



The Templar Bells of Scotland

*An investigation into the
origins of the bells in a
Dumfriesshire church*

Mark Huitson & R. Bonde

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church*

Mark Huitson & R Bonde B.Sc. M.Sc.

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(Originally titled, *Myth and Mystery, the Bells of Hollywood*)

Version 4.1

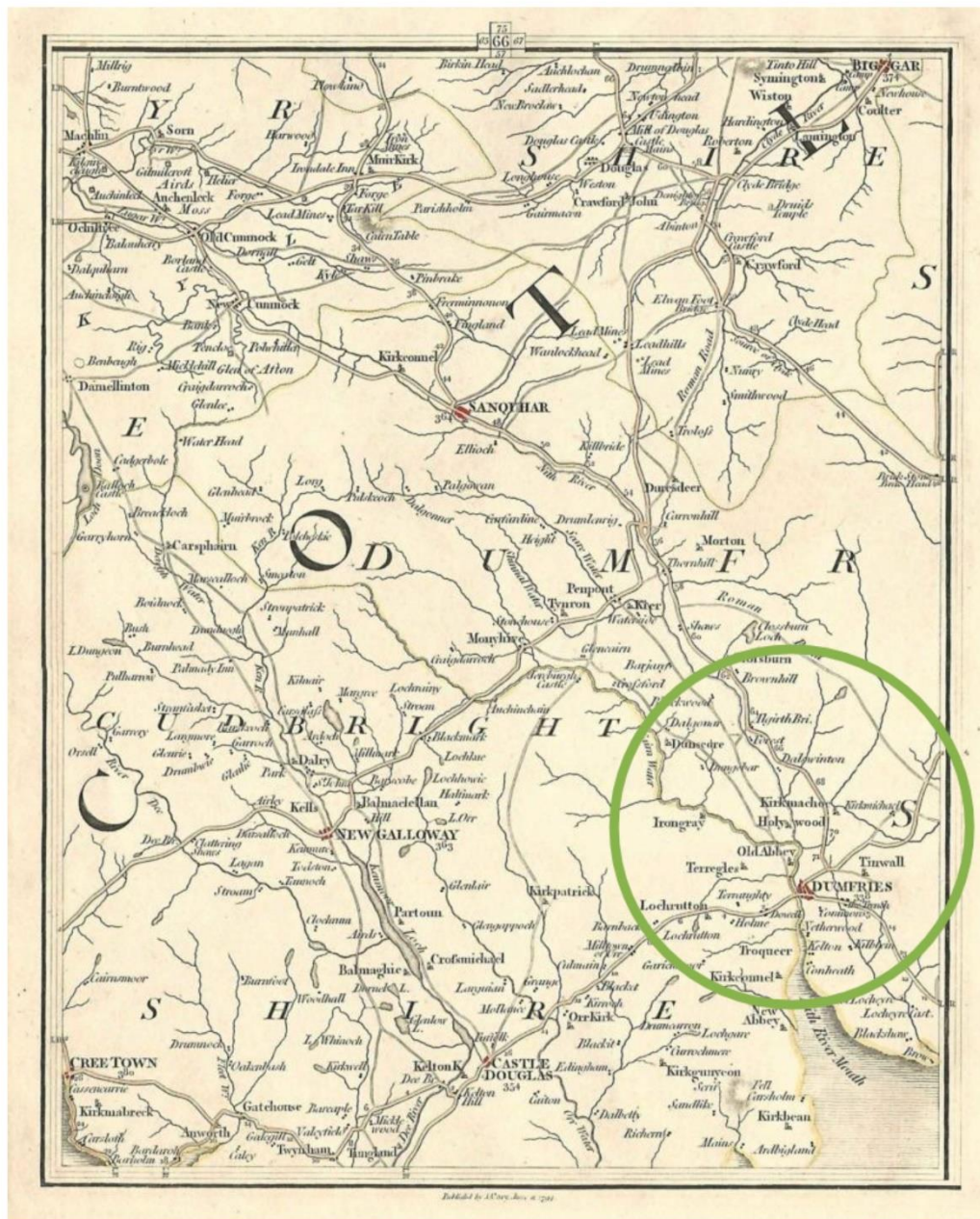
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An investigation into the origins of the bells in a Dumfriesshire church (Version 4.1)

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Hollywood and surrounding area in the 18th Century (OS: 295495, 579655)

Abstract

The Wikipedia entry for *Dercongal Abbey (or Holywood Abbey)*, refers to it as; ‘...a medieval Premonstratensian monastic community located in Dumfriesshire, Scotland... Its founder was presumably, Alan, lord of Galloway. The abbey became, secularized in the 16th century, and, in the beginning of the 17th century, was turned into a secular lordship. The ruins of the abbey were demolished in the last quarter of the 18th century.’ The same entry cites, in reference, James King Hewison from his 1912 work, *Dumfriesshire, for the Cambridge County Geographies*: ‘...a few fragments of the abbey and later hospital survived together with a bell from the old abbey, now located in the replacement parish church, bearing the Latin inscription that translates as “John Welsh, Abbot of Holywood caused me to be made in 1505”’. Hewison, Fellow of the *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, sourced his information from a 19th century report made by *James Barbour* in a journal of the *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (DGNHAS)*.

In the first *Statistical Account of Scotland* (published between 1791-99), the bell reported to be sponsored by *John Welsh* was originally attributed to *John Wrich* and consecrated in 1154. The author of the statistical return for Holywood was the then serving church minister of Holywood parish, *Reverend Bryce Johnston*, reporting the bell was one of two taken from the earlier Holywood parish church (a remnant of the original abbey complex) and installed into his new church built in 1779. Reverend Johnston’s testimony was later confirmed in the *Second Statistical Account of Scotland* (1837), by a report from a later appointed minister, *Reverend Robert Kirkwood*.

In 1898, disputing information contained within both Statistical Accounts, in particular Reverend Johnston’s original dating of one of the Holywood bells, James Barbour, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, then vice-president of DGNHAS, inspected the bells and contested the ministers’ claims. His report, made without challenge, proposed *John Welch* was inscribed on one of the bells, along with a date of 1505, and proposed another 16th century sponsor, *William Kennedy*, as the sponsor of the second bell. James Barbour’s inspection, to date, has remained the primary source of public record and the historical community’s understanding of the bells’ origins.

In 2020, the new owners of Holywood church; a historian and a qualified archaeologist, undertook an eighteen-month-long enquiry with an international team of specialists to resolve the conflict over dating between the 18th century minister and the 19th century antiquarian. Previous inspection reports were scrutinized, and a close analysis and re-examination of the bells was conducted. A photographic record was taken of the elements which constituted the bells’ decoration, and research completed upon each element through contemporary reference and expert. It was the first time the bells had undergone any form of properly considered and comprehensive investigation.

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The study produced startling and incontrovertible results. Instead of the 16th century dating proposed by James Barbour, both bells were found to be 12th century, making them the oldest dateable and provenanced hung Christian church bells in the world. Not only had James Barbour's unchallenged inspection ignored and misread 60% of the components and inscription on the bells, producing significant misinterpretation and even misrepresentation, but the study revealed the bells' sponsor to be a 12th century knight, *William le Riche*, Lord of Fowlis. William's sponsorship of Holywood Abbey, then known as Sacro Nemore had been overlooked because of expunged, purged, and imperfect contemporary record. William's name led to the reveal of a confraternity of religious knights, centered around William's existence, and a legal-religious title which had been misread by the historical community for over 170 years due to further unchallenged and ill-judged supposition by another 19th century historian.

Investigation into the father of Sacro Nemore found a son of one of Scotland's earliest religiously focused knights and one of the progenitors of the Templar movement in Scotland. William le Riche succeeded his father's wishes to become head of probably one of the first professed Templar families of Scotland, and master within that same religious community. Through William's association and evidence his name presented on the bells and charter, it was found he was ordained into holy orders by 1141 and soon after became master of a religious military confraternity, commonly known as the *Knights Templar*. William le Riche; 12th century father and founder of Sacro Nemore, noble at the court of David I of Scotland, hero of the Battle of the Standard, holy knight and crusader—*Templar Master*.

The Authors

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Version 4

This edition, titled; *The Templar Bells of Scotland*, builds upon a study and previous 2021 report, titled; *Myth and Mystery: The Bells of Holywood*. It includes further research into the bells' inscription, a fuller understanding of the origins of the Templar society in Europe, and additional consideration of the influences that came to bear on William le Riche, leading to his founding of *Sacro Nemore*.

Following dissemination and feedback to the original report from historical agencies and academic experts, the authors pursued the challenges and the threads of investigation left open, to include new evidence and understanding, increasing the potency of the original report's findings and a reconsideration of the artefacts after both the bells and stones were removed for closer examination.

Version 4 also includes academic feedback on the original study. The academic response cannot be called critique as it fails to acknowledge the investigation carried out, instead it heedlessly supports the original hypothesis, regardless of its veracity.

Acknowledgements

In a time of protracted isolation during the Covid-19 pandemic, living on-site within a dour but historic cemetery, and an unimpressive, dilapidated Georgian church, inspiration at times was lacking. But stimulus was afforded, not only by the peace and serenity of the location within beautiful, rural Dumfriesshire, but by the memories of the site's earlier custodians. The authors would often share moments of contemplation before the memorials to the Reverends Bryce Johnston, James Crichton, Robert Kirkwood, Robert Davidson, and John McCombie. But perhaps it was the Reverends Johnston and Kirkwood's memories which sat most reverentially on the authors' minds as they sought to resolve the contradiction between historians and the ministers' assertions regarding the bells which sat over their church.



Figure 1: (Left to right); Monuments to the Reverend Robert Kirkwood and Reverend Bryce Johnston

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The inscribed words upon Reverend Johnston's monument are now well worn, leaving only Kirkwood's memorial still surviving the ravages of time.

In MEMORY of
The Rev. ROBERT KIRKWOOD A.M.
Minister of Holywood
Who was born at Dalry in Ayresshire
on the 6th of August 1784
And died here [Holywood] on the 10th of October
1844 in the 61st year of his age
And in the 24th of his Ministry.

This Stone has been erected by his
Parishoners and Friends in grateful
remembrance of his services as a
faithful Minister of the Gospel
of Christ, and of his unwearied
benevolence to the Poor & Afflicted
whose distresses of every kind
received not only his warmest
sympathy but his kindest aid.
His many excellent qualities will
long be dear to the recollection
of those who have raised this
Small but sincere
Tribute to his Memory.

Monumental legend aside, it was perhaps in the reading of the men's words left behind in published text, that set the authors on an inspirational journey to discover the truth of both the myth and mystery of the bells in Holywood Church. An examination to set right the facts of the matter, and so perhaps restore veracity to the ministers' repute.

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background

- 1.1.1 The bells of Holywood's parish church were initially mentioned in the First Statistical Account of Scotland. The survey of Scotland's parishes was structured and published by *Sir John Sinclair* of Ulbster and compiled by ministers of the different parishes between 1791 and 1799. It included a reference by the then minister of the Parish of Holywood, the Reverend Bryce Johnston, concerning the bells of his new church, erected in 1779.¹ The church was built close to the site of the old parish church, which itself was part remains of a 12th century built religious house, Sacro Nemore (Sacred Grove/Wood), otherwise known throughout the centuries as Dercongall or Holywood Abbey. The greater part being dismantled in the 16th century resulting from Scottish religious reformation.
- 1.1.2 Reverend Johnston, within his survey return,² stated of his church; '*...The present church has two fine toned bells, taken out of the old building; one of which, by an inscription and date on it, appears to have been consecrated by the abbot John Wrich, in the year 1154.*'
- 1.1.3 Again, in the *Second Statistical Account of Scotland*, carried out in 1837, this time under the auspices of the general assembly of the *Church of Scotland*, the Reverend Robert Kirkwood, incumbent minister of Holywood Church, confirmed; '*...the two bells which belonged to the abbey are still the parish bells. They are of excellent tone, and one of them, by the inscription it bears, was consecrated by John Wrich, probably the abbot, in the year 1154.*'³
- 1.1.4 On 15th April 1898, James Barbour,⁴ vice president of DGNHAS, questioning the validity of both ministers' claims regarding one of the Holywood bell's age, presented a report to the society following his inspection of both bells ([see Appendix I](#)).
- 1.1.5 Barbour's report, on presentation, successfully challenged prior public record, re-dated the 1154 bell to 1505 and redefined the sponsorship to *John Welch*, a recorded 16th century abbot of Holywood. This redefinition was referenced in the 1912 publication by James King Hewison for the Cambridge County Geographies, with slight adjustment to the abbot's surname to suit Scottish practice: '*...a precious bell with its Latin inscription bearing that, "John Welsh abbot of Holywood, caused me to be made in 1505."*' Referencing the second Holywood bell, Barbour, from its limited inscription, supposed its sponsor as William Kennedy, a former commendator of the abbey between 1524 and 1540.

¹ Reverend Dr Bryce Johnston, DD, born 1747, died 27 April 1805, Holywood.

² *The First Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-1799): the Parish of Holywood*

³ Reverend Robert Kirkwood, AM, born 1784, died 10 October 1844, Holywood.

⁴ James Barbour, architect and archaeologist, born 1834, died 5 May 1912, Harrogate.

- 1.1.6 A further inspection was carried out by the *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS)*, entering as record for ‘Dumfries’ in 1920 (*See Appendix II.*). The report agreed with Barbour’s proposal for the sponsor of the second bell, but neither confirmed his translation of the date, nor the abbot’s name on the first bell, observing an ‘I’ within the name, reporting ‘WEICH’ and not WELCH, as well as raising a concern over the presumption of ‘John’ from the initial ‘I’.
- 1.1.7 Holywood Church closed for worship in 1996, and unused, was offered for sale by the Church of Scotland in 2010. A petition from a local interest party believed the bells dated from the 13th and 14th centuries and attempted to prevent the sale of the bells to a private owner.⁵ Regardless, the Church of Scotland disposed of the property with the bells insitu. It was the understanding of the new owners, in obtaining planning permission, both bells were of 16th century origin, and would form a feature of their planned conversion of the church into a three-bedroom home. In 2019, with conversion still to be made, the church changed hands to its current owners, the authors of this report, with similar aims to convert the property into a family home.

1.2 *The origins of the study*

- 1.2.1 The authors’ aim of the study was to confirm the date of the bells, so a proper strategy could be implemented and insurance procured, while rehabilitation work was carried out to the church. It was the uncertainty over the bells’ dating, and so their value, that presented an obstacle to the identification of a plan and a cost-effective solution to renovation and ongoing maintenance of the bells and tower.
- 1.2.2 The bells and bell tower carried over a century of neglect, and it was apparent to renovate the impracticable space within the church tower and restore the bells—to take them down, the bell frame renovated, and the bells refurbished and returned to ringing capacity, never actually to ring out again, would cost far more than the value of the claimed 16th century bells, or even the church building. The owners of the church were sensitive to the bells’ spiritual and historical value, but it was evident to make all well, would be an expensive project in a home conversion that had revealed far greater priorities in terms of essential unforeseen structural work. Thus, there was consideration to carry out necessary structural works to the bell tower without full renovation, safeguarding the bells without restoration to ringing capacity.
- 1.2.3 The current owners, with backgrounds in archaeology and medieval history, aware post-purchase of the conflict between the Scottish Statistical Accounts and James Barbour’s report, drew on their own expertise with regards to medieval antiquities, and saw flaw in James Barbour’s proposal, in terms of the letterform used on the bells and the untested hypothesis of his translation. Doubt over the current record was reinforced

⁵ Daily Record, (2010). *Ancient bells sold off as quirky feature*: The article recounts the complaint from Reverend Andrew Crosbie to the Church of Scotland for selling Holywood Church into private ownership.

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when a specialist valuer, inspecting for reasons of insurance, confirmed his uncertainties over their reported dating. The lettering on the inscriptions was older than expected, too much of the inscription was unexplained and misread, and one of the bells carried its antiquity in its form and crude fabrication. Without guaranteed authentication of the bells in terms of worth and historic value, it was deemed prudent to delay the structural work and seek clarification through further investigation.

2.0 *Inspection Methodology and Constraints*

2.1 *The investigation*

- 2.1.1 The investigation was afforded by the gift of expertise and enforced time and self-isolation applied to the authors, who, like many, were governed by the restrictions and fear of Covid-19 in the early 2020s.
- 2.1.2 The study of the bells was not a straightforward undertaking, for with the absence of copious record and case study, every element of the bells and their connections had to be challenged and considered, using expert testimony where it existed, until an inarguable conclusion was drawn.

2.2 *Pre-inspection reference gathering*

- 2.2.1 Enquiries were made with international, national, and regional archives concerning Holywood Abbey and its bells.
- 2.2.2 All internet entries and published matter concerning Holywood Church and its history were collated and assessed.
- 2.2.3 Initial consultation carried out with institutions connected to Holywood Abbey, included the *Church of Scotland*, *Whithorn Trust*, *Dumfries Museum*, and the *Norbertine College* in Wisconsin.
- 2.2.4 Investigation carried out into the origins of the individuals John Wrich, John Welch and William Kennedy, collating any supplementary material supporting them as potential sponsors.

2.3 *Previous historic report analysis*

- 2.3.1 A line-by-line analysis was carried out, regarding statements made in both the Statistical Accounts of Scotland, the entry under RCAHMS record regarding antiquities in Dumfries (1920), and James Barbour's report for DGNHAS.

2.4 *Inspection of the bells*

- 2.4.1 A temporary platform was installed in the belfry to allow unrestricted access to examine the bells. Each artefact was closely inspected, and a detailed photographic record taken of each bell element.
- 2.4.2 Church bell specialists, medievalists, ecclesiastical historians, and museum institutions specialising in bell history were contacted to provide their expert opinion of the images of the bells.⁶

⁶ *Church Bell International Museum of Agnone*, Italy, *Glockenmuseum*, Grassmayr, Innsbruck, Switzerland, *Musée de la Cloche*, Herepian, France, *John Taylor Bells*, Loughborough, England.

- 2.4.3 A character-by-character examination of the letterform used in the two inscriptions was referred to experts in medieval palaeography and epigraphy for identification.
- 2.4.4 Interpretation of the inscription was made via an expert in medieval Latin.⁷
- 2.4.5 A study of the device on the *shield* bell was made against all known Scottish, French and English heraldic devices, including consultation with the *College of Arms* and the *Heraldry Society of Scotland*.
- 2.4.6 One of the authors already possessed practical experience of medieval casting techniques, but this understanding was expanded into the bell making process via available publications produced by bell archaeologists and bell founders.
- 2.4.7 Comparison was made of photographic images against all available (published) bell images from existing reference and record.
- 2.4.8 Metal testing was considered, and suppliers contacted.
- 2.4.9 The bells were measured, checked for tone, flaw, crack, and bronze disease.
- 2.4.10 A condition survey of the hanging frame was carried out and remedial works identified, with any urgent (stabilisation) considered as appropriate.

2.5 *Post inspection (after sponsor confirmed)*

- 2.5.1 A genealogy study was created for any new proposed sponsor/s.
- 2.5.2 A study of the socio-religious environment was made from during the sponsor's period of tenure.

2.6 *Constraints to the investigation*

- 2.6.1 There was no cartulary or church record information available for Holywood, and limited reference material regarding the actual history of Holywood Abbey—its founding, name origin, and initial history all being supposed.
- 2.6.2 Often, entries within the records of other religious houses and public archives, in respect to Holywood, were made retrospectively, in some cases centuries past. Often, entries were not cited, erroneously transcribed, and/or the date incorrectly reconstructed from the original document. This constraint could only be overcome with sight of the original charter documents, or a guaranteed verbatim transcription with an accurate translation, neither of which were available to the authors at the time of writing this report.
- 2.6.3 Archaic histories and reference material are not often cited, so the veracity of their entries could not be tested. Confidence, therefore, was consigned to the stature of the reference work within the body of respected academic publication.

⁷ Professor J. Marcos, Classics and specialist in ancient fonts and linguistics, Plasencia, Caceres, Spain.

- 2.6.4 While independent investigations were ongoing, contact with local historians and groups were limited, partly due to an acrimonious challenge regarding a previous sale of Holywood Church (*see 1.7*), as well as avoiding potential prejudicial thought and bias from local historians and local historical groups.
- 2.6.5 The external investigation beyond the physical artefacts was carried out exclusively during the Covid-19 pandemic, so all initial research was confined to distance contact and online reference.
- 2.6.6 There was a lack of comprehensive academic research and archive material concerning bell-form and history. Databases were devoid of confirmed 12th and 13th century bells, and therefore the input of expert contribution in this area was largely absent.⁸
- 2.6.7 Age detection via metal testing was considered and discounted, due to a lack of any comparable data and the understanding church bells were often cast from recycled bell metal.

2.7 *The study: Constraints to study support, debate and progression*

- 2.7.1 The following issues were not considered prior to submission of *version 1* of this report and only became evident following dissemination of same.
- 2.7.2 It was confirmed there was a lack of experts generally, and a significant measure of bias by those professing expertise merely through association within the broader terms of the subject matter, rather than specifics within it, ie., applying what they knew to what they had no experience of, and expecting it to count as fact.
- 2.7.3 Despite a wealth of support and advice during the investigation, post-study there appeared a reluctance to consider the findings. This, despite the support's own involvement and authoritative reference substantiating the conclusion. A selection of public agencies and academics chose 'blind' adherence to the original historical record, despite inarguable counterevidence.
- 2.7.4 It was considered agencies and academics had chosen to discount the study, probably because it did not come from a recognised academic or antiquarian source, and so discriminated against the authors, regardless of any potential merit within the report or the antiquarian and academic referencing used.
- 2.7.5 The authors encountered reluctance to accept any view other than the current accepted position, providing obstacle to helpful critique and challenge.

⁸ Frustrating initial enquiries was the common belief the oldest UK church bell was no earlier than late-13th Century. The bell enthusiasts contacted only possessed local knowledge, and museums unable to offer any elucidation; all requiring context and location of the bells, after which they merely offered expert advice based on already published information; many merely redirecting the authors to the Wikipedia entry, or the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society record.

- 2.7.6 There was a loss in confidence in the contribution of some experts, in the wake of avoidant tactics and partisan attitudes, all aimed at safeguarding the experts' own interests within the *status quo* of accepted academic behaviour.
- 2.7.7 There was a reluctance by academics to challenge fellow antiquarians' work, hence errors uncovered within reference material by the authors could not be validated by scholarly third-party agreement. Conversely, the fact the authors were outside the guild of antiquarians and academics allowed them to freely challenge flawed record as they found it, without the need to adhere to the academics' implicit accord.
- 2.7.8 The study uncovered major flaws in historians' understanding, so much so, the findings within the report were based not so much on new evidence, but a mishandling of facts through untested, ill-considered, and unchallenged hypotheses. This would prove to be a significant obstruction in open academic acceptance of the find. It was apparent any reveal would come at the cost of challenge of academic and antiquarian reputation, especially if the study was made public.
- 2.7.9 Significantly, any reinterpretation of the bells would rely on careful transcription of the bells' legends. Medieval epigraphical attention was placed above palaeographic consideration, and because Latin translation is often open to interpretation, it was important to reduce the margin of error as far as possible. To this end, a checklist ([see Appendix VII](#)) was created to ensure all elements had been fully considered. However, this did not stop academic experts offering opinion repeatedly in the favour of the existing translation without any substantiation of the anomalies it presented, relying on their 'qualification' to carry the weight of that opinion. It was considered by the study any view, expert or not, that offered no suitable explanation to anomaly should be considered with caution regarding its veracity.

3.0 *The Removal of the Bells*

3.1 *Pre-survey conditions*

- 3.1.1 The primary investigation of the bells was carried out in 2021 with the bells hanging in the church belfry. Access to the bells at the time was adequate if not convenient, and it was only the proximity of the bells to the solid timber bell-wheel that made close examination of only a small part of a bell legend difficult. Despite pending structural and refurbishment works to the church, there was little reason, at that time, to drop the bells since there was no immediate risk to the bells; their connection to the bell frame and the frame itself sound, and their security better served whilst hanging.

3.2 *Post-survey requirement*

- 3.2.1 In August 2022, with the deteriorating condition of the belfry timber floor to wet rot which part supported the bell frame, and a notable increase in rain ingress apparent in the tower, the bells were lowered to the first floor of the tower whilst essential structural works to the church were arranged. The study had been mostly completed by that time and conclusions reached as to the bells' provenance. It was assumed, with the findings, there would be essential third-party inspection from academics, bell experts and institutions, and so accessibility to the bells was a concern.
- 3.2.2 Following published guidance,⁹ the bells were correctly handled, dropped and the frame surveyed. The bells were assessed and protected whilst stowed. The leather attaching the clappers, and the clappers themselves deemed sound, so were left insitu. It was clear there had been repair work to the cannons of both bells, probably before the bells were installed into the new church.
- 3.2.3 The bell frame was found sound and thought original to the 1779 build, with only the deformed headstocks and iron strapping requiring renewal. No maker's marks were found on the bell frame and the frame itself was assessed as 'unremarkable' in comparison to other frames surveyed in churches throughout Scotland and northern England. It was confirmed all the floors in the tower required replacement and the timbers to the roof renewed before the bells were returned. The bell frame was not fully measured and recorded at this time, as it was found to be sound and in no immediate danger, but it was recommended by the commissioned steeplejack that the conservation architect's plan for alteration to the belfry,¹⁰ ie., removing the louvres and installing fixed light windows should be abandoned for the catastrophic effect it would have on the belfry environment, drying out the bell frame to its complete detriment.

⁹ Council for the Care of Churches, *The conservation and Repair of Bells and Bell Frames, Code of Practice*, Church House Publishing, London, 1993.

¹⁰ Holywood church was purchased with planning permission to convert into a three-bedroom domestic dwelling, with plans drawn up by Robert Potter & Partners, Chartered Architects.

- 3.2.4 The removal of the bells afforded a better opportunity to view and photograph the characters on the *inscribed* bell without restriction. Whereas closer unrestricted inspection altered some of the initial consideration by the authors, the overall conclusion remained.

3.3 *Risk Management*

- 3.3.1 Within a week of the bells being lowered, on the 9th of August 2022, the nearby historic former convent of St Benedict's was severely damaged by fire. The unused, secure site had been a target for vandals for some time, mirroring the vandalism the previous owners of Holywood Church had experienced from purchasing it to its sale to the authors in 2019. Amongst the damage to Holywood Church, two historic Victorian glass windows had been irrevocably broken. The previous owners reported regular incursion by thieves and vandals, that only occupation of the church site resolved. The reported issues of vandalism were significant enough for one of the authors, and owner of the church, to offer themselves as permanent on-site security late in 2019.
- 3.3.2 Following the completion and dissemination of the study and its conclusions, fear grew the report would eventually leak out and the potential of the bells presence and value would become an attraction to malefactors. The bells were uninsurable without a credible valuation, and the owners' anxiety grew, following the nearby convent fire and increased police reported incidences of arson, as well as the significant increase in dubious, unwarranted after dark visits onto the Holywood Church site by individuals and groups. In 2020, the authors recorded six incidences of incursion onto the immediate church site within its closed graveyard after dark. The number of incursions grew to twenty-two in 2022, all by the end of July, with several individuals refusing challenge and retreating in haste without giving good reason for their presence. There were also several occurrences where trespassers had entered the church building, and although their intrusion appeared innocent, they were found deep within the interior when it clearly was not an open church.
- 3.3.3 Without a robust plan for the proper protection of the church site and bells, and insurance denied for the bells kept within the dilapidated church, prudence dictated greater safety for the bells and ongoing secrecy of the find until a new proposal for the church development was drawn up with the authorities concerned, within the confines of the church's planning listing.
- 3.3.4 Therefore, in August 2022, the bells along with the other artefacts found, including the stone plaques, were removed in secret, without permissions of the public authorities or public announcement to a secure temporary location off-site, whilst recognition and protection was obtained for the bells' unique value in terms of Scottish history.

The Templar Bells of Scotland
An investigation into the origins of the bells in a Dumfriesshire church



Figure 2. The badly degraded head stock and strapping is carefully removed before the *shield* bell is secured, wrapped and lowered to the ground floor.



Figure 3. The inscribed bell removed and lowered before wrapping. The bell, estimated at 70-80kg, was considerably lighter than the *shield* bell, weighing in at approximately 100kg.

4.0 History of Holywood Abbey

4.1 History

- 4.1.1 Very little is known about Holywood Abbey,¹¹ its four-hundred-year history, its original composition, subsequent development, monastic occupation, or its importance and scope of influence. In modern reference, all its early history, depending upon the historian's viewpoint and those chroniclers wishing to grandiose their sponsors, is much supposed. The abbey's foundation has been attributed to different individuals, including *John, Lord of Kirkconnel*,¹² *Radulf, Lord of Nithsdale*,¹³ *Alan, Lord of Galloway*, and even his daughter, *Devorgilla*.¹⁴ However, there is absolutely no evidence to support any of these as founders of Holywood Abbey.¹⁵
- 4.1.2 Regardless of supposition regarding its founders, it is accepted by historians and archaeologists, the abbey of *Sacro Nemore* was founded before the end of the 12th century, but not before David I's succession to the Scottish throne in 1124.
- 4.1.3 It is important to note, the estates of Holywood Abbey do not appear in the *Inquisitio Davidis*, an early 12th century examination into the possessions of the Church of Kentigern, held within ancient register.¹⁶ However, the lands of *Terregles* appear as *Trevergylt* in that same document as an asset of the *Bishopric of Glasgow*. The epicentre of Terregles is less than four miles from the site of Holywood Abbey, and Holywood is confirmed by a later 13th century letter to be within the diocese of Glasgow. Reverend Kirkwood confirmed the same in the Second Statistical Account of Scotland; '*...there is a bull of Pope Innocent III [1198-1216], addressed, Abbate de Sacro Nemore, to the abbot of the Sacred Grove, in the diocese of Glasgow – that is Holywood, originally written Halywood and Haliewood.*' Crowe suggests it is reasonable to proffer the site of Holywood as an asset of the Bishopric of Glasgow at the time of its foundation.¹⁷ This precludes the abovementioned sponsors in 4.1.1 as sole benefactors, either because

¹¹ Holywood Abbey is referred to by different terms in ancient charter, papal reference, abbots' seals, and historical texts, ie., not exclusively as *Darcungal* (occ. 1209), *Darcongal* (occ. 1209), *Dercungall* (occ. 1214), *Dercongal* (occ. 1257), *Sacri Nemoris* (occ. 1321), *Dergunglae* (occ. 1360), *Sacro Nemore* (occ. 1366), *Sacrunemoris* (occ. 1374), *Sacrum Nemus* (occ. 1510). It is important to note the term, "sacred wood/grove" is not unique, and is repeated with regards to other sites, particularly in Ireland.

¹² Dugdale. (1693), *Monasticon* ii, p. 1057.

¹³ McCulloch. (2018), p. 63, *He [Radulf] is also credited with founding the Premonstratensian abbey of Dercongal (later Holywood) adjacent to the Nith and endowing it with extensive lands in lower Nithsdale and the Cairn valley.*

¹⁴ Maxwell, Sir Herbert. (1896). *A History of Dumfries and Galloway*, Edinburgh & London, p.118.

¹⁵ (Cowan and Easson, 1976, p. 102), reject some foundation claims due to confusion with *Sweetheart Abbey*, and states no founder can be suggested for Holywood.

¹⁶ *Registrum Vetus Ecclesiae Cathedralis Glasguensis*, contains within the inquest commissioned by David I, while he was Prince of Cumbria, before he succeeded to the Scottish throne.

¹⁷ Crowe, C. (1998). *The Development of church Institutions in Dumfries and Galloway AD450-1200*. Manchester Metropolitan University.

of date of foundation or their position to gift land to the abbey. Although one cannot exclude any notable regional mid-12th century landholder as sponsor of the abbey's habitation, development and construction, there is absolutely no proof any of the aforementioned individuals were involved during its founding years.

- 4.1.4 The origin of the name Holywood pre-dates the foundation of the abbey and is debated by Crowe.¹⁸ Its name is likely connected to the long-standing spiritual nature of the location, confirmed by the proximity of the largest late-Bronze Age or Neolithic stone circle (c.2000 BC) in Scotland and a long cursus monument, a quarter of a mile from the abbey site. The term Holywood is constructed from the Anglo-Saxon, *halig* and *wode*, and translates to *Sacro Boscus* or *Nemus* in Latin. The name *Dercongall* (another epithet for the abbey) is also associated with the location, *der* meaning oak wood and *congall*, and the name of *Saint Convallus* (*Congall*) who has an earlier association with the site.¹⁹ Crowe discusses the potential of an earlier monastery on the same site, which is highly likely considering the site's spiritual importance, but as with all of Holywood's early history, it is based solely on conjecture and name association.
- 4.1.5 The full extent of the abbey's size and holdings throughout its early history is unclear, but its jurisdiction by the 14th century had extended far into East Galloway and Nithsdale, towards Kirkconnel, and included the churches and the Church lands of Dunscore, Dalgarnock Penpont, Tynron, as well as Lincluden to the south and Terregles to the west. The abbey cartularies were rumoured, in 19th century historical accounts, to have been transferred to France prior to the Reformation. The author's enquiry with French historical institution failed to locate the documents or confirm their existence.
- 4.1.6 By 1544, the abbey's rental amounted to £700 *Scots* (Scottish pounds), nineteen chalders, fourteen bolls, and three firlots of meals,²⁰ but by the time of the Reformation, its revenue was reduced to less than £400 *Scots*.²¹ In 1587, the remainder of the property of Holywood was vested in the Crown, and by 1606 the abbey had been dissolved.
- 4.1.7 In 1617, an act of parliament annulled existing arrangements concerning the property of Holywood, allowing *King James VI of Scotland* the ability to award the property as a *free barony* for the nominal annual rent of £20 *Scots* to one of his favourites—*John Murray of Lochmaben*.
- 4.1.8 From its demise as an abbey, so its presence was diminished by the robbery of its stone, until only part of the original church nave and bells were allowed to continue serving the parish, until it too was demolished to make way for a new building on the same

¹⁸ Crowe, C. (2002). *Holywood, an early Medieval Monastery: Problems and Possibilities*. *Transactions of Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* Series 3(vol LXXVI) pp.113-118.

¹⁹ Saint Congall is commemorated in the calendar of Adam King, *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, published in Paris in 1588. *S. Congall, abbot of Haliwode, confirmed in Scotland under King Malcolm II, (1005-1034)*.

²⁰ Chalders, bolls and firlots and ancient Scottish dry measures.

²¹ McDowall W. (1867). *History of the Burgh of Dumfries*, Edinburgh, Adam & Charles Black. p. 255.

site.²² The ancient bells, still *in fine tone* (*see 1.2*), were reinstalled into a new belfry a few yards from their original housing. The builder of the new church paid £50 for the reclamation stone, and as later discussed, the decorative stone was interred beneath the new church floor, some of it finding its way into the new construction of 1779 which stands today, built over the abbey remains and its extensive vaults.

4.1.9 There is no detailed description of the original abbey church, outside an unsophisticated watercolour, painted sometime in the 18th century (*see Figure 4*) and *Francis Grose's* description after he made a visit to the original church, before its demolition. He declares; '*...cross the middle of the building was a fine Gothic arch that supported the oak roof. Under the floor were a number of sepulchral vaults. The entrance was through a handsome semi-circular arch.*'²³ The drawing in *figure 4* is deceptive in terms of detail and scale, although it is clear the church was derelict long before demolition.

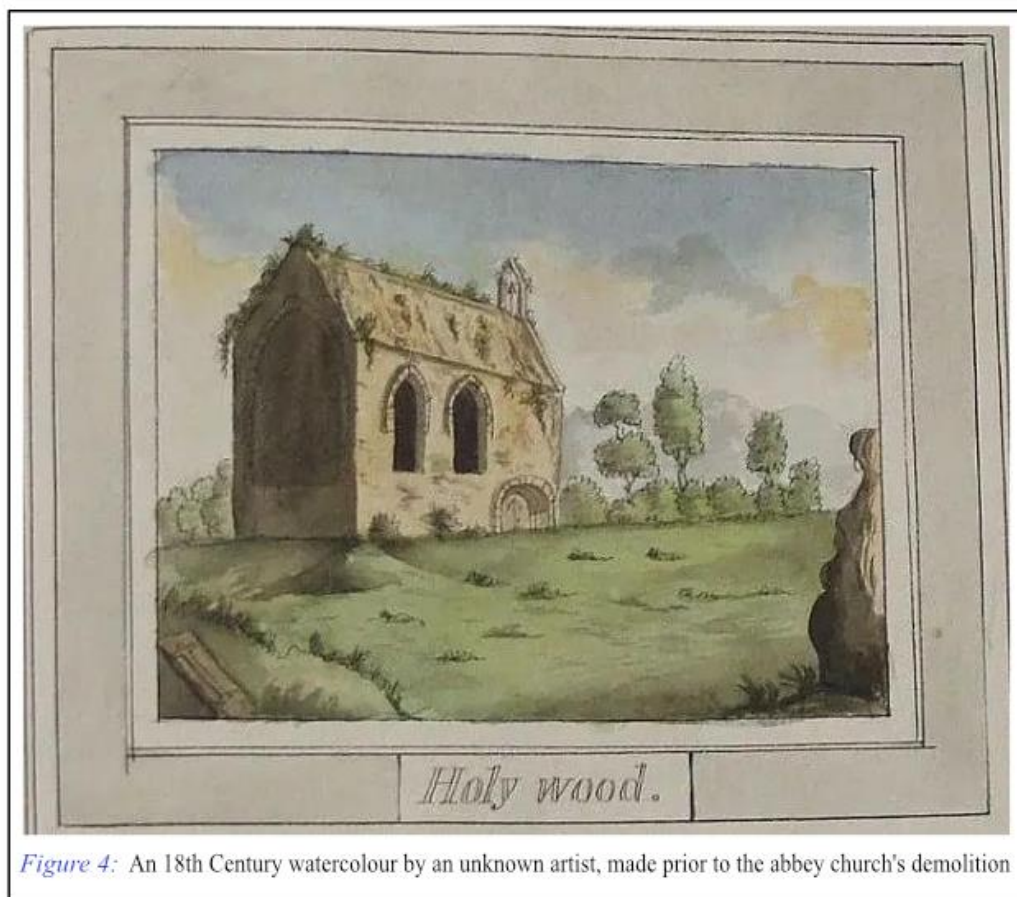


Figure 4: An 18th Century watercolour by an unknown artist, made prior to the abbey church's demolition

²² It is supposed the original parish church was formed from the nave of what appears to be (from archeological evidence) a substantial abbey-church. The entrance to the Norman-styled abbey churches of Holm Cultram and Dryburgh, built around the same time, all show their principal entrances on the nave, and the bell tower of Holm Cultram sits above the entrance into the nave.

²³ Grose, F. (1789). *Antiquities of Scotland*. London: Hooper and Wygstead.

4.2 *Nunnery and Hospital*

- 4.2.1 The nearest nunnery on record is that formerly on the site of the existing ruin of *Lincluden Colligate Church*, approximately two miles away from Holywood Abbey, across Cluden water (river). Listed in modern register as a Benedictine nunnery, and thought to be established before 1174, it was dissolved in 1389 by papal authority, being replaced by a collegiate church, sponsored by *Archibald 'the Grim', Lord of Galloway*.²⁴ Archibald originally raised a petition against the nuns, citing their moral decay. Only one abbess is recorded, *Eleanor*, who in 1296, swore fealty to *Edward I*.²⁵
- 4.2.2 The nunnery's potential founding date is within the same period as *Sacro Nemore*. Its proximity to the abbey, on land within its control, raises possibilities and practicalities regarding the nunnery's original establishment and relationship with Holywood. However, like *Sacro Nemore*, a lack of early record prevents proof of an association other than location within a shared boundary.
- 4.2.3 A hospital, approved by *King Robert II of Scotland* in 1372,²⁶ and confirmed by Pope Clement VII in 1378,²⁷ was founded within the *bounds of the Premonstratensian monastery of Holywood* by Archibald, before 1372.²⁸ The hospital was said to be situated at a distance of a mile thereabout from *Lincluden Church*.

4.3 *The Abbots*

- 4.3.1 It is not until around the latter part of the 15th century, a comprehensive record of identifiable abbots and commendators appear. (*See Appendix III*). History before this period is absent, with only two names appearing in the abbey's first two hundred years.

Odo Ydonc'

- 4.3.2 *Odo Ydonc'* appears within Scottish ecclesiastical society in 1225.²⁹ He then occurs in Holywood's history in 1235 as a canon of *Whithorn Abbey (Candida Casa)* and former abbot of *Dercongal*.³⁰ *Odo* was elected by the prior and convent of *Whithorn* to the see of *Galloway* (the bishop's seat) but was unsuccessful. *Whithorn* was confirmed to be in *Premonstratensian Orders* by 1177, it is therefore *assumed* *Sacro Nemore's* association with the *Premonstratensians* dates from at least 1225.

²⁴ Cowan, I, and Easson, D. (1976). *Medieval Religious Houses*. 2nd ed. p.143, London: Longman.

²⁵ Bain, J (ed.), (1881-8). *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland*, ii 213, no.823, Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Public Record Office.

²⁶ Burton, J (ed.), (1877). *The Register of the Privy Council off Scotland* I, no.483, Edinburgh: HM General Register House.

²⁷ Burns, C (Trans and ed.), *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon*, (Series 4, 1378-1394)

²⁸ Easson, D. (1955-56). A Note on the Mediaeval Hospitals of Dumfriesshire and Galloway. *Transactions of Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* Series 3 (volXXXIV) pp.209-210.

²⁹ *Glasgow Registrum*, I 117, no. 139.

³⁰ *Chronicle Melrose*, 83, *Historian of York*, iii, pp. 144-5.

Dungald

- 4.3.3 The abbot of Darwongville (Dercongal) features in the great parliament at Brigham in 1290. It is plausible the abbot was Dungald, who appears on record in 1296 as abbot of Sacro Nemore. He is recorded as abbot de Sacro Bosco, swearing fealty to Edward I at Berwick. It was only following his oath to the English king, that Edward I restored confiscated abbey property.³¹
- 4.3.4 In relation to the bells of Holywood, three names, two of which are listed as abbot or commendator of the abbey, have been placed on public record as potential sponsors: *Wrich, Welch and Kennedy*:

John Wrich

- 4.3.5 John Wrich, proposed by Reverends Johnston and Kirkwood, does not appear on the list of known abbots, and neither minister offered up any confirmation the name was obtained from anything other than inscription. With the supposition *I Wrich* (the name apparently on the bell) stood for *Ioannes Wrich*,³² a search within an incomplete Scottish ecclesiastical history was undertaken, with only one John Wrich found; 19th November 1378; *'To the official of St Andrews. Mandate to reserve to John Wrich, priest of St Andrews diocese, a benefice with cure usually assigned to the secular clergy in the gift of the abbot and convent of Dunfirmline O.S.B (Order of St Benedict), together or separately, to the value of 37 marks sterling; at the petition of king Robert.'*³³ No further information or connection could be found for, or between John Wrich of St Andrews and Holywood, although the date does not preclude him from the abbacy of Holywood as no abbot had been assigned in record to Holywood between the years 1372 and 1394, although these dates conflict with the date 1154 presented by Reverend Johnston.

John Welch

- 4.3.6 James Barbour's suggestion of John Welch as sponsor appears as an abbot of Holywood between 1491 and 1519, coinciding with the date 1505, Barbour proposed for the bell bearing the abbot's name. Barbour reports; *'...the Welshes were a prominent Dumfriesshire family, of whom were the celebrated John Welsh of Ayr, and John Welsh of Irongray; also Jane Welsh of Craigenputtock.'*³⁴ John Welch became abbot of Holywood upon the resignation of Nicholas Welch in 1491, after allegations of simony. He remained as abbot until his death in 1517. There is no history other than his name upon contemporary charter and correspondence, so the root of his family is unknown.

³¹ Prynne, *Hist. Coll.*, iii, p. 653 (Prynne gives the name as *Saint Boyse*).

³² There is assumption 'I' stands for *Ioannes*—*John*, which was prevalent in the middle-ages. Although *Issac*, for example, and others appear, albeit with much less frequency.

³³ Burns, C (Trans and ed.) *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon*, (Series 4, 1378-1394) p 13-14 [Online] Available at: digital.nls.uk [Accessed 2020-21].

³⁴ Barbour obviously did not discount the assumption the bell was struck for a nunnery at Holywood, sponsored by the abbess (although the bell is clearly inscribed with "abbas" (abbot)). Barbour also interchanges between Welsh and Welch in his report.

William Kennedy

4.3.7 William Kennedy, the brother of the 2nd Earl of Cassillis, was a Clunic monk of Crossraguel.³⁵ Aged only 22, he was elected by the convent as coadjutor (successor to the abbot) in 1520 to become Abbot of Crossraguel. This was originally challenged by the abbot of the Clunic house of Paisley, *Robert Shaw*. Kennedy was then nominated abbot *in commendam* of Holywood in 1524. As commendator, William Kennedy was appointed Holywood's administrator for life, able to claim a portion of the abbey's revenue.³⁶ William Kennedy died in 1547 and his abbacy of Crossraguel was succeeded by his nephew, the son of the 2nd Earl of Cassilis, his post, this time, confirmed by the abbot of Paisley. Barbour adds; '*Of William Kennedy, the editor of the Crossraguel Charters says—"He had spent it (his life) well in the service of his monastery, his country, his Sovereign, and his Church; and, in an age when the lives of all the Scottish prelates were not perhaps emblems of perfection, it is notable that not a breath of slander sullied the blameless life of William Kennedy."*' This is perhaps relevant, considering not only the blatant nepotism the earls of Cassillis and the commendatory system brought to personal gain, but also the abuses the earls of Cassillis exercised on Crossraguel Abbey; both in directing the output of the abbey towards self-serving salt and charcoal production for gunpowder (c.1510), and 1570 when *Gilbert Kennedy*, 4th Earl of Cassilis, tortured the then commendator of Crossraguel Abbey, *Alan Stewart*, for the possession of abbey lands.³⁷

4.3.8 There are two other worthy mentions, although only one has been put forward, in complete supposition, as a potential candidate for the sponsorship of the Holywood bell:

Thomas Campbell

4.3.9 *Thomas Campbell* (commendator of Holywood, 1548-1579) gave assistance to *Mary Queen of Scots* following her escape from *Lochleven Castle* in 1568, for which he received forfeiture.

John of Holywood

4.3.10 Holywood Abbey is credited with the occupancy of *Johannes de Sacrobosco*, also known as *Ioannis de Sacro Bosco*, *John of Holywood* or *John of Holybush* (c.1195-1256). The monk-scholar, author of widely read texts on astronomy and mathematics, was claimed to be at Holywood Abbey before leaving to become a teacher at the *University of Paris* in 1221. However, his association with Holywood Abbey is purely theoretical, based entirely upon his name. It is proffered from all his possible origins, Holywood Abbey (despite a Holywood Priory existent in Ireland) is the most

³⁵ Watt, D and Shead, N (eds.) (2001). *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Record Society. p.48.

³⁶ The practice of nominating commendator abbots led to serious abuse and was checked by the Council of Trent, around 1545, (Newadvent.org).

³⁷ Love, D, 2003, *Discovering a County*, Fort Publishing.

plausible.³⁸ But, without any other evidence, his connection is purely speculative. It was even proposed, in the First Statistical Account of Scotland, that; ‘...*the famous Joannes de Sacre Bosco, author of the treatise, De Sphera, written in barbarous Latin, several centuries ago, would seem, from his local name, to have been either a native of the parish, or perhaps abbot of the monastery.*’ Within the appendix to the same account, observation was made; ‘*It is not improbable, that he [John of Holywood] was the John Wrich, or according to the old name spelling, Wricht, ie., Wright, whose name, as the Doctor [Bryce Johnston] observes, is on one of the bells.*’ Histories concerning Johannes de Sacrobosco do not refer to him as John Wright/Wrich/Wricht, so it is unclear where the proposal that John of Holywood is John Wrich originates, outside speculation purely because of name association. However, as John de Sacrobosco was born some forty years *after* the 1154 date given on the inscription with the name presentation ‘WRICH’, it seems unlikely they are the same person.

- 4.3.11 Several official wax seal impressions concerning Holywood Abbey have been recorded (see [Figures 5, 6 and 7](#)), and Reverend Kirkwood confirms in the Second Statistical Account of Scotland, he had in his possession one such seal; ‘*The charter seal of the abbot, dated 1264, is in my possession.*³⁹ *It bears the following inscription: Sg.Abbat. Sacri Nemoris (the seal of the Abbot of the Sacred Grove).*
- 4.3.12 The seal Reverend Kirkwood described does not match the legends on the available seal impressions, in that none include a date, but it is possible the minister was referring to a complete seal *matrix* in his possession. A seal matrix is a flat-circular, pointed-oval, or conical device, usually made from copper, lead, ivory, or any engravable hard material, occasionally silver, for forming an impression on a wax seal. Usually double sided, including both an obverse and reverse design. ([See Figure 8.](#))
- 4.3.13 Whereas it would not be unusual for the abbot’s name to be included on 12th/13th century matrices, by the 14th century anonymous seal matrices were the norm.⁴⁰

³⁸ Pederson, O. (1985). In Quest of Sacrobosco. *Journal of the History of Astronomy*, (vol 16 no.3), pp.175-220.

³⁹ Kirkwood declared the seal was furnished by *Alexander McDonald, Esq.* of the Register Office, Edinburgh.

⁴⁰ Geake, H. (2016). *Portable Antiquities Scheme, Finds Recording Guides, Seal Matrices.*

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Figure 5: A wax impression from a seal matrix of Holywood Abbey. A right arm issuing from a cloud, hand grasping a crozier in front of a tree, bearing the inscription which translates; Seal of the abbot of Holywood.
(From Reverisco)



Figure 6: Another seal impression. A monk standing on a bracket between a star and a crescent, pastoral staff in left hand and a bush in his right, bearing the inscription which translates; Seal of the abbot of Holywood
(From Reverisco)



Figure 7:
A seal impression of a dove sitting on an acorn in a tree above two estoiles. The inscription translates; Common seal of the abbey and convent of Holywood
(From Reverisco)



Figure 8: An example of an abbot's seal matrix carrying an inscription on both sides. The matrix above, in ivory, dates sometime before 1152 and was made for an abbot William of St Martin; a powerful Benedictine abbey in Cologne.

(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, New York)

4.4 Archaeology

- 4.4.1 It is only the archaeology that fixes the location of Holywood Abbey. Existing record does not show remains dateable to any period much before the end of the 12th century. No stones from the abbey have been identified in the construction of the 18th century church, and no visible traces remain of the monastic complex. Although complete erasure of buildings is not unknown, it usually follows an imprint is left for the archaeologist to discern. The archaeologist from *Historic Environment Scotland*, visiting the site for the first time for reasons of survey declared; *'No visible archaeology sits above the ground, and visiting the site, it is hard to believe an abbey ever existed, as even the marks on the ground have been purged from the earth. It is entirely odd... there is literally nothing to see.'*⁴¹ It was particularly strange, in an area littered with the skeletons of former medieval abbeys, often standing in defiance and conflict with surrounding development, that Holywood Abbey, standing isolated and alone in fields should be so removed.
- 4.4.2 There has been limited and incomplete archaeological investigation on the site, in part due to the extensive cemetery which occupies the site of the former abbey buildings.
- 4.4.3 Dr J W Martin, reporting to DGNHAS in 1897, gave an account of a farmer finding; *'...a subterranean passage leading somewhere from the ruins of the old abbey, known to exist at the south-east corner of the churchyard.'* Dr Martin gave another account in the same report from a former grave digger and bellman; *'There are stones above the surface to show where it was. Once, when digging a grave, he came on an opening leading downwards. He took a stick six feet long and a rope as long, and let it down, and it did not reach the bottom. He says it was the subterranean passage. In digging three feet further over, he came upon a fireplace and grate which belonged to the abbey. He came to flooring, and on lifting up a slab, 4 feet by 3, saw causeway work made of small stones, like pebbles, and there was figuring; he could not say what the "figuring" was, perhaps a date. He also came upon a great many old bones—buckets of them, decayed almost to powder. He once came upon "a wall arranged in steps", which was probably a buttress to the side of the abbey. It was very solid and firm. He found a halberd, made of brass, which the late Mr Maxwell of Gribton got possession of. He is positive about the chamber with the causewaying and the subterranean passage.'*⁴² The report goes on to mention stones of floral design, with cross carvings and plain design; *'...a stone to the left of the principal gateway, with the representation of a dragon carved upon it, all built into the churchyard wall, and a portion of wall, running east and west, just appearing above the surface for a distance of three feet, composed of ordinary stone and lime, and goes down for several feet, as has been shown when digging graves beside it... At the Abbey farm, many of the stones of the abbey are built into the outhouses, having been carted over from the old farm-steading beside the ruins;*

⁴¹ Rory McDonald, *Historic Environment Scotland*, 7th September 2021

⁴² Martin, J. (1896-97). *Ruins and Stones of Holywood Abbey*. *Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, p 67-69.

but none of them are carved or smoothed. From what he had seen of the stones and remains, the abbey must have been a structure of no mean dimensions and beauty.'

- 4.4.4 In 1906, Dr Martin again reported to DGNHAS, regarding an extension to the churchyard to Holywood; *'...following excavations carried out in connection to the extension of the churchyard south, beyond its existing boundaries, revealed the presence of a very solid and lasting wall which he had no doubt was the wall of Holywood Abbey. Running east to west and extending from the roadway about 45 feet. The wall was made up of large freestone blocks in front, large whinstone blocks behind, with a solid packing of lime and masonry. The breadth of the whole was about six feet, and at one part as much as 7 feet 3 inches, while the height was about 5 feet 6 inches.'* Unfortunately, none of the survey work is available to reference.
- 4.4.5 In 1912, a meeting (an armistice) was organised by DGNHAS and several stones, previously removed from the site, were exhibited, including a central boss from a standing cross, and a cross shaft decorated with figures, serpents, and dragons. The whereabouts of all these stones is no longer known. There was speculation these stone fragments were pre-Norman, even 8th century, indicating perhaps the presence of an earlier monastery, however there is no archaeological evidence a monastic site preceded the establishment of the Norman-styled church at Holywood. Although, considering the spiritual importance of the surrounding site and 12th century chronicle, it is likely a religious house did exist in the area.⁴³
- 4.4.6 Despite a search for these 'missing' stones, it was only in the Summer of 2023 when a single stone was brought to the authors' attention. A round stone, 32cm diameter, medieval in origin had been set into a garden feature. (*See figure 9*). Although, well-weathered and half obscured, the stone clearly exhibited a cross of four equal arms, all within a circle. The origin of the stone could not be confirmed, nor its date of manufacture. Possibly a marker stone for Church-owned property, grave or boundary, a design of four equal arms within a circle exists throughout Christian society, and is often associated with the Templars, but since all Christian sects are known to have a presence in the area, it would not be surprising to find stones such as these, and so are difficult to assign with any surety.
- 4.4.7 Excavation was carried out in 1922 on the east side of the site which revealed domestic buildings and stone fragments, mouldings, a sculpted head, and a 13th century stone grave cover. All these fragments were allegedly given to the *Keswick* family at Cowhill House.⁴⁴

⁴³ St Drustan (7th century), founder and abbot of Old Deer in Aberdeenshire, nephew of St Columba, chronicled as abbot of Dalquhongale (Holywood) before he became a hermit at Glenesk.

⁴⁴ Anon, DGNHAS, 1922, p. 209.

4.4.8 Today, none of the decorative stones built into the cemetery wall survive. Reports of abbey stonework decorating nearby gardens were made in the early 20th century, but subsequent investigation carried out in the Nineties, failed to locate any evidence. No abbey remains have been identified in the churchyard above existing ground level. Many of the 19th century grave markers exhibit extensive coverings of luxuriant organic growth. Conversely, in the south-east area of the original church yard, there is evidence of fewer burials and stunted vegetation, supporting supposition and reports the remains of the abbey church lie under this quadrant.



Figure 9: A medieval stone retrieved from a local private garden. The circular stone, 32cm in diameter and 8cm deep, originally exhibiting a cross with arms of equal length. Although it is known stones and grave markers were removed from the church site, there is no confirmation this stone was one of them, and without context of the stone's origins it is uncertain if the stone came from the former abbey site, and for what reason it was carved.

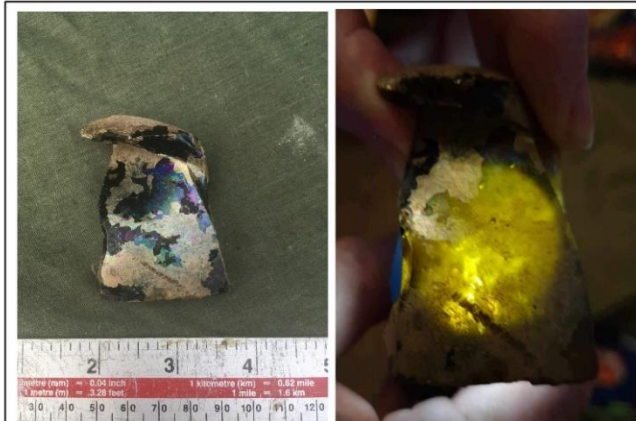


Figure 9a: A fragment of gilded obsidian exposed at the Holywood church site by moles in 2023. The fragment, part of the lip of a medieval chalice or bowl, is gilded both sides. The remaining lip and its arc indicated a rim of approximately 12-14cm diameter.

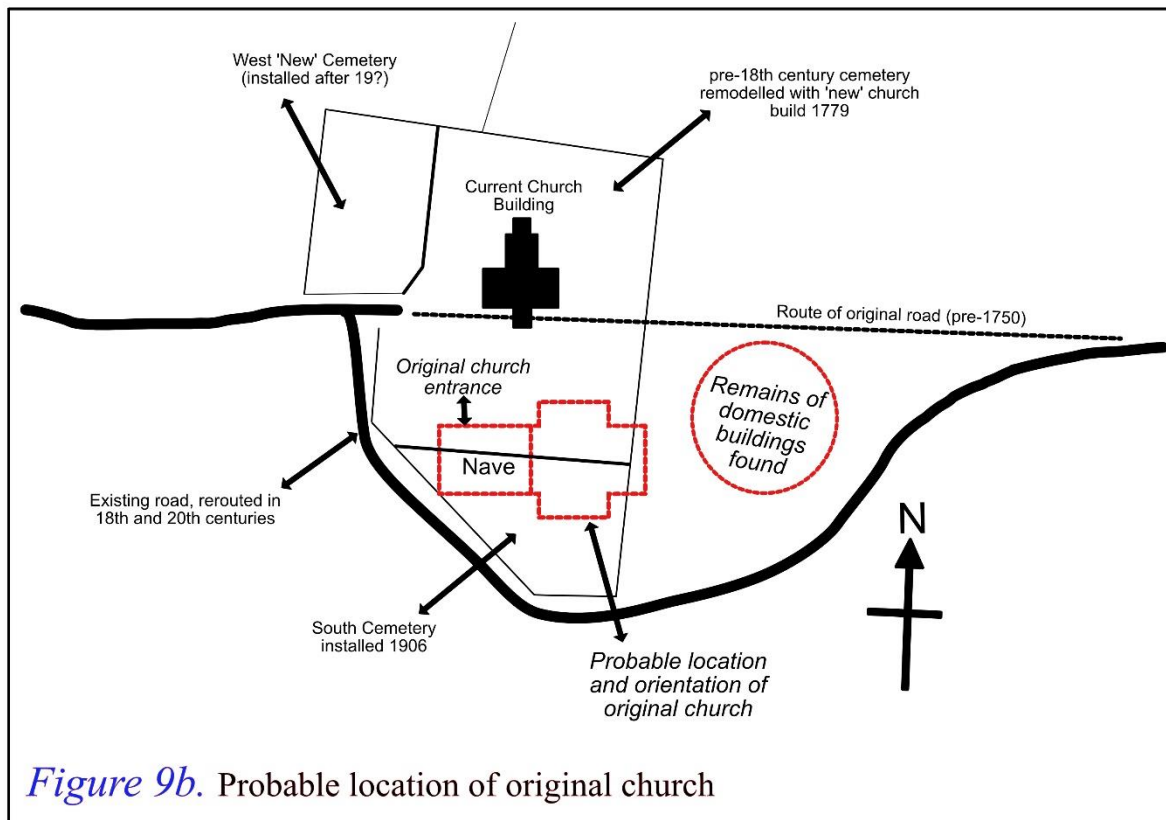
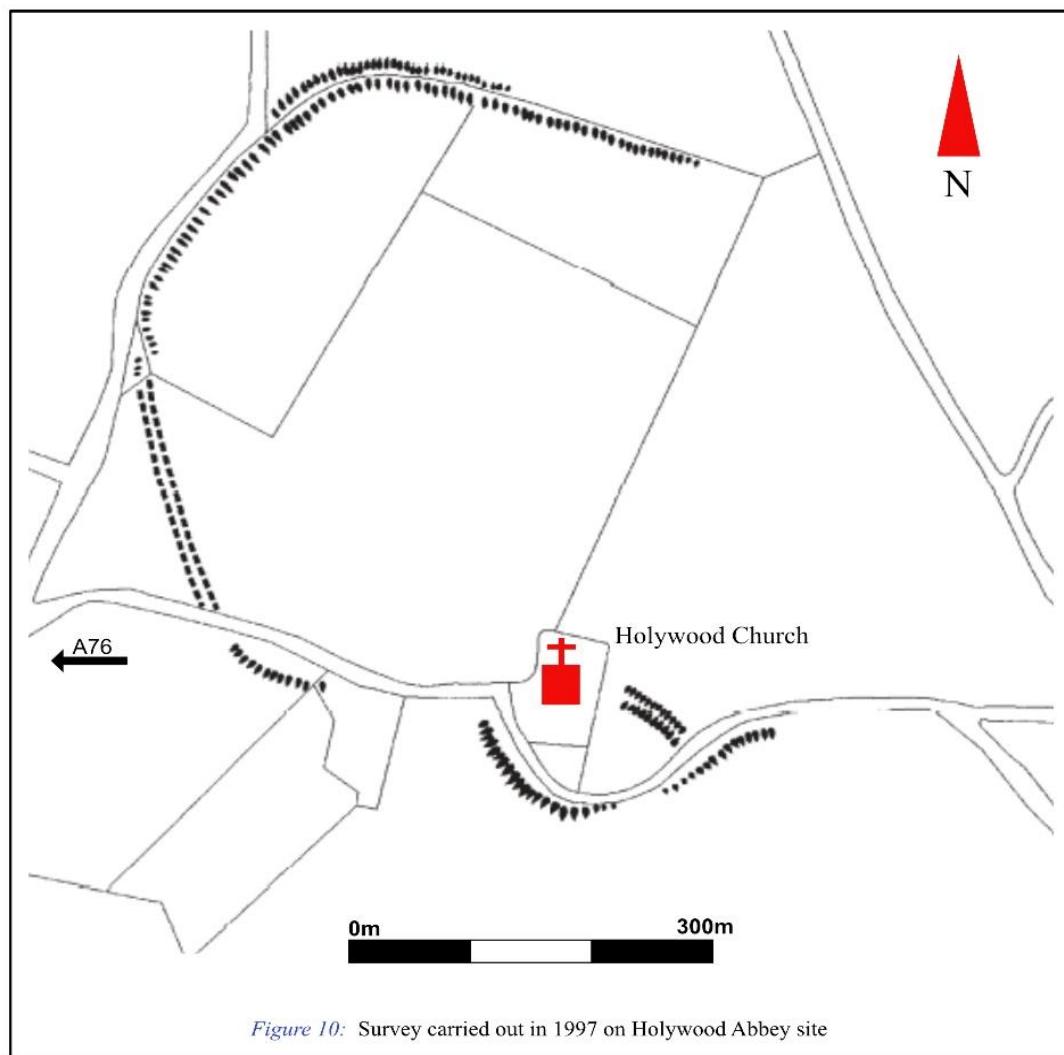


Figure 9b. Probable location of original church



4.4.9 The site of the monastery and its environs were surveyed in 1997, revealing curvilinear boundaries around the location of the abbey. The earthwork bank 1.3 metres high and 5 metres wide, running approximately 900 metres on the northern and western sides of the site, appears beyond as a crop mark in the field to the east of the site. The feature does not include a ditch, suggesting the bank may have been constructed from imported turf or spoil from the construction of the abbey and its underground vaults and tunnels. Equally, the landscape may be part-resultant of the 18th civil engineering work as the ground level and site were consolidated to accommodate the new church and cemetery site. The ancient roadway that used to run through the abbey complex has been diverted to follow the curve of the southern bank encircling the cemetery wall. The fields around the churchyard are a popular destination for metal detectorists, with several artefacts being found, including bronze work and a gold ring.





Figure 12: Mason's plaque

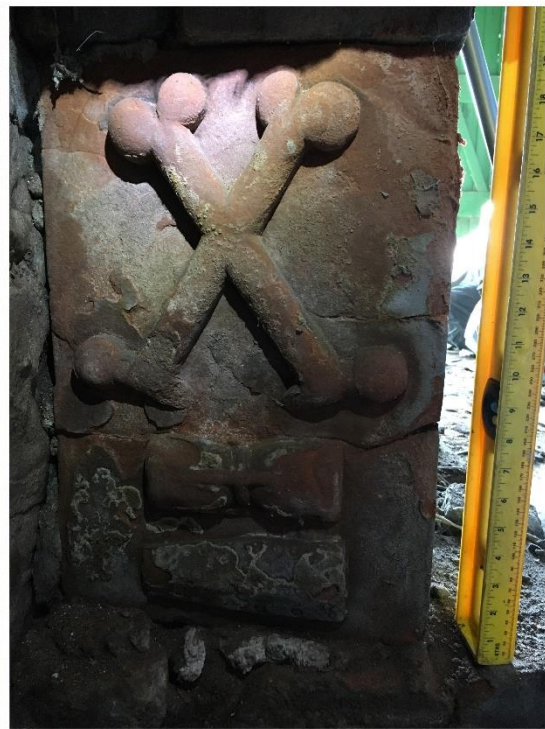


Figure 13: Crossed bones plaque

- 4.4.10 A foliated stone cross, either a roof finial or boss, was found in 1965 beneath the floor near the pulpit in the church and allegedly given to the Keswick family. (CBA 1967:19)
- 4.4.11 However, despite the indiscriminate removal of antiquities from the site, without record, there are still remains, including two carved red sandstone plaques from the original abbey, recycled into a fireplace in the hearse house, hidden from view and probably discounted by historians by way of misinterpretation. (*see Figure 12*). There is no archaeological report on the stones, nor mention in *any* inspection. The lack of weathering and wear dictates they came from inside the old abbey building, from an area largely free from erosion by human contact. It is possible both plaques were painted at one time, as there appears to be the residues of limewash, although without scientific and chemical analysis it is impossible to confirm the nature and age of this conjecture. From the unworked reverse side of the plaques and relatively narrow/bottom heavy profile, they were made to fit a void created within a wall, rather than applied on the wall surface, or designed to be free-standing. They were either created as part of the original wall-build of the church or applied to voids created in existing and/or new walls during decades of building work, extension and remodelling before the church finally succumbed. In early consultation, all the historians, academics and archaeologists dismissed the stones as cut down 18th century grave markers or covers. However, there are several reasons why this supposition is incorrect, and probably explains why the stones had been ignored by previous inspection.

- 4.4.12 After the new church-build was completed, several ancient grave covers from inside, and from the precincts of the old church were repositioned around the new church location. This was confirmed by George Hutton's visit to the site in 1811. Hutton drew a grave cover exhibiting a 'calvary cross', thought to be the grave marker of a crusader. None exist today on site, and none have been built into the new church. All were removed and lost, no doubt to fill a variety of new irreligious functions off-site. It is certain, reused gravestones would never be found on a church build or its graveyard. Repositioned; *yes*, reassigned; *never*, the rule of reverence dictates it. It is highly unlikely an ecclesiastical commissioner of a church is going to allow gravestones, or any personal grave markers to be used in such a utilitarian fashion (a fireplace)—it is simply too disrespectful to the dead, especially in a time of greater universal piety and respect for the Church. This is particularly relevant if they *were* gravestones taken from inside the church, on the understanding only persons of status would be interred within.
- 4.4.13 The stones, at 7cm deep, are too thin to free-stand as gravestones or lie as grave markers, both requiring a minimum depth of 15cm, and so could only be mounted on a wall or sound floor surface. With the back of the plaques being unworked they were designed as an installation rather than a cover. With little weathering or wear exhibited, and possible presence of limewash paint on the plaques, supports the theory they were internally wall mounted, and so removed as part of the demolition works carried out in the 18th century.
- 4.4.14 As the sepulchral vaults were left largely intact, it is unlikely the stones were removed from below ground, instead being the result of necessary demolition above ground. One of the stones exhibits breakage, probably from the builder's removal. The plaques, originally contained within the church, may have formed decoration to a funerary monument, chapel, or aisle. The stones were significant enough to allow the church commissioners and the builder to retain the plaques sympathetically within the precincts of the new church build. The stones were at some time built into a fireplace. At first, it was thought the fireplace (but not the flue) was part of the original hearse house build in 1779. However, when the stones and the fireplace were removed in 2022, as a precaution prior to necessary roof repairs and renewal, it was clear the fireplace was installed long after the hearse house build. The bricks used for the flue were the same 20th century bricks used in the flue for the main church boiler installed in 1965, along with a 20th century decorative brick found behind the plaques. Thus, it is highly probable the two plaques were discovered under the church floor along with the foliated cross (*see 4.4.10*) during the installation of heating pipes. It is therefore likely the fireplace in the hearse house was installed at the same time as the heating system in the church. It is presumed the stones may have been amongst the ecclesiastic stones and relics preserved under the church floor from the 18th century demolition.

- 4.4.15 The ‘crossed bones’ plaque with imagery of crossed bones and an hourglass presented on its side has been replicated on Scottish grave monuments since the 17th century. There is no definitive source for the crossed bones motive, however the supposition the imagery was inspired by way the Essenes managed their dead,⁴⁵ is an extremely viable hypothesis, considering the early medieval attraction for relics and the maintenance of their saints’ bones. The hourglass presented on the side is also a familiar funerary decoration on post 17th century Scottish grave markers. Outside the common use of crossed bones, in the context of burial and protection from evil spirits, the iconography had existed since the 13th century.⁴⁶ Both have been presented as symbols of mortality, with the disabled hourglass being cited by some historians ‘*as life cut short*’. However, this idea of mortality is at odds with medieval Christian belief; that life on earth is predetermined, and life eternal awaits.⁴⁷ The disabled hourglass therefore better represents time stopped and life eternal granted, rather than life cut short.
- 4.4.16 There is no evidence to date the installation of the plaques within the context of the abbey church’s six-hundred-year history, and the existence of the imagery on 18th century funerary monuments does not exclude the plaques from an earlier origin. It is unlikely the church was in use past the early to mid-part of the 18th century, and doubtful any such plaques would be installed post Reformation. Therefore, it is probable it is the iconography exhibited on the stones, along with others of the same medieval period, that inspired later monumental masons to replicate it. As for the ‘masons’ plaque, there is no limitation to the date of its fabrication, only that it adorned the wall of a chapel, church or funerary monument dedicated to or by a mason or masons’ guild.
- 4.4.17 Testimony (*see 4.4.3*) indicating the redundant vaults, drains and passages have been overlaid with the existing churchyard and its post-17th century burials, rather than backfilled, is supported by the owner-authors’ suspicion of a significant void or voids under the present unheated church building. Settlement and aberrant environmental conditions are experienced in that area, with very high humidity levels (70-98%) thought to be caused by a significant underground void filled with water, with ground effect heating of that water causing substantial humidity and condensation on cold church walls. Monitoring for 2023/24 recorded 90% yearly average. (*see Appendix XIV*)

⁴⁵ The Essenes; Jewish religious monastic sect, existing in Palestine for around three hundred years before 2nd century BCE. Their funerary practices included laying out the body, and later placing the bones in a small ossuary box, so small, the femurs had to be stored crossed with the skull resting on top. Scholars describe the founder as a Jewish high priest; the Teacher of Righteousness, a prototype of Jesus. There is debate whether Jesus was an Essene or perhaps influenced by them.

⁴⁶ It is not until the late Medieval period (after 1250) Christians adopted the crossed bones to symbolise death; *Memento mori*, ‘*What you are, we once were. What you are, you will be.*’

⁴⁷ John 10:28 ‘*And I give life to them, and they will never perish,*’ 2 Corinthians 5:1; ‘*For we know that if the earthly tent which is our house is torn down, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,*’ John 6:47; ‘*Truly, truly, I say to you, he who believes has eternal life,*’ Romans 6:23; ‘*For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord,*’ 1 John 5:11; ‘*And the testimony is this, that God has given us eternal life, and this life is in His Son.*’

- 4.4.18 A few areas where the floorboards were disturbed to install heating pipes in 1965 were lifted in 2020. Evidence of ground disturbance was noted on the floor surface that once supported the Georgian stone floor. Other areas of the floorboarding, outside the area of heating installation were lifted in 2022, revealing the original floor surface once carrying the stone floor under these areas remained undisturbed, with its original layer of lime mortar intact.
- 4.4.19 The discovery of at least three pieces of the original abbey church in 1965 provides evidence decorative stonework was rescued from the demolition; stone which had little use in recycling but was significant because of its religious and decorative connotation and so was interred under the original stone floor of the new church. There may have been other masonry uncovered in 1965, some may have been redistributed, or even re-interred, but we know of only two plaques that were reused in the church. But seeing only a small part (6-10%) of the floor was lifted in 1965, and the discovery of the stonework not treated as archaeological find, and so improperly managed, removed and dismissed without proper record, we may assume the find was perhaps not deemed important enough to remove the pews and lift the entire church floor. The Church of Scotland cite ‘no record available’ to confirm this prognosis. Considering the amount of decorative stone to be expected from the demolition of a six-hundred-year-old abbey church of great significance and stature, there is reasonable assumption much more stonework remains interred.
- 4.4.20 There was an historic building inspection conducted in 2016, by *John Pickin, Archaeology and Heritage Services*, as part of the previous owners planning application for a change of use from church to dwelling. The report, however, adds no value to the understanding of the historic nature of the church’s origin, as no inspection was carried out upon the bells, or the ancient stonework evidenced in the fabric of the church development. The content in the report, merely part-lifted from limited previous archaeological inspection, fails to consider the archaeological reports made to DGNHAS, the sealed basement, evident by the existence of below ground architecture, or the palpable and inherent environmental issues affecting the church.

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Figure 14
Removing the
stone plaques

5.0 *Hollywood Church*

5.1 *The Bell Tower*

5.1.1 Built 1779, Hollywood Church is a T-plan, red sandstone building,⁴⁸ and has a central, square tower, covering 10 square metres, which was repaired and renovated in 1845 and 1864-5, by architect, Alexander Fraser.⁴⁹ Coursed and squared red rubble with ashlar dressings, the south elevation tower has square-headed openings. The lower stage, originally with a door facing south, has a west-facing entrance into the church, formed in 1864-5, it is now kept locked and unused due to concerns over the condition of the steel lintol above. The tower has three windows arranged vertically in the south elevation over three floors. Louvred openings are situated on four elevations on the fourth floor underneath the belfry. The top stage (possibly built 1812) has louvred



Figure 15: Hollywood church viewed from the south-east

openings with central columns to each face beneath a flat pierced parapeted roof, accessible via a centrally located trap door. Two tall, round-arched and key-stoned Victorian stained-glass windows are situated on either side of the tower, whilst two further stained-glass windows of more recent origin occupy the north elevation of the cross hall. The bell tower and the bell-ringers chamber are accessible via a stone

⁴⁸ Section includes information taken from Historic Environment Scotland, listing LB10209. Local and Planning Authority, Dumfries and Galloway. NGR: NX 95495 79655. Coordinates: 295495, 579655.

⁴⁹ A category B listed property, added 6/8/1971.

forestair leading to an east-facing first-floor door. Carried over four floors, accessed via steel ladders, the belfry is open via timber louvres on all sides; internal wire netting protecting access from roosting birds. Access is restrictive, and the floor has several rotten timbers at the perimeter and is therefore deemed unsafe.

5.2 *The Main Church*

5.2.1 Internally, the gallery, sealed up to form a first-floor meeting room of 40 square metres, sits above a main hall of 170 square metres, all underneath a flat ceiling with roof timbers on brackets and a central acorn with a bespoke light-fitting adorning the main hall. There are gabled porches on east and west flanks; and a late-19th century addition with jamb flankers built over the original principal entrance under a piended roof,



Figure 16: Hollywood church interior, before building work.

incorporating an internal stone staircase to the upper floor, lit by a square top twelve pane sashed window. The stem of the T-plan holds four round top fixed modern-built sashes on each of the west and east elevations.

5.2.2 There is a basement in the church, sealed off sometime in the second half of the 20th century, possibly at the same time heating was installed at the south end of the church, and the internal doorway to the tower entrance sealed up. Testimony from an ex-parishioner tells of a hatch in the floor near the dais. There may have been a basement level doorway from outside, on the east side of the tower, indicated by the extension of original 18th century dressed stone below ground level. A boiler house appears to have been constructed over the original basement door, with later stonework, complete with sump and oil tank sited on a stone roof. It may well be the basement was sealed off from inside the church at this time, although no church records were made available by the Church of Scotland to confirm this.

5.3 *The Churchyard*

- 5.3.1 The church sits within an irregular plan, *closed* listed churchyard, owned, managed, and maintained by the local authority. The church and its immediate churchyard occupy an area of approximately 5,350 square metres. The churchyard holds within it a significant collection of 17th-20th century monuments, a mausoleum, and a World War One memorial.
- 5.3.2 There are two open cemeteries to the south and west of the church. The cemetery to the west is accessed through the ancient churchyard and contains graves exclusively dated to the late 20th and 21st century. The cemetery to the south has its own entrance point.
- 5.3.3 Externally, a hearse house, in ownership with the church, is positioned adjacent to the west gate, flanked by two octagonal rusticated ashlar gate piers. It is under a slate roof and built of random, recycled demolition stone from the original abbey building, as identified by the stone composition and dressing.



Figure 17: Holywood Church viewed from the north-east

6.0 *The Bell Inspection*

6.1 *The bell descriptors*

- 6.1.1 To help differentiate the two bells throughout the report, the RCAHMS designations of No.1 and No.2, for the long-waisted and short-waisted bells were considered (as listed by Barbour), however the signifiers ‘*shield*’ bell and ‘*inscribed*’ bell are used instead, reflecting the common terms adopted during the authors’ own investigation.

6.2 *Access and bell frame*

- 6.2.1 Access to the belfry was restrictive, and close inspection only achievable via an installed temporary platform, consolidating rotten timbers and closing the void in the belfry floor.
- 6.2.2 The two bells are each carried on an individual timber headstock, connected to a solid timber wheel, both held in place by a stout oak timber frame in good condition. Both headstocks showed sign of previous wood-worm infestation.⁵⁰ The iron bracing and clappers were well-rusted but intact and secure. The bell ropes were in poor condition, and rotten/detached in several places.

6.3 *General information about medieval bells and inscription letterform*

- 6.3.1 Before reading the legend on both bells, it was deemed necessary for the authors to further understand bell archaeology and the styles of letterform used in medieval monumental and decorative inscription, and acquire a fuller appreciation of the medieval engraver’s art.
- 6.3.2 There is no exact date when large bells were introduced into the Christian Church in England and Scotland. The first use of the large hanging bell in a religious house has been attributed to Paulinus, bishop of Mola in Italy around AD 400, and it is recorded the venerable Bede brought a bell to hang in his abbey in northern England (Wearmouth) around AD 680.⁵¹ At this time inscription, if it existed, would have been in a form known as *Roman Capitals* or *Saxon Capitals*, as demonstrated on inscriptions of the period.
- 6.3.3 Western church bells supposed later than this period but earlier than the late 14th century show a type of letterform carrying the generalised term, *Lombardic*, developing from what Sir William Hope, in his paper on the *Seals of English Bishops* (1887) attempted to catagorise as ‘*Rude Lombardic*,’ to a more decorated form known *Crowned-*

⁵⁰ Although it is unclear when the headstock had been treated for woodworm, all roof voids had been treated against common furniture beetle by *Richards & Starling*, Dumfries, June 1992.

⁵¹ Walters, H. B. M.A., F.S.A. Dearmer, P. M.A. *The Arts of the Church; Church Bells*, 1908

Lombardic capitals, as presented by *Thurston*.⁵² Variations are difficult to date with any degree of accuracy, so ‘*Lombardic-type*’ is often used by palaeographers and epigraphers to denote the general term for decorative upper-case lettering used on inscriptions, and typically at the beginning of texts in medieval manuscript. Lombardic capitals were used to write whole inscriptions and had no lower-case form.

6.3.3 The 12th-14th century seals; *Figures 5, 6 and 7*, show what may be termed ‘Lombardic’. *Figure 21* illustrates Crowned Lombardic letterform as used on the UK’s earliest known dated church bell (1290-1310).

6.3.4 It is generally understood Christian church bells from the late 14th centuries use a family of letterform for inscription that approximates to *Ordinary Gothic* or *Black Letter*. The written form was developed from Carolingian script to consolidate more words to the page, in a time when writing material was costly. The letterform was used in script form throughout western Europe between the mid-12th century and the end of the 16th century, but in terms of epigraphy the form was generally not used in monumental and metal inscription until the late 14th century, as demonstrated on the 1462 bell of *Holm Cultram Abbey*. (*See Figures 18 and 19.*)



Figure 18: The 15th Century bell of Holm Cultram Abbey, similar in size to the bells of Holywood



Figure 19. The inscription reads: + ihc : thomas : york : abbas : de : holm : cV : dominio : anno dni : mill^o : cccc^o : lxii^o - (*Jesus, Thomas York, abbot, master of Holm Cultram, AD 1462*)

Photographs courtesy of G A Dawson, John Taylor & Co, The Loughborough Bell foundry.

⁵² Thurston, H. (1907). Bells. *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*



Figure 20: The Norman bell tower of Holm Cultram Abbey, founded in 1150 by Cistercian monks from Melrose Abbey, on lands gifted by Earl Henry of Scotland (1114 -1152)

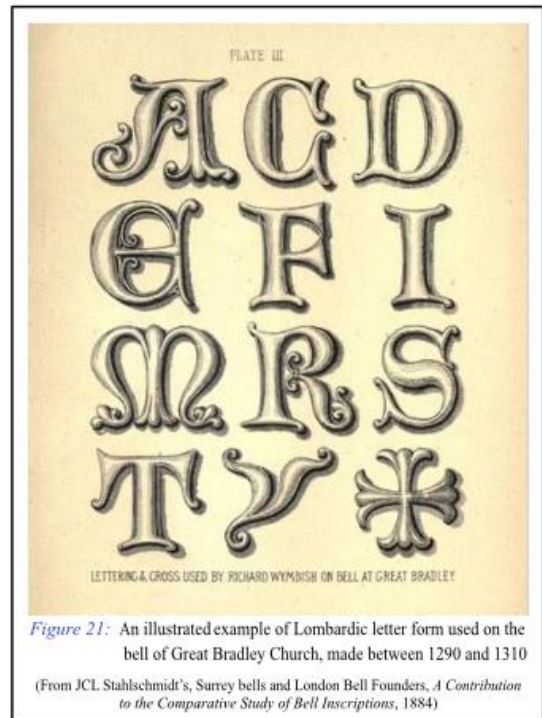


Figure 21: An illustrated example of Lombardic letter form used on the bell of Great Bradley Church, made between 1290 and 1310
(From JCL Stahl Schmidt's, Surrey bells and London Bell Founders, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of Bell Inscriptions*, 1884)

- 6.3.5 This aforementioned understanding, of course, is a general rule and there is, as there will always be, exception. Lombardic Capitals were used on monumental and bell inscriptions well into the 16th and 17th centuries, and today artisans still use the form as decorative script. For example, *Henry Oldfield*, 17th century bellmaker of Nottingham, used an imitation of the medieval letterform, however, as with most later bells, this comes with characteristic later period embellishment.⁵³ (See Figure 22.)
- 6.3.6 Coinage, seals and medals are another example where Lombardic and Roman scripts are used in preference to Blackletter. Lombardic and Roman scripts provide clarity on surfaces compromised by application, letterspacing and the interspatial relationship of each element.⁵⁴ Blackletter is difficult to reproduce by the engraver on very small surfaces, thus Lombardic features on medieval seals and coins beyond the introduction and propagation of Blackletter type. Of course, the inscription on the bell does not suffer the same constraints as seals and coins, thus the choice of Lombardic on the bell is either a deliberate aesthetic choice or concurrent with the period the bell was fabricated.

