 1625 & 1626  
"Nugae Derelictae" VII 1460  
Templar lands of the annual value of 26/8.

## County of Ross and Cromarty

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Cromarty "Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 1296  
The Templars had land in this neighbourhood and probably  
property in the Burgh.

Dingwall "Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 1296  
Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this  
neighbourhood, and possibly in the town.

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Roxburgh

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
"Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

Heton	"Lib.S.Marie de Calchou" Vol.II p 321 no 491	1330c
Land of the Hospital granted to augment a chantry.		
Oxnam	"Retours" 245	1669
Templar land to the extent of half a husband-land.		
Rutherford	"Retours" 241	1667
Four houses and yarens called land of St. John.		
St. Boswells	"Liber S.Marie de Dryburgh" p 320 XXXVI	1620c
Temple land of St. Boswells.		
Templecroft	"Retours" 316	1698
Templar tenement.		
Templehall	"Retours" 273	1680
In the Parish of Tophkirke of the annual value of 26/8 There is nothing but the name to indicate Templar connection.		
Tilhou or Templehou	"Retours" 251	1670
There is nothing but the name to indicate Templar connection.		
Wittun	"Liber S. Marie de Melros" Vol. I p 148 no 161	1165 - 1214
Oxgang of land granted to the Hospitallers.		

County of Selkirk

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
"Rotuli" Vol. I. p 25 - 1296

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Stirling

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Rotuli" Vol. I. p 25 - 1296

Cochransmalling	"Retours" 27, 140	1601 & 1630
Land in the Barony of Torphichen.		
Denny	"Retours" 27, 140	1601 & 1630
Land in the Regality of Torphichen returning £20.		
Garvald	"Retours" 27, 140	1601 & 1630
Land in the Barony of Torphichen.		
Inches	"Retours" 27, 140	1601 & 1630
Land with fishing in the Carroun within the Barony of Torphichen.		
Stenhous	"Retours" 27, 140	1601 & 1630
Land in the Barony of Torphichen.		
Stirling	"Nugae Derelictae" III p 6	1509
Temple land in the Burgh.		

County of Sutherland

County of Wigton

Both Templars and Hospitallers had property in this County.  
 "Rotuli" Vol. I p 25 - 1296

Croft of St. John	"Retours" 82, 126	1636 & 1697
Probably in the vicinity of Mochrum. The name may indicate Hospitaller property.		
Galeweia	"Lib.Cart.S.Crucis" p 43 no F4	1192
Land granted by Hospitallers to the Canons of Holyrood for a payment of 40/- annually.		

POSSESSIONS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS IN SCOTLAND

County of Wigtown

St. John's Croft, "Retours" 150 1668

Insche and Leswalt

The name may indicate Hospitaller connection.

St. John's Croft, "Retours" 169 1684

Lomberige

The name may indicate Hospitaller connection.

St. John's Croft, "Retours" 105 1642

Saulset

The name may indicate Hospitaller connection. The annual value was three marks with  $\frac{3}{4}$  in augmentation.

## CHAPTER X

### FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE IN SCOTLAND

In addition to the Hospitallers and the Templars there were three Religious Orders which gained a footing in Scotland on account of the Crusades. These may not seem to be so directly the product of the Crusades, but it was not only during the period of the Crusades, it was as a result of the Crusades that they came to have a place in the monastic life of that country. The three Orders were the Lazarites, the Carmelites, and the Trinitarians.

Of the three the Lazarites were the least successful in capturing the imagination and stimulating the generosity of the pious in Scotland. Walcott in his "Scoti-Monasticon" states that the Military Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem was founded about the year 1119, and that it had for its object the relief of the poor and helpless members of the Military Orders. <sup>(1)</sup> It is not difficult to see how he reaches this idea of the purpose of the Lazarites. They had for their object the care of the poor and helpless. There was certainly a similarity between them and the Military Orders, particularly the Hospitallers. They took the name of Hospitallers. Knights Hospitallers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem was their full designation. The Brethren of the Order like the Hospitallers took

1 "Scoti-Monasticon" Walcott p. 354



# FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE

arms during the Crusades for the Christian Princes, and gained much credit by their prowess. Indeed it has been claimed that the Lazarites and the Hospitallers had a common origin. This, however, is hardly consistent with the account of the origin of the Hospitallers given by William of Tyre. <sup>(1)</sup> There is little justification for the claim made that the Order of St. Lazarus goes back to as early a date as the year 72 A.D.. In the early years of the Crusades they were in Jerusalem concerned with the care of the sick, more especially the leprous segregated in their hospital. They followed the Rule of St. Augustine before they were confirmed in it by Pope Alexander IV in 1255. They were in the habit of choosing for their Grand Master a leper, until they sought relief from this regulation and were allowed to change it by Pope Innocent IV. King Louis IX was so impressed by what he saw of them in his first Crusade that he brought back to France with him members of this Order. They soon spread to the other countries of Western Europe. The history of the Order is discussed at length by Helyot in his "Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux". <sup>(2)</sup>

Their possessions in Scotland were not extensive. In the thirteenth century they were established at Harop described as in the County of Edinburgh. <sup>(3)</sup> They had also property in the

(1) William of Tyre Lib. XVIII Cap. IV p. 711

(2) "Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux" Helyot Vol II

(3) "Rotuli Scotiae" Vol. I p. 25. (p. 738)

# FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE

(1)

town of Linlithgow, as well as lands called Spitaltown and

(2)

St. Giles' Grange near Edinburgh.

More successful than the Lazarites in securing a footing in Scotland were the Carmelites, known as the White Friars or Barry Friars. According to the "Scotichronicon" these made their appearance in Scotland in 1261. (3) An even earlier origin has been claimed for the Carmelites than for the Lazarites. Attempts have been made to trace the Order back to Elijah and even to Enoch. This was the subject of heated controversy between Jesuits and Carmelites until both sides were ordered by Pope Innocent XII to cease without satisfaction being given to either side. It would seem that Berthold of Limoges about the middle of the twelfth century was leader of a body of hermits who gathered round him. His successor Brocard in the year 1209 asked for a Rule from Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and this was given. It is claimed that they were confirmed in this Rule by Pope Honorius III, but Lea in "A History of Auricular Confession" describes this Bull as fictitious. (4) The date of the Bull is variously given. In the "Constitutiones Fratrum" it is given as 1217. (5) Helyot assigns it to 1224. (6) Lea states that it bears the date 1226.

(1) "Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle" p.149 no 184

(2) "Scotichronicon" Lib. XI, Cap. XXI, Vol. II p.161

(3) do Lib. X, Cap. XIV, Vol. II p.97

(4) "A History of Auricular Confession" Lea Vol.III p.255

(5) "Constitutiones Fratrum de Monte Carmeli" p.2

(6) "Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux" Helyot I p.667

## FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE

The success of the Saracens made Mount Carmel an impossible place of abode for the members of this Order, and the resolution was reached to abandon Syria. The year 1240 was about the time of the migration to Europe. Their coming to Scotland was about twenty years later.

During the period of the Crusades the property of this Order does not appear to have been extensive, although additions were made to it afterwards. The Appendix to the "Book of Pluscarden" gives the houses of this Order in Scotland as Dunbar, Inver, Lathquay, Fulilum, Abirden, Bruyn, Bnapoh, and

Quenis Ferry. (1) The Appendix to the "Scotichronicon" omits Dunbar but adds Inverbervy. (2) Spotiswood in his "Religious Houses" adds St. Andrews, Greenside and Inverbervy to the list in the Appendix to the "Book of Pluscarden". (3) Walcott in his

"Scoti-Monasticon" includes all in these lists except St. Andrews, and he adds Berwick and Roxburgh. (4) The additions

of Walcott are doubtful. Of the others some were founded at a date later than the thirteenth century.

According to the "Scotichronicon" the first settlement of the Carmelites was at Fulilum near Perth. This land was given to the Order by Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld. (5) Hector Boece

(1) "Liber Pluscardensis" Appendix I p. 407

(2) "Scotichronicon" Vol. II, p. 440

(3) "Religious Houses" Spotiswood pp. 477-477

(4) "Scoti-Monasticon" Walcott p. 256

(5) "Scotichronicon" Lib. X, Cap. XIV, Vol. II, p. 97

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE

(1)

informs us to the same effect. This took place about the year 1261. Aberdeen was evidently provided with a Carmelite house before 1273, because a writ of that date by Reginald le Chen grants to the Carmelites there an annual of eight marks sterling till their buildings should be completed. (2) At Dunbar, according to the "New Statistical Account of Scotland" the seventh Earl of Dunbar founded in 1263 a monastery of Carmelite or White Friars, of which, however, no vestige remains. The same authority adds that some Roman medals were found on digging the site of the reservoir, which led to the supposition (3) that this had been the site of the Carmelite Friary. In the "Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum" land in the neighbourhood of Dunbar belonging to the Carmelite Brothers is mentioned as a boundary. (4) The Carmelite Monastery at Linlithgow according to the "New Statistical Account" was founded by the inhabitants of the Town in 1290, and stood on the south side of the Town, where an eminence still bears the name of Friar's Brae. (5) In the "Registrum Honoris de Morton" we find a charter of Sir. James Douglas giving to the Brothers of the Order of the Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary near Linlithgow a gift of four acres. (6)

(1) Hector Boece Vol. II, Lib. XIII, Cap. XVI p. 346

(2) "Aberdeen Friars" Anderson p. 12

(3) "New Statistical Account" Vol. II p. 79

(4) "Reg. Mag. Sig." 9 Jac. VI 2543

(5) "New Statistical Account" Vol. II p. 175

(6) "Registrum Honoris de Morton" Vol. II p. 200 no 211

# FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE

There is also reference to the Carmelite Brothers of Linlithgow in the "Exchequer Rolls of Scotland" dated 1461 and 1464. <sup>(1)</sup>

Luffness must evidently have been a Carmelite settlement before 1293 for a charter of that date in the "Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle" mentions the Carmelite Brothers of Luffenauch. <sup>(2)</sup>

These would appear to be the only houses of this Order founded before the close of the thirteenth century.

The possessions of the Trinity Friars or Red Friars were more numerous and more important than those of either the Lazarites or the Carmelites. The origin of this Order is not so obscure, nor is it claimed to go back to so early a date. It was founded towards the end of the twelfth century, and its founding was due to the inspiration of Jean de Matha and Félix de Valois, particularly the former. Jean de Matha was born at Faucon in Provence in the year 1160, and gave early evidence of his piety. After his ordination as a priest he joined himself to Félix of the district of Valois who was living a life of austerity as a hermit. They went together in 1198 to Rome where they were received favourably by Innocent III. The result of the visit was the founding of this Order with the title of the "Holy Trinity" and also the "Redemption of Captives," as the purpose of the Order was the redemption of

(1) "Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum" 49, 66, 254.

(2) "Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle" p. 141

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE

captives from the hands of the infidels. Coming back to France they founded a settlement at Cerfroy, and built a monastery there. Jean de Matha went once more to Rome, and obtained sanction for the Rule given to the Order. They are described as Augustinian by Clement VI, Boniface IX, Pius X and Clement VIII, but they claimed on several occasions to be Canons Regular. A third of their revenues was to be used for the redemption of captives. Hélyot, who gives an account of the Order, states that they had nine monasteries in Scotland. (1) According to Hector Boece their introduction into Scotland took place before 1214, two of the Order being sent by Pope Innocent to King William, who gave them a settlement at Aberdeen. (2)

In the Appendix to the "Book of Pluscarden" the houses of this Order are given as Fale, Houstoun, Katnes, Crennach and Scotlandis-Wellis. (3) The Appendix to the "Scotichronicon" adds to this Pebles and Abirden. (4) Spotiswood in his "Religious Houses" adds to the seven in the Appendix to the "Scotichronicon" Dunbar, Berwick-on-Tweed, Dundee, Lochfeal, Brechin and Lufness, (5) and instead of Katnes and Crennach has Dornoch and Cromarty. Walcott in his "Scoti-Monasticon" omits Lochfeal from the list of Spotiswood, but adds Dunet. (6) The "Monasticon" of

- (1) "Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux" Hélyot III p. 706
- (2) Hector Boece Vol. II, Lib. XIII, Cap. X, p. 332
- (3) "Liber Pluscardensis" Appendix I p. 406
- (4) "Scotichronicon" Appendix Vol. II p. 540
- (5) "Religious Houses" Spotiswood pp. 395-398
- (6) "Scoti-Monasticon" Walcott p. 348

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Gordon adds to Spotiswood's list Dunnet and Soltre, and has two Houstons, one in East Lothian and one in Renfrewshire, sixteen houses in all. (1)

There is little reason to doubt the statement of Hector Boece that the first settlement of Trinity Friars was at Aberdeen before the year 1214. (2) In 1273 a charter mentions the Friars of the Holy Trinity who confirm a grant of land at Aberdeen. (3) There is also a grant of certain lands at Aberdeen to the Minister and Friars of the Holy Trinity before the end of the thirteenth century. (4) Friar Hugh, Minister of the Order of the Trinity of Aberdeen, signs the deed of homage to Edward I in 1296. (5) Again the Friars of the Holy Trinity of Aberdeen are taxed in Boyamund's assessment at sixteen shillings. (6)

The establishment of a house of this Order at Berwick is also quite clear. The assessment of Boyamund rates the Brothers of the Holy Trinity of Berwick at six marks. (7) In 1296 the property of the Minister of the Order of the Holy Trinity and Captives of Berwick is restored and includes land in the Counties of Forfar, Berwick and Roxburgh. (8)

- (1) "Monasticon" Gordon p.290
- (2) Hector Boece Lib. XIII Cap. X, p.332
- (3) "Aberdeen Friars" Anderson p.13
- (4) do p.13
- (5) do p.14
- (6) Theiner p.111 CCLXIV
- (7) do p.114 CCLXIV
- (8) "Rotuli Scotiae" Vol. I p.25

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE

There is little doubt that Hounston was established before the end of the thirteenth century, for again in 1296 the property of the Master of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity of Hounston in the County of Waddington is ordered to be restored. (1)

Rector Boece gives a full account of the building of an Abbey in the honour of the Holy Cross at Peebles. He describes the finding of part of the true Cross there as the result of the vision of a monk of Melrose. King Alexander moved by devotion caused the Abbey to be founded. (2) This took place about the year 1261 and is described in similar terms in the "Gesta Annalia" of Fordun. (3) Rector Boece adds the information that in this house are now monks after the Order of the Trinity.

As for Failford we know that in 1548 Robert, Minister of Failford, was the Administrator General of the Order of the Holy Trinity. (4)

The claim regarding Brechin receives doubtful support from the fact that, according to Kennedy's "Annals of Aberdeen", in 1400 Friar John of Brechin was Minister of the Trinity Monastery at Aberdeen. (5)

(1) "Rotuli Scotiae" Vol. I p. 38

(2) Rector Boece Lib. XIII Cap. XVI p. 346

(3) "Gesta Annalia" Fordun LIV p. 289

(4) "Aberdeen Friars" Anderson p. 98

(5) "Annals of Aberdeen" Kennedy Vol. II p. 38



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Gordon in his "Monasticon" declares that Scotlandwell was bestowed on the Red Friars by David de Benham, Bishop of St. Andrews, and that the charter is dated "In crastino Circumcisionis Domini anno 1250". He further states that the gift occasioned the Regular Canons to complain to the Pope that the Bishop had introduced the Red Friars into a parish belonging to them. To this complaint Innocent IV answered with a Bull dated about 1250 for preventing such enterprises. <sup>(1)</sup> It may be this gift which is referred to in the charter to the Brothers of Scotlandwell by David, Bishop of St. Andrews. <sup>(2)</sup> At least in 1254 there is a commission from Pope Alexander IV for the termination of the contention between the Prior of St. Andrews and the Bishop and William of Valognes in the matter of the introduction of the Brothers of the Order of the Holy Trinity and Captives within the territory of the churches and parishes of the Prior and Chapter against their privileges. <sup>(3)</sup>

In support of Dunbar, Gordon quotes Brockie's Manuscript. <sup>(4)</sup> He traces the founding of the Trinitarian House there to Patrick, the Earl, who sent one of the Order, John Cumming, from Aberdeen on a mission to Algeria to ransom a kinsman. When John Cumming returned the Earl founded a house of the Order