⁵³ Walters, H. B. M.A., F.S.A., Dearmer, P. M.M., (Ed.) (1908) *The Arts of the Church: Church Bells*, A. R. Mowbray & Co, Oxford, UK. pp. 152-154.

⁵⁴ Johnson D.W. Burdette R. W (Ed) (2016) *An Encyclopaedia of Coin and Medal Technology*

6.3.7 Therefore, whereas the concept of early 16th century bells carrying Lombardic script is plausible, if not a little unlikely, considering the relatively crude nature of the early-form lettering on the Holywood bells, and the complete absence of decoration as displayed on contemporary bells of the period (*See Figure 19.*), the probability is the Holywood bells are of pre 15th century origin.



Figure 22: A 17th Century bell by Henry Oldfield of Nottingham, using Crowned Lombardic as a deliberate imitation of medieval letterform, whilst maintaining contemporary ornamentation

6.3.8 Dissemination of Barbour's term *Late Lombardic* as a letterform descriptor to experts was neither confirmed in contemporary publication to his inspection, nor accepted as a *bona fide* letterform identifier in either modern epigraphy or palaeography. This implies Barbour's reference to the letterform on the Holywood *inscribed* bell as, "*Late Lombardic capitals*" is possibly invention to suit his conclusion regarding the bell's date and the anomaly of the general rule, rather than a recognised and published letterform amongst bell historians and archaeologists.

6.4 *Expectation and Expert witness*

- 6.4.1 The study revealed bell history/archaeology is a niche subject, mostly unresearched and sparse of academic copy. If there were reference works, they delved into bells of specific parishes, and any national register was less than comprehensive with regards to detail. The features of more than a few bells had been cited in reference material via the use of binoculars from the ground, so error in the translation of inscription was to be expected, and there were more than a few instances of disagreement between published translation on bells and their keepers' declarations.
- 6.4.2 Nineteenth century reference works, usually offered by enthusiastic ecclesiastics, contained copious hearsay and often a lack knowledge concerning basic bell archaeology and bell founding. For example, chips on bell lips, the method of tuning before shaving metal from inside the bell was introduced in the 17th century, is often erroneously cited as damage. In old texts, drawings were offered in lieu of photographic evidence; often crude, incomplete and misrepresentative. Interpretation of medieval Latin inscription was as good as the interpreter's skill. Modern 20th century photographic evidence was limited to reference photos of the whole bell, without detail being presented, usually contained within book and pamphlet invariably created by bell ringers and bell heritage campaigners.
- 6.4.3 In respect of many of the bells the study encountered, public record rarely matched the actual illustration on the bell, even the study's 'model' bell, the 15th century bell of Holm Cultram, carried a public record and reported date of 1465. The actual year, 1462 only becoming apparent after the bell was removed from its belfry.
- 6.4.4 Hanging church and establishment bells are hardly rare, in fact there are over sixty-five thousand listed in the national bell register. The register includes bells identified by founder and dates, but there are many undated bells still to be assessed. With the origins of ancient bells being revealed every year, primarily through restoration projects to the building in which they hang, there is confusion over the location of the earliest UK bell, partly due subjective dating and protest amongst bell enthusiasts for their own bell to have the honour of greatest antiquity.
- 6.4.5 Often, identified ancient bells are assumed to be concurrent with the age of the belfry in which they hang, which is precarious premise as bells are a very moveable and replaceable object, often the target of theft, relocation, gifting, and recasting. This was particularly relevant on the Anglo/Scottish border. It was not unknown in the medieval period in the borders of Scotland and England, particularly during the time of war and the larceny of the Border Reiver, for cross-border raids to include the theft of bells from churches, both as insult to a rival community, and of course, profit.
- 6.4.6 Dating these 'early' bells is usually by supposition of those who have a significant acquaintance with bells, establishing similarity within expected bell forms. But since dating of these bells cannot be scientific, nor corroborated by extensive collective

archive, nor evidence; either on the bell or in medieval record, dating is still very subjective.

- 6.4.7 Dating of early bells on form alone often utilizes an interrogative system developed by George Elphick,⁵⁵ which assesses the features of the bell and the techniques of its casting, interpreting the shape of the sound bow as indicative of its age. Long-waisted bells, for instance, together with their harmonics, fall into a category of pre-13th century bell manufacture.
- 6.4.8 Employing Elphick's system on the *shield* bell, which had already been universally identified as archaic, bee-hived shaped, or long-waisted, confirmed the bell fell into this category of early (pre-1200) bell form. The study however, found only 18 locations where long-waisted bells had been assessed within a national catalogue of 65,000 bells. Concern was raised by the authors with so few bells appraised, the sample may be too small to make a definite dating conclusion. However, it was found the *shield* bell, although of similar dimensions to the *inscribed* bell, was significantly heavier (by as much as 30-40%), indicating its design perhaps predated the more economically and thus technically improved *inscribed* bell, already presented with a possible 12th century manufacturing date, thus supporting Elphick's analysis.
- 6.4.9 Without a comprehensive visual and descriptive catalogue of UK church bells hung from the 11th to the 16th centuries, the authors were cautious about assigning features of the bells to general understanding mooted in the few bell archaeology books and texts available or taking a very limited catalogue of photographic representation of the detail on bells and making assumptions based on instances of similarity. Arrangements of canons were not deemed an explicit dating tool, as was shape, outside overtly long-waisted forms (which were universally regarded by bell conservationists as earlier than 13th century). It was considered bells often were not original to their current hangings and foreign manufactured bells were entirely possible.
- 6.4.10 Considering the bell register contained such a large inventory of bells and so few undated bells had been positively identified, it seemed imprudent to use such a small unrepresentative sample of assessed undated bells to assess the Holywood bells. Some bell conservationists had regrettably displayed partisan attitudes, which compromised their reliability. For these reasons the authors were conscious not to make assumptions, based on bell form and context in which the bells had existed, but concentrate on the evidence the bells did present, ie., what was written or exhibited on the bronze itself.
- 6.4.11 However, for all the lack of quantifiable data and bell historians' experience, limited by the bells they had examined, what the study had at the conclusion of initial research was a list of basic expectation. The authors dared not call them rules, but it provided a good checklist to help place the bells' likely age range.

⁵⁵ Elphick, G. P. (1973). *The Dating of Uninscribed Bells. The Ringing World*, 60, pp 307–8

General understanding

- 6.4.12 Bell founding has changed little since the 11th century, and there is a total lack of a comprehensive catalogue of undated medieval bells, with precise identification of their age. Without a date being presented on the bell, details of its origin, foundry, or even the ethnicity of the bell maker, meant that is only really record and inscription that could date the bell with any degree of certainty. Broken bells can be recast, but invariably some alteration is made or added to the new bell.

Bell form

- 6.4.13 The degree of material usage, shape of the bell and the arrangements of the cannons changed little after the 11th/12th century. Long-waisted, beehive bell forms gave way to squatter, fatter bell shapes, containing less metal. Chipping on bell lips in the cause of tuning is generally acceptable up to the 18th century, after which bells are tuned by shaving away metal from inside the bell.

Letterform

- 6.4.14 Western church bells supposed later than the 11th century but earlier than the late 14th century displays a type of letterform carrying the generalised term, *Lombardic-Type*. Variations in *Lombardic-type* are difficult to date with any degree of accuracy. It is the general term for decorative upper-case lettering used on inscriptions, typically at the beginning of texts in medieval manuscript.
- 6.4.15 Lombardic capitals were used to write whole inscriptions and had no lower-case form.
- 6.4.16 Christian church bells of the late 14th and 15th centuries commonly (but not exclusively) use a family of letterform for inscription that approximates to Ordinary Gothic or Black Letter. In terms of epigraphy, the form was generally not used in monumental and metal inscription until the late 14th century. Where Lombardic letter forms are used on later bells, it commonly is presented with characteristic later period embellishment.
- 6.4.17 Mixed letterform exists on inscription, but only to emphasise the beginning of words.

Abbreviation on Medieval Inscription

- 6.4.18 The rules of epigraphy are not the same as palaeography. Epigraphy often has differing abbreviation conventions to ensure design is not compromised. Messy textual abbreviation employed to save the medieval scribe's time is absent on inscription. However, space saving abbreviation has a commonality in both engraving and text. Regrettably there is little catalogue of epigraphical contraction to formulate expected rules and convention for the medieval period.

The use of Siglum

- 6.4.19 The use of sigla (one letter abbreviation carried over from Roman antiquity) denoting common use words, names, and phrases generally gave way, by the 10th century, to less contracted abbreviations in Latin palaeography but are frequently evidenced in

epigraphy up to the 13/14th century. The decline of sigla, along with Roman Capitals on inscription would see a re-emergence after 1500, as Roman-style Capitals letters became, once more, a popular choice on seals and artefacts.

Numbers

- 6.4.20 Mixtures of roman numerals and written numbers are common, but invariably presented in the ablative case, accompanied by superscript lettering identifying abbreviation.

Dating paradigms

- 6.4.21 All studied ecclesiastical inscriptions, carrying the dating paradigm, *Anno Domini* exhibited abbreviation. Where siglum were employed, they carried superscript letters as indicators of contraction.

Dates on Bells

- 6.4.22 The oldest known dated UK bell is 1290, that of the bell of Claughton in Lancashire, and although it is known there are probably many bells still existing in the UK that are older than this date, they do not carry dates. There are reports of European bells carrying earlier dates, but they carry a different form than UK church tower bells. There is expectation that 12th century bells in the UK are not dated.

The Model Bell

- 6.4.23 The authors did not have a sight of a 12th century bell in which to make comparison. However, there was a late 15th century bell, within the same geographical area, for a similar institution; the bell in the remains of Holm Cultram Abbey, lying approximately twenty miles across the Solway Firth from the Holywood abbey site. Holm Cultram's bell, like Holywood's was also saved from the destruction of 16th century religious reforms and allowed to remain in the open Norman bell tower to stand to serve the parish. The Holm Cultram bell inscription, in Black Letter, reads; *ihc : thomas : york : abbas : de : holm : cV : dominio : anno dni : mill^o : cccc^o : lxii^o — Jesus Christ, Saviour. Thomas York, Father, Master of Holm Cultram, AD1462*

7.0 *The Inscribed Bell*

7.1 *Description*

- 7.1.1 The west-facing cast bronze *inscribed* bell, still in tone, carries a note A^b. The bell is 36 cms tall, 43 cms in diameter at the mouth and 26 cms at the shoulder. The width of the metal at the sound-bow is around 3 cms and exhibits some chipping; the result of pre-18th century tuning activity. The weight of the bell is estimated to be 70-80 kilograms. There is no evidence of cracks, and there are no records, pre or post 1779, of the bell being recast, and no reason to suspect the bell is not the original. Repairs to the canons were observed, and there was possible evidence of proximity to extreme heat (a fire) at some time in its life.
- 7.1.2 The inscription band is carried between two pairs of beads running around the upper part of the bell below the shoulder. Whilst three beads run around the bell above and below the sound-bow.
- 7.1.3 The letterform presented is unsophisticated style of Lombardic, presented with spade like finials, except for the fourth character tile which shows a Gothic-type 'e' (Marcos, 2021). The letterform lacks the ornamentation of Crowned-Lombardic and resembles the letterforms used on pre 13th century engraving but incorporates several bespoke characters within the letters used. Several characters are deemed to have been omitted (as is usual on medieval bell impressions), contracting common-use words to save space on the inscription, in some cases making the intended word indecipherable to the modern eye.
- 7.1.4 The position of the *inscribed* bell, fixed close to the solid timber wheel, made viewing the latter part of the description difficult without the use of a torch, mirror, or slim camera-phone. It might explain, in the poor light conditions of the bell tower (even on a sunny day), how any previous inspection could have been compromised, and characters misread.
- 7.1.5 The bell shape is a pattern seen in western bells dating as far back as the 13th century, and so is undatable by bell-shape alone. However, the chipping on the bell mouth confirms the bell is contemporary within the life of the abbey from whence it came, ie pre 18th century.

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Figure 23: The Holywood inscribed bell

7.2 The Inscription

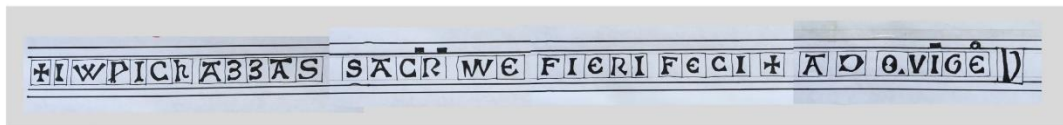


Figure 24: Authors' sketch of the inscription band.



Figure 25: The sponsor's name

Note: Omitted from the photograph is a separated tile, preceding the inscription, containing a cross pattée



Figure 26: Abbot and abbey name



Figure 27: FIERI FECIT



Figure 28: The last section

- 7.2.1 The inscription commences with a tile containing a cross-pattée [✠], followed by a separated tile carrying a capital [I]. The spaces between tiles were thought to indicate both word and grammatical separation (as punctuation marks are absent), as well as potential word omission. (Note: Bracketed bold letters are for illustration purposes only and are not representative of the actual letterforms.)
- 7.2.2 Following a space after the letter [I], are five conjoined tiles of characters [W][e][I][C][H] (*see Figure 25*). Notable, are the inclusions of deliberate forking to one of the serifs to the Lombardic character letter [W] and the Gothic miniscule [e]. Another space separates, what appears to be a name, with five more conjoined tiles [A][B][B][A][S] (*see Figure 26*), space, then four conjoined tiles [S][A][C][R], with two small rectangles sitting offset to the right, above the letters [C] and [R] on the bead line. Following a space, sits a character of three long inverted triangles connected by underlying ligature (resembling a conjoined M and N). This tile is conjoined to a tile carrying a letter [E] (*see Figure 26*).
- 7.2.3 Two sets of conjoined tiles finish off the first part of the inscription [F][I][E][R][I] and [F][E][C][I][✠] (*see Figure 27*), the last word ending a tile containing a cross-pattée. The cross-pattée is different from the first cross-pattée used in the inscription, in that its lower limb is longer. The RCAHMS inspection observed; ‘...the t of fecit is more like a small Latin cross.’
- 7.2.4 A space follows, then two separated tiles carrying a capital [A] and what appears to be a capital [D], (*see Figure 28*). The [D] is not confirmed, as the character is not represented elsewhere on the bell, whereas the [A] form used is identical to those demonstrated elsewhere in the inscription. It is noteworthy the character [D] does not display an open stem, matching the [B] character on the bell (in ABBAS), instead, the serifs are brought together to close the ‘bowl’, creating a shape loosely resembling a large, short fish.
- 7.2.5 The letter tile containing [D] is followed by a space then five conjoined tiles of characters [Q or O▲][V or U][I][G][E] (*see Figure 28*). The first tile, compromised by the viewing angle, contains a stylised Lombardic character resembling either an O with a small equilateral triangle following, all contained within the same tile, manufactured larger to either accommodate two separate characters, or a Q with a grossly enlarged tail. The second tile contains what appears to be V or U, the third, [I] (the letterform confirmed elsewhere within the inscription) with a small rectangle carried above on the bead line (*see Figure 28*). The letter [G] is the fourth, and the final tile of the five is [E] (again the form is confirmed elsewhere on the bell) with a donut or ‘o’ above (again carried on the bead line).

- 7.2.6 The final separated tile contains a representation of two strokes, similar but presented vertically in opposing directions. This tile is larger than the others on the engraving and falls outside the line of the inscription, making contact with both upper and lower bead lines framing the legend. From the images, the reader will see other marks and shadows. These are marks on the bell surface and are not engraving, as confirmed by a blind-touch survey.



Figure 29: The final character closing the inscription and the first cross pattée leading the inscription

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Figure 30. The *inscribed* bell's inscription and arrangement of cannons, viewed outside the church tower.

7.3 Reading the Inscription

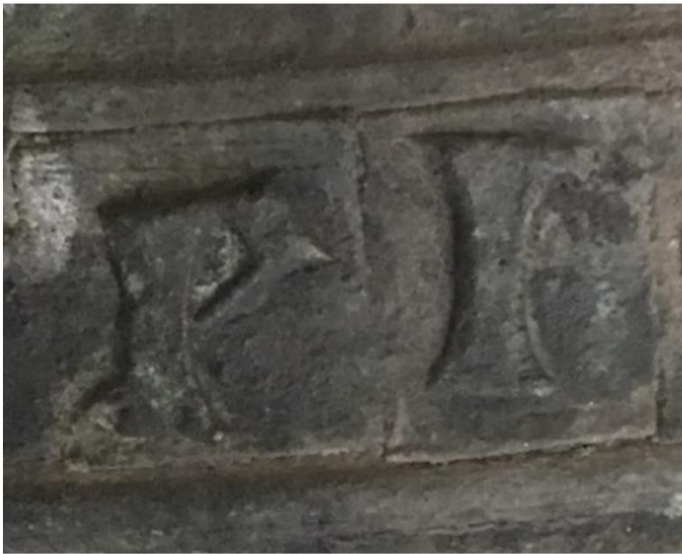


Figure 31:

The anomalous Gothic letter 'e' and the following character tile carrying an 'I' as evidenced in *figure 25*. (The appearance of forking on the base of the character 'e' is an illusion caused by light and shadow reflecting off the irregular surface.)



Figure 33:

A cross used as a 'T' to complete 'FECIT' and to start a separate 'line' of the inscription.



Figure 32:

The letter 'I' used in 'FECIT' and elsewhere on the inscription.



Figure 34:

Elaborated characters 'N' and 'M' conjoined in a representation of a wood/grove, completed with an 'E' to spell, N[E]M[OR]E.



Figure 35:

Character tile containing a stylised 'D', formed in representation of a word or phrase.

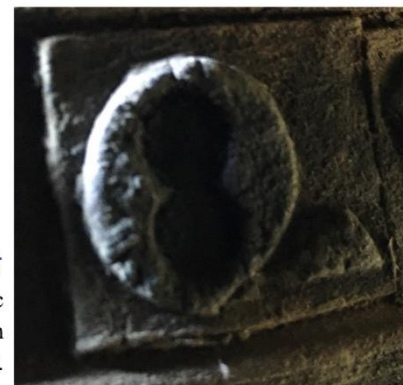


Figure 36:

A dismembered Lombardic Capital 'Q' or an 'O' with an equilateral triangle following.

- 7.3.1 The initial cross-pattée is not unusual and signifies both the start of the inscription and its authority as a supplication to God, in the name of the Church's authority. The following letter tile [I] was presumed, by both Barbour and the former ministers of Holywood, as the first initial of *Ioannes*, the Latinised version of *John*. A plausible supposition based upon the frequency in which *John* appears in medieval society, particularly relating to medieval ecclesiastics. However, as the RCAHMS inspectorate points out, *John* is purely an assumption.
- 7.3.2 The Reverends Johnston and Kirkwood reported the abbot's name as *John Wrich* in both *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, ignoring the irregularity of the second letter of the abbot's surname. To the uneducated eye, the letter may resemble 'r', and is the only letter that makes sense in an Anglo/Norman/English construct. But in terms of medieval Latin letterforms the character 'r', as presented in [Figure 31](#), does not exist in any script form. The letter more closely resembles a Gothic style miniscule 'e', ([see Figure 37](#)). However, 'e' does not satisfy an expected medieval name construct as 'Weich' (meaning 'soft/yielding' in German) does not appear in any Scottish medieval record, outside a possible spelling variant, *Wyche*, although to preclude the possibility of its existence would be a mistake, as medieval record is grossly incomplete. With the Lombardic letter 'R' and 'E' being represented elsewhere on the bell, it leaves little reason for the bellmaker to add a bespoke character 'r' or 'e' into the name, if *Wrich* or *Weich* is all that is implied by the inscription, and it is correct.
- 7.3.3 Barbour recognises the Gothic 'e' and reports the anomaly; '*...of the Abbot's surname, the second letter is peculiar, being small old English, and the difference of character as compared with the other letters interfere with a ready recognition of its meaning. It is a well-formed and distinct enough 'e'.*'^(sic.) Barbour, like the RCAHMS inspection twenty-one years later, does not proffer any explanation as to why the bellmaker should use the abnormal character in the middle of a word presented in Lombardic text, or why limited mixed letterform should appear within the inscription.
- 7.3.4 There is certainly evidence of mixed Gothic letterform appearing on bells towards the end of the 15th century, ([see Figure 38](#)), but it is confined to inscriptions carrying Lombardic initial letters with Black Letter text following. By the 16th century, Lombardic capitals would generally disappear, with inscriptions styled entirely in Black Letter.⁵⁶ There are no examples of miniscule letterforms appearing within Lombardic word presentations, unless used by scribes as notation of abbreviation or contraction.

⁵⁶ Walters, H. B. M.A., F.S.A., Dearmer, P. M.M., (Ed.) (1908) *The Arts of the Church: Church Bells*. p. 109.

7.3.5 In reporting the letter ‘e’, Barbour reconsiders the third character ‘I’ in the abbot’s title, probably because the name *Weich* does not appear on record, but *Welch* appears as an abbot of Holywood. Professor Marcos, an expert in medieval letterform, confirmed the incongruity of the name; ‘...the strange “e” after “w” puzzles. It seems a lowercase “e” rather than “R”. I do not see an “L”. However, it is evident ‘*Weich*’ probably does not make sense.’ (Marcos 2021). RCAHMS on the other hand simply acknowledges the change in letterform and records the name as read on the bell; ‘...but the “e” of *WEICH* is small Black Letter.’ (RCAHMS 1920:107)

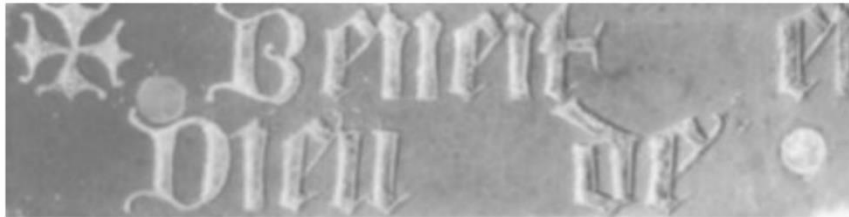


Figure 37:
An example of a black-letter ‘e’ form, characterised as Gothic textura ‘Praescissa’ minuscule, taken from an inscription produced in 1351



Figure 38: Examples of mixed Gothic letterform, taken from a bell cast in 1460, by London bell-maker, Henry Jordan

7.3.6 In practical terms, only the letters *R*, *E* or *B* work before ‘*ICH*’ in terms of recognisable word/name construction; *Rich*, *Eich* (Gaelic meaning ‘horse’), *Eich[e]* (medieval German for ‘oak’), or *Bich[e]* (old French for ‘doe’). Of these, only ‘*Rich*’ appears on medieval record as a name construct. Adding the *W*, only the names *Wrich* and *Weich* are feasible surname constructs. *Weich* however could not be found as a medieval cognomen. However, the name, *Wrich* is also compromised as ‘r’ is not represented but a Gothic ‘e’, and as discussed, its place in the construct does not necessarily work for a recognisable name. Barbour’s solution to the problem was to report; ‘...the third letter at first sight appears to resemble the initial “I” but on closer examination it is found to differ in being a little longer, and in having a cleft top.’ Barbour’s solution was to draw attention to an almost indiscernible depression in the casting (see Figure 31) to make a translation work with a capital *L*. But there is no cleft top defined into the character ‘*I*’ and the character is identical (as far as hand-impressed character tiles can be) to the other five-character tiles carrying the letter ‘*I*’ on the inscription, showing a slight depression on the broad serif where the bellmaker smoothed down the wax letter onto the false bell, prior to casting.

7.3.7

Micrometer readings were taken from the other Lombardic 'I' characters on the bell to compare. Deviations in the character dimensions were recorded between 0.3 mm and 1.1 mm, with the profiles of the characters being identical. Deviation in dimensions were accounted for by the manual application of the wax letter to the false bell, prior to casting. Otherwise, the 'I' character contained within the sponsor's name exhibited no evidence of deliberate deviation from the remaining five letter 'I' tiles to infer different representation other than a Lombardic 'I'. Although it is possible to mistakenly transpose 'I' and 'L' characters in *Gothic/Blackletter*, if reference characters are not available to provide clarity, the letter used in the sponsors name was undoubtedly taken from the same mould used for the Lombardic 'I' used on the bell. a Lombardic Capital 'L' being presented with a 'leg' and beak'.

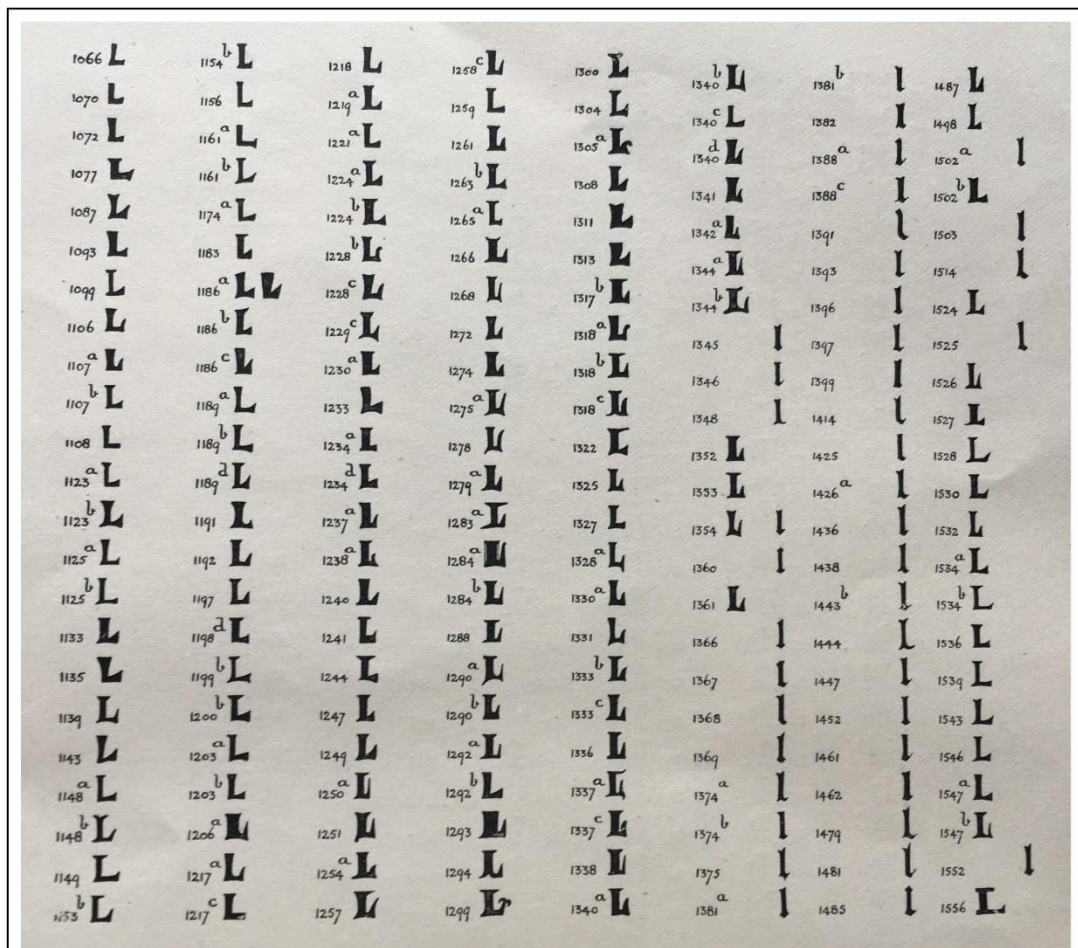
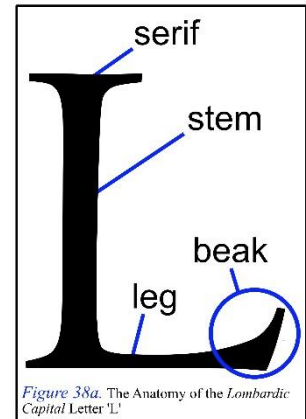


Figure 39. Examples of 'L' letter form used in medieval engraving, taken from H.S Kingsford's, *The Epigraphy of Medieval English Seals* (1928)

- 7.3.8 Returning to the Gothic letter ‘e’, it is highly improbable the insertion of a grossly delinquent character tile be accidental, such as a Gothic ‘e’ instead of a Lombardic ‘E’ and thus should simply be accepted or ignored by previous inspections. Cast inscriptions are made by the application of one-use wax letter-tiles to a *false bell*,⁵⁷ so it would not be the case the bellmaker simply ran out of Lombardic *Es* or *Rs*, as both Lombardic ‘E’s and ‘R’s are present elsewhere in the inscription, indicating the bellmaker had the individual letter moulds to make the wax letter in the correct form. Although mixed letterform does appear on medieval bells, *mixing* is confined to the first letter of the word for purpose of decoration. Through research, no precedent of mixed letterform could be found within words on bells or even monumental inscription. Deliberate insertion of a miniscule character in amongst majuscule script seemed unlikely, unless attention was being drawn to the letter by the bellmaker and/or its sponsor, eg., used as notation of abbreviation or contraction.
- 7.3.9 Returning to the supposition the bellmaker was deliberately trying to draw attention to the second letter in the abbot’s name, consideration was given to it being a bespoke character-tile, indicated by its odd placement. Clearly, such a bespoke character would sit better in isolation or at the beginning of a word, and it was this, and other disclosures that drew together a highly plausible solution to the *second letter conundrum*.
- 7.3.10 It is not difficult to understand why the previous observers of the bell, on superficial inspection would, read the name as Wrich, Welch or Weich, but their observations were built on discounting the anomalous letter ‘e’ as unimportant, and their ignorance of the forking exhibited on the serif of the ‘W’.
- 7.3.11 It was mooted by several experts in Latin script, *miniscule* letters often appear amongst *majuscule* letter-types to indicate abbreviation, and so it was feasible the use of Gothic miniscule text amongst Lombardic script was used to indicate contraction: a bespoke combination of letters in a single character. However, it was believed the sponsor’s name was presented in ethnic language form and not Latin, so abbreviation may follow another contemporaneous convention.
- 7.3.12 After further consideration, a combination of letters was still judged the only rational use of the bespoke character appearing as an anomalous *Gothic* letter ‘e’. No examples could be found in extant engraving from the late medieval period (AD 1350 to 1500), and there were too few engraving examples from the high medieval period (AD 1000 to 1350) to reference. In fact, there were too few examples of deciphered medieval engraved name presentations to form any kind of useable directory in identifying the use of the bespoke character on the bell. However, regardless of its understanding today, its existence on a piece of medieval metalwork had relevance to those who existed at the period the bell was struck; a limited conjunction of letters that was recognisable common medieval naming/title convention for the period. Such a common

⁵⁷ *Bell Founding, The Architect* 132, 1874, London, UK.

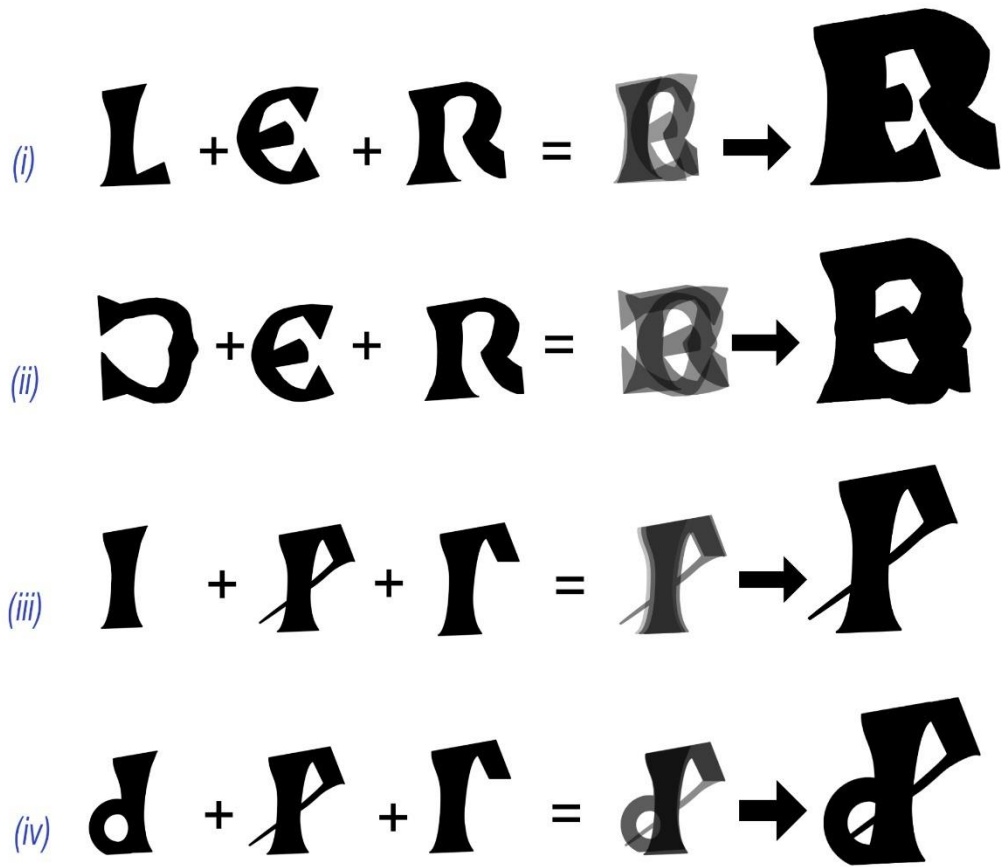
convention was the preposition, *de (of)* or *le (the)* linking given and cognomen together, whether it be a territorial title, or a family adopted by-name.

- 7.3.13 Thus, the forking on the ‘W’ gained purpose. It possibly indicated abbreviation, akin to an apostrophe following a letter, indicating common contraction, similar to a period behind an initial in modern naming convention. ‘W’ thus becomes the first letter, or initial of the sponsor’s first or given name. We returned to consider the only likely letter to precede ‘ICH’ which was ‘R’, therefore the preposition, *de (of)* or *le (the)* may link given and surname together. Therefore, it followed, as both a *Gothic* ‘l’ and ‘r’ letterforms could be contained within the design of the character ‘e’, the Gothic ‘e’ perhaps represented a combination of ‘l’, ‘e’ and ‘r’. All other combinations of Gothic lettering were experimented within the study, but it was only the combination of ‘l’, ‘e’ and ‘r’ that could be both contained within the bespoke character and at the same time produce a workable name construct. It followed; it was either a space saving solution for the rest of the inscription or was in fact a representation of how the sponsor presented his name as script. The sponsor’s name became *W’lerICH*, or *W’ le RICH*.
- 7.3.14 To prove the combination letter hypothesis, the letters, *D, L, E*, and *R* were drawn in Lombardic and Gothic Textura, both existing as common letterforms in western Europe from the mid-12th century onwards. Using the text on the bell inscription as the template for their design, the sets of letters were then overlaid to form one character. Three out of four combinations provided a readable character, and one provided a direct match for the erroneous character tile—that of combining *l, e*, and, *r* in Gothic miniscule. A contraction of *L, E*, and *R* was possible in Lombardic Capitals, and may have provided a better solution to contracting the abbot’s name, but an orderly design was not immediately apparent, and was only achieved through manipulation and distortion of the letters on modern graphics software, something not available to a medieval bellmaker. Regardless of the letter form used, the theory of the character representing *le R* is an extremely credible answer to the anomalous ‘e’, as confirmed by Professor Marcos (2021). It was noted in Latin script, *Miniscule* letters often appear amongst *majuscule* letter-types to indicate abbreviation, and so it was feasible the use of Gothic miniscule text was used, not only as an obvious choice for a bespoke contraction and clean letter combination, but possibly as a close representation of the sponsor’s scribal monogram or signature.
- 7.3.15 With the ‘W’ revealed as the sponsor’s first name, not the ‘I’. Consideration was given to what the ‘I’ represented. We could no longer assume ‘I’ was the contracted form of *Ioannes*, but another common name or word positively indicated by a sigla (single initial).
- 7.3.16 It was common religious inscription, particularly bell caption that provided the clue for the letter ‘I’. The model bell, the late 15th century bell of Holm Cultram carried it, so did many other bells from the 15th century—IH. The Christogram IH/IHC/IHS/IX, as a devotion, *Iesous Christos, Iesous Salvator*, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (*Iesous Christos*) appears

regularly at the beginning of religious text on offerings and inscription, and whereas there are a plethora of post-16th century church bells giving only the makers name and date, without supplication or offering, it may be expected some form of religious piety be displayed by an ecclesiastical commissioner. Usually *Jesus*, in Greek (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ), is contracted to IH, but as this form of the monogram did not become popular until after the 12th century (influenced by *St Bernard de Clairvaux*), it is entirely plausible, if this bell was from an earlier period, where truncation was given over to *sigla* (single character), the bellmaker could have contracted ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, to the letter, ‘I’ and all would understand it without any ambiguity. *Iēsous* (Jesus), the name you would expect at the beginning of an offering, a supplication to Holy Church, is therefore satisfied by the letter ‘I’.

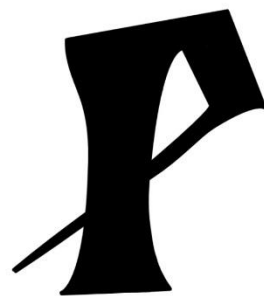
- 7.3.17 The sponsor’s name becomes *W le Rich*; with his given name initialled *W*, not *I*, and perhaps representing *Willelmus*, *Walrinus*, or *Waltero*, to name a few possibilities. Such a name had already appeared in research—an individual, notable in Scottish ecclesiastic society, and a noble of David I’s court—*William le Riche*. The lack of *e* completing William le Riche’s name did not concern, as the written name in the medieval period was inconsistent, dropping vowels that did not sound out when speaking. Old French pronunciation would be an alien sound to the modern ear, adapted as it was from Frankish/Proto-Germanic. *Riche* is developed from *rīk*, spoken with a harder sound.

Figure 40: The second letter conundrum



Notes: The characters on the *inscribed* bell were used as a template for the design of *L*, *D*, *E* and *R*, in both crude Lombardic Capital and Gothic Textura (miniscule) letter forms, all with spade shaped finials. The resulting letters were then overlaid to see if a match could be achieved for the anomalous Gothic 'e' within the *inscribed* bell's Lombardic inscription.

- (i) Combining Lombardic Capital *L*, *E* and *R* produced a readable design, but without the benefit of a graphics programme in which to manipulate shapes of the letters and their relation to each other, it is understandable why a medieval bellmaker, making purely visual artistic judgement on the shapes of the available letters presented, may see using Lombardic Capital problematic.
- (ii) Substituting a capital *D* for *L* renders the design completely unreadable.
- (iii) Rendering a bespoke character, overlaying letters *l*, *e* and *r* in Gothic Textura, produces the character on the bell. The desired result would be easily apparent to the bellmaker from the shape of *l*, *e* and *r* in the miniscule form.
- (iv) Substituting a Gothic Textura *d* for the *l*, produces a readable character, but the character is not exhibited on the *inscribed* bell.



- 7.3.18 The next word, [A][B][B][A][S], a Greek ecclesiastical spelling of ‘father’ is followed by [S][A][C][R], represented without its last letter, which could be *E*, *I* or *O* as all three representations of *sacred* are used concerning Holywood Abbey. The two marks above *C* and *R* on the string line are offset and so have a disconnected relationship with the letter tiles below. As [S][A][C][R] is only contracted by the absence of the last letter, it follows the symbols above are most likely foundry marks. (See Figure 26)
- 7.3.19 The next character is bespoke (Figure 34). The character could only contribute to two possible words on the inscription; ‘NEMORE’, thus completing the abbey’s name, or ‘ME’ thus completing the phrase; ‘ME FIERI FECIT.’ However, *me fieri fecit* can stand on its own without the ‘me,’ but the abbey’s name does not complete with only ‘SACR’ presented. The bespoke character was thus thought to be a conjoined N and M within a single tile, imaginatively fashioned, demonstrating a ‘grove or wood’ (the meaning of *nemore*), with the ‘E’ and ‘OR’ omitted, the tile presented next to an [E] to complete the word. The character is oddly formed, and N and M are not easily recognized, the ‘M’ appearing to be a ‘W’ with the addition of an extra stroke. It was conjectured the bellmaker thought the character as presented demonstrated a better pictorial of a ‘grove,’ and without the extra stroke the implication of a ‘grove’ would be impossible to discern, with only an oddly formed ‘M’ showing.
- 7.3.20 Following *NEMORE* are [F][I][E][R][I] and [F][E][C][I][†]. Again, the cross-form letter ‘T’ disrupts the flow of the design. The [†] is connected to the preceding tiles spelling *FECIT*, indicating it is meant to complete the word. The Latin term *fieri fecit* and *me fieri fecit* were used frequently in medieval inscription, within Holy Church, whereby commissioners identified their donations.⁵⁸ Plausibly, the bellmaker was being creative, using the characters [NM][E] to perform as *NEMORE* as well as *ME*, but this is purely conjecture.
- 7.3.21 There is no other character *T* in the inscription to compare the letterform used on the dedication, but as the bellmaker’s choice of design disrupts the uniformity of the lettercase, it could imply the bellmaker was incorporating another use for his cross-formed †, i.e. a space saving solution (see Figure 33); a combination of *T* and a cross-pattée, representing, not only the last letter of *FECIT*, but the beginning of a new line of inscription.
- 7.3.22 Thus, the first part of the inscription shows;
- ✕ I W’(ler)ICH ABBAS SACR NME FIERI FECI† - and therefore reads as;
- ✕ I[HΞOYΣ (Greek) or ĒSOUS (Latin)], W’ [I]e[r]ICH[E], ABBAS [DE] SACR[O or I] N[E]M[OR]E FIERI FECIT

⁵⁸ *Fieri Fecit, Patronage in Rome from 1050-1300*, medievalresearch.com, developed from research projects die kirchgen der stat rom in mittelalter, 1050-1300.

Which translates to; ✠ *Jesus, W[-----] le Riche, Father of the Sacred Grove/Wood, donates this (or, 'had me made')*.

7.3.23 The revised name interpretation was circulated to several medieval palaeographers, in lieu of the study's failure to find sufficiently qualified epigraphers. However, regardless of the evidence presented, the 'traditional' interpretation 'WELCH' was still seen by a few palaeographers; *'The eye sees only what the mind is prepared to comprehend.'* Therefore, a crude exercise presenting 'WELCH' and 'WRICH' in the expected Lombardic letterform was provided and proved helpful in dissolving any superficial adherence between the inscription on the bell and the name 'WELCH'. (See Figure 41.)



Above: The abbot's name as it appears on the bell inscription. Note the fork created in the serif of the 'W' made by a small tool and the second character which resembles a Gothic-Style 'e'. Viewed in isolation and ignorance of the forked 'W' and anomalously placed Gothic 'e', it is perhaps not surprising 'WELCH' was observed by James Barbour, because he wanted to see it, or 'WEICH' was observed by RCHAMS, even though 'Weich' does not exist as a medieval name construct.



Above: The authors' mock-up of the sponsor's name as 'WELCH', proposed by James Barbour, as it would appear in the correct complementary bellmaker's chosen Lombardic-Style letterform. Note a notch in the serif of the 'W' would be superfluous, and although the Lombardic-Style 'L' character is absent on the inscription to confirm its form, a Lombardic 'L' is always presented with a 'leg' and 'beak'. The 'E' is present on the inscription, confirming its design. If the abbot's name was 'WELCH' there is no reason it would not be presented this way.



Above: Another author's mock-up, this time substituting the Gothic-Style 'e' with a Lombardic-Style 'R', as represented elsewhere on the inscription. It produces 'WRICH' in the correct letterform. We can only assume the Reverend Bryce Johnston identified the Gothic-Style 'e' as 'r' because it is the only letter than can work between 'W' and 'ICH' thus making a valid medieval name construct.

Figure 41: Meeting Expectation; The inscribed bell: The 'alleged abbot's name presented in correct complementary Lombardic-Style letterform.

7.4 *The Inscription and the Dating Conundrum*

- 7.4.1 With the bellmaker's employment of the cross form 'T' on 'FECIT', there is suggestion there was intention to separate the first part of the inscription from the last part ([see 7.3.21](#)). Therefore, a period break is implied after *Fecit*.
- 7.4.2 With [A] [D] (potentially *Anno Domini nostri Jesu Christi* - the year of our Lord, Jesus Christ) preceding the last part of the inscription, it was difficult not to look for a date year following, particularly as the *anno domini* system of numbering years was introduced in England by *Bede* in the eighth century and it was common practice from the late 12th century that, whereas civil documents were often dated by the regnal dating paradigm, eg., *anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo*, (in the twentieth year of the reign of King Henry), ecclesiastical documents were dated by the use of *anno domini nostri Jesu Christi*.⁵⁹ It seemed unlikely any church bell dating later than the 12th century would carry anything other than a recognizable year date after the letters 'A D'.
- 7.4.3 James Barbour had proposed an interpretation for the last section of the inscription as; A[NNO] D[OMINI] [MILLESIMO] QUI[N]GE[NTESIMO] V, with the bracketed letters being omitted by the bellfounder from the inscription to save space, with a dash placed above the I on the bead-line to indicate the missing 'N' (which is a common abbreviation convention for *written* Latin) and a 'O-donut' placed above the letter E to indicate contraction to the ablative nominal, all followed by a letter V (the number 5). *The year of Our Lord [One thousand] Five Hundred and Five*. The Latin date being presented in the ablative case as expected. The V (preceding 'IGE') on the inscription was interpreted as a U, but these letters are interchangeable in ancient Latin text.
- 7.4.4 Barbour's conclusion fit extremely well with his proposal for a sponsor, John Welch; the name occurring as an abbot for Sacro Nemore between 1491 and 1517 ([see Appendix III](#)). Barbour, however, does not make the connection of abbot and bell date in his report, although it is likely from his comments regarding the sponsor of the *shield* bell, he was aware of the limited record of the abbacy of Sacro Nemore and so felt confident in his deduction.
- 7.4.5 At the time, it was a very plausible supposition. However, there are several critical issues with Barbour's transcription, which no one, ie., those who agree with Barbour's translation, has yet to answer.
- 7.4.6 Firstly, Barbour fails to offer any reason why the ministers, Johnson and Kirkwood saw '1154' on the bell, instead Barbour simply dismisses their reports. It seems to be an incontrovertible problem with Barbour's date reading, that he did not objectively consider the Reverends, Johnston and Kirkwood's declaration of a 1154 consecration date. It seemed highly improbable, considering both ministers had lived and worked with the bells for decades, that at some point they would not have read the same date as Barbour if it were correct. Both the Reverends Johnston and Kirkwood, Doctors of

⁵⁹ Cheney, C. R. ed., *A Handbook of dates for students of British History*. Cambridge

Divinity, were eloquent in Latin, both eminent naturalists and antiquarians. If they had read or attempted to read the second part of the inscription, they certainly did not read AD 1505, or even AD 1154, *anno domini millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto*.

7.4.7 Secondly, was why the bellmaker chose to represent the date this way, ie., with gross omission. All medieval Latin palaeographic students, specialists, and senior academics in medieval studies, consulted pre, during and post initial report could not, or would not see past Barbour's interpretation. Although there was general disagreement over the last number in the year date; some declaring for 1505, 1504 or 1502,⁶⁰ nobody could present an example of a 15th or 16th century medieval date contracted to the degree of omitting the thousand-year nominal, or give an example, nor explain why the bellmaker would present the date in such a way, considering the space constraint on the *inscribed* bell was not so debilitating to force the omission of key words. The only argument given was, '*It must be AD 1500, with the thousand-year nominal deliberately omitted to save space.*' However, this opinion fails, considering the complete absence of this practice and the potential 'empty space' available on the inscription line for the inclusion of *Mill^o* or *M^o*.

7.4.8 Thirdly, within the date part of the inscription. Barbour had read the mark above the 'I' as a general identifier for abbreviation (explaining the missing 'N' from the contraction of *quingentesimo*). However, a short horizontal line above part of a word, generally accepted as one of the abbreviators in Latin palaeography,⁶¹ is not necessarily employed in epigraphy. The identical mark above the 'I' is repeated above the 'C' and 'R' of 'SACR[O]' earlier in the inscription, although these marks were offset from the letter characters below. In these cases, the marks on the bead line did not represent an abbreviation as there is no omission requiring an indicator. It follows, short horizontal marks above the bead-line were employed probably as the bellfounder's marks, strategically placed to 'sign off' their work. However, we cannot necessarily discount the mark above the 'I' as a bellmakers mark, as its placement does differ, as it sits squarely over the 'I' and has proximity to an 'o' above the 'E' (indicating truncation). Even so, there is enough space on the inscription line to include the letter 'N' if it was required.⁶²

7.4.9 Abbreviations in palaeography are used to save space on the paper and the scribe's time (costly items in the medieval period). However, abbreviation in epigraphy is used only to save space, not time. There was very little reason, in terms of space, to omit the single

⁶⁰ It was interesting to note, all the palaeographic specialists given the inscription and its full context, all offered the 'accepted' sixteenth century date, without a consensus over the last numeral. However, when a separate group of palaeographic specialists were denied the context of the inscription, in terms of the bell location, house name, and sponsor, none of the palaeographic specialists produced any sixteenth century date interpretations.

⁶¹ Capell A. Heimann D. (transl.).Kay R. (transl.), 1982, *The Elements of Abbreviation in Medieval Latin Palaeography*, p 13.

⁶² The inscription on the *Inscribed bell* of Holywood is made up of 47 characters (including spaces), whereas the similar sized 15th century bell of Holm Cultram has 63 characters (including spaces).

letter ‘N’, never mind show the omission, even if this is common scribal abbreviation, there seems little need on the bell to employ it, not to mention there are shorter, better ways to contract the number five hundred on a date inscription that would assure clarity, especially in the post 15th century period.

- 7.4.10 The main conflict however with recognizing the mark above the ‘I’ as an abbreviator, is its discord with the rest of the inscription, as outside *sigla*, no usual scribal abbreviation is used on the bell. Instead, epigraphical mark and bespoke character form contraction.
- 7.4.11 Often truncated legends on artefact, especially those using *sigla* are indiscernible. Scribal abbreviation, used for clarity, is often messy and so is absent on inscription as it significantly interrupts flow and appearance of the design. Thus, we should not expect such scribal abbreviation to appear on the bell’s inscription, particularly as the bellmaker has already took such steps to avoid it.
- 7.4.12 The other presumption Barbour makes, is the word QUIGE^o is abbreviation of QUI[N]GE[NTESIMO], *five hundred*, when it could read as QUI[NQUA]GE[SIMO], or *fifty*, giving greater need for an abbreviator. Other bell examples merely shorten the written numeral and add a superscript ‘o’ to finish the word in the correct sense. Thus, the appearance of an abbreviator over the ‘I’ misleads more than assists, as it still relies on the reader to make sense of the abbreviation used and assume which number is presented.
- 7.4.13 Consideration was given to the fact on the remainder of inscription, truncation was given over to *sigla* for common words and epigraphical and bespoke character representation for abbreviation, ie., there is no scribal palaeographic abbreviation exhibited (apart from the *sigla*), except the ‘o’ above the ‘e’ which is common use on engraved numbers associated with dating paradigms throughout the middle ages, indicating the ablative case (ie, the ‘us’ ending Latin written numbers becomes an ‘o’). It was reasoned therefore the mark above the ‘I’ probably was not intended by the bellmaker as an abbreviator.
- 7.4.14 At the end of the inscription, Barbour read the last character as a ‘V’ or ‘5’. (See [Figure 28](#)). The design of the tile characters completely differs from the rest of the letterform used. The character is created with two separate strokes, and the tile does not follow the line of the inscription, instead extending toward the bead line and therefore is more likely signing off the legend, with either the numeral [*IJ*], or two, or perhaps, even the bellmakers initials. However, the consensus amongst the study group was it was the numeral II, (or *secondo*—*two*), and there seemed little evidence to question it. It must be said, the importance of the number erring by a single digit or two added little to the overall consideration of the age of the bell.

- 7.4.15 With the inscription presented in a Lombardic-style letterform, described by an early epigraphist as *Rude Lombardic*,⁶³ with spade like finials similar to *insular unical*, together with the use of *sigla* (one letter representations of common words, adopted from the Roman system), the inscription presents a configuration far more suited to an earlier date rather than a later 16th century date. And whereas nothing prevents the letterform appearing on later objects in the cause of replication, design or homage, the presentation is completely free from any design that appears on 16th century metalwork.
- 7.4.16 Finally, and most critically, with the name *Welch* effectively removed from the inscription by the study, and as no abbots were recorded against the abbey's inclusive listing in the 16th century with the name *Wrich*, *W.Rich*, *W.Riche* or *Weich*, Barbour's and RCAHMS proposed date of 1505 no longer made any sense.
- 7.4.17 In comparison to the closest confirmed early 16th century bell; the *model* bell of Holm Cultram Abbey. (*See Figure 18*), there were discrepancies too significant to ignore. Even though care was taken not to rely upon direct comparison of bells from different bell foundries, each artisan being unique in his approach, the differences in the Holm Cultram bell and the Holywood bell were striking. The ornamented inscription on the Holm Cultram bell leaves no ambiguity over the date or letterform used, its limited truncation is more in keeping with 15th century expectation.
- 7.4.18 The existence of the Cultram bell, makes it even more difficult to accept why a 16th century Holywood bellmaker would offer a date so incomplete, in such an undecorated archaic heavily truncated letterform. Clearly, a similarly presented date of *Anno Dni MILL° D° (or IO) V°* (1505) would have presented far better clarity of date within the same space available. There was no need for the bellmaker to eliminate the key identifier for one thousand (*M* or *millesimo*), not to mention, notwithstanding the medieval practice of mixed text/numeral dating, the roman numeral D, or IO was surely a better, economical, contraction than *quintgentesimo* (five hundred). The bellmaker had already demonstrated clarity and artistry on the first part of the inscription, and so surely an incomplete and untidy contraction was unworthy of this medieval artisan.
- 7.4.19 Several experts attributed the omissions on the date to a foundry, scribe, or engraver's possible error. This was a common assertion presented by specialists unable to explain anomaly, preferring to degrade medieval competence, mind, and skillset, rather than offer the possibility of their own misinterpretation, misunderstanding or ignorance. It was proffered by the authors, how many modern procurers would accept such gross delinquency from their suppliers of cherished goods? Was the consumer for prize items in the medieval epoch any less exacting? The quality of the bell's manufacture, regardless of age was obvious. The bellmaker was a skilled artisan, evidenced by the presented precision on the bell. It was unreasonable to expect gross error and the sponsor to accept such an oversight, on what will have been both a costly and solemnly offered donation to Holy Church, and so error on the bell was discounted by the study.

⁶³ Hope W. (1887), *Seals of English Bishops*, Proc Soc. Ant., xi p 271

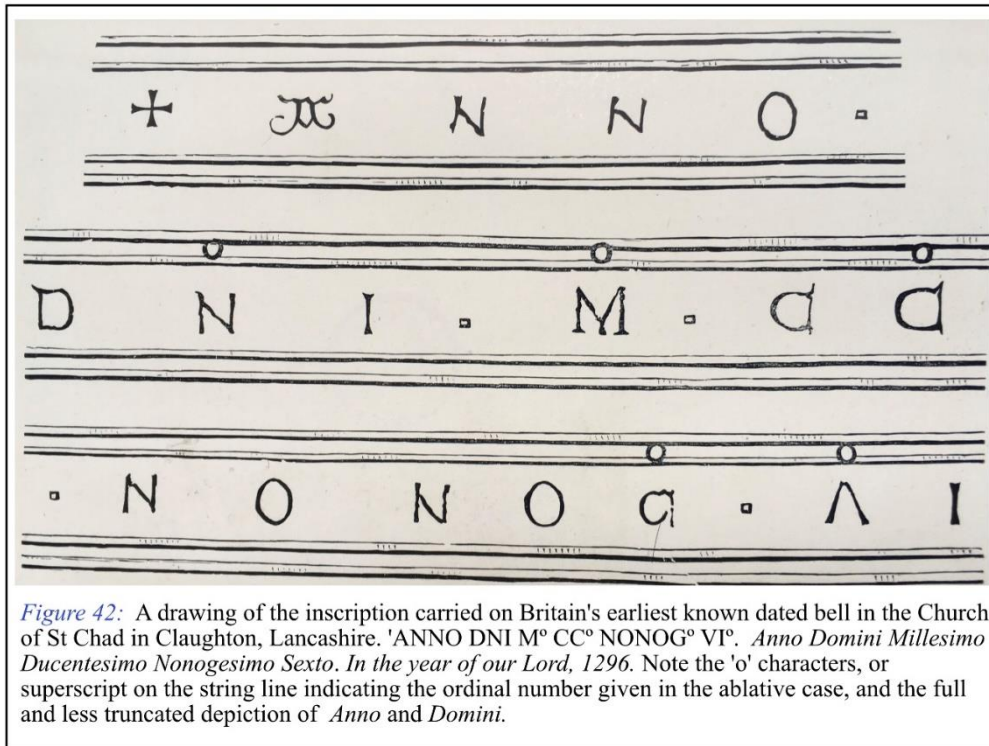
- 7.4.20 In addition of experts citing their own competence over the bellmaker's skill was the frustration of other experts deferring translation, offering statements such as, '*...the form of inscription and contraction changed over time, so translation was difficult,*' only then to go on to replicate Barbour's translation, or decline to offer any alternative proposal.
- 7.4.21 Considering all the points raised above, it was felt Barbour's date translation had little to do with the evidence on the bell. It was, instead, contrivance to corroborate the abbot's name he had fixed within his hypothesis.

7.5 *Re-interpreting the dating inscription*

- 7.5.1 No expert would offer plausible alternatives for Barbour's supposition. It was accepted Latin translation is often challenging, with various ways to read both abbreviation and the construct of phrasing, to make sense in modern English. Nevertheless, it was thought peculiar no Latin student, academic or even our own engaged experts would offer up any idea other than Barbour's. Although there was adequate source material from the 16th century to compare inscription, there was simply not enough recognised words and too little inscription available from the 12th century to make any definitive postulated translation, based on material example. Thus, with too little interpretable inscription for the authors to form an accurate reading, a translation was not presumed within the authors' initial report,⁶⁴ accepting medieval inscriptions were often obtuse, littered with obsolete Latin terms, alternative spellings, bewildering usage, absent of conjunction and preposition, so much so, to become decipherable only to the engraver, their contemporaries, and sponsors.
- 7.5.2 It was the failure to procure academic assistance in the wake of the first report that forced the authors to interrogate the last part of the inscription and the dating conundrum it presented. The truncation on the bell was very economic, so it indicated common use *sigla* phrasing and abbreviators, and so it was probably not a unique, wordy declaration or invocation, but perhaps simple well-used expressions for the period, whichever period that may be. The authors took the approach the date conundrum was nothing more than a cryptogram, and a solution to the translation was deemed eminently possible, especially without the experts' 'prejudiced' eye.

⁶⁴ Huitson M. Bonde R. *Myth and Mystery; the bells of Holywood*, Version 1, 8.6.2021.

7.5.3 If the bell dated from the 14th century, it would be expected a year date would be given after the letters 'A D', adhering to the dating paradigm, *Anno Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. To a 'conditioned' mind, wanting to read a plausible medieval date following [A] [D], it is perhaps not surprising it may read 'QUIGE' for *quingentesimo* - five hundred, 'filling in' the missing one-thousand-year nominal and missing 'N' to suit expectation and prejudice. However, it would also be expected that a less truncated version of 'A D' would be employed on a later holy relic, eg., *Anno Dni*, as given on the Holm Cultram bell and the oldest recorded dated bell at Claughton in Lancashire.



7.5.4 Conversely, if the bell dated from the 12th century, as was the conflict between the original record and Barbour's supposition, a date would not be expected, and truncation may be a little more extreme; dating back to the use of single letters to denote whole words in the Roman period. Regardless of Bede's dating paradigm, *Anno Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, no dated bell had been discovered older than 1296, despite the reports of medieval bells in existence, believed to be older than the late 13th century. It could be presumed, as in early 12th century charter documents and donations dating was usually excluded, perhaps the final part of the inscription did not carry a traditional 'AD' year dating paradigm but perhaps a unique stand-alone evocation, or a dating paradigm similar to the regnal system that had been in existence long before *Anno Domini nostri Jesu Christi*.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ From the late third and early second millennium BC, calendars were counted in terms of the number of years of the reign of the current monarch.

The 'A. D.' Aenigma

- 7.5.5 There was the implication *sigla* (initials) were being used in 'I' for *Iesous*, 'A' for *annus/anno* and 'D' for *domini/dominio*, which by the 15th century had long been surpassed with less radical truncation on inscription. However, without a comprehensive data base of peer reference, it was deemed unwise to judge the bell's dating model on this premise alone.



Figure 43: An example of abbreviation of *Anno Domini* in Crowned-Lombardic, preceding a early year date on a mortar cast from bell metal by Friar William de Towthorpe in 1308. Note the engraver adds a superscript 'O' over the 'A' for 'Anno' and a superscript 'I' over the 'D' for 'Domini', demonstrating the preference for less truncated abbreviations, even for obvious terms.

- 7.5.6 With 'A' (for *anno* – years) commencing a potential new line of inscription and a recognised ordinal number in the ablative case ending the legend, a number of years is proclaimed, akin to the ancient *regnal system* of dating, indicating the bell sponsors' or master/lord's time in tenure. Or, much less likely, and perhaps irrelevant as a recognised medieval dating paradigm on a donation to Holy Church, the phrasing could be a recognition of the age of the master/lord. The hypothesis would certainly explain the lack of the thousand-year nominal postulated by Barbour.
- 7.5.7 Supporting this theory was the deliberate spacing of the 'A' and the next tile carrying the 'D' on the inscription, indicative on the engraving of two detached words or phrases with perhaps no intrinsic connection. The 'A' and 'D' presented are undisputable common contractions for medieval Latin words; *Annus* (Year) and *Dominus* (Master), and it is only presumption to translate their proximity to each other as *Anno Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, the 'D' instead standing for *Dominus* (secular lord or religious master), or *Dux* (commander or leader), or even *Deus* (God).
- 7.5.8 The common phrasing *Anno Domini* (AD) does not necessarily follow if the bell was 12th century. Also, there was perhaps unnecessary emphasis by the bellmaker with the deliberate contortion of the letter 'D'. Although there was no 'D' represented on the bell for reference, it was expected the missing stem, as demonstrated in the 'B' characters, would be replicated in the 'D'. Instead, a forced shape, of what appears to be styled as a fish or *ichthys*, is shown, and so is perhaps significant to the meaning.

The 'Q' conundrum

7.5.9 A conflict raised by the authors in versions 1-3 of this report, was the potential absence of the 'Q' on the 'date' part of the inscription. In examination, with the bell insitu, there appeared to be no defined ligature between the 'O' and its triangular shaped tail, unlike the other well-defined characters on the bell. (see Figure 36).

Also, the tile was made significantly larger than the other tiles to accommodate the letter's grossly oversized tail, thus potentially taking up valuable space on the bell's inscription than was necessary. It was originally reasoned by the authors the character may be an 'O' with a triangular shaped period following. However, with the bell removed and unrestricted inspection, the letter character was found to be a 'Q' as there was definite trace of a ligature joining the O and the triangle character.

7.5.10 On first acceptance the letter was a Q, it raised uncertainty, as it jarred appearance and disrupted the flow of the design. By the time the bells had been removed, the authors had become very intimate with the bellmaker's work, and the 'Q' character



Figure 44. Detail of the letter 'Q' used on the final part of the inscription, showing ligature not immediately apparent when the bell was viewed inside the belfry.

simply did not sit well with the invention and execution of the remainder of the inscription and in particular the bespoke characters with their well-defined ligature. It was considered the letter tile 'Q' had been produced by another individual, or more likely, the letter had formed a set of already pre-carved

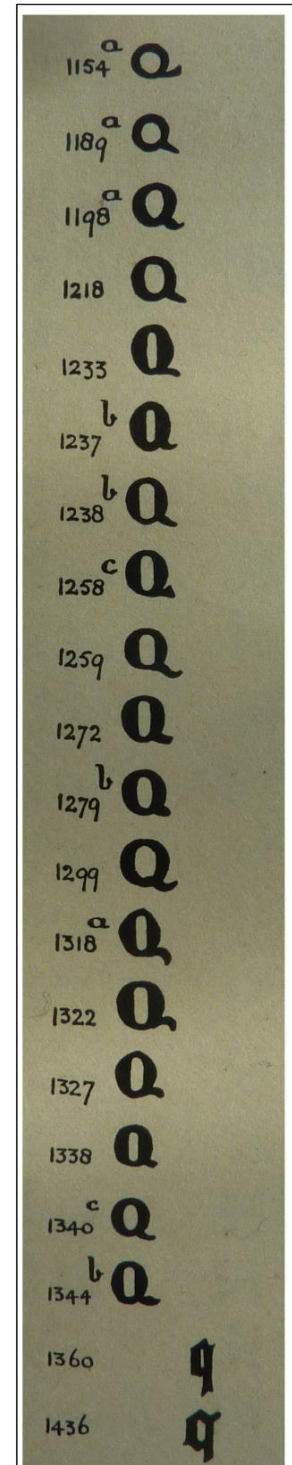


Figure 45. Examples of 'Q' letter form used in medieval engraving, taken from H.S Kingsford's, *The Epigraphy of Medieval English Seals* (1928)

letter moulds, which may explain the deviant form of the letter from the remainder of the inscription, particularly the bespoke characters for ‘ler’ and ‘Nemore’, carved specifically for the *inscribed* bell, which would explain the better quality of the underlying ligatures on those items.

- 7.5.11 Searching for examples of the ‘Q’ presented on the bell, it led to a paper produced in 1928, by H.S. Kingsford, *The Epigraphy of Medieval English seals*. Kingsford, expanding on the work carried out by G Demay⁶⁶ and Sir Willian Hope,⁶⁷ set out a collection of letterform design employed on medieval English seals. Using over three hundred examples of dated seals, he recorded precise letter-shape and form. Kingsford records the scarcity of the letter ‘Q’ and so examples are few. However, the earliest example he records, from the first *Great Seal of Henry II* (1154), is the closest match to the ‘Q’ represented on the bell’s inscription, and whereas this cannot be used as proof positive of the bell’s age, another Q form with a rising tail (although with a much reduced tail) is shown against seal dated 1258, only corroborates testimony the inscription on the bell is better regarded as earlier rather than later, when the tails of the letter ‘Q’ are depicted with a much more diminutive relationship to the body of the letter shaped like an ‘O’, finally giving way, in the main, to *Blackletter* forms.
- 7.5.12 With the assumption the letter tile is a ‘Q’ and is in union with the remaining four letter-tiles, implying association, the Q was considered to be the commencement of a number, giving two possible number interpretations presented on the bell, with a third number present if the ‘Q’ was indicative of an abbreviator for a conjunction, word or phrase conditioning the number following.
- 7.5.13 The first number is, five-hundred and two, QUI[N]GE[NTESIMO] II (SECUNDO), *quingentesimo secundo*. If it is the case the number is given in illustration of the sponsor’s time or tenure as master/lord, a number inscription, five-hundred-and-two makes very little sense, and so was discounted.
- 7.5.14 The second number is, fifty-two, QUI[NQUA]GE[SIMO] II (SECUNDO), *quingagesimo secundo*. This gives greater purpose to the potential of an abbreviator above the ‘I’, as it replaces ‘NQUA’, and not simply ‘N’ as proposed by Barbour. However, as discussed in 7.4.12, it was felt an abbreviator was not meant by the bellmaker. Nevertheless, the proposal of ‘fifty-two’ still required consideration.
- 7.5.15 The number, fifty-two, was contemplated perhaps indicative of the sponsor’s age, but without any case study found to support the hypothesis, it seemed questionable to include a person’s age on an inscription to a holy artefact. The number also seemed high if it was a declaration of the sponsor’s tenure over a religious house, considering the usual age required for entering an abbacy was around thirty.⁶⁸ But again, caution was applied to this conjecture as it was not uncommon for religious office to be

⁶⁶ Demay G. (1881), *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Normandie*

⁶⁷ Hope W. (1887), *Seals of English Bishops*, Proc. Soc. Ant., xi, 271

⁶⁸ Herbermann, Charles, ed. (1913). *Abbot, Catholic Encyclopaedia*, New York: Robert Appleton Company

procured for sons of nobles as young as nineteen (eg., Bishop Odo de Bayeux). Doubt was expressed the number was a declaration of the tenure of a secular lordship, in contempt of both the reigning sovereign and Christ's term of authority, and again it seems questionable to include such a declaration of a period of secular rule on an offering to Church and God by an ecclesiastic, indicated by the term '*abbas*' - *father*.

- 7.5.16 Considering the possibility the number *quingvigesimo quarto* (fifty-four) could be present on the bell, it was ventured the ministers Johnson and Kirkwood may have thought the bellmaker also deliberately omitted the nominal, *millesimo centesimo* (1100) from the bell, and they too had misread the 'two' as a 'four.' For this to be the case, unlike Barbour who had a supposed number *quingentesimo* (500) to work with, the ministers would need a term of reference to construct the whole date, ie., something with a 12th century year upon it. The only way this was possible, would be to have the first part of the date on another inscription or document with *Wrich* appearing upon it. If that was the case, they would presumably have the whole date, therefore the premise the ministers mirrored Barbour's supposition and thought the bellmaker omitted part of the date was discounted.
- 7.5.17 The third number possibly presented on the bell is twenty-two, VIGE^o[SIMO] II (SECUNDO), *vigesimo secundo*, which requires the 'Q' to represent a separate common use conjunction/word/phrase such as, *quum*, *quoniam*, *quod*, *quando*, *quandoquidem*, conditioning the sentence that includes the words 'years', 'master' and an ordinal number. However, the tile containing the 'Q', unlike the tiles carrying the 'A', 'D' and 'II', is attached to the tiles 'VIGE^o', containing the number *vigesimo* (twenty), implying the abbreviated 'Q' word in attachment, directly conditions the ordinal number following such as *quum-vigesimo*—twenty-fold. This third option removes the presence of the mark above the 'I' as indication of abbreviation, returning it to a possible bellmaker's mark.
- 7.5.18 With '*domini*' (master) introduced into to the phrase along with '*annos*' (years), and in consideration the Latin cross on Fecit create two separate proclamations, the inscription 'A D QVIGE^o II', conceivably reads, '*Annos Dominus quum-vigesimo secundo.*' '*Master for twenty-fold and two years*, or *Twenty-fold and two years as master*'.
- 7.5.19 Without an explicit translation of the 'Q', however, other early medieval use Latin words came into play, such as *quondam* (former), or even *Quirites* (mounted warrior).⁶⁹ The authors however, felt their employment, without evidence to regard them as common related usage, was worth mentioning only.
- 7.5.20 The proposal in 7.5.18, explains why the bellmaker demonstrably detached the first and second half of the inscription with the insertion of the cross from 'T' rather than a simple space break to indicate a comma, linking the two phrases. Consideration was therefore given that the second half of the inscription was a separate pronouncement

⁶⁹ Latham R. E., M.A. (1973) *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list from British and Irish Sources*, London, Oxford Press, pp 385-390

employed as a dating paradigm independent of the first part, citing the sponsor as master of an office potentially free from other ecclesiastical or secular authority (hence why a regnal date may not have been used), and not necessarily specifically related to the term of the sponsor's 'abbacy.'

- 7.5.21 Previously mentioned, the 'D' was deliberately stylized by the bellmaker, possibly as an *ichthys*-sign of the fish (*Jesus Christ, son of God, saviour*), which represents a Christian temporal being rather than Jesus himself, (See Figure 35) it follows the 'D' may not mean *Domini*, as in 'our Lord, Jesus Christ, but as the recognized medieval Latin contraction for *Dominus*, the honorific given to a superior of a religious or familial house. Closing the finials to form the stylised 'D', enhancing the bowl. may be why the bellmaker omitted the stems from the 'B' characters, so providing consistency in the design of the letterform, but this is entirely supposition.
- 7.5.22 Without interrogating the bellmaker to understand the explicit intention and translation of the final phrase on the *inscribed* bell, in both original Latin text and French/Anglo medieval interpretation, the authors could not be certain of the final inscription's true translation, and in turn its literal meaning in modern English. However, the prime elements of 'year', 'master', and the number 'twenty-two' provided the most compelling argument for the content of the phrase, related to the year of the sponsor's tenure as master of a religious house over which the bell sat, or the religious community which inhabited it.
- 7.5.23 It was far less likely to be a declaration of the sponsor's age, or his secular lordship that sponsored Sacro Nemore. However, it would only be the study of the sponsor that could give a better understanding of the final part of the inscription and its implication. It would be imprudent to present a proposal for the final part of the inscription without further knowledge of the sponsor. So, the authors, decided to leave the final part of the legend 'open to interpretation' until the sponsor was defined.

8.0 The 'Shield' Bell

8.1 Description

- 8.1.1 The east-facing cast bronze, long-waisted, *shield* bell, in fine tone, carries a note C. The bell is 38 cm tall, 41 cm in diameter at the mouth and 26 cm at the shoulder. The width of the metal at the sound-bow (mouth) is around 3 cm, and exhibits chipping because of pre-18th century tuning activity. Its weight is estimated around 90-100 kilograms. There is weathering, but no sign of cracking or bronze disease, although one of its canons is missing, sheared, replaced by an iron bolt in antiquity. There are no records pre or post 1779 of the bell being recast, and no reason to suspect the bell is not the original. The bell differs greatly from the *inscribed* bell in that its casting is rough and inelegant. The surface is coarse due to manufacture, and the beading flat and ill-defined.



8.1.2 Barbour notes; ‘...the design is peculiar, showing an assemblage of five broad, flat, rounded beads under the shoulder and three similar beads over the sound-bow, which, with its elongated shape, gives the bell a quaint and ancient appearance.’ The bell carries an armorial device, contained within an *old-style* ‘French’ shield. Measuring 5x4 cm, it is flanked by two characters, approximately 5 cm tall, resembling a ‘V’ and what appeared initially to be a Lombardic style capital ‘K’, except it has an unusually tall ascender, twice the height of its bowl and leg. There are no other symbols or foundry marks on the bell outside bead decoration on both upper and lower sections.



Figure 47: Decoration on the *shield bell*

8.2 *Manufacture*

8.2.1 The profile, weight and measurements were sent to several bell conservationists. It was determined the bell was ‘*long-waisted/tall-waisted*’, an archaic design akin to bells of pre-13th century manufacture. This corroborated the view of previous inspection (Barbour and RCAHMS), and visual inspection (photographic) by both United Kingdom based bell preservationists and international museum specialists. At the time, it meant little to the authors, as although differences in the shape with the *inscribed* bell were obvious, there seemed little difference between the bell against other bells of continental manufacture and some 16th and 17th century bells of Spanish origin. However, it was explained that photographic representations, not being in profile, were often deceptive.



Figure 48. The *shield* bell's inscription and arrangement of cannons viewed after the bell was removed from the church tower. One cannon is missing, when the damage was caused is unknown. The image to the right shows the 'long-waisted' shape attributed to the bell.

8.2.2 The differences in manufacture between the *shield* bell and *inscribed* bell are significant, chiefly in terms of quality. Production of the *shield* bell was probably less than ideal, indicated by the roughness and imprecision of the casting, irregularity of the applied crosses to the armorial, and distortions to the resulting cast. Instead of characters being formed on the bench and applied to the mould, it appears the characters were formed directly on the false bell prior to casting. It is safe to assume the *shield* bell was not cast at the same location as the *inscribed* bell, or by the same bellmaker. Monastery bells, were at times, cast on site by either a monk skilled in bronze casting, or itinerant bellmakers. Unlike the *inscribed* bell which displays foundry and bellmaker's marks, the *shield* bell shows no such discernible indicators. Although the long-waisted bell shape suited an expectation of an early manufactured bell,⁷⁰ the authors found insufficient local data to make a confident assessment of the bell's age only on this premise.

⁷⁰ Kelly D J, (2019), Keltek Trust (Church bell special interest group); ‘*The earliest bells in England date from the 11th century and their tall long-waisted shape is quite different to most bells cast from the 14th century onwards.*’

8.3 Initials



Figure 49: Close-up view of shield bell decoration

8.3.1 With regards to the initials flanking the armorial bearing, the College of Arms considered the initials to be V RL, or V LR, the last character being conjoined Lombardic capitals L and R, with a caveat that; *‘...the initials could stand for the name of the donor, the manufacturer, or an abbreviation of a prayer or pious injunction.’* (Cheesman 2021).

8.3.2 Barbour and RCAHMS had proposed the initials to be V K, however, with regards to a Lombardic K, the character’s ascender is twice the height of the leg and bowl, not usual for a Lombardic capital K. This was evidenced by the Lombardic letter ‘K’ demonstrated on available seals and inscriptions, all represented with short ascenders, so a conjoined Lombardic R and L as suggested by the College of Arms was certainly feasible and confirmed by the study’s palaeographical expert (Marcos, 2021).

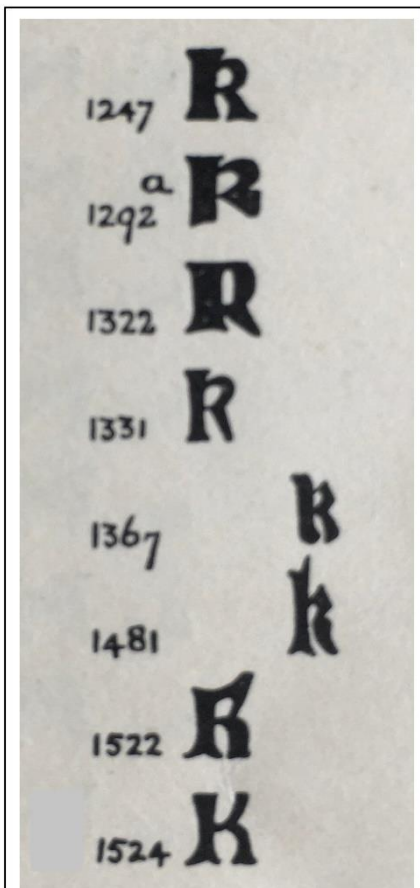


Figure 50. Examples of 'K' letter form used in medieval engraving, taken from H.S Kingsford's, *The Epigraphy of Medieval English Seals* (1928)

8.3 *Decoration*

- 8.3.1 James Barbour proposed the decoration unlikely to be a bellmaker's icon, and the armorial was not found amongst known foundry marks. Because of the shield's overtly religious iconography, it was thought to belong to the founder, patron, religious house, or head of house. In general terms, the chevron, one of the early ordinaries in heraldry, appears, especially in Normandy. Two prevailing theories suggest; a signifier of protection, ie., a representation of the rafter which holds up a roof, or a representation of the hill where Christ was crucified.
- 8.3.2 There are three heraldic charges, Latin crosses, that in a historical Christian setting, irrevocably indicate connection to Holy Church and/or crusade, so considering the bell's ecclesiastical legend, and its home within a Norman-styled church building, the armorial is of no surprise. There are no indication of the colours of the field, charges or ordinaires, and no obvious traces of paint or previous colourisation of the armorial.
- 8.3.3 Photographs of the armorial device and initials were sent to *The College of Arms*, with the instruction the bell, in private ownership, came from a Scottish ecclesiastical building and was thought to date between the 12th and 16th century. Exact location was withheld to prevent existing histories prejudicing the College of Arms investigation. Extensive research into available heraldic databases was also carried out by the authors, in particular seeking armorials dating from the 12th to the 16th centuries, with a Scottish, English, French and/or Norman connection to both the Scottish Church and Dumfriesshire.

8.4 *Armorial*

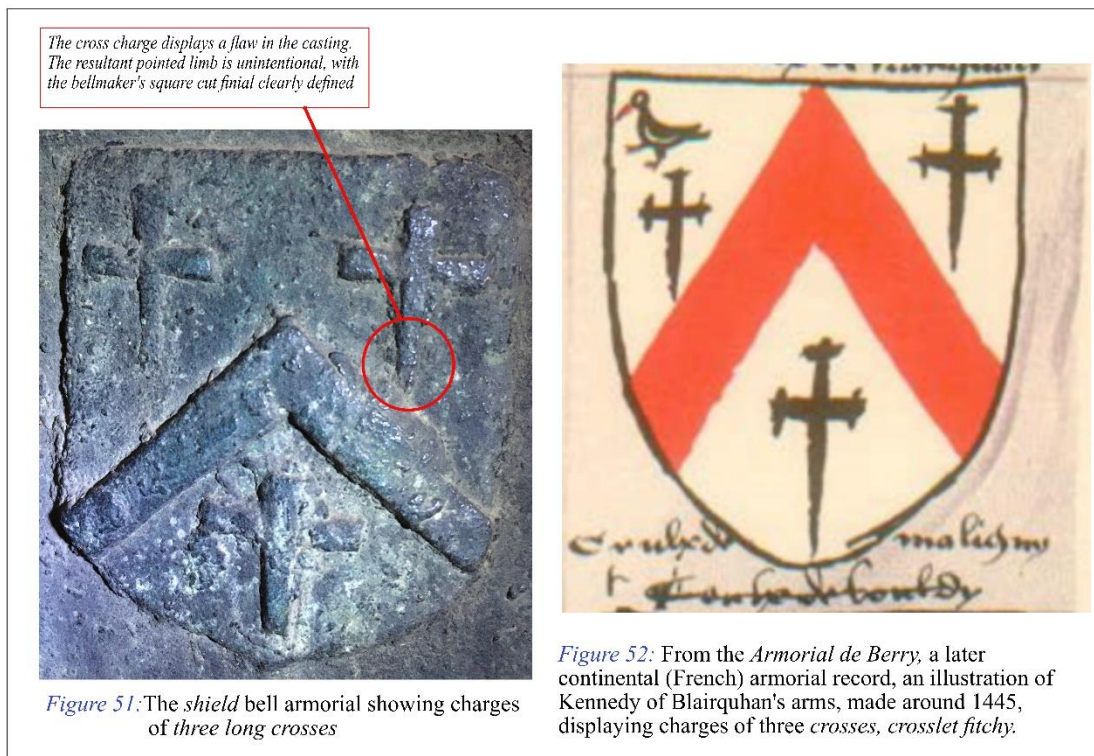
- 8.4.1 Both Barbour and RCAHMS identified the armorial as belonging to William Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel and commendator of Holywood about 1527; *'...under the shoulder beading is a shield flanked with initial letters, I at first thought might be the bell-founders stamp and initials of his name, but after more mature consideration a different conclusion was reached. The shield is charged with a chevron between three crosses fitchy, the Kennedy arms, and it seemed probable that the flanking letters V. K. might be the initials of William Kennedy.'* (Barbour, 1898) (See Appendix I). *'The latter is charged with a chevron between three cross-crosslets fitchy, being the arms of William Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel and commendator of Holywood about 1527'.* (RCAHMS, 1920.) (See Appendix II).
- 8.4.2 They both make surprising errors in observation, in the cross-form which features on the bell; a Latin long cross, does not correspond to the Kennedy armorial. Barbour incorrectly quotes Kennedy's armorial as; *'a chevron between **three crosses** fitchy,'* instead of a chevron between three **cross-crosslets** fitchy. One cross in superficial observation resembles a cross fitchy, so this may have led Barbour's hypothesis. However, there was no excuse for the RCAHMS inspector, aware of the correct Kennedy coat of arms to make such an error in observation.