(1) "Monasticon" Gordon p. 292

(2) "Liber Cartarum Prioratus S. Andree" p. XXVIII no 46

(3) do

p. XLIII no 6

(4) "Monasticon" Gordon p. 290

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and appointed Cumming the first Minister of it. The "New Statistical Account" states that part of the building is still standing in the Friars' Croft. <sup>(1)</sup> At least the "Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum" mentions under date 1580 certain land at Dunbar which evidently belonged to the Minister of the Church of the Holy Cross of Peebles, and the Monastery of the Order of the Holy Trinity. <sup>(2)</sup>

The founding of the Trinitarian house at Dundee is attributed by Gordon to Sir James Scrimgeour, Provost of Dundee, about the year 1283. He gives as authority Brockie's Manuscript. <sup>(3)</sup> This may be the property in the County of Forfar referred to in 1296. <sup>(4)</sup>

Brockie's Manuscript is also Gordon's authority for Luffness. In the "Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland" there is an article on the Parish of Aberlady in which it is stated that there is an enclosure called the Friarsward containing the vestiges of a chapel and other buildings said to have been a monastery of the Red Friars. <sup>(5)</sup> This, however, looks suspiciously like the remains assigned by the "New Statistical Account" to the Carmelites. <sup>(7)</sup>

The authority of Brockie's Manuscript is also given for the property of the Trinitarians at Dunst. <sup>(6)</sup>

(1) "New Stat. Acc." Vol. II p. 79

(2) "Reg. Mag. Sig." 13 Jac. VI 3037

(3) "Monasticon" Gordon p. 301

(4) "Rotuli Scotiae" Vol. I p. 28

(5) "Monasticon" Gordon p. 303

(6) "Trans. Soc. Antiq. Scot." Vol. I p. 519

(7) "New Stat. Acc." Vol. II p. 253

(8) "Monasticon" Gordon p. 303

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Soltre can hardly have belonged to this Order, although the charter founding it grants the land to the Hospital of the Holy Trinity of Soltre. The land was the gift of King Malcolm and therefore earlier than the founding of the Trinity Friars. (1)  
 A difficulty of the same nature is suggested regarding Dornoch, (2) which is said to have owed its foundation to Sir Patrick Murray. According to Brockie's Manuscript Sir Patrick was also the founder of the Order at Cromarty. (3) In the "Origines Parochiales Scotiae" the suggestion is made regarding Dornoch that there was a colony here from Dunfermline, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and that this may have caused the colony to have been confused with the Trinitarians. (4) Lochfeal was most likely Failford under another name. The double mention of Houston may have arisen from a confusion between Houston in Haddingtonshire and Houston in Renfrewshire.

It is quite clear that the Crusades contributed in no small way to the expansion of the monastic life in Scotland. They were the means of introducing fresh Monastic Orders into the country. Through the Orders, which they were the means of introducing, substantial additions were made to the monastic property in the kingdom. Not only so but the Crusades contributed

(1) "Registrum Domus de Soltre" p3

(2) "Monasticon" Gordon p. 300

(3) do p. 302

(4) "Origines Parochiales" II (2) p. 625

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CRUSADES TO THE MONASTIC LIFE

to the expansion of the monastic ideal. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were centuries of extraordinary monastic development in Scotland, and in this development the Crusades played no unimportant part.

**PART III**

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**FURTHER INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON THE  
CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SCOTLAND**

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- Chapter I                      The Relation of the Scottish Church to  
                                 the Apostolic See.
- Chapter II                     The Development of Papal Taxation.
- Chapter III                    The Development of Indulgences.

# EDITIONS TO WHICH REFERENCES ARE MADE IN PART III ---

- Benedictus Abbas - "Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi; Benedicti Abbatis. (Chronicles and Memorials).
- Bliss - "Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland", W.H.Bliss.
- "Chronicle of Lanercost" - "Chronicon de Lanercost".
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- "Church History of Scotland" Cunningham. - "The Church History of Scotland", John Cunningham D.D..
- "Foedera" - "Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et cujusouque Generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliae et alios quosvis", Thomae Rymer et Roberti Sanderson.
- Fordun "Gesta Annalia" - "Gesta Annalia" Johannis de Fordun, William F. Skene.
- Haddan and Stubbs - "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland", Arthur West Haddan B.D. and William Stubbs M.A.
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- Hefele - "Histoire des Conciles", Charles Joseph Hefele,- Dom. T. Leclercq.
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- Royer of Wendover - "Flores Historiarum", Royer de Wendover. (Chronicles and Memorials).
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- William of Tyre - "Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis  
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Archiepiscopo. (J.P.Migne)

## PART III

FURTHER INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON THE CONTEMPORARY  
RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

THE RELATION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH TO THE APOSTOLIC SEE

Looking not simply at the monastic expansions of the period but at the general trend of the development of the Scottish Church we find during the crusading years a closer linking up of that Church with the Apostolic See. The fair theologian Margaret was successful in bringing into the land of her adoption a greater conformity with Roman usages in religion. Her erudition, her piety, as well as her authority commended that closer union which brought about the subjection of the Scottish Church to Rome, and made the Scottish Church an integral part of the Roman Church. (1)

It would be foolish to claim that this linking up of the Scottish Church to Rome was the result of the Crusades. There is no reason to doubt that, even without the Crusades, the Scottish Church would have followed the Romeward course. Other influences were leading it in that direction. The work begun by Queen Margaret was carried on by Saxons and Normans both clerics and laymen who found their way into Scotland during

(1) Haddan and Stubbs II pt. I pp. 156-159



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the succeeding years. There was a coming and going between England and Scotland, a growth of intercourse between the two countries, which undoubtedly made for greater uniformity even in ecclesiastical matters. There was also a growth of intercourse between Scotland and the nations of Western Europe which made isolation in religious concerns more difficult. While Scotland would no doubt, like England and the other Christian countries of Western Europe, have come to look more and more to Rome for leadership in religion, we can hardly fail to recognise that the Crusades helped towards this. In directing attention to the Holy Land the Apostolic See succeeded in turning the eyes of the Christian nations towards itself. It did so even beyond its own expectations and was quick to avail itself of the influence thus attained. The Crusades had a centralising effect particularly in religion. They united the Christian nations in a common cause for a religious purpose at the bidding of the papal call. The voice that could summon together so many different nations and could inaugurate so extensive a movement was bound to command attention and to gain authority. At the same time no more can be claimed for the Crusades than that they served to further the influences at work in bringing the Scottish Church into closer connection with Rome.

An important stage in the relationship of the Scottish Church with the Apostolic See was reached when the Scottish

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Church was declared a "special daughter" of Rome by Pope Clement III. This act of Pope Clement effected the settlement of a dispute between the Scottish and English Churches, which had caused keen and bitter contention. While the Scottish Church had yielded with a good grace to English influence bringing it into conformity with English usages, it had strenuously claimed its independence of the English Church. It was quite ready to model itself on the Anglican form, and to admit to high office Anglican clerics, but it stoutly resisted the attempts to bring it into subjection to the Archbishop of York or even to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was natural that the desire for national independence should foster in the Scottish Church an impatience with any subordination to England. As stoutly as Scotland sought to contend for its national freedom from English domination, the Scottish Church clung to the declaration of its spiritual freedom from any subjection to the English Church. This freedom it found in a more direct subjection to the Apostolic See itself. The Bull of Pope Clement III declared the Scottish Church to be directly subject to Rome, reserving the right to pronounce sentence of excommunication or interdict in Scotland to the Pope himself or to his legate "a latere", and decreeing that none shall exercise the office of legate in the Kingdom except a Scottish subject (1) or one specially sent from the Court of Rome.

(1) Roger de Hoveden Vol. II pp. 360-361  
Benedictus Abbas Vol. II pp. 254-255

# THE RELATION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH TO THE APOSTOLIC SEE

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It was little more than a year after Clement's letter that King Richard I of England gave back to Scotland for a payment of ten thousand marks what that country had surrendered by the Treaty of Falaise. (1) This restoration of Scotland's national independence links itself to Richard's Crusade, providing, as it did, the English King with money necessary for his expedition to the Holy Land besides gaining the goodwill of a near neighbour during Richard's absence from England. Any connection between the Crusades and the charter of the freedom of the Scottish Church from English domination is less obvious. At the same time we must consider the Bull of Clement III in its two aspects. It was a victory for the stubborn resistance of the Scottish Church against subjection to any English Archbishop, but it was also a triumph of papal diplomacy. Cunningham describes it as a masterly stroke of policy on the part of Rome. (2) and when we consider it carefully we find some justification for describing it in this way. It is obvious that whatever Scotland gained in the way of freedom from subjection to the English Church, Rome also gained by a closer connection between the Scottish Church and the Holy See. It attached the Scottish Church more nearly to Rome, and even in his letter Clement indicates this as his aim. Over and above that, the position of the Holy See at the time brings other considerations before us which are not without significance.

(1) Fordun "Gesta Annalia" XX-XI pp. 271-273

(2) "Church History of Scotland" Cunningham Vol. I p. 106

# THE RELATION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH TO THE APOSTOLIC SEE

Not long before this the Holy See had passed through the ordeal of the Papal Schism with the stubborn eighteen years of contest for supremacy between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa. During the struggle Henry II of England, although favourable towards Pope Alexander, had given the pontiff some anxious moments, particularly when the conflict between the English King and Thomas à Becket was at its height. The contest between Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa had emphasised the danger to papal claims from powerful rulers and widely extended empires. It had emphasised the value, from the papal point of view, of the smaller independent kingdoms and the wisdom of encouraging them. Eleven years had passed since the victory of the papacy in the struggle with Barbarossa. Between Alexander III and Clement III there had intervened the pontificate of Lucius III, then that of Urban III and the two months pontificate of Gregory VIII, but still Clement would hardly be forgetful of the lessons of the conflict of Pope Alexander. Clement was conciliatory in his policy but, whether conciliatory or aggressive, the trend of the papal policy remained much the same, and Rome had learned that the friendship and independence of the smaller kingdoms could be valuable.

Apart from questions of general policy there is a letter sent by Pope Alexander III to the Bishops of Scotland in 1176 which would seem to indicate the light in which he regarded

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the action of Henry II of England when he sought to force the Scottish Bishops into subjection to the Church of England.

He speaks of it as an injury toward God and a contempt for the Holy See, as well as an infringement of ecclesiastical liberty. <sup>(1)</sup>

Of course the Popes did not always speak in their letters with the same voice, but it is easy to understand that Pope Alexander III was rather sensitive where any infringement of ecclesiastical or papal rights was concerned.

The issue of the controversy was still further complicated by the dispute which arose between the Pope and William the Lion over the election of the Bishop of St. Andrews. On the death of Bishop Richard, the Canons of St. Andrews met and elected John Scott as his successor, but this did not satisfy King William who, in spite of an appeal against it, had his own chaplain Hugh consecrated as Bishop of St. Andrews. <sup>(2)</sup> It was now the Scottish King who was infringing upon ecclesiastical liberties. In writing to remonstrate Pope Alexander mentions that he has laboured for the peace and liberty of Scotland and holds out the threat that, if the King do not submit, he will use the same diligence in labouring for the subjection of his Kingdom. <sup>(3)</sup> William the Lion was not easily shaken in his determination and the Pope had to put into force his spiritual

(1) Haddan and Stubbs II pt. I pp. 245-246

(2) Roger de Hoveden Vol. II p. 208, Benedictus Abbas I p. 250

(3) do Vol. II p. 212 do I p. 263

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powers by excommunicating the King and placing his Kingdom under an interdict before the royal offender could be brought to submission. (1) In addition the Pope did not hesitate to call the secular arm to his assistance and to instruct Henry (2) of England to constrain the Scottish King by his royal authority. The dispute was not settled until the beginning of the pontificate of Clement III. The sentence of excommunication had been reversed and the interdict had been recalled by Lucius III on (3) the request and submission of the Scottish King in 1182, but still the final settlement was not reached until Clement III became Pope. Bishop John was by this time satisfied with peaceful possession of the Bishopric of Dunkeld. Hugh had been deposed and excommunicated, and set out for Rome to make his submission. (4) It was a settlement more in the nature of a compromise than of a decided victory for either side. Nevertheless the Scottish King had submitted to the papal will and Rome was always ready to be gracious towards those who were ready to recognise its authority or to yield to its claims, and to confer on them such a special favour as that given when the Scottish Church was taken under Rome's direct control.

The controversy reveals a papacy strong in the assertion of its rights and maintaining its absolute independence and

- (1) Roger de Hoveden Vol. II p. 863, Benedictus Abbas Vol. I.  
 (2) Benedictus Abbas Vol. I p. 265 (p. 282)  
 (3) Roger de Hoveden II p. 268, Benedictus Abbas I p. 287  
 (4) do II p. 353, do II pp. 13-14

sovereignty in ecclesiastical matters. It reveals also a papacy which could dictate to kings and could even call on the aid of the secular powers to enforce its will. Such aims and claims cannot be described as the result of the Crusades, but the Crusades certainly strengthened and encouraged the papacy in them. The power which could gather together vast armies to fight for the recovery of the Holy Land, which could claim the leadership in the martial enterprise of the Crusades, saw its ambitions expanded by this and coming nearer to realisation. To impose the papal will upon Europe came nearer to fulfilment when the papacy could command armed forces which could be directed against heretics and even against rebellious rulers. It is not possible to claim more for the Crusades than that they stimulated papal ambitions, but it is not possible to ignore the importance of the influence of the Crusades in shaping the policy of the Holy See and establishing it as a power among the Christian nations.

The granting to Scotland of the privilege of being a "special daughter" of Rome is contemporaneous with the efforts made to raise the Saladin Tithe. The capture of Jerusalem by the infidels in 1187 gave a stimulus to crusading zeal. Henry II of England was stirred to impose a levy of a tenth upon all within his jurisdiction as a Holy Land subsidy. He sought to extend the same to Scotland but met with no success. (1) The

(1) Roger de Hoveden Vol. II p339, Benedictus Abbas II 41

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letter of Clement III bringing the Scottish Church into immediate subjection to the Holy See is dated only a month later than the date of the Council at Geddington at which the levying of the Saladin Tithe was decreed. The attempt of King Henry to bring Scotland into line with England in the matter of this assessment could hardly have failed or the knowledge of its failure could hardly have reached Rome before Clement's letter was sent out. At the same time, Rome was acquainted with Scottish affairs, and even if the possibility of a Scottish refusal to the call for the Saladin Tithe had not occurred to Pope Clement, at least the possibility of a more ready and loyal response from Scotland to the crusading demands of the time may have suggested itself to the papal mind if only the Scottish Church were brought into a closer connection with the Holy See.

Apart altogether from conjecture and indirect influence the Crusades actually had a distinct influence upon the Scottish Church brought into closer relationship with Rome in the growth of papal taxation and the development of indulgences.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAPAL TAXATION

Another feature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Scotland was the rise and development of a system of papal taxation. The Scottish Church became a "special daughter" of the Holy See, and she was called upon to contribute liberally at the bidding of the parent who claimed her. The demands came slowly at first, but soon increased in insistence and exorbitance. At the beginning of the Crusades there was practically nothing of this nature in Scotland, but by the close of the thirteenth century Scotland was well accustomed to financial exactions imposed by the various popes. We must look to the Crusades as the cause of such exactions. The Crusades provided the opportunity for the development of a papal tribute which soon came to occupy an established place in the organisation of the Roman Church.

The various expeditions that set out for the Holy Land were not easily financed. In the beginning the difficulty was not so pressing. The first inspiration of the movement called forth the necessary men with the necessary means for the prosecution of the campaign. Combatants provided for themselves in many cases and leaders provided for their following. When such might be required by the more needy who took part in the Holy War, assistance was given by others among the combatants. The first crusading force mostly provided its own supplies.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAPAL TAXATION

Some hoped, doubtless, to make up for their expenditure by winning rich plunder in the East. Whatever their expectations, more fortunes were lost than won through the warfare in Palestine. As the enthusiasm for the Crusades began to slacken the financial necessity became more pressing. Recruits were still needed. Many offered who were unable to set out because they were unable to go at their own charges, and were not fortunate enough to have the opportunity of attaching themselves to a leader willing to maintain them. There was an urgent need for generous financial support in equipping the expeditions to the Holy Land. The popes took steps to ensure that this should be supplied, and in their efforts they laid the foundations of a system that was certainly productive.