- 8.4.3 The *shield* bell (*see Figure 49*), displays three flat-based Latin long crosses, not cross-crosslets fitchy as featured on Kennedy's coat of arms (*see Figure 52*). Though the device upon the bell is small, only 5 cm tall, the design is as large as the bellmaker needed it to be. There is no restriction on the bell to limit the designer, so any approximation of the sponsor's armorial for space constraint was unnecessary. With over two hundred different cross forms, no room for approximation is plausible, as legal precision in heraldry had existed from c.1250,⁷¹ graphically demonstrated in the 1300 siege of Caerlaverock (less than nine miles from Holywood), involving a detailed account of over one hundred nobles' and knights' banners, armorials, and shields (Holywood's armorial not amongst them) and a legal challenge over the right to bear a specific coat of arms. In substantiation, there is a celebrated case of *Scrope against Grosvenor* in the reign of *Richard II*. The arms, *a field azure and a bend or*, were claimed by no less than three families, namely, *Carminow of Cornwall*, *Lord Scrope*, and *Sir Robert Grosvenor*. Resolution involved a trial by combat and a five-year-long legal battle.
- 8.4.4 Photographs of the armorial device, sent to the College of Arms to help in identification, were returned with details of the closest candidates to the bell's shield device. (*See Appendix IV.*) The college described the crosses, in terms of heraldry, as long crosses, plain with an elongated lower limb, describing the other limbs being slightly splayed (described as formy or pattee), and indicating elongated limbs could be pointed (a plain cross fitchy). (*Cheesman 2021*)
- 8.4.5 The appearance of an elongated limb on one cross is a casting flaw, as seen throughout the bell, particularly on the shield's upper righthand charge (*see Figure 36*). *Ghosting* around the cross gives the appearance of a pointed finial, but there is clarity in the square terminal formed to the cross as the bellmaker intended. Gross irregularity of the applied crosses, also evident, and the appearance of slightly splayed arms (formy) to the Latin crosses is in part due to the photographic enlargement of the shield image, emphasising flaw and asymmetry. In reality, and considering the engraved shield is only 5 cm square, the splaying of the cross arms is far too subtle to be intended. This can also be said to apply to the appearance of the slight elongation of the lower limb. As there is no consistency to the design throughout the charges, outside the depictions of long Latin crosses, and no point is formed in terminal, it is difficult to validate the crosses with any confidence as either cross formy/pattee or cross-fitchy. And as the crosses are certainly not crosslet, thus, the armorial does not represent Kennedy's coat of arms.

⁷¹ Woodbine, G. (1943). *The Language of English Law. Speculum*, XVIII(4), pp. 395-436.

The Templar Bells of Scotland

An investigation into the origins of the bells in a Dumfriesshire church



- 8.4.6 Only one armorial matching the *shield bell* was found by the College of Arms—*Austin of Walpole in Norfolk*.⁷² Red (*Gules*) with a chevron and long crosses in gold (*Or*). With a direct match returning from the College of Arms, an extensive genealogical search of the Austin family line was carried out for the period 1120 to 1750.
- 8.4.7 The Austin name and its variants, like many modern surnames originates with the Norman conquest, migrating throughout England, Ireland and Scotland throughout the Middle Ages. It is not until 1296 before we see a *Lamb fitz* (son of) *Austyn of Newburn* (Newburn, Fife, Scotland) being mentioned on charter in connection with a declaration of fealty to Edward I.⁷³ Lamb, son of Austin of Newburn was a farmer, tenant of the Bishop of Fife. From that point Austin is generally recorded as a lesser division or *sept* of the Keith clan, their chief, Robert de Keith a Scottish knight; a hereditary *Marischal* of Scotland and officer under Robert the Bruce, bearing arms in 1316 of *argent, on a chief gules, three palets or*.
- 8.4.8 The first recorded use of the name Austin in England is in the county of Worcestershire in 1275, but it is unclear from the entry in JW Papworth's 19th century, *Ordinary of British Armorial*s, when the Austins of Walpole were awarded their coat of arms;

⁷² Papworth J W (1874) *Ordinary of British Armorial*s, Vol.1 p 412

⁷³ *Instrumental Publica*, pp. 147-8 (Ragman Roll)

plausibly in the 14th century, but perhaps as late as the 17th century, as there is no detail to confirm when the armorial was granted.

- 8.4.9 Search through ecclesiastical charter, correspondence and record did not reveal any evident Austin connection to the Scottish Church, but no search could be exhaustive, so Austin could not be excluded from the abbacy of Holywood before 1474. However, without a match for the initials on the *shield* bell, no record of bell making (in consideration the shield could be a foundry mark), a total absence of the Norfolk Austin line from Scottish history, and nothing else to connect the two except a similarity of arms, the proposition; Austin of Walpole as a sponsor or abbot, was considered plausible, but unlikely. It was further judged doubtful any Scottish branch of Austin would carry the arms of Austin of Walpole, and with the Austin's armorial likely created after the 13th century, there was no reason to expect to find it on a pre-13th century pattern bell. Wary of assigning Austin of Walpole as the sponsor of a Scottish border abbey, as it generated more doubt than corroboration, Austin was discounted as a sponsor of the bell.
- 8.4.10 The College of Arms proposed a further seven similar armorials (albeit with alternative cross forms on the charges), but the college was not able to match the armorial on the *shield* bell with a credible candidate, nor with the initials V RL/LR. Extensive genealogical enquiry (studying the period 1200-1600) on each candidate revealed nothing evident in relation to the Scottish Church, the region, third-party connection to known abbots, potential sponsors, or connection with any specific associated religious order.
- 8.4.11 Separate enquiry was made to the *Heraldry Society of Scotland*, within their resources, including the *Mitchell Rolls* of English, Scottish and continental sources, including *Nisbet's, A System of Heraldry*, as well as several other well-known published references ([See Appendix IV](#)). Every enquiry failed to reveal a match, but no search could be judged comprehensive, or as complete as the College of Arms. As not all armorials are recorded, not finding the armorial did not exclude it from any period of the abbey's existence.
- 8.4.12 With an absence of the history of abbots up to the latter part of the 15th century, and incomplete armorial records and a total absence of armorial record up to the 13th century, it was impossible to exclude any candidate, bearing similar unrecorded arms to the *shield* bell.
- 8.4.13 However, it would be the concurrence of the initials on the *shield* bell with the sponsor's name on the *inscribed* bell, and research into the *inscribed* bell's sponsor that would offer up the most plausible candidate for the armorial.

9.0 *The Sponsor's Name*

9.1 *W le Riche*

- 9.1.1 Once the only credible explanation was assigned to the irregularities in the presentation of the sponsor's name on the *inscribed* bell, and despite the name *W le Riche* not being recorded in any contemporary charter or account connected to either Holywood or Dumfriesshire, it was a surprisingly easy trail to the sponsor's identity and some part of his legend.
- 9.1.2 In preliminary research, tracing the occurrence of the name *Wrich* in Scottish history, the name *le Riche* had already been identified as a source for the root of the name, 'Wrich', so a tentative connection was supposed, particularly if the bell was of an early date.
- 9.1.3 The name, *le Riche*, the origin of many branches of notable French, English, and Scottish aristocracy, spread its roots to the shores of Britain with *Guarin le Riche* on or soon after the Norman conquest of Britain. And whereas the name *Riche* and its possible derivatives, such as *Rich*, *Wrich*, *Wright*, *et cetera*, enter Scottish society with the Norman migration into Scotland after the first quarter of the 12th century, contemporary record of the noble name '*le Riche*' fades away in the 12th century as new titles and cognomen are created, suiting the developing Anglo-French nobility in Scotland.
- 9.1.4 To ascertain the possible sponsor's origin, *le Riche* genealogy was studied. All those with a given name commencing 'W/V' was researched to a point in family lines whereby the name *le Riche* was completely superseded by other names and titles in both Scotland and France.⁷⁴ (*See Table 1*).
- 9.1.5 One individual from the *le Riche* line, with the given name, *William*, appeared to be a plausible candidate: *William le Riche*, first son of *Robert le Riche*, Lord of Hatton de Cleveland and of Midlothian, Scotland. William offered greater potential as the candidate for the donator of the bell because his status within regnal and ecclesiastical hierarchy allowed him the resources and connections to become sponsor of Sacro Nemore. However, there was still too little information about him on record, outside witnessing royal charter and as a benefactor to the Church, and no direct connection to the Dumfries area or the abbey, to confirm an intrinsic connection with the convent at Sacro Nemore.
- 9.1.6 On Scottish charter, William is only referenced (whilst he was alive) as *Masculus*, not *le Riche* (*Leriche*), nor *de Maule*, his ancestral territorial title. There are two '*le Riche*' present on medieval charters up to 1371; *John le Riche*, who is referenced in 1292 (without origin) in connection to a John Sparke, burgess of Berwick and *Stephen le Riche* of the county of Stirling who in 1296 swears fealty to king Edward I in Berwick. There is no evidence these two individuals have any Scottish familial line and could

⁷⁴ Pattou, E. (2003). *Le Riche Full Genealogy up to 1300*. [Online] *Racine Histoire*.

easily be of French origin. Consideration was given the W le Riche named upon the bell was also of French origin, even though he could not be found in extensive (but incomplete) ‘Le Riche’ genealogical works. A William le Riche was found on English record; son and heir of Geoffrey le Riche of Sneedham, Gloucestershire, dated 1272-1307.⁷⁵ However no information could be found to connect this individual to the north of England, Scotland, or the Church.

9.1.7 With a negative result on the search for a French or English aristocratic clerical or secular candidate, named W le Riche, attention was brought back to William le Riche, under the Scottish record of William de Maule. ‘Scottish’ William is titled *Masculus* on charter in the 12th century. His immediate family: daughter along with his grandnephews are referenced as ‘*de Maulia*’ (de Maule), and by 13th century, the title de Maule is wholly adopted, even though *Masculus* exists against individuals, thought to be family but without proven family connection.

Table I: The le Riche Line from 945 – 1290 (origins)

Guillaume (William in French), le Riche	First Lord of Donjon d’Yerres	12 th century	French title and lands held. No connection found with the Scottish Church, nobility, or territory.
Guillaume, le Riche	Archdeacon of Paris	13 th century	French born and died. His French Church legend is known, with no direct connection with Scottish society or territory to support his tenure of Holywood.
William le Riche	Legal title: Willelmus Masculus, Militis (knight).	12 th century	Son of Robert le Riche, Lord of Hatton de Cleveland, companion to David I of Scotland, William is only referred to as <i>Masculus</i> on charter. No history found to confirm or preclude his potential abbacy of Holywood.
William de Maulia	Archdeacon of Lothian	13 th century	Grandnephew of William le Riche. Represented as <i>de Maulia</i> on charter. Perhaps too young to hold an abbacy of Holywood, before position of Archdeacon. Died in Lothian.
William de Maulia, de Panmure	Dominus de Panmure High Sherriff of Forfar	13 th century	Grandson of William de Maulia. Swore fealty to King Edward I in 1292, represented as <i>de Maulia</i> on charter.

9.2 The Origins of William le Riche, William II de Maule

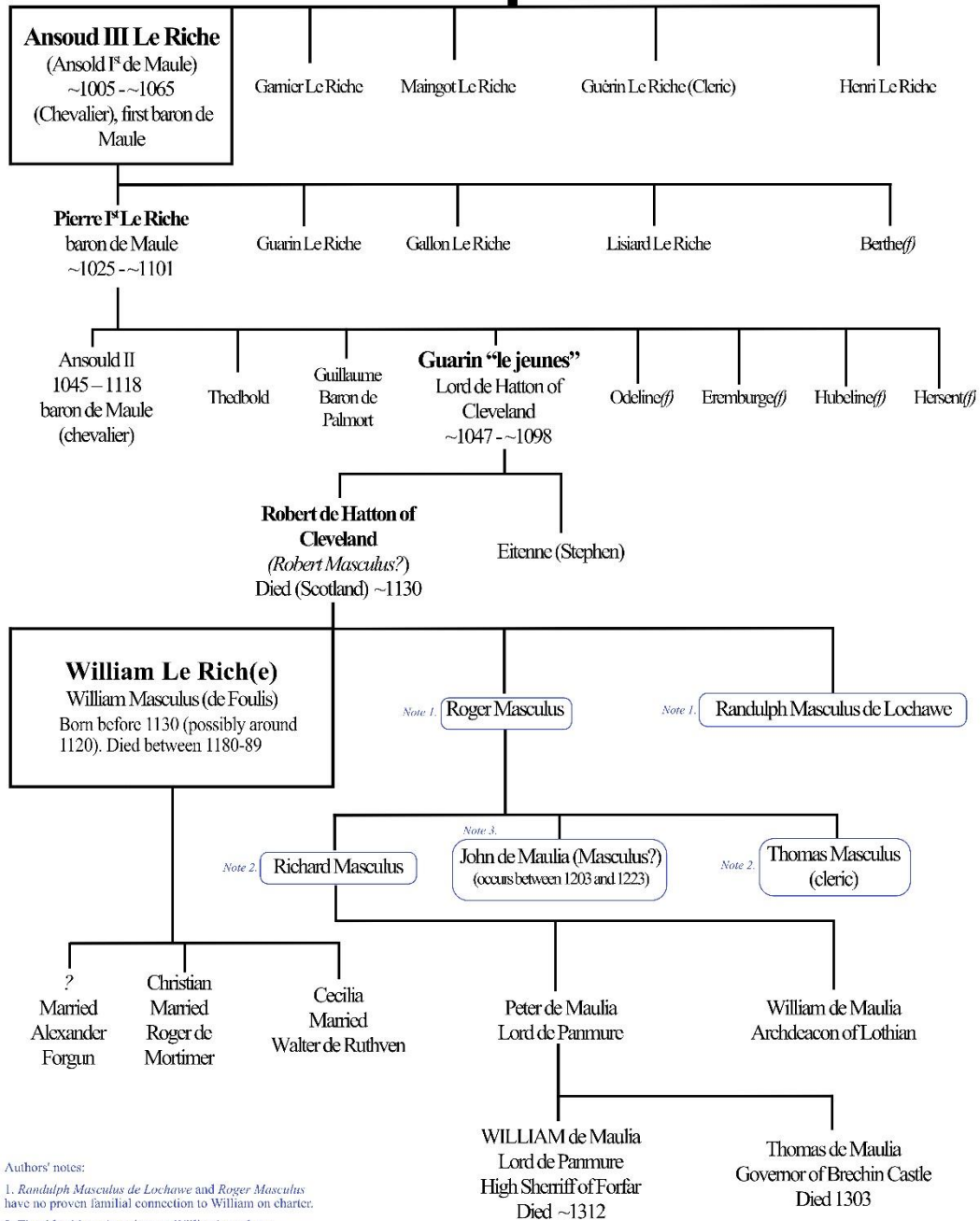
9.2.1 The origins of the *de Maule* line in Scotland stem from *Ansoud III le Riche*, a knight who was awarded the barony de Maule, a region centred by Maule on the River Mauldre in Seine-et-Oise, and so with it, the first title of *Lord of Maule*. Ansoud III’s grandson, *Guarin le Riche “le Jeune”* (‘the younger’), accompanied William the Conqueror in his quest for the English throne. After Hastings, Guarin was dispatched by the Conqueror to subdue the north, and to this end was awarded with title and lands in the north of England; an area broadly centred on the eastern half of present day’s North Riding of Yorkshire. The *lordship of Hatton de Cleveland* covered land from Thirsk to Whitby, and Middlesbrough to Pickering. It was Guarin’s first son, Robert, who entered Scotland around 1124 with *David, Prince of Cumberland*, some twenty-plus years after his father’s death.

⁷⁵ Berkeley Muniments: The National Archives ref. BCM/A/2/39/5

- 9.2.2 *Robert having contracted a friendship with King David I while he resided in England came to Scotland with that good prince, and meeting with encouragement suitable to his great merit, he settled there and left his estate in England to his brother Stephen whose male line is long extinct. (Douglas 1764:539)*
- 9.2.3 *Robert was possibly a page at the court of King William (the Conqueror) and mentioned as being present at the court of William's successor, King Henry I. It is recorded in charter that Robert and his brother, Stephen make a grant of land to the church at Hatton and the chapel of Newton of Thorp and Little Hatton to the abbey of St Hilda at Whitby. As a friend of David, Earl of Cumberland, he allied himself to David's cause, and travelling north to see David of Cumberland claim the Scottish throne in 1124, he is granted lands in Midlothian. (Anderson 1880)*
- 9.2.4 Robert is reported in the later edition of *The Scottish Peerage* (1910) having two sons, William and Roger, with Randolph/Ranulph Masculus being added as a third son to later 'le Riche' genealogical studies, with another two sons: Serlo and Osbern appearing in others. No definite familial relation could be proven between William and these individuals outside sharing the title 'Masculus,' although two nephews are cited and confirmed, meaning William had at least one other sibling.

The Templar Bells of Scotland
An investigation into the origins of the bells in a Dumfriesshire church

Figure 53: William le Riche lineage



Compiled from Robert Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, and Etienne Pattou, *Le Riche Family Tree*, 2003, updated March 2020 (racine.histoire.free.fr/LGN)

9.2.5 For the purposes of this report, the commentary with the Scots peerage was considered, particularly its report on the partisan genealogies created by family researchers.

‘The Hon. Harry Maule of Kelly, third son of the second Earl of Panmure, made, with the assistance of his second son James, a collection of the charters relating to the leading families from whom he was descended. This cartulary was completed in 1733, and compares favourably with similar collections made at that period, as the compilers displayed a love of historical research with a spirit of critical discrimination rarely combined in the works of their contemporaries. By the generosity of Fox Maule, Earl of Dalhousie, the collection was printed in 1874 under the able editorship of the late John Stuart, LL.D., as the Registrum de Panmure, and most of the information [contained in the Scots Peerage comes from the pages of that work]. But as it was framed less for the purpose of tracing out lists of all the members of the family and preserving in detail the dates of their births and deaths than of concentrating attention on the main line and illustrating each generation by groups of historical documents, etc., it has been necessary to make further search for many of the facts dealt with.’

9.2.6 Later genealogies, those that name Serlo and Osbern, as well as Randolph, were considered in the light of 9.2.5, but they were later doubted, as no direct family relationship was evidenced on existing medieval charter, dates of existence conflicted, and their relationships were only assumed from the shared title ‘Masculus’. Therefore, later genealogical trees and research was excluded from this report.

9.3 *Willelmus Masculus de Fowlis*

9.3.1 What follows are contemporary charter entries taken from the 17th and 20th century editions of the Peerage of Scotland and third-party reference. Often the entries are not cited, erroneously transcribed, or misdated. This constraint could only be overcome with sight of the original charter documents, or a guaranteed verbatim transcription with an accurate translation, neither of which were available at the time of the study. The *Peerage* cites its work centred about the collection of 1733, compiled by the second Earl of Panmure; in essence a compilation of the Earl’s direct ancestry, through contemporary charter and historical document, rather than a record of the whole family line. Within *The Scots Peerage*, many 12th century family member entries are qualified with ‘*there is little information,*’ confirming familial relationship is presumed (via title) rather than proven. William le Riche and his daughters; Cecilia and Christiane, his nephews; Thomas the cleric and Richard, and his great nephews; Peter de Maule and William de Maulia are the only cited family members with a confirmed family relationship. Christiane, Peter and William, Archdeacon of Lothian are the first to carry the name *de Maule* on charter, and even William’s nephews Thomas and Richard are not cited by their titles, only as nephews of William le Riche, the remainder are qualified as family members by genealogists because they are assigned *Masculus* which was thought to be an alternative for the *de Maule* title.

- 9.3.2 *Sir William de Maule, who succeeded his father, was likewise in great favour with, and highly esteemed by king David I, whom he accompanied (when but a young man) to the Battle of the Standard, anno 1138; and, for his gallant behaviour, was, by that generous prince rewarded with the lands and barony of Foulis (Fowlis) in Perthshire, out of which he made donations to the religious.*⁷⁶ (Douglas 1764:539)
- 9.3.3 Although we have no reference for Douglas' quote, there is no doubt William obtained titled lands of Fowlis, most likely from the king, as his donations from the barony are cited on charter. We can only presume Douglas' reference is substantiated through the work carried out by the second Earl of Panmure. If indeed William, at the Battle of the Standard (1138), was as a 'young man', we can estimate William's date of birth sometime, around 1117 - 1122.
- 9.3.4 *Willelmus Masculus de Foulis*⁷⁷ *makes a donation to the priory of St Andrews of some lands in his barony of Foulis, pro salute animae suae, &c. Testibus Waltero priore Sti. Andreae, comite Duncano, Ricardo nepote dicti Willelmi &c.* (Douglas 1764:539)
- 9.3.5 *He was witness to a charter of Henry, king David's son, ante annum 1152, in which year that prince died.* ^(sic.) (Douglas 1764:539)
- 9.3.6 *Under the designation of William Masculus he witnessed, about 1141, the confirmation of a charter by Earl Henry to the church of St Mary of Haddington, and in that year, he was also witness, at Jedburgh, to a grant by the same Earl to the church of the Holy Trinity in France, as well as to another, granted after 1147, to the church of St John in the castle of Roxburgh, dated at Traquair.* ^(sic.) (Douglas 1764:539)
- 9.3.7 *In a charter of king, William, Willelmo de Haya, Andrew, bishop of Caithness, William de Maulia, &c, are witnesses, in or before 1184, in which year the bishop died.* (Douglas 1910: VII, p.4).
- 9.3.8 *King William I of Scotland* reigned between 1165-1214. *William II de Haya* (Guillaume de la Haye) first appears on record in the Scottish court in 1160 and was still alive in 1201. Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, was in post sometime between 1147 and 1184. Therefore, this charter must date between 1165 and 1184. William le Riche is commonly known as *Masculus* on charter in his own lifetime.
- 9.3.9 *In a charter of Duncan, earl of Fife of a donation to the priory of St Andrews, the witnesses are Helena comitissa, Willelmus Masculus, Roger Masculus &c, Duncan succeeded to the earldom, anno 1154, and died 1203; so, this charter must have been granted within that space.* ^(sic.) (Douglas 1764:539).⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Sir William de Maule is the 17th Century designation given by Robert Douglas, author of the *Peerage of Scotland*, and as such has no relation to William's contemporary 12th Century title.

⁷⁷ The designation, *Masculus/Masculi/Masculus de Foulis* consistently appears in existing charter documents against William. The title cognomen *le Riche* or does not appear but *de Maule* and its derivatives does appear in connection to William and his family line.

⁷⁸ Roger Masculus, if William's brother, appears on the same charter as William but no familial relationship is registered, contrary to common convention on medieval charter of this period, however convention on medieval charter is not always consistent.

- 9.3.10 William Masculus is mentioned in the cartularies of Newbattle, Kelso, and Coldstream abbeys (without any detail given within the First Peerage of Scotland), all in connection with donations to the abbeys.
- 9.3.11 There is record of his issue, all female, and no record of William's wife/s, nor do we have record of William's death, but with a birth date between 1117-22, it is reasonable to assume William died before the end of the 12th century, probably between 1180-89.
- *[Name unknown], the eldest, was married to Sir Alexander Forgun, without issue. In a later genealogy, there is no mention of this daughter. (Douglas 1764:539)*
 - *Christiane, married to Roger de Mortimer, who got with her part of the estate of Foulis which appears by a charter, Rogeri Mortimer de Foulis, &c, Thomae Parsonae nepoti Willelmi Mascuii, &c.^(sic.) (Ibid)*
 - *Cecilia, married to Walter de Ruthven, ancestor of the earls of Gowrie, with her part of the estate of Foulis, which appears by a resignation of his right to the land of Foulis which fell to him, per decessum Ceciliae, filiae domini Willelmi Maule, militis (due to death of Cecilia, daughter of William Maule, knight), dated in the 13th year of king Alexander III. Anno domini 1262.^(sic.) (Ibid)*
- 9.3.12 In the charter, written in 1262, Sir Gilbert of Ruthven renounced his succession to Fowlis through Cecilia Maule his grandmother. His great grandfather William le Riche is titled *Maule*, indicating perhaps '*Masculus*' by 1262 had lapsed as his legal title. It is interesting to note he is designated *militis* (knight), especially as the bell of Holywood confirms W^{le} Riche as head of a religious house for more than twenty-two years around the date 1154. This implies either William's tenure of Sacro Nemore was not his prime identifier, but perhaps a titular title, his religious lead not precluding him from being a soldier (*abates militis*), or there are two namesake individuals existing in the same period, one 'unknown' committed to an ecclesiastical life, the other a 'confirmed' secular lord, both related and both existing within the same hierarchy of noble Scottish society. In early examination, the premise of two namesakes existing during the same period seemed unlikely and became less likely as more information was uncovered.
- 9.3.13 Setting aside this uncertainty, and the timescale of this retrospective legal contest to the right to the land of Foulis, the charter indicates William's daughter, Cecilia, was perhaps born to William later in life rather than earlier.
- 9.3.14 As discussed, there is nothing mentioned in charter to associate William Masculus (aka William le Riche) directly with Holywood or Dumfriesshire, however the charters (*Appendix IX*) show a *Roger Masculus* held title of lands around Colvend, which is a mere 19 miles from Holywood Abbey, and so either formed property formerly within the land holdings of Holywood, or within the land holdings of the Lord of Galloway, bestowed upon Roger Masculus directly or indirectly through a gift to the abbey.

9.4 *The Charters*

- 9.4.1 It is unfortunate a significant quantity of early Scottish history has been pillaged, destroyed, and lost, largely through the wilful actions of successive English kings during the Wars of Scottish Independence in the 13th and 14th century. This disastrous situation of institution being stripped of documentation prompted *John of Fordun* to compile his history of Scotland in the later part of the 14th century.⁷⁹ It, however, is a pale record compared to the material that was lost. Later conquests played their part in the removal of vast amount of public record from Scotland to London; calamity befalling 1600 volumes of legal papers, lost at sea in transference back to Scotland in 1661. These events have effectively removed great swathes of record, so much so, the earliest public charter dates 1189, and the first private charter by David I dates 1127.
- 9.4.2 However, there are still over 1500 charters contained within the *People of Medieval Scotland* (POMS) database, covering the period of William le Riche's existence. The charters held are obviously only a fraction of the actual number that would have been produced between 1124 and 1250. They evidence single, isolated episodes of William and his family's life. In many cases they only provide evidence they witnessed transactions. Charters of this period mainly concerned Church benefice, royal grants, papal correspondence, leading, after 1150, onto agreements between lay landowners and lay tenants.⁸⁰ Their content reveals titles, relationships, locations, and land holdings. They show William and his clan's connection and donations to Holy Church; piety expressed in gifts, donation to family members and their importance to be included as witnesses on royal charters.
- 9.4.3 The few charters that mention William are mostly concerned with perpetual renewals of gifts to the Church. Many are written after William's death without a clear date offered. Fowlis is confirmed as William's titled property, but his responsibilities stretch to Berwick upon Tweed and Holy Island. Only William's *supposed*⁸¹ youngest brother, Ralph, as Lord of 'Lochogov' (possibly Midlothian or Peeblesshire) carries a title that could have originated from his father's titled lands, but there is no evidence written on charter of a direct relationship with William le Riche (aka William Masculus), and so the familial connection is only supposed based on a shared title of *Masculus*. Even so, it is unlikely Ralph, Lord of Lochogov is William's brother, compounded by the period he exists, ie., some eighty and more years after the death of Robert le Riche, supposedly Ralph's father.
- 9.4.4 *Appendix IX* gives a snapshot of the charters connected to William and his clan. What is clear, is at no time is *de Maule* and its spelling variants used on charter against William's name while he is alive. This extends to Roger, cited as his brother without

⁷⁹ Ferguson, W., (1998) *The Identity of the Scottish nation; an historic quest*, Edinburgh University Press, 1989

⁸⁰ Hammond, M. H., (2005) *Prosopographical Analysis of Society in east Central Scotland, circa 1100 to 1260*

⁸¹ *Radulphus Masculus*, absent within the *Peerage of Scotland*, appears on some modern genealogical charts as William's youngest brother.

proof, and Ralph, who is also assumed to be his brother, again without proof. Thomas and Richard are cited as William's nephews, but there is no sibling relationship established between the two; the only men confirmed on charter as having a familial relationship to William, without establishing their titles, or their parents.

- 9.4.5 What is evident, is the title *Masculus* and its Latin derivatives extend to several individuals, principally land-holding nobles and perhaps lesser patricians; William, Roger, Ralph, Richard, Thomas, and Michael, with the possibility there are multiple holders sharing the same first or *given* name. There is no proof any of these are related to William le Riche, outside Richard and Thomas, who only appear as *Masculus* in modern translation of charter, with a presumption they share William's title, *Masculus*. Although a Richard does appear as Richard *Masculus* in a charter dated around 1188, so we cannot dismiss familial relationship existing between any sharing the title *Masculus*. What is worth considering, since the number of surviving charters, particularly those dating to the first half of the 12th century are extremely low, therefore it may be reasonable to expect other individuals named *Masculus* may have existed, as it is unlikely the small sample of existing charters will have caught all those with the title.
- 9.4.6 There are others carrying the *de Maule* title on Scottish charter at this time, but they are identified as members of the French de Maule line, connected to French bishops; *John de Maule* being mistakenly included into older genealogies (including the original *Peerage of Scotland*) as William's nephew.
- 9.4.7 In charters and records held outside Scotland from the same period, there are other individuals with the title *Masculus*, and these have been included in modern genealogy exercises as having a familial relation to William le Riche, despite no proof outside the shared title, *Masculus*. *Serlo de Maule* (possibly *Masculus*), is recorded as a Baron in England in the reign of King John (1199-1216)⁸², *Osbert Masculus*, occurring 1128 and 1142 a prebendary⁸³ in Hoxton (London-Dean and Chapter of St Pauls Cathedral), reported, but not confirmed by the study, to be Henry I's chaplain.
- 9.4.8 *So what do the charters and the bell inscription reveal, as evidence, about William le Riche?*
- i. William held a position of high status within the Norman-Scottish, legal, and religious society, because he is witness to royal charter.
 - ii. His donations, made posthumously, are confirmed by successive Scottish Kings and their agents.
 - iii. He is designated primarily as *William Masculus* on legal charter, not *William le Riche*.

⁸² Almon J (1767), *The peerage of Scotland; A Genealogical and Historical Account*, p 295

⁸³ An honorary canon of a cathedral or collegiate church whose income comes from a stipend from said establishment.

- iv. There is no contemporary evidence to support *Masculus* as a direct Latin transcription for *Maule*, and that *Maule* is likely to be a posthumous title assigned by genealogists and historians, rather than William's contemporaries.
- v. His chosen *personal* title is *William le Riche* (as given on his sponsored bells).
- vi. William was born around 1120 and was dead by 1189.
- vii. William had no male issue, but two daughters (possibly three) and his wife are documented on charter: The daughters' dowry; part of his barony of Fowlis.
- viii. He was legally recognised as a knight throughout his military/religious career; declared a knight, and never as a religious lead on charter.
- ix. That he would have been master of the *le Riche/de Maule* clan after his father's death, reported in the *Peerage of Scotland* to be around 1130.
- x. William would have probably been made a ward of either David I's household or the Church in the advent of his father's demise around 1130, while William was still an adolescent. His action at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, implying he was not necessarily adopted into religious life at this time.
- xi. William had connections to Fowlis in Perthshire, Haddington in East Lothian, Roxburgh, Holy Island, Berwick, and Jedburgh in the Scottish Borders.
- xii. He had holdings, of which he donated part to the Church, were in part, gifted to him by King David I of Scotland, Prince of Cumberland.
- xiii. William did not carry his father's territorial titles of *de Hatton of Cleveland*, nor his father's titles in *Midlothian*, but instead, *de Fowlis* granted by David I in 1138, while he was a young man.
- xiv. William is first recorded on existing charter with the title *Masculus* in 1141.
- xv. William le Riche is named as *father of Sacro Nemore* upon the bell of Holywood; a title he held in 1154, while he was in his mid-thirties.
- xvi. William le Riche shares the same initials as the *shield* bell of Holywood.
- xvii. There is no record on charter of William's connection with the area around Holywood, although *Roger Masculus* held lands 19 miles from Holywood Abbey, potentially within Holywood's estates.
- xviii. William declares (on his sponsored bell) his twenty-second year as religious master (*Dominus*) of either the house of Sacro Nemore or the community within it.

Discussion

10.0 Discussion: The Bells of Holywood

10.1 The Inscribed Bell

10.1.1 Around 1790, Reverend Bryce Johnson completed a return as his contribution to the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. Within his return, he felt it important to make comment about the bells in his church and their origins, and in particular the *inscribed* bell. He was able to assign a likely consecration date of 1154 for the bell, based on a separate inscription he had in his possession; ‘...one of which [the *inscribed* bell], by an inscription and date on it, appears to have been consecrated by the abbot John Wrich, in the year 1154.’ We cannot be certain what that inscription was on, but it was not the bell as it does not feature the date ‘1154’. Instead, it must have been another piece of engraved metalwork; a dated seal matrix, or perhaps a wax seal impression that carried an inscription including a date and the sponsor’s name written as it appears on the *inscribed* bell, within similar wording, in a shared letterform. There was perhaps enough commonality to connect the two and draw reasoned conclusion, if not a definite one (‘appears’ to have been consecrated). It must have been hypothesised by the minister, the date 1154 engraved was the beginning of the bell sponsor’s tenure, and the bell judged created at the same time. It is unfortunate there is a lack of clarity in Johnston’s declaration, but at least his dating of the inscription in his possession is positive, in confirmation of a name presentation, if not in terms of the bell consecration.

10.1.2 In consideration of Reverend Johnston’s possession of a seal matrix, deliberation was given to other engraved metalwork, stonework, pottery, and woodwork, such as found on mortars, vessels, plaques, chalices, and other ecclesiastical artefacts known from the period. With a focus on engraving rather than script; seal matrices offered the only plausible object that would carry the sponsor’s name and a date that may share concurrence with a bell consecration. This hypothesis was supported by the fact there is a much higher survival rate of seals and seal matrices than other engraved metalwork. It was thought doubtful Reverend Bryce Johnston would possess a decorative engraved object, created specifically to announce the consecration of the bell, because he then would not have used the ambiguous term ‘appears’. It was clear the inscription the minister possessed must have perceived unity over its own creation date and the *inscribed* bell’s consecration date to tie the two together, even if there was no substantiation the two were engraved in the same year.

10.1.3 It was considered the Reverend Bryce Johnston may have read the *inscribed* bell as showing a tenure anniversary of fifty-two or twenty-two years. In which case his other engraving may have shown a date of 1102 or 1132, giving the possible announcement of the beginning of the sponsor’s tenure. Whereas it was possible an Anglo-Saxon monastery existed in 1102 or a ‘Norman-styled’ abbey by 1132, it is impossible William le Riche, by way of his existence or age, could be associated with the house at these dates, or even that another sponsor with the name ‘Wrich’, as this is a later

corruption of the Norman cognomen 'Riche' introduced in Scotland by the first half of the 12th century, with followers of the French le Riche clan.

10.1.4 Thus, in review of all the possible applications of a date on a medieval engraving, it was thought likely Bryce Johnson assumed his date of consecration from a seal or seal matrix, carrying the same name presentation on the *inscribed* bell, that he disregarded the final part of the legend on the *inscribed* bell in terms of dating the bell, and assumed both the dated seal and bell consecration were concurrent with the sponsor's commencement of tenure.

10.1.5 In 1811, the venerable archivist George Henry Hutton, a professional soldier and amateur antiquary, who enthusiastically compiled a collection of over 500 drawings, maps, plans, and prints, dating from 1781 to 1820, relating mainly to Scottish churches and other ecclesiastical buildings, produced images; accurate representations of the bells and a gravestone that once sat outside the present church main door. The Reverend Bryce Johnston had passed on six years earlier, but at the time of Hutton's visit, even before he viewed the bell, he would have the parish minister's assertion and the record of a 1154 consecration date. Regardless, what Hutton observed from the bell's inscription, he obviously thought the bell and its mate worthy subjects to record in detail, implying he did not question nor denigrate their antiquity, nor the inscription. Hutton will have encountered many church bells in his thirty years' experience, and he judged the Holywood bells singularly important enough for him to record for his collection.

10.1.6 In 1837, the Reverend Robert Kirkwood confirmed Reverend Bryce Johnston's attestation in the *Second Statistical Account of Scotland*. He had no reason to question the proposed dating. But like the Reverend Bryce Johnston he expresses ambiguity in his declaration; '*the two bells which belonged to the abbey are still the parish bells. They are of excellent tone, and one of them, by the inscription it bears, was consecrated by John Wrich, probably the abbot, in the year 1154.*' Within his declaration he makes a separate statement, in support of the sacred nature of the site; '*The grove or forest of this parish being designed or esteemed by them, sacred, might transmit that character to the Culdees, their successors; and when a Catholic settlement was formed here, in the beginning of the 12th century, it might be found advantageous to its object, still to continue its sacred character. That it was so designed by them is most evident. The charter seal of the Abbot, dated 1264, is in my possession. It bears the following inscription: 'Sg. Abbat Sacri Nemoris' — 'the seal of the Abbot of the Sacred Grove.'* Besides, there is a bull of Pope Innocent II., addressed Abbate de Sacro Nemore, to the Abbot of the Sacred Grove, in the dioceses of Glasgow.'

10.1.5 Although Kirkwood's declaration adds little clarification regards the consecration date of the bell, the minister does admit to borrowing a seal matrix. Kirkwood declared the seal was furnished by *Alexander McDonald, Esq.* of the Register Office, Edinburgh. We can only speculate why he borrowed it in the first instance, as it is doubtful it was

simply to confirm the sacred nature of the site. But at least it confirms it was practice before 1296 for the abbey to carry a date on its seal matrices, and thus by implication it may be a practice carried over from the founding of the abbey, or at least by 1154. It also implies (as the minister omits an abbot's name) seals by the end of the 13th century were perhaps anonymous. This fact complies with the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* data on seal matrices, whereby the seals with personal names were thought to date to the 13th century,⁸⁴ thus supporting the hypothesis the Reverend Bryce Johnston could have viewed an inscription from a seal matrix, rather than another piece of metalwork. It is unfortunate, however, both seal matrices are now lost to confirm this supposition.

- 10.1.6 Although, this does not properly illuminate why Kirkwood borrowed the seal in the first instance, we can postulate he was perhaps seeking the missing seal Johnston had used to date the bell. What it demonstrates, is the practice in the abbey in its early years was to date seal matrices. Unfortunately, today, none of the available illustrations of wax seal impressions available for Holywood Abbey include dates to confirm this.
- 10.1.7 An important point to make is both the ministers had no reason to fabricate the date of consecration, as neither exploited the discovery; never publishing the bells existence outside the Statistical Accounts. We must also assume both men, eloquent in ecclesiastical Latin, had ample opportunity to inspect the bell and read the Latin inscription. Neither proposed 'Welch' or '1505' was present on the bell, nor did anyone else before the 1898 inspection, as Barbour himself confirms the ministers' original declaration was never questioned; *'the reading which has been accepted for upwards of a hundred years,'* so we must also assume the church commissioners; those responsible for the church at Holywood were also happy with the bell's dating and their ministers' testimony placed within Scotland's statistical record. What seemed obvious to Barbour and many modern palaeographers and historians, was not apparent to the ministers and the centuries worth of observers before Barbour, and we must earnestly consider why.
- 10.1.8 In 1898, James Barbour made a point of examining the ancient bells of regional churches. That is no surprise, James Barbour had a keen interest in ecclesiastical build and was an enthusiastic historian. Furnished with the belief the oldest dated bell was 1290, he found it difficult to accept the bell of Holywood could be so old. Seeing 'AD' – 'Anno Domini' as part of the last part of the inscription, it is not surprising he looked for a date. However, he did not read 'AD 1154,' but 'AD 505', which is not a plausible date for the bell. The resemblance of the sponsor's name to *Welch* was apparent to him, and with his knowledge John Welsh was abbot between 1491 and 1519, it seemed a coincidence too much to ignore. The problem was, there was incongruity; an outdated letterform, an oddly placed gothic 'e' instead of a Lombardic Capital 'E', no Lombardic 'L,' and no 'M' or 'Mill^o' signifier for the year nominal 1000, so it was necessary to manipulate missing elements to support his hypothesis. He presented his findings to the antiquarian society, without illustration, and they were accepted, unchallenged.

⁸⁴ PAS, *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, the British Museum, www.finds.org.uk

- 10.1.9 In 1920, RCAHMS inspected the Holywood bells, influenced by the record created by Barbour and, in their cursory inspection, agreed in the main with Barbour's proposal. The inspectorate, however, did not agree with Barbour's observation of a 'L' in the sponsor's name and so reported '*Weich*', not '*Welch*'. In doing so, they ignored the obvious epigraphical contraction marks on the sponsor's name. Despite RCAHMS revision to the name being in conflict with the date presented (as '*Weich*' is not listed as an abbot or commendator in the 16th century), and their own doubt over the final part of the inscription's date translation (by their use of the term, '*apparently*'), they did not question the dating further, leaving the inspection to record the inscribed bell as 16th century. In all, the RCAHMS inspection of the *inscribed* bell was as flawed as Barbour's and of little value except in its description of the bell's physical appearance.
- 10.1.10 No further inspection was carried out, and together with James King Hewison's 1912 work, *Dumfriesshire*, based on the DGNHAS record, the revised bell date and sponsor entered public record: with the Church of Scotland, Historic Environment Scotland, and Wikipedia. The record has stood, despite a potent challenge made in 2010 and this counter-study originally submitted to Scottish governmental authorities in 2021.
- 10.1.11 With the discovery of the sponsor's name upon the *inscribed* bell—the *only* interpretation providing credible solution to the anomalous Gothic character 'e' within the inscription and the forking to the serif on the 'W', the bell could only have been created within the lifespan of *W(illiam) le Rich(e)* and only in his maturity. Born between 1117 and 1122, we can comfortably assume his tenure as head of the community of Sacro Nemore occurred after this date. By 1189, as confirmed by existing charters, William le Riche is dead. Therefore, Reverend Johnston's claim of a consecration date of 1154 for a sponsor named W'rICH, within the First Statistical Account of Scotland, is feasible if not confirmed.
- 10.1.12 The *inscribed* bell declares William, *dominus*—either *master or lord*, but of what? At no time from 1154 and leading up to his death sometime before 1189 was William ever declared as master of *Sacro Nemore* on charter, nor is he referred to as William of Haliewood. Instead, his title, '*Masculus*' is used as his legal identifier, indicating his prime role was not '*Father of Sacro Nemore*', but 'Lord William '*Masculus*' of Fowlis, knight'. It was considered his lead of Sacro Nemore was merely a titular award (*abates in commendam* or *abates milites*); one amongst many other roles and titles he may have held in his possession, rather than a single new vocation. '*Dominus*' therefore may refer to another role that better defined his position and prestige to those over who the bell proclaimed, either with a religious life, or secular but holy calling, or less likely his worldly designate as 'Lord' le Riche. This final notion is questionable because the bell is a holy artefact, commissioned by a religious governor (*see 10.1.18*) rather than via donation by 'detached' third party laity.
- 10.1.13 The number of years presented on the bell is either fifty-two or twenty-two. If the former is presented, there are significant problems reconciling William le Riche's

period of existence, his maturity (around 1138), and the period of suggested tenure. Therefore, twenty-two years is far more likely.

10.1.14 Considering fifty-two as a recognition of the sponsor's age, defied medieval dating paradigms, but as this bell was without peer, and outside any known code-of-practice, caution was applied in dismissing it. However, the authors could not find any examples of a religious master's age being employed to mark the time and their authority on any artefact or record. Thus, it was concluded, whereas it could not be seen as impossible to have the bell recognise the age of its sponsor, it was extremely unlikely such a 'worldly' time parameter would be employed on a holy consecrated artefact.

10.1.15 If the number of years presented on the bell is twenty-two, it discounts the bell from being consecrated in 1154, as it would imply William sponsored the bell around 1132 while he was a boy (10-15 years old), during which time he would need to be already declared *dominus* (master) over the community within Sacro Nemore. And whereas William was successor to his father's title around 1130, and so reconciles with William's succession and possible tenure as 'Lord' le Riche, if we are to deem the term date reflects his holy office, not his potential 'worldly' condition awarded by the death of his father (which William would normally reject on entering holy orders), then it supports consecration of the bell occurs after 1154, at a date William is either considered in his twenty-second year as master of Sacro Nemore, or the community or sect within it.

10.1.16 If we are to accept the tenure period relates to William's holy office, the inscribed bell could not have been consecrated later than 1189 as William is confirmed dead by this time, or much earlier than 1160, considering William's earliest maturity to take any kind of religious office. Taking into consideration W'Rich[e] is confirmed as 'abbot' by Reverend Bryce Johnston's attestation in 1154, the bell could not have been consecrated after 1176. Thus, the *inscribed* bell consecration dates between 1160 and 1176, with the *inscribed* bell being installed into an existing monastic establishment, within the sponsor's period of tenure.

10.2 *The Shield Bell*

10.2.1 James Barbour's supposition the *shield* bell was sponsored by a known commendator of Holywood, sometime between 1524 and 1540, only makes sense if both the initials and the armorial match the commendator's. They do not. It is only the *coincidence* of William Kennedy's tenure, an *approximately* matched armorial of three 'crosses' and chevron, and a *misunderstanding* of Lombardic letterform that leads Barbour's logic. He fails to follow up on what he first observed of the bell; '*a quaint and ancient appearance.*' Barbour, instead, was led by an expectation, shared by many of his contemporaries, no church bell could be so old. Despite William Kennedy's later involvement with Holywood Abbey, and a vague approximation in the design of the Kennedy's coat of arms to the bell's armorial, Barbour's and RCAHMS' observations

of a Kennedy connection are incorrect. They do not present any cogent evidence of William Kennedy as sponsor for the *shield* bell, only an observed similarity to form an opinion. Neither the pre-1200 bell form, the Lombardic lettering, nor the armorial support a 16th date, or William Kennedy as its sponsor.

- 10.2.2 With Kennedy removed as a likely candidate for the *shield* bell's sponsor, for want of the correct armorial and initials, and no obvious match coming back from heraldic research, consideration was given to the shield being either an unrecorded armorial, or a pre-heraldic record device, *i.e.*, a signifier used during the evolution of the '*systematic use of hereditary devices centred on the shield*'.⁸⁵ With an incomplete record of armorials, unknown abbots and key suspects able to sponsor the abbey, all the way up to the 16th century, and an absent pre-heraldic (1250) record, meant it was impossible to assign the armorial from record alone, leaving only questions, not answers, about the likely age of the bell.

Could the armorial exist at the abbey's foundation?

- 10.2.3 Without a comprehensive record of abbots and sponsors to assign the armorial, thought was given to set the search parameters for a date, based on the earliest appearance of such an armorial, to the latest—the termination of the abbey church as a place of worship in the 18th century.
- 10.2.4 Dallaway asserts, *William the Conqueror* encouraged, but under great restrictions, the individual bearing of arms.⁸⁶ Camden (c.1600) and Spelman agree arms were not introduced until towards the close of the 11th century.⁸⁷ Others speak of the Second Crusade (1147-50) as the date of the introduction of armorial design into England and Scotland (via Norman/French migration). Evidence of this is scarce; the first recorded armorial appeared on an equestrian of *golden lioncels* on *Geoffrey Plantagenet's* shield and slippers in connection with his knighting in 1127.⁸⁸ There are testimonials the charges upon armorial bearings, held by many notable knights, were acquired during the Second Crusade, but to date there is little evidence of pre-heraldic shield devices; '*...the ensigns which adorned the banner of a knight had not, in earlier times, been adopted by his son, jealous of honouring, in its turn, the emblem which he himself had chosen. But this glorious portion of the heritage of a father or a brother who had died fighting for the cross was seized with avidity by his successor on the fields of Palestine; for, in changing the paternal banner, he would have feared that he should not be recognised by his own vassals and his rivals in glory. History expressly tells us that, at this epoch, many of the chiefs of the crusaders rendered the symbols which they bore peculiar to their own house.*'⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Wagner, A. (1956), *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*. 2nd ed, p 12. Oxford Scholarly Classics.

⁸⁶ Dallaway, J. (1793). *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England*. Michigan: Gale ECCO Print Editions.

⁸⁷ Spelman, H, *Aspilogia*, c.1595.

⁸⁸ Velde, F. (1999). The Enamel Plaque of Geoffroy Plantagenêt (Le Mans) *Heraldica.org*

⁸⁹ Salverte, E. (1824). *Essai sur les Noms d'Hommes de Peuples Et de Lieux*, vol.1. p.240.

- 10.2.5 Dallaway also notes; ‘...monasteries and other religious foundations generally bore arms, which were almost uniformly those of the founders, or a slight modification of them, tracing this usage to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers who were both soldiers and ecclesiastics.’
- 10.2.6 The Norman ‘kite’ shield and its derivatives, and its development into the shorter flat-topped heater-type shield, emblazoned with personal armorials were used by knights from the 12th century onwards. Along with the combatants’ shield, a miniature escutcheon suspended from a belt was often worn, decorated with the arms of the wearer.⁹⁰ This design was often carried over from the soldier’s field sign of pennant and onto his combative shield, and other personal accoutrement. Thus, the bell could be displaying a carried armorial from the first part of the 12th century, up to an illustrative armorial from the later medieval period when the shield was no longer carried outside of tournament.
- 10.2.7 If these considerations are applied to Holywood’s *shield* bell, then the bell’s depiction could be of an unrecorded personal armorial from the period of the foundation of the abbey, developed sometime in the early to mid-12th century. Thus, the search parameters could not be reduced, and so the study concluded the armorial impossible to confirm from record, even within a defined but broad period of the abbey’s existence.
- 10.2.8 The shield, originally thought a *Square (Old French)* shape, was viewed by some reviewers, post-study, as a later 16th century ‘*French*’ shape shield which commonly appears in armorials from the late-medieval period up to the present day, supporting the premise the shield armorial may be of post 15th century origin. On closer inspection, the shield depicted on the *shield* bell is not symmetrical, demonstrated by the application of a mirror-distortion (*see Appendix VIII*). The two images present both a square, with straight sides. and a ‘broad’ type triangular heater shield, with very obtuse angles to its lower edge. From cursory inspection, the authors could not be certain what the bellmaker intended to present, as the engraver applied the shield, free hand, to the false bell. After consideration of the designer’s intended lines and parameter of the shield outline, confirmation was made the designer intended a *Square (Old French)* shape shield. Thus, the shield was not a match for the later ‘*French*’ shield design as commonly seen on post 15th century illustrative armorials but was representative of a shield design used from the 12th to the 16th centuries, in both illustrative armorial and combatant shields.
- 10.2.9 If the bell was constructed after the 15th century, there is the expectation the shield armorial would be presented wholly as just an illustration of the sponsor’s arms, conforming to official expectation and fashion. However, ultimately, depiction is in the eye of the artisan, and at the fancy of the sponsor, so tagging a date was deemed unwise, especially if the later medieval layman or ecclesiastic presented his armorial in an earlier fashion. If the shield was a depiction of the sponsor’s field-armorial, in the form

⁹⁰ John of Marmoutier (c.1170). *Historia Gaufredi, ducis Normannorum et comitis Andegavorum*. *Heraldica.org*

of a shield or escutcheon, then the rules of expectation are moot, as the shield shape would be bespoke to the sponsor, and not necessarily comply to modern categorisation of shield shape, based on generalised, naive artistic rendering and carving; illustrations without perhaps any consideration to reality, subtlety of shape and design. Therefore, the authors concluded the shape of its armorial could not contribute to dating the *shield* bell.

Can we read anything by the long-waisted 'archaic' bell shape?

- 10.2.10 Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive photographic record of English and Scottish bells, with which to compare the *shield* bell. It is almost impossible to date a design and manufacture which has remained unchanged for centuries, in a medium which holds its age well. However, as discussed, it is generally accepted *the earliest bells in England date from the 11th century and their tall, long-waisted shape is quite different to most bells cast from the 13th century onwards.*⁹¹ Barbour asserted the *shield* bell had a *quaint and ancient appearance*. The authors agree; in their search through dozens of photographs of bells installed in churches throughout the UK, dating from the 13th through to the 17th century, the *shield* bell stands out for the same reason Barbour asserts—it is both primitive in its production, and ancient in its appearance. Both Barbour and RCAHMS assert the bell is long-waisted, as do bell conservationists, so it follows the bell is more likely to be a pre-13th century bell than a later 16th century one. But again, this alone cannot be a prerequisite of age, as the bell may not be manufactured to local patterns and expected norms. It was expected medieval bellmakers of the day would be brought from all over the empire, including France and Italy, and craftsmen from the Tironensian and Cistercian orders, so it was not outside the realms of possibility the *shield* bell was of 'foreign' manufacture.
- 10.2.11 The bell is unlikely to be foundry cast. Ignoring the absence of foundry and bellmaker's marks, it is the quality of the casting which tells of a bellmaker working in less-than-ideal conditions. We can therefore presume the bell was most likely cast on the site of the religious house for which it was intended. Whether that house was Sacro Nemore, Scottish, or foreign is unclear.
- 10.2.12 In contrasting the *shield* bell Barbour claims was sponsored in the second quarter of the 16th century, with other like bells (*e.g.* the bell of Holm Cultram), there is absolutely no comparison in terms of decoration, execution and quality. This might be expected for a site-cast bell, by a practiced but not skilled monk/bellmaker, but it is unlikely an external lay or ecclesiastical sponsor would deem to offer such a poorly formed gift to the Church. Especially in view of the quality of the *inscribed* bell, and the *rule of precedent, i.e. should the gift which succeeds not be better than the gift before?*

⁹¹ Kelly, D J, (2019) *Church Bells in Trust*, The Keltek Trust, Corsham Wiltshire.

- 10.2.13 Although globally there is no confirmation of the armorial upon the shield device, the crude Lombardic-type initials give an indication the bell was perhaps made before the late-14th century. The long-waisted bell shape, although not conclusive, fits the bell historians' expectation for a bell made up to the end of the 12th century. The record of armorials is far from complete, and it is possible for the armorial to exist up to and including the 16th century unrecorded. However, considering the likely importance of a sponsor able to present an armorial on a holy offering, it seems unlikely the donator would be able to remain 'hidden' from 16th century record. There will be no formal record of the armorial leading up to the second part of the 13th century, since heraldry, as we understand it, was not formalised until after that time.⁹² Therefore, the evidence points towards an earlier bell manufacture rather than a later one.
- 10.2.14 An extensive examination of initials *V LR* and *V RL* within Norman, English, Scottish and European medieval society within a period from the earliest dated armorial and the end of the 16th century was impracticable, as no search could be exhaustive considering the different, unrecorded name forms and languages used. Despite this however, a lengthy and wide-ranging search through available databases of recorded medieval names across Europe was conducted. No credible match to *VRL* or *VLR* was found on contemporary charter documents, records, or rolls, but as previously stated, no search could be complete and robust.

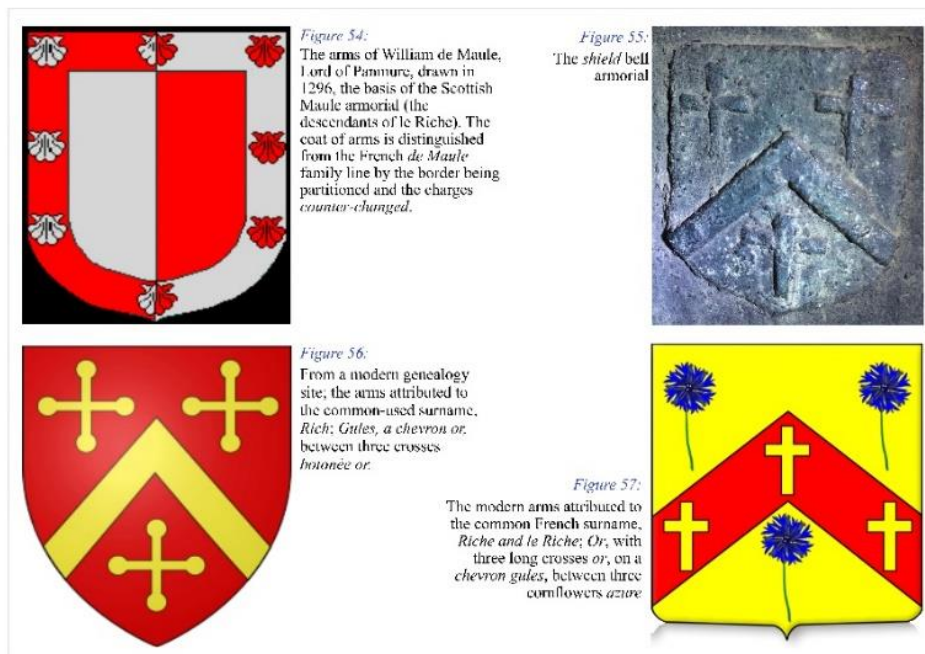
Is there a relation to the inscribed bell?

- 10.2.15 The initials on the *shield* bell create a compelling link to the *inscribed* bell, in that *VR* is a match for the sponsor's name, William le Riche (*Vilielmus/Villelmus/Willelmus le Riche*) upon the *inscribed* bell. We do not have evidence William was ever presented in this Latin form, but *Vilielmus/Villelmus* as the Latin form of William, does exist in contemporary record (as demonstrated by a charter dated between 1189 and 1195, regarding William I of Scotland).
- 10.2.16 With comprehensive information regarding the immediate line of the le Riche dynasty known, an examination was undertaken, including those initialled '*W*', '*V*' and '*U*' le Riche. Although 'William' le Riche does appear several times within the period, they either occur in 1060, making the armorial depicted unlikely, or in 1296 when the *de Maule* name and armorial had been fully adopted. Fortunately, in terms of research, the *le Riche* title disappears in favour of *de Maule* within a generation in Scotland.
- 10.2.17 With the period, if not the specific date, of the *inscribed* bell reported by Reverend Johnston likely to be correct, and two unrelated sponsors, with the same uncommon initials, highly improbable, it followed, both bells may have been sponsored by the same person. And whereas the study could not assign the armorial specifically (through

⁹² Woodbine, G. (1943). The Language of English Law. *Speculum*, XVIII (4), pp. 395-436.

record) to William le Riche, it could not discount it either. If the armorial did belong to William le Riche, it could only be carried in his maturity, thus the *shield* bell was probably constructed no earlier than 1135, and no later than 1154, corresponding to the age of its design, and the earliest tenure date presented by William le Riche over the house of Sacro Nemore.

10.2.18 It is apparent the arms of the Scottish *Maules de Panmure*, (the descendants of the le Riche line) are not upon the *shield* bell. However, there are clues afforded by its design. The arms of the Maules of Panmure are distinguished from the French de Maule family line, by the border being partitioned and the charges counter-changed. It was common for members of the same family line to add charges to the armorial to distinguish the owner, or counter change design as an identifier of the family line. It is plausible the Scottish-born le Riche line would offer arms similarly counter-changed from the French le Riche, but this is speculation.



10.2.19 NB: *Figures 56 and 57* are included for reference only, demonstrating the use of counter-charging and similarity of *modern* armorials with the *shield* bell. Without a comprehensive understanding of the origins of both current-use armorials, the designs provide interest only.

William le Riche's Armorial?

10.2.20 If we consider the armorial presentation on the shield bell as belonging to Villelms le Riche, we can only speculate how and when William's personal armorial came about. There are testimonials the charges upon armorial bearings, held by many notable families, were acquired during the Second Crusade. It is certain the armorial on the bell *was not* adopted by William's family line, as we have the *de Maule's* recognised arms from the 13th century, implemented within a few generations of William's time; a shield, parted per pale, *argent* (silver) and *gules* (red), a *bordure*, charged with a number of escallops corresponding to the ancestral holders who were crusaders. The *de Maule* armorial developed and rationalised the design for both the Scottish and French strands of the family; each armorial being counter-charged respectively. (see Figure 58).

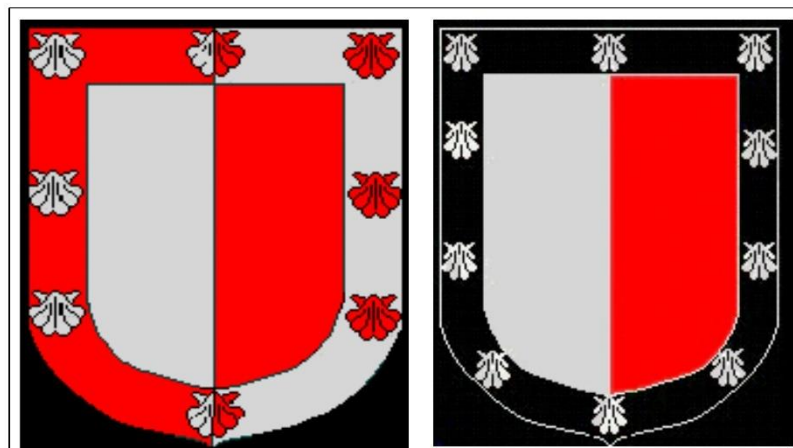


Figure 58:

The arms of William de Maule, Lord of Panmure (above left). The Lord of Panmure was William le Riche's great-grandnephew, and the device, drawn in 1296, is the basis of the Scottish Maule family armorial. The Scottish *de Maule* coat of arms is distinguished from the French *de Maule* family line (above right) by the border being partitioned and the charges *counter-changed*.

10.2.21 Regardless of the 13th century *de Maule* adopted family armorial, it is certain in 1138, as a young man, William would have carried 'colours' at the battle of the Standard. We cannot presume they were his own, and it may not have been until his award of the barony of Fowlis by king David I, that he adopted his own armorial, not his father's, but perhaps a modification of the design carried by the 'le Riche'.

10.2.22 We can presume William was involved somehow in the outpouring of Scots in service of crusade. We can also presume, if we accept William's affiliation to the warrior elite in service to his king and crusade, that his service will have developed along with how his armorial, employed as his personal field sign, was carried behind whatever cause he chose to serve.

10.2.23 With William's demise sometime before 1189, his personal arms were brought into disuse, only to be remembered by successive generations by word of mouth and record long lost. This may explain why the *shield* bell armorial never appears on 13th century

rolls, or on any heraldic record as it is in disuse before the 13th century establishment of the record of arms.

10.2.24 However, we cannot discount record of William's personal arms from existing in the 16th century, or the arms presented on the *shield* bell being recognised as ancient *le Riche* arms, as the creation of *Richard Riché, 1st Baron Riché's* armorial in the 16th century carries an uncanny resemblance to William le Riche's shield.⁹³ Tasked in the 1530s with ennobling a commoner, born of a mercer with arms fit for knighthood, the corporate body of heralds created Richard Riché's arms built upon available record, connection of his name, and potential ancestry to the noble house of 'le Riche.' The arms presented on Richard Riché's armorial therefore are a suitable corruption of William le Riche's defunct armorial, with only the Latin long crosses substituted with cross crosslets, perhaps to differentiate it from the original armorial, subsequently awarded to Austin of Walpole—particularly if it shared the same tincture.



Figure 59:

The arms of Sir Richard Rich, Lord Chancellor of England (1547-1552) drawn sometime around 1589 for the *Book of English Heraldry*.

A field, (Gules) with a chevron (Or) between three crosses crosslet (Or)

10.2.25 Finding the design used to create Richard Riche's armorial without any extension of additional charges from the one displayed on the *shield* bell (with the exception of the cross design) is a clue the original design never developed beyond its original bearer, which fits a knight without issue and thus development as a later family armorial. It would be highly unlikely the heralds would form a new armorial for a notable, without some tangible adherence to an ancient noble ancestry, and extremely unlikely coincidence comes into play, particularly considering the infinite combinations of field, division, ordinaries and charges available.

⁹³ Richard Rich, 1st Baron Rich, Lord Chancellor to king Edward VI of England, 1547- 1552.

10.2.26 This is not the only thread that connects the arms given to *Richard Riche* and the shield design on a bell carrying the initials V LR, hanging next to a bell carrying the name presentation of W' le Riche. There is in existence an unattributed horse harness pendant, manufactured sometime between 1100 and 1500, which both resembles the design on the shield bell and the armorial carried by Austin of Walpole. The tincture (colours) attributed to Richard Riche and Austin are the same. (see [Figure 59](#)). Whether the pendant represents 'le Riche' or 'Austin' is uncertain, but it is the *only* presentation of the *shield* bell arms so far found by the authors, and presents a possible clue that the colours on William's arms are also probably, red (*Gules*) with a chevron and Latin crosses in gold (*Or*).

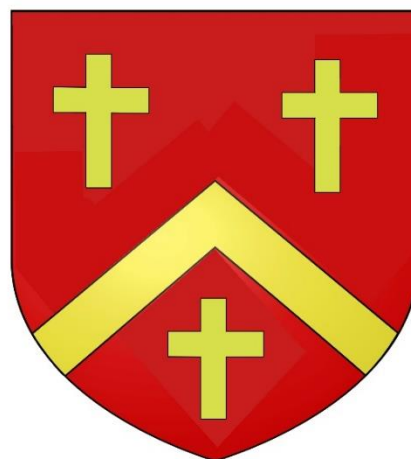


Figure 60: A horse harness and pendant, c.1100-1500. Made of gilded copper alloy and enamel, featuring an armorial *Gules* (red) with a chevron between three Latin crosses *Or* (gold). (The location of find is unknown, as is the original bearer)

(Courtesy of Colchester Treasure Hunters)



Figure 61: Authors' construction of William le Riche's personal armorial, c.1140-1154, presented on a square (old French) or Iberian pattern shield



10.3 The Holywood Bells

- 10.3.1 The Great Bradley Bell (1296) is declared the oldest dateable UK church bell, but this is reported with the understanding very few English and Scottish medieval bells carry dates (unlike their European counterparts). Publications like *New Advent, the Catholic Encyclopaedia*, reports there are many medieval Catholic bells in England and Scotland, many undated, many without history, and this is confirmed county to county as audit is carried out. The truth is, we probably have a sizeable number of bells still in existence from the high medieval period, not identified, and regrettably those that cannot be dated have been overlooked, and some even misdated, as the bells of Holywood demonstrate.
- 10.3.2 Church bells are difficult to date, as their shape form and casting has not markedly changed since the 12th century. If there are no identified 12th century bells, it is only because they cannot be reliably dated, *not* because they do not exist. The longevity of bronze ensures its existence. Therefore, it is not impossible, if not a little surprising, two nine-hundred-year-old unmolested church bells should survive.
- 10.3.3 Church bells are replaced mainly due to calamity: fire, theft, war, accident, metal failure or other man-made deed, misdeed, or act of God. But without these calamities, a bronze bell will last the course. There are bronze bells in Germany dating to the 10th century, and Ireland has iron Christian bells dating back to before the 10th century, proving bells in antiquity exist.⁹⁴
- 10.3.4 Bells are either original to the founding of the religious house, recast, or a complete replacement. The quality and appearance of the Holywood bells are not a physical match, indicating they were cast in different locations, at different times. However, unlike the *inscribed* bell, there is no evidence the *shield* bell was specifically made for Sacro Nemore, and the date of its manufacture may have little regard to the date of its installation into the abbey's belfry. The *shield* bell may well be the original bell of Holywood, cast onsite, or indeed be a rescued, recycled, retrieved, or relocated bell, installed in Holywood at a later date from its making, which is entirely plausible, if not helpful in ascertaining its origin or date of installation. But since the bells are matched in tone, it may well be the better-made-quality *inscribed* bell was cast to complement the *shield* bell. It is extremely improbable both the *shield* and *inscribed* bell would be cast to replace two pre-existing bells within a newly built 12th century abbey belfry, outside of calamity, and highly improbable two different sponsors, from different periods of the abbey's existence, would carry the atypical initials VLR. It is also possible the *shield* bell was relocated from an earlier built Anglo-Saxon religious monastic house on the site, William sponsoring the bell shortly before the original church was replaced by William after 1160 with the addition of the *inscribed* bell in complement.

⁹⁴ Thurston, H. (1907). Bells. *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*,

- 10.3.5 If we accept the *inscribed* bell was consecrated after 1160, it is unlikely the *shield* bell, with both an early form and cruder presentation would come *after* the better (and more economically) made *inscribed* bell. But even if the *inscribed* bell came after the foundation of Sacro Nemore, as an addition or a replacement for a ‘lost’ bell, only one plausible explanation remains, the *shield* and *inscribed* bells are bells from Sacro Nemore’s founding under a new sponsor, William le Riche. They are, as far as the authors are aware, the oldest fully provenanced Christian church bells in the world.

11.0 Discussion: The Bells’ Sponsor

11.1 The Sponsor: Le Riche, Maule... and Masculus

- 11.1.1 The study had set out to settle the conflict between the records formed by *Reverend Bryce Johnston* in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* and the report by *James Barbour* for the *Journal of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. It was the latter which had influenced the modern ‘accepted view’ forming the listing by *Historic Environment Scotland* (using the *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland* 1920 audit). This in turn had conflicted with the authors’ own observation of the bells. In terms of the ‘accepted view’, or as it was repeatedly framed to the authors by academics ‘*the traditional view*’, the authors had found no merit in either the current record’s construction or its conservation, and both the *inscribed* bell, and even the *shield* bell, were indeed within the period as Bryce Johnston had stated. More so, these were particularly worthy bells for preservation due to their antiquity, value, and uniqueness.
- 11.1.2 However, what remained in conflict was the legend of the sponsor of the bells. For all William le Riche remained the prime candidate as sponsor, his legend on the *inscribed* bell confirmed him as an ecclesiastic with at least twenty-two years in religious life. It conflicted fundamentally with William le Riche’s legend on medieval charter. The *shield* bell confirmed the sponsor to be of knightly stock by the armorial it carried, further supporting William was an arms bearing knight when he sponsored the *shield* bell, and was ‘in post’ as *Father of Sacro Nemore* around 1154, the same time William le Riche is known as William *Masculus*, landholding knight on charter.
- 11.1.3 The only other anomaly, outside the bell inscription, with William *Masculus*’ ‘worldly’ life, was his Latin title, consistently used, sometimes in attachment to his barony of Fowlis in Perthshire. William *Masculus* never uses the title ‘le Riche’ yet his bell displays it. This aenigma had the authors consistently rechecking their conclusion William le Riche, knight and Lord of Fowlis was indeed the *W’ le Riche* on the *inscribed* bell of Holywood. It was particularly vexing there was no record of William *Masculus*’ involvement with Holywood to at least imply a connection. Thus, even with the dates of the bells resolved, a greater understanding of William le Riche was required

so the authors could uphold their interpretation of the *inscribed* bell's sponsor W'lerICH, as William le Riche, known as William *Masculus*. Lord of Fowlis.

- 11.1.4 Twenty and twenty-first century genealogists and historians, tracking *de Maule* history backwards, repeatedly transpose the Latin *Masculus*, *Masculo*, *Masc'lo*, *Masc'l's*, *Masculi*, William's name on 12th century historical charters, into *Maule*. This transposition has been consistently applied to William and all others carrying the title *Masculus* in localised Scottish histories, genealogies, and databases such as *People of Medieval Scotland (POMS)*.⁹⁵ It is applied on the understanding *Masculus* was a Latinised version of *Maule*, even though *de Maule* and its medieval scripted variations, such as *de Maulia*, *de Maylle*, *de Maulea* are never used on 12th century charter by contemporary scribes in the identification of William le Riche, aka William de Maule and other individuals carrying the *Masculus* title.
- 11.1.5 The variance in usage of *Masculus* and *de Maule* was first identified by the 18th century genealogist, Robert Douglas; '*...but we must first observe that the name of Masculus and Maule were promiscuously used in this family for a considerable time.*'
- 11.1.6 Robert Douglas' successor, David Douglas, in a later edition of *The Scottish Peerage* (1910:2-3), identifies *Masculus* as a designation, but without any explanation. Like Robert Douglas, he omits *Randolphus Masculus*, *Serlo [Masculus]*, *Michael Masculus* and *Osbern Masculus*, who have since been included in modern genealogies as unconfirmed members of William's family, purely on the occurrence of the title *Masculus*.
- 11.1.7 David Douglas adds; '*...Peter de Maule, [William le Riche's grandnephew] is the first member of the family from whom the descent of his successors can be clearly proved by existing documents. The previous generations, from want of fuller evidence, can be only sated with a certain amount of inference and conjecture.*' In other words, it is only from Peter de Maule (William's grandnephew) we have an unambiguous use of the name *de Maule* used by that family instead of *Masculus*.
- 11.1.8 Whereas, in early genealogy studies no transposition is made, and *de Maule* is only referenced for clarity, in later genealogy studies *Maule* is often transposed for the charter name *Masculus*, not only in the Latin translation but in the presentation of actual Latin script. The transpositions were made on the understanding *Masculus* was a Latinised form of *Maule*. This supposition by the Reverend James Raine,⁹⁶ follows the frequency names and terms alien to the scribe's ear would often result in differing spelling for the same name or place. Raine's supposition was *Maule* sounds like old French *mâle*, meaning male, so the scribe Latinised it to *Masculus*.

⁹⁵ *People of Medieval Scotland* between 1093 and 1314, poms.ac.uk. a database of over 8,600 contemporary documents, coordinated by Glasgow University, involving substantial input from other academic sources and collections.

⁹⁶ Raine, J, 1852. *The History and Antiquities of North Durham*, p. 78.

- 11.1.9 However, the supposition by Raine and reported by Black,⁹⁷ influencing subsequent genealogists and historians (including POMS), was both poorly considered and misleadingly offered. Raine, Black and modern genealogists neither challenge nor consider the only confirmed *de Maule*, carrying the *Masculus* title is William le Riche, the others not having a confirmed familial connection to William. These other individuals, like William *Masculus* unfailingly have their titles written as *Masculus* on charter and never as '*Maule*' and its variant spellings.
- 11.1.10 In early consideration of this construct by the study, it seemed highly unlikely a multitude of disparate scribes over a period of eighty years, whose prime script use was Latin, would consistently, repeatedly and mistakenly assign a distinct Latin expression defining masculinity to an unfamiliar sounding alien 'territorial derived' cognomen, and each time the scribes' mistranslation was willingly adopted by the individual the scribe had mis-named in lieu of their given, even renowned titles. It was incongruous that such a mistake, fundamentally conflicting with the individual's name would be adopted by those individuals, so much so, it was formed into their seals applied to charters, and it was incomprehensible for a hundred years, historians had not challenged Raine's construct in their own histories and databases.
- 11.1.11 James Raine's premise *Masculus* was a scribe's mistake, presenting a Latin interpretation of *mâle* instead of *Maule*, had merit in consideration of the facts presented to him at the time he was compiling his work, *The History And Antiquities Of North Durham*. He presented his theory in relation to an isolated inventory item; a late 12th/early 13th century charter concerning a post mortem confirmation of a gift offered by William *Masculus* by consent of his daughter *Cristiane de Maulle* to the monks of Holy Island, off the coast of Northumberland in Northern England.
- 11.1.12 We can only suppose Raine's reasoning, but as he catalogued the charters for the same period detailing donation to the monks of the Farne Islands, again off the coast of Northumberland, he came across witnesses named *William Maille*, *William Mayle*, and *William Maile*. Raine may have concluded *William Masculus* was yet another scribe's derivation of William Maul's name; '*...without consideration of the sound of Maule caught the ear of the scribe, he [the scribe] Latinized it.*'
- 11.1.13 It was perhaps Raine's error to present an untested thought without considering all the evidence, ie., the facts not presented before him at the time, and the wider implications of his hypothesis. Douglas' 1764, *The Peerage of Scotland* confirmed *Masculus* was already a title used by William de Maule while he was alive; '*but we must first observe that the name of Masculus and Maule were promiscuously used in this family for a considerable time,*' thus Raine's theory of a singular misunderstanding by a scribe was already fragile. If Raine had dug deeper, he may have found his theory crushed under the weight of other earlier charter references that excluded the derivatives of the spelling of '*Maule*' and *only* included the title (and its Latin derivatives) of '*Masculus*'.

⁹⁷ Black, G.F. (1946) *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin Meaning and History*, p. 585

However, Raine was writing a broad history, an inventory, and without the gift of immortality, did not have time enough to check every fact and every circumstance. Perhaps, if he had the opportunity to study William's seal impression attached to the Holy Island charter, he would have observed '*Willelmus Masculi*' was presented, indicating there never was a scribe's mistake. (See Figure 62)

- 11.1.14 William's title upon his bell, raised over Sacro Nemore is *William le Riche*, not *William de Maule*, nor *William Masculus*, indicating neither *de Maule* nor *Mascus* at that time was his chosen personal title. Regrettably, William only ever appears as *Mascus* on charter, and not under his cognomen *Le Riche*. It is likely William's generation was probably the last to employ it in Scotland, particularly as William produced no male issue to carry on the Frankish derived title. But as he declares himself *le Riche* and not *de Maule* on his bell, presumably he regards *le Riche* the more potent title, the name he would have employed on charter if he had not purposed himself to another legal identifier, *Mascus*. It provides another indicator *Mascus* is not a replacement for *de Maule* or *le Riche*, but a very deliberate and separate legal or religious title, nothing to do with misinterpretation, but everything to do with his purpose within David I's household and society.
- 11.1.15 As a title, the Latin term *Mascus* disappears from UK record after the 13th century and does not appear as a surname again in UK history. However, old French derivatives of the word *male*—*masle* and *malle* are found; *le Male*, *le Madle* and *le Masle* all appearing around the south of England in the 12th century. The names add to a catalogue of disparate ideas contributing to genealogists' thoughts on the root of modern common-use surnames such as, *Mayle* and *Mayell*. A '*Maylle*' spelling does appear connected in an isolated case of a *de Maule* related to William le Riche (ie., 1265, *Radulfus Maylle*, William le Riche's grandson), and this may have led to confusion. However, there is absolutely no ambiguity over the use of *Mascus* and its Latin derivatives on 12th and 13th century charter. Its consistent and deliberate application is not a scribe's misinterpretation, but a deliberate title adopted by a number of individuals on Scottish charter.
- 11.1.16 Therefore, we must reconsider the title *Mascus*. It is in no way a credible medieval Latin translation for the name, *de Maule*. It was the supposition of 19th century librarian who recognised *Maule* spelled as *Maylle* in antiquity and so interpreted the word sounding like 'male' phonetically; all without understanding how *de Maule* would have sounded, pronounced in medieval tongue, and completely discounting the medieval and classical understanding of the Latin term *Mascus* in its fullest sense, not to mention its repeated use in antiquity. Raine's single speculative thought was taken out of context by successive historians and applied wholesale to anyone carrying *Mascus* in close association with William le Riche. It is the peril of the modern historian relying on the weakness of antiquarian reference; those that deal in a broad subject, often overlooking incongruity, written with the application of a prevailing mindset over the sensitivities and complexities of another epoch.

- 11.1.17 Unfortunately, the transposition raises great confusion in genealogies both old and new, in that both have transposed *Masculus* with *Maule* without any regard that other individuals potentially carried the title without any familial connection. Thus, there is no guarantee *any* genealogy record, already imperfect by way of incomplete evidence, is without gross error. Although William's family line is presented in this report as modern genealogical review presents it, there is no doubt there are errors in the assignment of relationships based purely on a shared title that has nothing to do with family relationship.
- 11.1.18 This particularly effects the case of *Roger Masculus*, who *The Peerage of Scotland* declares as William's brother, despite no familial connection confirmed on charter between William, or even Roger's reported sons Richard and/or Thomas. The Peerage cites others, added as family, who have been since assessed by modern genealogists as members of the French *de Maule* line. One, John de Maulia, acted as an assistant to a French bishop. Thus, perhaps the title *de Maule* existing on Scottish Charter, in a period *Masculus* is used, contributed to the misunderstanding the two titles were interchangeable.
- 11.1.19 Charters cite *Radulphus Masculus*, Lord of Lochogou' (a barony in Peebles or Midlothian) and his grandson *Thomas Masculus*. Both are translated as 'Ralph Maule' and 'Thomas Maule', yet these two have no proven family relationship to William's line, and their existence in the 13th century coincides with a period William's descendants are known as *de Maule* on charter, further propagating the idea *Masculus* is a legal title applied to some knights, not of kin but perhaps kindred.
- 11.1.20 Without the charters confirming familial relationship between those carrying the *Masculus* title, we cannot assume they are related, or discount it. Also, to consider, with the commonality of only a few 'given' (first) names prevalent, there may be more than one individual carrying the same title on charter within the same period. And with only a fraction of the charters surviving, there may be far more individuals with the title *Masculus* existing in Scotland at that time.
- 11.1.21 If we are to accept *Masculus* is a separate legal designator for William le Riche, we must ask why he carried this title. Because William and a few others close and far from William also carry the same designator on charter in the same period, including individuals in England and France in the late part of the 11th and early part of the 12th century. But what events before 1141 prompted the head of the le Riche clan in Scotland to adopt *Masculus* as an official title?

11.2 *Masculus; clan name or religious title?*

- 11.2.1 The title, *Masculus*, regarding an individual was neither alien to the authors nor to a northern 'British' chevalier. *Masculus*, a *decurion* with a unit of first century Roman Batavian cavalry, reporting in writing to his commander in *Vindolanda*, requests leave for men, possibly under his watch, but not under his command. The Batavian

cavalryman, signs his letter as, *Masc[u]llus*, *decurion*, indicating perhaps *Masculus* was an adopted Romanised Latin name, without reference to his family or tribal origins. One may speculate why he would adopt such a title? It is clear he is not simply announcing his gender, but something far more telling—his character.

- 11.2.2 The utilisation of the name *Masculus* existed throughout Roman antiquity, carried by individuals inhabiting the Western Empire. Examples of its use (*Masclus* and *Masculus*) have not only been found in Northern England, but in *Noricum* (Austria and Slovenia), *Gallia Narbonensis* (Languedoc and Provence area of France), *Belgica* (Belgium and the Netherlands), and the Germanies.⁹⁸ No doubt the sense of its use changed from era to era and region to region with shifting purpose, attitude, and expectation.
- 11.2.3 Throughout the ancient period there was explicit expectations for the conduct of men, often enforced by law and implied in the masculine ideals of gods and heroes. The ancient Roman historian *Pubilius Cornelius Tacitus*, in the first century, writes a thrilling account of the Batvians. He presents the Batavians as the archetypal Germanic heroes in his account *Germania*. He extolls their masculine character, prepared to defend all they love at any cost. It is no wonder perhaps the decurion chose *Masculus* as his title—so all would know his Batvian nature concealed within his Roman identity.
- 11.2.4 *Masculus*, again appears in connection to a story of a freedman, *Tiberius Claudius Masculus*, sometime after AD 70. The former slave carries the adopted name of his former master, together with a cognomen *Masculus*. *Masculus* is not a family name as he was a slave, but an adoptive title, no doubt representing the fact *Tiberius* is not just a male, but the nature of his manliness in the classical Roman sense.
- 10.2.5 Perhaps no other Roman educator expanded the classical ‘ideal’ of masculinity than the influential rhetorician *Marcus Fabius Quintilianus* (or *Quintilian*), and his twelve-volume text on rhetoric, *Institutio Oratoria*, his exploration of masculinity no doubt influenced by the lyricist *Quintus Horatius Flaccus* (Horace) (65 – 8 BC), the only lyric poet *Quintilian* regarded as meritorious.
- 11.2.6 *Quintilian*’s work written around AD 95 came to influence later authors such as St Augustine of Hippo (AD 354 – 430), St Jerome (AD 342 - 420) editor of the Vulgate Bible and following a revival in *Quintilian*’s works in the 15th and 16th century, Erasmus (1466-1536) Martin Luther (1483-1546), acclaimed theologians. *Quintilian*’s work would be widely referenced in medieval schools, teaching rhetoric to those who sought to influence the education of others.
- 11.2.7 It is from *Quintilian* and *Horace* we find the meaning of *Masculus* beyond its Latin interpretation of male gender. Both these Classical Roman authors, within their literature, present not only *Masculus* as male, but the meaning of what it is to be

⁹⁸ Lrincz B. (Ed.) Red F. (Ed.) (1994) *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum III*, p. 63 records 67 incidences of the name *Masculus*.

masculine; *‘Worthy of or befitting a man, manly, vigorous, bold.’*⁹⁹ An unspoiled male free from feminine attribute; *‘indicium masculi et incorrupti viri – An indication of a male and uncorrupted man.’*

11.2.8 *‘But I take Nature for my guide and regard any man whatsoever as fairer to view than a eunuch, not can I believe that Providence is ever so indifferent to what itself has created as to allow weakness to be an excellence, nor again can I think that the knife can render beautiful that which, if produced in the natural course of birth, would be regarded as a monster. A false resemblance to the female sex may in itself delight lust, if it will, but depravity of morals will never acquire such ascendancy as to succeed in giving real value to that which it has succeeded in giving a high price.’* [Quintilian]

11.2.9 Greek and Roman Stoic philosophy, as illustrated by classical writers, such as *Musonius Rufus*, *Marcus Aurelianus Epictetus*, and *Seneca*,¹⁰⁰ feature greatly in Christian debate and absorbed by medieval ecclesiastic intellects during the period when Christian doctrine was developing (AD 239-1450). Stoic philosophy in its classical sense, significantly helps form the medieval connotation of the Church’s appropriate condition of Christian masculinity. St Justin Martyr (AD 100 – AD 165)¹⁰¹ in his defense against the persecution of Christians, laid down a notion of Christianity many respected historical Greek philosophers, such as Plato (428 -349 BC) and Socrates (470-399 BC) were ‘unknowing Christians’, seeding Christian doctrine long before the incarnation of Jesus Christ; *‘in moral philosophy the Stoics have established right principles, and the poets too have expounded such, because the seed of the Word was implanted in the whole human race.’*

11.2.10 *Epictetus* (c.50 – c.135 AD), a former slave and another famed stoic would promote the virtues of the practical application of Stoicism to ecclesiastical life, and his teachings were popular in the Middle Ages with many translations and adaptations generated from religious institutions. Seneca was copiously referenced by St Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) while extolling Christian virtues,¹⁰² Marcus Aurelianus, Roman emperor, a noted stoic extolled simplicity and sexual purity, preached all human beings no matter their station possesses dignity. All these writers helped form the notion, amongst the Christian critics of the medieval age, of the impeccable nature of the Christian ascetic man; the basis of argument against the secular Christian knight who strayed away from being a practiced Christian, lured away by worldly pleasure.

11.2.11 Turning to the prime source of medieval Christian teaching and its understanding of the defining characteristics of masculinity, the Latin Vulgate constructed from original Hebrew, ancient Greek, Aramaic texts, and their original Latin translations faithfully reproduced into Latin by Jerome in the 4th century (in discord with the original Greek translation, the *Septuagint*). The Vulgate drawing from the Hebrew bible (*hebraica*

⁹⁹ Lewis C.T., Short C. (1878) *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

¹⁰⁰ Seneca’s brother Gallio appears in Acts 18:12-27

¹⁰¹ *Second Apology VIII*

¹⁰² *Summa Theologica*

veritas), identifies a theme that would have great resonance in the medieval period—the transition from boyhood to manhood. It specifies the qualities associated with hegemonic masculinity; strength, wisdom, the avoidance of excessive association with women, self-control, fertility, honour and kinship solidarity, all without detriment to femininity, in acceptance gender was defined, and particular.¹⁰³

- 11.2.12 It is this concept of masculinity, and so the title *Masculus* in the classical and medieval world that has far greater poignancy than the mere declaration of gender. The medieval man's biological gender was evident, instead, it was the quality of his masculinity that was presented by the title *Masculus*, particularly amongst a certain class; Frankish men of noble birth and Christian virtue; an uncorrupted Christian Frankish warrior, free from feminine attribute, without debasing that gender. These ideals may be questioned today, but they were preached as the ideal in medieval religious culture, and it is that world that shapes the nature of William le Riche. The term, *Masculus*, was not to be taken lightly, as under a medieval Christian lens, it declares its holder, not only a Christian knight, but an exemplar Christian man, a stoic, the manly Frankish ideal free from frippery, whether warrior or not.
- 11.2.13 Travel backward a thousand years, back to a western Christian world still governed by Rome, not via imperialism, but by religious governance and a fervent Christian ideology, not only influenced by Holy scripture but by medieval ecclesiastical intellectuals, influenced by the Greek and Roman scholars, and ask the question, why would a knight-noble from the court of David I adopt the title *Masculus* over his own aristocratic name on charter? Who, or what, decreed, not only William le Riche, but other Scottish lords, landholders, knights and individuals should adopt this title over their noble titles on Scottish charter for the next two or three generations? Why would the head of the *le Riche* clan in Scotland decide the *Masculus* sobriquet was more fitting, more powerful, to place on royal charter than their already noble title?
- 11.2.14 In research, *Masculus* as a title in the time of William le Riche appears against several individuals, not only on Scottish charter but English and French cartulary. The title is recorded against individuals without any likely familial connection to William le Riche. William I confirms grants to St. Stephen's of Caen of land held by *Osberni Masculi* and *Giraldus Masculus* (1079-82).¹⁰⁴ *Osbert* and *Ansfrid Masculus*, a cleric, appear in Domesday (1085) in connection with land holdings in Suffolk and Kent. *Osbert Masculus* reported but not confirmed by the study to be a chaplain to Henry I, occurs 1128 and 1142.¹⁰⁵ *Osbernus Masculus* (late 11th century, before 1104),¹⁰⁶ a prebendary; a canon in Hoxton (London-Dean and Chapter of St Pauls Cathedral), possibly the same

¹⁰³ Wilson S. M. (2015) *Making Men: The Male Coming of Age Theme in the Hebrew bible*, pp 29-46. Oxford University Press

¹⁰⁴ Davis H. W. C. (ed) (1913) *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154, volume I*, Calendar no. 171. William I, confirming various grants to St. Stephen's of Caen (1079-82) p 124.

¹⁰⁵ Davis, *London Lands*, p.56 & Gibbs no 219

¹⁰⁶ Greenway D. E. (Ed.) (1968), *Prebendaries Hoxton Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300 Volume I, St Paul's* pp 55-56, London.

individual listed as *osberni* mentioned in Domesday.¹⁰⁷ *Bruno Masculi* (circa 1120) and *Arbertus Masculus* (1129) appear in the cartulary of the Abbey of Talmond, Poitiers.¹⁰⁸ It indicates the title was still in use decades before we see it on charter (1141) attached to William le Riche. These can only be individuals without a direct relation to William le Riche, but who perhaps have a common ideal or purpose.

- 11.2.15 The extent of *Mascus* as title within medieval Europe is difficult to ascertain, as the further back we travel the fewer existing, verifiable original document we encounter. The medieval protagonists who appear in history, certainly do not come with a complete inventory of the many names and titles they would have possessed and been known by. It could well be *Mascus* is far more prevalent amongst the medieval Frankish community than we have record to confirm. The study did not include a trawl through every French and English cartulary and early 12th and late 11th century record, as it would only seek to further confirm what we already knew, that the title, *Mascus* was used by knights, secular clerics, landholders and perhaps others, without definition of its meaning, or explicit reason for its use (otherwise historians would have interpreted the title *Mascus* to better effect long before this study).
- 11.2.16 It was considered research on those carrying the title *Mascus* was an exercise requiring time, continental-travel, and greater access to European record. Surprisingly, the first and only French cartulary examined by the study, the cartulary of the Abbey of Talmond on the Gironde, revealed two individuals titled *Mascus* in the 1120s. The abbey was examined as enquiry cited a *Mascus* connection to places along pilgrim routes through France, including the *vois des Anglais*, to the shrines at *Soulac*, down the coast of western France to Spain (and onwards to Jerusalem), from Bayeux and Nantes. Ultimately, a thorough examination of French record was denied, but it seemed likely we would find others titled *Mascus*, amongst French ecclesiastical record.
- 11.2.17 In searching for the derivation of the use of *Mascus* as an individual's cognomen in a Christian environment, rather than a Classical Roman sense, the authors were presented with threads of enquiry, that although were interesting in their consideration, were without substantive evidence. Thus, they were omitted from the study report. However, in review, it was felt one of these threads of enquiry was worth inclusion ([see Appendix XI](#)), if only to highlight possibility, discussion, and how literal translation can easily corrupt ancient history.
- 11.2.18 In terms of individuals known to William's father and David I, the title *Mascus* was in existence before 1100, employed by Anglo-French land holders in the wake of spoils of conquest, agents of the new crown, and clerics in the early part of the 12th century. With its familiarity to French and Norman nobility, and commonality on Scottish charter (bearing in mind the charters available are only a fraction of the number

¹⁰⁷ An honorary canon of a cathedral or collegiate church whose income comes from a stipend from said establishment.

¹⁰⁸ Dupré A. (1873), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Talmond*, Poitiers, Rue Nationale

produced in the 12th century) the title is certainly not an individual's adopted nickname or by-name, particularly as it is used as a legal identifier by several knights on charter and is cast into personal seals.

- 11.2.19 Although there is some evidence of both son and father carrying the title, there is little evidence of it being handed down generationally. We have record of a *Thomas Masculus*, the son or grandson of *Radulphus Masculus*, but that is it. Other attributions of family have been assumed through a familial connection, eg., Geoffrey Masculus who occurs in the cartulary of St Paul's, in connection with his father Osbern Masculus - *Gaufridus fillius eius* ie., son of Osbern Masculus. William le Riche/aka William Masculus' nephews, Richard and Thomas are awarded the title *Masculus* also by assumption, as they are only referred to on charter as, *Ricardo nepote meo* and *Thome nepoti meo* – 'Thomas my nephew,' and 'Richard my nephew'. Without knowledge of their given titles, we can neither dismiss, nor confirm they were also titled *Masculus*.
- 11.2.20 A title with such a short-lived lifespan indicates, not an adopted family name to be passed down generationally, but an official title, one that was given and then expunged with either its obsolescence or its replacement. So, what did the title give the holder? It is clear William still maintained his familial cognomen, *le Riche* on his church bells, and his daughter carries the ancestral territorial title, *de Maule* on charter, but who awarded William the title *Masculus* and why? What is certain is the title is not specific to William. Several individuals, without demonstrable familial connection, carry the title. Nevertheless, they all have an association with each other—a shared title, kindred as they appear on charter together.
- 11.2.21 There is no doubt the title *Masculus* existed, but the extent of its use amongst different sections of society is hidden, as the commoner features less on early 12th charter than the noble classes. Therefore, we can only look at its context with regards to a fragment of society, ie., the part with the benefit of record. What we have, however, is a common thread, *Masculus* is attached to landholders, particularly of the knightly order who by association have tangible connections to the Church.
- 11.2.22 To understand why William would adopt *Masculus*, consideration must be made of the period in which the title was adopted, ie., in the centuries leading up to 1141 (the first time it appears on charter against William) and the relevance of the term *Masculus* has in that period in terms of Frankish tradition, religious expectation, peer recognition, and rhetoric from influential ecclesiastical commentators; praising the pious knight and castigating the worldly warrior for their lack of constancy to their spiritual calling.
- 11.2.23 There is copious academic work discussing the principles of *masculinity* in the medieval world, all brought together under differing agendas, discussed in book, essay and thesis taken from medieval, women's or gender studies. They bring together debate, often from a modern perspective and interpretation, made in the period leading up to the 12th century, in terms of Roman-Frankish heritage, Christianity and the medieval mindset. Scholarly argument takes different directions with agendas to suit. However,

several threads concern the accepted classical ideal of masculine power, manifest through physical strength and war, against a backdrop of an increasingly opposing Church backed idea of religious masculinity whereby piety, restraint and chastity were seen as spiritual ideals above that of the warrior class.¹⁰⁹

- 11.2.24 What is absent in all scholarly research concerning medieval masculinity was the use of *Masculus* as a title adopted by Norman and French landholders in the 11th and 12th centuries. It seems odd, considering it would be pertinent to the understanding of the nature of masculinity to interrogate those title holders within their social caste. It seems errant not to examine the role and nature of those who carry their declaration of manliness in their name, to understand how they would define their masculinity amongst their peer nobles and Church. Perhaps later research overlooks the naming convention because of prior scholarly interpretation of the title *Masculus*, regardless of a clear failure to consider the holder's intent and true Latin meaning.
- 11.2.25 Perhaps the earliest available English Christian manifest of a code of religious masculinity or *Masculinum* is within Aldhelm's late 7th century *opus geminatum*. Aldhelm was the abbot of Malmesbury in Wiltshire. He wrote for those in religious life, his work exploring the concept of *masculinum*, as a vigour, muscular energy, and the bearing of metaphorical weapons to undertake spiritual battle. This duty, Aldhelm applies to 'ecclesiastics' without deference; the concept of *masculinum* becomes the trait of the holy soldier, not simply the identification of the martially focused warrior.¹¹⁰
- 11.2.26 There was open and vehement criticism of the image of the knight. Those knights that wore long hair were seen as vain, lewd, and frivolous. Contemporary artistic representation of women with long and unkempt hair, was seen as a representation of wantonness.¹¹¹ This condemnation of a knight's appearance was frequently presented by ecclesiastical writers. Orderic Vitalis records an incident whereby Henry I and his knights were castigated by the Bishop of Seez in 1105 for wearing long hair. In response, *Henry I and his nobles at once cut of their luxuriant tresses*.¹¹²
- 11.2.27 The debate over knightly masculinity was reinforced by the crusades, as before the holy war, traditional views of strong leadership, brutality, and valour were seen by many as the core of masculinity, even amongst some ecclesiastics. Many leaders admired this aspect of men's nature, but the crusades tested this ideal of masculinity, with the need for brutality being inspired by religious fervour.¹¹³ Both qualities were needed in order

¹⁰⁹ Example: Courtier, B. (2017). *Analysing the Masculinity of the Knights of the Military Orders*, MA. University of Huddersfield.

¹¹⁰ Cullum & K.J. Lewis (eds.) (2004) *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*. University of Wales Press. pp 8-23

¹¹¹ Wright R. M. (1997) *The great Whore in the Illustrated Apocalypse Cycles*, Journal of Medieval History, No.23, p 199.

¹¹² Chibnall M. (ed and trans) (1978) *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol 6, pp 64-67.

¹¹³ Holt. *Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades*. 185-203, p. 186.

to defend the Holy Land, but also to fulfil the spiritual requirements named by the Papacy.¹¹⁴

- 11.2.28 The First Lateran Council in 1123, reinforcing the rules and enforcement of clerical celibacy, contributed to new ideals of clerical masculinity as the superior male form over traditional values of strength and conquest, as demonstrated by monarchs and feudal leaders. However, this argument over religious and martial masculinity; the righteousness of one over the corruption of the other, would continue for decades, expounded by Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln (1135-1200) and Ceasarius of Heisterbach (1180-1240), to name a few.
- 11.2.29 Within the realignment of religious masculine superiority over secular ideals of conquest and power and the vainglorious adorned knight, was a key figure in the establishment of knightly ideal; a central figure within the Cistercian sect, well known to David I of Scotland; *Bernard de Clairvaux*, abbot, a key religious reformer. He too, joined common criticism exhibited by ecclesiastical writers, aimed at secular knights, shamefully exhibiting feminine attributes and not manly strength. ‘...*Members of the ‘worldly knighthood, or rather knavery’ ride out in long, flowing robes quite unsuitable for combat, their vainglorious appearance emphasised by the coloured trappings on their armour and horses.*’ These, he describes as, ‘*the trinkets of a woman*, just as he sees their long flowing hair as ‘*effeminate locks.*’¹¹⁵ ([See Appendix XII](#))
- 11.2.30 Despite the copious argument around masculinity in terms of religious and Frankish, martial attribute, the authors were conscious of not contributing to the debate, but to remain within the facts surrounding those who carried the title, because without explicit record of why the title *Masculus* was awarded in the late 11th and early 12th century, the authors could not be certain of its true meaning and value.
- 11.2.31 Leading on from the classical to the medieval period, in terms of landholders and clerics who carried the title in the 11th century, we are unable to determine its sense of meaning by any extant charter. Therefore, its origins as a title could not be established, nor its explicit development from its meaning in Roman antiquity to a medieval Christian perspective.
- 11.2.32 From the Franks origins as Germanic peoples from the lower Rhine region in the late Roman empire, through the adoption of Christianity around AD 380, to the fall of the Western Roman empire in the 5th century and their emergence as a power in the middle

¹¹⁴ Man. *How to lead like Saladin*. 37-40, p. 40.

¹¹⁵ De Clairvaux, B. (c.1130). *In Praise of the New Knighthood. A Treatise on the Knights Templar and the Holy Places of Jerusalem*. (Conrad Greenia, M trans.) Kentucky: Liturgical Press. (A translation of the *In Laude novae militiae* from the critical Latin edition prepared by J Leclercq OSB and H Rochais under the sponsorship of the Order of Cistercians and published in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol.3. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963 & 2000.)

ages, what may be assumed, from its existence on record, is the Latin title *Masculus* was already part of Germanic Christian culture.

- 11.2.33 In terms of 11th and 12th century use, we can assume the bearer of '*Masculus*' is recognised under special conditions causing that person to be entitled *Masculus* on charter; a legal identifier over his given name, recognised by both peers, Church and sovereign power. *Masculus* must represent a declaration of a condition, in either Norman-Frankish tradition, rank, or religious identity, or any combination of the three.
- 11.2.34 In terms of medieval Frankish knights (the bearers of *Masculus* on record), since others do not carry the title, the title could only exist amongst other Frankish knights without deprecating their worth, ie., in terms of their nobility or their martial prowess. Therefore, it could only represent a commitment over and above the expectation of a Frankish warrior to his ruler and his family name, ie., a religious commitment, above and beyond what would be expected of a Christian secular knight defending the Church. It is therefore most likely a title awarded rather than adopted as he chooses; a title that with it encompasses vows and a commitment to a defined purpose, whether that be to a ruler and/or ecclesiastical authority.
- 11.2.35 It was helpful to interrogate individuals carrying the title *Masculus* who had a greater record than William le Riche, so at least their role within medieval society could be determined. The earliest individuals on medieval record carrying the title *Masculus*, are landholders *Osberni Masculi* and *Giraldus Masculus* (1079-82), *Osbert* and *Ansfrid Masculus*, (*Domesday* 1085)¹¹⁶. It is Ansfrid Masculus, *clericus*¹¹⁷ who provides the greater record of who he was. He is confirmed as a cleric and holder of several fiefs from Lord Odo de Bayeux, the archetypical Norman warrior bishop.¹¹⁸
- 11.2.36 Ansfrid Mās (*Masculus*) is identified in *Domesday*, as the tenant of Odo de Bayeux in 1086 with 13 holdings (including Horton) in Kent all surrounding Canterbury. Within a writ relating to Sandwich sometime between 1078-83.¹¹⁹ William I's queen, Matilda of Flanders, in the king's absence, seeks to have a seized ship and its contents returned to the abbot of St Augustine's in Canterbury. It is directed to Ansfrid Masculus, whom she addresses *Dapifer*, the English equivalent of the Norman *seneschal*—steward, or major-domo of a noble medieval house. Thus, Ansfrid deputises for Odo de Bayeux. *Sensechal*, being one of the senior positions within a ruler's or noble's household, places Ansfrid as man of some importance, particularly as Odo de Bayeux was the second largest landholder after the king. *Seneschal* is not an ecclesiastical position, but nothing prevents an ecclesiastic from holding the role, as in this case, as Ansfrid is recorded as a cleric.

¹¹⁶ Farley A, (Ed.) (1783) *Domesday Book, I 10b* Record commission, London.

¹¹⁷ Keats-Rohan K. S. B. (1999) *Domesday People*, Boydell and Brewer Ltd. p 155

¹¹⁸ Nakashian C.M. (2016) *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England 1000-1250*, pp 125-157. The Boydell Press

¹¹⁹ Davis H. W. C. (ed) (1913) *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066- 1154, Vol 1. Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willielmi Rufi 1066-100*. Oxford Clarendon Press. xxvii

- 11.2.37 Odo de Bayeux fell from William I's favour in 1082, with his estates and office of Earl of Kent removed. In 1082, Odo was imprisoned, and his estates and earldom retrieved by the king. It was not until 1087 that William I was persuaded to release Odo. The Domesday audit thus reflects Odo's holdings before his imprisonment. Ansfrid however, appears to have weathered Odo de Bayeux's disgrace, for we find him still holding Horton from Gundulf, bishop of Rochester in 1100.¹²⁰ Thus, Ansfrid may have been in a position that detached him from Odo's disgrace, eg., an appointee by the Church to Odo's house, rather than a loyal captain, expected to suffer the consequences of his lord's misfortune.
- 11.2.38 We know little else about Ansfrid *Masculus*. Whether he took part as one of Odo de Bayeux's retinue at the Battle of Hastings is unknown. But it is clear by 1086, Ansfrid *Masculus* is ordained a cleric (or a secular canon) and set upon a temporal purpose within an important household headed by an ecclesiastic. He is a trusted individual, head of Odo's household in Kent, holding Odo de Bayeux's property, acting on his Lord's behalf in his absence, protecting the interests of his ecclesiastical lord, the Earl of Kent. Whether Ansfrid *Masculus* was more 'knight' than 'cleric', perhaps a prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral, and how far his activities extended to Odo's religious, martial, political and regnal responsibilities we do not know, or even where his loyalties truly lay.
- 11.2.39 What is certain is *Ansfrid Masculus* would be known to William I, and therefore known at court by both David, Prince of the Cumbrians (David I of Scotland) and Robert le Riche, while they were young men. Thus, Ansfrid provides an exemplar representation to both men for an individual carrying the title *Masculus*, which in turn could only influence its use within David I's Scottish society.
- 11.2.40 Next on the list is Osbernus *Masculus*, a canon, a prebendary in Hoxton (London-Dean and Chapter of St Pauls Cathedral).¹²¹ His son, Gaufridus (Geoffrey) is also listed as a canon around 1104/5, and again in record in transaction between Henry son of Hugh the archdeacon (*Hugo archidiaconus*) of Middlesex between 1128 and 1138. Gaufridus is only assumed titled *Masculus* (*Gaufridus filius eius*, ie., son of Osbern *Masculus*). We can presume his father was a canon before 1104, ie., late 11th century. Whereas nothing much is recorded regarding Osbernus, he is probably the landholder *Osberni Masculi* in Suffolk recorded in Domesday.
- 11.2.41 Giraldus *Masculus* appears as a landholder on Domesday, and whereas we do not know if he too was a cleric, his listing alongside Osberni *Masculi* in charter where William I confirms grants to the church of St Ouen de Viteris of land held by the two men (1079-

¹²⁰ Douglas D. (Ed) (1944) *The Domesday Monachoum of Christ Church, Canterbury*, London

¹²¹ An honorary canon of a cathedral or collegiate church whose income comes from a stipend from said establishment.

82),¹²² may imply a commonality of purpose beyond sharing a title, ie., they were both secular clerics, or more precisely *secular canons*.

11.2.42 Thus William le Riche carries a title held by clerics within his father's time, implying William also was part of the secular clergy alongside those other knights on Scottish charter carrying the title. It certainly implies connection to the Church with a title recognised by the Church. What does not reconcile with those 11th century clerics carrying the title *Masculus*, is William's legend on the bell, as he has declared in religious life, ie., contained within a religious order, and not a member of the secular clergy. Thus, the title *Masculus* is not perhaps a rank within the secular clergy but a religious state of the holder, vital enough to be maintained as a legal title, as a positive identifier of purpose within David I's Anglo-Norman secular ecclesiastic and religious community.

11.2.43 Having a title, already once carried by secular clerics superimposed over William and several other knights' noble names on charter, only one logical conclusion remains. The title *Masculus* is carried by a knight, who defines their martial and knightly condition within religious acceptance and purpose. Their declaration; exemplar spiritual knights representing the Christian Church ideal. Their role sanctified by the Church, law and sovereign. They are ordained knights, in the manner of so many ordained knights before them, purposed to represent and serve as *Militis Christi*.

11.2.44 However, to fully appreciate the circumstances surrounding William le Riche's adoption of the title *Masculus*, we must consider the direct influences that came to bear on William le Riche from his birth to his maturity, until the first time he is recorded as William Masculus, to his sponsorship of Sacro Nemore, and his death before 1189. Chiefly, the environment surrounding David I's tenure as king of the Scots, the influences placed on a young man with, and then without the guiding hand of his father, and the role of knights, *nominatur Masculinum* as clerics and knights supporting kings, Church and holy crusade.

11.3 William le Riche: The influences of the age

William's father, Robert le Riche

11.3.1 We know little of William's father, Lord Robert le Riche of Hatton de Cleveland, knight, Master in Midlothian, outside ancient genealogical record. We can only, with a degree of confidence, look to the influences that may have come to bear on him, as the successor to the Lordship of Hatton de Cleveland, as a member of the English, Anglo-French-Norman court, the operations in the east; defined as the Crusades, and more significantly, as friend to David I of Scotland.

¹²² Davis H. W. C. (ed) (1913) *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154, volume I*, Calendar no. 171. William I, confirming various grants to St. Stephen of Caen (1079-82) p 124.

- 11.3.2 Robert was the first son of *Guarin le Riche*, who was established as Lord of Hatton de Cleveland by William I (the Conqueror), presumably as a strategic move to stabilise the Conqueror's control over the truculent north with its ethnic population of Anglo-Scandinavians, ruled by an extensively Danish derived aristocracy. There is no doubt Guarin would have had a role to play in the series of campaigns waged by William in the winter of 1069-70, in what is termed the *Harrying of the North*. Considering the instability of the Conqueror's rule in the North and the threat it offered, Guarin's selection by William I, as keeper of a large part of Yorkshire will be largely down to Guarin's nature and skill as a warrior.
- 11.3.3 The action carried out by William the Conqueror to subdue the north was brutal and unflinching, causing some modern historians to label it 'genocide'. Area upon area were devastated, so much so, the *Domesday Book* records 60% of holdings in Yorkshire as; *hoc est vast* or *wasteas est* (it is wasted). This is supported by evidence in the ground in the form of enumerable coin hoards buried by the inhabitants.¹²³ The ravages of subjugation were severe even for the medieval period, which saw such action as commonplace in the strategy for expansionism. Starvation was forced upon those escaping the brutal massacre. Neither man, woman, child, nor beast were spared. With villages burnt, food stores and livestock destroyed, refugees would flee the danger by travelling to lowland Scotland.
- 11.3.4 The exercise did not sit well in the minds of contemporary biographers, considering the barbarity to be '*a stain upon his [William I's] soul.*' Orderic Vitalis in around 1120 chronicling the Harrying of the North by William wrote a damning indictment of the king's actions; '*The king stopped at nothing to hunt down his enemies. He cut down many people and destroyed homes and land. Nowhere else had he shown such cruelty. To his shame, William made no effort to control his fury, punishing the innocent with the guilty. He ordered that crops and herd, tools and food be burned to ashes. More than one hundred thousand people perished of starvation. I can say nothing good about this brutal slaughter. God will punish him.*'¹²⁴ There is no doubt this stain sat on the Christian consciences of those of the Conqueror's captains and their families; those who were left to manage the aftermath and legacy of such a bloody campaign.
- 11.3.5 Robert le Riche was probably born within 10 years of William I's brutal campaigns in the North, and it would be no surprise to find Robert, after the age of six or seven placed away from Yorkshire, at the court of William I as a page. It was in the Anglo-French court where he probably contracted his friendship with David, son of King Malcolm III, who, born around 1084, was destined to become king of Scots.
- 11.3.6 Robert may have been an adolescent when young prince David arrived at court, exiled from Scotland by his uncle, sometime after 1093. So, it is perhaps understandable how

¹²³ Muir. *The Yorkshire Countryside*, pp120-121

¹²⁴ Orderic Vitalis. *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, p.28

a lasting friendship developed between two boys of similar age, together, training as knights and tutored by the best of the Church's scholars and Anglo-Norman court.

- 11.3.7 Robert's father, Guarin, died around 1098, and it is not known if succession took Robert back to Yorkshire while he was still in his twenties, or if he remained in William I's court. Sometime after 1098, Robert and his brother, Stephen, make a grant of land to the church at Hatton and the chapel of Newton of Thorp and Little Hatton to the abbey of St Hilda at Whitby. This 'joint' declaration on charter, together with Robert's eventual submission of his titles in Yorkshire may be a clue, it was perhaps Stephen who governed the lordship in Yorkshire, whilst Robert's attention was placed elsewhere. We do know Robert was recorded in Henry I's court sometime after 1100 (the date of Henry I's succession).
- 11.3.8 There are no confirmed records of Robert taking part in crusade, although William de Maule's (Sherriff of Forfar) familial arms (1254) suggests he did, or at the very least undertook pilgrimage. We do, however, have a record of a *Robert de Maule* listed (1107) amongst the contingent under *Bohemond of Taranto*, in what is popularly known as *Bohemond's Crusade*. It is not clear that this is Robert le Riche, son of Guarin, listed as the cousin of *Hugh de Boissy* (which he was), as Robert le Riche shares his given name with his cousin *Robert of Poissy*, son of *Walter II of Poissy, Lord of Boissy-sans-Avoir*¹²⁵ and *Hubeline de Maule*, Robert's aunt. Robert of Poissy is confirmed imprisoned within the Byzantine Empire in or around 1106, so it is more likely it is Robert de Poissy that is recorded as 'Robert de Maule,' within Bohemond of Taranto's contingent, using his maternal title. There is another cousin also able to carry the *de Maule* title; son of Guillaume le Riche, Baron de Palmort. Thus, there is insufficient evidence to build a case for Robert's specific involvement in this crusade action, only sufficient connection to mention the possibility within this report.
- 11.3.9 Sometime between 1100 and 1120 Robert le Riche marries and produces his first son, William. During this time, as nothing is known of Robert's location, we can only presume Robert, at some point, attended on his childhood friend David (*Dauíd mac Mair Choluim*-David son of Malcolm), now titled 'Prince of the Cumbrians.' However, we can assume their friendship was maintained to the point Robert felt compelled by way of duty, kinship, and perhaps inducement to accompany David, to Scotland to succeed to the crown of Scotland in 1124, after the death of Alexander, David's brother.
- 11.3.10 There is no doubt in 1124, Robert shared in some of David I's purpose, whether martial, economic, or religious. Robert must have been aligned somehow to David I's aim for the future of his realm; significant religious reform, the ongoing religious call to war in the east, territorial stabilisation and expansionism, establishment of new commercial burghs, a significant abbey building programme, and the migration of French-Norman knights and Flemish merchants into his territories. With David I establishing himself as the great reformer of the Scottish Church, we have to concede Robert was also mindful

¹²⁵ Tyerman, C, (2012) *Chronicles of the First Crusade*, Penguin, p. xx 57-58,

of religious cause and pliable to David I's will, otherwise the new king would not have placed Robert le Riche, Lord of Hatton de Cleveland into both his esteem and strategically important baronies within Midlothian, like the many other allied Anglo-French-Norman knights he placed with Scottish marcher baronies to enhance his control of his northern territories, eg., Comyn, Balliol, Lindsay, Graham, de Brus, de Moreville, and fitz Allan.¹²⁶

- 11.3.11 It is perhaps king David I, the great reformer, full of piety,¹²⁷ vision, and burning with ambition to join the Crusade,¹²⁸ that came to provide the greatest influence on Robert from 1124 until the last years of his life, around 1130; '*...and meeting with encouragement suitable to his great merit, he [Robert] settled there [Scotland].*'¹²⁹
- 11.3.12 Between 1124 and his death in around 1130, Robert had already passed on his titles in Hatton de Cleveland to his brother, Stephen, and his titles in Midlothian to another cause. We can assume this, as William does not inherit any title in Midlothian. There must be reason, whether personal, religious, or political for Robert to relinquish his Yorkshire titles to his brother, and territory granted him in Midlothian by David I.
- 11.3.13 It would be hard not to draw conclusion Robert perhaps seeks a cloistered life, towards life's end, as so many aging, pious knights before him. Resignation from the temporal world to become a noviate within one of David I's newly founded abbeys, and in the process passing his existing holdings to the Church with succour agreed for his young family; being in their adolescence at this time. Or perhaps, more likely, as Robert seems to remove all of his titled possessions from his son's inheritance, he seeks out holy crusade, responding to the call made by Hugh de Payens in 1128, professing his piety, donating his holdings and wealth, purposing his family to the Templar cause in the east, hoping to seek a glorious final chapter defending 'the Kingdom of God'.
- 11.3.14 It is incautious to accept Robert le Riche would exclude his first son, William, from all consideration, potentially disowning him, unless of course William was already predestined for holy orders, which would suggest Robert le Riche enters a military order rather than a regular monastic order, dedicating all to the Templar ideal. With the first Templar preceptory and land ownings centred around Midlothian, in the same region as Robert's territorial holdings gifted by David I, a circumstance is presented which cannot be ignored. The only certainty is William is left with his father's title, 'le Riche', appearing within the entourage of David I at the Battle of Standard without landholding, to be awarded the barony of Fowlis by a grateful king for his brave action in 1138, to

¹²⁶ Oram R D (2004) *David I: The King who made Scotland*, p.113

¹²⁷ 'He was devoted to the divine offices, and each day he heard all the canonical hours, and also the offices of the dead, without any interruption.' *Symeon of Durham, Opera Omnia*, ii, 330.

¹²⁸ 'He [David] would have renounced the Kingdom, laid down the sceptre, and joined the sacred army in the places of Our Lord's passion and resurrection, if he had not been dissuaded by the counsel of prelates and abbots, the tears of the poor, the sighing of widows, the desolation of the common folk, and the clamour and outcry of his whole kingdom; he was detained in body, but not in mind or will.' *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, I, 289-90

¹²⁹ Douglas, R. (1764). *The Peerage of Scotland*.

later appear as witness on royal charter in 1141 with the legal title William *Masculus* de Fowlis in place of his familial title, *le Riche*. To die with the title Lord William de Maule, Knight.

Religious Fervour

- 11.3.15 By 1138, William le Riche was the product of the age. A young man of noble birth, overwhelmed with tradition and expectation placed upon him by his heritage, family values, the Church and martial service to his lord, David I of Scotland. It is clear by the disbursement of Robert le Riche's property and titles; it was William's father's intent to reject 'worldly' existence before his death. Without his father and estates to keep him, William would have found himself either in the mentorship of the Church, the king, or another Christian society of care; a religious order, one that Robert le Riche had offered himself into before he resigned from worldly existence, handing over his wealth in land and titles in Midlothian, to serve God in completeness.
- 11.3.16 In 1138, living with his father's intent, William presented himself on the field of Battle by the side of David I and/or his son prince Henry. William's condition at the battle of the Standard is unclear; if he carried the title *Masculus*, recognised as a member of the secular clergy—a sanctified knight, or still to win his spurs and his position within David I's society. Without his father's influence, William was still probably bound by Robert's legacy, predestined to fulfil a station within David's aristocracy, not necessarily of his own design, so it may be William was 'in role' at point of maturity, even before the battle.
- 11.3.17 Principle amongst his mentors post-1130, was a deeply pious king, surrounded by a strong religious society of both ecclesiastics and lay-members who themselves were pious supporters of the Church and religious life.

David I, Prince of Cumbria, king of Scots

- 11.3.18 By the time David, Prince of Cumbria, took the Scot's crown he was very much the pious, Normanised prince, influenced by the English monarch and the French-Norman Church.¹³⁰ His religious zeal was intensified, particularly with regards to the poor condition of the Scottish Church; *'He [David I] found three or four bishops in the whole Scottish kingdom [north of the Forth] and the others wavering without a pastor to the loss of both morals and property; when he dies, he left nine.'* (Ailred of Rievaulx).¹³¹ This legacy of diocesan reorganisation, piety, and with it, Norman infiltration into the ethnic Scottish psyche is well recorded.¹³²
- 11.3.19 The king was committed to holy crusade, and it was only his counsel that prevented him from personal campaign. *He [David I] would have renounced the kingdom, laid*

¹³⁰ Stubbs W. (ed), *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum* vol. ii p.476

¹³¹ Anderson A O, (ed), (1908) *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers AD 500-1286*, London, p 233

¹³² Oram R. (2004) *David: The King who made Scotland*.

*down his sceptre, and joined the sacred army in the places of our Lord's passion and resurrection, if he had not been dissuaded by the counsel of prelates and abbots, the tears of the poor, and the sighing of widows, the desolation of the common folk, and the clamour and outcry of his whole kingdom, he was detained in body, but not in mind or will.*¹³³ David I's establishment of a Norman-based society and a new Church order was in its infancy as was his French/Norman aristocracy. It is no wonder he was discouraged from a new campaign overseas. The king's gallantry and martial spirit was evident, and his support for those who crusaded, demonstrated by his support for Hugh de Payens when he came, cap in hand, to raise money to resource defence and action in the Holy Land. There was no doubting David's religious zeal, his martial ability, or his support for those who would seek a life he could only wish for. With such a mentor, William's life direction was perhaps by the king's encouragement, bolstered by his ancestors' crusading legend, and the legacy of his father's piety.

John Capellanus (John 'the Chaplain')

11.3.20 David I's reorganization of the Scottish Church was orchestrated with help of David I's French chaplain, the reform-minded *John Capellanus*, a Tironensian cleric from the abbey of Tiron. David I elected John Capellanus to the Bishopric of Glasgow, created under David I's religious reforms, to become a significant religious and episcopal reformer before he died in 1147, and so he too may have had a direct or indirect influence on Robert and William's actions.

Ailred of Revaulx

11.3.21 At the age of twelve or fourteen, Ailred, born in 1110, educated at the cathedral school at Durham, was adopted by the court of David I as a companion to the king's son, Henry, born 1114.¹³⁴ Ailred rose, within the king's household at Roxburgh, to become *echonomus* (master steward), before he entered the Cistercian abbey of Revaulx in Yorkshire in 1134.

11.3.22 Ailred born Ethelred around eight-ten years William le Riche's senior, would have a tremendous influence on prince Henry, and by association, the other boys who surrounded the prince, including, if he was resident in the king's household, William le Riche. Ailred was a great scholar and formed deep and lasting friendships with his friends in the Scottish court, so much so, he delayed entering the abbey at Revaulx by two years.¹³⁵

11.3.23 Ailred's invite into the Cistercian community at Revaulx was made while he was eighteen years old and tells of his abilities. Interestingly, the abbot of Revaulx at that

¹³³ *RRS I*, 276-7

¹³⁴ Houston, J. M (Prof), (2007) *Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-1167), Knowing and Doing: Profiles in Faith*, CS Lewis Institute.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*

time was a former secretary to Bernard de Clairvaux, so again another tentative link is established between Bernard de Clairvaux's sermonising and David I's court, supporting the already fervent correspondence between Bernard de Clairvaux and David I.¹³⁶ It would not be surprising to discover it was David I's recommendation to Bernard de Clairvaux that saw Ailred plucked from David's court for a monastic life in Revaulx, and prominence within the annals of the Cistercian brotherhood. In 1142, in association with Bernard de Clairvaux, Ailred would write, *Speculum Caritatis* – 'The Mirror of Clarity,' indicating he had, at least by that time, a working relationship with Bernard de Clairvaux, and no doubt first-hand knowledge of his teachings.

- 11.3.24 Ailred's testimony that David was surrounded by Templars infers he witnessed their attendance on David I directly. He undoubtedly had opportunity whilst he was the king's steward before 1134, and abbot of Revaulx up to 1147; *'He [the king] committed himself to the counsel of religious men of all kinds, and surrounding himself with very fine brothers of the illustrious knighthood of the Temple of Jerusalem he made them guardians of his morals by day and night.'*¹³⁷ What is certain, whereas, Ailred's love of his friends at David I's court may bias his writings, he had no reason to lie about David's connection to the Knights Templar. It is unfortunate Ailred gives no indication how large David I's Templar entourage was, or who they were, but he does express both the king's and his own deep admiration of the king's Temple knights. Safeguarding the morals of a king with an already deeply pious application could only be garnered by a significant degree of confidence, ie., people the king knew well and trusted profoundly.

Earl Henry of Scotland, heir apparent to David I; friend to William le Riche?

- 11.3.25 As commonly practiced by the Norman monarchy, demonstrated ably by William I and his successor on prince David of Scotland in his formative years, there is perhaps little doubt William le Riche was brought into David I's new Scottish court at a young age, by the request of the king and no doubt the will of William's deeply pious father, to complete his education and martial training. This way the king adroitly built faithfulness amongst his marcher lords, cementing lasting bonds of loyalty between William, the heir to Robert le Riche's title, and David I's household, particularly David's heir, prince Henry, who was a similar age to William and so a fitting companion.
- 11.3.26 It was conceivably William's actions at Prince Henry's side at the Battle of the Standard, that prompted David I to award the young knight with a barony. Possibly Henry's death in 1152, at the age of 37 may have had great resonance with William as it did with David I, prevailing on William's establishment of Sacro Nemore, setting a new religious community into earnest prayer for the former prince. We cannot be certain of William's relationship with Earl Henry, but as William, *'who succeeded his*

¹³⁶ Macquarrie, A. (1985). *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560*. Edinburgh: p 17.

¹³⁷ *Chronical Fordun*, 225 (written around two hundred years after Ailred's testimony, employing the vocabulary of his day)

*father, was likewise in great favour with, and highly esteemed by king David I,*¹³⁸ it is probable a sound and influential relationship with both David I and his son existed.

The King's Court

11.3.27 It is clear William le Riche did not enter a cloistered life by 1138, as we see him in action at the Battle of the Standard, gaining a land title for his service to David I. By 1141, William appears on royal charter as a witness under the title *Masculus*, but still as the Lord of Fowlis, without a clue as to his role within David I's immediate court or household. William was not operating under terms similar to *Ansfrid Masculus*, ie., he was not dapifer to the king, instead that role was filled by, Walter fitz Allen, (*Walter filio Alani Dapifero*), who was the king's dapifer from before 1150, serving until his death in 1177,¹³⁹ the role previously occupied by Ailred. Similarly, Ranulf I de Soules, served as the king's cupbearer (*pincerna*), an advisor to the king in the Norman tradition. Hugh de Morville was the king's constable from 1138-62, responsible for the king's knights, foremost amongst David's lay-court. Although all these men are classified within David I's lay association, all had strong links to the Church and monastic institution, in terms of gifts, support, foundation and ultimately in some cases, retreat.

11.3.28 There is no record of William le Riche fulfilling a specific role within a noble house, and little room to make conjecture. The title *Masculus*, carried by at least six other knights excludes it from being a unique role. Yet William's appearance as witness on royal charter implies attendance on the king, within a group of knights all bearing the same religiously inspired title, much like the Templar knights surrounding David I.

David I's campaigns in Northumberland and Yorkshire, 1137-1138.

11.3.29 In the first Peerage of Scotland, William le Riche (under the designation Sir William de Maule); *'who succeeded his father, was likewise in great favour with, and highly esteemed by king David I, whom he accompanied (when but a young man) to the Battle of the Standard, anno 1138; and, for his gallant behaviour, was, by that generous prince rewarded with the lands and barony of Foulis in Perthshire, out of which he made donations to the religious.'*¹⁴⁰ (Douglas 1764:539). We do not have the original citation for this entry, but no reason to doubt it. This entry is the first time we have mention of William; a young man, part of David I's, or his son Henry's entourage or household at the Battle of the Standard.

¹³⁸ Douglas, R. (1764). *The Peerage of Scotland*, London.

¹³⁹ Barrow G. W. S. (ed.) (1999) *The Charters of David I: the written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-53 and of his son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52*, pp. 34-35. Woodbridge, the Boydell Press.

¹⁴⁰ Sir William de Maule is the 17th Century designation given by Robert Douglas, author of the *Peerage of Scotland*, and as such has no relation to William's contemporary 12th Century title.

- 11.3.30 As his presence at the Battle of the Standard attests, William le Riche, as a young knight without titled lands, was no doubt with David I's army as he campaigned between 1137 and 1138 for the earldom of Northumberland, whilst in support of Empress Matilda for the throne of England against the usurper Stephen of Blois. David I was one of the first secular lords to take an oath in support of his mentor, Henry I's controversial choice of his daughter, Matilda, for the succession to his throne. Stephen's actions gave David I, heavily reliant on ethnic Scot nobles and their forces, opportunity to make claim to Northumberland, and despite his eventual defeat at the Battle of the Standard near Northallerton, he still managed to hold onto his gains in Cumberland and Northumberland by his force of arms in the region and later by treaty.
- 11.3.31 We do not know what William le Riche's actions were at the battle, but we can presume he was listed amongst David I's household, as witnessed by Ailred, now a monk under the jurisdiction of Abbot William of Revaulx. Ailred's testimony is no doubt biased towards his childhood companion Earl Henry and his other friends from the Scottish king's household, that either formed the charge with Henry against the English lines or stayed with David I as he refused to yield; *'Next, the king's troop began to drop off, at first; man by man, and afterwards in bodies, the king standing firm, and being at last left almost alone. The king's friends seeing this, forced him to mount his horse and take flight; but Henry, his valiant son, not heeding what he saw being done by his men, but solely intent on glory and valour, while the rest were taking flight, most bravely charged the enemy's line, and shook it by the wonderful vigour of his onset. For his troop was the only one mounted on horseback, and consisted of English and Normans, who formed a part of his father's household. His horsemen, however, were not able long to continue their attacks against soldiers on foot, cased in mail, and standing immovable in close and dense ranks; but with their horses wounded, were compelled to take flight.'*
- 11.3.32 It was the barbaric appearance of the ethnic Scot, only retiring from the battle after they had lost their leaders, that set them out for prime attention by the chroniclers of the day, perhaps overshadowing the Anglo-Norman participants. This outlandish image of the Scot, would also skew the record of the Scottish participation in the Crusades, ensuring the Scottish-Norman nobility would fade into the morass of English and French speaking knights, both secular and religious, that filled the crusaders' ranks, to the point they would largely be taken for granted by observers and chroniclers. However, despite the ethnic Scots barbaric ways (they took female slaves in conquest), no one could doubt their bravery at the Battle of the Standard; *'After their custom gave vent thrice to a yell of horrible sound and attacked the southerns in such an onslaught that they compelled the first spearmen to forsake their post; but they were driven off again by the strength of the knights, and the spearmen [southerns] recovered their courage and strength against the foe. And when the frailty of the Scottish lances was mocked by the denseness of iron and wood, they drew their swords and attempted to contend at close quarters... Like a hedgehog with its quill, so would you see a Galwegian bristling all*

*round with arrows, and nonetheless brandishing his sword, and in blind madness rushing forward now smite a foe, now lash the air with useless strokes.*¹⁴¹

- 11.3.33 The battle's deciding action was perhaps the fog that curtailed vision and hampered any coordinated action by the Scottish. The Galwegians and the men of Lothian, in protest, insisted they made the first charge, but failed to break through. Henry's cavalry assault was mistimed as he struck the English flank, just as the Galwegians were in retreat, so robbing him of the support he required to make good his attack on the line. We do not know the names of the Anglo-Norman knights that made up Henry's charge, but we may presume, by his award, young William le Riche either kept the king safe or brought his vigour to Henry's valiant but doomed offensive; *'but of [David's] army, nearly ten thousand fell in different places, and as many as fifty were captured of his picked men. But the king's son came on foot with one knight only to Carlisle, while his father scarce escaped through the woods and passes to Roxburgh. Of two hundred mailed knights whom David had, only nineteen brought back their hauberks [mail shirts]'* We can only wonder if William was one of the nineteen, or the knight accompanying prince Henry to Carlisle on foot, or the knight that safeguarded the king in an ordered retreat by way of his steadfast rear-guard, or even one of the captives. What we do know William was singled out for his gallantry.

Secular Clergy

- 11.3.34 With both Ansfrid and Osbern *Masculus* confirmed as clerics, consideration was given to William le Riche and others carrying the title on Scottish charter were also included under the umbrella term 'secular clergy'.
- 11.3.35 Regrettably secular clergy is another broad subject that had largely escaped scholarly attention, and it is only those clerics who feature as major players in 11th and 12th century British history that receive consideration, along with debate as to their political and martial role within Anglo-Norman-Frankish society.
- 11.3.36 Professor Hugh Thomas confirms the omission from history of the secular clergy, ie., those Christian clerics operating outside monastic orders. He argued, instead of a marginalised subject, the secular clergy were amongst the most influential and powerful groups in European society during the Middle Ages, a group hitherto neglected in scholarship.¹⁴²
- 11.3.37 Professor Thomas discusses the worldliness of the secular clergy creating tensions with those who existed in religious life, with an often-fierce rivalry. Because contemporary writing largely came from those within religious life, often offering unfair critique, these wealthy clerics travelled an uncomfortable road, justifying their lifestyle and wealth against priestly models of poverty and chastity. This rivalry even extended to

¹⁴¹ Anderson, (1908), *Scottish Annals*, citing Ailred of Revaulx chronicling the Battle of the Standard, p 202.

¹⁴² Thomas, H. M. (2014) *The Secular Clergy in England 1066-1216*, Oxford University Press

the secular clergy's lay counterparts, who resented the secular clergy's influence over Church and sovereign.

- 11.3.38 Thomas points out the similarities between the 'secular' and the 'sacred'. He emphasises that without scholarly focus, the notion of the secular cleric is a paradox to the modern mind. Gregorian reforms and the popular idea clerics should neither suffer nor use violence as crucial marker of clerical distinctiveness is not the truth of 12th century society, where the two groups; secular knights and the secular clergy, by their behaviours were almost indistinguishable. Therefore, the line between highborn lay-knights and similarly aristocratic secular clergy was subtle, and thus it is not easy to differentiate between the two groups, without explicit information.
- 11.3.39 In consideration of those on record, those who carried the title *Masculus*, confirmed as clerics, it was considered William le Riche may also be a secular cleric. If he was, he could not be considered a low-born priest, but someone of higher birth serving amongst the aristocracy. William le Riche was a landholder, living in the world, outside the expectations of clerical celibacy and regular monastic rule. He was married, subject to inheritance, serving his sovereign and lords both ecclesiastic and lay, most likely as a martial warrior as it suited. What was unclear, if William le Riche *was* a secular cleric because he carried the title *Masculus*, what was his specific role within the Church?
- 11.3.40 Ansfrid *Masculus*' role was confirmed; seneschal in an ecclesiastic's household, and even Osbern *Masculus*, as a prebendary of Hoxton, is 'reported' to be Henry I's chaplain. But it was not obvious what William's role was in either the Church's hierarchy or David I's household. None of those on Scottish charter carrying the title *Masculus* were styled clerics. Only William's nephew, Thomas is named a 'cleric', but without confirmation he is titled *Masculus*. This confuses rather than illuminates. Regardless, William's declaration of the title *Masculus* must have relevance amongst his peers, declaring his purpose above and beyond his knightly status.
- 11.3.41 The study's authors, in consideration of why the title *Masculus* may have been employed by clerics, deliberated on the importance for individuals to differentiate themselves, from both their clerical brethren and the secular knight, particularly in relation to their martial activities, thus reinforcing their religious calling and status within it. Those secular clerics who rose from political or aristocratic appointment (eg., Ansfrid) may seek to invalidate criticism by an outward declaration of their piety, all within the confines of their loyalty and service to the Church and their secular and ecclesiastic lords.
- 11.3.42 During the investigation, it was difficult to 'label' those individuals who carried the term *Masculus* on Scottish charter, under the umbrella term, 'secular clergy', even though earlier holders of the title were clearly identified as clerics. When William le Riche grants land to his nephew, Thomas, *clericus*, sometime after 1160, the study took the assumption it was William granting lands to his nephew on reaching maturity, thus providing an income. (See [appendix IX](#)). Richard, William's other nephew acts as

witness to the charter, as well as Michael *Masculus*. As it is Richard who carries the de Maule lineage forward, it is assumed Richard is the elder of the two nephews, although we have no record if he is Thomas' sibling. Whereas the charter confirms Thomas as a cleric, it neither confirms his role in the secular clergy, nor confirms or disputes the possibility William Masculus is also to be regarded as a cleric, but with differing responsibility, or William's nephew Richard, who carries the line forward is in fact the Richard *Masculus* mentioned on charter around 1188 and if he is also a cleric.

Warrior Clerics

- 11.3.43 The religiously focused 'knight-cleric' was not an invention of the crusades in the east. The conquest of England in 1066, itself seen as a 'holy' crusade by the Normans, introduces the legend of the already martially active cleric into the realm, warring under the consent of Pope Alexander II and the Papal banner awarded to William, Duke of Normandy in exchange for reforming the Anglo-Saxon Church.
- 11.3.44 Personalities such as Bishop Odo of Bayeux, Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances and Remigius of Fecamp brought military service to William the Conqueror. They were all appointees of William to the Norman Church under a ducal system of hierarchy where the Church was generally controlled under an orthodoxy of devotion to the lay ruler rather than Rome. One must wonder, when the bishop's knights kneeled before the papal banner to vow their fidelity to the cause, if there were some warriors singled out for greater consideration for their piety and offered holy consecration to lead the charge and shepherd the remaining soldiers.
- 11.3.45 Odo's appointment to the Church was the result of Norman ducal tradition of appointing high-ranking clerics from within those nobles loyal to the duke rather than papal administration. This ensured a ruler's political and martial aims were realised, with the Church very much a puppet within the control of a conquered Christian society. This practice conflicted with Rome's aim for control of the Church and resulted in Gregorian reforms initiated by pope Gregory VII in 1050. Gregory's aim was to centralise the Church that up to then was heavily autonomous with the pope wielding little authority over bishops, previously appointed and invested in land by lay rulers up to the 12th century.
- 11.3.46 In the latter part of the 11th and early part of the 12th centuries many Norman-French clerics preferred men like Bishop Odo de Bayeux, the hero of Hastings to their pacifist peers. Odo was perhaps the most famous bishop of the Norman legend. Half-brother to William the Conqueror, he was, in the late 11th century, considered the exemplar of a warlike secular bishop. A knight, ordained, spawning a following of similarly loyal, martially tasked clerics, eg., Ansfrid *Masculus*, cleric, seneschal, and landholder and protector within Odo's territory. Norman dukes and bishops in turn placed their own men into leading ecclesiastical and secular society, and these were men martially trained, competent, and uppermost, they were expected to be loyal.

- 11.3.47 These men, exemplifying the traditions of the Norman or Frankish warrior; personal loyalty, service, and kinship, all within a deep conviction to the Christian faith, if not necessarily the Roman Church's ecclesiastical ideal. This play in both camps, allowed individuals such as Odo, within his royal connection, to rise to the summit of high nobility and ecclesiastic hierarchy, employing spoils of warfare and conquest to achieve his and his sovereign's goals. Odo's rise (and fall) was directly tied to the patronage of William I rather than the Church.
- 11.3.48 Orderic Vitalis (1075 -c.1142), chronicler and Benedictine monk, one of Odo's critics, was disapproving of Odo's priority given over to '*worldly affairs than to spiritual contemplation*'. It was not Odo's martial behaviour that was seen as his sin, but his loyalty to his king rather than God. In respect of another warrior-cleric, Geoffrey of Coutance, Orderic does not criticise Geoffrey's murder and mutilation of rebels in 1069 within the shires of Dorset and Somerset, instead he praises his munificence.¹⁴³
- 11.3.49 Orderic Vitalis gives us information that religious warriors were both prevalent and accepted by the Norman Church, and it was only their lack of spirituality that raised concern. A concern, Bernard de Clairvaux addresses in *Praise of the New Knighthood*, and his model of a spiritual knight. Reformist and later ecclesiastical writers fostering a pacifist ideology, portrays Odo at the Battle of Hastings rather as a 'cheerleader' than a combatant. Regardless of reformist rhetoric, in terms of William le Riche's time on earth, religiously 'inspired' notables such as Odo de Bayeux were very much seen as the epitome of the Christian warrior and the Norman derived Church's ideal.
- 11.3.50 In opposition to these secular warrior ecclesiastics was the reform ideology of the Clunics and Gregorians, set to desecularise the clergy, win monastic independence from the bishops, and reset their allegiance to Rome. However, it would be unsafe to believe early reform was destined to be successful, or in fact was the normative form of Christianity in William's time from 1120 into the late 12th century.¹⁴⁴
- 11.3.51 Leading up to the Crusades, pope Urban II (1088-1099) drew the distinction between secular and spiritual warfare, defining the activities as the prerequisites of different groups.¹⁴⁵ Urban II called for the disarming of clerics, yet by 1095 he was calling for clerically directed warfare—*Crusade*. Despite Urban II's prohibition on armed clerics, William of Malmsebury and Orderic Vitalis mention nothing of this prohibition in their writings, implying warrior clerics were already an integral and accepted part of the secular clergy.
- 11.3.52 Thus, it is probable in the climate of religious ideal versus medieval feudal reality, both Ansfrid and Osbern Masculus were martially active clerics. Osbern is conformed a canon of the Hoxton chapter, along with his son, Geoffrey, presumed named *Masculus*.

¹⁴³ Orderic Vitalis, 2, p 267

¹⁴⁴ Nakashian C. M. (2016), *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England 1000-1250, theory and reality*, Boydell Press, p 128 Woodbriger

¹⁴⁵ Smith K. (2011) *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, p 103. Boydell Press

It may be Ansfrid, Giraldus, Bruno and Arbertus *Masculus* were similar canons, established in cloistered *vita communis* (communal life) originating from cathedral and collegiate chapters; secular canons as opposed to regular canons, set out into the world onto differing career paths, but with common religious origins.¹⁴⁶ However, with only one man carrying the title *Masculus* confirmed as a canon, and so little scholarly focus available on the sphere of the secular canon,¹⁴⁷ only supposition is available. Regardless, it still does not clarify the purpose the title *Masculus* was given. What is probable however is the title is not a wholesale papal endorsement for a cleric to bear arms unless the individual was recognised by the Church under special conditions.

11.3.53 From the Council of Windsor in 1138, a law was disseminated forbidding clerics from bearing arms.¹⁴⁸ This is evidence that regardless of the Church's action to forbid clerics taking part in martial activity, the practice of clerical violence was still apparent. This canon came after Pope Nicholas I, declared a man could not be a knight of Christ and a knight of the secular world at the same time. More importantly it came four months after the battle of the Standard, where Archbishop Thurstan of York led the English barons into battle against David I, and of course, William le Riche. The canon may be a reaction against those clerics who fought in the campaign, reinforcing the probability clerics did fight at the battle of the Standard, but not by papal endorsement.¹⁴⁹

11.3.54 Thus, William le Riche could have been both a cleric and fought at the battle of the Standard. It may be the adoption of *Masculus* was a declaration to counter papal proclamation, and that a knight of Christ and a knight of the secular world could co-exist in the same body.

11.3.55 What would conflict with Church rhetoric aimed at secular clerical violence, ie., taking part in the fighting as opposed to directing it, is there was a body of men who walked the path as knights of Christ, but who had affiliates who still lived in the secular world. These were the *confratres* of the military orders, men who were regarded as knights of Christ, operating under vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, but had not yet fully professed to a wholly religious life.

11.3.56 These military orders had existed in Scotland since Hugh de Payens, Grand Master of the Knights Templar, visit in 1128, surrounding David 1 before his death in 1153. Was it not realistic to expect some of these men to accompany their king during his Yorkshire campaigns throughout 1137 and 1138? (*See 11.6.30*).

¹⁴⁶ Berg S. H. (ed) Arnold O. (ed) (2023) *Secular Canons in Medieval Europe: Diversity under Common Canon Law*. De Gruyter Akademie

¹⁴⁷ 'The history of secular canons is a field which has hitherto been far less in focus of historian scholarship.' Berg & Arnold (2023) for their work; *Secular Canons in Medieval Europe*.

¹⁴⁸ Powicke F. M. (Ed), Cheney C. R. (Ed) (1964) *Councils and Synods* 1, 2, p 777. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

¹⁴⁹ Senette D J (1991) *A Clunio Prelate: Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester (1129-1171)* p 124, Tuland University

Frankish Tradition: Religiously Focused Warrior Brotherhoods

- 11.3.57 In consideration William le Riche carried the title *Masculus* in association with other knights on Scottish charter, those on French cartulary and with clerics within Anglo-Norman society, but not exclusively while serving as a member of the secular clergy, attention was turned to the idea William le Riche was part of an unrecorded religiously inspired confraternity, and because it appears on charter, one that was officially recognised by both the Scottish Church and king.
- 11.3.58 Warrior brotherhoods are as old as war, but rarely recorded in the fullness, unless the participants are celebrity because of status or deed. Nevertheless, the study attempted to discount or confirm William le Riche and the knights bearing the name *Masculus* as being members of a hitherto unknown Frankish derived order of knights, endowed with common aim and values, perhaps constructed based on ancient Frankian traditions and Sallian law.¹⁵⁰
- 11.3.59 With the term *Masculus* being shared, not by disparate individuals, but in close association, as demonstrated by their joint appearance on charter (*see Appendix IX*) allowed the deliberation that the title *Masculus* was carried by a recognised brotherhood of knights.
- 11.3.60 Francesco Sansovino distinguished knightly orders into broadly three main groups; dynastic orders of knighthood, religious military orders and those created by a sovereign or feudal lord.¹⁵¹ These groups would be recognised in law, and in most cases, the Church. The study discounted monarchial orders as *Masculus* extended into at least four separate monarchies and dukedoms. *Masculus* being a signifier of a dynastic knightly order was also contested since those who carried the title were not necessarily from the higher levels of nobility.
- 11.3.61 *Informal* brotherhoods of knights, such as demonstrated by Hugh de Payens' original kith and kin confraternity, were also discounted because the title *Masculus* was used as a legal identifier on charter in place of their given names, thus the title *Masculus* was both recognised and sanctioned by the Church and sovereign as a legal condition.
- 11.3.62 It was presented Charles Martel, undisputed 8th century hero of the Frankish empire, prototypical dutiful Christian martial hero, progenitor of the kings of France and grandfather to Charlemagne (*Carolus Magnus*) the first medieval Holy Roman Emperor and primary Roman Catholic monarch, may have been instrumental in the establishment of courtly orders of knights made up of a purposed kith and kin

¹⁵⁰ Sallian or Sallic law was a civil law code compiled around AD 500 ad by Clovis the first Frankish king. Although largely forgotten in the feudal period (9th to 15th centuries), the code still shaped the French psyche in the 14th century. Particularly inheritance, 'whereof all daughters are excluded, although they be natural and legitimate; according to the fundamental Sallic Law of the Kingdom. *'Successor Imperij Francorum Masculus.'* Under the first and second lines of our kings, bastards have rather been admitted to the crown, than daughters and their legitimate sons'. Fawne A (1534-1633) *The Theatre of honour and knighthood*.

¹⁵¹ Sansovino F. (1570) *Deli'origine dei Cavalieri Vol. 1*, Heredi di Marchio Sessa, p.14.

confraternity of religiously minded aristocrats, set against any perceived Muslim threat from Spain.

- 11.3.63 It is suggested Martel was the architect of the first recorded Francian order of Christian knights by a 17th century French historian, heraldic scholar, and lawyer of the supreme court of the Paris parliament, André Favyn.¹⁵² Although Favyn's work is unreferenced, and so some historians doubt its authenticity, there is no doubt brotherhoods of warriors would have existed, as they had existed since the classical age.
- 11.3.64 After the battle of Tours (AD 732), where Martel, as *de facto* ruler of the Frankish kingdoms and Odo the duke of Aquitaine halted the Muslim threat to the Christian western empire, in remembrance of the battle against the Muslim, Martel is reported to have instigated the *Order of the Gennet*.
- 11.3.65 '*...to preserve the memory of this famous battle to posterity, so happily won against Abd al-Rahman al-Ghafiqi. He [Martell] instituted and devised the first Order of Knighthood, which had been seen in France, and which he named of the Gennet [...]. He composed this Order, to consist of sixteen knights only...*'¹⁵³
- 11.3.66 This order sits alongside other legends of orders in Spanish, Merovingian and Carolingian history, such as in the origins of; The Order of the Golden Spur, the Order of St Remigius, the Order of the oak and *Cavalleria del Perro* (Knighthood of the Dog),¹⁵⁴ to name a few. Supported by confirmed short-lived orders such as the Order of the Lion, (late 11th early 12th century) founded by Enguerrand I or Enguerrand II.¹⁵⁵
- 11.3.67 André Fayne reports, in the same work, of another order of knighthood instituted by Robert II, 'the Pious', in Anno 1022, that existed up to the 14th century and was re-established by John II of France.
- 11.3.68 '*Robert [II] putting all his hope in God, by assistance of the sacred Virgin, Star of the Sea, the guide and lantern of his kingdom: in honour of her, he erected and instituted a new order of knighthood, which he would have to be styled and named, The Order of our Lady of the Star. This Institution was in the month of August, the year of grace, One thousand twenty-two [...];The Order was composed of thirty Knights...*'¹⁵⁶
- 11.3.69 Ansold III le Riche (Ansold I de Maule; first baron de Maule) (1005-65) was reported in genealogy study to be counsellor to the king of France (1045 until his death 1060) and so may well have been contained within this knightly order under Robert II, thus

¹⁵² Fayne A. (1623) *The Theater of Honour and Knighthood* London

¹⁵³ Fayne A. (1623) *The Theater of Honour and Knighthood* pp 309-315 London. The account gives surprising detail on Martel and the Order of the Gennet, considering the dearth of existing contemporary record from the 8th century and prior narrative on the subject from other historians.

¹⁵⁴ Márquez M Y (1650) *Tesoro de Todas Ordines Militares Antiguas y Modernas*,

¹⁵⁵ Ackermann G. A. (1855) *Ordensbuch, Sämtlicher in Europa blühender und Erlöschener Orden und Ehrenzeichen*, p 209. Annaberg.

¹⁵⁶ Fayne, p 342-347

instigating a tradition for family attendance within a religious order, although this is purely conjecture.

- 11.3.70 Regardless of legend, confraternities of secular and religiously focused knights were becoming common in the medieval period before the 12th century, and no doubt were copied as fashion amongst similarly minded lesser Christian knights. These knight confraternities were formed from kin and those fellow knights brought together in common purpose, both military and religious, whether it was protection of Church property and personnel, or mutual support on crusade or pilgrimage.¹⁵⁷ It is likely there were many such confraternities created by the end of the 12th century consecrated by the Church or formed in secular brotherhood. Christian knights who believed their swords should be used in God's service, defeating evil so their brotherhoods of family and friends may enter a state of higher grace.
- 11.3.71 One of the key elements of Christianity is fellowship, often in the making by family groups and friends. This was the basis of Hugh de Payens Templar origins, a small band of brother knights, kith and kin; close friends and family members, with a singular purpose, governed and guided by their own will and a purpose directed by the Christian gospel, rather than Christian doctrine, Church or sovereign directive.
- 11.3.72 The 11th century campaign by the Normans to conquer southern Italy was highlighted by a papal campaign against the Norman with the pope's creation of sanctified knights to combat the incursion of the Norman threat. Under the pope's banner, *the Vexillum Sancti Petri* (the flag of St Peter) in 1053, two opposing Christian forces faced off at the Battle of the Civitate. *Milites Sancti Petri*, the Knights of St Peter, were founded by Pope Leo IX as a consecrated militia, not in crusade, but to defend the Church nonetheless.¹⁵⁸ This order of knights followed the feudal practice of nobles conferring knighthoods on their soldiers as they saw fit, the Church establishing their own order of knights, *Milites Sancti Petri*, to both protect the Church, its premises and holdings and Christians in the western world.
- 11.3.73 For the purposes of elimination, consideration was given to the title, *Masculus*, potentially taken to counter religious browbeating, promoting the ancient construct of the martial hero; conquest and power over the religious ideal of the virtuous knight. With a clan name—*le Riche* and territorial titles in hand, could *Masculus* be a braggard's title—a reaffirmation of the power of the *le Riche* in medieval society, in protest against the Church's view of spiritual masculinity above that of martial prowess? The scenario was easily discounted because *Masculus* was already a title carried by contemporary French/Norman secular clerics and known to William le Riche as such. Also, with a court circle of religious influencers, it was unlikely William, who was reported to be in the king's esteem, would deliberately counter his sovereign and mentor's religious reform with a provocative martial attitude towards his knighthood.

¹⁵⁷ Nicholson H. (2001) *The Knights Templar* p.23

¹⁵⁸ Demurger A (2005) *Les Templiers. Une Chevalerie Chrétienne au Moyen Age*. Paris

- 11.3.74 Without further research into European cartulary and record confirming an explicit connection between all those who carried the title *Masculus* from 1080 to 1180, it was impossible to conjecture those who carried the title was a hitherto unknown order of knights, particularly as it was impossible to confirm inception for the order, if it indeed existed. What was apparent however, is William le Riche is a member of an association of Scottish knights, carrying the title *Masculus*. It is a formal confraternity, not an informal brotherhood as the title is recognised on legal charter by Church and sovereign.
- 11.3.75 Closer to William's existence, perhaps the most significant brotherhoods were those spawned from the Crusades, including, the most influential groups of Christian knights prior to the mid-12th century; Knights Templar, Knights Hospitaller, Knights of St Lazarus, Teutonic Knights and primarily, the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.
- 11.3.76 Indeed, superficially, it seemed to the study, it was Templar affiliation that would be the most likely bond between a group of similarly titled knights, in close association with David I, carrying a pseudo religious title. Particularly as the king's correspondent, Bernard de Clairvaux's key arguments against the 'worldly' knight was his 'feminine' trappings. Indeed, it was this presented as argument in the first edition of the study report for William being a Templar. But as the title *Masculus* pre-dated the Templar foundation and crusading activity in the east, it could only be an honorific that declares him fit to be a Templar, not necessarily a label uniquely defining him as one.

Masculus and the Charles Martel 'connection'

- 11.3.77 While searching for the use of *Masculus* and its derivatives within early texts, the study was advised to look for possible misinterpretation that may have been carried over to later transcriptions. This was particularly relevant in 7th and 8th century Merovingian script, where due to the letterforms' construct, the 'r' and 's' are almost indiscernible, thus *masculus* (masculine) and *marculus* (hammer) in Merovingian letterform could be easily confused, and thus mis-transcribed, particularly if it is presented outside a sentence to give the word context, or the scribe's knowledge of the content of the script he was transcribing was lacking. The study's palaeographic reference also warned of compartmentalising types of Latin, ie., dating Latin as *Ante-Classic*, *Classic* or *Late*, as the context of the script and the writer needed to be considered, ie., in terms of works of poetry and literature, using anachronistic forms of Latin as it suited, or even older forms of Latin being the scribe's preference. This issue provided both interesting possibilities and potential red herrings whenever the Latin derivatives of the word *marculus* (meaning 'hammer') was proffered without clarity of meaning or use. Thus, when Charles Martel, a modern interpretation of his Latin transcribed name, *Carolus Martellum*, Charles 'the hammer' was introduced to the study as the progenitor of the Frankish kings and potential originator of religiously inspired orders of knights, consideration was given to the origins of Martel's by-name. The result was inconclusive but thought-provoking, nonetheless. The discussion on the matter, ultimately was

considered a distraction from the study, but worthy enough to be included in appendix, as if the conjecture it presented could be proven, it would go a long way to answer the conundrum why *Masculus* would be adopted by any knight wishing to emulate a Frankish hero, Christian saviour, and founder of the Western Church. ([See Appendix XI](#))

Crusading

- 11.3.78 Perhaps the greatest influence on an Anglo-Franco-Norman noble's son in the early 12th century, would be his responsibility to his name, family, his master, the Church, and his father's will. As first son, William le Riche was always destined to follow his father into a martial world. The dual road of martial responsibility and religious calling was a given for a moral Christian of noble birth. The outlet for the aristocrat was catered for in the ducal system, allowing a knight to become ordained into holy orders yet still exercise his martial behaviour, so long as it was in the interest of his lord. Perhaps Odo de Bayeux is the most recognisable example of this type of warrior cleric, becoming bishop of Bayeux at only nineteen years of age.
- 11.3.79 For the Normans, the conquest of England was seen as holy crusade, but its dignity in analysis by contemporary historians such as Orderic Vitalis (1120), was presented as less than noble, with a series of brutal campaigns post Hastings; *'I can say nothing good about this brutal slaughter. God will punish him [William I]...'*¹⁵⁹
- 11.3.80 From the beginning of the 11th century, Pope Alexander I instigated the sanctified knight to fight on its behalf, not only in campaign against the Muslim in the Iberian Peninsula but against Christian forces as it suited. Thus, the opportunities for the truly religiously inspired knight were blunted by wars between Christian kings, a Church in schism, political and territorial motivation at its foundation, rather than holy calling.
- 11.3.81 However, when Pope Urban II urged Christians throughout Europe to undertake an armed pilgrimage to retake Jerusalem and the Holy Land, thousands enthusiastically responded in a series of campaigns, termed by modern historians as the *First Crusade*. This dual road of martial assignment and religious calling combined in one of the most significant social, religious, economic, and political movements in the 12th century Christian world—the *Crusades*. William le Riche's childhood will have been replete with stories of Holy war, crusading and crusaders. He could not avoid it. No noble's son could. His father and his grandfather crusaded. William's relatives were all embroiled in the Crusades. Indeed, his great-uncle was a lead within the First Crusade, so an illustrious legend was placed before William. What the Crusades offered a young man, with martial ambition but leanings towards a spiritual road, was a social institution in which the Church replaced the sovereign as the war monger, allowing the armed nobility to fight in piety for a greater spiritual prize. Where territorial conquest and a sovereign's pride was veiled, masked by the protection of pilgrims and their holy

¹⁵⁹ Orderic Vitalis. *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, p.28

places, all by ‘God’s’ warrior-class against its enemies; *milites Christi*—knights of Christ.¹⁶⁰ With the knight-cleric already established, with no holy wars to be fought on English or Scottish ground, it is no wonder the knight-cleric’s attention turned eastwards.

- 11.3.82 When *Pope Eugene III* ordered the call to arms in the aftermath of the fall of Edessa (1144),¹⁶¹ it roused European kings and nobles alike into response. David I of Scotland was no different and expressed a desire to join the Second Crusade, *He [David I] would have renounced the kingdom, laid down his sceptre, and joined the sacred army in the places of our Lord’s passion and resurrection, if he had not been dissuaded by the counsel of prelates and abbots, the tears of the poor, and the sighing of widows, the desolation of the common folk, and the clamour and outcry of his whole kingdom, he was detained in body, but not in mind or will.*¹⁶²
- 11.3.83 One can assume from David I’s fervour for crusade, it was accompanied by his support and encouragement to those lords under his control and mentorship, and not least the Templars that Ailred of Revaulx claims surrounded him.
- 11.3.84 As the rest of Europe, Scotland’s contribution would be as significant as it could be. *At no period were there many knights in Scotland... There were no militant infidels to be conquered in Britain, and the sphere of action elsewhere required every fighting man they could enrol in their ranks.* ([Edwards 1903:43](#)). There is a record of a contingent of Scots leaving Dartmouth, England in 1147 with intention to sail to the Holy Land. Their journey however was interrupted by bad weather, and together with a combined force of 13,000 Flemish Frisian, German, Anglo-Norman, and English crusaders, they took part with an army of 7,000 Portuguese capturing Lisbon from the Moors. No one knows who led the Scottish contingent as their presence is only reported by way of their notable half-naked appearance in the action and siege; *‘quis enim scottos barbarous neget.’* - *‘for who will defy the barbarian Scots’*. As the battle of Standard nine years earlier, it would be the ethnic Scots appearance that would overshadow their conventionally attired Anglo-Norman counterparts throughout the long siege of Lisbon.
- 11.3.85 *Macquarrie* hypothesises despite David I’s enthusiasm for the Crusade, his councillors and nobility seem to have shown little enthusiasm. David I was indeed dissuaded from participating in Crusade by his advisers.¹⁶³ Assumption is made David I’s absence from the first Crusade was then exercised over his court and nobles, supported by reports the Scots who went to Lisbon in 1147 were, like the Scottish participants on the First Crusade, barbarians, with an absence of identified Anglo-Norman personnel connected to David I in the chronicles of the Crusades.

¹⁶⁰ Ashbridge T (2012) *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*. Simon & Schuster.

¹⁶¹ Edessa, located in south-east Turkey, was a crusader state founded during the First Crusade by *King Baldwin I of Jerusalem*.

¹⁶² Barrow G. S. (1960) *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, i, pp 276-7

¹⁶³ Macquarrie, A. (1985). *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560*. Edinburgh, p. 19

- 11.3.86 This is perhaps not surprising considering the general lack of mid-12th century detail on the actions and involvement of individual participants, and the appearance of the ethnic Scots, singling them out for note from the morass of similarly presented European knights, and men at arms. However, not to accept knights and nobles in David I's court came forward to embrace the Crusade and the Templar cause with sword as well as resources is very difficult to accept, considering David I's piety, influence on his own noble community, admiration of the Templars and his own deep personal desire to crusade. The king may have been discouraged from personal attendance, but as indicated by the presence of Scottish forces in the Second Crusade, his realm's participation was evident, those ethnic Scot combatants led by both their ethnic and French noble equivalents. Scotland's contribution may not have been as vociferous as their French and European counterparts, but it would have been proportional, considering David I's relatively small fledgling Norman, Flemish and French originated aristocracy, still with strong ancestral family ties.
- 11.3.87 It is not known if William le Riche and his 'Masculus' faction was among those who fought in Portugal, but it is likely some of David I's entourage would have participated in the operation along with other of David's loyal nobles with a similar zeal for crusade, shared throughout the European nobility. We can be certain with the extended action of the Second Crusade and the Pope's call to arms, William and/or his family and his 'Masculus' confraternity would have participated somehow.
- 11.3.88 Although there is no unequivocal written evidence William le Riche took part in the Crusades, or even travelled east. William's participation is implied by the aspiration of the religiously inspired knight in the 12th century, his undoubted authority and expectation from within his own society, the legend of his father, and in consideration of his presence and esteem within David I's religious conviction for crusade.
- 11.3.89 From existing evidence, William is placed as witness to Scottish charters dated around 1141 and then sometime after 1147. (See 9.3.6). No other charter survives confirming William's attendance in Scotland specifically between these dates. Reverend Bryce Johnston's engraving reports William le Riche with a connection to Sacro Nemore in 1154, although there is no proof William le Riche was present at Sacro Nemore at this time. Therefore, supposition allows us to conceive William outside the Scottish realm at least between 1141 and 1154, ie., a period that includes Scotland's involvement in the Second Crusade. It may seem odd considering William's standing, he is not mentioned elsewhere, and particularly within the rolls of crusading nobility that took part, but since there is no specific mention of Scottish Templars or nobles in combat overseas, it is perhaps understandable, particularly as many Scottish crusaders were individuals or small groups of family members with slight impact on overall crusading operations, and so overlooked by chroniclers of the day.
- 11.3.90 Therefore around 1147, William had opportunity to travel to the east. It is certain by 1147, he had already answered the call to crusade. If in Scotland at this time he would

to be expected to either support, direct or be part of the contingent of Scots who travelled from the port at Dartmouth, England. William's status dictated he participated somehow in the leadership of the Scottish crusaders, both holy and secular alike, in lieu of the Scottish Church's directive and his king's yearning to crusade.

- 11.3.91 Speculation aside, and with no positive proof of William's participation in specific actions of the crusades, there are clues afforded by successive armorials carried by the direct descendants of William le Riche, which support the notion William was indeed a crusader or at least undertook pilgrimage to the Holy Land. William's great grandnephew, William de Maule, who was Sheriff of Forfar and succeeded as Baron of Panmure in 1254, carried eight escallops upon his arms (*see Figure 54*). The number of escallops, armorial devices indicating pilgrimage/crusading, increased to nine with William de Maule's son, Henry, in 1312.
- 11.3.92 Therefore, there is an implied seven crusaders existing before William de Maule, all within his direct ancestral line, all head of family, leading back to the originator of the Scottish *de Maule* clan, Ansold le Riche, first baron de Maule.
- 11.3.93 Including Henry de Maule, who carries nine escallops on his family armorial, nine heads of the le Riche/de Maule line leading back to the beginnings of the de Maule name around 1045 are identified. This distinguished reign of knights crusaders carries connection with leading characters including Walter II of Poissy, Lord of Boissy-sans-Avoir, co-leader of the *People's Crusade* at the beginning of the *First Crusade* who was related to Guarin le Riche by marriage to Guarin's sister Hubeline. Thus, by a count of escallops, William le Riche must be included amongst Henry de Maule's ancestors to make sense of the *de Maule* armorial. And because of the dates of his maturity, 1138-1170, William was likely to have undertaken his journey to Jerusalem as a crusader, in one of the many crusading actions of that period.
- 11.3.94 Commencing with Ansold le Riche, the father of the Scottish *de Maule* dynasty, all his direct descendants following, as outlined on the next page, could have participated in crusading/pilgrimage.

The Templar Bells of Scotland
An investigation into the origins of the bells in a Dumfriesshire church

1.	Ansold le Riche	c.1005 – c.1065	Ansold III, le Riche, first baron de Maule, counsellor to the king of France
	↓		
2.	Pierre le Riche	c.1025 - after 1101	Pierre I, Baron de Maule. First son of Ansold III le Riche.
	↓		
3.	Guarin le Riche	c.1047 – c.1098	Guarin ' <i>le Jeunes</i> ' Lord de Hatton of Cleveland. Fourth son of Pierre le Riche.
	↓		
4.	Robert le Riche	Died around 1130	Lord in Midlothian and Hatton de Cleveland. First son of Guarin le Riche
	↓		
5.	William le Riche	c.1120 – before 1189	William <i>Masculus</i> , Lord of Fowlis.
	↓		
6.	Richard de Maule		Possibly Richard <i>Masculus</i> . First nephew to William le Riche
	↓		
7.	Peter de Maule	Died 1254	Peter de Maule of Panmure and Bervie. First son of Richard de Maule
	↓		
8.	William de Maule		William de Maule of Panmure. First son of Peter de Maule.
	↓		
9.	Henry de Maule		Henry de Maule of Panmure. Only son of William de Maule of Panmure.

Hugh de Payens and the Knights Templar

11.3.95 When Hugh de Payens, master of the Knights Templar, visited David I in 1128, sponsored by Henry I, in the cause of recruitment for holy purpose in the east, there is little doubt Robert le Riche, as friend, noble and landowner would have either been among those who listened to de Payens' entreaty, or would have reacted to it in absentia.