It was not merely the needs of expeditions to the Holy Land that moved the popes to endeavour to secure financial support from the faithful. If the Crusades called for financial assistance, the papal coffers were also in need of replenishing. The replenishing of the papal coffers proved an anxious and a difficult task. The ambitions stimulated and extended by the papal success in leading and uniting the Christian nations in the venture of the Crusades proved costly to maintain. Added prestige involved added expenditure. Schemes of aggrandisement were productive of financial embarrassment. The concern of the popes for the financing of the Crusades was sometimes exceeded by their concern over their own monetary

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difficulties, and the two were united together in stimulating activity and ingenuity in discovering ways of extracting from the treasures of the faithful a satisfactory tribute to the head of the Roman Church.

If the Crusades were responsible for the urgent need of financial assistance, they were also an admirable opportunity for the imposition of a generous tribute. It was natural that the popes should call upon those at home to subsidise the fighting in the Holy Land. An appeal to generosity of this nature was likely to awaken a more ready response than a demand of a less disinterested kind. A levy for such an object was calculated to arouse less opposition and to cause less resentment than a tribute demanded for more selfish ends. The popes were genuinely interested in the promotion of the Crusades, but in seeking the necessary financial backing they found themselves tapping potential sources of papal revenue and adopting measures that might be successfully turned to their own financial advantage. In Scotland the development of the papal activity in this respect followed, naturally, the same general lines as in other Christian countries of the west. There is ample evidence to show the course of the development of papal tribute during the crusading period as it affected this country.

Before the year 1181 there is a record of a grant made

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by Harald, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, in which the sum of one penny for each inhabited house in Caithness is annually contributed to the Apostolic See. <sup>(1)</sup> It was conferred in the time of Pope Alexander, and was duly collected and transmitted until one of the Bishops of Caithness put obstacles in the way about the year 1108 or before it. In that year a mandate is sent to the Bishops of Orkney and Ross instructing them to compel the Bishop of Caithness to cease from preventing this payment of one penny on every inhabited house in Caithness granted by the Earl of Caithness and Orkney. <sup>(2)</sup> A noticeable feature of this payment is that it was not a levy imposed by the Apostolic See, but a grant made of a voluntary nature. It was the gift of the Earl and not of the Church. It was drawn from each inhabited house and not from the revenues of the Church only.

The rise of Saladin and his success against the Christians in the Holy Land stimulated flagging interest in the Crusades, and in this reawakened interest the financial side was kept in view. On the tenth day of March 1185 King Henry of England held a Council at London to which the Scottish King was called, and at which the provision of funds for the defence of the Holy Land was considered. <sup>(3)</sup> Three years later on the eleventh day of February 1188 the English King held a Council at

(1) Haddan and Stubbs Vol. II (1) p. 250

(2) Bliss p. 1

(3) Benedictus Abbas Vol. I p. 336

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Geddington at which the Crusades again occupied a chief place in the deliberations. (1) It was decreed that all should give tithes of their revenues and chattels, except of arms and precious stones, books and vestments of the clergy. Burgresses and villains who should take the Cross without the permission of their superiors were to pay tithes. (2) (3) The English King attempted to force this upon Scotland but was unsuccessful. Hugh, Bishop of Durham, and others were despatched to the King of Scotland to get him to collect tithes for the Crusade. This was met with a refusal, the Bishops, Earls and Barons being with the King in this. An offer from Scotland of five thousand marks was refused as a substitute for the tithe. (4) In this case of the Saladin Tithe we see the levy made not by the Pope but by the King. It was a levy on all property and not distinctly on Church revenues. The purpose for which it was demanded was for the Crusades. The demand of the English King was refused by the King of Scotland as well as by his Earls, Bishops and Barons.

The ten thousand marks paid by Scotland to King Richard of England after his succession to the throne, although required by the English King for the prosecution of his Crusade, was in no way a contribution from Scotland to the Crusades. It was

(1) Benedictus Abbas Vol. II, p. 33

(2) "Chron. of Melrose" pp. 96-97

(3) Rozer de Hoveden Vol. II p. 335

(4) do Vol. II, p. 338

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a payment made in return for freedom from the submission made to England by the Treaty of Falaise, the sum required being raised by the prelates and rectors of churches and the earls and lords of the Kingdom. <sup>(1)</sup>

Scotland in the thirteenth century saw the development of direct papal taxation. Innocent III issued a general demand <sup>(2)</sup> for the collection of a fortieth of all ecclesiastical revenues. The aid of the Holy Land was the purpose for which the contribution was asked. We learn that the King of England in the year 1201 imposed a contribution of a fortieth of all revenues on all earls, barons and subordinates for the furtherance of the Crusades. <sup>(3)</sup> Twelve years later letters are sent by the Apostolic See urging the faithful in England, Ireland and Scotland to contribute to the Crusades. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow are collectors of Holy Land subsidy in <sup>(4)</sup> Scotland. A distinct step was taken at the Lateran Council in 1215 when it was decreed that as Holy Land subsidy all clerics should pay a twentieth of their revenues for three years with the exception of certain religious orders and those who actually proceeded to the Holy Land. The Pope and Cardinals undertook to contribute a tenth of their own revenues, and in addition the <sup>(5)</sup> Pope made a money grant to those who had taken the Cross.

(1) Fordun "Gesta Annalia" XX-XXI pp. 271-273

(2) Rozer de Hoveden IV p. 109

(3) do IV p. 127

(4) Bliss p. 32 (5) "Chronicon de Lanercost" p. 17

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To such appeals and exactions there was a varied response. They were sometimes received unwillingly and with opposition. The reluctance was increased by suspicions as to the actual destination of the levies, and also by suspicions as to the integrity of the papal agents. The suspicions do not appear to have been altogether groundless. The Apostolic See was not always fortunate in its choice of collectors, and although it is quite clear that they made headway in their work, it is not so clear that the sums gathered ultimately found their way to the support of the aims for which they were demanded.

Hector Boece tells us how a legate was sent by the Pope to Scotland in 1281 to secure money to provide for a new army against the Turks. According to the account he succeeded in gathering a substantial sum which he proceeded to spend on himself, accounting to the Pope for it by saying that it had been stolen by brigands. Another legate was sent by Rome, but King Alexander, getting to hear of it, called a council together at which a bishop spoke very plainly of the character of these emissaries with the result that permission to enter the Kingdom was refused to this legate. (1)

We are informed that in the year 1289 Master Stephen, the chaplain of the Pope, came as a messenger to England to collect

(1) Hector Boece Lib. XIII Cap. XIII pp. 338-339

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tithes to assist against the Roman Emperor, and that England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland were all compelled to pay them. (1)

Matthew Paris describes the coming to Scotland of two collectors Peter le Rouge and Ruffinus who took away three thousand pounds for the Pope's use, although Peter le Rouge had only come the same year. (2)

Indeed no secret was made of the objects to which the money collected was applied. In 1241 Otho, Cardinal of St. Nicholas in Carcere, was instructed to assign the money collected in England, Scotland and Ireland to Richard of the Knights Templar in Paris with the object of satisfying the Pope's creditors. (3)

Matthew Paris speaks very frankly of such papal exactions in Scotland when he tells us how Godfrey, son of the Prefect of Rome and Bishop Elect of Bethlehem, was sent by the Pope about the year 1247 as Legate into Scotland, and adds that there seemed no other reason for his visit than that according to customary practice he was drawn by the abundant and much coveted revenues to be gained in Scotland. (4)

In the same year the Italian clerks who have benefices in Scotland are to have the needs of the Church explained to them and to be urged to give a quarter of their income if their income is a hundred marks or less, and a half of their income if it is over that value. (5)