11.3.96 We do not know if Robert was familiar with Hugh de Payens as a former crusader, or indeed if he was already gifting the knights of the Temple of Solomon with money, as was the case with a number of knights; '*...making donations after they had returned from crusades or pilgrimages, because they had received help and assistance from the*

*Templars while abroad.*¹⁶⁴ But as a crusader, Robert, like many of his Anglo-French brethren would have been hugely sympathetic to Hugh de Payens' cause. Hugh de Payens needed men, money, and horses to continue the fight and support of beleaguered crusader states. History records David I supported the plea with resource and a lasting connection to the newly formed religious military orders and their leaders, and it was certain Hugh de Payens' recruitment was immediately successful; '*...as a result, more people went [to the Holy Land] either with him [de Payens] or after him, than ever before since the time of the First Crusade.*'¹⁶⁵

- 11.3.97 What is unlikely, in the knowledge David I surrounded himself with Templars,¹⁶⁶ is there were no locally derived knights of Christ. One cannot imagine, not even one of David I's Anglo-Norman nobles, many of them crusaders, did not step forward to support the ideal of holy cause of war against the perceived enemies of the Christian Church. It is hard to picture David I warmly embracing Hugh de Payens and his entreaty whilst all his people simply looked to their slippers in the hope they would not be called upon. The notion is simply too farcical to comprehend. David I's nobles did step forward and some will have stepped enthusiastically, as they did in England, France, and the rest of Europe, to provide whatever support as they saw fitting.
- 11.3.98 William le Riche, at the time of de Payens' visit would probably still be a young boy so his influence on his father would be marginal. However, the fervour that overtook king David's French derived aristocracy would be palpable, more so for a boy in pious company with martial intent, even to the point William's vocation and ambition was determined for him at a highly impressionable early age in the cause of crusade.
- 11.3.99 The Crusades and Hugh de Payens' cause will not have been news to William. Pilgrims returning from Palestine would have no doubt fuelled stories of actions in the Holy land, and it was feasible that William, whilst still a boy had already travelled on pilgrimage to the east with his father. At the very least his father who undoubtedly crusaded and may even been part of the campaigns surrounding the First Crusade, or in post association with the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.
- 11.3.100 Unfortunately, there is no written record how David I's nobles responded to Hugh de Payens' plea. What we do possess, however, is a chain of events to better help understand how Robert le Riche may have reacted before his death in around 1130, and so committed William to a course of action that led him to Sacro Nemore.

¹⁶⁴ Schenk J, (2012), *Templar Families; Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, C.1120-1307*, Cambridge University Press. P 33

¹⁶⁵ Garmonsway G. (ed) (1958) *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Everyman p 259

¹⁶⁶ 'He [David I] committed himself to the counsel of religious men of all kinds, and surrounding himself with very fine bothers of the illustrious knighthood of the Temple of Jerusalem, he made then guardians of his morals by day and night.' *Chronicle. Fordun*, (14th century) 225 (citing Ailred of Revaulx c.1150)

Bernard de Clairvaux

- 11.3.101 If Hugh de Payens personal entreaty was not enough to invigorate passions for the holy knight, David I's correspondence with Bernard de Clairvaux would have been fuel on the fire. Bernard de Clairvaux was a champion of reform for a new breed of knight, 12th century spirituality and the crusades. There exists a letter from Bernard to David I, which is no doubt one of others written beforehand, in which the two religious reformers probably share their zeal for both reform and crusade in the east. There is conjecture when the known letter was written, with a date of 1137 supposed.¹⁶⁷ No doubt David I was familiar with Bernard de Clairvaux's entreaty, supposed written sometime between 1129 and 1136,¹⁶⁸ extolling the virtues of the purely spiritually focused religious knight, away from existing secular Christian and ordained knights distracted by 'worldly' matters.
- 11.3.102 Hugh de Payens cause was promoted by Bernard de Clairvaux, a leading Cistercian and ardent supporter of the Knights Templar, writing eloquent and influential propaganda for the Templars in validation of their new identity. *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, Bernard's early 12th century treatise; '*de Clairvaux extols the virtue of the Knights Templar and shames secular knighthood.*'¹⁶⁹ Bernard de Clairvaux's entreaty was designed to promote the Templars and allay any criticism regarding their adopted way of life, in a time when religious masculinity was in debate.¹⁷⁰ Bernard de Clairvaux writes about a union of monasticism and warrior, away from the condition of secular knighthood. He praises the Templar way and criticises the 'worldly' knight, those religiously purposed knights who display a wanton attitude to their knighthood.
- 11.3.103 In the historians' misunderstanding of why William and his family should be called *Masculus*, they have failed to appreciate the very significance of the Latin designation in relation to the mid-12th century martial-religious reform and the origins of the medieval chivalric society, and the ongoing religious rhetoric aimed at '*...worldly, effeminate secular knights, distracted by the superficialities of the material world.*'¹⁷¹
- 11.3.104 Reading Bernard de Clairvaux's vision for a new breed of religious knight, it would be fitting for a pious, but 'worldly' secular knight, wishing to be reborn into a new holy warrior order, to take a title which reflected the very essence of the warrior-monk code. A title already carried by those he knew to be exemplar pious knights. It is no doubt Robert le Riche, now in his late fifties would be thinking of the next, eternal life, and

¹⁶⁷ Macquarrie, A. (1985). *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560*. Edinburgh: p 17

¹⁶⁸ Upton-Ward J.M. (1992) *The Rule of the Templars* p 4. The Boydell Press

¹⁶⁹ Bernard de Clairvaux, Conrad Greenia (Trans)

¹⁷⁰ Kaeuper, R. (2009). *Holy Warriors; the Religious Ideology of Chivalry*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

¹⁷¹ De Clairvaux, B. (c.1130). *In Praise of the New Knighthood. A Treatise on the Knights Templar and the Holy Places of Jerusalem*. (Conrad Greenia, M trans.) Kentucky: Liturgical Press. (A translation of the *In Laude novae militiae* from the critical Latin edition prepared by J Leclercq OSB and H Rochais under the sponsorship of the Order of Cistercians and published in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol.3. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963 & 2000.)

so a holy-warrior's identity and death, espoused by holy commandment, must have seemed a securer, admirable route to God; enabling the rejection of old earthly titles and property, born of avaricious values, cleansing the conscience before embracing heavenly realm. A sentiment perhaps shared by his king, who at the age of sixty entitled his son, 'king designate'—*rex designates*, paving the way for the possibility for David to leave his kingdom for crusade to seek a nobler death.¹⁷²

11.4 *Masculus; Summary—a confraternity of sanctified knights*

- 11.4.1 The study's exploration into the origins and significance of the term *Masculus* to a 12th century knight could only be cursory. To understand the origins of the title in relation to 11th and 12th century holders, required more time and research into all those who carried the title outside Scottish charter, and investigation into European cartulary required resource and access the study simply did not have.
- 11.4.2 What could not be determined, from lack of evidence, was certainty over how the title had been developed, and under what conditions it was awarded in antiquity up to the beginning of the 12th century. The study had no idea as to how many more knights in Scotland carried the title along with William le Riche, ie., those whose presence had been lost along with Scottish record and charter, or those who were posted outside Scotland.
- 11.4.3 It was evident the title *Masculus* was carried by an individual, who defined their condition within religious acceptance and purpose. It was their pronouncement to the world; a legal declaration of the holder's religious dignity in terms of the expectation of the Church and a Christian ideal of hegemonic masculinity, citing them exemplar Christian men. But not only Christian men, but spiritual warriors defending the Church, countering the criticism of those who perhaps saw the secular knight as less than spiritually sound. Thus, by taking the title over their worldly names on public charter, they were known to be sanctified and understood for who they were by the Church, law, laity, and their sovereign.
- 11.4.4 It may well be, *Masculus* was a title adopted by someone who was regarded as a secular canon; those who served the Church and chose to live communally as 'brothers' within a set of vows and within the customary discipline of the Church, but not fully professed under a religious rule. This way of life for the religious warrior existed from the 8th century and would form the basis of protection for the Church in both the west in the 11th century, and the east by the beginning of the 12th century, with its members serving the Church as soldiers.
- 11.4.5 It was clear, William was part of a tradition amongst some members of the secular clergy to be named *Masculus*, but as the *inscribed* bell attests, William le Riche was someone who, for the larger part of his adult life had committed to the religious life,

¹⁷² Macquarrie, A. (1985). *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560*. Edinburgh: p 17.

not the secular clergy. From 1154, the earliest date offered for his tenure as *abbas* of Sacro Nemore, William maintains the title *Masculus* while he represents himself as a landholding knight on charter.

- 11.4.6 Therefore, the title *Masculus* is certainly not a rank to be maintained exclusively within the secular clergy. Instead, the title bridges the divide between the secular cleric, the soldier, and the cloistered brother. Only two other organisations in the early part of the 12th century in Scotland bridge this gap, the *Knights Templar* and the *Knights of St John*.
- 11.4.7 Existing charters and records are few, and they provide no obvious direction to who, within David I's aristocracy, were involved as crusaders as secular clergy, or as members of the religious military orders. It is obvious however, there were knights listed on charters who must have been crusaders and *in facto* religious knights.
- 11.4.8 The traditions and praise of the Norman/French warrior-cleric must have been still entrenched in the mindset of the noble-born warrior of the early 12th century; piety coupled with martial prowess. These deeply pious warriors wanted recognition, not criticism for their war in the name of Jesus Christ. It was this vigour and intent that must have inspired Hugh de Payens and his small band of brother knights to seek holy recognition within their martial desires. A purpose mirrored by William le Riche and his own band of kith and kin. Hugh de Payens wanted to be recognised as a soldier of Christ, with spiritual and legal detachment from the criticism of the warriors around him, living a secular existence. We can view William and 'clan' *Masculus* as such a similarly minded religious warrior confraternity, dedicated to the religious ideal of holy warriors, and legally identified as such.
- 11.4.9 The Church sanctifies knights who war for the sake of the Church, without renaming them all *Masculus*, yet we see William and his confraternity of knights special enough to warrant their titles being cast into their seals and applied to legal document. William, knight, is confirmed to be in holy orders, so we can take his title *Masculus* as a label carried within that order, and that order comprising of a confraternity of knights, some or all titled *Masculus*, already recognised by the Scottish Church under David I. We cannot say it was a title exclusively carried by Scottish Templars or Hospitallers because it exists prior to the creation of the Templar and Hospitaller orders. But in newly established orders, yet to have common understanding of title or terminology, as demonstrated by the Templars and Hospitallers, then the application of a title carried by past religiously focused, martially active clergy, will have merit, particularly if it was the intention to identify this 'new knighthood' to a society that hitherto had not recognised monastics as accepted *bona fide* sword-wielding soldiers of the Roman Church, but recognised the knight cum secular cleric who dominated early 12th century medieval society, including the secular canon, the basis of the military arm of the *Holy Sepulchre*, established by the Church after the First Crusade, the origin of other military orders such as the Templars and Hospitallers.

12.0 Discussion: William le Riche, Father of Sacro Nemore.

In deliberation of the ways a knight could participate in a religious convent as its master, there were a number of circumstances; retreat from the secular world, titular award, or as a member of a military order with a foundation of a house connected with that order, eg., a preceptory, or commandery.

12.1 Scenario one: William enters religious life after 1180.

- 12.1.1 As a secular knight, William founds/re-founds Sacro Nemore with support from David I and the Bishopric of Glasgow, inviting a religious order to establish a community. William then renounces the world and submits to religious life, entering as a noviate. After a suitable period as a noviate, he becomes Sacro Nemore's abbot.
- 12.1.2 It was common for ageing, wealthy secular knights to seek retreat within a monastic community, particularly those returning from crusade, and they were accepted willingly for both their patronage and protection. A history of benefaction and sponsorship directed at a particular monastic institution would be the favoured route for these individuals entering a religious life. Renouncing their worldly titles and goods, they would seek spiritual comfort, leaving behind the secular existence and the sin it fostered, for the embrace of the cloistered world; a ready route to prepare one's soul for a new eternal life. Often, they may remain as a brother, or even a lay-brother within the community, but some would seek to rise to the role of abbot, particularly if they had encouraged the establishment of the community in the first place, gifting lands, and the means to support the abbey and its convent.
- 12.1.3 *Monasteries and other religious foundations generally bore arms, which were almost uniformly those of the founders... Dallaway tracing this usage to the knights-templar who were both soldiers and ecclesiastics.*¹⁷³
- 12.1.4 In the early days of monastic institutions, the founder of a religious house was often its first superior, rather than being an electee or appointee. Whereas the Norman styled church at Holywood could be no older than the mid part of the 12th century, there is evidence to support the presence of an Anglo-Saxon monastic house in the area, established as far back as the 7th century. Thus, William could have entered an existing house. But, as both the abbey bells bear his name, logic dictates William was Sacro Nemore's sponsor, probably along with David I, as the land is in the possession of the Bishopric of Glasgow.
- 12.1.5 Maturity was normally a prerequisite for an abbacy obtained legitimately through ecclesiastical rule. When entering holy orders from the position of secular knight, a period as *noviate* would be expected. William's appointment as abbot supported by a declaration of twenty-two years as master, within ordination, suggests his abbacy was

¹⁷³ Dallaway, J. (1793). *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England*. Michigan: Gale ECCO Print Editions.

without prerequisites of a long internship; his early establishment as master of the house/community created via his founding of it, rather than election from within it.

- 12.1.6 William le Riche would be in his mid-thirties by the time he is first recorded as ‘father’ of Sacro Nemore (1154), far from his life’s end (between 1180-89). Thus, any entry into monastic life would be a conscious decision to quit the secular world before this date; a decision perhaps not simply fuelled by life’s encroaching demise, but one either of changing priorities or predestined spiritual calling.
- 12.1.7 In terms of William being an abbot, it is not immediately obvious from the bell inscription to which holy order he belonged, nor what grade of dignity he held. The bell did not declare the extent of William’s authority, ie., over the monastic house and convent alone, or whether it extended over a greater area, containing other clergy and laity within a defined district or territory.
- 12.1.8 With only decades separating William’s tenure of Sacro Nemore and the next known abbot, Odo Ydonc’, mentioned in correspondence in 1225,¹⁷⁴ confirmed to be a Premonstratensian canon in 1235, and former abbot of Dercongal (Sacro Nemore). And with Premonstratensian growth evident in southern Scotland in the same period William le Riche was involved with Sacro Nemore, focus was put upon William’s potential involvement with that particular order.
- 12.1.9 The Premonstratensian Order in Scotland was primarily established in the Borders, taking over the abbeys of Souleseat by 1161, (presumably from the Cistercians), Whithorn (Candida Casa) in around 1177 (a former Augustinian house), and establishing a new abbey in Dryburgh in 1150.¹⁷⁵ The Premonstratensians established a community at Tongland Abbey, near Kirkcudbright, by 1218, although a religious house had existed on site before 1160.
- 12.1.10 Initially, there appeared no reason to exclude another Premonstratensian abbey being built at Holywood by 1154, or indeed to preclude the Premonstratensians from taking over Sacro Nemore from another religious order. Indeed, there was substantial case study to support the principle of knights both founding Premonstratensian communities and becoming abbot. *Hugh de Morville*, Constable of Scotland, who, before he died in 1162, founded Dryburgh Abbey in 1150 within the Scottish Borders. *Gilbert de Auberge*, a wealthy crusader knight, founded the abbey of Neuffontaines (France), also in 1150. Gilbert and Hugh were wealthy, influential knights—Hugh retired as a Premonstratensian canon to Dryburgh Abbey, and Gilbert became a Premonstratensian abbot of Neuffontaines around 1150, after he founded a convent which his wife and daughter entered.¹⁷⁶ In both cases, Hugh de Morville and Gilbert de Auberge entered

¹⁷⁴ (first mention of Holywood, 1235, Odo as *former* abbot of Dercongal Abbey, appears as a Premonstratensian canon in contest for the seat of the Bishop of Galloway.

¹⁷⁵ Watt, D and Shead, N (eds.) (2001). *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Record Society.

¹⁷⁶ Blessed Gilbert of Neuffontaines. *CatholicSaints.Info*.

the Premonstratensian Order as *noviates*. Gilbert within the abbey of Dilo, before founding Neuffontaines and taking up the abbacy.

- 12.1.11 The establishment of Dryburgh Abbey provided an excellent example of David I's key knights entering religious life, and the Premonstratensian entry into Scotland.¹⁷⁷ Hugh de Moreville, constable of Scotland, considered in the very highest rank of David I's rule approached the Premonstratensians to form a new community in his lordship of Lauderdale in Berwickshire, sometime after 1148.
- 12.1.12 The Premonstratensians: 'the White Canons Regular' were only formed just after 1120, with papal approbation granted in 1126. They quickly established themselves throughout western Europe, with the first English house, Newsham, founded in 1143. The order, a life of austerity, following the Rule of St Augustine, was favoured by bishops and rulers seeking reform and reconstruction of religious life. It was an order that followed Cistercian management practices using a great many lay-brothers (*conversi*), who lived like their brother canons, but were not fully professed, providing labour to sustain the community, rather than those fully professed brothers dedicated to spiritual contemplation.
- 12.1.13 Hugh de Morevilles's connection with the Premonstratensians was likely through a community of canons established in Alnwick in 1148, an area under David I's rule and his son, Earl Henry's control. Despite a founding date for Dryburgh Abbey of 1150, because the foundation of a new monastic house was a long-drawn-out affair, negotiation with the Premonstratensians must have commenced soon after their establishment in Alnwick for an agreement to be drawn up in 1150. It was not until December 1152, before the canons arrived at Dryburgh under the leadership of its first abbot.
- 12.1.14 At this time (1152) only temporary accommodations would have existed, providing basic need and function while abbey building continued around them. This is confirmed in a charter issued by David I before his death in 1153, allowing the canons of Dryburgh free licence to take without hindrance as much timber from his woods as they needed for their 'works and buildings'.¹⁷⁸ With a religious house established in his good name and domain to cater for his immortal soul, he, Hugh de Moreville, in 1162, seeking closure to temporal life entered the abbey, renouncing his worldly life and titles, passing his inheritance to his sons. Hugh de Moreville died in the same year, a Premonstratensian canon, so his ambition for his final place within the Dryburgh community is never realised.
- 12.1.15 William le Riche, before establishing the house and becoming head of Sacro Nemore would have to undergo a period as a noviate within another Premonstratensian house. This would mean William's entry into religious life would need to occur sometime

¹⁷⁷ Fawcett R. Oram R. (2003) *Dryburgh Abbey*, pp 11-13. Tempus

¹⁷⁸ *Dryburgh liber no 147*

before 1154. The concurrent timing of William le Riche's entry into the foundation and involvement with Sacro Nemore leading to his abbacy, would mean the Premonstratensians were installed in Sacro Nemore almost concurrently with, if not before, the establishment of Dryburgh, Sacro Nemore's community of canons also originating from Alnwick or Newsham which is possible, but unlikely.

- 12.1.16 However, it is not the monastic occupation of Sacro Nemore that presents fundamental and irreconcilable problem. It is that William is potentially identified as a regular abbot over a regular monastic institute. What is common with both Hugh de Moreville and Gilbert de Auberge, is like all knights and noblemen seeking spiritual salvation, they renounced their worldly titles and life when entering a monastic order. However, William appears on charter as *Willelmus Masculus de foules* (Fowlis) between March 1165 and April 1170,¹⁷⁹ alive by his latest attestation on royal charter dated 1180,¹⁸⁰ and is confirmed dead sometime before 1189. Therefore, even if the *inscribed* bell was consecrated in 1189, its legend implies he was master of the convent from 1167, which conflicts fundamentally with the period he is recorded as landholding, Lord of Fowlis.
- 12.1.17 Crucially, William le Riche's maintenance of a worldly life, after he becomes head of a religious community, prevents him from being considered a member of a regular religious order, never mind its lead.
- 12.1.18 In addition, to resolve William's entry into Sacro Nemore, even after 1167, it would be necessary to disregard Reverend Bryce Johnston's attestation from the inscription he held, as nothing more than what he claimed, (ie., Abbot John Wrich, 1154), ignoring his observation of the similarity of the name presentation on his inscription and the *inscribed* bell's engraving. However, the name *Wrich* is a later corruption of the French name 'Riche' as it enters Scottish Society. Thus, it presents argument difficult to reconcile, unless we disregard Reverend Bryce Johnston's testimony altogether (simply because we cannot confirm it). But why would Bryce Johnston invent it? To ignore Johnston's declaration would be to disregard evidence simply to make a hypothesis work; and thus, follow James Barbour's path into his own failed assessment.
- 12.1.19 There is no link established between William le Riche and Holywood before he enters the house of Sacro Nemore. William's landholding profile on record and on charter with transactions concerning land in Fowlis, Tweedmouth and fishing rights in Berwick, is lacking, ie., foundation of an abbey would seem to be unrealistic achievement given what we know of his landholdings. Although it is recognised the charter and historical record is greatly deficient, it still presents doubt over William's capacity to found a house in Nithsdale.
- 12.1.20 If the greater part of William's life and legend were as a knight, with only his later years spent in a cloistered life, one would still expect his knighthood to remain his legend. But with a tenure as master of a religious convent of no less than twenty-two years, and

¹⁷⁹ St Andrews Liber, 264-5

¹⁸⁰ People of Medieval Scotland 1093-1371, document 3/389/1, dating notes

those years in the role of master after the *inscribed* bell was consecrated, adds up to over half his maturity in religious life. Presumably, his legend after his death would legally cite his religious dignity, not the title he would have renounced, ie.’ *domini Willelmi Maule, militis* (Lord William Maule, knight) which is cited within a 13th century legal transaction. (*see 9.3.11*). Thus, irreconcilably, with the presumption William’s tenure of Sacro Nemore commenced around 1154, with charters up to 1165 concerning his landholdings as a knight, and as a witness up to 1180 not confirming him an abbot, free from secular title. With the greater part of his adult legend on the bell to be in monastic life and the charters displaying no ambiguity as to his secular condition during this time, the scenario offered in 12.1.1 does not reconcile with the available evidence.

12.2 *Scenario Two: William becomes a lay-abbot of Sacro Nemore.*

- 12.2.1 What was clear, after his confirmation as ‘*abbas*’, William is still declared by the legal title, *Masculus* and a knight on charter, rather than *Abbas Sacri Nemoris*, implying his title of ‘*abbas*’ was not his prime role or identifier after 1154 (the date presented by Reverend Bryce Johnstone on his engraving). History does not record William as anything other than a knight. He is certainly considered to be a knight in 1262 when he is posthumously declared; ‘*domini Willelmi Maule, militis* (Lord William Maule, knight).
- 12.2.2 The authors contemplated on the fact William never changes his primary identifier (knight-*Masculus*); thus his abbacy of Sacro Nemore could be a purely titular award; *abbates milites*, a knight assigned part of the revenues of an abbey, or *in commendam* or *saeculares*, a nominated secular ecclesiastic, claiming a portion of revenues from the house and its estates as a benefice along with the title and honour of rank.¹⁸¹ These roles would be an award from David I, adding another title to William’s portfolio, allowing him to take part of the existing abbey’s income as a lay-abbot, for his own benefit without the role becoming his prime identifier.
- 12.2.3 The practice of appointing lay-abbots was the outcome of the feudal system, instigated by Charles Martel. Commendation was a system to meet a contemporary emergency, with the revenue of the abbey handed over to a lay lord in return for his protection. It was an expedient way to reward the loyalty of vassals with the profit from rich abbeys. The practice was meant to be short term to meet an immediate need, although some commendatory abbots were in place for many years.¹⁸²
- 12.2.4 Appointing lay-abbots was a system, greatly abused by lay rulers, who would regularly appoint secular clergy and lay knights into high religious office from the 8th century against papal authority. Fifty years of conflict led to the end of this ‘accepted’ practice by 1107 within the *concordat of London*, although the appointment of religious leaders

¹⁸¹ Herbermann, C. (1907). *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. New York: Encyclopaedia Press Inc

¹⁸² Kirsch J.P. (2015) *Lay Abbot: the Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol 9.

by lay rulers would continue, all the way to the 16th century, as ably demonstrated by Henry VIII in 1531 appointing himself *Supreme Head of the Church of England*. In relation to Holywood Abbey, commendators (administrators) replaced abbots from 1524 onwards, with the last commendator appointed to Holywood Abbey in 1600, with the usual abuses in place (*See 4.3.7*).

12.2.5 Disregarding the condemnation of the practice, the possible appointment of William as a lay-abbot clashes with the *inscribed* bell's declaration of William's term as *abbas* (father) and *Dominus* (master), implying his role within the religious community of Sacro Nemore was a fundamental religious condition and not merely titular. Would it be proper to declare his tenure as both *master* and *father* over Sacro Nemore if such a fundamental association of rule did not exist? Also, a tenure of *at least* twenty-two years implies a permanency which conflicts with the practice of offering a 'temporary' commendatory title.

12.2.6 Within David I's new religious reform in Scotland, a sincere religious focus is applied to its growth and the establishment of new abbeys under their own elected leaders. Thus, it seems incongruous David I would grant such a prohibited entitlement to William le Riche, particularly as it is difficult to comprehend what financial benefit William would derive from the award of the title as lay-abbot, as the house at Holywood in 1150 has no legend of existence, never mind a reputation as a 'rich' abbey. William's new church build alone, would probably be an expense over and above any income the existing monastic house would likely provide in the short term. Therefore, in consideration of the shortcomings this scenario raises, it was discarded by the study.

12.3 *Scenario Three: William establishes a military-religious convent.*

12.3.1 William, already ordained as member and master of a religious order by 1141 (the first time he is styled *Masculus* on record), under conditions set out in *Section 14.0*, takes over the occupancy of an existing pre-Norman monastic house around 1154, satisfying contemporary institutional need, rather than personal ambition, installing the *shield* bell into the existing church/chapel, to be followed within ten years by a new church and the *inscribed* bell.

12.3.2 The challenge within this scenario is William is not declared a member of a military order. However, his adoptive title confirms he is to be regarded as a religiously inspired knight, within a confraternity of like-minded knights, with purpose to suit. The other issue is William is still with worldly possession, so his status as *confratre* (member of the brotherhood) rather than *fratre* (fully professed brother) would not have to be hindrance to taking the title *abbas* or *dominus* of the convent of Sacro Nemore. Again, these conditions are met in *Section 14.0*.

12.3.3 In consideration of the absence of terms associated with the military orders attached to William, the missing terminology is to be expected rather than appear extraordinary, as there is a complete absence of charter or document specifically concerning the military

orders in Scotland to confirm nomenclature used. The fact William does not appear as a ‘Templar’ on royal or any other charter is also to be expected ([Section 12.4](#)). However, this does not explain why William is cited as the ‘abbot’ of Sacro Nemore, a term aberrant within the military orders. With no precedence of any Templar, master or not, carrying the hierarchal dignity of ‘abbot’ within the Templar Order, the authors’ original proposal centred around the terms discussed in Scenario 2.

- 11.3.4 However, with prejudiced thought comes misunderstanding. Sacro Nemore, aka Dercongal or Holywood Abbey, was at the beginning of the study considered to be an ‘abbey’, replete with all the material prerequisites of such a complex, similar to surrounding abbeys that predominated in the area, in terms of existing record and archaeology.
- 11.3.5 The hypothesis: a fixation on the establishment of a new abbey, was fuelled by the reports no Holywood abbey estates were included on the *Inquisitio Davidis*, the early 12th century examination into the possessions of the Church of Kentigern, and of William being cited as ‘abbot’ on the *inscribed* bell; a state of office reinforced by initial historical narrative.
- 11.3.6 However, the literal ecclesiastic translation of the term ‘*abbas*’ is ‘*father*’ (of a religious community). The community’s housing has little to do with the term, but the title’s function is explicit. Religious communities (or convents) lived in whatever temporal accommodation was available to them, until funds and benefactors allowed more suitable edifices to be constructed to better serve their spiritual needs.
- 11.3.7 As soon as this mindset was adopted within the study, the authors stopped looking for a material abbey, but a religious convent or community, served by a church with William as the founder and father, over which he was seen the community’s or sect’s master, rather than a ‘regular’ abbey with an ‘abbot’ complete with serving prior, monks, novices and their lay associates.
- 11.3.8 The defining answer to the problem was the *inscribed* bell neither confirms Sacro Nemore an abbey on William’s foundation around 1154 or William as its ‘abbot’. It was pure assumption the bell declares him an abbot. *Abbas Sacro Nemore* literally means ‘*Father of the Sacred Grove*’ not ‘*Abbot of the Sacred Grove*’ (*Abattis Sacro Nemore*), although the two terms, *father* and *abbot* have the same ecclesiastical dignity, and both are commonly used to designate an abbot as the head of an abbey. *Abbas*, taken from New Testament and the Greek translation of the Aramaic word for ‘*father*’, simply refers the holder as head of a religious house and/or monastic community, not necessarily an abbey. Put another way, *Abbas* is hypernym and abbot (*abbates*) a hyponym, ie., a subset of the dignity, ‘*father*’. Just as the administrative head of an abbey may be addressed ‘brother prior’, his superior may be addressed as ‘father abbot.’
- 11.3.9 St Benedict (c.AD 480 – 543) defined the monastic community as a spiritual family, every monk as son and the head of that family as father, representing the person of Christ, the monastic institute their permanent home. With William le Riche’s authority

and tenure over the Order, '*Dominus*', already being declared on the *inscribed* bell, how should William be declared as specific head of the house and family of Sacro Nemore he founds? How else should he be called up to Christ in supplication on his bell? In keeping with the tradition and norm of the Christian Church's monastic orders, '*Abbas*' (*Father*) (not Abbot - *Abbatis*) is used as the correct designation and dignity for the founder and head of a religious house.

11.3.10 Administrative heads of house within the military orders were styled *preceptor* (Templar) and *prior* (Hospitalier), but these offices, like their counterparts in regular monastic institutions were appointed by, and answerable to, the religious head of house, either the provincial master,¹⁸³ (in relation to military orders) or the abbot (in terms of regular monastic orders). Preceptors and priors did not establish their respective communities, and so would not be considered sponsors.

11.3.11 Preceptories may be sponsored by individual gift and donation, and it is suspected gifts such as chapel or church bells may contain the sponsor's name. *Suspected*, because no preceptory bells survive to confirm the practice. If it was the master who sponsored the house in the first instance, we may expect to find his name upon the bell. Hierarchal terms such as *magister*, *dominus*, *minister*, *bajulus*, and *bailli*, have all been cited as early terms connected to the masters of military orders in Europe, without any territorial qualification. But as there is no catalogue or record of terms recorded, specific to masters *founding* Templar houses, including preceptories, there is nothing to exclude the term *abbas* from being employed, satisfying existing ecclesiastic and monastic practice.

11.3.12 In conclusion, with nothing preventing William from being termed *abbas* and *dominus* over a religious convent, while he appears as a knight during his religious tenure, and considering his title, *Masculus*, demonstrates he is a member of an officially recognised religiously inspired confraternity of knights and, as later discussed in Section 13, satisfying the conditions of being styled master of a military order, this final scenario provides the only incontestable explanation of his tenure as head of Sacro Nemore.

Q: Why is 'le Riche' inscribed upon the bell and not 'Masculus'?

11.3.13 *Masculus* is an outward declaration of William's nature to the world; a legal and religious declaration of who he was. *Masculus* is a state of grace he would not be expected to express within his own confraternity that share the same qualities, hence his name is offered onto the bell instead of his adoptive fraternal title.

11.3.14 Eg., Just as Raan' Corbert, Master of the Scottish Templars applies his given name to the only existing 12th century charter concerning the Templars, instead of just announcing himself as 'Brother Raan, master', William le Riche, as master, applies his given name to the *inscribed* bell.

¹⁸³ Where several preceptories existed within a province, regional masters were often appointed by the provincial master to oversee.

Q: Could Sacro Nemore be a chapter house of Glasgow Cathedral and William head of brotherhood of secular canons?

- 11.3.15 This conjecture was mooted, because of the possibility Ansfrid Masculus, and confirmation Osbern Masculus were secular canons, attached specifically to a cathedral chapter. It was speculated William le Riche and his confraternity were also secular canons attached specifically to the Scottish Church, ie., Glasgow diocese (as Sacro Nemore is contained within its property).
- 11.3.16 There was little reference material to fully understand the structure and placement of these brotherhoods of secular canons, outside their individual appointments to protect the Church and its charge, as seneschals, marshals, and chaplains, all within clerical and secular households. There was no confirmation David I's religious reform and society maintained such a significant body of secular canons, specifically retained to protect the Scottish Church, or any reason to point to a house being specially created to house these secular canons away from the cathedral or collegiate churches they were normally attached to.
- 11.3.17 The prime example of secular canons existing as a cohesive unit in protection of the Church, the *Milites Sancti Sepulcri*, knights of the Holy Sepulcher, established after 1099, alongside the canons regular of the Holy Sepulcher. The order was established by constitution in 1103, modelled on a chapter of canons established by Baldwin I (first king of Jerusalem), in the margrave of Antwerp in the 11th century. With papal recognition (Pope Paschal II) in 1113, it is this order of secular canons that would influence other brotherhoods of religious knights, such as the Templars and Hospitallers. As it is these organisations that have a presence in Scotland by 1130, and one in particular in reference to David I, it was concluded scenario three (11.3) still most likely, with Sacro Nemore founded as a Templar house with William as master, and religious head over its convent.

13.0 Discussion: William le Riche, master of a military order

13.1 Preamble

- 13.1.1 Following the determination William le Riche could only occur as a master of the convent of Sacro Nemore, while recognised as a knight, if he was master of a military order; supported by his attendance on charter as a member of a religious confraternity of knights, titled *Masculus*, the study was presented with a discovery that extended beyond unravelling two conflicting historical points of view over the Holywood bells' sponsor and date of consecration.
- 13.1.2 The study into the bells of Holywood had entered the inventory of celebrity history, with all its copious reference and attention. Unfortunately, with it came swathes of speculative and sensationalistic narrative, exploiting areas particularly where there was an absence of evidence. Scotland's 12th century involvement with the religious military orders of the Crusades was certainly in this latter category, with the public's perception of the military orders already formed more by condensed media presentation, rather than scholarly consideration.
- 13.1.3 Reconciliation of the sponsor on the bell with his legend on charter and in genealogical record was still required, and as it stood, without determining William's religious order, and his condition within it, conclusion could not be reached.

13.2 Templar or Hospitaller?

- 13.2.1 Confident, the study had reached an inarguable conclusion, not only over the name of the sponsor of both the Holywood bells, but his disposition, only the determination over which military order William le Riche would be master of, was required; the Templars or the Hospitallers, the only two religious military orders confirmed existing in Scotland in the 1140s.
- 13.2.2 The foundation of the Order of the Knights of St John in Scotland and its only recorded preceptory was centered on Torphichen (West Lothian) with lands donated in Galtway (Kirkcudbright).¹⁸⁴ The history of the foundation of the Knights of St John was as obscure as the Templars, but it lacked the fanfare awarded the latter. Robert and William le Riche had no connection to Torphichen, but as well as a connection to Midlothian, they both had a strong connection to David I.
- 13.2.3 *'Probable that in their early development, organisation and character, their [Hospitaller] history was broadly similar to that of the Templars, though certainly along more modest lines [...] and there is no suggestion that they ever had the level of influence over King David which the Templars are alleged to have had.'*¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Dugdale W. (1st edn, 1655-1673) *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii, p 551

¹⁸⁵ Cowan, Mackay, Macquarrie *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland*, xxvi

- 13.2.4 *'Because none of the Templar early charters survive, it is difficult to know, and from whom they acquired their earliest possessions. Balantrodoch (now Temple, Midlothian) was their main preceptory in Scotland by the late 12th century,¹⁸⁶ and so was probably an early acquisition, probably from David I.'*¹⁸⁷
- 13.2.5 Because of Robert le Riche's connection to Midlothian between 1124 and sometime around 1130, by award of lands and title from David I, and his subsequent repurposing of it to a cause other than his son's inheritance (ie., donation to a religious order), it implies Robert not only had entered holy orders, but most likely the Templar Order, with probable intention to follow Hugh de Payens east.
- 13.2.6 Robert le Riche, along with David I, may have given the Templars their first possessions in Scotland, and by default became head of one of Scotland's first Templar families. Because the Templars had no establishment in Scotland, Robert le Riche could not simply hand it over to an established Templar network in Scotland, while he made plans to join Templars in the east, so he was most likely the progenitor of the Temple in Scotland, founding its first preceptory.
- 13.2.7 With William le Riche's connection and regard within David I's household, David I's protracted correspondence with Bernard de Clairvaux, the Cistercian patron of the Templar Order, and the contemporary report it was Templars surrounding David I, it was presumed William was brought into the Templar order after maturity, to take on the mantle his father left behind sometime around 1130, after he renounced his titles in Yorkshire and Midlothian.
- 13.2.8 The first report avoided detail beyond the proposal, that the above conditions and William's father's connection to Midlothian, implied William was a Templar rather than a Hospitaller, titled under a locally derived designator, *Masculus*. The title not being a colloquialism but a formal recognition of a sanctified knight. The authors sought out experts to comment, debate and challenge the premise. In hindsight, it perhaps was not surprising their replies were both dismissive and ignorant, with unforeseen, even bizarre responses being returned simply to discount the proposal.
- 13.2.9 The study had already looked at the circumstances surrounding William le Riche, and without any hope of finding defining confirmation, ie., William's name and rank on Templar charter or transaction, or inventories as a member of the Temple of Solomon in Scotland, it was necessary to consider all and any argument that would exclude William from the Templar Order; not within the context of Scottish foundation of Templars (because there is no record), but case study based on areas of Europe that conversely had a wealth of documentation. Caution was taken in the comparison of disparate regions and psyche, but it was the only way to consider any argument that

¹⁸⁶ Barrow G.W.S. (ed) (1960) *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, i, p 98.

¹⁸⁷ Cowan I.B. (ed), Mackay P.H.R. (ed), Macquarrie A. (Ed) (1983) *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland*, xviii. Edinburgh,

may discount William le Riche's existence as a Templar, thus supporting William le Riche's bell inscription, existing genealogical and charter record.

- 13.2.10 With an unclear determination of how the first Templar communities in Scotland were structured, no familiar definitions to fall back on, and no early written confirmation of transactions between the Templars and their supporters, the study was left to bring together circumstantial evidence in support of the identity of one of Scotland's first Templar knights. But that circumstantial evidence was extremely persuasive.

13.3 *Establishment of the religious military orders in Scotland*

- 13.3.1 When, in 1095, Pope Urban II called for the fighting classes of Europe to recover the holy city of Jerusalem, he set war to work in favour of the Church's religious mission and dictated the actions of the pious knight for hundreds of years.¹⁸⁸ One of those actions was the establishment of dedicated religious military orders for operations in the East and their significant network of support throughout western Europe.
- 13.3.2 *The Knights of the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon* (founded 1118), along with the *Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem* (founded 1070), *The Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem* (est. 1119), and the *Hospitallers of St Thomas of Canterbury at Acre* (est. 1191) would eventually find resource from Scotland.
- 13.3.3 After much criticism from religious leaders, the Templar Order was only formally endorsed by the Holy Church in 1129 at the Council of Troyes, at which time the first draft of '*The Rule of Templars*' - its code of conduct, was drawn up—the year after the visit of *Hugh de Payens* to Scotland and the probable establishment of Scottish Templar affiliation. It was only in 1139 that the papal bull, *Omne Datum Optimum* gave the Templars religious credibility and caused a major change in the way the Order was perceived by the pious laity.¹⁸⁹ This event proved very advantageous to recruitment and growth, as it exempted the Order from obedience to local laws.
- 13.3.4 The founders of the Order of the Temple would rely on the creation of economic networks that would produce men, money, horses, and resources for the war in the east and for protection of the crusader states. These networks were established in the Christian west by noble and knightly families who were deeply affected by ideas of religious reform, the crusading movement and close family ties.¹⁹⁰
- 13.3.5 Scotland, like the rest of Europe, played its part in the establishment of these new religious-martial orders. Both the individual ethnic Scot and the new Scottish-based Anglo-Norman-French knighthood had already taken part in crusading operations. Pilgrims returning from Palestine had no doubt heralded the stories of the Temple

¹⁸⁸ Tyerman C (2004), *The Crusades*, Oxford, p 12

¹⁸⁹ Schenk J, (2012), *Templar Families; Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, C.1120-1307*, Cambridge University Press. p. 252

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.* p 23

knights, so when *Hugh de Payens*, the first Grand Master of the Templars visited Scotland in 1128, seeking men, money, equipment, and horses for holy war, David I and many of his knights were already secured. It was certain Hugh de Payens' recruitment was successful; '*...as a result, more people went [to the Holy Land] either with him [de Payens] or after him, than ever before since the time of the First Crusade.*'¹⁹¹

13.3.6 William of Tyre (c.1130 – 1186) confirms the claim; '*in the following year [1129] Hugh de Payens, first master of the knights of the Temple and certain other religious men, who had been sent by the princes of the west by the king [Baldwin II] and other princes of the kingdom to rouse the people to come to our aid, and specifically for powerful men to come to the siege of Damascus, returned; and with them came a great throng of noble men to the kingdom, having faith in their words.*'¹⁹²

13.3.7 Without contemporary testimony of Scotland's contribution to this 'great throng', should it not be expected French born nobles and their descendants from David I's newly formed Scottish aristocracy were amongst the response, considering David I's passionate support for the crusades? We can confirm David I responded to Hugh de Payens entreaty with money. '*He [Hugh de Payens] was given treasure by all, and in Scotland too: and by him much wealth, entirely in gold and silver, was sent to Jerusalem.*'¹⁹³ Regrettably we do not have the names of David I's nobles who responded directly to Hugh de Payens' visit, although we do know several Scottish knights, as was expected, undertook crusade at some time.

13.3.8 David I (c.1084 – 1153), in further veneration of the crusading objective, supported and kept close men from at least one of these newly established military orders in Scotland; '*He [David I] committed himself to the counsel of religious men of all kinds, and surrounding himself with very fine brothers of the illustrious knighthood of the Temple of Jerusalem he made them guardians of his morals by day and night.*'¹⁹⁴

13.4 A Lack of Templar Record

13.4.1 A significant quantity of early Scottish history had been pillaged, destroyed, and lost, largely through the wilful actions of successive wars and mismanagement up to the 17th century (*see 9.4.1*). Regarding 12th century Templar charter, the situation is exacerbated with only one charter surviving, dating at the end of the 12th century. The authors considered the lack of Templar record in Scotland was perhaps a purge more than misplacement.

13.4.2 Nothing remains of the records from the Scottish Templar preceptories, and even the Scottish record held in England was 'lost'. In 1308, during the eradication of the

¹⁹¹ Garmonsway G. (ed) (1958) *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Everyman p 259

¹⁹² *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historians Occidentaux*, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres, Paris, i, part i, pp 595-6

¹⁹³ Garmonsway, G. N. (ed), (1953) *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Everyman, p, 259

¹⁹⁴ *Chronical Fordun*, p 225

Templar Order, Robert Ughtred, an official of Edward II, carried out an inventory of the Templar house at East Cowton in Yorkshire where he recorded, '*in camera sunt omnes carte templi scocie.*' These found Scottish charters, either archived material or existing legal deed, were removed along with various other charters concerning tenements in England.

- 13.4.3 Historians interpret Ughtred's text as, '*in the chamber are all the charters of the Temple of Scotland, along with a few documents concerning properties in England.* However, it is likely the original Latin text was misread, as the Ughtred who found the cache could not have possibly known he had found *all* the Templars' Scottish charters, unless he already had an inventory of both the existing catalogue of active legal document and the archive of 180 years of Scottish Templar record, and the thousands of documents it would contain, to confirm the find. Instead, it is likely Ughtred's declaration refers to the vault containing *nothing but* Scottish charters, supplemented with some documents concerning a few English tenements.
- 13.4.4 Only speculation can be offered why Scottish charter was found in a Yorkshire preceptory. Administration, storage, housekeeping, or safekeeping? It is unknown if in 1314, the four coffer and a hanaper, doubtlessly containing the prevailing asset of the Templars in Yorkshire; charters, writings, deeds, and legal title, passed onto Edward II included these Scottish documents.¹⁹⁵ What is certain, the Scottish record does not survive.
- 13.4.5 The complete lack of information on early Scottish Templars has led to various suppositions and modernist-patriotic-declarations of a lack of will on the part of Scottish nobles to support the Roman Church and its objectives. The lack of names associated with the foundation of the military orders in Scotland has led to speculation there were no locally derived Templars; their affairs and holdings wholly organised and conducted from England; '*in Scotland, the Knights Templar's purpose was purely economic. They were not warriors, but monks, recruiters, landlords and businessmen.*'¹⁹⁶ True, there were no holy wars to fight in Scotland, and there is little evidence of Templar presence or fervour beyond their holdings in Scotland leading up to their demise at the beginning of the 14th century, but it is unwise to assume that situation prevailed throughout Scotland's 180-year Templar history.
- 13.4.6 However, with no confirmation on record to assign personal/family contribution and relationship between donors and the Templar community, and with David I supporting the crusading principle with religious zeal, then it is unwise to discount Scotland's early contribution in terms of *milites Christi*, holy-purposed crusader knights and warriors, with Scotland's involvement in the Second Crusade testament to its martial commitment.

¹⁹⁵HMSO (1898) *Calendar of the Patent Rolls for the Reign of Edward II, AD 1313-1317*. p. 184. London

¹⁹⁶ Ferguson C.R. (2021), *The Knights Templars and Hospitallers; the military religious order in Scotland, 1128-1564* (Jan/Feb issue, History Scotland)

- 13.4.7 Donations were often made on a *quid pro quo* basis, with both spiritual and temporal benefit expected. The Templar movement in the 12th century was admired by a populace with a deeply held Christian belief. It was seen as both profoundly purposed and acutely worthy. There is little doubt Scottish-based devout nobles and landholders filled the Templar preceptory with family members wishing the means to crusade and serve Christ in exchange for worldly possessions; their record of involvement only to be expunged by events in history.
- 13.4.8 We cannot be certain of the size of the military contribution to holy purpose direct from Scotland, only the financial contribution in terms of resources. What we can expect is the origins of the Templar movement in Scotland, like other countries started with only a few key, active participants; senior landowners and nobles' families and their friends.

13.5 *Case Study and Discussion*

- 13.5.1 With regards to the establishment of the Templar movement in Scotland, there is no detail, so the study needed to look elsewhere to understand regional beginnings. The authors could not, however, expect development in Scotland to be in synchronicity with other models. Just as Templar communities were unique to countries, they were unique within territories within countries. Thus, to understand how a Templar network could be established in Scotland it was important to look to the countries having the greatest influence over David I and his nobles—England and France. Unfortunately, the information concerning the establishment of the English Templar network is largely absent. Therefore, to understand the establishment of the Templar order in Scotland, French Templar cartulary was sought, providing the greatest source of early Templar information outside the east.
- 13.5.2 With less than seventy years since the conquest of England, and less than ten years since the commencement of David I's sovereignty over Scotland, with knights from France very much the greatest influence on the newly established Anglo-Norman aristocracy in Scotland, with their dynamic familial and Church links to their French kindred still very much intact, it seemed the French connection was the best model to understand the beginnings of the Templar movement in Scotland. This was opposed, to say the beginnings in Iberia, as the Spanish Templar foundation was faced with immediate threat and a localised, active campaign against the Muslim warrior.¹⁹⁷
- 13.5.3 Even with historians suggesting an absence of early Scottish Templar history meant the English Templar association had significant influence and control over the Scottish network, it would be incautious to suggest David I and his advisors did not influence Templar foundation in Scotland, or that its beginnings were relatable to local conditions and aspiration.

¹⁹⁷ *The Reconquista*; a series of Christian campaigns waged against the Muslim kingdom in Spain, AD 719 – 1492.

- 13.5.4 *Jochen Schenk* writes at length about the nature of Templar families in Burgundy, Champagne, and Languedoc. It is perhaps an unreliable comparison. The establishment of Templar communities in France, with a network of noble families in existence for centuries, was unlike Scotland, where David I's integration of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy was in its infancy, and so broad, local social and family networks were not necessarily established. Although not ideal, it is perhaps the only way to understand how the Templar communities were established and the reality of membership in the founding years, rather than how general history presents the Templar organisation.
- 13.5.5 Schenk discusses the relationship between the Templar Order and those who established a regional support network, often demonstrating independence, deeply rooted in the religious landscape and society which they were located. Disconnected from the Order's religious foundation in the east, the convent in Jerusalem was happy not to intrude in regional administrative affairs, so long as *responsiones* were received, which in theory represented one third of the communities' income.¹⁹⁸
- 13.5.6 What was clear through Schenk's research was the commonalty of kinship that supported the established commanderies and it was, similar to Hugh de Payens original confraternity, a brotherhood of family and friends that formed the first Templar communities, especially those families with a deep-rooted investment into crusading and the Church. Such a movement would appeal to land owners who were already ordained as secular clerics, those seeking papal endorsement for a martial attitude to their faith.
- 13.5.7 In consideration of Schenk's research into the existence of early French Templars, as well as work published by *Forey* and *Barber*, attempt was made to draw similarities with what little was known of William's existence. Rather than 'build' a history, the study gathered questions, challenges, tropes, and rebuttals against the proposal of William being a Templar in an effort, not to prove him a Templar, but find any aspects of his existence that would fundamentally oppose his involvement with the Order.

There are no Knights Templar named on Scottish charter until 1160?

- 13.5.8 *Professors Cowan, Mackay and Macquarrie*, in their consideration of the testimony by Ailred of Revaulx that David I was surrounded by Templars raises the point; '*But it is odd in view of this alleged influence how seldom Templars appear as witnesses to royal charters; the earliest instance of a Templar witnessing a royal act is Malcolm IV's confirmation to St Andrews Priory in 1160 [seven years after David I's death], though the earliest possessions of the Templars in Scotland clearly precede this date.*'¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Schenk J, (2012), *Templar Families; Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, C.1120-1307*, p. 3, Cambridge University Press.

¹⁹⁹ Cowan, I, MacKay, P, and Macquarrie, A. (1983). The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland. *The Scottish Historical Society*, xviii. Edinburgh, UK.

- 13.5.9 If David I, did indeed surround himself with these Templar paradigms of virtue and moral good, *it is odd* they do not appear in the thirty years between their foundation in Scotland and 1160. Although we could extend this general ‘absence’ from Scottish charter in the 12th century. We do know there were significant Templar holdings in Scotland existing by the end of David I’s reign, yet the presence of Scottish Templars in history and on charter is hardly noticeable. If we are to doubt Ailred’s testimony, we need to understand why any chronicler would falsify Ailred’s declaration. But as we know the Templars had support in the region by way of their holdings, and so it is likely there were individuals and families who had committed themselves to the Templar cause, and it is likely those land-owning individuals included nobles dedicated to crusading within David I’s society, and as witness on charter.
- 13.5.10 However, the invisibility of Templars on early Scottish charter is simply explained as a lack of recognition rather than absence. In fact, it would be odd to see Templars listed under their order designation. The study applied a search against 12th century Scottish charter record, looking for Clunic, Premonstratensian, Cistercian, Augustinian, Benedictine or Tironensian origins, and found no one, although it was obvious members of those orders were present on charters dealing with their orders’ houses. It clearly was not practice on Scottish charter to list an individual’s sect. Thus, there is no reason to expect members of the Templar Order to differ in this respect.
- 13.5.11 Deliberating on why a Templar; *Robert, brother of the Temple* should then appear on Scottish charter in 1160, challenging the paradigm in 13.5.10, it was necessary to examine the context of his presence on the charter. Robert is listed alongside *Richard of the Hospital of Jerusalem* on a document concerning Malcolm IV’s confirmation to St Andrews Priory.²⁰⁰ It is odd however, both men are ordered last on a hierarchal list of twenty-two witnesses, even below the clerks. Although it is perhaps dangerous to speculate why two representatives of the military orders should appear last in the list of witnesses, as listing is not always concurrent with attendance or rank, with later additions to charter listings not unusual,²⁰¹ we only can presume these knights important enough to be recorded on the royal charter, but not necessarily consider them critical enough to list amongst the hierarchy of the official witnesses. The study considered them probably official representatives from their orders in the east, afforded the courtesy of record because of their attendance. *Brother Robert* is displaced from his original secular title and regional origin while he serves his order, wherever that may be. Thus, his designation ‘of the Temple’ is more to record his ‘place of origin’ than his order affiliation. What we certainly could not assume, without confirmation, that he was a Scottish-based Templar.
- 13.5.12 The next occurrence of ‘recognisable’ Templars on charter is sometime between 1174 and 1199 when they appear with *Raan’ Corberht* as *master of the House of the Temple*

²⁰⁰ RRS I 219 St Andrews liber, 207

²⁰¹ Broun Dauvit, *The Presence of Witnesses and the Writing of Charters* (The Paradox of Medieval Scotland; poms.ac.uk)

in the land of the king of Scots. Corbert appears on the only surviving 12th century Templar charter with several brothers of the order in matters specifically pertaining to a Templar issue, thus confirming their presence connected to Balantrodoch, the Midlothian preceptory.

William le Riche carries no 'Templar' designation.

- 13.5.13 It is only the lack of 'Templar' designation, ie., any reference to *Templi* (temple) or *Templarii* (Templar), that has resulted in historians dismissing the idea Templars do not appear on Scottish charter. Little consideration has been given to the fact if the term 'Templar' or even 'Temple' was used, it would be abnormal to parts of the remote Templar network in western Europe in the early to mid-part of the 12th century, the period William forms his identity within the Templar creed.
- 13.5.14 In illustration, Professor Nicholson expresses doubt over the authenticity of a letter sent from the very centre of Templar association, King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (1118-31) to Bernard de Clairvaux, asking for support for a new order of knights, naming two Templars he was sending to Bernard, referring to them as *Fratres Templarii* (Brother Templars). As Nicholson points out, the term 'Templar' does not appear anywhere else until the 1140s, and so proposes the letter was probably a fake drawn up to explain why Bernard de Clairvaux supported the Order.²⁰²
- 13.5.15 The further from the epicentre of the Templar convent in the east, then the less informed the participants in support for the emerging new order of *militis Christi* would be. This lack of initial corporate organisation gave rise to a complete lack of consistent identity for the Knights Templar. The descriptions in Europewide charters of donors encompass a variety of names and functions for the Templars, suggesting a settled picture of the meaning and role of the military orders was still emerging during the 1130s and 40s. Identifiers, such as; '*The knights of the Temple of God,*' (1145), '*His Christian knights of the holy city,*' (1129) '*The knighthood of St Mary (1137),*' to name just a few, were employed in reference to the Templars.²⁰³ Even the architects of the Templar movement, Bernard de Clairvaux and Hugh de Payens did not recognize a 'Templar' identity; as Bernard writes to Hugh sometime before 1136 as; '*My dearest Hugh, knight of Christ and Master of the knighthood of Christ.*'²⁰⁴
- 13.5.16 With 'Templars' being expressed in very general terms, many without reference to the 'Temple', even after 1139 when the Templars in the east had emerged as a fully-fledged military order with a hierarchical structure, it would be well into the 1140s before recognisable terms were applied. It would only be those with strong connections to the east via pilgrimage, crusade or residence who would have a more informed view, and the further west, the more disconnected the Templar communities were from the

²⁰² Nicholson H, (2001). *The Knights Templar: A brief History*, London, p 31

²⁰³ Barber M. (1994), *The New Knighthood, a History of the Order of the Temple*, p.51. Cambridge University Press

²⁰⁴ Nicholson H, (2001). *The Knights Templar: A brief History*, London, p 27

convent in the east. Scotland was on the edge of the western world, with only Ireland flung further, where a Templar presence is not recorded until after 1177.

- 13.5.17 Therefore, it would not be surprising those initial knights serving the Templar cause from Scotland would be recognised by a uniquely formed regional title. Even by the end of the 12th century, the only surviving Scottish Templar charter, refers to the Order, *The Knights of the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon* as the, 'The order of the Temple in the land of the king of Scots,' although it appears along with a recognizable hierarchical structure.
- 13.5.18 When Hugh de Payens visited Scotland in 1128, he did not come calling with the Templars' corporate pack tucked neatly under his arm and a power-point presentation. He was not akin to the CEO of a modern corporation selling a franchise to David I. He did not have conventions and a corporate identity outside basic informal precepts of behaviour that had been established in Jerusalem,²⁰⁵ together with a concept nurtured by Bernard de Clairvaux, an influential Cistercian leader. Hugh was a knight on a solid holy purpose, a secular canon of the Church in Jerusalem sent by King Baldwin II, cap in hand, begging for men, money, horses, and material for the front-line in an ongoing war against the Church's enemies. Support for Payens' vision was well-drawn rhetoric and probable charisma to suit. His legacy within the holy war had a significant veteran crusader audience, all bound together with recommendation and royal patronage. Payens had ideal, not protocols to offer. He was desperate for support and in no position to demand his own view on religious convention. What he offered the warrior was a guaranteed route to heaven without the sacrifice of his sword for a solely contemplative spiritual life. What Hugh de Payens offered was an answer to those existing warrior clerics who had long fallen foul of Church debate over their legitimacy.
- 13.5.19 After Hugh de Payens visited David I, absolute, enforced Templar protocols were not yet in existence, leaving a certain degree of interpretation outside the basic decree of the Order. When the Templar's Primitive Rule was debated in 1129 by the Church,²⁰⁶ hierarchal structures were in their infancy, and just as human nature dictates; strong, powerfully placed single-minded personalities come to bear on decisions affecting the immediate establishment of a new regional organisation. In this case, it is entirely feasible the founders of the original Templar network in Scotland, with official papal recognition yet to occur, dictated their own designation within the fledgling order, using *existing* recognisable nomenclature to identify them as separate from the lay knighthood, and in declaration of their order's nature and purpose to an audience yet to become acquainted with another 'new' religious sect and its concept.

²⁰⁵ Barber M. (1994), *The New Knighthood, a History of the Order of the Temple*, p.15. Cambridge University Press

²⁰⁶ Council of Troyes, 13th January 1129, convened by Bernard de Clairvaux to discuss the Templar Order, draw up its draft constitution. It was attended by several senior French clerics and a papal legate, the cardinal bishop of Albano.

13.5.20 Thus, William le Riche being styled '*fratre Templii*' on charters, outside Templar transaction, in the first part of the 12th century would only challenge the authenticity of the declaration. This coupled with the fact it would be deviant contemporary practice to include any order designation,²⁰⁷ means '*Templar*' and '*Temple*' should not be expected against William's name, even if he was a member of the order.

13.5.21 It is important to consider who was the audience for early to mid-12th century charter. It was not the historian, but those who were probably uninformed with regards to the Templar model, those who would recognise the title *Masculus*, already employed by religiously centred knights existing as secular canons/clergy. Thus, they would understand the holder's purpose and affiliation within their peer society.

The inscribed Holywood bell carries no recognised Templar nomenclature, even though it is proposed to be consecrated after 1160, when common Templar terms have been adopted.

13.5.22 The only example of recognised nomenclature used by Scottish Templars is that listed on the charter dated sometime between 1177 and 1199, where terms; *magister* (master), *almosinarius* (almoner), *fratre* (brother), *preceptore* (preceptor), and *cappellanus* (chaplain) are used.

13.5.23 However, these titles given to Templars with administrative responsibilities are of only limited assistance in terms of identifying early Templar administrators. The terms 'commander' or 'preceptor', which later became the norm for describing the administrative heads of convents, are almost entirely lacking in the opening decades of the Order's history. In Spain for instance, a reference to a preceptor at Arles in 1146 is possibly the sole example before 1150. Titles found in very early documents include *bajulus*, *bailli* and *minister*, without any territorial qualification. The Latin term *magister* (master) did, however, begin to come into use in the later 1130s and this may in some instances have been used to indicate the head of a convent.²⁰⁸

13.5.24 In terms of a military order, even by the 1140s, there is expectation to see the Latin term *magister* (master) used in connection to a regional or provincial head of the Templar organisation. In the feudal period, *Dominus*, also a Latin word for 'master', in secular use is often used for both the titles 'master' and 'lord'. In ecclesiastical use, it is only relatable to the title 'master'.²⁰⁹

13.5.25 On the *inscribed* bell, *Dominus* ('D') describes William, in religious rather than secular condition, thus it is relevant describing him as master of a religious convent. Why William le Riche does not appear as 'magister' on the *inscribed* bell may be as straightforward as the bellmaker's preference. The medieval Latin scribal abbreviation

²⁰⁷ (see 12.5.10)

²⁰⁸ Forey A. (2021) *Medievalista No. 30: Early Templar Administration in Provence and North-Eastern Spain*, p.3

²⁰⁹ The Holm Cultram Abbey bell gives an example of an abbot's declaration; '*Jesus Christ, Thomas York, Father, Master of Holm Cultram AD 1462.*'

for *magister* is ‘M’, thus the bellmaker may have reasoned ‘D’ more suitable as an uncomplicated, epigraphical abbreviator, stylised perhaps as an ichthys to highlight the title. Instead, the ‘D’ presented on the bell may abbreviate *Dux*, meaning ‘commander’. Alternatively, without Europe-wide unanimity over early Templar hierarchal terms, ‘*Dominus*’ may have been thought acceptable to apply to the *inscribed* bell, following common and established practice on ecclesiastical metalwork. Without any comparison, ie., engraving on Templar metalwork, particularly Templar chapel/church bells, illustrating specific early practice regarding illustration of a Templar master over a specific Templar convent, it was impossible to reach any conclusion, either in support or dismissal of the bell not being of Templar origin.

Masculus is not a Templar expression

13.5.26 *Masculus* is not a specific Templar word, because it pre-exists the Templar Order. In fact, *Masculus*, along with every other word employed by the Templars existed long before the Order occurred, employed as common medieval ecclesiastical and militaristic terminology. It is only historical focus that has assigned some of this vocabulary as familiar Templar terms, eg., preceptory, etc. It is only the colloquialism ‘*Templar*’ that is specifically a Templar word, and it would be decades before the term appears in common use.

13.5.27 William le Riche’s confraternity choosing an already known English and French ecclesiastical convention for knights serving as clerics or secular canons—*Masculus*, is in many ways a logical choice for a regionally adopted identifier of the sanctified knight, illustrating a new knight brotherhood amongst the uninformed, decades before the colloquialism ‘*Templar*’ would be cited in common recognition of members of the Order.

Were all early Scottish Templars labelled ‘Masculus’?

13.5.28 Whether *Masculus* was adopted wholesale by Scottish Templars cannot be determined without a complete picture of those knights who formed the elite of Scottish Templar society in William’s time, as well as the supporting members of the Order. It may be the title was an honorific carried over from pre-12th century practice to single out exemplar consecrated secular knights in service to the Church, eg., Ansfrid and Osbern Masculus. It may be only those Templars surrounding David I and his religious establishment that were similarly identified by this same honorific.

13.5.29 There is no confirmation that it was a title intentionally adopted to style these knights purely as Templars, as the title exists before the establishment of the Templar Order, cited against other secular clergy. Perhaps *Masculus* should be regarded as a continuation of a practice identifying secular canons; the origin of Hugh de Payens brotherhood, the first Temple knights.

13.5.30 Regardless of the title William carried, he would have still been identified by an order designate within the hierarchical structure of the Scottish Templar convent. What is

clear by his *inscribed* bell, William is in religious life, head of a religious order and he is titled *le Riche* in that role, while appearing with other knights titled *Masculus*, as a confraternity, thus a connection is made between the two conditions.

William le Riche would need to be a fully professed brother of the Temple before being accepted as Master?

- 13.5.31 It was asserted William would need to be fully a professed brother (*fratre*) before he would be able to take the role of Templar master, because as a married brother (*fratre conjugati*) or lay brother (*confratre*) still outside religious life, in the ‘world’ with worldly possession, his spiritual standing would be compromised, thus he could not be considered a principal within the monastic life.
- 13.5.32 In the early foundation of the Templars, *fratres* and *confratres* appear to form Templar communities without division. In France’s early Templar history, the use of the term *confratres* and *fraters* was indistinct; used to describe both fully confessed Templar knights and lay associates. The term *confrater*, which best describes William Masculus, later is used to identify an unprofessed lay member, however it is used in early Templar establishment to describe full members of the order. *Schenk* points out this is ‘curious’, explaining the Order was originally founded as a ‘confraternity’ of knights, dedicated to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, committed only by vows, to serve while in a condition of chastity poverty and obedience.²¹⁰
- 13.5.33 The original Templar confraternity adhered to a small number of simple precepts: attendance at the offices of the choir with the regular canons, communal meals, plain clothing, unostentatious appearance (poverty), no contact with women (chastity), and overall obedience to the Master.²¹¹ Thus, it is probable, William le Riche entering the order before 1141, under an establishment created sometime between 1128 and 1130 based on Hugh de Payens’ original model was bound by already established convention, professed by vow and deed as a *confratre*, and not necessarily wholly bound by the Order’s Latin Rule, yet to be disseminated, allowing him to be viewed as a full member of the brotherhood without distinction.
- 13.5.34 It would not be until the turn of the 12th century before roles within the Templar association would become better defined. What is certain is the Order depended on, and attracted, both men and women, fully professed knights, sergeants and lay associates. *Confratres* could profess themselves fully to the order if they were of free birth, unmarried (or separated with ecclesiastical and spousal approval) and be free of debt. Thus, William le Riche, even though married could become fully professed.

²¹⁰ Schenk J, (2012), *Templar Families; Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, C.1120-1307*, p0. 45-46, Cambridge University Press.

²¹¹ Schnürer G (ed) (1903) *Die Ursprüngliche Tempplerregel*, pp 135-53. Freiburg

- 13.5.35 Knights could also associate with the Temple temporarily as *miles ad terminum*, expected to fight under the Templar banner, although there is no reason to expect William le Riche would be included within this category.
- 13.5.36 The Templar Rule is not explicit about the origins of the master, or even the grandmaster, only their behaviours. Indeed, regional commanders or *baillis* (officers representing the grandmaster, given regional judicial, financial and military powers), do not have to be knights. Election from their respective provinces, is based on merit not status, even a sergeant brother could be a provincial commander.²¹²
- 13.5.37 In summary, nothing prevents William, in the early establishment of the Templar Order, existing as a confratre as opposed to a fully professed brother, married, with personal possession and landholdings, becoming master within the order.

Does William le Riche's existence conflict with the Templar Rule?

- 13.5.38 In respect of the Templar Rule, there are two areas of William's existence, one explicit and one implied, that conflict with the proposal William le Riche could have been a Templar. With only one 'rule break' the only substantive obstacle to William's existence as a Templar master.
- 13.5.39 William Masculus' seal (*see figure 62*), depicting a hunting hawk throws doubt on William's strict adherence to Bernard de Clairvaux's perfect vision of a holy knight, eschewing trivial pleasure, and more importantly, conflicts fundamentally with the statutes of the Templar Rule. William le Riche's seal post-dates the Primitive Latin Rule, which denounces falconry, therefore we can either assume William le Riche was not a Templar, or he did not adhere to the Rule.
- 13.5.40 '*They foreswear dice and chess, they abhor the hunt; they take no delight, as is customary, in the ridiculous cruelty of falconry.*'²¹³ '*When they are not on duty, they avoid contemporary frivolities such as dice, chess, hunting, falconry, jesters, troubadours, and jousts.*'²¹⁴ This is backed up by an unequivocal Templar Rule regarding hunting, particularly falconry.²¹⁵ '*We collectively forbid any brother to hunt a bird with another bird is not fitting for a man of religion to succumb to pleasure, but to hear willingly the commandments of God, to be often at prayer and each day to confess tearfully to God in his prayers the sins he has committed. No brother may presume to go particularly with a man who hunts one bird with another. Rather it is fitting for every religious man to go simply and humbly about without laughing or talking too much, but reasonably and without raising his voice and for this reason we*

²¹² Upton-Ward J.M. (1992) *The Rule of the Templars* (English rendition of Henri de Curson's 1886 edition of the French translation of the Templar Rule.) p. 30.

²¹³ De Clairvaux, B. (c.1130). *In Praise of the New Knighthood. A Treatise on the Knights Templar and the Holy Places of Jerusalem*. On Lifestyle of the Knights of the Temple. (Conrad Greenia, M trans.), p 46

²¹⁴ Morris c, (1978) '*Equestris ordo: Chivalry as a Vocation in the Twelfth Century*', in *Studies in Church History*, 15, pp 94-95

²¹⁵ *Templar Rule no 55: On Hunting*

command especially all brothers not to go in the woods with longbow or crossbow to hunt animals or to accompany anyone who would do so, except out of love to save him from faithless pagans, nor should you go after dogs, nor shout or chatter, nor spur on a horse out of a desire to capture a wild beast.

13.5.41 William's seal, unless it is presented ironically, which seems doubtful, appears to be an immensely provocative image presented by William Masculus against the very rule he was expected to uphold.

13.5.42 The Primitive Templar Rule was established in 1129 from informal regulation placed upon Hugh de Payens and his knights as they served the regular canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Primitive Rule consisted of seventy-two clauses, focused on monastic life and anti-materialistic longings rather than soldiering and campaigning, very much reflecting the contemporary ascetic drive which had created the reformed orders in the late 11th century, particularly the Cistercians.²¹⁶



Figure 62: Personal seal of William Masculus. The seal, 38mm in diameter displays a falcon with jesses, and is inscribed; *sigillum willelmi[us] [ma]scvli*. It was attached to a charter granting the monks of Holy Island (northumberland), a toft (house with a strip of land) in the village of Tweedmouth, and six acres of land.

(Courtesy of Durham University)

13.5.43 Thus, traditional aristocratic sports of hawking and hunting were forbidden. Bernard de Clairvaux had devoted his whole adult life to the diminution of such materialistic attitudes,²¹⁷ so it is no surprise he sets out the Rule to meet his expectation, even to the point of condemning contemporary knightly fashion, which he despised.

13.5.44 The original draft Rule was interrogated thoroughly by the Council of Troyes, scrutinising with the most intense care that which was best and condemning that which seemed to them absurd.²¹⁸ It would not be until 1138 before the Rule was properly developed to serve Templar militaristic need, with Robert de Craon's pragmatic

²¹⁶ Barber M. (1994), *The New Knighthood, a History of the Order of the Temple*, p.15. Cambridge University Press

²¹⁷ Ditto, pp 15-16

²¹⁸ Jean Michael, described as 'the humble scribe of the present pages', claimed the fathers at the council (Troyes) critically assessed the master's account, praising or rejecting as seemed appropriate.

contribution,²¹⁹ that included the practicalities of military life and a French translation as opposed to the primitive religious monastic ascetic initially drafted in Latin, influenced by Bernard de Clairvaux and championed by Hugh de Payens, who was a pious knight, but not necessarily an effective administrator.²²⁰

13.5.45 In deliberation whether William le Riche was able to fill the role of Templar Master while he openly defied Templar Rule, shamelessly bearing a hunting hawk on his seal, pragmatic consideration was given to the rule, expectation and reality, rather than Cistercian tenet, and the evidence presented regarding the actualities of monastic life, as demonstrated by the monks and lay-brothers within concurrent religious organisations, the disparate management and control of abbeys under the rule of their collective orders, including the rhetoric and criticism levelled at their own kind by ecclesiastical commentators of the day.

13.5.46 Abbeys were autonomous establishments, and abbots constantly under interminable criticism from the Church for ‘rule’ breaking as well as their houses spiritual shortcomings; issues of simony and celibacy were commonly raised, neglect over the spiritual wellbeing, as well as perpetual debate and argument within the Church over correct and proper behaviour. The Templar masters were seen no different to abbots, in that they had the same spiritual and judicial responsibilities over their convents. For William le Riche, the Templar Order was still in its infancy and its members’ inherent martial and often arrogant natures, would be a vast departure from the preoccupation of the model, resolute cloistered monk, who, in reality could not be declared the norm in regular monastic orders, never mind in a new brotherhood of soldiers.

13.5.47 Thus, the application of the Templar Rule *as reality* would be akin to declaring the Christian Church, with its hundreds of years in the making, had already successfully established, through its religious rule, a perfect sinless devout society with only a population of stoic, ‘perfect’ Christians, following decree without question, in total obedience and abstinence.

13.5.48 Professor Goldberg, in his study of hunting, kingship, and masculinity in early medieval Europe discusses hunting as deeply imbedded within aristocratic culture.²²¹ William’s adolescence would have been surrounded with the noble practice and love of hunting, and there is no reason to expect William would have willingly abstained from a pastime practised by his mentors and peers before he entered the Templar Order sometime around 1140, particularly if it was practiced by the king, his court, his noble peers and even Church elders and principals, who may view their piety no less exacting than Bernard de Clairvaux’s abstemious principles. Thus William, does not only adjourn the

²¹⁹ Robert de Craon, the second Templar Grand Master 1136-1149

²²⁰ Upton-Ward J.M. *The Rule of the Templars* p. 5.

²²¹ Goldberg, E.J. (2020). *In the Manner of the Franks: Hunting, Kingship, and Masculinity in Early Medieval Europe*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

rule about hawking, but in open protest endorses it, knowing there was little action the Templar Grand Master would take to censor William without damaging the relationship with the Scottish convent and its royal patronage.

- 13.5.49 The Templar Rule was explicit, but like so many monastic adherences, not so easily followed, particularly when the rule is presented as perhaps, Bernard de Clairvaux's personal entreaty, with criticism offered under an ascetic ideal, without regard for the nature of the core of the new Templar Order: aristocratic knights, or any direct defensible prohibition as defined in the Gospels.
- 13.5.50 Considering the heritage of those forming the knighthood, it would not be surprising to find Bernard's prejudiced ascetic vision for the Templar Order, tempered with the reality of the nature of these aristocratic knights formed and greatly influenced by their heritage, given a large degree of autonomy within their control, versus a primitive rule established less in consideration of those knights it sought to attract, but more to satisfy ecclesiastical approval, and in particular Bernard de Clairvaux's sober Cistercian vision.
- 13.5.51 Although it is possible William's wilful display of a hunting hawk on his seal may be a stand for the right of his kind to hunt, supporting an activity that had been practiced by hundreds of years by his ancestors without condemnation by the Church or the Gospels. Nevertheless, the deliberate addition of a hunting hawk on William's seal seems deliberately and unnecessarily provocative. Therefore, in consideration, the study considered William Masculus' seal a strike against him being a Templar.
- 13.5.52 The other infraction against the Rule is the possible existence of a horse pendant in gilded metal.²²² (*see figure 60*) Again, the Templar Rule decries decoration on horse trappings:
- 13.5.53 *'We utterly forbid any brother to have gold or silver on his bridle, nor on his stirrups, nor on his spurs. That is, if he buys them: but if it happens that a harness is given to him in charity which is so old that the gold or silver is tarnished, that the resplendent beauty is not seen by others, nor pride taken in them: then he may have them. But if he is given new equipment let the Master deal with it as he sees fit.'*²²³
- 13.5.54 Although the Rule gives the master discretion over the matter, as the ownership and date of the horse pendant cannot be confirmed, ie., post or predating William's entry into the Templar Order, the matter cannot be confirmed as an infraction of the Rule.

How does the title, Lord of Fowlis reconcile William as a Templar?

- 13.5.55 William is awarded the barony of Fowlis by the king around 1138. Without a ready title awarded by succession on his father's death, or confirmed landholdings to provide an income, it seems likely Fowlis was awarded by the king for William's personal subsidy

²²² It is uncertain if the horse harness pendant belongs to Austin of Walpole or le Riche of Fowlis.

²²³ Templar Rule no. 52, *'That no Brother may have an Ornate Bridle.'*

and his family's support, the lands returning to the Crown on the death of William's direct heirs. The wealth of the Templars was decades in the making and so it would be likely the income from the Scottish Templar estates may still be somewhat muted. The Templar Order would not be expected to subsidise William's family, it was William, who along with other *donats*, would be expected to support the Templar association, with gifts, land and money.

- 13.5.56 William appears to remain a *confratre* of the Templar Order, ie., a Knight Templar who is a full member of the brotherhood, as discussed in 13.5.32, but remains in the 'world', with title and landholdings.
- 13.5.57 It is relevant, in considering the submission William is a member of the Templar Order, that his secular titles and thus his personal wealth do not appear to develop past Fowlis. In terms of William's wealth, there is insufficient charter record to confirm all of William's holdings, that at least extend beyond Fowlis to Berwick. What is clear, is that inheritance only appears to involve parts of the estate of Fowlis to each of his daughters and his youngest nephew, Thomas. His oldest nephew (and male heir), Richard, is not recorded as a beneficiary of his estate. However, without a comprehensive picture of Williams holdings, it is dangerous to make assumption, but on the face of it, William's landholdings appear modest, as befitting a vow of poverty.
- 13.5.58 The record confirms William's gifting to the Church, but early charter often concentrates on such matters, with many secular landholding nobles gifting to the Church, and so William's record in this matter cannot be viewed as out of the ordinary. What is relevant is William's wealth does not appear overt, and thus his personal financial ability to sponsor a new religious foundation at Sacro Nemore appears doubtful. Without a clear picture of William's wealth and landholdings, and no recorded relationship with the religious institution at Holywood, on land held by the Bishopric of Glasgow, questions are raised how William could found a new convent (Sacro Nemore) and support it from his existing holdings, unless it was established by his Order, rather than from his personal gift.

If this individual [William le Riche] held the title 'abbas', he was not a Templar or a Hospitaller.

- 13.5.59 William le Riche was not the administrative head of Sacro Nemore, ie., *brother preceptor*, he was the convent's founder, ie., father to the community, *abbas*. There is no comparative record to dismiss the title *abbas* being carried by a master of a military order directly founding a Templar community, and as it is already the well-established convention employed by regular orders, there is no reason to question it.
- 13.5.60 Using the existing, and only 12th century case study of Templar hierarchy within Scotland, reference is made to *Brother Raan Corbet, Master of the House of the Temple*

*in the land of the king of the Scots.*²²⁴ The master is styled ‘brother’ as his ecclesiastical dignity within the confraternity, but this designation is perhaps not suitable for the spiritual head (or father) of a Templar monastic community in its entirety.²²⁵

13.5.61 In 1129, Hugh de Payens was presented very much in terms of the traditional Benedictine abbot; ‘*the master ought to hold the staff and the rod in his hand, namely the staff by which he sustains the weakness of other men, also the rod by which the zeal for rectitude he strikes the vices of those who err.*’²²⁶ Thus the term *abbas* used to describe William’s role over the convent of Sacro Nemore seems very appropriate.

13.5.62 Therefore, in terms of William’s nomenclature used on the *inscribed* bell, neither the use of *dominus* (master), nor *abbas* (father), or even *Masculus* used on charter conflicts with the concept of disparate terms employed in a period of unsettled early European Templar organisation, heavily reliant on existing ecclesiastical vocabulary. The titles do not confirm him a Templar by the standards of later established Templar ‘corporate’ organisation, but with the complete absence of hierarchy and practice adopted in Templar foundation around 1128 through to the 1140s, there is no reason to reject the nomenclature used.

All Templars were celibate.

13.5.63 While seeking specialists to contribute to the understanding of William le Riche as a Templar, a former professor of medieval history, specific to the foundation of the military orders in Scotland offered, ‘*the military orders were celibate, and no Templar or Hospitaller would be married or have legitimate children.*’

13.5.64 The study received this all-embracing paradigm in argument to the original study report. Whereas it was accepted the public, fed with concise history and popularist Templar lore, would believe all Templars to be celibate, it was a surprising counter from a scholar.

13.5.65 Whereas Bernard de Clairvaux envisaged professed knights as the core of the order, pragmatically, provision was made for married knights to serve the order as brothers. According to the original Primitive Rule of the Templars,²²⁷ drafted by Bernard de Clairvaux and Hugh de Payens, married men were allowed, with permissions from the parties concerned, to enter the Templar order as *confratres* (members of the brotherhood) or as *fratres conjugati* (married brothers), denied the white mantle or full profession, but regarded as Templars, nonetheless.

²²⁴ *Glasgow Regestum*, no 41

²²⁵ St Benedict (c.AD 480 – 543) defined the monastic community as a spiritual family, every monk as son and the head of that family as father, representing the person of Christ, the monastic institute their permanent home.

²²⁶ Barber M. (1994), *The New Knighthood, a History of the Order of the Temple*, p.17. Cambridge University Press

²²⁷ Upton-Ward J.M. *The Rule of the Templars* (English rendition of Henri de Curson’s 1886 edition of the French translation of the Templar Rule.)

- 13.5.66 Therefore, William could be married, have children, and still have joined the Templars. Although his spiritual condition would be compromised, he would still be in concordance with the Templar Rule, and nothing in the Templar Rule forbids a married brother (with children) from the order or becoming master.
- 13.5.67 Despite the expected celibate condition of an individual entering spiritual life, it would seem counterproductive for David I to castrate the best of his knights within his fledgling Anglo-Norman, Flemish and French aristocracy, and it may have been the king's condition of William's entry into the Templars that he married and produced heirs to his line, before fully professing to any religious order.
- 13.5.68 It was not determined when and who William le Riche married, but nothing excludes William from being married sometime from in late 1130s. There is only evidence of William marrying once, with two confirmed daughters, and no illegitimate children. Fully professed Templar knights were expected to be celibate. However, David I's imported Anglo-Norman and French aristocracy could only flourish with progeny, and succession was a vital part of the medieval nobility, as well as becoming the mainstay of the Templar's recruitment of knights from those families already committed to crusading and the Templar Order.
- 13.5.69 William was probably still an adolescent when his father died around 1130. It was most likely his father's wish with his entry into the Templars that his son should follow. It was a convention that would later contribute to the success of Templar recruitment. *Schenk, Luttrell* and *Forey* argue, whereas in the beginning when the Templar order was new and unique, later in the Templar legend it would be family involvement that would continue to contribute to the success of the Templar movement. With sons entering the order, as per familial expectation and tradition, rather than personal ambition or calling. The idea of total celibacy within the Order is contradictory to this principle.

The authors' comment on celibacy

- 13.5.70 Even though the Templar Rule clearly permitted married men to join the order, it is naive to apply a theoretical religious paradigm as a fact of religious life, particularly in order to discount an individual from membership of either the secular clergy or monastic life.
- 13.5.71 If absolute celibacy was the case, then it appears the Church's interminable debate and condemnation of this continual celibacy rule break amongst its ecclesiasts was completely unwarranted. The Church did not enforce clerical celibacy very well. By the beginning of the 12th century the culture of married clergy was so entrenched that it was likely impossible to find a priest who did not have a female partner. How do you

patrol morality when everyone is guilty of the same sin? ²²⁸ Despite the formation of the Templar Rule in 1129 and the Church's attack on the secular clergy, the reality was, most knights and elite in the mid-12th century joining the Templar cause were married secular warriors, their sons, not chaste cloistered monks, or virgin adolescents. Many were already married or had female partners. Conjugal and sexual congress within a marital condition was already practiced.

- 13.5.72 The enforcement of clerical celibacy by the Pope was met by widespread resistance. Celibacy may be an ecclesiastical ideal, but it certainly was and never will be a pragmatic reality. And as it was unpopular within reform of the secular clergy, then it should be expected to be unpopular amongst the Templars, particularly considering the route of their conversion and their operational behaviour away from the confines of a monastic house. Regardless of their commitment to the order, there was a dynastic behaviour of the nobility to leave sons behind to carry forward their names. Thus, to expect them to willingly abandon their lawful conjugal behaviours with their absent wives, seems highly unlikely and unrealistic.

William le Riche has no connection with Balantrodoch, the Templars first known preceptory.

- 13.5.73 It is certain Midlothian was the epicentre of Templar establishment from the time of Hugh de Payens visit to Scotland, with its holdings in East Lothian, Falkirk, Swanton-Midlothian, Liston-West Lothian and a preceptory established by the second half of the 12th century. Newbattle abbey, Midlothian, was built in 1140, sponsored by David I and Prince Henry, to house a community of Cistercian monks affiliated to Melrose Abbey. As in France, Templar gains were mirrored by Cistercian gains. as the two were intrinsically linked, and it would be no surprise to find a newly established Cistercian house alongside a Templar house within the same region.²²⁹
- 13.5.74 It is unfortunate there are no documents or testimonies remaining to verify the establishment of the first locally structured Templar communities in Scotland, and which lords and landowners initiated the Templar network, no doubt with David I's enthusiastic backing. We do not know '*when and from whom they acquired their earliest possessions*'²³⁰ All that exists is testimony from *Ailred of Revaulx*, that Templars existed before David I's death in 1153, the site of the first known preceptory at *Balanrodoch* (Temple, Midlothian) which was established by the end of the 12th century,²³¹ Alexander II's 1215 charter '*confirmed to the brothers of the Temple of*

²²⁸ Thibodeaux, J.D. Associate Professor of History, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, in conversation about her book, *The Manly Priest, Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity and reform in England and Normandy 1066-1300*. (2015) University of Pennsylvania Press.

²²⁹ Schenk J, *Templar Families*, pp. 250-65

²³⁰ Cowan I. B. (1983) *Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland*, p. xviii

²³¹ Paisley Registrum, 5-6

*Solomon in Jerusalem all rights, liberties and customs granted to them,*²³² and record of the establishment of Templar possessions in burghs by the mid-12th century.²³³

13.5.75 It may be viewed as coincidence the epicentre of Templar growth stems from Midlothian, with Robert le Riche conferring his territorial grant in Midlothian by David I, not to his son, but to another beneficiary. But considering the direction of the study, it is perhaps more than a coincidence but an obvious conclusion, the initial Templar gains in Scotland were in part due to Robert le Riche's re-assignment of his wealth and land holdings before his death. We may even assume Robert le Riche was one of the first Templar instigators in Scotland, even its first master.

13.5.76 Another tentative connection to consider is *Radulphus Masculus*, Lord of Lochgou' (a barony in either Peebles or Midlothian) and his grandson Thomas *Masculus*. Randulphus' title, *Masculus*, again is clearly adopted with his landholding probably in Midlothian, attested by his donation to Newbattle Abbey (*see appendix IX, Table C*).

If Masculus is an identifier of a Templar, why does it only appear in Scotland and not in Templar history?

13.5.77 The title, *Masculus* is not localised, nor specific to the Templars, as it exists on English and French cartulary, and 11th and 12th century document. There is no available information of it being used in Templar charter or document to specifically identify a Templar, or any reason to think the title would be adopted outside Scotland, whose influence on the beginnings of the Templar order was perhaps, less than vociferous.

13.5.78 The study did not take the investigation of those who carried *Masculus* beyond available English and Scottish record, with the exception of a chance consideration of a single French abbey cartulary, (*see 10.5.14*). Therefore, the study cannot confirm the extent of the use of *Masculus* on European record, or if it appears against an individual, who is known by his alternative given name to be a Templar.

13.5.79 William does not employ his title *Masculus* over the commune of Sacro Nemore, implying the title was not an internal designator over the identification of a brother or any other hierarchical term. Just like the colloquial term '*Templar*' does not appear in early Templar transaction and charter, then there is no reason to expect *Masculus* to appear either.

No historian has identified William le Riche as a Templar

13.5.80 Despite David I's enthusiastic reception of Hugh de Payens, and his royal patronage of both Church and crusade, as well as Ailred of Revaulx's testimony, there are no confirmed records of the names of the Templar knights in Scotland before David I's death in 1153. Moreso, Scotland's contribution to crusading and the provision of warriors is seen as lacking, so generally overlooked by historians. It is only the 1997

²³² Barrow G. S. (1960) *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, i, pp 281-2

²³³ St Andrews Liber, 124

publication of Alan Macquarrie's work, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560*, that addresses the lack of Scottish historical interest, even if the amount of illumination it brings to Scotland's 12th century involvement is limited with regards to its players.

- 13.5.81 In research, outside general historical chronicle, all domestic information comes from Templar cartularies. It is by an individual's attendance on Templar charter and Templar transaction that cites their involvement. In Scotland this does not exist, hence why no scholarly scrutiny has been possible. For this reason, the absence of Templar nomenclature is not proof William is not a Templar, in fact if William had been cited as a 'Brother of the Temple, or Templar' in 1141, doubts would probably be raised by historians to the record's authenticity.
- 13.5.82 There were Templars in Scotland before 1153; a reliable witness close to David I declares it, the king's nature dictated it, the pope nurtured it, and religious society promoted it in preference to an older society of 'worldly' secular clergy, promoted under the Norman ducal system. So, who were they? We have no legend of the lawyer, blacksmith, farmer, and fisherman who entered Templar service as holy man, donor, or layman. We do not have the legacy of the common man to study and consider. But we do have significant, if not complete knowledge of the Norman/French nobility of Scotland in the 12th century, those with land and bequests to family and Church, leaving a trail for the historian to find. Notwithstanding the Scottish ethnic nobility contribution to the Templar cause, the newly installed Anglo-Norman aristocracy would have greater reason to commit, if only by way of French family connection and by the instigation of their Church. We can line up the suspects and discount some of them by way of their position within David I's society—but who remains? Amongst the list of the 'accused' will be the disappearance from Scotland of one of the noblest titles from the High Middle Ages—*le Riche*; the line that sprang from *Ansould*, advisor to the king of France and to Guarin who came to conquer England with Duke William. Robert le Riche, Guarin's son, continued the family's legacy of crusading, and allied himself with David I, one of Scotland's most influential kings and religious reformers. William's title 'le Riche' was always destined to disappear, as was the way with noble lines throughout antiquity, but his legacy of crusading and religious commitment would continue down his ancestral line.
- 13.5.83 William is never identified within Templar cartulary, so historians have overlooked him as a candidate. Regrettably misplay had hidden his title from proper consideration, and it is only consideration of that title along with the *inscribed* bell legend, also hidden through misplay that reveals William as a candidate not only for Templar affiliation, but master of the Order in Scotland.

The confraternity, Masculus could be a unique religious military order?

- 13.5.84 With the clan *Masculus* being identified as a religious confraternity of knights, consideration was given to the possibility, no matter how unlikely, David I and his reformed Church sponsored a new religious military order in Scotland, encouraged by

pious texts, religious rhetoric and Hugh de Payens' entreaty, built on historic employment of the secular clergy under the Norman ducal system and even classic reference to Frankish warriors. There is absolutely no evidence to support this, yet with no information on the first establishment of military orders in Scotland, outside the certainty of '*the illustrious knighthood of the Temple of Jerusalem*' surrounding David I before his death in 1153, it is not outside the realms of possibility David I originally backed the idea of a Scottish military canonical order that would ultimately support de Payens' cause, but modelled on David I's own vision, based on the thoughts and ideas of his friend, Robert le Riche, and his own Church reformers, all within the rule of the prevailing religious orders, with both influencing and counter-thought on the proper application of holy rule over the secular warrior. But we must err, as it is clear, if they did, it was quickly absorbed into the Templar Order within David I's reign, as we only find confirmation of Templars surrounding David I, as advisors before 1153.

13.5.85 The idea of a uniquely purposed organisation is only discussed, as many, often obscure religious military orders were established throughout Europe. However, they had a common purpose; to protect against, and wage war on the Muslim at home and away in lands once held by Christians. For example, the *Confraternity of Belchite* existed between 1122 and 1136, as an 'experimental' confraternity of knights sponsored by emperor Alfonso VII, king of Aragon and Navarre. Other 'experimental' orders may have thrived and died; some will have probably existed without ever been recorded. Since no anti-Christian threat lay at the door of David I, but only in the face of those protecting Christian interest against their Muslim neighbour, we should dismiss the idea David I fostered any plan other than support of Holy Church and its establishing militia. The influences on David I by the Cistercians, Hugh de Payens and Bernard de Clairvaux are clear, therefore, we should consider William le Riche a religious warrior modelled on philosophy which fuelled Bernard de Clairvaux's entreaty, caught within an existing and traditional designation; probable because there is no international, consistent, recognisable identity applied to Bernard de Clairvaux's new 'monastic' ordained holy knight (as opposed to religious secular knight) for up to two decades after the official Papal mandate in 1129.

How does William's term as master, titled Masculus, consolidate with the first, existing Templar charter?

13.5.86 The first recognisable terms associated with the Templar organisation in Scotland appear on a charter thought to be dated, sometime between 1175 and 1199. *Brother Raan' Corberht, master of the House of the Temple in the land of the king of Scots* appears on a charter concerning a Templar matter. Thus, the witnesses are from the house at Balantrodoch. Five Templars are mentioned; Brother Ranulf/Randolph Corbet (Master), Brother Alan (Preceptor), Brother Roger (Almoner), Brother Warin (Chaplain) and Brother Anketin. None are identified with the title Masculus, and only

one shares a given name with a knight that does—*Roger*, with no guarantee these are the same individual. ([Appendix IX, Table E](#)),

- 13.5.87 The charter includes, as a witness, *John of Huntingdon, the clerk of the bishop of Glasgow*. He appears as clerk for Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow (1175-1199)²³⁴ between 1193-94, and in three other documents dated between 1179-96, 1180-95, 1189-99, and as clerk under the next bishop of Glasgow, William Malveisin (1199-1202), eventually being styled ‘master’ around 1204. John of Huntingdon last appears in 1208. Therefore, it is probable the Templar charter dates closer to 1199 than 1175, after William le Riche is confirmed dead (before 1189). It is likely many of the original Templar confraternity will have also expired at this point, perhaps along with their title, *Masculus*, awarded in the early establishment of the Scottish Templar confraternity. However, Richard, nephew to William, and Thomas, grandson of Randulphus, carry the title *Masculus* forward in the same family, supporting the idea sons of the original Scottish confraternity adopted their ancestors’ titles out of tradition.
- 13.5.88 From the Templar charter, outside a bespoke title for the Templar order in Scotland, we can assume rationalisation had caught up with the Scottish Templar fraternity, and with it, familiar Templar designators, at least in terms concerning matters of internal administration.
- 13.5.89 However, the absence of *Masculus* being applied to Raan’ Corbert’s title and the other brothers on the charter does not preclude the use of *Masculus* by these Templars, as the term is likely an external declaration of their religious brotherhood to the lay community and the Church, and nothing to do with internal hierarchy. As is the case with the *inscribed* bell of Holywood, William applied his personal title of *William le Riche*, rather than his confraternal title, *William Masculus*, and it is likely Raan’ Corbet would apply the same (his personal title) in matters of identity within his own order.
- 13.5.90 The title *Masculus* is still evidenced on charter in the early 13th century, so we expect it is still carried by some Templars originating from the first confraternity established in the 1130s and early 1140s. However, it is the authors’ view the title *Masculus* was no longer applied to brothers after the Order underwent reorganisation in the second half of the 12th century, under canonical reforms instigated by the third Lateran Council of 1179, which issued decrees which must have caused many existing *confratres* to reconsider their commitment to the Templars. Canon Nine of the Lateran Council issued a harsh edict against *confratres* exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, one of the key benefits to the confraternity, promoted in the 1139 papal bull, *Omne Datum Optimum*.²³⁵

²³⁴ Bishop Jocelin’s tenure gives rise to the Templar charter dating parameters.

²³⁵ Concerning the *confratres* we herewith decree that of they have not rendered themselves completely to the bothers [of the Order], but remain the owners of their own possessions, they must not, for that reason, be anyway exempted from the judicial sentences of bishops.

William Masculus had landholdings; this does not reconcile with a Templar's vow of poverty

- 13.5.91 Templars were denied personal possessions and took a vow of poverty. The Gospels do not condemn the possession of worldly goods, only the danger of riches, '*the thorns that choke up the good seed of the word.*'²³⁶ Poverty has no intrinsic goodness, unless it removes the obstacles which stand in the way of pursuit of spiritual perfection.²³⁷
- 13.5.92 In terms of the vow of poverty William would have made on entry into the Order, it was important to consider William's condition on the little record existing and the reality of his entry into the Templar Order circa 1140.
- 13.5.93 In terms of the Latin Rule, it is clear the Templars as an institution could own property. '*How they may have lands and men,*'²³⁸ and it is specific on those individuals who enter the order with lands and property, and how that should be allocated on death. Depravation of a married Templar's family, while a knight served Christ was not the Order's intention. Thus, again William's condition as a landholding knight does not interfere with his condition as a Templar.
- 13.5.94 What is also important to consider is, from what possession he had, the barony of Fowlis was granted to him by David I, '*out of which he made donations to the religious.*'²³⁹. He inherited no title or lands from his father, and his family, but not his nephew Richard who is his direct heir, only appear to inherit lands from that estate.

History does not record William le Riche as a Templar Master, therefore he is not a Templar Master

- 13.5.95 Scottish record has suffered massive loss in three hundred years of border conflict and petty removal in the three hundred years since. Therefore, the lack of information is perhaps understandable, explaining why William never appears outside the few surviving charters found in forgotten church archive. Any record connecting William le Riche to Sacro Nemore, or the Templars (outside the *inscribed* bell) is lost.
- 13.5.96 Just like the nine hundred years of historians who have failed to recognise William for what he was, the inquisitors into Templar affairs probably failed as well, probably because in the beginning of the 14th century they were not concerned with William le Riche, or Sacro Nemore, as even then it was long-past history and of little relevance to the dismantlement of the Templar organisation.
- 13.5.97 The legend of the Templars has been created by hundreds of years of historian attention, promotion, and speculation, bringing both prominence and eminence to an order, even

²³⁶ Matthew 13:22

²³⁷ St Thomas Aquinas 9c 1260 summa contra gentiles, iii cxxxiii p 133

²³⁸ *Rule of the Templars no.57* '...for this reason we judge you to be rightly called knights of the temple. With the double merit and beauty of probity, and that you may have lands and keep men, villeins and fields and govern them justly, and take your right to them as it is specifically established.'

²³⁹ Douglas, R. (1764). *The Peerage of Scotland*, p 539 London.

before its dissolution, had already fallen into disrepute. Historical focus presents the Templars as celebrity history, often to the detriment to other areas of ecclesiastical, military and political endeavour. A provincial Templar master carries no more dignity than a regular abbot. Historical record does not deem to record every abbot, so why should a Templar master be awarded greater consideration by contemporary chroniclers?

13.5.98 In the opening decades, the Order was still new, rising in popularity with successive papal mandate, but still relatively untested and unproven, suffering ecclesiastical criticism and early failure that did nothing to support its reputation. It is only by the end of the 12th century the Order rises to such prominence, primarily through its commercial impact on Europe; featuring prominently in medieval life, allowing those ‘good Christians’ to participate in the wars in the East, through donation and association, rather than blood.

13.5.99 Crusading was already the norm before the inception of the Templars, pilgrimage the convention amongst the better resourced fervent Christian. The influential secular clergy were prominent, as were their appointed retainers of knights, enforcing their policies amongst the lay community. New monastic establishments were appearing, bringing employment and spiritual salvation to the communities around them. David I bought a new religious dynamic to his kingdom, impacting everyone. In the opening decades of the Templar order in Scotland, William and his confraternity were just another new facet of the Church, already undergoing reform under David I. William le Riche was not a superstar of his day, just another player in Scotland’s religious renaissance. So why would contemporary record mark him out for any special consideration?

13.5.100 This unremarkable identification as a Templar may explain why in 1262 charter records him *domini Willelmus Maule, militis* - Lord William Maule, knight. We may question why *militis templi* is not employed? His legal condition was a knight, his differing allegiances as a knight perhaps irrelevant. By 1262 the reputation of the Knights Templar was in decline, so why sully William’s good name with a past association perhaps not worth recording?

13.6 Summary

13.6.1 Discussion was not to prove William le Riche was a Templar, but that *he could be* a Templar and so consolidate his existence as a knight with his role as both *father* of Sacro Nemore and *master* of the religious community within it.

13.6.2 Research was never going to find the word ‘Temple’ or its derivatives next to William le Riche’s name. There would be no Templar charter, transaction or roll to find with his title presented upon it, because if there were such a document, historians would

certainly have found it. *'The absence of charter evidence for ties between families and Templars is not sufficient proof that such ties did not exist.'*²⁴⁰

- 13.6.3 Considering the limited evidence of William's existence, and the discussion surrounding the expectation of historians and the research of scholars, there is only his declaration of a hunting bird on his *Masculus* seal that brings his legend into conflict with the idea of him being a Templar. The question posed by the study was, does this rule contravention exclude William from being a Templar? Is this one piece of evidence enough to counter the many threads of testimony presented by *William de Maule*, Lord of Fowlis, knight, aka William Masculus, witness on royal charter, and *William Masculus*, aka William le Riche, member of a religious brotherhood of knights, carrying a title of those who serve as secular canons and clergy, and *William le Riche*, aka William Masculus, *father*, and *master* of a religious order cited on the *inscribed* bell of Sacro Nemore, aka Holywood Abbey?
- 13.6.4 Without being able to positively tie William into one of the existing known knight-religious-confraternities. The study considered the existence of an *unknown* and *unrecorded* brotherhood of religious knights/secular canons that had royal, legal, and Church recognition. A significant confraternity of no less than five and probably more than a dozen knights. A confraternity that would allow William a worldly existence while maintaining a religious life through his establishment of Sacro Nemore.
- 13.6.5 In the theatre of crusading with most religious orders properly identified, why would David I, in his own world influenced by the Templar movement look to another home-grown unique confraternity to act as witness and defend the Church. It seems fanciful supposition to cite an unknown, specific, and unique Scottish fraternity, significant enough it required the establishment of a convent at Sacro Nemore to cater for its membership.
- 13.6.6 Without knowing the context of the hawk presentation on William's seal the study could not be certain William le Riche did not abstain from the sport as per the Templar Rule. The image on his seal may be inherited, ironic, or symbolic in a variety of ways. Of course, it may be a deliberate and conscious break from the Templar Rule, and a very open declaration of dissent.
- 13.6.7 Would a conscious and deliberate rule break expel him from the Templars? Should we declare a Templar *never* wore a pair of pointy shoes with laces or stood in chapel to sing hymns instead of sitting down, simply because the rule forbade it, thus it *never* occurred?
- 13.6.8 If we used an order's religious rule as defining evidence of an individual's presence in that order, we would need to exclude great crowds of the religious. Consider the Teutonic Order of Knights.²⁴¹ The order was formed using the Templar Rule, yet

²⁴⁰ Schenck J, p 20

²⁴¹ *The Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem* founded c.1190.

disobeyed several rules within it, eg., ‘*Rule 53, On Lance Covers, Let no brother have a cover on his shield or his lance, for it is of no advantage, on the contrary we understand that it would be very harmful.*’ Instead, the Teutonic Knights, disregarded their own adopted rule and commanded their knights to keep the tips of their lances covered in order to maintain the polish and keep them sharp.²⁴² The Teutonic Knights disregarded several commandments of their own religious rule, including hunting with dogs, a privilege specially conferred by the papacy. These papal consents were the Church’s pragmatic acceptance over St Bernard’s ascetic ideal. Hunting was suggested as traditional training, seen as a ‘necessity’ and not trivial pleasure.²⁴³

- 13.6.9 Perhaps falconry cannot be seen as necessary, or no more than sport, a trivial pleasure. But it is certain, like the Teutonic Knights who found the ban on hunting extremely unpopular due to their heritage and common practice, William may have also rejected the rule for similar reasons.
- 13.6.10 To discount William Masculus as a Templar for this blatant break from his order’s rule, would be to accept *all* those in religious life adhered without deviation or protest to their society’s regulation, and everyone, including those who were tasked to apply it, applied the rules rigidly, fearing admonishment, punishment and even banishment from their Order.
- 13.6.11 To dismiss William as a Templar would need acceptance, without question, every rule book is followed to the letter, and society since the dawn of man is filled with compliant automatons who accept, without question, any rule placed before them, regardless of the relevance to their theatre of existence, the consequences of disobedience, and the level of their commitment.
- 13.6.12 William le Riche and clan *Masculus* are never referred to as Templars, or *fratres* or *confratres* of the Temple, and charters posthumously made after their death never refer to them as such. This does not concern, as just as it is impossible to identify Clunics, Cistercians or any other order on charter, because designation is never cited, the same applies to those in military orders. It is only an individual’s presence on a charter specific to the order, or roll within a house of that order, that reveals membership, unless a chronicler identifies them in connection to an event or important personage. Even when presented with a Templar charter, those who are confirmed as Templars are, at times, not listed as such, and it is important to understand the term ‘brother,’ (*confrater*, *frater*) was not routinely applied to early Templars; Hugh of Posquières (Hugo Poscherius) and Raymond of Posquières (Raimundus de Poscheriis) were both recorded as Templars, neither specifically as a *frater*, in the witness list of a transaction issued for the Templar community of St-Gilles in June 1188.²⁴⁴

²⁴² It was only in 1244, the Teutonic Order of Knights were absolved from this rule break of their order, after obtaining, from Pope Innocent IV the right of their master to make any changes thought necessary.

²⁴³ Hennig E. (ed) Nicelovine F. (ed) (1806) *Die Stauen des Deutschen Ordens*; pp 21-74; discussed in *The early years of the Teutonic Order*, Monmouth College (accessed 2022)

²⁴⁴ Schenk J., p 197

- 13.6.13 In review of existing medieval bells, metalwork, engraving and seals there was not a single occurrence of a religious order's title being presented in connection to an individual or institution that was clearly affiliated to a recognised sect.
- 13.6.14 There is no evidence Hugh de Payens and his original 'Temple knights' ever referred to themselves as *fratres* or *confratres* of the holy sepulchre. It was only their three monastic vows of chastity, poverty and obedience that set them to the outside world as 'brothers'.²⁴⁵ It is likely Templars on Scottish charter, especially during David I's reign, would not necessarily be known by either the term 'brother' or by a recognisable Order title, which would include the term 'Temple', particularly as they may not, at that time, have a strong physical connection to the east and Jerusalem.²⁴⁶
- 13.6.15 This lack of identity would stretch throughout the founding decades to individual knights and the terminology used, ambiguously, to describe lay associates and fully professed members of the Order. Along with the absence of identification, terms *frater* and *confrater* were extensively used to refer to members. Some Templar records refer to all lay associates as *fratres*-brothers, yet some early charters *confratres* is used for both the professed and lay members.
- 13.6.16 The use of *Masculus* on charter does not preclude the use of 'brother' being used in day-to-day transaction and greetings, as it was a common term not only between professed members but the Christian laity (as it is today amongst Christian cults).
- 13.6.17 Considering David I's passion for the Church and crusading, it is unlikely William le Riche's family were the only ones to develop crusading activities. Considering William's status within Scottish aristocracy and a foundation in Midlothian, it is evident the Templar network in Scotland was on solid ground, and so growth would be expected along with the level of donation. With William's adherence to a title on charter without the construct of his Order following, so other knights would appear on charter without a recognisable 'Templar' designation. Simply put, it is not that Templars are absent on charter in the 12th century, it is that there are no familiar terms for the historian to assign them as such. It is only the absence of recognised nomenclature that historians use to deny Templar existence on Scottish record, but confirmations such as order designations should *not* be expected. In conclusion the study found no reason to exclude William le Riche as a member of the Templar brotherhood.
- 13.6.18 In 1128, when Hugh de Payens visited Scotland and put his case to king David for men, money, and equipment for the cause of security of Christians and pilgrims in the east, it came with a vision for a new order of knights that had yet to take proper form or even have recognition by the Roman Church. Thus, in establishing support for Hugh de Payens in David I's kingdom, a confraternity was created with its own nomenclature, hierarchy, and even supplementary rules in the absence of a formalised international

²⁴⁵ Schenk J. pp. 46-7

²⁴⁶ Barber M. (1994), *The New Knighthood, a History of the Order of the Temple*, p.51. Cambridge University Press

structure. This Scottish confraternity complied to existing institution and local Church approval; adopting a disparate but recognisable term to single out this ‘new knighthood’. Inevitably, rationalisation occurs as the Templars develop and grow, and by 1150, a distinctiveness is applied to the Order, but this does not cancel out existing legal identities of those who continue to serve the Templar cause, it simply replaces them over time. Thus, the title, *Masculus* dies out with the generation and the families that instigated it, abandoned under the weight of reforms established by the Church, new canonical law, and Templar reorganisation from the second half of the 12th century.

14.0 Discussion: Founding of Sacro Nemore under William le Riche

14.1 Introduction

- 14.1.1 In the first and second editions of the study report, *Myth and Mystery: The Bells of Holywood*, with the bells' dating and sponsor properly identified, only superficial consideration was given to the nature of Holywood Abbey and its founding. This is because, in part, the object of the study was to clarify the bells' origins, not resolve the history of the site.
- 14.1.2 With no record of Holywood Abbey's foundation, very little indication of its existence outside the bells, or any conclusive archaeological evidence, all that was originally offered by the authors regarding the site was conjecture, hopefully to be debated and considered by a larger group of historians and academics drawn in by the significance of the bells.
- 14.1.3 Originally, there were problems consolidating William's legend on the *inscribed* bell as abbot and master within religious life, as opposed to a secular cleric, with his profile during the same period as lord, landholder, and knight. Even with his title, *Masculus*, expressing possible membership of a powerful patrician secular clergy, fusing this successfully with his religious identity as an 'abbot' was problematic.
- 14.1.4 Several scenarios were tendered originally, resulting in an untidy speculative amalgamation. All scenarios had irreconcilable issues, and it was only reconsideration of the study that revealed only one set of circumstances allowed a declared knight to be a concurrent long-standing head of a religious community, conferred with the honorifics '*Abbas*', and '*Dominus*'.
- 14.1.5 The study had a report of a date inscribed with his name connected to the house, his name upon two of its bells, and his declaration of his tenure as 'Father' and 'Master' over the house and community within it; all within his existence as a knight within a brotherhood of knights. It would not be proper to make such a declaration as 'father' and 'master' over a religious house if it did not share affiliation with William's chosen religious society, and so with William postulated a Templar, it seemed safe to assume Sacro Nemore was a Templar house.
- 14.1.6 With no record of Sacro Nemore in Templar histories, the authors were cautious about citing any purpose for Sacro Nemore without further corroboration of its function under William le Riche's tenure, outside it being a monastic house, lest declarations needlessly challenged existing histories.
- 14.1.7 However, it was clear the existing record concerning the bells was incorrect, as was the historians' understanding of William's adopted title. The errors were undeniable, and so regardless of any suppositions made by the authors over the house of Sacro Nemore, existing histories would be challenged in the reveal of the study.

- 14.1.8 Perhaps it may have been easier for the study to view Sacro Nemore built as an important religious centre, with its church and a complex given over the practicalities of religious, social, and economic need and aspiration in the second half of the 12th century, with no apportionment of its function assumed, although it could not be denied its founder and father was a Templar knight, master of his Order, so it was difficult to disconnect association.
- 14.1.9 The point is raised, as often Templar lore and its populist celebrity culture—the mystique which surrounds the Templars, often has learned historians avoiding Templar speculation, lest they are accused of fanciful notion. It would become apparent to the authors, even academic acceptance of irrefutable evidence would be problematic, thus concord with any theory presented by the study doubtful. However, with Holywood Abbey, its bells and William Masculus being presented and maintained in history on nothing but superficially considered speculation, it was felt the authors with a protracted period of consideration and research into the life of William le Riche were in a much better position to make better reasoned hypothesis regarding the foundation of the site.
- 14.1.10 Thus, with the origins of the Holywood bells clarified, it was for purposes of closure it was decided to revisit the original report and offer up suggestions as to why Sacro Nemore was founded and why it was re-purposed by another religious order around the beginning of the 13th century. Of course, without evidence all that could be offered was conjecture. However, it was decided, even if it was supposition that completed the bells' story, a likely determination of the house of Sacro Nemore was required.
- 14.1.11 Hypothesis was based on the events that immediately preceded William's decision to set a Templar community at Sacro Nemore. Ignoring local factors and condition of William le Riche the study was unaware of, it was to contemporary history surrounding William in the years prior to 1154 that forms the proposal in supposition.

14.2 *The Beginnings of the Templar Association in Scotland, 1130-1140*

- 14.2.1 Without any confirmation of the origins of the Templar network in Scotland, what is peculiar is a lack of presence by the end of the 13th century outside their commercial holdings and two preceptories. In comparison, England has fifty-seven known preceptories.²⁴⁷ This includes ten in Yorkshire, with their own master appointed in early Templar history.²⁴⁸ Areas of France, Templar commandries both small and large thrived in regions such as *Champagne*, *Brie* and *Burgundy*, with numerous towns, castles and houses held in the provinces by Templar affiliated families.²⁴⁹
- 14.2.2 Within the record of sixty-six religious houses in Scotland, founded before the end of the 13th century, only three houses are known to have been assigned to the Church's

²⁴⁷ Knowles, D. (1971). *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*. London: Longman. pp. 293.

²⁴⁸ Page W. (ed) (1974) *A History of the County of York: Volume 3: Houses of the Knights Templar* pp 256-260, London.

²⁴⁹ Schenk J, (2012) *Templar Families* p 8-11

military orders, *Balantradoch* and *Culter* for the Templars, and *Torphichen* for the *Knights Hospitallers*. Other military orders—the *Lazarites*, and *Order of St Thomas* reached Scotland, but little is known of their establishment in the region. It is proposed in modern histories, the Scottish Templars would become subordinate to a regional leadership in England, with many of the Templars in Scotland being English, the contribution from Scotland purely economic, with preceptories administering Templar commercial activities rather than recruitment.²⁵⁰

- 14.2.3 Even with the reported management of Scottish Templars' affairs from England with a surfeit of preceptories, it is odd only two preceptories should be sufficient to serve the Scottish region. The anomaly may be explained by a lack of participation amongst a fledgling French aristocracy and a largely ethnic population, or even political intervention. However the anomaly is not confirmed by the approval and growth of regular monastic institutions in Scotland under David I. Jochen Schenk confirms the same families were benefactors to both the Cistercian order and the Templars, with Cistercian expansion observed. For example, in Champagne alongside the Templar holdings, with recruitment coming from the same noble families, heavily invested in crusade and the reform ideology of the Cistercian [and later Premonstratensian movement].
- 14.2.4 Curiously, the number of Cistercian monasteries in the Champagne and Brie region numbered thirty-seven, with sixteen Templar commanderies. In Burgundy, twenty-one Cistercian monasteries with twelve commanderies. Thus, Cistercian houses exist in these regions at an approximate ratio of 2:1 with Templar houses. Compare this with Scotland, and we see twelve Cistercian houses established before the end of the 12th century coupled, with possibly four of five Premonstratensian houses, yet only two Templar preceptories. Although direct comparison region to region is unwise, there still exists a significant disparity.
- 14.2.5 *'By the mid-12th century, the Church military orders of Templars possessed 'at least one tenement in each of the Scottish burghs' yet only one Templar preceptory is known, that of Balantradoch in Midlothian. Over time, Templars would acquire more land, assets, and baronies. Yet, despite the significant holdings of the Templars, there are no other preceptories known at this date. It would be incautious to say, Balantradoch was the only centre for the Templars.'*²⁵¹
- 14.2.6 The absence of Scottish Templar knights is used by some historians to rationalise this lack of Scottish preceptories and *vice versa*, but the Templar's absence had been made through the lack of *identification* rather than a lack of *evidence* of their existence.
- 14.2.7 There is no doubt there was a significant rise in Templar holdings from their foundation in Scotland, meeting the growing necessity to furnish resources for Templar campaigns

²⁵⁰ MacLellan, Dr R, (2021) *Templars and Hospitallers: The military-religious orders in Scotland, 1128-1564*, *History Scotland*. pp.50-59.

²⁵¹ Lord, E. (2002). *The Knights Templar in Britain*, pp 193-4. London: Longman.

overseas and the retention of Christian possessions in the east. Some historians regard the lack of known preceptories in Scotland (in comparison to England) implies Templar activity in Scotland was purely a commercial enterprise, with its lay-members as financial advisors to the Crown,²⁵² and this probably best represents Scotland's contribution to the Templar cause by the end of the 13th century, because there appears to be so little record of the Templars holdings in terms of preceptories.

14.2.8 However, the Templar's financial power and acumen developed over time, supported by an increase in donation and gift and papal mandates dating from 1139 and 1144, and it is not until the mid-part of the 12th century when their banking prowess is demonstrated. And whereas it is certain later Templar counsellors to Scottish kings would be as much commercial advisors as they were spiritual mentors, this certainly would not have been the case with those first Templars that surrounded David I from their inception in Scotland after 1128, to his death in 1153. The beginnings of the Order were primarily concerned with the spiritual and holy aspect of war and the protection of pilgrims and their holy places, commercial activity was simply a consequence to deliver that goal.

14.2.9 It is offered by the study, with at least six individuals named *Masculus* on the scant number of existing Scottish medieval charters before 1170, with an unknown number posted overseas, and potentially others named on the vast number of lost charters, that knight commitment to the Templar ideal was greater than imagined, with David I's vassal lords and nobles committed to crusade like any other aristocratic families in England and France. Scotland's commitment to holy war may not have been as great as other European countries with their established networks of families and nobility, but it was not absent, just proportionate.

14.2.10 *'The lands of the Templars accumulated in Scotland, with a greater significance seen in recruiting manpower for the defence of the Holy Land.'*²⁵³ There is no doubt, if David I and his Templars' contribution to the Crusades, in terms of manpower, kept pace with growing Templar holdings in Scotland, other dedicated Templar resources, ie., preceptories, houses and centres, would need to be founded for logistical reasons. In counter, it is also possible David I's newly emerging Anglo-Norman and allied Scottish ethnic aristocracy does not realise the recruitment levels seen in England and the rest of Europe, so its contribution in terms of men for the wars in the east, and thus the required infrastructure, was greatly subdued. However, considering David I's passion for the Church and crusading, it is unlikely William le Riche's family were the only ones (along with their confraternity) to provide crusading commitment, and so growth would be expected as demonstrated by the level of donation.

²⁵² Ferguson C. R. (2013) *The Knight Templars in Scotland*, Scotland History Press

²⁵³ Edwards, J. (1903). *The Knights Templar in Scotland*. *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, Volume I.

- 14.2.11 It is apparent Templar activity in Scotland, beyond commercial endeavour, never appears to develop. Fewer preceptories are recorded (or found) than in English and French provinces. This may be down to the Scottish Templar network coming under the control of London, responding to political will and an unsettled relationship between successive Scottish and English kings, and their respective Churches. Without existing contemporary chronicle concerning the Templars in the British isles, only conjecture can be offered as to the state of Templar affairs leading up to dissolution.
- 14.2.12 France was undoubtably the most significant contributor in the growth and development of the Templars, with landed families providing the material and personal means to establish preceptories and granges (farms).²⁵⁴ It was, with revenues from their estates, and the influx of knights, petty noblemen and non-nobles, that gave the Templars the ability to finance and maintain a military presence in the east.
- 14.2.13 Fortunately, scholarly focus has produced several detailed case studies, and what emerges in Europe, is that from very early on in the development of the Templar Order it attracts supporters from different backgrounds and of both sexes, who associate themselves with local Templar communities. These communities eventually became powerful landowners, commonly adapting their religious practices to local custom. With a degree of independence, they become deeply rooted in the landscape and society in which they were located.²⁵⁵
- 14.2.14 Even by the end of the 13th century, communication between the periphery western Templar communities and the Order's convent in the East was infrequent, and the Order tended not to meddle in the internal affairs of provincial Temple convents, leading to an unsettled, even confusing picture of the Templar Association.
- 14.2.15 The Templar Order, throughout its existence continued to attract recruits and a labour force. Recruits were inspired to join or associate with the Temple for several motives;²⁵⁶ piety and spirituality, social advancement, a more secure, comfortable existence than provided in the secular world, the desire for adventure and earthly glory. It was aspirational; a fitting conclusion for older, pious warriors wishing a glorious end to seek their finale in crusade, and the Templars provided the ready transformation of a warrior's wish into pious action, guaranteeing remission for his sins; all for the price of his horse, a few gifts and regular donation.
- 14.2.16 Templar association and membership allowed knights and nobles with a profound involvement with the existing religious establishment to reconcile their concept of military religion with reform monasticism.²⁵⁷ It allowed a demonstratable counter to the criticism by those dedicated to religious life against those secular cleric/warriors

²⁵⁴ In France Templar *preceptories* are referred to as *commanderies*.

²⁵⁵ J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Structures of the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital c.1291*.

²⁵⁶ A.J.Forey, (1986), *Recruitment to the Military Orders*, Viator pp 139-173

²⁵⁷ Schenk J, *Templar Families*. p 4

who were more concerned with worldly matters (including monarchical sponsored violence) rather than spiritual fulfilment.

14.2.17 It was within this early background of Templar development, the study considered Scotland muted perhaps by the nature of the local populace and society of the ethnic Scot and their nobility, and a new Anglo-Norman-French aristocracy. Fortunately, the study only had to concern itself with a specific period of Templar presence in Scotland, that of thirty years after its establishment, and although there is no record, there are significant events, personalities, and the comprehensive history of the crusades to fall back upon in reference.

14.3 *The Templar Association in Scotland, 1130 - 1150*

14.3.1 1139: a papal bull was issued by Pope Innocent III, *Omne Datum Optimum*, endorsing the *Order of the Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon* (Knights Templar). It gave the Templars religious credibility and freedom to operate without the interference of ecclesiastical and secular authority. It gave all the spoils from Muslim conquest to the Order, allowed the order to build churches, housing for its members, cemeteries, provide burials, created chaplain brothers to administer to its spiritual needs, and excluded the Order from homage and tithes.

14.3.2 1144: papal bull issued by Pope Celestine II, *Milites Templi*, ordered the clergy to protect the Knights Templar and encouraged donation from all Christians to their cause.

14.3.3 1145: Pope Eugene III orders a response of arms in the aftermath of the fall of Edessa (1144).²⁵⁸ He issues a papal bull, *Militia Dei*, in support for his call to crusade, consolidating previous bulls, allowing the Templars to travel through Europe freely and take tithes.

14.3.4 These papal endorsements caused a major change in the way the Order was perceived by the pious laity.²⁵⁹ There should be no underestimation of the attraction of the Templars to the layman and laywoman. Association with the Templars meant burial, the power of the brothers' prayers for their souls and in remission of their sin, and an indelible connection with Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

14.3.5 There were very practical considerations for crusaders and pilgrims. Death, robbery, or disablement was a very real risk, so guaranteed burial within a Templar cemetery within the network, hospital care, and even a banking system based on credit secured by the pilgrim or crusader's wealth deposited with the Templars in their home country, made for an excellent insurance policy.²⁶⁰ Donations therefore were fuelled with practical purpose. Prospective crusaders would expect help and assistance on the journey

²⁵⁸ Edessa, located in south-east Turkey, was a crusader state founded during the First Crusade by *King Baldwin I of Jerusalem*.

²⁵⁹ Schenk J, (2012), *Templar Families; Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, C.1120-1307*, Cambridge University Press. p. 252

²⁶⁰ ditto, p 51.

overseas, and for the maintenance of their care on their return.²⁶¹ The Templar Order was hugely dependant on donation and grant, and with papal approval, inducement to the layman to give was great, in terms of their soul's keeping. Looking at the world through fervent Christian eyes, handling of their bodies was as important as their lives. The care and prayers offered by the Templars for their souls and departed family members was a vital part of the layman's religious security.

14.3.6 The Scottish network, like in other western countries, was run by Templar brothers, their hired workers and lay associates. Fuelled by the endowments of individuals and families who provided the preceptories with money, land, and material, while some laymen lent their military expertise and fought under the banner of the Order in battle.²⁶²

14.3.7 Thus, prospective Scottish crusaders would make endowments to the Order before they embarked on their journeys to gain the benevolence of an institution from which they perhaps expected help and assistance on the journey. Others made endowments and offered a commitment to the brotherhood, expecting the Templars to care for them on return.²⁶³ Many warriors would have 'signed up' to the Order, *ad terminum*, temporary members offering military service and obedience in exchange for both temporal and spiritual care whilst in membership, with the promise if they died, the Templars would gain all or part of their possessions.

14.3.8 The Templars, generally, would benefit from these growing links with both noble families and the medieval *familia*; a product of both kinship and feudal bond. In Scotland, growth may have been constricted by the size of David I's developing 'new' aristocratic society and local support for his revised Church, but as demonstrated by the increase in presence of religious orders, influx, and abbey building during David's royal tenure, it cannot be assumed support for the Templar Order did not attract the same level of patronage and support.

14.3.9 There is no clue to the size of the resource at Balantrodoch, but as it probably included Robert le Riche's barony, it may have been substantial. Within it, resources will have been created, not only for purposes of supplying men for the campaign in the east, but for respite for those who had offered themselves and their donations to the Templars in Scotland, in exchange for continued temporal and spiritual support for themselves and their relatives already in the care of the Templars. In the wake of Pope Eugene III's call for a new crusade in 1144, the demand for recruitment, new knights, men-at-arms, craftsmen, and retainers, would be reason enough to suppose the preceptory at Balantrodoch was put to full capacity, encouraged by the Scottish king's aspiration for crusade. However, when Balantrodoch was established, ie., to provide ongoing support for Templar garrisons in the Holy Land, it could not have foreseen events in the future,

²⁶¹ ditto, p 33.

²⁶² Schenk J. *Templar Families*, p 31

²⁶³ Gérard D. (ed) Magnou E. (ed) (1965) *Collections des Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, III*, no. 138 pp.126-7; *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens (1155)*

such as the Pope's petition to the west for another major crusade to regain Edessa in the east.

- 14.3.10 By the mid-late part of the 1140s, considering David I's fervour for crusade, his personal retinue of Templars, the pope's call amongst the Christian populace for another crusade, and the popularity of the Templar Order amongst those wishing spiritual fulfilment and furtherment for their sons, it is probable there was increasing donation (*donatii*), membership (*convertii*) and employment (*famulii*), and with it, the necessary establishment to support the Templar presence in Scotland; chapels, churches, cemeteries, housing, dormitories, workshops, hospitals, and reception centres, all created to meet a growing logistical and strategic need. Templar commercial activity; granges, mills, complementing donation, bequests, rents and levies from landholdings, recruits, associates, and potential crusaders and pilgrims, not only providing money for the Templars already in the east, but to resource new crusaders sent out in response to the pope's call to action.

14.4 *Scotland in the 'Second' Crusade (1144-1149)*

- 14.4.1 The only occasion Scotland is mentioned in the history of the Crusades is during campaigns labelled by historians as the 'Second' Crusade,²⁶⁴ primarily the actions against the Muslim held city of Lisbon.
- 14.4.2 When *Pope Eugene III* ordered the call to arms in the aftermath of the fall of Edessa, supported by Bernard de Clairvaux during 1144, 1145 and 1146, European kings and nobles alike were provoked into response. David I of Scotland was no different and expressed his own desire to join the Second Crusade.
- 14.4.3 *'He [David I] would have renounced the kingdom, laid down his sceptre, and joined the sacred army in the places of our Lord's passion and resurrection, if he had not been dissuaded by the counsel of prelates and abbots, the tears of the poor, and the sighing of widows, the desolation of the common folk, and the clamour and outcry of his whole kingdom, he was detained in body, but not in mind or will.'*²⁶⁵
- 14.4.4 One can assume from David I's fervour for crusade, it was accompanied by his support and encouragement to those lords under his control and mentorship, and not least the Templars that Ailred of Revaulx claims surrounded him. Thus, it would be unwise to presume Scottish Templars did not take part, supporting the contingent of crusaders sent from Scotland.
- 14.4.5 As the rest of Europe, Scotland's contribution would be as significant as it could be. *At no period were there many knights in Scotland... There were no militant infidels to be*

²⁶⁴Tyerman C (2004), *The Crusades*, Oxford, p 16, refers to the historical numbering of the Crusades, 'Historians organise the past to help them make sense of the evidence, in doing so they run the risk of becoming imprisoned by their own artifice.'

²⁶⁵ *Regesta Regum Scottorum* i, pp 276-7

*conquered in Britain, and the sphere of action elsewhere required every fighting man they could enrol in their ranks.*²⁶⁶

The Siege of Lisbon

- 14.4.6 Between 1141 and 1147, William had most likely had occasion to travel to the east. It is certain by 1147, he had already answered the call to crusade. If in Scotland, William would be expected to either direct or be part of the contingent of Scots who mustered in Scotland intending to travel on to the Holy Land. William's status dictated he participated amongst the leadership of the Scottish crusaders, both holy and secular alike, in lieu of the Scottish Church's directive and his king's yearning to crusade.
- 14.4.7 With no confirmation of William's whereabouts in 1147 or direct involvement in the campaign, we can still follow the fortunes of Scottish Templars that likely were part of the contingent of Scottish crusaders.
- 14.4.8 Although David I was persuaded not to take part, nevertheless a contingent from Scotland travelled to Dartmouth in 1147 to join the forces intending to travel on to the Holy Land to take part in the campaign to retake Edessa.
- 14.4.9 There is no record of the size of the Scottish contingent that travelled south in 1147 to muster at Dartmouth in response to Pope Eugene III's call for crusade. Estimates place the English/Scottish contingent at around 6,400, and so perhaps Scotland's contribution only numbered in the hundreds rather than the thousands.
- 14.4.10 At that time, the Templars in Scotland may have only consisted of a handful of knights, excluding those already garrisoned in the east. It is certain, however in the lead up to May 1147, the Templars in Scotland would have recruited new members.
- 14.4.11 In May 1147, the combined force of Scottish, English, French, German and Flemish crusaders mustered at Dartmouth, without princely leadership, but an array of nobles leading their respective local and ethnic contingents. Amongst the leaders, included Hervey de Glanvill, the constable of Suffolk, the Count of Aarschot, Simon of Dover, Andrew of London and Saher of Archelle, there is no mention of a Templar contingent, but it is assumed Templars both English and Scottish, yet to have journeyed east would have travelled with the crusaders, under their respective commands.
- 14.4.12 The fleet left Dartmouth in June, but their journey was interrupted by bad weather, forcing it to shelter off the coast of Portugal, at Porto. There they were persuaded to assist King Afonso I of Portugal attack the Muslim controlled Lisbon, with promises of spoil from the city.

²⁶⁶ Edwards, J. (1903). *The Knights Templar in Scotland*. *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, Volume I, p 43.

- 14.4.13 A combined force of 13,000 Flemish, Frisian, German, Anglo-Norman, Scottish and English crusaders, joined an army of 7,000 Portuguese in capturing Lisbon from the Moors over a four-month siege. No one knows who led the Scottish contingent as their presence is only reported by way of the ethnic Scot and their notable half-naked appearance in the action and siege; '*quis enim scottos barbarous neget.*' - '*for who will defy the barbarian Scots*'. As in the Battle of Standard nine years earlier, it would be the ethnic Scot's appearance that would overshadow their conventionally attired Anglo-Norman counterparts throughout the long siege of Lisbon, but at least it confirms their numbers were significant enough to be noticed during the campaign.
- 14.4.14 After October 1147, many crusaders were encouraged to stay in the city, while the remaining continued onto the Holy Land. The siege of Lisbon would be a rare victory in the series of campaigns historians list under the category, the Second Crusade; '*the only success of the universal operation undertaken by the pilgrim army.*'²⁶⁷ It is the only action where we have Scots confirmed in engagement. Assumption is made Scottish Templars may have played their part, or perhaps bypassed the action at Lisbon, what is certain their orders concerned the liberation of Edessa, so it is certain those who were able to travel on, did so with the remaining crusaders.
- 14.4.15 Success and ovation in the Iberian Peninsula, and the re-Christianisation of Lisbon, may have increased the ranks of Scottish Templars from both unaffiliated crusading Scots and new Templar recruits travelling from Scotland, encouraged by the crusaders' success in Portugal. But it was probably successive events, as William's Templars carried onto their original goal, that may have contributed to William's eventual decision regarding the establishment of a new Templar house at Sacro Nemore.

Tragedy at Damascus

- 14.4.16 It is likely the crusaders and the Templars from Portugal arrived in the Holy Land sometime during 1148. In June of that year, the Templar Grand Master attended the Council of Acre with the leaders of recently arrived crusaders from Europe, ravaged by their journey, under the leadership of kings Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany. The Templars and the crusaders were subsequently redirected by their leadership and King Baldwin III at the council onto a new target, *Damascus*.
- 14.4.17 The siege of Damascus was a complete debacle, with local crusader lords refusing to carry on with the action once it commenced. The leaders of the crusading armies had no choice but to abandon the siege and their plans and retreat to Jerusalem.
- 14.4.18 The reputation of the Templars was severely mauled by rumour and official report. Contemporary chroniclers, Ralph of Coggeshall, John of Salisbury, William of Tyre and Michael the Syrian were amongst those who reported the siege of Damascus abandoned when the Templars accepted a bribe, some chroniclers declaring the

²⁶⁷ Hemold of Bosau, Saxon historian, writing c. 1149 – 1177.

Templars were even cheated with copper instead of gold. Regardless of blame, the siege of Damascus was a tragedy for the crusaders, with a legacy that resounded failure and distrust amongst the crusader leaders for decades. The rot eventually to seriously affect the crusader kingdoms and the Christian military orders in the Holy Land.

- 14.4.19 Following the Templars return to Jerusalem, Robert de Craon, the great administrator and Grand Master of the Templar Order died in January 1149, shortly after the disaster at Damascus, and Everard des Barres his successor must of felt the burden of the Templar's sin because after Damascus he returned to France, resigning his position as grand master in 1152, seeking the remainder of his life outside the Templar Order in a Cistercian monastery.

The Siege of Ascalon

- 14.4.20 Between January and August 1153, the Templars were again in action, alongside king Baldwin III heading the forces from the kingdom of Jerusalem along with the Knights Hospitaller; an army of approximately ten thousand men. They sieged the Egyptian controlled fortress of Ascalon. Conrad III, had previously tried unsuccessfully to besiege the city, unfortunately the aftermath of Damascus was still an open wound at the heart of the Christian forces, and with no support coming from Jerusalem or other crusader force, humiliated, he was forced to withdraw.
- 14.4.21 In August, the siege under Baldwin III took a turn in the attackers' favour. Part of the fortress's walls collapsed when the defenders tried to burn down a siege tower. William of Tyre reported the Templar grandmaster, Bernard de Tremelay, with the Templars rushed through the breach without order and Tremelay and forty of the Templar knights were killed, their bodies displayed, and their heads sent to Cairo. Tremelay's actions did not secure the fortress, and it was only King Baldwin's assault a few days later that captured the citadel.
- 14.4.22 The honesty of the account from William of Tyre has since been challenged by historians, as it was known William of Tyre greatly disliked the Templars, nevertheless, his account would have reached Europe and so Templar reputation was once again, stained.

The Aftermath of the Second Crusade

- 14.4.23 From 1149 to 1154, there would be return from the east of those Scottish Templars that could no longer serve as soldiers; wounded, disheartened by the failure of their crusade and the stain placed on the Templar Order through rumour and blame. There would be William le Riche's personal admonishment in front of David 1, atonement for the Templar's failure to deliver his king's aspiration for a glorious crusade. There was the death of William's prince, Earl Henry in 1152, and the final earthly departure of William's king and mentor in 1153.

- 14.4.24 Bernard de Clairvaux, the great Cistercian architect of the Templar Order and the Second Crusade also died in 1153, not before his call for a further crusade failed.²⁶⁸ Bernard de Clairvaux shouldered the burden of the failures of the Crusade, with apology and atonement, attempting to distance himself from the faults of the crusaders. No doubt he added the Templars' actions at Damascus into '*the sin of the crusaders.*'
- 14.4.25 It is hard not to believe the faithful and devout amongst the Templars must have felt their failure, an edict from God, their sin palpable, their failure a punishment. The reparations of the Templars after shameful report and failures in the Second Crusade, William le Riche's loss of his king and prince, would be reason enough to build a new church to atone for the Templar's sin and set prayers for the departed.
- 14.4.26 We do not know if any of the Scottish Templar contingent were with their Grand Master as he stormed the walls of Ascalon, or if William le Riche was with the Templar crusaders at this time either at Lisbon or Damascus. What is certain during 1149 and 1153, there would have been an influx of wounded and damaged returning Scottish Templars and crusaders, and perhaps William was amongst them.
- 14.4.27 Some Scottish born Templars would have remained in the Holy Land, some dispersed among European and English preceptories as they travelled back to Scotland, too sick to travel, some returning Templars may not have even been Scots born but had attached themselves to Scottish Templars by way of recruitment, comradeship, debt and amity during the trial of campaign.
- 14.4.28 By 1153, William le Riche, Templar master in Scotland, irrespective if he took part in the fighting in any of the campaigns of the Second Crusade was presented with a logistical problem—*care*. Not only care for increasing numbers of ageing and sick Templars in Scotland, matured from the Order's founding around 1130, but providing care for returning Templars from the east, those too sick or invalided to remain in service in the Holy Land. More so, he had the problem to ensure the mood of the returning, wounded, invalided and sick soldiers, did not adversely affect the confidence of the Order in Scotland, already damaged by the depressing reports from returning pilgrims. The Templar Rule is explicit about the behaviour of dissolute brothers. Separation from existing Templar communities may have seen to be prudent, both for the brotherhood and jaded, returning brothers who required a period of respite and restoration. '*Auferte malum ex vobis,*' 'Remove the wicked sheep from among you.'²⁶⁹
- 14.4.29 Accepting Robert le Riche's likely donation of his barony in Midlothian to the Templars, and the assumption the resource at Balantrodoch was substantial enough to provide the needs of the Scottish Templar foundation, by 1150, twenty years after the establishment of the Templar convent in Scotland, there would be significant issues faced by the order, that perhaps in the beginning were not foreseen or planned for. It

²⁶⁸ Runciman S (1952) *A History of the Crusades vol ii; The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish east 100-1187* pp 232-277 Cambridge University Press.

²⁶⁹ *Rule of Templars no.45-49: On Faults, Rumour and Pride.*

may have been considered Balantrodoch was not the proper house to accommodate the aged, sick and dying, those that perhaps needed a period of spiritual contemplation, reassurance and redemption after the catastrophic failure of the crusade, seen as a slur on the spiritual integrity of the crusading army.

14.4.30 It is not known how many Templars returned to Scotland from the Second Crusade. Despite their inevitable losses on campaign, perhaps with new recruits bolstering the original numbers between 1147 and 1149, it was even more than originally mustered at Dartmouth in 1147. Therefore, further resource may have been required to house those returning. Thus, Sacro Nimore, under William le Riche was probably established, as a hospital for sick and aging members of the order.

14.4.31 There is case study. Denny Abbey in Cambridgeshire, built for a community of Benedictine monks in 1159, transferred the site to the Knights Templar in 1169, after only ten years in occupation for this very reason, a hospital.

14.4.32 It is proposed William le Riche negotiated with the diocese of Glasgow and the occupants of the site at Holywood, in order to create a similar hospital at Sacro Nimore. With the permissions and sponsorship of David I, a Templar convent was established to provide the continued spiritual and temporal care promised to those entering the Order, particularly the influx of those who had joined between 1144 and 1147, in preparation for the campaigns of the Second Crusade.

14.5 *The Templar Association in Scotland, post 1150*

14.5.1 As the members of the convent at Sacro Nimore died out within their own generation, so Sacro Nimore's purpose diminished, and so the house transferred to another order, possibly the Premonstratensians who by 1180 had established their dominance in the southern part of Scotland, no doubt boosted by ex-crusaders seeking spiritual redemption following the catastrophic campaigns of the Second Crusade.

14.5.2 With William cited as founder of Sacro Nimore by 1154, and the house's occupation in the 13th century by a regular order, complemented by an abbot, '*...there is a bull of Pope Innocent III [1198-1216], addressed, Abbate de Sacro Nimore, to the abbot of the Sacred Grove, in the diocese of Glasgow*', it is evident Sacro Nimore's existence as a Templar house was relatively short-lived, serving the Templar community there for only a generation.

14.5.3 The reception in Scotland to the Templars is unclear, but the Templars never seem to grow in presence outside their acquisitions and commercial activity, and it may be their participation in the fiasco of the Second Crusade that tempered the Order's popularity in Scotland.

14.5.4 It is only assumed Sacro Nimore had become a Premonstratensian house by 1225 sometime after the establishment of the Premonstratensians in the southern parts of Scotland (*See 14.6*). Although no confirmed deep-seated link exists between the

Templar and Premonstratensian orders, they do share aspects of commonality with the Cistercians. Significant numbers of former soldiers are reported to have entered Premonstratensian houses, some to become canonised. The Premonstratensian Order in Scotland was primarily established in the Borders and there is nothing to preclude the Premonstratensians from taking over Sacro Nemore from the Templars, indeed there must have existed an inexorable emotional link between communities of ex-soldiers and those who continue to carry on holy crusade; an unshakeable loyalty to friends and family still serving Christ as soldiers. Regardless of authorised history, it is difficult to disassociate the establishment of the Premonstratensians in 1120 by Norbet of Xanten, friend of Bernard de Clairvaux, their subsequent unexplained foundation in Scotland after 1148, to the holy war that continued in the east, and the Scottish Templar society that was established at the same time to fight in Christ's name. So perhaps we can offer the possibility William le Riche founded Sacro Nemore, and it existed with close links to the abbeys which were primarily Cistercian and Premonstratensian, with those given permission to leave the Templar Order, joining the communities of those houses.

- 14.5.4 If one was to insist only two Templar preceptories served Scotland for a period spanning one hundred and eighty years, with their corresponding churches/chapels, then we must consider they served the aging Templar community, in terms of social care and burial for that same period. It is logical to assume other Templar resource was created to meet contemporary need as it arose, and diminish as need dictated, then to have its record lost amongst an archive that was completely removed.
- 14.5.5 Regrettably the best of Templar history comes from Templar dissolution, not its foundation. The chronicle of the Templars focuses on their core activity, the war in the east, and so it often ignores the impact on the ethnic and socio-religious-political diversity of medieval Europe. It is unwise to apply the profile of Templar existence in the beginning of the 14th century and retrospectively apply its circumstance as fact for the 180 years preceding it.
- 14.5.6 In summary, an 'absence of evidence' does not necessarily offer the conclusion Scotland's original Templar contribution was purely economic, only that not all Templar activity in Scotland is known. Scotland's own Templar confraternity had not been identified. It is counter intuitive to expect a society lead by a pious warrior king, deeply supportive of the crusading principle, surrounding himself with paragons of crusading virtue—brothers of the Temple, would not extend his ambitions to see his vassals take the fight as well as bear the cost of it.
- 14.5.7 Given the aftermath of the dissolution of the Templar Order in the beginning of the 14th century, it is not surprising Hollywood's potential past Templar connection was removed from record, along with all the other archived record connected to the Order.
- 14.5.8 Templar history does exist, but much is lost, and early history is hard to find. Most, like much medieval history, was removed during conquest and destroyed. It is highly likely some history will have been deliberately removed following the immediate demise of

the Templar Order. One can only suppose what individual Templar families and Templar affiliates did to protect their personal interests in the light of calamity. Given the immediate aftermath of arrests in Paris on Friday, 13 October 1307, and the subsequent inquisition and presentation of captive Templars to the public, coerced to admit to trumped up charges of heresy and corruption, we will never know the clandestine actions taken by the individual and the influential to thwart dishonour to their family names and their ancestry. We perhaps need to imagine in the wake of arrests, dozens of Templar personnel riding hard to forewarn the rest of the Templar houses throughout Europe of the tragedy that had befallen their French brethren. There will have been a great deal of uncertainty amongst the Templar network, even panic amongst all those who, through their affiliation and association, feared royal and papal backlash. The extent of the repercussions only to be confirmed by papal decree (22 November 1307), sent to all Christian monarchs in Europe demanding the arrest of all Templars and the seizure of their assets.

- 14.5.9 Action would be decisive and destructive, just like it had been centuries before and centuries after, just like the staff at the American embassy in Tehran in 1979, in the shadow of invasion by Iranian Islamists filled with anti-American feeling. The embassy staff destroyed every record, every identity, rather than letting it fall into the hands of their inquisitors.
- 14.5.10 Even before the ink was dry on the first torture induced confessions, Templars and their significant following of family, friends, agents, and associates may have been busy hiding and destroying all that may point the finger of complicity. It is certain Edward II, King of England received Pope Clement V's order with incredulity.²⁷⁰ No doubt there were parts of the Scottish religious establishment, noble class, and wealthy merchant classes, with their livelihood and fortune in Templar hands, looking to protect reputation against the injustice of the papal bull—hiding all that may bring disaster to their existence. It would not be surprising if head of the de Maule dynasty at that time William de Maule, Lord of Panmure, Sherriff of Forfar, and erstwhile ally to the King of England used his influence, particularly with Edward II to distance himself and his Templar family connection and so protect his privilege and his heritage.
- 14.5.11 Supposition it is, but with the dissolution of the Templar Order, it would not be surprising to discover if Sacro Nemore had any potential prior Templar connection, records would be removed by existing Scottish keepers, along with everything else connected to the Templar Order, without thinking of its relevance. This perhaps may explain why there is little specific Scottish Templar record. Perhaps the difference in how Robert organised his family as Templar affiliates, was their salvation. William le Riche, despite being a Templar, was never recorded as such on regular charter, and just like the nine hundred years of historians who have failed to recognise William and his brothers for what they were, the inquisitors in the 14th century failed as well.

²⁷⁰ Barbour, M (1994) *The New Knighthood, A History of the Order of the Temple*, p. 303.

Lincluden Nunnery

- 14.5.12 As to the establishment of the nunnery at Lincluden, founded by 1174, a mere two miles from Sacro Nemore's church, within the estates of Holywood Abbey, the study could offer only further conjecture.
- 14.5.13 '*Lay men and women could enter the confraternity of a Templar community; in which case they became part of the prayer community of the order.*'²⁷¹
- 14.5.14 It is possible just as Sacro Nemore was put to prayer for redemption and loss, so a convent was created at Lincluden for those women who were already *donats* (woman who donated and therefore by association were members of the Templar Order) or *consores* (lay sisters of the Order), those who had chosen to give up their possessions, dowries and inheritances to the Templar Order, in order to enter a life of prayer and temporal care. The Templar population of the nunnery also to diminish within the remainder of the generation that occupied it. However, it is just as likely a nunnery was on the site before 1150 and remained untouched by the Templars arrival in the early 1150s.

14.6 Sacro Nemore in the 13th century

- 14.6.1 The authors relied on existing histories and wherever possible attempted to access original documents. Not all were available, so reliance was made on existing third-hand record in distinguished chronicles.
- 14.6.2 Challenges were offered where assumptions were made, and with clarification denied, several questions remained unanswered.
- 14.6.3 One such question was the notion of Holywood being cited a Premonstratensian house by 1225, on the occurrence of Odo Ydonc inventoried as a canon within the Premonstratensian house of Whithorn in 1235, cited as, *Odenem quondam abbetem de Deretonsal*. (Odo, former abbot of Dercongal).²⁷² It was conjectured Deretonsal was Dercongal, supported by the appearance of an Odo, abbot of Dercongal on a witness list in 1225.
- 14.6.4 Odo is never cited as a Premonstratensian abbot; it is only an assumption based on his appearance as a canon in 1235 in the Premonstratensian house of Whithorn. However, nothing prevents an individual leaving one religious order (with permission) to enter another, requiring the resignation of any authority within his former order to do so. Therefore, it is pure assumption he was a Premonstratensian abbot before becoming a Premonstratensian canon, and therefore Sacro Nemore a Premonstratensian house by default.

²⁷¹ Shenk J. p 45

²⁷² Stephenson J. (ed) (1835) *Chronicle of Melrose*, p 144-45

- 14.6.5 The other issue is, it is assumed the monastic house of *Deretonsal* (Dercongal) referred in the chronicle of Melrose refers to Holywood abbey in Dumfriesshire, when there is a similarly titled monastic house on the coast of Ireland. The Irish house, Holywood Priory, aka Dercongal, Sanctus Nemus, or Haliwode.²⁷³ Whithorn sits equidistant from the two houses, one by sea (Ireland), one by land and sea (Dumfriesshire).
- 14.6.6 Thus, there is no real concrete evidence Sacro Nemore, (Dumfriesshire) was either a Premonstratensian house by 1225, or in fact Odo was its abbot. However, regardless of the original supposition's veracity, it is confirmed by contemporary document Sacro Nemore was in the hands of a regular order by no later than 1216 (*see 4.1.3*), so the issue was of little consequence to the study's findings.
- 14.6.7 There were Templar holdings throughout the burghs of Scotland, and Sacro Nemore's sits in the epicentre of districts, that historically are known by the names, Temple and Temple land, although this does not identify Sacro Nemore as a Templar holding in its own right, it does place it in a region rich with Templar possession.
- 14.6.8 The full extent of the abbey's size and holdings throughout its early history is unclear, but its jurisdiction by the 14th century had extended far into East Galloway and Nithsdale, towards Kirkconnel, and included the churches and the Church lands of Dunscore, Dalgarnock Penpont, Tynron, as well as Lincluden to the south and Terregles to the west. This significant area of dominion would have taken decades to establish. The abbey cartularies were rumoured in 19th century historical accounts to have been transferred to France prior to the Reformation, but their existence could not be located.

14.7 *Sacro Nemore, today.*

- 14.7.1 Without a complete archaeological survey, it is impossible to understand the nature of the site beyond what is known. It is impossible to determine phases of construction, differentiating between any buildings on site previously to the *shield* bell being installed, with that of the later church build and consecration of the *inscribed* bell, or the three hundred and fifty years of successive, development, rebuilding and expansion that may have taken place in the custodianship of successive religious administration.
- 14.7.2 There is archaeological evidence of a substantial and decorative church edifice, vaults, and an extensive range of low-quality buildings within its outer precincts. If Sacro Nemore was founded as a regular abbey like Dryburgh, or Holm Cultram, one might expect an extensive range of connected buildings. Along with a significant church structure with its large nave, choir, altar and chapels, one would expect a cloister, chapter house, perhaps an attached refectory and kitchen. Buildings would have surrounded—a dormitory, abbot's lodging, infirmary with chapel, and buildings and stores to suit, such as latrines, and a guest house, all above extensive vaults and cellars.

²⁷³ Patterson W. H. (1879) 'Grave slab at Holywood County Down: The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland p 81. 'In 1210 it is recorded that King John halted 'apud sanctum Boscum' when on his way from Carrickfergus to Downpatrick.'

Little of this has been discovered at Holywood, outside a significant church build, peripheral low-quality buildings and cellars. Considering the Templars' reason for being, the complex of a Templar affiliate community, outside that purely employed on commercial activities, would be more functional, buildings to support communal living; an infirmary, kitchens, bakehouse, refectory, dormitories, a guest house, stabling, workshops, a cemetery, all providing services to the occupants as well as pilgrims and crusaders on route to the Holy Land along with a solely religious purposed building, ie., a church or chapel. The question remains, with four hundred years of development why is the archaeology of a traditional abbey so errant?

- 14.7.3 There only exists a poor artistic rendition of the remaining portion of the church left to serve the parish after the Reformation, a brief description by Francis Grose in the 18th century and existing archaeological record.
- 14.7.4 The disparity of the two Holywood bells supports at least two phases of the church build. The *shield* bell, cast on site, perhaps installed into the existing church, or a new chapel built, and then the *inscribed* bell installed into a later, larger church build; the remnants we see within the 18th century sketch. It is unfortunate the sketch lacks detail and scale. Dr J W Martin in 1897, reporting to the local antiquarian society, discusses his interviews with a gravedigger who had opportunity to explore the subterranean world beneath the cemetery, recounted; *'From what he had seen of the stones and remains, the abbey must have been a structure of no mean dimensions and beauty.'* Martin later confirmed the scale of the church in 1906; *'...following excavations carried out in connection to the extension of the churchyard south, beyond its existing boundaries, revealed the presence of a very solid and lasting wall which he had no doubt was the wall of Holywood Abbey. Running east to west and extending from the roadway about 45 feet... The breadth of the whole was about six feet, and at one part as much as 7 feet 3 inches.'*
- 14.7.5 Francis Grose's visit for his book the *Antiquities of Scotland*, offers further illumination of the standing church; *'...cross the middle of the building was a fine Gothic arch that supported the oak roof. Under the floor were a number of sepulchral vaults. The entrance was through a handsome semi-circular arch.'* We don't know how much the church developed over its four-hundred-year history, or if the seven-foot-wide wall supported a tower, but it certainly could not be considered built as a small chapel.
- 14.7.6 How the church visited by Grose compares to the church built by William le Riche is debatable. but like the church remains at Holm Cultram, the standing church nave will be significantly smaller than the original church build, and the stone still beneath the existing church floor will include that from the original Templar-build, to include perhaps the two stone plaques already recovered.

Conclusion

15.0 Conclusion: The Bells of Holywood

15.1 The Inscribed Bell

- 15.1.1 The *inscribed* bell carries the name of a uniquely titled 12th century Scottish knight and lord, William le Riche. It is the *only* name presentation that is possible within all the given characters on the bell's inscription. The *inscribed* bell confirms him, not only sponsor of the bell, but as '*Father*' of the convent of Sacro Nemore; a sanctified title given to him as founder and spiritual lead of a religiously inspired community.
- 15.1.2 Whereas the name presentation, *le Riche*, conflicts with the 18th century record created by Reverend Bryce Johnson, it corroborates the date he cites (1154) appearing on a second inscription (most likely a seal matrix) carrying a name corresponding to the bell inscription but read by Bryce Johnson as 'WrICH' and not 'W'(ler)ICH'. This second inscription, once in Reverend Bryce Johnston's possession, with a date of 1154, only confirms William was the father of Sacro Nemore by this date; it neither confirms the consecration date of the *inscribed* bell, nor the commencement date of his office.
- 15.1.3 The *inscribed* bell declares it was consecrated in the twenty-second year of William le Riche's rule over the occupants of the convent of Sacro Nemore. Thus, it is not confirmed if the *inscribed* bell was installed within the belfry of the church twenty-two years after the commencement of William le Riche's tenure as head of Sacro Nemore, or twenty-two years after the commencement of his authority over the community that occupied it. Given William's likely age of maturity, allowing the mantle of authority over a religious order, ie., after 1138, all we can conclude is the *inscribed* bell was consecrated sometime between 1160 and his death, before 1189, most likely at the same time the new Norman-styled church of Holywood abbey was erected. It is likely the *inscribed* bell was offered up in addition to the *shield* bell or, less likely, as a replacement to an original bell, which would explain the difference in appearance with the earlier pattern long waisted bell.
- 15.1.4 Regarding the bell's general form and decoration, there is no confirmation of the bell's date, but nothing prevents the bell from being of 12th century manufacture. Regardless of the interpretation of the Gothic style 'e', the name presentation confirms the sponsor's name began with a 'W' and ends with 'ICH'. Together with a declared date of 1154, only one individual with that name construct appears on record, associated with David I, within his noble society, able, and with the means to sponsor the foundation of a religious convent. The proximity of the *inscribed* bell to another bell of pre-1200 pattern, bearing the initials V LR, with an unrecorded armorial, possibly replicated on a harness pendant carrying a gold chevron between three gold Latin long crosses, on a red field, very closely resembling Richard Riche's armorial created for him in the 1530s, with three cross-crosslets replacing Latin long crosses, is beyond coincidental. In the dismissal of John Welch as the 'traditional' sponsor of the bell, only William le Riche presents an erudite alternative.

- 15.1.5 Whereas the *inscribed* bell legend declares William le Riche master (*Dominus*), the nature of the community he is master over can only be implied. However, the declaration is written on a bell, an object dedicated to Christ and gifted to Holy Church. It follows that any injunction upon it would carry relevance to the relic's merit. Therefore, just like the declaration on the Holm Cultram bell, *Dominus* is not a secular declaration, but a religious one, applied over a religious community, not a familial one, unless that family was dedicated to the Church in its entirety, which is probably exactly what Robert le Riche had implemented.
- 15.1.6 James Barbour's 19th century submission to the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society errs in that it was constructed to suit a hypothesis, not the presented evidence upon the *inscribed* bell. Barbour's supposition, no matter how well-intentioned, required him to ignore, invent and misread over 60% ([see Appendix VII](#)) of the bell, which in turn produced significant misinterpretation and even misrepresentation. His proposition, delivered unchallenged because of his credence within DGNHAS, satisfied a historical community in belief that no bells could be older than the late 13th century. His proposal, disparaging the previous Holywood ministers' reports without proper consideration, was presented without reference or drawing, and was only verified by the attachment to his proposition of a confirmed abbot and commendator of the abbey.
- 15.1.7 It is unfortunate no re-examination of the bell was commissioned in the last one hundred years, following the RCAHMS inspectorate's disagreement with Barbour's flawed name interpretation, denying competent assessment of the bell's worth in terms of historical record and value. It would be greater misfortune if this situation, encountered during the study, was set to continue past this report. Particularly if the report's findings are ignored by institutions only prepared to consider what is 'accepted', ie., not challenging the '*traditional view*', instead of consideration of any new evidence, particularly if it leads to a reveal of historical significance. The authors of this report would hope academics would concede to modern analysis and investigation, rather than superficially drawn supposition, particularly suppositions presented in archaic publications, even if they are produced by fellows of antiquarian societies.

15.2 *The Shield Bell*

- 15.2.1 The *shield*-bell may have different origins to the *inscribed* bell, which was cast specifically for the Norman-Styled church at Sacro Nemore. The *shield* bell is of an earlier design and therefore an earlier date than the *inscribed* bell and may have been cast on site by a brother or a layman, who had casting skills but perhaps was no artisan.
- 15.2.2 However, we cannot say for which house the *shield* bell was originally cast; Holywood's original Anglo-Saxon church or chapel, or another religious house, conceivably one in Scotland, or even one overseas, perhaps during Scotland's involvement in the Iberian campaign and the Christianisation of the area after the Moors

were expelled. It may explain why the shield design on the bell may be regarded as Iberian influenced.

- 15.2.3 William le Riche sponsored the bell, for it bears his initials and with them his martial arms are revealed. We cannot know if the *shield* bell was cast for Sacro Nemore, rescued or retrieved, but we can be certain it was installed/relocated by William into the new religious convent of Sacro Nemore, sometime around 1150, complimented later by the *inscribed* bell which he probably commissioned to accompany the *shield* bell in Sacro Nemore's new Norman-styled church.

15.3 *The Sponsor*

- 15.3.1 There comes a point when circumstantial and material evidence combine, overwhelming previous hypothesis and conjecture—a point when no other rational explanation is reasonable. William le Riche's declaration on the bell and his limited heritage on record, tells of warrior aristocracy, established within a deeply religious military society. He is the master within a recognised confraternity of knights, modelled on previous cleric elites serving the Church and Anglo-Norman nobility, tasked in crusade and a new knighthood.
- 15.3.2 William's confraternity carries a title that responds to the concerns those in religious life had with the shortcomings of the secular knight. William and his knights declare themselves not only exemplar Christian men, but archetypical pious knights. It is a legal and open declaration to the secular world of their status, in attachment to any order designation, and in explanation to those uninformed of their 'distinctive knighthood'.
- 15.3.3 We can reject *Masculus* as a Latin interpretation of *Maule* as there is no evidence to confirm the hypothesis. We can also reject the title being carried to simply reinforce the holder's gender; this premise is far too prosaic for the medieval mind, influenced by religious perspicuity and classical teaching. Instead, the title *Masculus*, in existence since the classical Roman period, can only be a declaration of the nature of the holder's masculinity in the classical Frankish, martial, and religious context as proffered by both classical scholars and in the Church's expectation of the key traits of the Christian man and spiritual warrior, as promoted by Christian influencers.
- 15.3.4 Therefore, for the title *Masculus* to be superimposed over his landed and cognominal titles, it must have both legal and religious significance; an identifier of who and what he was, declared along with commitment, most likely in the form of solemn vows before the Church authority.
- 15.3.5 Even disregarding the narrative of the report and any critical supposition therein, there are immutable facts. William le Riche carries the title *Masculus*, held by high status clerics, in close association with several other knights, some related, some not. The name upon the bell of Holywood is that of William le Riche, it is the *only* possible presentation that does not ignore all the inscriptive elements. The *inscribed* bell offers irrefutable testimony William le Riche is in holy orders, religious life, and head of the

convent occupying Sacro Nemore. He is cited as master of that religious community for no less than twenty-two years. Yet, William is never presented as anything other than a knight on charter from his first appearance in 1141 until his last appearance around 1180 and thereafter in death.

- 15.3.6 There is *no doubt* William could only exist within these actualities if he was head of a religious military order based primarily on a confraternal membership. He is cited a Templar by the authors because of his origins, his parentage, his relationship with David I and the king's intimate connection with the Templars. His evidence of origin, title, charter legend and bell declaration surpass the circumstantial, it is compelling and unambiguous.
- 15.3.7 The study, thoroughly investigated the possibility of two different individuals, one known as William Masculus, de Maule, Lord of Fowlis, and William le Riche, founding master of Sacro Nemore. One person secular, the other firmly in religious life. More than a few times, the authors set aside the investigation and looked again to French genealogical and historical record to confirm the evidence of the bells pointed firmly at William le Riche aka William Masculus, and genealogy confirmed William de Maule, aka William Masculus was indeed the direct descendant of William I's man, Guarin le Riche, Lord of Hatton de Cleveland.
- 15.3.8 There are no namesakes, no doppelgangers. What bridged the dual existence was the title *Masculus*, for all *Masculus* was not on the bells, it did signify William was in a religiously inspired brotherhood, and the bells declared William Masculus, master of that brotherhood.
- 15.3.9 Nothing in consideration prevents William le Riche from being a Templar, or even a Templar master, neither missing record, nomenclature, nor his secular status. His only transgression from the Templar Rule is his seal portraying a hunting hawk. We cannot confirm if it was ironically offered, or a reminder that Bernard de Clairvaux's Primitive Rule for the Templars was written to satisfy Cistercian ascetic, papal acceptance of the Templars as a monastic order, and perhaps Bernard's own personal idiosyncrasies.
- 15.3.10 In many ways the Templar Rule was the antithesis of the behaviours of the warrior elite, and intentionally so. But it is unwise to expect the rule overcame the nature and kinship of the warrior. Men's behaviours, particularly those with arrogant disposition by way of status and entitlement would still be governed by the frailties of the human spirit, the trials of life on campaign, and freedom from the confines of the cloistered world, rather than dutiful and strict observance to a religious rule, particularly in matters that did not affect their state of grace before God. Pragmatic fundraising, military directorship, and recruitment dictated the choice of men, not necessarily by the measure of their piety, but by their commitment. Whereas the early Templars were directed by their faith and duty to the Church—a new reverent knighthood ensuring religious purpose, obedience, and spiritual discipline, it cannot be claimed every Templar was without flaw.

- 15.3.11 In many ways the origins of the Templar movement in Scotland, far from concealed, has far more to reveal than in other countries, as Scotland's society in the beginning of the Templar establishment deems to label these new knight-ecclesiastics, *Masculus*, in deference to a convention recorded by land-holding Norman/French clerics in Domesday and cartulary, supported by a classical reverence for masculine virtues, espoused by classical philosophy, Frankish heritage, and medieval ecclesiastical influencers, including the champion of the Templar cause, Bernard de Clairvaux.
- 15.3.12 Finding a Templar in the latter part of the 12th century is not akin to looking for a needle in a haystack; their holdings were significant, their patronage sizeable. Their affiliation touched most of the European nobility, and their organisation beneath the military arm was vast. In a country without locally identified and confirmed Templars before the end of the 12th century, is it not likely they did exist? We have witness testimony they did. But who had the stature and religious vigour to take on the mantle of organising the Templar communities in Scotland? Who was best placed to found and then develop their affairs initially in Midlothian? Who better could fill the legend than Robert and William le Riche and the brotherhood *Masculus*, ancestors of the illustrious *de Maule* family and descendants of the powerful French elite, the *le Riche* dynasty? We can only view Robert's family and other knights carrying the tile *Masculus*, a confraternity, a legally identified brotherhood of religious knights—*Templars* for want of a generic title. *There is no other defensible explanation.*

15.4 *Hollywood Church*

- 15.4.1 Without archaeological examination of the foundations of Sacro Nemore, deep beneath the existing cemetery, the layout and building phases will remain a mystery. It is only the stone still interred beneath the current church floor and its attending archaeology that may illuminate the church's origins. However, without the context of the buried stones' position within the original build, it will be only the stones' decoration that may provide illumination, but it is anticipated exposure will open up other threads of enquiry and so bring to light new evidence complementing this report's findings.
- 15.4.2. Raising the stone and investigating the subterranean voids under Hollywood church is inevitable and unavoidable, as the church cannot be preserved or find another purpose without resolution to its acute environmental problems. Archaeological action and rehabilitation of the church is urgently required, and it is hoped this report, and the find will result in a secure future for the site.

15.5 *Challenging the Historical Record*

- 15.5.1 Historians named the Carolingian kings, not as they were known but as they perceived them to be, either through design, malice, or misinterpretation.²⁷⁴ If these kings were

²⁷⁴ See Appendix XI

alive today, there is little doubt more than a few historians' heads would roll into the gutter for the misappropriations of their forebears.

- 15.5.2 The bells of Holywood, in many ways, are similar historical notables. Inanimate they may be, but despite the Catholic Church wishing to emphasise the benediction of bells as only an imitative exercise resembling baptism, if only to counter the vilification of the ritual cited by Protestant reformists and critics in the 16th century, the truth is, medieval bells *were* anointed, baptised with holy water; sanctified and revered by Christians who endowed them as an audible, incarnate symbol of their faith.
- 15.5.3 Unlike the Carolingian kings, the bells of Holywood exist today, not in the flesh, but cast in bronze, with their original texts cast securely into metal; unquestionable declarations over the populace; words uncorrupted by the partiality of the scribe's hand, surviving the misinterpretations of antiquarians. The authors have a rare opportunity to present the bells for what they are, not what historians supposed them to be, in superficial and perhaps egotistical consideration. Deluded the Templars may have been, but the bells were created in earnest belief, and therefore should be respected for what they are, not hidden for the sake of the historians' reputation, or the 'accepted' historical record.
- 15.5.4 Historians have long influenced history as they see fit. They build history on the shoulders of other historians as if they were exact sages. Yet those 'exacting' chroniclers, both honest and deceitful, capable and incompetent, often present inadequate evidence in audit to support their inferences, which in turn putrefy in the pages of successive histories, turning their notions and bias into fact. The authors of this report have stepped outside the historians' orthodoxy to provide discussion and evidence enough to restore the bells' legend and remove the inaccuracy of the 'traditional view'.
- 15.5.5 Without an explicit catalogue of Templar corporate establishment in Scotland, we can only judge its history by the corrupted information left behind. What is known cannot be the complete account of the Templars' one hundred and eighty-years existence in Scotland. With archive record completely lost, incomplete archaeological survey and no contemporary chronicle, completeness of history is not offered, and any historian would be naive to declare it so.
- 15.5.6 Because of this lack of contemporary record, there has been little scholarly focus on Scottish Templar history. The history of the first half of the Templar involvement in Scotland only commands a few lines of text in larger histories, gleaned from fractional record. Templar history is largely set by one event; the Order's expiry and it cannot be counted as a robust record of truth or a complete historical record. But a new piece of evidence has been found. It probably is not unique, simply another piece of history corrupted by misunderstanding, lying hidden for want of focused and competent examination.

16.0 Challenging the Study's Conclusion

16.1 Review

- 16.1.1 Following completion of the first draft report of the study in 2021, at that time around one hundred pages, originally titled, '*Myth & Mystery, The Bells of Holywood: An investigation into the origins of the bells of a Dumfriesshire church,*' feedback was sought from four groups in the cause of:
- seeking academic assistance and involvement to tackle any uncompleted threads of investigation due to a deficit of accessible information or expertise.
 - testing the reconsideration of the bell inscriptions and conclusion.
 - seeking critique to expose any weak referencing and unsound hypothesis.
 - informing local and national history protection agencies of the potential and issues of a find that would have a significant impact on the local historical environment and national governmental historical audit and record.
- 16.1.2 The first group consisted of the academics and experts who had contributed to the study with advice and appraisal, including those living historians who had been referenced within the body of the report.
- 16.1.3 The second group were informed beta readers; either professional historians, archaeologists, collectors of medieval artefact and art, expert valuers in classical antiquities, analysts, or medievalists with a solid understanding of the period and Templar lore. Although some beta readers were selected through existing association and entreaty, most were without personal connection, hopefully promoting honest critique rather than sycophantic accord. They were requested to critique the report in terms of clarity, engagement, and language, applying their own understanding, scientific and academic discipline, as well as logic, to the subject matter.
- 16.1.4 Considering the dearth of bell experts and none with academic expertise or qualification in 12th century bell archaeology, or active historians and academics with a specific understanding of the foundation of the Templar institution in 12th century Scotland, the third group consisted of universally recognised experts or leads within the general field of bell history, medieval metalwork, epigraphy/palaeography, and Templar history. Their input was extremely important in either the validation or challenge of the study's findings, all within their own understanding of the broader subject. It was generally understood academia is seen as the '*key holders*' to past-history, so their input and acceptance was viewed as critical in terms of any official acceptance of the study's discovery.
- 16.1.5 The last group were those national agencies deemed as history keepers for Scotland's historic environment and material artefact. It was felt the authors had enough evidence to provoke interest in the find with enough concern to ensure the discovery was not lost for want of proper and prudent attention.