(1) Roger of Wendover II p.375

(2) Matthew Paris IV p.55

(3) Bliss p.195

(4) Matthew Paris IV p.608

(5) Bliss p.235, Theiner pp.47-48 no CXXIV



Of course it is quite clear that a considerable proportion of the amount raised for the Crusades actually went to subsidise Crusaders. In 1247 the Bishop of Dunblane was appointed to collect in Scotland a twentieth of church revenues, offerings and legacies for the Holy Land as well as the redemptions of vows and to transmit three thousand pounds of Tours to certain Crusaders. (1) The bishops, abbots and prelates in Scotland were instructed to enforce the orders of the Bishop of Dunblane for the collection of Holy Land subsidy. (2) At another time certain kinsmen of the King who are mentioned by name and are going on crusade are to be provided with sums of money out of the redemptions of Crusaders' vows, legacies and other grants in Scotland towards the relief of the Holy Land. (3) In the same year, 1250, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen are to collect legacies and offerings from all sources in Scotland for the Holy Land, and, when they have satisfied Crusaders from Scotland to whom a share has been promised by the Pope, to assign the rest to the King of England at the Pope's order when the King sets out for the Holy Land. (4) As a matter of fact King Henry's projected Crusade was the cause of much

(1) Bliss p.237, Theiner p.48 no CXXVIII

(2) Bliss p.237

(3) Bliss p.261, Theiner p.52 no CXLII

(4) Bliss p.263

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activity in papal levies on Scotland. In 1251 a papal letter to the King of England refuses his request that a tenth of church revenues in Scotland should be granted to him. <sup>(1)</sup> However, a twentieth was demanded from Scotland by the Apostolic See <sup>(2)</sup> for Henry's Crusade for three years, and then for three years <sup>(3)</sup> more. The Crusade was abandoned in favour of a campaign in Sicily, and in 1256 the twentieth was again demanded from Scotland expressly for Sicily. <sup>(4)</sup> There is a papal mandate in 1263 addressed to the Bishop of St. Andrews by which he is to collect a yearly hundredth of all church revenues for five years for the Holy Land, and in this the bishops and other prelates of Scotland are to assist him. <sup>(5)</sup> Two years later there is a mandate to Ottobon to collect a tenth of all church revenues in Scotland, certain religious orders being excepted. <sup>(6)</sup> In the following year he is again charged to collect the tenth in Scotland, if the King agrees, and to apply it to the debts of the Queen of England, but if permission is refused sixty thousand pounds of Tours of the English tithe is to be applied to the Queen's necessities. <sup>(7)</sup> In the same year Master Sinisius is instructed to exact and receive in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland papal and Holy Land cess, Peter's pence and debts contracted by vow or promise, tenths or twentieths, redemptions

(1) Bliss p.270

(2) "Foedera" I p.303

(3) do I p.322

(4) do I p.342

(5) Bliss p.394

(6) Bliss p.429, Theiner p.98 no CXXLVI (7) Bliss p.433

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of Crusaders' vows, deposits, legacies or goods of intestate  
 (1) clerks. Archbishops, bishops and abbots are to supply him  
 on his journeys with four or five mounts, and six or seven  
 attendants or to give him seven shillings a day. (2) In other  
 words they are not only to pay the levies, but they are also  
 to pay the cost of collection.

With all this collecting activity it is not to be wondered  
 at that there was often resistance. The Prior and Chapter of  
 Whitehern had evidently appropriated a sum of thirty-six marks  
 and other money for the Holy Land collected in Scotland by Ivo  
 (3) a friar preacher. Resistance of a more formidable nature was  
 that which was offered to the demand by Ottobon of a contribution  
 of a tenth to the King of England which was unanimously refused  
 (4) by the King and clergy of Scotland in 1268. The following year  
 the King of England again asked the clergy in Scotland for  
 one penny in ten, and against this the clergy protested and  
 (5) appealed to the Pope.

Five years later Balamund de Vitia, Canon of Asti, is  
 commissioned to collect in Scotland the Holy Land tithe granted  
 (6) by the Council of Lyons for six years. Balamund held a  
 council at Perth the following year. At this council the

- (1) Bliss p.423
- (2) do p.424
- (3) do pp.384 & 423
- (4) "Scotichronicon" Vol. II, Lib. X, Cap. LXIV p.109
- (5) Fordun "Gesta Annalia" LIX p.303
- (6) Bliss p.449

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bishops and abbots requested him to petition the Pope to take the old taxation whereby seven years were reckoned as only six, but Balamund had no success in this request to the Pope. (1) Here there is no refusal on the part of the clergy of Scotland, but only a request for the modification of the assessment. Balamund is armed with threats of excommunication for those who do not pay. (2)

As to the sum which he received in Scotland directions are given in 1222 that he is to assign a moiety to Medicus Aliotti, Acolinus Salvi, Simon Gerardi members of the firm of Thomas Spiliati and Hugh Spina of Florence. (3) Later in the same year he is ordered, if the King of England takes the Cross, to deposit the whole of the Holy Land tenth in safe places except for the moiety already dealt with in the instructions sent. If the King does not join the Crusade, a tenth being deducted, part is to be paid to members of the firm of Circuli, a quarter to members of the firm of Rossi Bacarelli and Raynutii Abbatis, and another quarter to members of the Florentine firm of Frescobaldi. (4)

He failed to do so alleging that the Scottish King had prohibited it, and seems to have lent out the money to his own advantage. In 1223 he is ordered to act upon the previous instructions. (5) If he refuses to do so

Master Geoffrey, Clerk of the Papal Camera and now in England,

- (1) Fordum "Gesta Annalia" LXII p.306
- (2) Bliss p.46F
- (3) do p.46F
- (4) do p.46F
- (5) do p.46F

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has orders to compel him. This Geoffrey de Vecano had been appointed the previous year to exact and receive in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland moneys promised to the Holy Land, redemptions of Crusaders' vows, legacies, but not tithes. (1)

In 1284 Balamund is again ordered to pay the tithes collected in Scotland to members of firms of Florence, Siena and Lucca. If he does not, Geoffrey de Vecano and John de Luco, Canon of London, have orders to cite him before the Pope and deprive him of his benefices. (2)

The Apostolic See had set its heart on Edward I taking the Cross, and in 1284 the Holy Land tithe collected in Scotland is promised to him if he will take the Cross before Christmas on condition that he will subsidise the Scottish magnates who join the Crusade. (3)

The grant is also conditional on the consent of the Scottish King. Two years later subject to the same condition there is a renewal of this grant, but a request for its extension from three years to five years is refused as the concession has run for nine years. (4)

Again in 1291 in addition to previous grants of Holy Land tithe in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, there is a grant for six years, and the offerings in these kingdoms from the time fixed by Honorius IV are to be applied to the King of England's expenses on setting out. (5)

(1) Ellis p. 476

(2) do p. 478

(3) do p. 473, Theiner p. 128 no CCLXXXV

(4) do p. 470, do p. 130 no CCLXXXVII

(5) do p. 551

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A mandate is given to the Bishops of Carlisle and Caithness to warn all who are not exempt to pay the tithe for the King during the six years. (1) Meantime Geoffrey de Vecano is bidden to be diligent in collecting Peter's pence and other dues in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. (2) His expenses at the rate of seven shillings a day with three shillings a day in addition are to be defrayed by the churches in these kingdoms. (3)

As an indication of the sums gathered for Holy Land tithe we have the instruction issued to the Bishop of Carlisle in 1296 to pay within one month to the Pulices and Rambertini of Florence ten thousand marks collected by him in Scotland and granted for six years by Nicholas IV for the English King. (4) Again at the close of the century the Abbot of Watham and the Dean of London are ordered to pay over to the firm of Spini, Florentine merchants, what they or their deputies have received of Holy Land tithe in Scotland formerly ordered to be collected by the Bishops of Carlisle and Caithness, or, as is later instructed, to pay it equally to Spini and the Clarentes of Pistoia. (5) (6)

We see how such contributions passed from being voluntary gifts into assessments requested and then demanded, becoming a tax rigorously exacted by the papacy with all the powers of compulsion which the papacy possessed. We see also how the

(1) Bliss p. 552	(4) Bliss p. 564
(2) do p. 564	(5) do p. 587
(3) do p. 486	(6) do p. 588

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fortieth of church revenues became the twentieth and later the tenth in the exactions of the Holy See. We see also how the Holy Land tithe came to be applied in part at least to purposes not directly connected with the Crusades. The empty papal treasure chests as well as the creditors of the Holy See had their share. By the end of the thirteenth century Scotland was quite familiar with papal levies for papal purposes.

## CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDULGENCES

Not only did the Crusades bring an expansion of the monastic life; not only did they establish a system of papal taxation; they also brought about a remarkable development in the penitential system of the Roman Church. Before the Crusades indulgences were not unknown in the Roman Church. Partial indulgences had been slowly coming into vogue. With the start of the Holy Land enterprise indulgences immediately sprang into prominence, and before the close of the Crusades they had expanded to an extent that is surprising. This expansion did not come about all at once. After the first striking advance the progress was slow and hesitating because the Church was not quite sure of its doctrinal grounds. In the thirteenth century, however, and particularly in the second half of the century there is evidence that indulgences had established themselves as an important part of the ecclesiastical system, and were reckoned as a formidable and fruitful power in the hands of the popes. There is also evidence of their place in the religious life in Scotland.

The Crusades have the distinction of bringing indulgences into prominence. When Pope Urban called the Christian nations to the Holy Land enterprise his aim was to gather to the cause as many as he could. His effort was singularly successful. The



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stimulus of a powerful appeal had its part in this success. Peter the Hermit could stir his hearers to action. At the same time mere eloquence alone would never have brought about the remarkable result which rewarded Urban's summons. Of course the promise of adventure would be an inducement in an age of adventure. A call to arms would not fail to touch the warriors of the time. Besides, the hope of rich booty and the spoils of conquest were alluring to many who seemed to entertain no thought of defeat. Still something more was required to make the effort as successful as was desired, and it had to be big enough to make a strong appeal to the mind of the time. Out of his spiritual storehouse Pope Urban brought the requisite reward and there is no doubt that it was effective, so effective that it must have astonished Urban, and it was used again by successors whenever efforts were made to stir the Christian world to a fresh Crusade. The reward promised by Urban was that of a plenary indulgence.

When we examine the nature of Urban's indulgence we find that it provides for the two different sections, those who should survive the expedition and those who should perish in the course of it. In his address at Clermont he promised a remission of penance enjoined for sin confessed to all who undertook the pilgrimage. To those who in the expedition should perish in true penitence he gave the assurance of heaven. This he promised by the mercy of the Lord and the authority of the

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(1)

blessed apostles Peter and Paul. This would seem to be the nature of the indulgence granted to the Crusaders by Urban, and it would seem to be the nature of the indulgences granted and renewed to Crusaders during the twelfth century by succeeding popes with certain variations both in the direction of the expansion and the restriction of the privileges assured.

In the year 1181 Pope Alexander III in a general letter grants and confirms that indulgence granted by his predecessors Urban and Eugenius on apostolic authority. However Alexander makes certain restrictions in the indulgences bestowed. Two years of service against the Saracens is required for a complete indulgence. To these he promises absolution for all their sins which they confess with humility and contrition of heart. There is also added as a condition that those who have taken property belonging to another or have extorted usurious interest must make due reparation if it is within their power. To those who remain only one year on campaign is granted an indulgence of half the penance enjoined and remission of sins. He goes on to add that all who wish to visit the Holy Sepulchre, whether they die by the way or whether they reach it, shall have the labour of the journey reckoned in place of penance and obedience and for the remission of all their sins, that so by the bounty

(1) William of Tyre Lib. I, Cap. XV p. 234

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of God they may arrive from the turmoils of this life at that state of blessedness which eye hath not seen nor ear heard neither have entered into the heart of man, which God hath  
(1)  
prepared for them that love Him.

Six years later on the fall of Jerusalem into infidel hands Gregory VIII in 1187 holds out to those who undertake the journey in a contrite heart and a humble spirit the promise that, if they die in penitence and true faith, they shall have a full indulgence of their sins and eternal life. Those who survive are given a relaxation of the penance imposed for all sins  
(2)  
rightly confessed. The short pontificate of Gregory VIII which lasted only for two months was followed by that of Clement III who in 1188 gave the indulgence that from the day each assumed the Cross he would have the remission of all penance imposed for sins penitently confessed, and also for  
(3)  
sins forgotten. Still later in 1189 Innocent III summoning to a new Crusade extends the privileges already given. Those who shall undertake the expedition and provide their own expenses are assured in virtue of the power of "binding and loosing" of plenary pardon of those sins of which they have shown themselves repentant with an increase of eternal salvation in the reward of the just. Those who either send others for

(1) Roger de Hoveden II p. 257

(2) William of Newburgh Lib. III, Cap. XXI, p. 266

(3) do Lib. III, Cap. XXIII, p. 273

one year at least or go themselves at the expense of others are granted plenary pardon for their sins. Even those who merely contribute to the Crusade are not left out. Instructions are given to Archbishops and Bishops to take into consideration the rank and means of such contributors as well as the intensity of their devotion and to change works of penance enjoined for works of almsgiving. At the same time prelates and subordinate clergy who voluntarily and faithfully pay the fortieth of their ecclesiastical revenues as demanded are to have a remission of a fourth part of enjoined penance. (1)

In all this it is possible to discern a certain vagueness. The power of the keys, the teaching of purgatory and the assertion of the "treasure" were not yet fully developed in the Councils of the Church and the debates of the schoolmen. The Lateran Council of 1215, however, marked a stage in the penitential system of the Church by decreeing that all the faithful of either sex who had attained years of discretion should make confession at least once a year, perform the penance imposed, and receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist. (2) In the granting of indulgences a restriction is made confining the power to bishops and to the Holy See. (3) The bishops are to be moderate in the granting of indulgences, giving no more than a year's

- (1) Roger de Hoveden IV pp.108-111  
 (2) Hefele V p.1349  
 (3) do V p.1380

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indulgence on the occasion of the consecration of a new church and not more than forty days for the anniversary. (1) In the same Council the Pope decreed a new Crusade promising by right of the power of "binding and loosing" to those who undertake the expedition at their own expense the indulgence of a full pardon of their sins which they have confessed with true contrition, as well as an increase of eternal salvation in the reward of the just. Those who send suitable men and provide for their expenses and those who go at the expense of others are granted a full indulgence. In addition all who in any way help are to participate in this remission according to the nature of their assistance. (2) Such privileges were, of course, shared by Scottish Crusaders in common with those who ventured to the Holy Land from the other Christian countries.

From all this it will appear that a new conception of crusading indulgence has been emerging. The plenary indulgence originally granted for service in the Holy Land has been supplemented by indulgences to those who send others in their place and even to those who contribute to the subsidising of the Crusades. Another development emerges in the first half of the thirteenth century in the redemption of Crusaders' vows. In its original idea it was wise and merciful. Some in a

(1) Herele V p.1382  
 (2) do V p.1395

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moment of enthusiasm had taken the crusading vow although their presence in the Holy Land would have been a hindrance rather than a help to the warfare there. In such cases it would have been foolish to have insisted upon the fulfilment of the vows and would have served no good purpose. These could much better serve the Holy Land enterprise by contributing to the extent of their capacity. There might also arise after taking the crusading vow circumstances which would render its actual accomplishment difficult or undesirable, and it was prudent to allow the actual service to be exchanged for some work in assistance of the Crusades. It was therefore made possible for those who had taken the Cross to redeem their vows by a payment of money and at the same time to retain the indulgence to which the crusading vow entitled them. Such a concession was at first given sparingly and with due consideration of the fitness of the individual seeking to redeem his vow to take up active service in the Holy Land. Very soon, however, the question of fitness became a secondary consideration as the need of money became greater in order to finance the Crusades or to replenish the papal chests. At times it became a question not of seeking permission to redeem the vow, but a question of seeking permission to fulfil the vow instead of being under the obligation to pay the sum required for redemption. The amount of redemption money was variously assessed, but particularly in the second half of the thirteenth century the business of

indulgences became quite an important one.

This became very noticeable in the time of Gregory IX. In the year 1238 he issued a mandate to Otho, Cardinal of St. Nicholas in Carcere and Papal Legate, instructing him to absolve from their Crusaders' vows those in Scotland unable to fulfil them because of poverty, age or weakness. The payments to be made for the redemption of such vows were to be equal to the sums which those seeking redemption would have spent if they had actually gone with the expedition. The money received in this way was to be handed over to those who were fit to go to the Holy Land. (1) Nine years later in 1247 Pope Innocent IV sent a mandate to the Bishop of Dunblane instructing him to collect not only the twentieth of ecclesiastical revenues but also the redemptions of vows, offerings and legacies for the Holy Land, and to transmit three thousand pounds of Tours to certain Crusaders. (2) In the following year the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow were appointed collectors of redemptions of vows, legacies and gifts for the Holy Land, and they were to distribute these to the men who personally set out. (3) Two years later in 1250 the Bishops of St. Andrews

- |     |       |         |         |       |            |
|-----|-------|---------|---------|-------|------------|
| (1) | Bliss | p. 169. | Theiner | p. 38 | no XCVI    |
| (2) | do    | p. 237  | do      | p. 48 | no CXXVIII |
| (3) | do    | p. 243  | do      | p. 50 | no CXXXII  |

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and Dunkeld and the Abbot of Dunfermline received papal instructions to assign to relatives of the King of Scotland who were setting out on the Crusade four hundred marks before Christmas and other suitable sums out of the redemptions of vows, legacies and grants for the Holy Land, and they were given power to absolve from their vows those who could not themselves set out on the expedition. <sup>(1)</sup> A year later still permission was again given to Scottish Crusaders to redeem their vows and the money so received was to be applied to those going to the Holy Land from Scotland. <sup>(2)</sup>

Yet the redemptions of vows in Scotland were designed for the assistance of others besides Scottish Crusaders. In 1255 a Papal Bull directed the Archbishop of Canterbury and Master Rostand, Papal Nuncio in England, to see that the redemptions were collected and assigned to the King of England as Holy Land subsidy. <sup>(3)</sup> Next year Master Rostand received further instructions to the same effect. <sup>(4)</sup> The Holy Land vow of the English King had been meantime changed to the undertaking of an expedition to Sicily. <sup>(5)</sup> The Holy Land, however, was not forgotten, and in 1268 the Bishop of St. Andrews received papal instructions to preach a Crusade and as an inducement plenary remission was promised not only to those who should go on

- (1) Bliss p.261, Theiner p.52 no CXLII
- (2) "Foedera" p.278
- (3) do p.328
- (4) do p.348
- (5) do p.319



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crusade but also to those who should send men and to those who should go at the expense of others. Those assisting otherwise were to be rewarded with a proportionate pardon. Even those attending processions and sermons were to be given the promise of a hundred days of plenary indulgence. (1) We see from this

mandate that indulgences of a partial nature were now to be had for the mere attendance at processions and sermons. In 1265 Ottobon, Cardinal of St. Adrians and Papal Legate, received a mandate to preach a Crusade in England and Scotland among other countries against those rebelling against the King or Legate with the same indulgence as for the Holy Land and with power to commute vows. (2) Next year we find Sinicius, Papal

Nuncio, appointed to receive in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland the redemptions of Crusaders' vows along with other levies. (3) The work of collecting redemptions was not allowed to languish, and in 1282 Master Geoffrey de Vecano was appointed to exact and receive in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, as distinct from Holy Land tithe, money promised for the Holy Land, legacies and redemptions. (4) The money so collected was to be put in safe places and accounted for to the Pope.

In order to gain a Holy Land indulgence it was not necessary to take the crusading vow, and then to have it redeemed by

(1) Bliss p.394

(2) do p.427

(3) do p.428

(4) do p.476, Theiner p.126 no CCLXXIX

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paying the price required. The crusading vow could be dispensed with, and the giving of a contribution for the Holy Land gained for the donor an indulgence just the same. Indeed indulgences were becoming quite easy to secure, and in 1290 we find instances of quite substantial indulgences granted for the visiting of chapels at certain seasons. A relaxation of one year and forty days of enjoined penance is granted to penitents who visit the Chapel of the House of God at Berwick on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Feast of St. Andrew, of St. John the Baptist, of St. John the Evangelist and their octaves. (1) The same substantial relaxation of penance is given for visiting the Church of St. Andrews on the Feast of St. Andrew and of St. Mary the Virgin in their octaves and on the anniversary of the dedication of the Church. (2)

In the year 1291 with the fall of Acre the Crusades saw the final defeat of the enterprise. Yet in that same year the Bishops of Scotland were commissioned to preach a Crusade, and the same inducement of indulgences was held out to those who should join or contribute. The grant of indulgence was, however, a modest one. It was merely the relaxation of a hundred days of enjoined penance. (3) Was the modesty of the reward due to the fact that the Holy See realised that there was little hope

- (1) Eliss p.520
- (2) do p.520
- (3) do p.553

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of any expedition requiring the fulfilment of such a vow, or was it because the Popes had found other uses for indulgences, and uses that might be of more immediate profit to themselves.

The end of the Crusades found Scotland, in common with the other nations of Western Europe, familiar with indulgences. The Crusades had brought them forth in abundance both plenary and partial. They had passed during the Crusades from being the reward of Holy Land service into privileges which could be purchased with sufficient money. They had served their purpose in stimulating crusading activity. The Holy See had learned that they could be equally serviceable in other directions. While Popes and Councils might carefully guard the nature of the remission given, and while schoolmen might debate on the penitential doctrine involved, the average men unskilled in such subtleties took them as liberating him from guilt and punishment here and hereafter, and this remission was his if he were only willing to pay for it. The indulgences of the Jubilee in 1300 were soon to bring to Rome wealth described as incomputable, and to become the precursors of other similar financial expedients.

# THE INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SCOTLAND

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## CONCLUSION

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The influence of the Crusades was real and extensive. The Holy Land expeditions bulked largely in the thought of Western Europe. For two centuries the Christian nations had crusading almost continuously before them. It occupied men's thoughts. It moulded their customs and institutions. It entered into their lives in many ways. Yet it was at heart a religious movement, and its influence upon the religious life of the times was distinct and of importance.

In general the religious influence of the Crusades served to bring the Christian nations together under the leadership of the Apostolic See. In the ordinary way the growth of intercourse between the European nations was natural and inevitable, but the Crusades served to further it, made for a closer contact and a greater interchange of ideas as well as a clearer assimilation of one nation to another in every way and certainly in religion. Without the Crusades the Apostolic See would have had an ascendancy in the Western Church, but the Crusades contributed in a special way to bring about that ascendancy, and helped considerably in raising the Holy See to the position which it occupied in the beginning of the fourteenth century in addition to moulding its dogmas and determining its policy.

Scotland was on the fringe of Christian Europe and being further from the centre than other nations the religious influence of the Crusades might not so quickly or so strongly impress itself upon that country as upon others nearer the Holy See. Still the influence is there. It was natural that that influence of the Crusades upon the religious life of Scotland should follow generally on the same lines as it followed in the other countries of Western Europe.

The influence of the Crusades upon the religious life in Scotland reached deeper than those aspects which bear the distinct evidences of it. For example, the monastic developments of the crusading period in Scotland reacted upon the parochial developments of the time. In addition to this the influence of the Crusades was one which reached far beyond the crusading years and in a real way affected the religious history of the nation. The Templars, with their impossible attempt to reconcile the martial and the humble, served their purpose and passed out of sight as soon as the Crusades had ceased in the East. The Hospitallers lingered longer but in a singularly ineffective way until they too vanished as a religious body in the land. Lazarites, Carmelites and even Trinitarians remained after the Crusades were finished. The corruptions of the Religious Orders and the rapacity of the Holy See served to hasten the Reformation. Papal indulgences formed the basis of Luther's revolt. When the Reformation came the "special

CONCLUSION

daughter" of Rome maintained her individuality and independence which made her distinct among the branches of the Church Reformed.

To-day we forget the faults and failure of the Crusades. We remember only that the Crusades arose in an ideal distinctly spiritual, the aim at freeing the Holy Land from infidel profanation. We remember that if at times the ideal proved too high for rough men in a rude age, at least it was an ideal and that it inspired those of the time in a marvellous way. We remember that it made men lay aside their differences and brought them together in a common cause. We remember the heroisms and self-sacrifice of the Crusades. We remember them all the more admiringly because they failed to win the Holy Land. To-day the word "crusade" stands for heroic venture in a noble, sacred cause, and the associations of the word make it inspiring.