- 16.1.6 Considering the sensitive nature of the find, confidentiality was requested. The report was offered with full disclosure the exercise was not an academic one but had become a very personal dilemma, a huge discovery, potentially record breaking, monetarily significant, not only for the owners of the church and bells, but for the local community in terms of both charitable foundation and commerce, as well as the Scottish nation, with a new vital reveal within a popular celebrity history.
- 16.1.7 Although the preliminary report was incomplete, it was still a step-by-step analysis of each character on the bell inscriptions and decoration, applying and referencing academic and expert published work to reach inarguable conclusion, using previous inspections to illustrate where error was made, or as confirmation of what was observed. It was the first time the bells had been properly studied; a protracted examination with the help of expert witness and up-to-date scholarly works covering bell archaeology, ecclesiastical history, and inscription in the medieval period. It was considered a complete contrast to previous superficial inspections. The study was thorough and exacting as far as any investigation could be without the benefit of copious data, corroborated medieval record, case study, and easily accessible academic resource.
- 16.1.8 Resolving the conflict over the date of the bells was all the study set out to achieve. It was felt by the authors, with forensic investigation and evidence, the study had unequivocally resolved the bells' dating conundrum posed by the study in 2020, restoring, in part, the integrity of Reverends Johnson and Kirkwood's statistical returns, within a highly regarded 18th and 19th century Scottish historical record.
- 16.1.9 Regardless, where the report may have erred, it had identified two fundamental truths—two unquestionable facts. The existing 'accepted view' of the bells of Holywood (that they were of 16th century origin) was profoundly incorrect, the record formed by a flawed antiquarian report, and the sponsor on the bells, the only name that satisfied all the epigraphical elements of the inscription, *William le Riche*, was completely and incontrovertibly misunderstood by the historical community by their ignorance of the nature of his legal title on charter; *Masculus*. The merit in the report was the overwhelming material and circumstantial evidence that presented William le Riche was the founder of the convent of Sacro Nemore in around 1150 and was its religious master for over twenty-two years, while he operates as a landholding knight in that same period; a member of a confraternity of several knights and landholders carrying a quasi-religious title.
- 16.1.10 The authors sought more than review. It was hoped within the interest of the find, challengers and champions would come forward in the cause of deliberating the report's contents to test veracity, safeguard potentially newly discovered history, correcting the existing record, and assisting in the development of a protected future for the church and bells.
- 16.1.11 There was acceptance the study was requesting a considerable commitment by those in review without financial reimbursement. The report at the time was over one hundred

pages long and had significant challenge and criticism of the ‘accepted history’ and its application. The authors also acknowledged they had entered a realm largely escaping scholarly attention, ie., bell archaeology, late 11th and 12th century martially motivated clergy and the establishment of early Templar societies. Scottish history, in respect of these issues, had been founded on an absence of evidence and not an in-depth consideration of facts and logic. There was little contemporary recorded word on early 12th century Scotland, and histories largely concentrated on ‘celebrity’ players, who by their existence attracted report from contemporary chroniclers and consideration by scholars. Despite this, in consideration of feedback and challenge, new evidence and subsequent revision; the report increased to over three hundred pages in the quest to better understand the factors affecting William le Riche and consideration of any potential argument impacting the study’s conclusion.

- 16.1.12 However, the bells and site’s potential Templar connection brought forward a far greater issue. The bells, although still the former abbey bells, were worth far more than merely age and antiquity dictated. Security of the priceless artefacts was a major concern. Appropriate insurance would be unattainable without academic validation, and even with it, was unattainable due to the owner’s budget, and denied if the bells were to remain in the church on an indefensible, public accessible site. The stone interred beneath the floor, together with the potential underground voids would need further investigation before any reconsideration of the church’s future could be made. The study had exposed much more than a dating conundrum, it had brought forward a project that belayed the owners’ plans to create a home on the site, replaced by a history preservation project of considerable expense; a project better managed by institution rather than private concern.

16.2 *Feedback from contributors*

- 16.2.1 Frustrating review were those academics and agencies who were kind enough to contribute with help, advice and encouragement throughout the study, but failed to respond to requests for a critique of the whole report.
- 16.2.2 Only a few referenced academics replied to the request for feedback, and those that did, deferred their involvement due to their own perceived lack of expertise in the entire disposition of the discovery.
- 16.2.3 It was regrettable the study was not able to have the living authors and contributors referenced in the report check the usage of their work in citation. However, it was assessed that all referencing used was appropriate and unambiguous. Opportunity had been offered to those whose work was referenced, and all were given (were possible) the opportunity to interrogate and disagree with usage.

16.3 *Feedback from the beta read.*

- 16.3.1 The study kept the number of beta readers to below one hundred, due to the sensitive nature of the find. There were two tranches of beta read; those circulated with the first

edition of the report, and those reviewing the second and third editions, complete with contesting opinion from academia.

- 16.3.2 All the beta readers were selected on their understanding of the general subject, either forensic analysis, medieval history, antiquities, church bell and ecclesiastical history, archaeology, or a scientific academic discipline.
- 16.3.3 Return from the beta read was 90%, with consensus the study had categorically dismissed the existing record as incorrect and found exacting and compelling evidence. The study had produced, *'not critical supposition to make its case, reliant on the stature of opinion from notable academics, but on material evidence which spoke for itself.'*
- 16.3.4 Some detail within the study was criticised for a lack of clarity. These details were subsequently better illustrated in succeeding versions of the report to improve transparency and demonstration of argument.
- 16.3.5 Some readers: historians and archaeologists tempered their responses with a portent of frustration for the authors in obtaining the same level of agreement from academia—insight gained from decades, dealing with often, *'evasive and arrogant scholarly historians.'* *'No leading academic in medieval studies will accept a new historical reveal from non-academics. Only a report written by a regarded scholar will be properly considered, and only then if it does not challenge another academic or fellow antiquarian's work. Regardless how monumental, complete, evidenced and compelling the reveal is... no academic will agree with it.'*
- 16.3.6 Despite compliments on the quality of the study and conclusion, those dealing in the antiquities market counselled there would be obstacle from academia and Scottish institution for judicious action post-study, *'Our views are unimportant. Without a regarded academic historian's, or a recognised specialist's endorsement, the discovery would struggle to gain acceptance.'*

16.4 Bell Specialists

- 16.4.1 Taylor foundry, Keltek and their archivists had been helpful in the early stages of the study with both analysis of the photographs, and the limitations when it came to dating bells without obvious inscription. The *shield* bell was already confirmed by its design, dimensions, and weight as a long-waisted bell of pre 1200 pattern. It felt further pursuance of bell experts, and perhaps an unqualified opinion was best avoided, particularly as it was the legend on the bells, and the legend of the sponsor, not the form of the bells, that shaped the study's conclusions.

16.5 Academic expert – Templar History

- 16.5.1 Considering the study's reveal was one of contentious Templar history, the authors sought out world renowned medieval historian, Malcolm Barber, expert on the Crusades and the Knights Templar. Mr Barber had already been helpful in referring the

study team to useful reference materials. In seeking his review of the initial report, he proposed Christian church bells were not within his expertise, and as his interest lay primarily in the Crusades to the east, with specific local domestic Templar history not in his remit, knowledge, or gift, he proposed two UK based historians; Christopher Tyerman and Helen Nicholson, both better informed to consider UK based Templar associations.

- 16.5.2 Several approaches to the academics by phone and email resulted in review by Professor Helen Nicholson, respected and published Templar historian. The professor's generously offered critique was considered and thorough. The professor had studied the report on the bells, the abbey, and the conclusion the bell's sponsor was a Templar, all within the limitations of not having access to the bells in person, or personal knowledge of the site. There was little history of the early Templar association in Scotland, and it was accepted the professor probably had to rely on her own studies of Templar structure and designation.

16.6 *Professor Helen Nicholson: Review of the first edition of the study*

- 16.6.1 *'I have looked through the report that you sent. You have obviously done a great deal of research to produce this, and the report is neatly presented. Nevertheless, I cannot see a connection between the Templars (on the one hand) and the bells and the religious site of Holywood (on the other).'*
- 16.6.2 *'I may have misunderstood the argument set out in the report, but so far as I understand it rests on the assumption that the surname 'Masculus' (Latin for 'male') means that the holder of this surname was a Templar. It would not be surprising if an individual was known by more than one surname: this was common in western Europe in the twelfth century and surnames were not fixed. But Masculus was not and is not a specifically Templar word. Yes, the brothers of the Order of the Temple were male. The sisters of the Order were female (femina). The same was the case for all religious orders.'*
- 16.6.3 *'I don't see any evidence in the report that establishes that there was a Templar preceptory at Holywood. I gather from Ian Cowan and D. E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland (London, 1976), pp. 101, 102, that it is not clear whether the abbey of Holywood/ Dercongal was a Cistercian or a Premonstratensian religious house, or even at what date it was founded. However, this does not mean that it was a Templar house, as there were many religious houses whose date of foundation and whose affiliation was unclear – and some changed their affiliation during the course of their history. I have seen no evidence elsewhere that Holywood Abbey was run by the Templars. Of course, the Templars held property in Dumfriesshire – you have seen the list of properties in Cowan, Mackay and Macquarrie, The Knights of St John in Scotland, pp. 202-232 – but these were small properties and did not include Holywood*

Abbey. Holywood was not mentioned as former Templar property in 1308-11 during the trial of the Templars in Scotland, and the Hospitallers never claimed it as former Templar property – and they were quick enough to claim everything else they could claim, although their claims were not always successful.’

16.6.4 *‘Monasteries and other religious foundations generally bore arms, usually the arms of their founders, although they could also display the arms of individual donors. As most of the members of a religious house would have come from the arms-bearing families, from the end of the 12th century onwards their families could have had their own arms. An abbot might include his family’s arms on his personal seal. However, in the context of this report: knights did not have fixed family designs on their shields in the early part of the twelfth century. Family heraldic designs were not in general use among the upper nobility of France until the late twelfth century.’*

16.6.5 *‘Regarding the ‘inscribed bell’: reading inscriptions is always tricky and requires expert knowledge of the usual abbreviations and letter forms of the period when the inscription was made, as these changed over the decades; and also needs to take into account the limitations of the creative process (in this case, casting letters into a bronze bell – the letters had to be legible and fit around the top of the bell). The standard inscription on a bell would first state the identity of the donor (name followed by office) then the words ‘me fieri fecit’ (had me made), followed by the date. In the case of this inscription, the first letter, I, could be an abbreviation for any first name starting with ‘J.’. After the words ‘me fieri fecit’ come the familiar letters ‘A D’, and then the date, which is difficult to read as the letters are unclear, words are abbreviated, and methods of rendering numbers varied. In the photographs on p. 33 the dating clause looks to me to read ‘QUI[N]GC\o/IV’ or ‘QUI[N]GE\o/IV’ – the mark over the ‘I’ following the ‘QU’ would normally mean that an ‘N’ is missing, and the small ‘O’ over the ‘C’ or ‘E’ is the final letter of the abbreviated word. The letter which looks like a capital ‘O’ followed by a dot must be a ‘Q’. The abbreviated word could be ‘Quingento IV’: that is, 504. In sum, I would not argue much with Barbour’s reading in the report and would translate the inscription as: “J. Welch Abbot of Holy[wood?] had me made in the year of Our Lord [One thousand] Five Hundred and Five (or Four?)”. But of course, I have not seen the actual bell and it is always difficult to make out the details of inscriptions from photographs. The supposed final ‘V’ may in fact not be a ‘V’; the smudge just before the final letter may not be a letter. So, this is only an estimate based on what I can see in the photographs, and an expert on early sixteenth-century palaeography might well read the date differently.’*

16.6.6 *‘The report comments on the lack of Templar witnesses to documents and suggests this was because they were not specifically identified as such. When a member of a religious order was mentioned in a written document, their name was prefixed with ‘Brother’ (or ‘Sister’, as appropriate), and their name was followed by the information that they were*

a member of that religious order. If a man's name was listed in a document but did not state he was 'Brother' and did not mention a religious order, then he was not a member of a religious order.'

16.6.7 *'The fact that Holywood Abbey has completely vanished above ground is not evidence that it was a Templar house. Last week, for example, I was in eastern Lincolnshire: consulting an Ordnance Survey map, I could see the sites of many former abbeys and priories and the site of a former Hospitaller house. But when I travelled to these sites, there was little or nothing remaining above ground, sometimes not even 'bumps in fields'. These sites have been completely robbed out and the building stone reused for other purposes, and in areas of heavy agricultural activity the underground remains have been obliterated by ploughing. Building stone is valuable – why would local people leave it unused after these houses were dissolved? It is more surprising that any upstanding ruins of these religious houses remain, except where an alternative use has been found for them.'*

16.6.8 *'Arguing that the Templars must have been given more land in Scotland than is known, the report does not consider that the Templars had to be willing to accept gifts of land. They did not have to accept all the land that was offered to them. To cut a long discussion short: they needed money to pay for their military commitments defending the Holy Land. So they wanted land where wheat (high-value grain) could be grown or sheep (with their valuable wool) could be raised, and they tried to avoid accepting gifts which would commit them to heavy expenses and not bring in comparable income. They also tried to keep administrative costs to a minimum, so rented land out to tenants when this was more cost-effective than running it themselves. Hence, for example, their only substantial property in Wales was at Llanmadoc on the Gower, where in 1308 they were growing wheat. No Templars lived there in 1308: they would have employed a bailiff to run the farm. They had only one estate in Cornwall, at Temple on Bodmin Moor, and this was rented out to tenants rather than run by the Templars themselves. The arguments advanced in the report for the existence of more Templar houses in Scotland than are currently known and more Scottish Templars than are known would apply equally to the Hospitallers – in fact, more so, because on the basis of their landholdings in England and Wales the Hospitallers were more likely to accept gifts of less profitable land than the Templars were. It would make better sense for the report to argue that Holywood must have been a Hospitaller house because few Hospitaller priories and Hospitaller brothers are known for Scotland. In fact, there is no evidence that Holywood had any connection with either the Hospitallers or the Templars.'*

16.6.9 *'The drawing in figure 2 and in Appendix 4: in what respect did this small chapel resemble a Templar church as against the church of any other religious order or a parish church unconnected to any religious order? Although the sketch of the church states that it was Templar, this statement should not be taken seriously without evidence*

*from the pre-Reformation period. It was regrettably common for 18th- and 19th-century antiquarians to declare that a ruined property of uncertain background must have been Templar (for another example see the analysis by Eamonn Cotter, Paul MacCotter and Tadhg O’Keeff, ‘A blow to the temple: the “monastic castle” at Rincrew (Co. Waterford) reinterpreted’, *The Journal of Irish Archaeology*, 24 (2015), 163-78.’*

16.6.10 *Heads of Templar houses were not called ‘abbas’ (abbot). They were preceptores (in Latin) or commanders (in French). For comparison: heads of Hospitaller houses were usually called priors. If this individual held the title ‘abbas’, he was not a Templar or a Hospitaller.*

16.6.11 *I realise that the above comments are probably not what you hoped to read, but I hope that they are of some interest to you.*

16.7 *Academic (and institutional) expert – Medieval metalwork*

16.7.1 The authors of the report sought advice from leading archaeology academics in universities, both in England and Scotland. Several academics recommended an authority in medieval metal work as the preferred consulting expert, an archaeologist-curator, Dr Alice Blackwell, curator of medieval archaeology and history at *National Museums Scotland*. The academic archaeologist’s research interests included the use of heraldry on medieval material, and medieval archaeology for the period of contention, ie., from 1100 to 1600 AD. The academic served on the council of the Society for Medieval Archaeology, a researcher with a wealth of knowledge on metal finds.

16.7.2 The National Museums Scotland and Dr Alice Blackwell were deemed competent to assess the quality of the report and at least the material aspects of the discovery, if not necessarily the Templar connection. The curator kindly offered time and opinion, not on the whole report, but on the two bells and the study’s assessment: the full content of the study ‘*beyond my remit*’.

16.8 *Dr Alice Blackwell: Review of the first edition of the study*

16.8.1 *Thank you for sharing your report. It is very detailed and has taken a while to work through. I’m happy to offer some thoughts, although to thoroughly review its full contents is beyond my remit. I am going to restrict my comments to the bells themselves. It has become clear to me that our views on them are very different indeed, and I see no reason to invoke such an early date or a Templar connection.*

16.8.2 *To begin with, I think it would be useful for you to consult some specialist bell literature. Ranald Clouston was one of the main experts in this area who worked on Scotland – he published regional surveys of bells in Scotland and parts of England, the former in PSAS. They’re available and collated here (see also entries jointly authored with Eeles)*

www.whittingsociety.org.uk/old-ringing-books. (There are many other publications listed here too, some of which might also be useful for you).

- 16.8.3 *The forms of the bells fit well with their traditional, later dating. I realise the top of the bell is obscured but it would be useful to know the arrangement of the canons. I'm afraid I don't see anything in the inscription to support your proposed early dating either.*
- 16.8.4 *I must disagree strongly with the notion that arms which cannot now be linked to an individual must therefore predate formal heraldic system. We have a very imperfect historical record, and routinely encounter undocumented arms on archaeological finds, for example harness pendants and seal matrices. These objects are also useful for gauging the level of accuracy particular arms that should be expected when considering small renderings in metal – compromises are very common indeed, especially in small charges. Having looked at many of these, I don't think that you can so easily dismiss the shield as Kennedy's.*
- 16.8.5 *The shield shape is exactly what would be expected for the traditional dating - Scottish lead seal matrices of this period frequently carry arms, virtually always on a similarly broad (and distinctly not heater-shaped) shield.*
- 16.8.6 *Incidentally, some bell maker's marks look very heraldic – Clouston's Cambridgeshire paper includes images of a few – but while that is possible here, I think Kennedy remains most likely.*
- 16.8.7 *In short, I can't see anything that doesn't fit with a later medieval, probably early 16th-century, date and certainly I think you're very far awry with proposing such an early date and a Templar connection, I'm afraid.*

16.9 *Historic Environment Scotland*

- 16.9.1 *Historic Environment Scotland, the Scottish Government's agency responsible for the protection of the historical environment was first contacted in 2021, after the discovery of the bells' age and origins. The agency had replaced RCAHMS but cited their 1920's audit in public record, and it was this understanding that formed the category B listing for the church which included the bells.*
- 16.9.2 *The agency acknowledged receipt of the report, but it was only at the beginning of 2023 that would see Historic Environment Scotland appear to consider the study. The result was the agency's proposal to remove the public record created from their predecessors, RCAHMS 1920 inventory. 'It is important to note that the inventory was written over a century ago and should be seen as a work of its time using the best information then available.' There was no direct confirmation of the study's conclusions outside Historic Environment Scotland's recognition of the bells as 'medieval'. HES proposed the report should be submitted into their archive, Canmore, 'so it may be accessed by the public and used as part of the future debate on the origins of the bells.' HES further proposed, 'to update the bells of Holywood Church on the National Record of the Historic*

Environment to note that there are bells here which date from the medieval period (this encompasses the period 1093 - 1603) and we will ensure that the designation record has an up-to-date reference to Canmore. At no point did HES concede to the significance of the find or offer any support to ensure the protection of the artefacts, or the site. Twelve months after their proposal, reference to the RCAHMS audit remained their ‘official’ public understanding of the bells.

16.10 The Academics’ Critique

- 16.10.1* It was not difficult to see a trend in the academics’ responses to the study. At no point in their considerations did the academics acknowledge or critique the study’s identification of a 12th century knight as sponsor of the bells; the crux of the conclusion the bells were both of 12th century origin and their sponsor was a member of a military order. They chose not to challenge the study’s dismantlement of Barbour’s translation hypothesis or offer up an alternate translation proposition to answer those conundrums presented by the inscription ignored by Barbour. Instead, they discounted the study as if it were invalid, and offered up their own opinion, which coincidentally supported Barbour’s hypothesis regarding the inscriptions, armorial, and dates for the bells. The academics chose to ignore the early bell pattern, errant armorial, letterform, and absent characters needed to confirm the names and dates of a 16th century abbot and a commendator of Holywood.
- 16.10.2* Although Dr Blackwell and Professor Nicholson found no merit in the study’s conclusions, what was manifest within their challenge to the report was the value in their counterpoint. Firstly, they had taken the time to consider the study. Secondly, both Dr Blackwell and Professor Nicholson had acted as representatives for eminent Templar historians, National Museums Scotland, and medieval metalwork specialists. They were academics, recognised in their fields for their expertise, deemed both competent and able to interrogate the study and challenge it effectively on behalf of academia. Lastly, in response to the academics’ challenge, the authors’ rechecked their own understanding and revisited areas of the investigation initially thought better considered with the input of academia. The authors’ study led to further confirmation of their conclusion, revisions to the original report, and new reveal which enhanced the discovery even further; discoveries which perhaps would have been obstructed by a prejudiced academic viewpoint.
- 16.10.3* The two leading academics had offered their opinion, and the study had a choice to either accept it as such, and move on, or question it. Regardless of the beta reader’s overwhelming acceptance of the study’s conclusions, it would be recognised academic opinion that would carry the greatest weight with both public and institutional acceptance. Thus, considering the importance of these key witnesses, vital to institutional consideration of the find, the authors had no option but to interrogate the academics’ responses and either support or dismantle their argument.

16.10.4 Careful consideration was given to the academics' opinion and substance of their argument (sections 16.6 and 16.8). Responses were then returned to the academics and circulated to the historians and archaeologists within the initial beta read.

16.11 *Professor Nicholson's review: The authors' assessment*

16.11.1 Professor Nicholson did not agree with the investigation's conclusion, avoiding comment on the study's dismantlement of James Barbour's translation, instead offering substantiation of the original rendition by James Barbour via their own observation. The professor also dismissed the bells' sponsor proposed by the study as a Templar through a lack of known 'Templar' nomenclature.

16.11.2 Regarding the professor's point made in 16.6.2; *'It would not be surprising if an individual was known by more than one surname.'* The original report confirmed different names were taken by Norman knights to suit. However, an adopted name must have relevance, particularly if it is employed on legal document.

16.11.3 The use of *Masculus* as a cognominal name is not unique to the high medieval period. There are several examples of it being employed by 11th and 12th century French/Norman/Scottish land holders, knights, and clerics. The authors are certain William le Riche and other individuals in association on Scottish charter did not seek this new official title, simply to reaffirm their gender as *male*; instead, the whole sense of the Latin expression is implied, declaring the condition of their masculinity as recognised within their Christian society (*see Section 11.4*, and the accompanying discussion in *Section 11.0*).

16.11.4 The study conceded there had been no prior scholarly consideration why the name *Masculus* should be expressly carried by several individuals in the medieval period, and so the professor perhaps discounts the study on that basis, assigning the Latin expression *Masculus* to simply mean gender, rather than the condition of that gender as understood by medieval educators in Frankish society, in both classical and religious terms. In doing so, the professor downplays the significance of the term *Masculus* in the medieval theologian mindset. Either Professor Nicholson did not understand the argument (as per her testimony, 16.6.2) or chose to be deliberately obtuse to avoid proper consideration of the proposal.

16.11.5 The professor in discounting the term *Masculus* as an indication of martial/religious intent, had not offered a reasonable alternative meaning. Reaffirming 'gender' was not a viable reason for the title's adoption over a knight's given name. And whereas the professor was at liberty to disagree with the study's interpretation, their opinion carried no objective argument.

16.11.6 Professor Nicholson comments on the fact, *'Masculus was not and is not specifically a Templar word.'* (16.6.2). The professor refers to the fact the term *Masculus* does not appear in any existing Templar charter or on contemporary Templar record. Certainly,

Masculus is not specifically a Templar word as it pre-dates the Order, carried by 11th century and early 12th century medieval secular clerics.

- 16.11.7 There is incontestable evidence of both secular canons/clergy carrying the title *Masculus* and at least another six Anglo-Norman knights on 12th century Scottish record carrying the title as a confraternity of religiously focused knights, *ergo* the term *Masculus* exists in the opening decades of Templar foundation in Scotland, attached to comparable knight clerics.
- 16.11.8 Regrettably, there is no Scottish Templar record leading up to the end of the 12th century. nor is there a comprehensive and complete dictionary of vocabulary used throughout early Templar history, in every province, and in every country, thus Professor Nicholson is not at liberty to make such absolute statements; '*was not and is not*', regarding vocabulary the Templars may have used in 12th century Scotland.
- 16.11.9 The only specific Templar word, in fact, is the colloquial term '*Templar*', which does not appear in common use until the second half of the 12th century. The Templars used existing religious and military terminology, they did not invent specific, unique nomenclature, it is only their association with specific terms that have made them synonymous with each other. Nomenclature and expression in newly formed, widespread organisations, operating under disparate local conditions and expectations, would be taken from *existing* local paradigms, not terms developed and adopted decades after formation, hence why even the common term *Templar* is not universally employed much before 1150.²⁷⁵
- 16.11.10 Professor Nicholson's commentary in 16.6.3; '*I don't see any evidence in the report that establishes that there was a Templar preceptory at Holywood,*' has little relevance in regard to the context of the study, as the professor chooses to discount, without explanation, the evidence presented by the study's reinterpretation of the *inscribed* bell, ie., the proposal William le Riche, knight, a secular canon and religious master, founds the convent of Sacro Nemore. '*I have seen no evidence elsewhere that Holywood Abbey was run by the Templars.*' It is only William's connection and his legend on the bell; new research, that leads to a Templar reveal (and many would cite that as evidence enough). '*Holywood was not mentioned as former Templar property in 1308-11 during the trial of the Templars in Scotland.*' The study's proposal is that Sacro Nemore was at *one point* in its history annexed for Templar purpose between 1150 and sometime by the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th, thus it would preclude Holywood from appearing in inventory of Templar property, one hundred years later, in audit at the beginning of the 14th century. Indeed, the co-author of the work, '*The Knights of St John in Scotland*', cited by the professor, confirms a lack of research and understanding into early Scottish Templar history, including the commercial development of its accommodations, holdings, and activities. Thus, it would be imprudent to discount any property once in former ownership or tenure. Professor Nicholson ignores the study's

²⁷⁵ Nicholson H., 2001 *The Knights Templar*, London, p 31.

findings, speciously citing the study implies Templar provenance, simply because Holywood Abbey is not included within any existing record;²⁷⁶ the professor perversely relying on that same absence of evidence to discount Sacro Nemore from being a Templar house. Therefore, the challenge, even without consideration of the study's reinterpretation of the *inscribed* bell's legend, has no supportable argument.

- 16.11.11 Professor Nicholson dismisses the arms on the *shield* bell as mid-12th century; *'However, in the context of this report: knights did not have fixed family designs on their shields in the early part of the twelfth century. Family heraldic designs were not in general use among the upper nobility of France until the late twelfth century.'* (16.6.4). At no point in the report was the device on the *shield* bell fixed as a family armorial, but instead as a personal one. Such individual shield devices had been in existence since the warriors decorated their shields. In terms of 12th century knights, there exists the first *recorded* armorial appearing on *Geoffrey Plantagent's* shield and slippers in connection with his knighting in 1127.
- 16.11.12 Professor Nicholson, replicates Barbour's interpretation without alteration or raising any misgivings, apart from the last number which was inconsequential in terms of dating (16.6.5). The professor was happy to accept an identification of an 'L' instead of an 'I' in the sponsor's name, despite it being an insupportable 'L' Lombardic letterform; the third character being replicated no less than six times on the bell inscription as an 'I' which even Barbour procrastinated over and RCAHMS refuted. The professor ignores the forking on the serif of 'W' and abnormal placing of a Gothic 'e' and failed to raise any question over missing dating nomenclature (a deviant paradigm), or the use of pre-late 14th century Lombardic Capitals as 16th century epigraphy, or the mixing of Lombardic and Gothic letterform within words.
- 16.11.13 The study's original report procrastinated over one of the characters being a 'O' followed by a small triangular period, which Professor Nicholson correctly pointed out, was a Lombardic Capital 'Q'.
- 16.11.14 It was difficult to accept an academic with obvious experience in difficult and complex medieval Latin translation,²⁷⁷ did not find any fault or even potential variation with Barbour's translation, except for a query over the last character, reporting a four instead of a five. Professor Nicholson chose to ignore the study's interpretation of the bell inscription, thus denying the authors and explanation where she thought it failed. Either the professor did not deem the study's view valid or worth consideration, or as confirmed in review, refused to condemn the existing record, referring the matter to an 'expert', thus perhaps excusing her own misinterpretation, while choosing to deprecate the competence of the authors.
- 16.11.15 Within point 16.6.6, Professor Nicholson expresses doubt William le Riche was a Templar because of a lack of recognisable order designation on charter; *'When a*

²⁷⁶ Ian Cowan and D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London, 1976), pp. 101, 102

²⁷⁷ Nicholson H, (2010), *A brief History of the Knights Templar*, p. xv, Robinson, UK

member of a religious order was mentioned in a written document, their name was prefixed with 'Brother' (or 'Sister', as appropriate), and their name was followed by the information that they were a member of that religious order. If a man's name was listed in a document but did not state he was 'Brother' and did not mention a religious order, then he was not a member of a religious order.

- 16.11.16 Within the nine-thousand existing charters concerning Scottish affairs between 1093 and 1314, where the term 'brother' (or any ecclesiastical title) is used to designate occupation, it is commonly accompanied by the institution represented or place of origin of the individual, *not* the sect the cleric is ordained into. In many cases, identified brothers do not even carry the title 'brother,' eg., Alan the monk (13th century),²⁷⁸ or Clement and Jordon, two monks from Abroath (13th century),²⁷⁹ or Richard the chaplain of Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow (12th century),²⁸⁰ to name only a few, making the professor's opinion, unfounded. (See 13.5.10). In terms of recording members of the Templar order on common charter, there is no difference in contemporary practice. It is for this reason it is primarily an individual's appearance on Templar document that identifies them as a Templar, presenting their hierarchal status. As William le Riche appears within the inscription of one of the Holywood bells as both *dominus* and *abbas* of a holy convent, then *in facto* he was a member of a religious order, regardless of his lack of order nomenclature or hierarchal status within his order presented on charter.
- 16.11.17 Whereas it is accepted common practice to include the term 'brother' and hierarchical title associated with that brother within Templar documents (as is the case within religious institutions of any order), it is not explicit, as evidenced by Hugh of Posquières (Hugo Poscherius) and Raymond of Posquières (Raimundus de Poscheriis) both recorded as Templars (and confirmed as brothers of the Order), neither specifically as a *frater* (brother), in the witness list of a transaction issued for the Templar community of St-Gilles in June 1188.²⁸¹ Not all Templars carry the designation '*frater*', as some, despite being recognised as Knights Templar did not necessarily fully profess to holy orders (see 13.5.32). There are enumerable other Templar knights, exemplified by *Hugh de Payens*, the original master of Templars, who appears without a specific designation on record in the opening decades of the Templar foundation, despite being grandmaster of the Order.
- 16.11.18 The authors concede the term 'brother' was employed within the one existing 12th century Scottish Templar charter, to designate the witness' rank within the order/house, but this paradigm was not universally employed outside Templar charter and document. In a charter dated 1160, *Brother Robert of the Temple of Solomon*, and *Brother Richard of the hospital of Jerusalem*, are both listed at Malcolm IV's confirmation to St

²⁷⁸ *Newbattle Registrum*, no.180

²⁷⁹ *Arbroath liber*, i, no.306

²⁸⁰ *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, i, no.85

²⁸¹ Schenk J, (2012), *Templar Families; Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, C.1120-1307*, p. 197, Cambridge University Press.

Andrews Priory (the only time a Templar is ‘recognised’ outside a Templar document in 12th century Scottish Charter).²⁸² However, it is apparent by their titles and the listing on the charter document they are probably visitors, both recorded by their rank and institute of origin, rather than their apposite order designation.

- 16.11.19 Professor Nicholson employs an all-encompassing paradigm to discount William le Riche as a member of a religious order, in a world where there are no all-encompassing paradigms, and no evidence to validate her precept. The professor’s basis of argument disagrees both fundamentally with evidence on contemporary charter and document, and within the works and understanding of other noted Templar historians, including herself, as she even refutes her own argument in her own previously published work.²⁸³ Thus, the professor’s opinion could not be interpreted as her true understanding, but as a deliberate contrary stance to discount the study’s conclusion.
- 16.11.20 There was merit in the professor’s argument against the case made in the original report, citing the abbey’s complete effacement as abnormal. ‘*The fact that Holywood Abbey has completely vanished above ground is not evidence that it was a Templar house*’ (16.6.7). In review and reconsideration, the foundations of the abbey had not been removed but covered over by accompanying groundworks and the installation of a new church and cemetery in 1779. What foundation remained or was exposed by excavation for a new cemetery was deliberately robbed away to accommodate the new cemetery.
- 16.11.21 Regarding Professor Nicholson’s contributions made in 16.6.8 and 16.6.9, they are offered in denial of the evidence presented in the report, ie., the reinterpretation of the *inscribed* bell and its sponsor, thus her counter argument has no bearing on the study’s conclusion. Commentary on the church sketch and the speculative drawing in Appendix were taken out of context, thus misunderstood as to their significance within the report.
- 16.11.22 Professor Nicholson points to the absence of the ‘correct term’ to designate the head of a Templar house (16.6.10); ‘*Heads of Templar houses were not called ‘abbas’ (abbot). They were preceptores (in Latin) or commanders (in French). For comparison: heads of Hospitaller houses were usually called priors. If this individual [William le Riche] held the title ‘abbas’, he was not a Templar or a Hospitaller.*
- 16.11.23 *Preceptores*, akin to priors, were administrative heads of monastic-styled communities. Within individual religious houses, priors (*prior claustralis*) were answerable to, and appointed by an abbot. In military orders, such as the Templars, the preceptor would be answerable to, and appointed by a Templar master. Priors would not establish or sponsor a religious community but be appointed by the abbot to oversee it.
- 16.11.24 Correspondingly, a religious community’s bells were usually donated by the community’s patrician founder, secular sponsor, or master of the house, *not* the house’s prior. This practice was common in all religious communities. Not surprisingly, there

²⁸² RRS I 219 St Andrews liber, 207

²⁸³ Nicholson H., 2001 *The Knights Templar*, London, p 31.

are no other Templar bells in existence to confirm, or even dismiss Professor Nicholson's proposal *Preceptore* should be presented on the bells of a Templar church and convent rather than *Abbas*.

- 16.11.25 *Abbas* [de] *Sacro Nemore* literally means 'Father of Holy Wood' not necessarily 'Abbot of Holy Wood' (*Abates/Abbatis Sacro Nemore*), although the two terms, *father* and *abbot* have the same ecclesiastical dignity, and both are commonly used to designate the head of an abbey, they are not the same (see 13.5.59 and 11.3.8-12).
- 16.11.26 William le Riche on the *inscribed* bell is declared *Dominus* (Master), and so would not carry the lesser title of *preceptor* (or prior) on the bell. William le Riche founds the community of *Sacro Nemore* and sponsors it. How else should his authority over the family of *Sacro Nemore* be called up to Christ in supplication on his bell? In keeping with the tradition and norm of the Christian Church's monastic orders, '*Abbas*' (*Father*) is used as the correct designation and dignity.
- 16.11.27 Without complete knowledge of Templar nomenclature used in 12th century Scotland, and an incomplete picture in other areas with greater record due to a lack of material evidence outside surviving document, it is certainly injudicious to claim Templars by their order were prevented taking a title *Abbas* under the correct conditions. In terms of spiritual orthodoxy, the Templar order was like any other monastic order. Its rules, like other monastic orders, were specific to that order, but the spiritual nature within it were commonplace. Being a Templar and an ecclesiastical principal does not deprive William le Riche in 1150 from common expressions of religious dignity.
- 16.11.28 Both the terms *Masculus* and *Abbas* are employed in Christian religious society in the 11th and 12th centuries, evidenced in writing and naming conventions. The expressions would not be alien to those who support the Temple knights from the west, because they exist and are extremely relatable to Christians involved in religious affairs and the expression of nature and dignity of those who act and govern in witness to their faith. Professor Nicholson dismisses the terms being associated with Templars because they do not appear in existing documentation associated with Templar affairs, not because there is a specific rule banning a Templar Master from being allowed the dignity *abbas* when he establishes a new community, or taking the title *Masculus*, a term already adopted by secular clergy in their declaration of their exemplar condition as soldiers of Christ. In the absence of verifiable information, then it should be expected the whole contemporary dictionary of legal, religious, and classical terms would be employed, to become later rationalised with terms and titles that would become associated with the Knights Templar, under developing 12th century canonical law.

16.12 *National Museums Scotland, Dr Blackwell's review: the authors' assessment.*

- 16.12.1 Dr Blackwell disagreed with the report's conclusion regarding the bells, adhering to the belief Barbour's construct was probably the correct one (16.8.1). Although Dr

Blackwell restricts her comments to the bells, nevertheless, she disputes the Templar connection without offering any cogent argument, which unfortunately was neither constructive, nor persuasive.

- 16.12.2 Regarding the age of the bells (16.8.3), Dr Blackwell argues, '*The forms of the bells fit well with their traditional, later dating [1500-1540].*' This is true only with regards to the *inscribed* bell. The understanding amongst bell historians (even James Barbour) is long-waisted bells, as demonstrated by the *shield* bell, gave way to a later more recognisable squatter, common pattern after the 12th century. There is nothing within the archive of comparable UK bell forms, from every century, from 1200 to the current date, to be able make any type of specific '*form*' comparison; bell design being largely unchanged over this period. Thus, Dr Blackwell's opening argument, even in respect of the *inscribed* bell is immaterial, as the *inscribed* bell '*fits well*' with *any* period during the abbey's lifetime and beyond.
- 16.12.3 '*I'm afraid I don't see anything in the inscription to support your proposed early dating (16.8.3).*' Regrettably, Dr Blackwell did not expand on what in the inscription supported her observation, so it was unclear what Dr Blackwell found errant with the study's transcription of the sponsor's name, his period of existence, or the identification of a pre-13th century letterform. Dr Blackwell had confirmed the bells to be 16th century, implying Barbour's hypothesis merited her support, denouncing the study's re-examination of the bells' inscription in the process. Therefore, it was safe to assume Dr Blackwell had no problem with the Lombardic letters 'E' or 'L' missing from Barbour's proposal of 'Welch', the date 1505 being absent on the inscription, the unexpected early letterform used, or siglum being used to present 'AD' against all expectation of abbreviated or superscript forms widely used and evidenced on 16th century ecclesiastical metal engraving.
- 16.12.4 Regarding the report's conclusion Kennedy's armorial is not present on the *shield* bell, Dr Blackwell again stands in defence of Barbour's original observation (16.8.4). The authors agreed with Dr Blackwell's statement, '*I must disagree strongly with the notion arms which cannot now be linked to an individual must therefore predate formal heraldic system [post 1250].*' There will indeed likely be individuals from the late medieval period that have armorials not featuring in post 1250 heraldic record. However, the study's initial identification the *shield* bell's armorial was absent from the heraldic record merely supported the armorial as *possibly* pre-heraldic. It is the armorial's attachment to a 12th century bell form, carrying the initials 'V LR' next to a bell carrying the name of a 12th century knight, W' le Riche that corroborates the armorial pre-dating the heraldic record.
- 16.12.5 Dr Blackwell's argument in support of Barbour's identification of the armorial on the *shield* bell was on the basis it had enough similarity to be considered as William Kennedy's; '*the level of accuracy particular arms that should be expected when considering small renderings in metal – compromises are very common indeed,*

especially in small charges. Having looked at many of these, I don't think that you can so easily dismiss the shield as Kennedy's (16.8.4). The authors questioned Dr Blackwell's comparison of work-a-day, small, low-cost manufactured items such as harness pendants and seal matrices to a much larger bell and its solemn (and costly) offering to Holy Church. It is evident a bell height of 38 cm is ample space on which to complete a proper rendering of a relatively simple armorial without omission of the necessary heraldic components. Indeed, even examples of seals and their matrices given in [Appendix VIII](#) demonstrate the intricacy of rendering performed by the medieval engraver, some which are in fact much smaller in comparison to the *shield* bell's device.

- 16.12.6 There is no doubting the imperfect execution of the image on the *shield* bell, and it no way meets the exacting standards seen on the *inscribed* bell, nevertheless, it is highly improbable the bellmaker was compelled to be so inexact due to space constraints, or the sponsor would accept that vagueness, unless it was completely unavoidable. Dr Blackwell's argument casts doubt on the accuracy of *all* rendered forms of armorial depiction, accepting a rough approximation good enough to depict an individual's coat of arms. This conjecture of 'approximation' on the bell, applied by Dr Blackwell, presumably made to validate Barbour's misidentification, conflicts fundamentally with the seriousness to which individuals held the importance of their armorial and legal identifier, especially on something as important as a donation to Holy Church, as well as with the complexity of engraving demonstrated on many medieval seal matrices, including those held by the *National Museums Scotland*.
- 16.12.7 Many medieval finds displaying unattributable, or confirmed armorials, such as harness pendants, randomly lost wherever the rider finds themselves, are correctly recorded without attribution to an individual. They are simply deemed created between circa 1100 and 1500, recognising the appearance of recognised heraldic devices and the fact, '*we have a very imperfect historical record,*' with at least 40% of that period (pre c. 1250) being without any contemporary record. Thus, '*undocumented arms on archaeological finds*' are indeed common place. It is likely therefore an armorial on a 12th century pattern bell would indeed be unrecorded. Dr Blackwell however ignores this evidence or the absence of three hundred years of Holywood's sponsors' armorials and applies an argument that an approximation of the *shield* bell's arms to Kennedy's is evidence enough to assess '*Kennedy remains most likely.*' The authors found fundamental problems with Dr Blackwell's argument, in how can one attribute a disparate armorial as a valid representation of another, if there is neither a complete record to compare it with, nor robust evidence to support the theory?
- 16.12.8 Dr Blackwell ignores the fact even Barbour himself made an error in identification of Kennedy's arms, reporting the incorrect cross-form of Kennedy's armorial. The fact the initials *V K* are *not* present on the *shield* bell, as corroborated by the College of Arms and other palaeographic experts, is sufficient to nullify the argument William *Kennedy's* armorial could be present.

- 16.12.9 Dr Blackwell asserts (16.8.5); ‘*The shield shape is exactly what would be expected for the traditional dating - Scottish lead seal matrices of this period frequently carry arms, virtually always on a similarly broad (and distinctly not heater-shaped) shield.*’
- 16.12.10 There was little consideration given to the shape of the shield during the original examination. It was unclear if the *shield* bell presented a purely *illustrative* armorial identifier, or if it depicted the sponsor’s actual *carried* shield. The armorial had been sent to the *College of Arms*, and without identification of a viable holder, and as the presentation, in terms of design, could not be properly dated due to a lack of quantifiable and verifiable data, any dating proposition, based purely on the shield presentation was abandoned in the wake of other compelling evidence dictating the age of the bell. Thus, outside the shield’s identification as a square, ‘Old French’ style, nothing more was made of the design.
- 16.12.11 The substance in Dr Blackwell’s argument, in discounting the study’s conclusions, was the fact the armorial was ‘*exactly what would be expected*’ for a 16th century design. Dr Blackwell, an acknowledged academic and specialist in medieval metalwork and heraldry, had offered argument based on her extensive experience dealing with small finds and the National Museums Scotland’s collection of medieval seal matrices, so a further detailed consideration of the shield presentation was necessary by the study.
- 16.12.12 Whereas examples of 16th century illustrative armorials abounded, database of 12th century armorial was sparse regarding early presentation of personal armorials on objects, other than third-hand contemporary artistic depiction on field accoutrements such as shields, banners, and vestments.
- 16.12.13 Classifications of *Kite*, *Norman*, *Heater*, *Old-French* and *Iberian*, are some of the modern categorisations of shield shapes that may be carried by the medieval knight. ([Appendix VIII](#)). There is a wealth of other shield types carried by the European medieval warrior to suit fashion and function in, and out of the saddle, but Dr Blackwell argues the shield shape presented on the *shield* bell is a ‘*broad*,’ implying it is a 16th century *French Style* shield ([Appendix VIII](#)), to suit Barbour’s dating.
- 16.12.14 Using shield illustration on seals, (the source Dr Blackwell cites), a collection from different dates and sources were brought together to compare their illustrated shield-shapes to the design on the *shield* bell. Unfortunately, what exists today represents only a small fraction of the seals used in the period from the 13th to the 16th century, with even fewer seals available from earlier than the 13th century. [Appendix VIII](#), given in example, concentrates on religious renderings on Scottish ecclesiastical and royal seals.
- 16.12.15 It is certain broader, squarer shield-shapes were more commonly (but not exclusively) employed later in the medieval period, rather than the earlier period’s narrow, triangular ‘Norman’ or ‘heater’ shape, as they made it easier to illustrate complex armorial design. However, the shield depicted on the bell, is not a match for this representation of ‘*broad shield*’ on seals as declared by Dr Blackwell, but instead resembles a square ‘old French’ shape, not at all specific to the 16th century ([Appendix VIII](#)), and commonly

employed in the centuries leading from the 12th century up to and including the 16th century. There is insufficient data to discount the shape presented on the *shield* bell from the 12th century, as the design prevails in that period in many European countries, especially Iberia, which has a significant connection with Scotland through the Second Crusade.

- 16.12.16 It is unfortunate there are no actual examples of the development of the shield from the kite shield carried by the Norman/French knight in the 11th century to the adoption of shorter squared top shields, escutcheons, and ailettes carried by the European knight from the second half of the 12th century and beyond. Our understanding of shield form is taken purely from naive artistic rendering and carving, with the depiction of form varying throughout Europe, and although there is a significant resource of art from that period, it is rarely dated and origins of the carriers largely absent, and so cannot be regarded as an explicit catalogue of accuracy.
- 16.12.17 Artistic renderings of shields are by no means a precise representation, but a simplistic one, corrupted by approximation, interpretation and ignorance of the actual event the artist is portraying (eg the Bayeux Tapestry, rendered out-of-sight of reality). What is evident in art depiction is the variety and inconsistency of shield shapes within a general pattern. It is expected, as medieval warriors from Christian nations were brought together in the 11th and 12th century in common crusade, supported by camp artificers of all nationalities, opportunity arose to re-arm and re-fashion their martial protection to suit. There were no off-the-peg retailers for the knight. Instead, bespoke service was provided by blacksmiths and armourers. There would be invention, personalisation, and even experimentation with regards to the knights' personal arms. There is no evidence of generally circulated pattern books, legislations, codes of practice for armourers to make shields to a prescribed model, or even for artisans to depict iconography in a regular fashion. No helm, weapon, or armour would be fashioned to an identical pattern for the resourced individual. Instead, variations both subtle and pronounced will have been fielded amongst European knights, with tastes and styles adopted to suit, influenced by the nature and effectiveness of the different nationalities, ethnicities, and their arms, until a greater degree of commonality was adopted, based on performance and fashion.
- 16.12.18 Dr Blackwell's comparisons were perhaps understandably referenced to the museum's collection of seals. Direct comparators were not available, ie., bell for bell. However, it was felt, considering the intricacy demonstrated on seals for knights and institutions the authors had referenced in *Appendix VIII*, Dr Blackwell's expectation of 'armorial approximation' was only supported if perhaps a shield of complex design was depicted upon a seal as a lesser component within a larger device, and that approximation was corroborated as such by contemporary record.
- 16.12.19 Considering the *shield* bell design had met Dr Blackwell's expectation for a 16th century armorial, the authors sourced a better equivalent comparator, a confirmed early 16th

century armorial for a commendator of the approximately the same status at William Kennedy, installed into a nearby Scottish abbey.

16.12.20 The comparison of the arms upon the *shield* bell made with an armorial (1523-1539) presented as a carved stone plaque within the nearby Dryburgh Abbey, belonging to the abbey's commendator, James Stewart (*see figure 63*) was striking by its disparity. Although the plaque was larger than the *shield* bell presentation, there was little to compare the design on the *shield* bell to James Stewart's armorial. Whereas Stewart's armorial was certainly contemporary to the 16th century, the *shield* bell's arms, fashioned in bronze (the easier medium to craft) was represented crudely without the



Figure 63:

Meeting Expectation: Late 15th/early 16th century armorial comparison to the Shield bell Arms

On the left is an armorial carved in stone, wall mounted in Dryburgh Abbey, Roxburghshire belonging to James Stewart, the abbey's commendator (1523-1539). This style of armorial presentation is repeated time and time again on document and object in the 15th and 16th centuries. **Centre**, is the armorial cast onto one of the Holywood bronze bells, *supposedly* representing William Kennedy, commendator of Holywood Abbey (1524-1540). There is nothing to compare the two stylistically, and certainly no reason to suspect the two devices are contemporaneous to one another. Considering the armorial on the 12th century pattern Holywood bell displaying three *Latin long crosses* is not a match for Kennedy's arms, displaying three *cross-crosslets fitchy* (**shown left**, dated 1445), with his initials absent, (the second letter on the bell engraving is a conjoined 'L' and 'R') it is certain the armorial on the bell was incorrectly attributed to William Kennedy by James Barbour (1898), *The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland* (1920), and *National Museums Scotland* (2021).

expected heraldic accoutrements. There was little to compare the two or assign the two designs as contemporary to each other. Thus, it was felt Dr Blackwell's support for a date of 1524-1540 (William Kennedy's tenure) for the *shield* bell, considering the necessary errant 'Kennedy' armorial elements and design, initials, and the bell's 12th century pattern had little virtue, with observation neither evidenced nor informed.

16.12.21 In summary, Dr Blackwell offered; *'In short, I can't see anything that doesn't fit with a later medieval, probably early 16th-century, date and certainly I think you're very far awry with proposing such an early date and a Templar connection.* However, in terms of the decoration on the *inscribed* bell, the authors could report with confidence, within the twelve-month trawl through volume after volume of early 20th century bell reference (those that contain photographic record), not a single 16th or late 15th century decorated bell shared the same resemblance of decoration to the Holywood *inscribed* bell or *shield* bell. In fact, even disregarding the existence of a 12th century sponsor on the bells, or

the 12th century pattern of the *shield* bell, *nothing* on the bells, ie., the letterform, decoration, nor inscription presented the bells as ‘*probably early 16th century*.’

16.13 The Academics’ Critique: Summary

- 16.13.1 In review, there was consensus from the beta readers of an explicit defence of the ‘accepted view’, confirming the academics’ refusal to consider any evidence presented by two non-academics that challenged the existing record. In the academics’ wilful rejection of the study’s investigation, they had presented unsupportable opposition, countering in some instances with falsity. They presented, within their expertise, church bells, while their answers clearly displayed ignorance of bell archaeology and epigraphy, and arguments that fundamentally disagreed with their peers’ writings and research.
- 16.13.2 The authors responded directly to the specialist academics’ reviews, where it was felt they missed important aspects of the study. In each case their opinions were carefully considered and challenged where appropriate in the cause of challenge, not to alienate their engagement. Regrettably, they did not respond to the counter, which was disappointing considering their opinions, both valid and facile, would be incorporated in the consideration of the deductions the study had reached, and so they would be judged alongside the study in conclusion.
- 16.13.3 Dr Blackwell and Professor Nicholson, whilst discounting the merit in the study, dismissing challenge to the ‘accepted view’, had also unfortunately discounted all scholarly reference used by the study in reconsidering Barbour’s hypothesis. Thus, to agree with the academics’ opinion, Barbour’s comprehension of the bells’ elements was correct, was to discount all scholarly research used to form the study’s conclusion; contradictory research and publication not available to James Barbour in 1898, when he formed his own conclusion.
- 16.13.4 Disagreeing with, or challenging aspects of the study’s deduction, is helpful critique if it led to a more informed understanding of the bell’s age and the sponsor’s identity. However, rather than critique the study’s dismantlement of the existing view, and proffering a more considered case, the academics had discounted the study, only attempting to reinforce the existing view with blatantly biased observation and unsupportable counter. Since they had not refuted the study’s conclusion with any convincing argument and had resorted to indefensible contradiction, they perversely indicated the study’s conclusion had greater value than they were prepared to admit to.
- 16.13.5 It had been presented as critical, to have academia consider the study, so the bells’ value as historical artefact could be re-examined and redefined by institutional record and re-presented to the public. Academia was presented as key holders of past-history, their members directing recognised history-keeping institutions. The study had identified the Holywood bells as potentially the oldest provenanced Christian bells in the world. The oldest and only material remnants of Scotland’s Templar history; unique provenanced

artefacts of a Templar convent, donated by a master of Templars. The study may err, but the learned beta-read agreed it had merit enough to warrant proper and prudent consideration by academia, rather than negligent dismissal with unsupportable and inaccurate opinion.

- 16.13.6 Without robust scholarly dismantlement of the study's conclusion, support would have been better offered by the academics in due prudence, in the aim of further consideration and potential protection of a unique site, for want of prior scholarly consideration, had been left misunderstood. Instead, the academics heedlessly defended any challenge to '*the traditional*' or '*accepted view*' which is in fact merely ill-considered antiquarian supposition perversely maintained as '*the academic view*', and in the case of the bells of Holywood and their sponsor presented erroneously, wilfully, and even deceitfully to the public.
- 16.13.7 Disappointingly, the academics' responses joined other misrepresentations by history academics in the aim of discounting the study and reinforced the repeated incidences of anecdotal scorn presented to the authors by genealogists, archaeologists, historians, professionals, and bell historians working with history academics. It confirmed the often-aberrant condition and integrity of academic discipline within the humanities; a ubiquitous orthodoxy that would prevent an unprejudiced academic critique of a study made by non-academics, auditing historical record; a perverse, deliberately contrary stance, even in the face of evidence, regardless of the consequences. Regrettably, this made the employment of such academics as expert witness, unreliable. This significant constraint along with academic's deferment and their debasement of independent historians as witness, would mean the study would not receive proper consideration from academia, or those institutions compromised by academic involvement. This condition would be further explored by the study's authors in a separate exercise (*Hidden in Plain Sight; Unmasking Scotland's First Knights Templar*); made in attempt to obtain a fair critique of the study, only to confirm academic adherence to conceit over truth, the very antithesis of *historica* and the perceived discipline of the humanities.

Authors' Commentary

17.0 *Mystery and a Masonic Connection*

Before this study, there have been only two surveys of the bells of Holywood; that of the 1898 report to DGNHAS by James Barbour, and the inspection which is contained within the RCAHMS record for Dumfries in 1920. However, in view of the findings in the 2021 investigation, it is questionable whether-or-not either of the two previous parties wanted, or were competent enough, to properly consider the bells. It is unfortunate institutional historians, monumental inspectorate,²⁸⁴ and public record have made their judgments generally on Barbour's flawed report, with only Premonstratensian history declaring Reverend Johnston's information sound enough to form the basis of their own history.²⁸⁵

The authors are very familiar with history. They are not lost to the huge interest it generates, particularly regarding the historically derived celebrity, the fall and rise of empires, and the actions and calamities they perpetrate. However, in 2019 they were alien to the concept of bell-lore, its niche interest, and the lack of quantifiable study and data. Still, they found it hard to accept so little attention had been given to the Holywood bells, despite their original reports of great antiquity in a nation awash with amateur historians and the fervour, particularly amongst ecclesiastics, for Church history. Strange, that with strong vocal dissent in *this* century shouting, not all was right with the official record, that the bells were not judged far more significant than the Church of Scotland's assessment. Strange, that in a hundred years, questions were not raised by those who worshipped under, worked with, and rang the bells, perhaps the existing record might err.

The authors admit, there were times during and after the study, especially at times of incredulity in their find, academia's bizarre denial, and the apparent oversight of those who had reviewed the evidence on the bells, and the unbelievable levels of incompetence demonstrated with regards to the archaeology of the site, that there was perhaps a conspiracy to keep the bells secret. Those who helped in the beginning of the investigation; those who enthused the study with their own infectious interest, disappeared. The Premonstratensians, for example, who had been very keen to be involved in the enquiry, suddenly stopped responding. Was the study uncovering something their own sanitized history was remiss in reporting? Had the authors brought Premonstratensian history into disrepute with suggestions of complicity with the Templars? Was the establishment of three Premonstratensian houses in southern Scotland more to do with economics and a relationship with the Templars and their enthusiastic patronage by David I, Earl Henry and the Master of the Templars in Scotland, William Masculus, rather than spiritual enlightenment and reform. Were the Premonstratensians, rising in the same period as Templars, filled with ex-soldiers and

²⁸⁴ Despite reservation in the RCAHMS report regarding Barbour's reporting a 'L' rather than the existing 'I' and name 'Weich' being observed by RCAHMS rather than 'Welch,' the inspectorate never questioned Barbour's dating which by implication would have been incorrect.

²⁸⁵ Backmund, N. (2017), *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, and the *White Canons of St Norbet*; a History of the Premonstratensian Order in the British Isles and America, Berlin: De Gruyter.

crusaders, fundamentally linked with the Templars and Templar cause? Fanciful thinking, maybe, but when stumbling upon a find of such significance, within an environment of error, there is hope the historical record is formed by the omission of evidence rather than deliberate misinformation.

Notwithstanding the fact history of the early Templars across Europe is lacking, as evidence on the *inscribed* bell was uncovered, pointing to a Templar connection, it became increasingly difficult to accept William le Riche and his bells should remain hidden for so long. It was clear a great deal of artefacts had been removed from the site; abbots' seals, manuscripts, stone carvings, and found archaeology. It seemed improbable therefore, no one would have suspected the truth of the site, with rare, valuable, and telling artefacts in their sight or possession. There was rumour of a Templar connection, with perhaps substantiation, found and lost.

The authors, already reticent about their find, determined to hold to fact not fiction, tried to avoid speculation and plunge into the lore of Templar mystique. But the immense discovery and Templar connection was impossible to ignore, regardless of the well documented debunking by many scholars. So, cautiously, and sceptically, the authors considered the idea the bells were deliberately hidden by agents of the Templars—the *Freemasons*.

It was Barbour's professional connection with work on *Dumfries Masonic Lodge* which proffered the possibility Barbour was potentially a Freemason; his architectural mentor, *Walter Newall* certainly was. It was hard to imagine a Victorian Scottish architect would not have been a Freemason in his own right, considering the size and importance of the Masonic establishment in Dumfries in the 18th to the 20th centuries, particularly for leading businessmen. Freemasonry was the prerequisite of construction professionals in the North; a fraternity of influential contacts relying on guild association to bolster their status and therefore their business. According to *Wolfe*, it was already certain Barbour had the inside track to build up his practice; '*James was able to attract clients and patronage from the landward estates, the county Council of Dumfries, Town Councils throughout the South West and from the Business community. He gained the remarkable, perhaps unique, reputation for the contract price of work to be within the estimate of cost which he had placed before his clients.*'²⁸⁶ We cannot say how much of Barbour's success was given by way of Freemasonry contacts, if he indeed was a Freemason, but it is hard not to speculate during an age when Freemasonry was popular amongst ambitious working men, free of academic qualification, born without social rank, often without great merit in their occupation, advantage was bought with association not acumen. The influence of the Masons in the North was indisputable, and the doors it opened were wide and profitable for those who donned the apron.

²⁸⁶ Wolfe A., (1996), *James Barbour, architect, civil engineer and archaeologist*, DGNHAS Third series vol. LXXI, pp 139-158

It was surprising the *crossed bones* and *mason* stones, taken from the old abbey church, preserved, and built into the fabric of the new church, were not recorded, and inspected by visiting archaeologists and historians from the late Sixties. Perhaps they were not pointed out as they examined the church and site. Perhaps they dismissed them as reused grave markers. However, more surprising was Barbour's failure to better consider the bells on his inspection. Barbour declared of the *shield* bell; '*...its elongated shape gives the bell a quaint and ancient appearance.*' Yet he failed to conclude the obvious; the bell was far more ancient than his 16th century supposition. What is equally surprising is the misattribution of the shield armorial by Barbour. He misquoted Kennedy's armorial, so perhaps it was not surprising he misread the design on the *shield* bell, the initials 'VK' being read because his full appreciation of the 'K' form in medieval epigraphy was errant. Perhaps it was a genuine mistake, perhaps it was deliberate misdirection. RCAHMS in 1920 repeated Barbour's identification without properly considering it for themselves, even though in their inspection they referenced Kennedy's armorial correctly.

It is understandable a certain degree of contrivance is made to decipher often cryptic and incomplete medieval Latin inscriptions, but Barbour seems to ignore much of the *inscribed* bell's legend, only reporting those observations which made his hypothesis work, reporting *John Welch* as the abbot on the bell, deliberately misreporting the actual condition of the third letter in the abbot's surname. It is unknown if once Barbour read the date, the abbot's name followed, or *vice versa*, so a convenient fit could be made. It would have been more acceptable to simply report the truth without contrivance and offer up his supposition within the facts as he found them.

Whereas one could read Barbour's report as a viable, best-hypothesis observation of the bells, perhaps in difficult viewing conditions, all without the benefit of 21st century access to global reference, it was still a mystery considering Barbour's significant legend as an esteemed Scottish architect, amateur archaeologist, lay ecclesiastical, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and Vice-President of DGNHAS.

It was perhaps understandable Barbour doubted Reverend Johnston's report, and in many ways, he had good cause. How was it possible to completely lose an abbey, yet preserve its original bells for nearly nine hundred years? Perhaps, it was as unthinkable then as it is today two such ancient bells, symbols of religious governance over the land, and a testament to Scotland's early Templars could survive in a region with three hundred years of brutal Border conflict, the depredations of time, nature and weather, and a highly destructive period of religious reformation. Yet, Barbour, as an archaeologist, must have been wise to the fact in a country with a plethora of ancient artefact yet to be uncovered, and ancient churches with a multitude of undatable bronze bells, the bells could simply be one of many undiscovered bronze relics surviving the ravages of time and circumstance.

It was considered by the authors, Barbour, who already had professional, commercial relationships with the prime Holywood landowners, knew what and who he was investigating on the bells of Holywood, and so offered a plausible alternative legend to hide the bells' true sponsor; William le Riche, a fellow freemason, and with it the potential of the site's connection within a Masonic context. Fanciful supposition perhaps—but brought forward in this report to lessen disbelief in the apparent shortcomings of Barbour's inspection, and reason for his deliberate misreporting.

Conversely, following an appraisal of Barbour's other reports for DGNHAS, it may be Barbour offered his best 19th century-derived analysis in this instance. There was no evidence found to corroborate the idea Barbour would deliberately mislead the antiquarian society. Instead, it was found Barbour simply pursued his own-derived hypothesis, ignoring anything on the bells that challenged it, and so got it wrong.

The Templar preceptory of *Lincluden Abbey* was consecrated in 1925. The *Templar Association of Scotland* took the name after *Lincluden Collegiate Church*, and although they cite the history of the collegiate church on their website without any former Templar connection whatsoever, it is peculiar they should have established their preceptory to a site which may have been rumoured a former Templar site.²⁸⁷ The authors did not contact the association regarding the circumstances of their naming due to reasons given in 2.5.3, but also because they did not want to embroil themselves in fanciful association based on folklore, for ultimately the study was generated on the bells, and it was only the bells origins that mattered.

Then there are the stone plaques, quickly dismissed by some historians as reused 18th century grave markers, but instead adorned a chapel, funerary isle or perhaps a monument within the old church. One plaque, displaying crossed bones and an hourglass, holds iconography repeated time and again on Scottish grave monuments and markers dating from the 17th century. But was the plaque a continuation of that trend, or the inspiration for it? The original church closed in the mid-18th century. The authors consider the plaques predate the 18th century by some margin, long before it appears common practice to include hourglasses and crossed bones on monumental gravestones. The plaques are pre-reformation, ie., pre 16th century, supporting the condition burials inside churches were generally, but not exclusively, prohibited after the Reformation. We therefore can deem the 'crossed bones plaque as a far earlier representation of the Christian ideal in death, harking back to 13th century symbolism associated with the crusades and the cult of Jesus and the Essenes.²⁸⁸

The exquisitely carved masons' plaque may be a memorial to a notable medieval builder, a brother architect, master builder, or a society of lay builders tied to a religious community fostering artisan and building skills. Whatever it is; it is a tangible link to a

²⁸⁷ (Beswick 2009), Beswick, G. (2009). *The Preceptory of Lincluden Abbey*, lincludenabbey.webs.com

²⁸⁸ It is supposed it is not until the 13th century that Christians adopted the crossed bones to symbolise death; *Memento mori*, 'What you are, we once were. What you are, you will be.'

medieval practicing masonic establishment in a Templar inspired church, and so perhaps reason enough to cite a freemasonry connection.

Freemasonry aside, there was still the great mystery—the absence of evidence of the abbey’s history. Certainly, all medieval abbey histories are imperfect, yet the bells sat over an abbey whose history felt *expunged*. Even the 18th and 19th century landowners seemed to want all its existence removed from site, as if it was a discomfiture on the land to be obliterated. As if removing the signpost above ground would lessen the curiosity of what lay underneath, in the extensive and numerous vaults and tunnels. What archaeology was found on site, particularly under James Barbour’s nose, failed to be properly documented. Artefacts exhumed were handed on but not properly recorded, and the abbey’s stone was removed and lost, leaving a meagre unrecognisable piece of abbey stone in the local museum as the only visible proof of the abbey’s existence. There were, however, two stone plaques saved from the original abbey, hidden in plain sight, saved from archaeologist and pilfering eyes, only because they were mistaken for unassuming, recycled grave markers. But even before the removal of the physical evidence, the abbey’s history did not exist, outside chance comment in the cartularies of other abbeys and papal correspondence. And of course, there was no mention of William le Riche’s association with the abbey, or even south-west Scotland, and considering his status as a principal in David I’s court, there was simply no evidence of his and his father’s role within the Scottish king’s administration. Why? Perhaps an absence of evidence is a reality considering the timeline, and all the history and record concerning Sacro Nemore’s founding years is simply lost, as is the case for many early medieval histories and Catholic institutions ravaged by war, greed, and religious reform.

There were other historical indicators the Holywood site had been rumoured associated with the Templars, as early in the investigation, a drawing held in Dumfries museum came to the attention of the authors. The drawing depicted the church as a nave of a Templar preceptory and hospital ([See Appendix VI](#)). The embellished sketch was based on an earlier watercolour made prior to the old abbey church’s demolition ([See Figure 4](#)). Although there are deficiencies in the creator’s legend, it demonstrates the site in the 19th century was rumoured to have Templar connections, despite there being no available historical works written in the period concluding it as such.

In consideration of the abbots’ seals which disappeared along with charters and manuscripts, it would not be surprising others, including 18th and 19th century ministers of Holywood had made a connection to the Templar Order, and so enlivened a rumour which resulted in the reconstructive drawing in [Appendix VI](#). What is certain, in the 19th century there were several medieval grave coverings reported as 13th century, including one depicting a calvary cross recorded by George Hutton, with tantalising links to crusader burials, even Templar ones. These stones have been long since removed without record, along with other stone removed from the site and artefacts lifted from

the ground by gravediggers. Perhaps they provided a reveal of Templar burial and therefore Templar association for the abbey.

It is difficult to grasp the Templar bells of Holywood have survived, undiscovered, simply through fortune, and perhaps it was the design of others, in the form of society and cult, that saved them. Regardless of such mysteries, it is the authors' conviction they were not the first to find them, only the first to see past the historian's artifice to discover them again.

18.0 Authors' Note

With the realisation the bells of Holywood were the oldest provenanced Christian church bells in the world, the bells and site with its interred stone from William le Riche's church presented consequence the authors had not envisaged; not in terms of age or historical significance, but in terms of value—the bells and the site were priceless, because they were unique Templar artefacts, deemed more valuable because of their connection to a celebrity history.

Understandably, any claim of two undiscovered 12th century Templar artefacts found alongside an unrecorded Templar master, within a completely purged early history of Scottish Templars, sitting over an undocumented Templar house; all free of any existing corroborative medieval document and contemporary history, would be met by with an understandable degree of incredulity. The discovery would have to overcome a litany of often speculative and spurious popular histories presented around Templar lore, created for public consumption; misunderstandings formed from condensed histories, concentrating on the legend of the Templars and not their formative years, sparse in detail.

Bringing the *inscribed* bell's legend into reconsideration is akin to finding a lost medieval charter, with revelation illuminating an area of history purged from record. It perhaps may seem strange, but there again not surprising nothing specific has been identified or recorded of Scotland's early Templars. With a virtual absence of 12th century Templar charter, and no contemporary chronicle, there has been little opportunity for focused scholarly attention on the subject.

It was the journey into understanding the bells' inscription that led to the world of William le Riche; his legend as a knight and his adopted religiously inspired title, declaring him an exemplar sanctified knight from his maturity until his death, while he sponsored a religious community as its spiritual lead for most of his adult life.

For all it was only a brief line of inscription that was the foundation of the discovery, the time taken to understand the nuances of the bell maker's engraving was considerable. Every deviation in the recognisable Lombardic characters was explored, the corruption and purpose of the design, and the interspatial relationship and placement of each element, all within the rules of medieval palaeographical and epigraphical understanding; assessed against a catalogue of comparative engraving.

The study could have not been completed without the munificence of the scholar who had presented their research to the public, so the authors could learn from it and employ it in the understanding of the artefacts under examination. Also, it was the assistance of agencies and specialists that supported the study while it considered each element, but perhaps it was the circumstance that allowed two people what many historians will never have; unrestricted access, focus and time to consider them. Time to revisit each

element of the artefacts and the legend around them, again and again until only one inarguable conclusion remained.

At the end of the exercise, the authors had sympathy with those who had little time to consider every element thoroughly, thus be able to make well-reasoned supposition, rather than offer superficial consideration which regrettably often forms the '*accepted view*'. Barbour and Raine were part constrained by time, their knowledge, and a lack of easy access to the subject they were contemplating. However, they still offered up contrivances better left unreported as ultimately it led to avoidable misinterpretation.

It is unfortunate the legend of the bells of Holywood were hidden by other instances of ill-considered antiquarian assumption and inaction. Academics and modern antiquarians seek to build history on the shoulders of other scholars, relying on the antiquarian's reputation, without necessarily auditing the quality of their suppositions. Of course, historical record is also problematic, and contemporary sources, when they are offered, are not necessarily verifiable regarding their accuracy. The study understood critical supposition is the foundation for considering tentative historical record, and replacing supposition with conflicting supposition is not necessarily a recipe for clarity. Just as the study dismantled the existing record to make a case, it was using other antiquarian reference to make it. Thus, the study was required to consider all historical and expert referencing, challenge hypothesis, and rely, not upon a few incidences of record, but a range of evidence and logic to make the case for the bells.

From the inscription, the journey on was another time-consuming exercise, particularly as there was little consolidated reference on either medieval bells, the nature of 12th century lower ranking secular clergy, nor the beginnings of the Templar caste in Scotland.

For all the time it took to explore each thread of the investigation, more time was taken trying to disprove it, as each conclusion was challenged, time and time again, until only a plausible explanation remained. Thus, the study's conclusion is not formed from a few incidences of circumstance, tentative association, or single incidences of supposition, but from a catalogue of critical thought built from a wealth of evidence supported by academic assistance, prior scholarly research, and logic. The study is the first time the bells have been competently assessed, with a resource few artefacts maintained outside museums or private collections benefit from.

With discovery, the authors and owners of the bells knew they would have to overcome the weight of public prejudice groomed by a litany of condensed Templar histories, and two hundred years of nationalistic opinion created around a period of Scottish medieval history with little contemporary record attached. Such preconception could only be challenged by the public's earnest consideration of the study's full report and understanding, together with the validity of its referencing, thus illuminating areas not normally published in general histories.

What did not support the study's conclusion was the academic historians' assessment of the investigation. The authors, and other critiquing professionals and historical agents, in agreement with the merit within the study, contradicted vehemently those critiquing history academics who found no merit whatsoever, either in the study, the authors' competence, nor the conclusion. Tellingly, academic critique was without any verifiable counter-opinion, delivered with contrary observation in denial of the evidence or the facts as presented by other scholars and contemporary record. So instead of offering a fair and learned assessment, they illustrated the time-worn flaw of the scholars' prejudice against any study carried outside their academic discipline.

There is a vast difference between critical opinion based on evidential consideration and the application of learning and experience in judgment, and a contrary opinion based on belligerence fueled by prejudicial viewpoint and dogma. The history academics, to their discredit, chose not to (or could not) dismantle the study's examination of Barbour's ill-considered palaeographical assessment, nor his ignorance of epigraphical contraction. They chose instead to offer ill-founded statement on bells and Templar society to dismiss the find and the authors, rather than engage with the potential such a discovery offered. They could have proffered assistance to develop the merit within the study, whilst maintaining any scepticism, challenging areas where the study may err. They could have sought involvement for their own advantage; participation in a historical reveal and the commercial benefit such a find would generate for the local community, Scotland and even themselves. Instead, they simply flagged up the reality the history academic's opinion will always likely be prejudicial and thus not considered reliable, unless of course they present opinion with evidence rather than reliance on their eminence, which regrettably as demonstrated within this report does not necessarily come with integrity.

With academic dismissal, the study and the significance of the bells and the site was deprived of scholarly backing, thus the authors were left to complete threads of inquiry, previously postponed in the first report, in order to bring a substantial historical find to the public's attention. In hindsight, that was an advantage, because it eliminated the partisanship of the academic who clearly saw our interference with the accepted view as threat to their tradition of building history on the shoulders of other historical works.

Without academic support, finding protection, if only as a matter of due prudence, would prove to be another journey as the authors continued their efforts to secure institutional consideration, so the find could be properly appreciated and protected. Instead, the authors were met with avoidance, deferment, apathy, and sympathy without support. Just as the research into the bells of Holywood was challenging, institutional acceptance for what they are was just as problematic, as the discovery was denied for no other reason than it was found outside academic research and in critique of academic accepted understanding and competence.

If the study was a purely scholarly exercise, then academic opinion would have been begrudgingly accepted by the authors, thus maintaining the status quo of the historical record, regardless of its veracity. But the investigation into the Holywood bells was not an intellectual exercise, but an unsolicited chore required to overcome serious constraints in turning an unremarkable, long neglected 18th century church into a home for its new owners and their family. Therefore, the matter could not be allowed to rest; permitting intransigence and vacillating debate to replace veracity and verdict, if for no other reason than to allow two people release from a historical preserve and so find a home, together.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Transcription of James Barbour's report to DGNHAS

Extract taken from; *Transactions of Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* Series 2 (vol XIV4) pp.97-101.

The Church Bells of Holywood and Kirkmahoe, and the Church and Municipal Bells of Lochmaben. Part 1

By Mr James Barbour (15th April, 1898)

In Dumfriesshire and Galloway, as in nearly every district of Scotland, bell-lore has been neglected, and whether few or many ancient or otherwise interesting bells exist is hardly known. There is danger that valuable material may be lost through delay in promoting appreciation of the subject. In this connection the case of New abbey may be mentioned. A short time ago a small bell occupied a cleft over the lichgate of the Abbey. The cleft is now vacant; what has become of the bell? Clergymen are generally alive to the desirableness of preserving the old bells of their churches, and it is to be hoped they will endeavour to contribute information to this Society regarding them to be put on record. In a former communication some account was given of the bells belonging to the town of Dumfries. In the present paper it is proposed to notice those of the adjacent parishes of Holywood, Kirkmahoe, and Lochmaben. Some of these are pre- Reformation bells, others are modern. Of the latter class are the present bell of Kirkmahoe Church and the municipal bell of Lochmaben. The others, consisting of two in Holywood and Lochmaben Churches respectively, belong to the former class; and, besides, these two old bells, now lost, were in use formerly in the church of Kirkmahoe, as evidence to be submitted will show. Before proceeding to deal with the bells singly I will refer to those of mediaeval origin in group, and it will be of advantage to include the two Dumfries bells of the class, one of which, it will be remembered, is extant, but not in use, while the other continues in use in the church, after being recast twice and enlarged, the original inscription being always preserved. Thus we have in evidence no less than eight mediaeval bells in the four parishes, and the first circumstance in connection with them calling for remark relates to their distribution. Invariably the churches had two bells. How far this was the rule in Scotland I do not know, but a number of ancient churches exhibit double bell-cotes, such as Crossraguel and Jedburgh Abbeys and Rosslyn Chapel, showing that it obtained widely.

In A Book about Bells, by the Rev. Geo. S. Tyack, just published, referring to England generally, it is said—"The inventories of Church goods compiled during the reign of Edward VI prove that three bells at least were the rule even in small parish churches. Two are sometimes found, but scarcely anywhere was there one only." In the border county of Cumberland, it was different. That two bells obtained in the churches there, is expressly spoken to by the late Rev. Mr Whitehead, vicar of Lanercost. Referring to the inventories of Church goods before mentioned, he says few Cumberland churches had in 1552 either more or less than two bells. Cumberland and this part of Dumfriesshire therefore show a common practice, and the rule probably prevailed widely in Scotland. Regarding the constitution of the pairs of bells, I have not observed any reference in the books and papers I perused, and it is fortunate that in the absence of information those of Holywood and Lochmaben remain to illustrate the principles involved.

A definite method is exhibited in securing the tuning of the bells to accord one with the other. In each case the bells are equal in weight and in the thickness of the metal. It is the shape apparently which accounts for the variation of the notes given out. One bell is long-waisted; the other is short in the waist. Illustration is also afforded of the practice of inscribing and otherwise marking the bells of this period. Inscribing appears to have prevailed, as only one blank occurs in the group under notice and being one of a pair the inscriptions on its companion may have been intended to apply to both. The inscriptions in three instances include dates; in three instances they show that the bells were donated and who the donors were, and in a like number of cases the dedication is indicated. The Carliel bell of Dumfries bears the stamp of the founder together with his name, which, however, remains undeciphered. John Adam, whose name encircles one of the Lochmaben bells, stands out in connection with the bells under notice as the solitary ascertained representative of the medieval bell founder.

Before leaving this part of the subject, reference may appropriately be made to an interesting chapter in the *Book of Lincluden* showing the manner of ringing the bells. It was granted by the Provost and Chapter of the Collegiate Church in favour of Cuthbert Kar of certain lands, "To bold," as it is expressed, "of the said Mr Cuthbert Kar, his heirs and assignees, in few ferme, heritably, of the granters and their successors, for the yearly rent of 6s 8d, payable to them ; and also 10s yearly to the prebendars or chaplains of the said church at the two usual terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions, for causing the bell to be rung nightly about the eighth hour, for the space of one quarter of an hour, or thereby, vulgarly called ' the aucht houris bell,' in all time coming, with three strokes at the end, so that between each stroke there may be said a Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Credo in Deum, for the souls of all and sundry predecessors, founders, and all others dead and living."

Hollywood Bells.

These originally belonged to the ancient Abbey of Hollywood, the chancel of which remained standing in the south-east corner of the present churchyard, serving as the Parish Church until 1788, when it was taken down to furnish material for the erection of the existing fabric. The Riddle MS. contains a drawing of it, and an engraving appears in Cardonell's *Antiquities of Scotland*. A double belfry is represented surmounting the east gable, and supporting the bells, one in each bay. After transference to the new building, if tradition is to be relied on, the bells, with the then belfry surmounting the church tower, were wrecked during a storm. For a long time, they have occupied the present bell-chamber, one being used as the call bell for summoning the congregation, the other, sometimes called the " dead bell," is rung at funerals.

The former is a short-waisted bell measuring 17½ inches in diameter at the mouth and 10 at the shoulder, 14 inches in height, and 1¼ inch thick at the sound-bow; estimated weight, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lbs; note, A flat; a good bell of ordinary design, and inscribed round the shoulder. The latter bell is long-waisted, and measures 16½ inches in diameter at the mouth and 10 at the shoulder, 15 inches in height, and 1¼ inch thick at the sound-bow; estimated weight, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lbs.; note, C; the design is peculiar, showing an assemblage of five broad, flat, rounded beads under the shoulder and three similar beads over the sound-bow, which, with its elongated shape, gives the bell a quaint and ancient appearance ; under the shoulder beading is a shield flanked with initial letters

The inscription on one bell and the shield and flanking letters on the other are, in relation to their history, of the first importance. Drawings of these, supplied by Dr Claperton, of Lochmaben, without description, however, appear in the Riddle MS, but as there represented the inscription is imperfect and the forms of the letters are not given with reliable accuracy. The earliest mention of the bells is contained in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1791, where it is said — "The present church has two fine bells taken out of the old building, one of which, by an inscription and date on it, appears to have been consecrated by the Abbot John Wrich in the year 1154." This is the reading which has been accepted for upwards of a hundred years. From the first, however, it seems to have been felt to be unsatisfactory, as in an appendix to the Statistical Account it is suggested with reference to the Abbot's name, Wrich, that it might be a corruption of Wright. The date also cannot readily be accepted, considering that the oldest dated bell known to exist in England is marked 1296. In proceeding to decipher the inscription the first stage was to ascertain whether any part of it had become broken or obliterated. It was found to be perfect. The letters may be described as late Lombardic capitals, and the words are separated by spaces, but without punctuation. The inscription, which is prefixed by a Maltese cross, extends quite round the bell, and for want of space probably some of the words are much contracted. To such contractions and peculiarities which some of the letters exhibit is due any difficulties in ascertaining the meaning of the inscription. Of the Abbot's surname the second letter is peculiar, being small old English, and the difference of character as compared with the other letters interfere with a ready recognition of its meaning. It is a well-formed and distinct enough "e". The third letter at first sight appears to resemble the initial "I," but on closer examination it is found to differ in being a little longer, and in having a cleft top. Other peculiarities occurring in the formation of the letters do not raise any difficulty. The inscription runs — + I WELCH ABBAS SACr[iNEM0Re] ME FIERI FECIT A D [mILLESIMO] QUi[n]ge[ntesim]o V. (I. Welch Abbot of Holywood caused me to be made in the year of Our Lord [One thousand] Five Hundred and Five.)

The shield and flanking letters on the long-waisted bell I at first thought might be the bell-founders stamp and initials of his name, but after more mature consideration a different conclusion was reached. The shield is charged with a chevron between three crosses fitchee, the Kennedy arms, and it seemed probable that the flanking letters V. K. might be the initials of William Kennedy. After search I found in the charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel, contained in the Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association's publication, mention of William Kennedy, who is described as Abbot of Crossraguel and perpetual commendator of the monastery of Holywood. He was elected Abbot of Crossraguel in 1520 and continued in office until his death in 1547. At what time he became commendator of Holywood is uncertain, but he held the office in 1527. This William Kennedy would appear to be the donor of the Holywood bell bearing his arms and initials.

These bells of Holywood, although not very ancient, are interesting in themselves and in their associations. The Welshes were a prominent Dumfriesshire family, of whom were the celebrated John Welsh of Ayr, and John Welsh of Irongray ; also Jane Welsh of Craigenputtock. Of William Kennedy the editor of the Crossraguel Charters says: — "He had spent it (his life) well in the service of his monastery, his country, his Sovereign, and his Church; and, in an age when the lives of all the Scottish prelates were not perhaps emblems of perfection, it is notable that not a breath of slander sullied the blameless life of William Kennedy."

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Councillor Lennox observed that in Dumfriesshire they were unfortunate in having practically no church antiquities. They had the Ruthwell Cross and a few bells, but these were all, and they might say, as had been said about Lochmaben, "There are no Christians in Dumfriesshire." It seemed as if the men had all been of the fighting strain. They had plenty castle remains and ancient earth works. There were plenty of bells in Kirkcudbrightshire, on the other side of the Border, and in Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, and Berwickshire, but in Dumfriesshire the church architect was extinct. It was important to have the little which remained brought to light, and he hoped Mr Barbour would add to his research and bring notices of other bells before them. (Applause.) He moved a vote of thanks to Mr Barbour.

Rev. Mr Andson, in seconding the motion, stated that they were much obliged to Mr Barbour for his paper, and the very curious information he had placed before them. It was to be hoped that Mr Barbour would give them the remainder of the information regarding other bells that had not been taken up that night.

The Chairman conveyed the Society's appreciation to Mr Barbour for his valuable contribution and asked him to prosecute the subject still further at his own convenience and favour the Society with more information.

Mr Barbour, in returning thanks, remarked that the subject was a large one, and the information regarding it was widely scattered. He would like to see many members of the Society engaged in the work, because otherwise it would not be adequately accomplished. Taking the whole of the bells of Dumfriesshire and Galloway, in all probability there would be a large number very interesting. He thought the clergymen of every parish might do much regarding the expiscation of this subject. He knew that there were many interesting bells in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, and, although some might be termed modern, they had their historical associations. In England this subject had been dealt with in a thorough manner, and many books and papers prepared on them. In the Cumberland and Westmorland Society during the past two years no less than twelve papers had been read on this subject. So far as he knew, only one district of Scotland had been taken up, and consequently he did not think the Society would be doing right to let this matter lie over.

Appendix II: RCAHMS Record

Extract taken from; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), Dumfries, 1920. Miscellaneous 285. Bells, Holywood Church, pp. 106-107

‘—Hung in the tower of the present parish church, and still in use, are two medieval bells inscribed:

1. *At top of waist, V [shield] k*

Diameter 16½ inches, height 15 inches. Note B.

2. ✠ I WEICH ABBAS SACR ME FIERI FECIT

ADQVIGE° V

Diameter 18 inches , height 13½ inches. Note A^b.

No.1 is somewhat beehive shaped, and a much clumsier and rougher casting than no 2. The surface is poor, the shoulder large in proportion to the waist and soundbow, the rims are coarse and flat, and above the soundbow there are three ridges with intermediate depressions like indeterminate mouldings. The crown is very high. The letters are large, coarse, and flat, and are immediately below a band of four large flat rims which run around the upper part of the waist, below the shoulder. The ‘V’ is 2 inches high, the ‘k’ 1¾ inches, and the shield about 2 inches. The latter is charged with a chevron between three cross-crosslets fitchy, being the arms of William Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel and commendator of Holywood about 1527.

No 2 is better cast and well proportioned, has rounded shoulders, two rims above and below inscription, three rims above and below soundbow. The lettering is small and clear, about ⅝ inch high, except the V, which is about 1 inch high. The initial cross is the same size as the lettering and is a plain cross patee. The letters are of the semi-Lombardic type, which was frequently used just when Roman lettering began to be introduced; but the “e” of “weich” is a small black-letter, and the “t” of “fecit” is more like a small Latin cross. The b’s in “abbas” are exactly like the Arabic numeral 3, the final V is like a large black-letter minuscule “v”. Apparently, the final group of letters stand for A. D, [M] QUINGE[NTESIM]O which with v gives the date 1505. SACR is for Sacri Nemoris, “Holy Wood.”

Welch or Welsh is a name closely connected with Holywood in various capacities, but it is not possible to identify this particular abbot, unless he is the John who, as abbot, preceded the above Kennedy, *c. 1522 (Bucc. MSS., p.70; trans Dumf. and Gall. Anitq. Soc., 1889).*’

Appendix III: The Heads of Holywood Abbey*

Holywood, AKA, Dercongal, Sancti Nemoris, Sacre Nemore, Sacri Nemoris, founded, date unknown. Thought to be Premonstratensian Order by 1225*

Abbots

Odo Ydone', mentioned in correspondence in 1225 (first mention of Holywood, 1235, Odo as *former* abbot of Dercongal Abbey, appears as a Premonstratensian canon* in contest for the seat of the Bishop of Galloway.²⁸⁹

Dungald, mentioned 1296

Walter, mentioned 1356 and 1372

William Adougan, mentioned in 1394 and 1415

Thomas Advuyl (Adunyl), mentioned 1432

Nicholas Welch, 1474 - 1491

John Douglas, 1485-1491

John MacCanish, 1490

John Welch, 1491 – 1517

John Maxwell, 1516 – 1523

Commendators

William Kennedy, 1524 - 1540

Thomas Campbell, 1548 - 1579

James Johnstone of Dunskeillie, 1580 - 1600

John Johnston of Castlemilk, 1600 - 1617

Thomas Forrester, 1617. Crown grant of benefice and abbacy for life when secular lordship redefined.

²⁸⁹ , Watt D. E. R. Watt (ed) and Shead N. F. (ed) (2001) *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from 12th to 16th centuries*, Scottish Record Society

Appendix IV: Shield Bell Armorial search

TABLE A

Below: Search by the College of Arms, from two unofficial reference works; Papworth's Ordinary of British Armorial (1878) and the Dictionary of British Arms (four vols, 1992-2012)

Re. Holywood Church Bell

'The crosses look like what are called 'long crosses' in heraldry: plain, but with an elongated lower limb. However, the lower limb could also be pointed (a plain cross 'fitchy') while the other limbs are possibly slightly splayed (described as 'formy' or 'paty'). In medieval heraldry the splaying of the limbs of crosses formy or paty could be extreme or, as here, barely discernible—or anywhere in between. Given these uncertainties, all I can do is provide a short list of possibilities on the basis of two unofficial reference works: Papworth's Ordinary of British Armorial (1878), which does not generally cite its sources, and the much more recent Dictionary of British Arms (four vols, 1992 to 2012), which does... This may get you slightly further towards identifying the reference of the arms on the bell. Only one of the following entries (the one relating to the Dudeiston of South House, is Scottish. It is a shame that none of the names in the list match up very clearly with the initials V RL or V LR. I am afraid I do not know enough about medieval church bells to know whether initials on a bell can be reliably taken to stand for the name of the donor, or the manufacturer, or may instead be an abbreviation of a prayer or pious injunction.'

Clive Cheesman MA PhD FAS, Richmond Herald College of Arms, London. 8th February 2021

Armorial	Bearer	Source	Initials V LR/RL existent in family line?	Notes
A chevron between three long crosses	Austin of Walpole in Norfolk	Papworth p 412	✕	No connection found with either the Scottish church, Dumfriesshire, or Holywood.
A chevron between three plain crosses fitchy	John Bosento of Aylesbury	DBA vol.2 p 321	✕	1426. No connection found. Date conflicts with known abbot of Holywood.
A chevron between three plain crosses fitchy	Robert Russell	DBA vol.2 p 321	✕	1502, citing a brass in the church at Strensham in Worcestershire... Conflicts with the known abbot of Holywood. No Scottish connection exists.
A chevron between three crosses formy fitchy	Findern(e)	DBA vol.2 p 325	✕	Association with Essex, Berkshire and Leicestershire. No connection with Scotland.
A chevron between three crosses formy fitchy	Brom(e)ha ll	DBA vol.2 p.325	✕	No connection found.
A chevron between three crosses formy fitchy	Dudeiston of Sowth-Houss.	DBA vol.2 p.325	✕	1542, citing the armorial of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount. A Scottish connection, but no credible link to the abbacy of Holywood, or Scottish Church
A chevron between three crosses formy fitchy	Pakenham	DBA vol.2 p.325	✕	On the basis of two 15 th century rolls of arms. (No credible links found with the Scottish Church)
A chevron between three crosses formy fitchy	Thomas Woderous	DBA vol.2 p.325	✕	Citing a 15th century English roll of arms. No Scottish connection.

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TABLE B

Historical Collections of Scottish, English, and Continental armorials accessed to identify the *shield bell* armorial. Most of the sources below are summarised within the *Mitchell Rolls* (courtesy of *The Heraldry Society of Scotland*)

SOURCE	From the collection of:	Date	Notes	No. of armorials presented	Special interest
Balliol Roll	Sir Anthony Wagner	1332	The earliest known collection of Scottish coats of arms, dating 1332-1340, containing 35 shield designs of Scottish noblemen arranged beneath King, Edward Balliol.	32	Shield bell armorial not represented (n/r)
Bruce Roll	College of Arms, London	1332	A collection of 30 coats of arms (some not attributed, or completed)	30	n/r
Armorial de Bellenville	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	1380		26	n/r
Armorial de Gelre	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	1385	Any early comprehensive Scottish record of armorials does not exist (not until the 16 th century), however, 42 coats of arms are included in this continental record, c1380, including 22 Scottish families	42	n/r
Armorial de la Toison d'or	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Paris	1440		60	n/r
Armorial de Berry	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	1450		127	<i>See Table C</i>
Scots Roll	British Museum, London	1455		114	n/r
Armorial de L'Europe			A later record c1425, including 57 Scottish coats of arms.		n/r
Book of English Heraldry	<i>Walters Ms. W.847.</i> (Digitized Manuscript)	1589	A manuscript of 509 hand drawn and painted armorials from William the Conqueror to Henry VIII	509	<i>See Table C</i>
Sir David Lindsay's Armorial	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh	1542		504	n/r
Hamilton Armorial	College of Arms, London	1560		82	n/r
Queen Mary's Roll	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh	1562		204	n/r
Forman's Roll	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh	1563	Collection held with the Advocate's library	258	n/r
Slains Armoria	Earl of Errol	1565		712	n/r
Forman-Workman's Roll	Lyon Office, Edinburgh	1566		931	n/r
King and Nobilities Arms I	Lyon Office, Edinburgh	1566		396	n/r
Hector le Berton's Armorial	College of Arms, London	1566		337	n/r
Lindsay of the Mount Secundus	Earl of Crawford and balcarres	1599	Painted representations of 282 armorials	285	n/r



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TABLE B (Continued)

SOURCE	From the collection of:	Date	Notes	No. of armorials presented	Special interest
Sunderland Hall Manuscript	C. H. Scott-Plummer	1590		72	n/r
Seton Armorial	Sir David Ogilvy	1591		422	n/r
Hague Roll	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hauge	1590-92		971	n/r
Lambeth Armorial	Archbishop of Canterbury	1595	Not accessed		
Dunvegan Armorial	Macleod of Macleod	1600			n/r
Kings and Nobilities Vol II	Lyon Office, Edinburgh	1638		111	n/r
Gentleman's Arms	Lyon Office, Edinburgh	1640	Not applicable		
Pont's Manuscript	Lyon Office, Edinburgh	1624	Not accessed		
Sir James Balfour's Manuscripts	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh	1630	Not accessed		
Porteus' Manuscript	Lyon Office, Edinburgh	1635		—	n/r
Nisbet's, A system of Heraldry	Alexander Nisbet (1722)	1722	The most comprehensive treatise on heraldry, listing every Scottish family <i>alive</i> at the time of publication.	2600	n/r
MacKenzie's Scotland's Heraldrie	Scotland's Heraldrie: The Science of heraldrie treated as a part of the Civil law and Law of Nations, (1680), George Mackensie of Rosenhaugh.	1680	The first treatise on heraldry written from a Scottish perspective	561	n/r

Table C

Below: Results of special interest found in reference material. Kennedy's coat of arms shows significant differences to the *shield* bell. The College of Arms created the armorial for commoner, Richard Riche in the 16th century and in its construction shows the basic form of chevron and cross (coincidence?).

Source	Notes	Special Interest
Armorial de Berry	Later continental (French) armorial record, C1445, incorporating 125 Scottish families)	 <p>A later continental (French) armorial record, an illustration of Kennedy of Blairquhan's arms, made around 1445 Kennedy of Blairquhan. (Argent, a chevron between crosslet-cross fitchy)</p>
Book of English Heraldry	A manuscript of 509 hand drawn and painted armorials from William the Conqueror to Henry VIII	<p>Richard Rich, 1st Baron Rich's coat of arms drawn 1547; gules, a chevron between three crosses crosslet, the origin and development of the armorial design is not recorded. The title was absorbed into the Earldom of Warwick in 1618, became extinct in 1759. The coat of arms differs from the modern interpretation for 'Rich' (see figure 41); gules, a chevron between three crosses botonée or. The similarity with the William le Riche's coat of arms cannot be discounted.</p> 

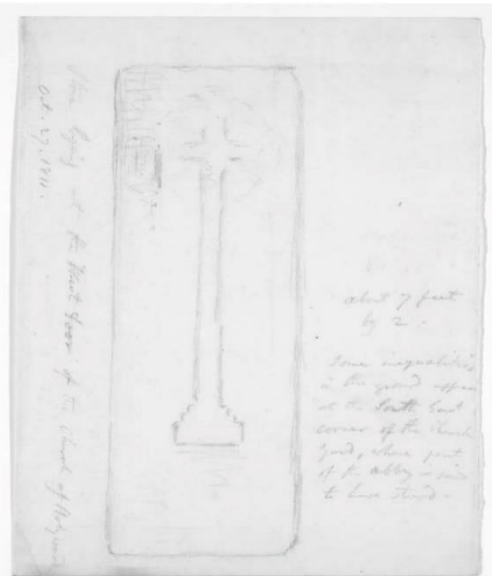
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Appendix VI: Holywood Abbey; Sketchbook



(Above and below); drawings made around 1811 of the inscribed and shield bell. (Upper Right); a sketch of a stone grave covering, previously lying near the west door of Holywood church (present whereabouts unknown).

(All from the Hutton Collection, courtesy of the National Collection of Scotland.)



F. I. W. P. I. C. H. A. B. B. A. Y. A. A.
G. R. M. C. F. I. E. R. I. F. E. C. I. T.
A. D. Q. V. I. C. C. I. D.

(Left); a 19th Century rendering, by artist unknown, of the inscribed bell's legend



(Above); sketch made of the abbey church, sixty-four years after it was demolished

(It reads); The Nave of the Preceptory and Hospital of Holywood, built in the 12th Century belonging to the Knight Templars. It was converted into a parish church at the Reformation but rebuilt in 1779. Also the Tomb of Joannes de Sacro Bosco, a famous writer and divine of the 15th century and abbot of this institution. John McCormick 1843

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Appendix V: Main Religious Houses in Scotland, 12th to 16th Centuries

House	Location	Order	Diocese	Earliest Potential Founding date	Confirmed date established
Aberdeen	New Aberdeen	Trinitarian	Aberdeen	1186	1273
Aberdeen	New Aberdeen	Trinitarian	Aberdeen	1186	1273
Aberdour (nunnery)	Fife	Franciscan	Dunkeld	1486	1486
Abroath	Angus	Tironensian	St Andrews	1178	1178
Ardchattan	Argyll	Valliscaulian	Argyl	1230	1230
Balanntrodoch	Midlothian	Templar	St Andrews	1128	1128
Balmerino	Fife	Cistercian	St Andrews	1227	1227
Beaully	Highland	Valliscaulian	Moray	1230	1230
Berwick on Tweed	South Berwick	Trinitarian	St Andrews	1240	1248
Berwick on Tweed (nunnery)	South Berwick	Cistercian	St Andrews	1153	1221
Blantyre	South Lanarkshire	Augustinian	Glasgow	1239	1248
Cambuskenneth	Stirling	Augustinian	St Andrews	1140	1140
Canonbie	Dumfries and Galloway	Augustinian	Glasgow	1165	1170
Coldingham	Berwickshire	Benedictine	St Andrews	?	1139
Colstream (nunnery)	Berwickshire	Cistercian	St Andrews	?	1166
Coupar Angus	Perth and Kinross	Cistercian	St Andrews	1161	1161
Crossraguel	South Ayresshire	Cluniac	Glasgow	1260	1269
Culross	Fife	Cistercian	St Andrews	1218	1218
Deer	Aberdeenshire	Cistercian	Aberdeen	1219	1219
Dryburgh	The Borders	Premonstratensian	St Andrews	1150	1150
Dundee (nunnery)	Angus	Franciscan	Brechin	1502	1502
Dundrennan	Dumfries and Galloway	Cistercian	Galloway	1142	1142
Dunfermline	Fife	Benedictine	St Andrews	1070	1070
Eccles (nunnery)	Berwickshire	Cistercian	St Andrews	1140	1159
Elcho (nunnery)	Perth and Kinross	Cistercian	St Andrews	1241	1241
Fail	Ayresshire	Trinitarian	Glasgow	?	1329
Fearn	Highland	Premonstratensian	Ross	1220	1239
Fogo	The Borders	Tironensian	St Andrews	1253	1297

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Main Religious Houses in Scotland, 12th to 16th Centuries (cont.)

House	Location	Order	Diocese	Earliest Potential Founding date	Confirmed date established
Fyvie	Aberdeenshire	Tironensian	Aberdeen	1285	1285
Gadvan	Fife	Cistercian	St Andrews	1475	1475
Glenluce	Dumfries and Galloway	Cistercian	Galloway	1192	1192
Haddington (nunnery)	East Lothian	Cistercian	St Andrews	?	1159
<i>Holm Cultram*</i>	<i>Cumbria</i>	<i>Cistercian</i>	<i>Carlisle</i>	<i>1150</i>	<i>1150</i>
Holyrood	Edinburgh	Augustinian	St Andrews	1128	1128
Holywood	Dumfries and Galloway	Premonstratensian?	Glasgow	1130	1225
Houston	East Lothian	Trinitarian	St Andrews	1270	1270
Inchaffray	Perth and Kinross	Augustinian	Dunblane	1200	1200
Inchcolm	Fife	Augustinian	St Andrews	1153	1153
Inchmahome	Stirling	Augustinian	Dunblane	1238	1238
Iona	Argyll and Bute	Benedictine	The Isles	?	1203
Iona (nunnery)	Argyll and Bute	Augustinian	The Isles	?	1208
Jedburgh	The Borders	Augustinian	Glasgow	1138	1138
Kelso	The Borders	Tironensian	St Andrews	1113	1127
Kilwinning	North Ayrshire	Tironensian	Glasgow	1162	1169
Kinloss	Moray	Cistercian	Moray	1151	1151
Lesmahagow	South Lanarkshire	Tironensian	Glasgow	1144	1144
Lincluden (nunnery)	Dumfries and Galloway	Benedictine	Glasgow	?	1174
Lindores	Fife	Tironensian	St Andrews	1190	1191
Loch Leven	Fife	Augustinian	St Andrews	1150	1150
Manuel (nunnery)	West Lothian	Cistercian	St Andrews	?	1164
May	Fife	Benedictine	St Andrews	?	1153
Melrose	The Borders	Cistercian	Glasgow	1136	1136
Monymusk	Aberdeenshire	Augustinian	Aberdeen	?	1245

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Main Religious Houses in Scotland, 12th to 16th Centuries (cont.)

House	Location	Order	Diocese	Earliest Potential Founding date	Confirmed date established
Newbattle	Midlothian	Cistercian	St Andrews	1140	1140
North Berwick (nunnery)	East Lothian	Cistercian	St Andrews	1150	1150
Oronsay	Argyll	Augustinian	The Isles	?	1353
Paisley	Renfrewshire	Cluniac	Glasgow	1163	1163
Peebles	Tweeddale	Trinitarian	Glasgow	1448	1448
Perth Charterhouse	Perth and Kinross	Carthusian	St Andrews	1429	1429
Perth St Leonards (nunnery)	Perth and Kinross	Augustinian	St Andrews	1201	1299
Pluscarden	Moray	Valliscaulian	Moray	1230	1230
Restenneth	Angus	Augustinian	St Andrews	?	1153
Saddell	Argyll and Bute	Cistercian	Argyl	?	1207
North Berwick (nunnery)	East Lothian	Cistercian	St Andrews	1150	1150
Oronsay	Argyll	Augustinian	The Isles	?	1353
Paisley	Renfrewshire	Cluniac	Glasgow	1163	1163
Peebles	Tweeddale	Trinitarian	Glasgow	1448	1448
Perth Charterhouse	Perth and Kinross	Carthusian	St Andrews	1429	1429
Perth St Leonards (nunnery)	Perth and Kinross	Augustinian	St Andrews	1201	1299
Pluscarden	Moray	Valliscaulian	Moray	1230	1230
Restenneth	Angus	Augustinian	St Andrews	?	1153
Saddell	Argyll and Bute	Cistercian	Argyl	?	1207
Sciennes (nunnery)	Edinburgh	Dominican	St Andrews	1517	1517
Scone	Perth and Kinross	Augustinian	St Andrews	1120	1120
Scotlandwell	Fife	Trinitarian	St Andrews	1251	1251
Soulseat	Dumfries and Galloway	Premonstratensian	Galloway	?	1161
St Andrews	Fife	Augustinian	St Andrews	1144	1144

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Main Religious Houses in Scotland, 12th to 16th Centuries (cont.)

House	Location	Order	Diocese	Earliest Potential Founding date	Confirmed date established
St Bothans (nunnery)	Berwickshire	Cistercian	St Andrews	?	1296
St Mary's Isle	Dumfries and Galloway	Augustinian	Galloway	1173	1173
Strathfillan	Stirling	Augustinian	Dunkeld	1318	1318
Sweetheart	Dumfries and Galloway	Cistercian	Glasgow	1273	1273
Tongland	Dumfries and Galloway	Premonstratensian	Galloway	1218	1218
Torphichen	West Lothian	Knights Hospitaller	St Andrews	1140	1140
Urquhart	Moray	Benedictine	Moray	1136	1136
Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	Premonstratensian	Galloway	1154	1161

Appendix VII: Bell Appraisal Matrix – ‘Rule of Expectation’

A - The inscribed bell

	Bell Element	Comments	‘Traditional View’ (Appraiser - James Barbour)	2001 Study Review (Appraiser - Huitson-and team)
1	Bell Shape	Dating bell design in general terms (ie. expected post 12 th century)	Accepted	Noted and considered
2	General letterform	Correct identification of Lombardic-type subset.	Incorrect identification as a ‘late’ Lombardic subset.	Noted and appraised against letterform register as ‘early’ Lombardic subset
3	General Letterform	Dated Form	Inconsistent with 16 th century epigraphical inscription	Consistent with pre 13 th century epigraphical models
4	Cross-pattée	Cross pattee starting inscription	Noted	Noted
5	I	Lombardic Capital ‘I’	Assumed to be contracted Latin form ‘Ioannes’ (John)	Assumed to be early form Christogram IHΣΟΥΣ (Greek: Jesus)
6	W	Lombardic capital ‘W’	Noted	Assessed as contraction for ‘William’
7	W	Forked serif present on ‘W’	Ignored	Considered
8	e	Gothic style ‘e’	Noted	Noted
9	e	Anomalous location of gothic miniscule ‘e’ within Lombardic Script	Ignored	Considered
10	I	Lombard letter ‘I,’ confirmed by repeat use on inscription	Misread as L	Noted
11	C	Lombardic Capital ‘C’	Noted	Noted
12	h	Lombardic Capital ‘H’	Noted	Noted
13	ABBAS	Common Latin (Greek ecclesiastical) term for Father, or Abbot	Noted	Noted
14	SACR	Common Latin contraction for ‘Sacred’	Noted	Noted
15	String line markers	Use of symbols on string line above ‘SACR’	Ignored	Noted
16	ME	Bespoke character tile ‘NEMORE’	Ignored	Noted and appraised
17	FIERI		Noted	Noted
18	FECIT	Relevance of cross form T ending word	Ignored	Considered

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INSCRIPTION (continued) ↓				
19	A	Lombardic Letter 'A' common use medieval Latin contraction for 'Annus'(year)	Noted and applied	Noted and applied
20	D	Lombardic Letter 'D' common use medieval Latin contraction for 'Dominus' (lord/master)	Noted and applied (Domini)	Noted and applied (Dominus)
21	A	Absence of superscript 'O' to indicate 'Anno', expected for epigraphical year date paradigm	Ignored	Noted and considered
22	D	Absence of superscript 'I' or 'NI' to indicate 'Domini', expected for epigraphical year date paradigm	Ignored	Noted and considered
23	M	1000 nominal 'Mill°' or M° element does not present on bell	M (Millesimo) incorporated to construct date (1505) hypothesis	No evidence on bell to indicate any omission
24	Q	Lombardic Letter 'Q'	Noted and applied	Considered
25	N	Inclusion of 'N' (influenced by possible abbreviator Above 'I')	Letter N assumed to construct (1505) date hypothesis	Abbreviator above I fully considered against other possible number constructs, relation to similar placed marks and common epigraphical number abbreviation.
26	Expected number contraction	QUIGE° offering untidy and unexpected contraction for an ordinal number on medieval epigraphy	Ignored	Considered
27	QVIGE°	Consideration of all possible number contractions for Latin ordinal numbers	Ignored possible number constructs (ie., 50 and 20-fold)	Fully considered
28	IJ	Letter tile containing two vertical strokes ending outside the inscription band	Misread as Roman numeral V (five)	Read as numeral II (two)
29	Abbreviation used	Consideration of use of extreme sigla and epigraphical abbreviation rather than palaeographic abbreviation	Ignored	Appraised
30	Consideration of previous reports	Consideration against original appraisal in <i>Statistical Account of Scotland</i>	Discounted	Considered
31	Relation with shield bell	Relation relevant to construction, dating and placement with <i>shield</i> bell	Ignored	Considered
		Elements ignored, misread, or assumed	19/31	2/31
		Margin of potential error	61%	6%

Appendix VII: Bell Appraisal

B - The shield bell

	Bell Element	Comments	Appraiser - James Barbour	Appraiser - Huitson-(and team)
1	Bell Shape	Long waisted design expected on pre-1200 bell forms	Noted and considered (and subsequently ignored)	Noted and considered
2	Manufacture	Site Cast	Ignored	Noted and considered
3	General letterform	Lombardic Type, <i>expected</i> on western church bells pre-dating late-14 th century	Ignored	Noted and considered
4	Shield design	Shield design of three long crosses chevron	Mis-identified	Noted and considered, assumption made
5	Shield shape	Square 'Od French' shape	Not considered as vital to dating	Not considered vital to dating
6	V	Lombardic Capital 'V'	Assumed to be Name beginning V or W Latin form	Assumed to be Name beginning V or W Latin form
7	Letter form	Figure 'K'	Misidentified as Lombardic Capital K	Assessed by College of Arms as a conjoined Lombardic capital 'L' and 'R'
8	Relation with inscribed bell	Relation relevant to construction, dating and placement with <i>inscribed</i> bell	Ignored	Considered
		Elements ignored, misread, or assumed	6/8	1/8
		Margin of potential error	75%	13%

Appendix VIII, Part I: Investigation into shield shape – The mirror exercise

It was evident the shield engraving, created directly on a *false bell*, prior to casting was asymmetric, indicating error in alignment and disposition.

A mirror depiction using both the right half (B) and left half (C) of the shield image were digitally created to better understand the shape the bell maker perhaps intended to create.

Close examination, revealed the left hand side of the shield was distorted, both by the shade created by the camera angle and the bell maker during application. The left edge of the shield where the chevron intersects was grossly different from the right edge. It was clear the intended track of the left-hand side of the shield distorts and 'kicks-out' (A) where it meets the chevron, indicating the profile of the shield shape is better viewed as the shape represented in B, but with the bottom edge better represented by the image shown in C, ie the shield closely resembles what is known in modern nomenclature as a *square*, "old French" style or perhaps an *Iberian style* shield. depicted in medieval art from the later part of the 12th century.



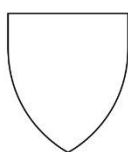
"Kite" style - circa 12th/13th century



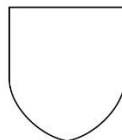
"Norman" style - circa 13th century



"Heater" style - circa 13/14th century



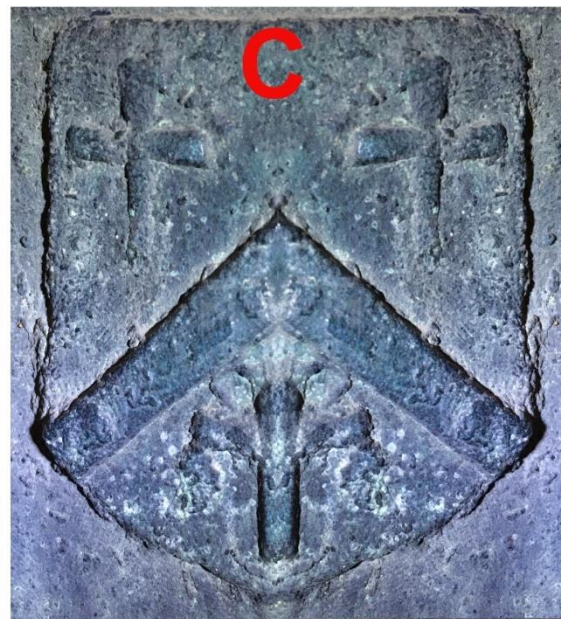
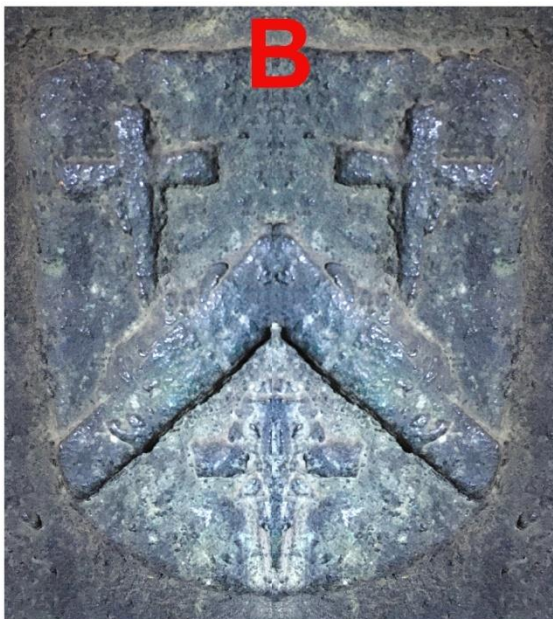
Square ("Old French") style



"Iberian" style



"French" style - 16th/17th century



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Appendix VIII, Part 2: Investigation into shield shape – comparison to Ecclesiastical seals



1. The seal of the Chapter of Dunkeld, c. 13th century #



2. Signet seal of Joan Beaufort, wife of James I, 1425 *



3. Seal of James Stewart, commendator of Melrose and Kelso Abbeys -1535-1557 *



4. Seal of Paisley Abbey, 1520 #



5. Matrix of the cocket seal of Dumfermline, 1312-20 *



6. The seal of Balmerino Abbey, 1530 #



7. Later seal of Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh, 1550 #



8. Seal of Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1512 #



9. Seal of John Balfour, Bishop of Brechin, 1476 #



10. Common seal of Dunbar, 1453 #



11. Seal of Hugues V, Duke de Bourgogne, 1313



12. Seal of Dumfermline, 1306-29

Walter de Gray Birch (1907) *History of Scottish Seals*
 * The National Museum of Scotland

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Appendix VIII, Part 3: Investigation into shield shape – comparison to royal seals



A comparison of shield-shapes, as depicted on Scottish royal seals, with the shield on the Holywood bell. The seal illustrations are presumed to be a fair indicator of Scottish military fashion and artistic retro-interpretation.

Due to the limited number of seals, and the absence of 13th and 12th century examples, the exercise is very subjective. From the sample shown, however, no demonstrable shield-shape development prevails, indicating shield-shape was as taste dictates, and subject to artistic depiction rather than accurate realisation and development. As such the 'Holywood' shield could be from any century depicted in the seals above.

(Illustrations taken, in the main from; William de Gray Birch's 1905 work; History of Scottish Seals: The Royal Seals of Scotland.)

*The seal of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Douglas and Bothwell, 'the Grim' who has connection with Lincluden nunnery, two miles from Holywood Abbey.

Appendix VIII, Part 4: Investigation into shield shape – the Iberian shield



An early 13th century depiction of variation in shield-shape, from an illuminated manuscript, Castille, Spain. The figures carry typical Spanish shields from the mid-12th to mid-13th century. The triangular 'heater' style shield, uncommon in Spain at this time, differs by having a much squarer profile with a more rounded base. The Spanish knights who carried these 'broad' shields, participated within the armies of the 12th century Crusades.

It is included in the report as a demonstration in the variation of development of the familiar 11th century kite shield, carried by European armies before the more familiar heater shape sees dominance in both Spain and Europe by the end of the 13th century (ref. Wise T, (1978) *Armies of the Crusades*, Osprey).

Without absolute understanding of the development of shield-shape in Scotland after the migration of Norman, Flemish, and French knights, it is impossible to include, or exclude the shield-shape from the 12th century, particularly if its shape was influenced by the multi-national armies of the Crusades.



GA Embleton (1978)

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Appendix IX: The charters. Table A: William Masculus (William le Riche)

Ref.	Name as written on charter	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 3/389/2	<i>Willelmus masculus de foules</i>	William Maule of Fowlis	Grantor	n/a	Between March 1165 and April 1170 (probably before 1166)	Gift of chapel of Fowlis Easter (Angus) with 10 acres to St Andrews Cathedral Priory	William Masculus confirmed as living c1166, offering his territorial title and legal identifier not his abbot's rank.	St Andrews Liber, 264-5
(POMS) 3/389/1	<i>Willelmus masculus de foules</i>	William Maule	Grantor	n/a	Between 1160 and 1184 (probably before 1180)	Gift of church of Fowlis Easter (Angus), with lands, teinds and common pasture.	Despite the family relationship confirmed between Richard, Thomas and William, the nephews title is not confirmed. Michael, is cited without any familial relationship with the grantor or beneficiary, thus no familial relationship can be presumed.	St Andrews Liber, 40-1
	<i>Michael masculo</i>	Michael Maule;	Witness	thirteen out of fourteen				
	<i>Ricardo nepote meo</i>	Richard Maule, nephew of William	Witness	Last				
	<i>Thome nepoti meo (Thomas Masculus)</i>	Thomas Maule	Beneficiary	n/a				
(POMS) 1/6/273	<i>Willelmi Masculi</i>	William Maule	Grantor (posthumous)	n/a	1189 - 1194	Gift of Fowlis Easter (Angus) and two tofts. King William in confirmation of the gift of King Malcolm to William Masculus	William deceased sometime before 1189	RRS, ii, no. 302
(POMS) 1/6/309	<i>Willelmi Masculi</i>	William Maule	Grantor (posthumous)	n/a	1189 -1195	Gift of Fowlis Easter (Angus).		RRS, ii, no. 338
(POMS) 3/417/2	<i>Willelmi masculi antecessoris mei</i>	William Maule, my antecesor	Former grantor	n/a	1189-1198	Renewal of church of Fowlis Easter (Angus).	Thomas the 'Cleric', nephew of William le Riche.	St Andrews. Lib., 41-2
	Rogerus de mortimer	Roger de Mortimer	Grantor	n/a				
	<i>Thome nepoti Willelmi masculi</i>	Thomas the cleric, nepos of William Maule	Beneficiary	n/a				

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Appendix IX (cont.): The charters. Table A (cont.): William Masculus (William le Riche)

Ref.	Name as written on charter	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 1/6/273	Willelmo Masculo	William Maule	Previous landowner	n/a	1189 - 1194	Gift of Fowlis Easter (Angus) and two tofts.		RRS, ii, no. 302
	W'	William, king of Scots	Grantor	n/a				
	Rogero de Mortuo Mari	Roger Mortimer	Beneficiary	n/a				
(POMS) 3/389/3	Willemus Mascl's	William Maule	Grantor	n/a	Between 1189 and 1194	Confirmation of quitclaim of fishery of 'Redehou' (Berwick).		Kelso Liber, i, no. 55
(POMS) 3/389/4	Willemus Mascl's	William Maule	Grantor	n/a	Before 1194	Quitclaim of fishery of 'Redehou' and the fisheries between Orde and Blackwell (BWK) for the benefit of Kelso Abbey.	The charter cites; 'The monks received him [William], his wife and his heirs into their fraternity and made them partakers of every benefit of the church.	Kelso Liber, i, no. 63
(POMS) 3/389/5	Willemus Mascl's	William Maule	Grantor	n/a	Before 1189	Quitclaim of fishery of 'Redehou' and fisheries between Orde and Blackwell (BWK).	N/A	Kelso Liber, i, no. 62
(POMS) 3/389/6	Willemus Mascl's	William Maule	Grantor	n/a	Before 1189	Quitclaim of fishery of 'Redehou' (Berwick).	N/A	Kelso Liber, i, no. 63
(POMS) 1/7/146	Willelmi Masculi	William Maule	Grantor (posthumously)	n/a	1228	Gift of church of Fowlis Easter (Angus).	King Alexander II for St Andrews Priory renewing grants from various donators.	RRS, iii, no. 143

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Appendix IX (cont.): The charters. Table A (cont.): William Masculus (William le Riche)

Ref.	<i>Name as written on charter</i>	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 3/417/3	<i>Willelmo Masculo auo meo</i>	William Maule, my grandfather	Grantor (posthumously)	n/a	Late 1220s	Renewal of chapel of Fowlis Easter (Angus) with 10 acres and teinds of mill.	Hugh de Mortimer- grandson of William le Riche.	St Andrews Liber, 265-6
	Hugo de mortuo mari	Hugh de Mortimer	Grantor	n/a				
Durham Cathedral Archive: Specialia; 4.1.Spec.54	Cristiane de Maulle		Grantor (William Masculus) (posthumously)	n/a	c13th century	Grant by William Masculus, with the consent of his heirs, St Cuthbert of Holy Island of a toft in the village of Tweedmouth with six acres of land.	The attached seal impression carries the title Willelmus 'Masculi'. His daughter carries the title 'de Maulle' on charter verifying the two titles are not necessarily interchangeable.	

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Appendix IX (cont.): The charters. Table B: Roger Masculus (including Richard and Ralf Masculus)

Ref.	Name as written on charter	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 3/389/7	<i>Rogerus Masculus</i>	Roger Maule	Grantor	n/a	1185-1196	Gift of salt-pan in Colvend (Kirkcudbright) with a toft.	Colvend is within 20miles of the Abbey site and feasibly within the Holywood estates.	St Bees Registrum, no. 60
(POMS) 3/416/17	<i>Rad' masculo</i>	Ralph Maule	Witness	Seventh from fourteen	1188	Gift of chapel of Park on Leader and land of 'Milchside' in Melrose (Roxburgh).	No familial relationship cited between these individuals. This maybe a scribe's oversight. This charter was written the same time as the one following as both charters share the same witnesses given in the same order	Melrose Liber, i, no. 108
	<i>Ricardo masculo</i>	Richard Maule	Witness	eighth from fourteen				
	<i>Rogero masculo</i>	Roger Maule	Witness	Elventh from fourteen				
(POMS) 3/416/13	<i>Ricardo masc'lo;</i>	Richard Maule	Witness	Eighth from fourteen	1189	Concession of license to assart land of Blainslie (Roxburgh).	*It is only the <i>translation</i> that identifies Richard as William le Riche's nephew. **To accept <i>Rogero</i> and <i>Radulfo Masculo</i> are William le Riche's brothers, then this charter sees them both in their sixties.	Melrose Liber, i, no. 94
	<i>Rogero masculo**</i>	Roger Maule	Witness	Eleventh from fourteen				
	<i>Radulfo masc'lo**</i>	Ralph Maule	Witness	Seventh from fourteen				

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Appendix IX (cont.): The charters. Table B: Roger Masculus (cont) (including Richard and Ralf Masculus)

Ref.	<i>Name as written on charter</i>	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 3/416/11	Rog' masculo	Roger Maule	Witness	twelfth out thirteen	1170-1190	Gift of Eddleston (Peebleshire)	Richard de Moreville, Constable of the king of Scotland.	Glasgow Registrum, i, no. 45
	Ricardus de moreuil'	Richard de Moreville	Grantor					
(POMS) 3/389/7	Rogerus Masculus	Roger Maule	Grantor	n/a	1185-1200	Gift of salt-pan in Colvend (Kirkcudbright) with a toft to St Bees Priory	Roland (Lachlan), lord of Galloway - principal witness	St B. Reg., no. 60
(POMS) 3/28/9	Rogero Masculo	Roger Maule	Witness	Roger 7/11	1185-96	Gift of saltpan in Preston (Kirkcudbright)) with a toft in Preston and pasture		(St B. Reg., no. 62)

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Appendix IX (cont.): The charters. Table C: Ralf, Richard, Michael, and Thomas Masculus

Ref.	Name as written on charter	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 3/416/8	<i>Radulfo Masculo</i>	Ralph Maule	Witness	Ralph 4 th from 9	circa 1173	Confirmation of agreement between Dryburgh Abbey and St James Abbey concerning church of Bozeat.		Stringer, 'Dryburgh Abbey and Bozeat', IR 24, App., no. 3
(POMS) 3/389/11	<i>Thomas Masculus</i>	Thomas Maule, lord of Louchogou	Grantor	N/a	Mid-late 13th century?	Land given by Ralph Maule in Lochogov.	Principle witness - Willelmo de Sancto Claro (William de St Clair), Knight. Auus meus, translates to my father.	Newbattle Registrum, no. 33
	<i>Radulphus Masculus auus meus</i>	Ralph Maule my father/grandfather, former lord of 'Louchogov'	Grantor	N/a				
(POMS) 3/11/7	Radulphus Masculus	Ralph Maule	Grantor (deceased)	n/a	1210-1231	Gift of land in the territory of Lochogou and Confirmation of gift of Ralph Maule, and concession of common pasture.	Ralph Masculus, Lord of Lou'gov, cited in some genealogical works as brother to William Masculus. Raplh's existence is too late for this to be the case.	Newbattle. Reg., no. 32
	Newbattle Abbey		Beneficiary	n/a				
(POMS) 3/296/1	<i>Ric' Masculo</i>	Richard Maule, knight		fifth out of eight	1137-1266	Gift of full toft in Inchyra (PER) and an acre of land in far part of 'haluch'.		Scone Lib., no. 118

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Appendix IX (cont.): The charters. Table C (cont.): Ralf, Richard, Michael, and Thomas Masculus

Ref.	Name as written on charter	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 3/14/14	Ricardo Masculo	Richard Maule, knight	Relationship confirmation	n/a	1250 - 1256	Knights (militibus) of Alan Durward (d.1275) (Tenurial & lordship relationship).	Relationship with 'le riche' not confirmed	Aberdeen Registrum, ii, 273-5
(POMS) 3/389/1	<i>Willelmus masculus de foules</i>	William Maule	Grantor		1160-1194	William Masculus gifts church of Fowlis Easter (ANG), with lands, teinds and common pasture to his nephew, Thomas Masculus, Cleric.	Principal Witness - Walter, prior of St Andrews. Note the appearance of Michael Masculus. No family connection evidenced and only appearance on this existing charter... (friend rather than family?).	St Andrews. Lib., 40-1
	<i>Ricardo nepote meo</i>	Richard Maule, nepos to Willam Maule	Witness	Fourteenth out of fourteen				
	<i>michaele masculo</i>	Michael Maule	Witness	Thirteenth out of fourteen				
	<i>Thome nepoti meo</i>	Thomas, cleric, nepos of William Maule	Beneficiary					
(POMS) 3/389/11	<u>Thomas Masculus</u>	Thomas Maule, lord of 'Louchogov'	Renewal		Mid 13th C	Renewal of land in 'Louchogov' (Midlothian or Peebleshire).		Newbattle. Reg., no. 33)

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Appendix IX (cont.): The charters. Table D: 13th and 14th century decedents of William le Riche

Notes: Charters demonstrating the use of de Maule (and its variant spelling) on charter rather than *Masculus*.

Ref.	Name as written on charter	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 3/389/17	Willelmi de Maule patris mei	William Maule, lord of Panmure		n/a		Gift of lands of Benvie and Balruddery (ANG)		Panmure Reg., ii, 157-8
(POMS) 3/389/12	Willelmus de Maull	William Maule, lord of Panmure		n/a	1292	Concession of seventeen sacks of wool to be rendered to Geoffrey, burgess of Dundee		Panmure Reg., ii, 151-2)
(POMS) 4/26/20	Willelmum de Maule	William Maule		n/a	1280-1290	Gift of lands of Benvie and Balruddery (ANG)		Panmure Reg., ii, 154)
(POMS) 2/10/322	henr' maule	Henry Maule		n/a	1328			NRS, GD 190/2/1 (b)
(POMS) 1/54/115	Henrici de Maulea	Henry Maule, lord of Panmure		n/a		Inspection of charter of Henry de Maule, lord of Panmure of Carmyllie and other lands (ANG)		(RRS, vi, no. 106)
(POMS) 3/389/17	Henricus de Maul	Henry Maule, lord of Panmure	grantor	n/a	1312	Gift of lands of Benvie and Balruddery (ANG)		(Panmure Reg., ii, 157-8)
(POMS) 1/54/244	Walterus de Maulea	Walter Maule of Panmure	n/a		1359	Gift of Carnegie in the barony of Panmure (ANG)		RMS, i, App. 1, no. 133
(POMS) 3/389/10	Radulfus Maylle	Ralph Maule			1261	Ralph Maule has granted and quitclaimed to William de Mortimer all his land which he held from the said William in the territory of Fowlis [Easter]		(Panmure Reg., ii, 84-5)

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Appendix IX (cont.): The charters. Table E: Other relevant charters referenced, not connected to William le Riche

Notes: See main text of report for relevance

Ref.	Name as written on charter	Translated name	Role	Order of witness	Date of charter	Description	Witnesses, connections, and notes	Source
(POMS) 01/05/1951	Ricardo and Roberto	Richard, Brother of the Order of the Hospital of Jerusalem and Robert, brother of the Order of the Temple of Solomon.	Witnesses	Richard. Hospitaller and Robert, Templar feature last on a list of 22	1160	King Malcolm gives, grants and confirms, to St Andrews Priory, with his own additions, the goods and possessions which King David, Earl Henry, King Alexander and Bishop Robert gave and granted.	Both the Hospitaller and Templar feature below the presence of Walter, the clerk (20/22) and visitor; Thomas of London (18/22). However, without direct examination of charter, there is no way of confirming if the listing was deliberate.	RRS, i, no. 174
(POMS) 6/2/231	Lamb fiz Austyn de Nibreim	Lambin son of Austin of Newburn	Farmer, tenant of the Bishop of Fife		1296	Performance of fealty to Edward I, king of England	Austin has neither connection nor capacity to be the sponsor of Holywood Abbey	Instrumental Publica, pp. 147-8 (Ragman Roll)
(POMS) 2/107/1	Raan' Corbeht	Brother Raan[ulf?] Corbet, master of the House of the Temple in the land of the king of Scots	Grantor		1175-1199	Gift of toft in burgh of Glasgow (LAN) and a fishery on the Clyde	Charter exclusively concerns Templar holdings	Glasgow Registrum, i, no. 41
	Rogero	Brother Roger the Almoner	Witness	First of eleven				
	Alano	Brother Alan the preceptor	Witness	Second of eleven				

Appendix X: Appendices to the first Statistical Account of Scotland

No. 2.]

The Statistical Account.

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N. W. N. and N. E. and occupied a space of half a mile in length, and almost a quarter of a mile in breadth, along the fossie that served as a fence to the precincts on that side. *Lastly*, The seal of the monastery, impressions of which are still to be seen, appended to some old charters, had the following inscription: viz. *Sigillum Monasterii de Sacro Nemore*, which seems to indicate, that the *Nemus* or grove, from which the name of the monastery, and afterwards of the parish, took its rise, had been planted by the monks at the time of its foundation, or when it was a-building. And, as it was evidently intended, and perhaps formally consecrated, to shelter that sacred fabric and its ministers, from the sharpest and most stormy winds, it might very naturally be named the *Holy Wood*.

2d. To the article, *eminent men, natives of the parish*, should, in my humble opinion, be added:

"But the famous *Joannes de Sacro Bosco*, author of the treatise *De Sphæra*, written in barbarous Latin, several centuries ago, would seem, from his local name, to have been either a native of the parish, or perhaps abbot of the monastery." It is not improbable, that he was the John Wrich, or according to the old mode of spelling, Wricht, i. e. Wright, whose name, as the Doctor observes, is on one of the bells. Whatever may be in this, *Joannes de Sacro Bosco's* book, *De Sphæra*, was put into better language by Franco Butgersdicius, in the year 1626, and appointed to be taught in the schools of the seven provinces, by order of the States of that country.

After these words, in the Doctor's last paragraph, *higher than was ever known before or since*, should most certainly be added, "excepting the year 1740, when it rose in the Dumfries market to 3s. 4d. the stone, and continued at that price for 6 weeks running." Another exception probably
was

Appendix X1: Charles Martel—Karolus Masculus? Miles Christi?

Introduction

- xi.i The study, as it spread beyond bells and their sponsor, in the cause of understanding the motives of William le Riche's adoption of the title *Masculus* by persuasion from his mentors, tradition and environment, presented many coincidences, that although were interesting in their consideration, were without substantive evidence.
- xi.ii These curious intersecting occurrences of history, with concurrence relative to time, place, commonality, and purpose required further time to research, neither of which was available to the study. These untested issues and speculations, even if they may have supported the greater understanding of William le Riche, were omitted from the report, hopefully to be discussed and theorised in other works and research, which allowed greater discussion based around conjecture rather than evidence.
- xi.iii Some of these untested considerations were fostered by the authors increasingly encountering history built on an imperfect historical record and the often conflicted and unresolved theories of antiquarians in interpretation of ancient Latin scripts and motivations of those who authored them.

Translation of by-names: Masculus

- xi.iv Translation of historical characters' by-names is a particular problem. A prominent example within the study was the translation of *Masculus*. In its appearance as a cognomen throughout the medieval period, within 'modern' historical works no one had sought to construe its meaning in the medieval, or even classical Latin sense, instead they interpreted it in the modern sense, simply meaning *male*.
- xi.v Nineteenth century historian, James Raine presented with charters containing a variety of spellings for William *Maule* assumed a scribe misheard the name *Maule* being presented, and hearing *mâle* in French, transcribed it to a Latin interpretation of *male*—*Masculus*, disregarding its sense in literary terms as an epithet. Regrettably, this mistranslation became the benchmark, and so the mistranslation was passed on by successive historians onto other contemporaneous individuals carrying the same *Masculus* label.
- xi.vi Unchecked, mistranslation is included within successive historical works, to be further misunderstood until there is such a corruption of the original sense of the title, that it is beyond any recognition by the owner, or even the composer who crafted the by-name in respect, or even malice. It is akin to a game of *Chinese whispers*, except the outcome of the game is not so amusing for the originator. Ansfrid *Masculus* suffers a similar mis-transcribe; modern translation of *Domesday* presents his cognomen as 'Male', which has little relevance to the meaning of Ansfrid's name.
- xi.vii In the study, the authors attempted to draw connotation from the title *Masculus*, and although offered up argument for its use, could not be certain of its true meaning without explicit reference being broadcast in contemporary script, rather than concepts debated by ancient philosophers, or even discussed in general terms by medieval ecclesiastics.
- xi.viii In the end, the meaning of *Masculus* was not a vital element in identifying the sponsor of the bells, only that it offered confirmation William le Riche, with the title *Masculus*, was a religiously minded and spiritual focused member of the clerical establishment rather than the laity, and he was in association with a significant number of other like-minded individuals, like himself, knights.

The perils of Latin transcription

- xi.ix In the search of the occurrence of *Masculus* as a title within antiquarian writings carried out between AD 100 and 1200, it was in reference to palaeographic experts regarding the difficulties in deciphering ancient Latin texts that raised the issue, that often Latin words could only be recognised by the context in which they were used, as letters in certain script forms were easily confused, especially those with a similar construct used by an unclear or undisciplined hand.

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- xi.x Of course, this problem could be overcome with corroborative contemporary third-party sources, but this was not always available. It was suggested that it was commonplace for a scribe to misinterpret a word, and with the loss of the original script, the transcribed work became the source material. Complete with errors, the corrupted work transitioned through further interpretation into historical record. Further transcriptions added deviation and reinterpretation until the original script, if it ever was an accurate portrayal of events in the first place, was often so corrupted it was indecipherable from its first meaning.
- xi.xi While searching for the use of *Masculus* and its derivatives within early texts, seeking its origins in the medieval period, the study was advised to look for possible misinterpretation that may have been carried over to later transcriptions. This was particularly relevant in 7th and 8th century Merovingian script, as there are two forms of ‘r’, one of which is very pointed and has a descender, making this type of ‘r’ easily mistaken for a ‘s’.²⁹⁰

'r' (ŕ/ʀ) and 's' (ʃ) presented in Merovingian script

- xi.xii With Merovingian letterform construct, ‘r’ and ‘s’ being almost indiscernible, thus *masculus* (masculine) and *marculus* (‘small’ hammer in Ante-classical Latin) in Merovingian letterform could be easily confused, and thus mis-transcribed, particularly if it is presented outside a sentence to give the word context, or the scribe’s knowledge of the content of the script he was transcribing was lacking.
- xi.xiii The study’s palaeographic reference also warned of compartmentalising types of Latin, ie., dating Latin words as *Ante-classic*, *Classic*, *Late or Medieval Latin*, as the context of the script and the writer’s preference needed to be considered, eg., works of poetry and literature may use anachronistic forms of Latin if it suited.
- xi.xiv This issue provided both interesting possibilities and potential red herrings whenever Latin derivatives of the word *marculus* (hammer) was potentially proffered without clarity of meaning or use. Without audit, and with mistakes common and unchallenged, particularly with regards to ancient Latin translation, it led to investigation.
- xi.xv One such tentative coincidence, exposed in the consideration of the ancient origins of medieval knightly orders, Frankish tradition and influence of the title and meaning of *Masculus* to William le Riche, was the presentation of the name of *Charles Martel*, the architect of perhaps the first recorded Francian orders of Christian knights, involved in battle with Muslim forces in the 8th century. The modern French presentation of Charles Martel’s name is a direct translation of the Latinized version of his given name (first name), together with a nickname originally offered in Frankish, a west-Germanic language.
- xi.xvi The Latin interpretation of Charles Martel’s name (or Karl Martell in German) is presented as *Carolus Martellus* - *Charles ‘the hammer’*,²⁹¹ taken from the medieval Latin interpretation of his Frankish given name, *Karoli/Karla/Kerla*, together with his nickname, presented as *Martellus*, meaning ‘hammer’ with no surviving written Germanic text to confirm Martel’s nickname’s original form and figurative meaning.

Charles Martel

- xi.xvii With the term, ‘hammer’ being presented against an 8th century character, no doubt originally chronicled in Merovingian script, it was considered, as a possibility, that the original Latin presentation of Martel’s name may have been *Carolus Masculus*, which was mistranslated into *Carolus Marculus*, with later and alternative forms of Latin expression used by successive medieval chroniclers, finally resulting in *Carolus Martellus*.

²⁹⁰ (Marcos J. J. (2017) *Fonts for Latin Palaeography; Merovingian minuscule*, 5th edition)

²⁹¹ Rouile g. (1553) *Promptuari Iconum Insigniorum*

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- xi.xviii It was, at best, a very speculative hypothesis that should have been quickly discounted by the study, if not for the presentation of an ambiguous journey of Martel's name, formed through successive histories, and by probable default, successive assumption and misunderstanding.
- xi.xix The chronicle of St Denis,²⁹² written sometime between the 14th and 15th centuries attributes Martel's nickname to his defence of Christian territory from the Umayyad Caliphate, primarily at the Battle of Tours in 732. *'The Muslims planned to go to Tours in order to sack the St Martin church, the city and the whole land. Then came against them the glorious Charles in the forefront of his forces. He marched against his enemy and fought as fiercely as the wolf savages the deer [...]. After that, he was called Martel for the first time, because he also crushed all his enemies in battle like an iron hammer.'* The history is wildly inaccurate and jingoistic, but it gives an indication of the historians' attribution of Martel's nickname.
- xi.xx However, Martel's title 'Hammer' does not appear until around 875, one hundred and thirty years after his death, suggesting it may have not been granted within his lifetime but awarded post mortem by historians in respect of Martel's actions. Martel was in his forties at the Battle of Tours, he died in 741, and so it raises the question, what was he nicknamed in either regard or disdain by his contemporaries before that date? Considering the legend of the *de facto* ruler of the Franks in the 8th century, one can easily concur with his epithet, 'the hammer'. However, the title sits incongruously amongst his peer group and family's titles. Although all the early Carolingians up to Martel's grandson are recorded in *contemporary* sources without epithets, so it is possible Martel did not have a sobriquet until it was awarded via historian vogue after his death.²⁹³

Historians' nicknaming

- xi.xxi Martel's given name by his father Pepin of Herstal was the Frankish version of Charles or Karl.²⁹⁴ New to the family, the name Karl had no tradition, thus he did not require an epithet to differentiate him from another namesake family member.²⁹⁵ Unlike his son Pepin, born around 714, who was referred to in Latin as *Pippinus* or *Pippinidus*, translating as young Peppin or little Peppin in order to differentiate him from his grandfather who died in 714.
- xi.xxii Pepin's name in Latin translation probably give rise the corruption of his nickname by historians as 'Pepin the Short'. There is no way of knowing if Pepin was short; it is conjecture, a misinterpretation, or a mistranslation. He is called 'short' probably because of misattributed honorifics, not because of his stature.
- xi.xxiii This misrepresentation by historians litters the catalogue of the Carolingian kings; *Carolus Simplex* (898-922), *Simplex* meaning straightforward was corrupted to Charles the 'Simple', further abused by historians into *Carolus Hebes* (Charles 'the stupid'), *Carolus Stultus* (Charles 'the fatuous'), *Carolus Minor* (Charles 'the inferior'), and *Carolus Parvus* (Charles 'the small'). His father Louis, 'the stammerer.' The by-name of Charles II 'the bald' (823-877) is gifted by historians ironically because Charles II was in fact the opposite—a very hairy man indeed. His father Louis I 'the pious'. Although his seal carries the inscription *Karolus Magnus* (Charles the Great), Charles III 'the fat' (839-888) was a cruel nickname offered by *Annalista Saxo*, an anonymous 'Saxon Annalist', a 12th century historian chronicling German Kings of the Romans (741 – 1142). There is no confirmation if he was fat, but the name survived successive histories.

²⁹² *Grandes Chroniques de France (1270-1461)*

²⁹³ Schilp T. (ed), Ludwig U. (ed), (2008) *Nomen et Fraternitas* p 575-585. Berlin

²⁹⁴ Charles or Karl is derived from the Proto-Germanic name *Karlaz*, presented in Latin alphabet. Versions including *Karla*, and *Karoli* are cited as Frankish forms of the French presentation, Charles.

²⁹⁵ Schieffer R. (2006): *Die Karolinger* 4, p 35. Stuttgart

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xi.xxiv With the exception of Charlemagne, (Charles the Great) which maybe a *post mortem* award,²⁹⁶ who was in fact known contemporarily as *Carolus magnus rex* (Charles the great king),²⁹⁷ or *Karolus Imperator Augustus* (Emperor Charles Augustus) it appears Martel was one the few members of the Carolingian dynasty to escape a cruel epithet, and the only Carolingian leader to carry an inspirational warrior sobriquet.

xi.xxv As for Charles Martel, the 9th century Latin transcription of his name is not originally offered as *Martellus*, or *Malleus* meaning hammer, but *Tudites*, broadly meaning striker, thruster or hammerer, from the Latin *tūdes*, meaning hammer or mallet.²⁹⁸ It is not until a little later around 890,²⁹⁹ Martel's nickname is presented in the alternative Latin form *Martellus* alongside his name *Carolus Tudites*, as if it was a separate sobriquet. What puzzles is why historical texts basically present the same metaphor, interpreted into Latin as two different names, when in fact it is the same Frankish sobriquet presented in two Latin forms, neither being the Frankish presentation of his by-name but (hopefully) closely representing the metaphor of his nickname.

*'quo Pipini mortuo, filius ejus, Tudites dictus a mallesis, curam habit paltii.'*³⁰⁰

'When Pepin died, his son, 'the hammer' named from the 'hammerer', had charge of the palace.'

*'Filius Pipini fuit Karolus Tudites, que illi Martellum vocant, quod tirannos per totam Franciam emergentes contuderit.'*³⁰¹

'The son of Pepin was Charles 'The Hammerer', whom they call 'Hammer', because he defeated the tyrants who were emerging throughout France.'

*'Carolus verò Martellus seu tudes.'*³⁰²

'Charles 'the Hammer', or the Hammer,

*'Carolum Tutidem seu Martellum nominatum.'*³⁰³

'Called Charles 'the hammerer' or Hammer.'

*'Carolus tudes sive Martellus.'*³⁰⁴

Charles Hammer or Hammer.'

xi.xxvi Whereas it is common for script to offer different spellings and Latin forms of the same name, within separate documents, having two Latin presentations for the same metaphor alongside each other seems unusual.

xi.xxvii Martel's dual identity continues through successive histories until *Tudities* is dropped in favour of *Martellus*, which then forms the modern representation of his name, *Martel*.

²⁹⁶ Fried J (2016) *Charlemagne* p 4.

²⁹⁷ Barbero A. (2004) *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent* p 413

²⁹⁸ Lewis and Short (1879), defines *tūdes*, a noun meaning mallet (*malleos*) or hammer (*martellum*). *Tudites* is probably the verb form meaning 'to hammer, thrust or strike' thus, Martel's epithet may translate to 'hammerer', 'striker', or 'thruster'... however since *Tudites* is a Latin form of Martel's Frankish figurative nickname, rather than a literal translation (ie., Martel was not a hammer), there appears to be no differentiation in meaning, between *Tudites* and *Martellum*.

²⁹⁹ Levison, W. (ed) Krush B. (ed) (1920) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum VII: Vita Rigoberti episcopi Remensis*, pp 54-80. Hannover.

³⁰⁰ R. Niger Chr. I64.

³⁰¹ W. Malm, GR 1, p 68

³⁰² (1651) *Almagesti novi pars posterior tomi primi*, p iii

³⁰³ (HIGD. I 27 p. 280)

³⁰⁴ p 58 1656 *Thuani Enucleate Pars*

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- xi.xxviii Seeking out historians' discussion over the issue, there does not seem to be any consensus to why *Tudites* and *Martellus* should appear alongside each other in the same text as alternatives for Martel's name. Some historians have postulated Martel's nickname in the vernacular was translated into various Latin forms and eventually two of the Latin translations were brought together within a single document.³⁰⁵ This document was then transcribed again and again with various corruptions until one of the forms, *Tudites*, is disregarded,³⁰⁶ to be later translated into its modern French form of *Martel*.
- xi.xxix In further debate, suggestions were made that the scribe reasoned Martel's Latin name interpretation, *Tudites* required further explanation with perhaps a more recognisable Latin term or, as in xi.xxviii, two versions of Martel's Latinized name presented in different texts were brought together in one account because the chronicler was unfamiliar with the meaning of one of the Latin terms, or that the original text was mis-transcribed and two disparate names were originally presented.
- xi.xxx It was the last inference that gave rise to the author's inquiry that perhaps *Masculus* was originally presented, then mis-transcribed into *Marculus* due to the script's unclear Merovingian letterforms for 'r' and 's' and proximity to the term *tudites*. The awkward text then being copied, with later forms of *marculus*, ie., *malleolus* and *martellus* being employed in later histories without challenge to the problematic text.
- xi.xxxi It was debated even *Tudites*, the Latin interpretation of Martel's Frankish epithet, was unlikely to be a word perfect, exacting translation, nor was his byname likely to be properly understood from its original award. It may be a literal translation of an ironically awarded nickname, or even one that relates to his personal attributes and nature more than his martial prowess. The metaphor of 'the hammer' is a recurring Christian theme, presented in the bible (Judas Maccabeus) and ecclesiastic rhetoric. The metaphor of St Augustine (AD 354-430) as a 'hammer of God' occurs repeatedly in medieval writings, including those by Bernard de Clairvaux.³⁰⁷ It is applied to someone who affects change, not necessarily to someone who destroys his enemies. Thus, the true meaning of Martel's name would forever lie with the originator, not the transcriber.
- xi.xxxii It was considered, even if *masculus* was mis-translated into *marculus*, the tradition of the name would still prevail in successive Frankish leaders, but the opportunity for the title *Masculus* would not appear again until Ansfrid Mās (*Masculus*) around 1085, so the hypothesis of a mis-transcribe from *masculus* to *marculus* and the supposition Martel was originally named *Masculus* was abandoned, for lack of proof of succession.
- xi.xxxiii In a time of medieval observance of tradition and reverence towards martial and dutiful heroes, the classical masculine ideal, and the significant legend of Charles Martel still fresh in the memory of French/Norman nobility, it may be no surprise to find a 11th century confraternity of knights adopted a retrospective title that personified the founder of their kind. Who better to take inspiration from, than the father of France, the Francian empires, and the first recorded brotherhood of Christian knights? Who better to be their inspiration, within historical and religious endorsement than an ancient heroic Frankish leader; knight-exemplar named *Masculus*? Supposition—*Certainly*. Coincidence—*perhaps*.

Conclusion

- xi.xxxiv The exercise, although unsuccessful in determining the source of *Masculus* as a title, was a reminder to the authors that when there are no primary sources available, historians must resort to a variety of methods to understand and interpret the past. Historians over the generations build such narratives,

³⁰⁵ Breysig T. (1860) *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches*. pp 714-741. Leipzig

³⁰⁶ Nonn U. (1970) *Das Bild Karl Martells in den Lateinischen Quellen vornehmlich des 8. und 9 Jahrhunderts*. In: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 4, p 70-137.

³⁰⁷ Arbesmann R. (1945) *Traditio Vol 3: The Malleus Metaphor in Medieval Characterization*. Cambridge University Press

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relying on secondary sources, which are generally works written by other historians, based on their own research and supposition presented by available reference. That is, historians build successive works on the shoulders of other historians often-conjectural work. Historians are not time-travellers, super-literate Latin scholars, they are not particularly extraordinary thinkers, empathetic or infallible sages—they are prone to human weaknesses; error, conceit, prejudice, obstinance, neglect, and at times blind stupidity.

- xi.xxxv Fortunately, their errors in mistranslation and misunderstanding generally have little impact on the overall historical record and even less, if any, on the present. Challenging hypothesis with hypothesis is counter-productive, even if it is more considered, leads to nothing but unnecessary ambiguity.
- xi.xxxvi Thus, scholars tend to leave the record created on the back of successive historians unchallenged, as the ‘accepted view’. Mistaken they may be, but veracity, exactitude and historical chronicle are never compatible bedfellows.
- xi.xxxvii However, when error in the historians’ conjecture is observed via thorough research and inquiry that delves into, not just text and conjecture, but material evidence within the context of the period. When there is demonstrable and clear error in the record that surrounds a sensitive historical subject and artefact that impacts the present circumstances of people, it produces tangible and far-reaching consequences.
- xi.xxxviii Without the source material, the truth of Martel’s byname will always be open to translation. History only really upsets *Karla, son of Pepin* with an unrecognisable modern corruption of his esteemed given name. Unlike the case of Martel, the bells of Holywood, the source material, are presented and thus history is not open to interpretation. There is nothing to excuse the ‘accepted view’ if it is incompetently offered, hidden only by the orthodoxy of scholars and the mistakes and incompetence of their forebears, with little concern for the truth; positively detrimental to both the preservation of historical artefact and those that keep them.

Appendix XII: In Praise of the New Knighthood

(Liber ad milites Templi: De laude novae militiae)

The following, taken from a treatise written in the early 12th century by the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, on behalf of Hugh de Payens, one of the founders of the Knights Templar. It illustrates the complaint many prominent medieval ecclesiastics had with the shortcomings of the ‘worldly’ knight. This ‘worldly’ knight encompasses those who fight for their own benefit, their lord’s and for the church. Bernard’s complaint is perhaps directed, not at those knights that serve their lords, outside the church, but at those knights acting as secular clergy—secular canons. It must be understood that Bernard’s treatise was not new-invention, but a culmination of age-worn rhetoric between secular ‘worldly’ clergy and those living a purely spiritual life within holy orders.

In order to promote the benefits of this new breed of spiritually focused warrior, St Bernard uses the lack of classical masculine virtues to emphasise his point between the holy warrior and a worldly one, therefore it follows a ‘secular’ knight wishing to declare himself to the world as not ‘worldly’ may seek use the title *Masculus*, in the classical sense.

Prologue

TO HUGH, KNIGHT OF CHRIST AND MASTER OF CHRIST'S MILITIA: BERNARD, IN NAME ONLY,
ABBOT OF CLAIRVAUS, WISHES THAT HE MIGHT FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT

If I am not mistaken, my dear Hugh, you have asked me not once or twice, but three times to write a few words of exhortation for you and your comrades. You say that if I am not permitted to wield the lance, at least I might direct my pen against the tyrannical foe, and that this moral, rather than material support of mine will be of no small help to you. I have put you off now for quite some time, not that I disdain your request, but rather lest I be blamed for taking it lightly and hastily. I feared I might botch a task which could be better done by a more qualified hand, and which would perhaps remain, because of me, just as necessary and all the more difficult.

Having waited thus for quite some time to no purpose, I have now done what I could, lest my inability should be mistaken for unwillingness. It is for the reader to judge the result. If some perhaps find my work unsatisfactory or short of the mark, I shall be nonetheless content, since I have not failed to give you my best.

CHAPTER ONE: A WORD OF EXHORTATION FOR THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE

It seems that a new knighthood has recently appeared on the earth, and precisely in that part of it which the Orient from on high visited in the flesh. As he then troubled the princes of darkness in the strength of his mighty hand, so there he now wipes out their followers, the children of disbelief, scattering them by the hands of his mighty ones. Even now he brings about the redemption of his people raising up again a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David.

This is, I say, a new kind of knighthood and one unknown to the ages gone by. It ceaselessly wages a twofold war both against flesh and blood and against a spiritual army of evil in the heavens. When someone strongly resists a foe in the flesh, relying solely on the strength of the flesh, I would hardly remark it, since this is common enough. And when war is waged by spiritual strength against vices or demons, this, too, is nothing remarkable, praiseworthy as it is, for the world is full of monks. But when the one sees a man powerfully girding himself with both swords and nobly marking his belt, who would not consider it worthy of all wonder, the more so since it has been hitherto unknown? He is truly a fearless knight and secure on every side, for his soul is protected by the

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armour of faith just as his body is protected by armour of steel. He is thus doubly armed and need fear neither demons nor men. Not that he fears death--no, he desires it. Why should he fear to live or fear to die when for him to live is Christ, and to die is gain? Gladly and faithfully, he stands for Christ, but he would prefer to be dissolved and to be with Christ, by far the better thing.

Go forth confidently then you knights and repel the foes of the cross of Christ with a stalwart heart. Know that neither death nor life can separate you from the love of God, which is in Jesus Christ, and in every peril repeat, "Whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's." What a glory to return in victory from such a battle! How blessed to die there as a martyr! Rejoice, brave athlete, if you live and conquer in the Lord; but glory and exult even more if you die and join your Lord. Life indeed is a fruitful thing and victory is glorious, but a holy death is more important than either. If they are blessed who die in the Lord, how much more are they who die for the Lord!

To be sure, precious in the eyes of the Lord is the death of his holy ones, whether they die in battle or in bed, but death in battle is more precious as it is the more glorious. How secure is life when the conscience is unsullied! How secure, I say, is life when death is anticipated without fear; or rather when it is desired with feeling and embraced with reverence! How holy and secure this knighthood and how entirely free of the double risk run by those men who fight not for Christ! Whenever you go forth, O worldly warrior, you must fear lest the bodily death of your foe should mean your own spiritual death, or lest perhaps your body and soul together should be slain by him.

Indeed, danger or victory for a Christian depends on the dispositions of his heart and not on the fortunes of war. If he fights for a good reason, the issue of his fight can never be evil; and likewise, the results can never be considered good if the reason were evil and the intentions perverse. If you happen to be killed while you are seeking only to kill another, you die a murderer. If you succeed, and by your will to overcome and to conquer you perchance kill a man, you live a murderer. Now it will not do to be a murderer, living or dead, victorious, or vanquished. What an unhappy victory--to have conquered a man while yielding to vice, and to indulge in an empty glory at his fall when wrath and pride have gotten the better of you!

But what of those who kill neither in the heat of revenge nor in the swelling of pride, but simply to save themselves? Even this sort of victory I would not call good, since bodily death is really a lesser evil than spiritual death. The soul need not die when the body does. No, it is the soul which sins that shall die.

CHAPTER TWO: ON WORLDLY KNIGHTHOOD

What, then is the end or fruit of this worldly knighthood, or rather knavery, as I should call it? What if not the mortal sin of the victor and the eternal death of the vanquished? Well then, let me borrow a word from the Apostle and exhort him who plows, to plow in hope, and him who threshes, to do so in view of some fruit.

What then, O knights, is this monstrous error and what this unbearable urge which bids you fight with such pomp and labour, and all to no purpose except death and sin? **You cover your horses with silk and plume your armour with I know not what sort of rags; you paint your shields and your saddles; you adorn your bits and spurs with gold and silver and precious stones, and then in all this glory you rush to your ruin with fearful wrath and fearless folly. Are these the trappings of a warrior or are they not rather the trinkets of a woman? Do you think the swords of your foes will be turned back by your gold, spare your jewels or be unable to pierce your silks?**

As you yourselves have often certainly experienced, a warrior especially needs these three things--he must guard his person with strength, shrewdness, and care; he must be free in his movements, and he must be quick to draw his sword. Then **why do you blind yourselves with effeminate locks and trip yourselves up with long and full tunics, burying your tender, delicate hands in big cumbersome sleeves? Above all, there is that terrible insecurity of conscience, in spite of all your armour, since you have dared to undertake such a dangerous business on such slight and frivolous grounds.** What else is the cause of wars and the root of disputes among you, except unreasonable flashes of anger, the thirst for empty glory, or the hankering after some earthly possessions? It certainly is not safe to kill or to be killed for such causes as these.

CHAPTER THREE ON THE NEW KNIGHTHOOD

BUT THE KNIGHTS OF CHRIST may safely fight the battles of their Lord, fearing neither sin if they smite the enemy, nor danger at their own death; since to inflict death or to die for Christ is no sin, but rather, an abundant claim to glory. In the first case one gains for Christ, and in the second one gains Christ himself. The Lord freely accepts the death of the foe who has offended him, and yet more freely gives himself for the consolation of his fallen knight.

The knight of Christ, I say, may strike with confidence and die yet more confidently, for he serves Christ when he strikes, and serves himself when he falls. Neither does he bear the sword in vain, for he is God's minister, for the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of the good. If he kills an evildoer, he is not a mankiller, but, if I may so put it, a killer of evil. He is evidently the avenger of Christ towards evildoers, and he is rightly considered a defender of Christians. Should he be killed himself, we know that he has not perished, but has come safely into port. When he inflicts death, it is to Christ's profit, and when he suffers death, it is for his own gain. The Christian glories in the death of the pagan because Christ is glorified, while the death of the Christian gives occasion for the King to show his liberality in the rewarding of his knight. In the one case the just shall rejoice when he sees justice done, and in the other man shall say, truly there is a reward for the just; truly it is God who judges the earth.

I do not mean to say that the pagans are to be slaughtered when there is any other way to prevent them from harassing and persecuting the faithful, but only that it now seems better to destroy them than that the rod of sinners be lifted over the lot of the just, and the righteous perhaps put forth their hands unto iniquity.

What then? If it is never permissible for a Christian to strike with the sword, why did the Savior's precursor bid the soldiers to be content with their pay, and not rather forbid them to follow this calling? But if it is permitted to all those so destined by God, as is indeed the case provided, they have not embraced a higher calling, to whom, I ask, may it be allowed more rightly than to those whose hands and hearts hold for us Sion, the city of our strength?

Thus, when the transgressors of divine law have been expelled, the righteous nation that keeps the truth may enter in security. Certainly, it is proper that the nations who love war should be scattered, that those who trouble us should be cut off, and that all the workers of iniquity should be dispersed from the city of the Lord. They busy themselves to carry away the incalculable riches placed in Jerusalem by the Christian peoples, to profane the holy things and to possess the sanctuary of God as their heritage. Let both swords of the faithful fall upon the necks of the foe, in order to destroy every high thing exalting itself against the knowledge of God, which is the Christian faith, lest the Gentiles should then say, "Where is their God?"

6. Once they have been cast out, he shall return to his heritage and to his house, which aroused his anger in the Gospel, "Behold," he said, "your house is left to you desolate." He had complained through the Prophet: "I have left my house, I have forsaken my heritage," and he will fulfil that other prophecy: "The Lord has ransomed his people and delivered them. They shall come and exult on Mount Sion and rejoice in the good things of the Lord."

Rejoice Jerusalem and recognize now the time in which you are visited! Be glad and give praise together, wastes of Jerusalem, for the Lord has comforted his people. He has ransomed Jerusalem. The Lord has bared his holy arm in the sight of all peoples. O virgin of Israel, you were fallen and there was none to raise you up. Arise now and shake off the dust, O virgin, captive daughter of Sion. Arise, I say, and stand on high. See the happiness which comes to you from your God. You will no longer be referred to as the forsaken one, nor your land any more termed a wilderness; for the Lord takes his delight in you, and your land shall be peopled. Raise your eyes, look about you and see; all these are gathered together and come to you. Here is the help sent to you from the Holy One! Through them is already fulfilled the ancient promise, "I will make you the pride of the ages, a joy from generation to generation. You will suck the milk of the nations and be nourished at the breasts of their sovereignty." And again, "As a mother consoles her children, so will I console you, and in Jerusalem you will be comforted."

Do you not see how frequently these ancient witnesses foreshadowed the new knighthood? Truly, as we have heard, so we have now seen in the city of the Lord of armies. Of course, we must not let these literal fulfilments blind us to the spiritual meaning of the texts, for we must live in eternal hope in spite of such temporal realizations of prophetic utterances. Otherwise, the tangible would supplant the intangible, material poverty would threaten spiritual wealth and present possessions would forestall future fulfilment. Furthermore, the temporal glory of the earthly city does not eclipse the glory of its heavenly counterpart, but rather prepares for it, at least so long as we remember that the one is the figure of the other, and that it is the heavenly one which is our mother.

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CHAPTER FOUR: ON THE LIFE STYLE OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE

AND NOW AS A MODEL, or at least for the shame of those knights of ours who are fighting for the devil rather than for God, we will briefly set forth the life and virtues of these cavaliers of Christ. Let us see how they conduct themselves at home as well as in battle, how they appear in public, and in what way the knight of God differs from the knight of the world.

In the first place, discipline is in no way lacking and obedience is never despised. As Scripture testifies, the undisciplined son shall perish and rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, to refuse obedience is like the crime of idolatry. Therefore they come and go at the bidding of their superior. They wear what he gives them, and do not presume to wear or to eat anything from another source. Thus they shun every excess in clothing and food and content themselves with what is necessary. They live as brothers in joyful and sober company, without wives or children. So that their evangelical perfection will lack nothing, they dwell united in one family with no personal property whatever, careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. You may say that the whole multitude has but one heart and one soul to the point that nobody follows his own will, but rather seeks to follow the commander.

They never sit in idleness or wander about aimlessly, but on the rare occasions when they are not on duty, they are always careful to earn their bread by repairing their worn armor and torn clothing, or simply by setting things to order. For the rest, they are guided by the common needs and by the orders of their master.

There is no distinction of persons among them, and deference is shown to merit rather than to noble blood. They rival one another in mutual consideration, and they carry one another's burdens, thus fulfilling the law of Christ. No inappropriate word, idle deed, unrestrained laugh, not even the slightest whisper or murmur is left uncorrected once it has been detected. They forswear dice and chess and abhor the chase; they take no delight in the ridiculous cruelty of falconry, as is the custom. As for jesters, magicians, bards, troubadours, and jousts, they despise and reject them as so many vanities and unsound deceptions. **Their hair is worn short, in conformity with the Apostle's saying, that it is shameful for a man to cultivate flowing locks. Indeed, they seldom wash and never set their hair--content to appear tousled and dusty, bearing the marks of the sun and of their armour.**

When the battle is at hand, they arm themselves interiorly with faith and exteriorly with steel rather than decorate themselves with gold, since their business is to strike fear in the enemy rather than to incite his cupidity. They seek out horses which are strong and swift, rather than those which are brilliant and well-plumed, they set their minds on fighting to win rather than on parading for show. They think not of glory and seek to be formidable rather than flamboyant. At the same time, they are not quarrelsome, rash, or unduly hasty, but soberly, prudently, and providently drawn up into orderly ranks, as we read of the fathers. Indeed, the true Israelite is a man of peace, even when he goes forth to battle.

Once he finds himself in the thick of battle, this knight sets aside his previous gentleness, as if to say, "Do I not hate those who hate you, O Lord; am I not disgusted with your enemies?" These men at once fall violently upon the foe, regarding them as so many sheep. No matter how outnumbered they are, they never regard these as fierce barbarians or as awe-inspiring hordes. Nor do they presume on their own strength, but trust in the Lord of armies to grant them the victory. They are mindful of the words of Maccabees, "It is simple enough for a multitude to be vanquished by a handful. It makes no difference to the God of heaven whether he grants deliverance by the hands of few or many; for victory in war is not dependent on a big army, and bravery is the gift of heaven." On numerous occasions they had seen one man pursue a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.

Thus, in a wonderful and unique manner they appear gentler than lambs, yet fiercer than lions. I do not know if it would be more appropriate to refer to them as monks or as soldiers, unless perhaps it would be better to recognize them as being both. Indeed, they lack neither monastic meekness nor military might. What can we say of this, except that this has been done by the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes. These are the picked troops of God, whom he has recruited from the ends of the earth; the valiant men of Israel chosen to guard well and faithfully that tomb, which is the bed of the true Solomon, each man sword in hand, and superbly trained to war.

Appendix XIII: Analysis of an Armorial



The Reconstruction of an Armorial Analysis and Theory

↔ An unrecorded personal armorial, presented on a pre-1200 pattern bronze bell, set between the initials 'V LR', attributed to a twelfth century knight, Willelmus (William) le Riche. The bell hung next to another bell carrying the same name, Willelmus (William) le Riche. William died between 1180 and 1189, and with his death his armorial became defunct.



↔ An unattributed horse harness pendant of the same armorial design in gilded copper alloy and enamel, dating sometime between 1100 and 1500. It is the only armorial of the same design found that could date to the twelfth century.



↔ The armorial created for Austin of Walpole in Norfolk, recorded in Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armorial* (1874). The origins of the design and date of creation are unknown, but postdates the 13th century (*The College of Arms, 2020*)



↔ Armorial created for Richard Riche, for his knighthood in 1533. Richard Riche became 1st Baron Riche and Chancellor of England from 1547 to 1552. Ancestral research would have carried his name back in antiquity to 'le Riche', in order to ennoble a commoner. There may have been conflict with the arms already awarded to Austin of Walpole, who by ancestral relationship may or may not have been connected to William. Regardless, slight alteration was required to Richard Riche's arms to distinguish it from Austin's and William's hence the cross charge differs. It may be coincidence that the two armorials serving the same name bear similarity, but it seems highly unlikely.

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Appendix XIV: Humidity Monitoring – Holywood Church 2023-2

HOLYWOOD Church, DG2 0RH			EXTERNAL		FIRST FLOOR		ENTRANCE LOBBY		CHURCH HALL - NORTH		CHURCH HALL - SOUTH		NOTES	CHURCH AVERAGE	Deviation from external (+%)	Deviation from safe habitation levels (50%) (+%)
DATE	TIME	WEATHER CONDITIONS	HUMIDITY (%)	TEMPERATURE (C)	HUMIDITY (%)	TEMPERATURE (C)	HUMIDITY (%)	TEMPERATURE (C)	HUMIDITY (%)	TEMPERATURE (C)	HUMIDITY (%)	TEMPERATURE (C)				
AVERAGE			75		88		91		91		89		Yearly humidity range - 70 - 98%	90	15	40
19/03/2023	10.30	wet	83	6	98	6	98	5	96	6	96	7	hall walls wet	97	14	47
20/03/2023	9.20	wet	82	5	90	10	98	8	96	9	96	10		95	13	45
21/04/2023	12.30	sunny	86	3	88	10	94	7	92	8	94	9		92	6	42
14/05/2023	13.00	cloudy	75	7	90	9	98	8	96	9	94	10		95	20	45
10/05/2023	10.00	cloudy/wet	72	10	94	11	98	10	94	10	94	11	Noticably warm air in hallway	95	23	45
17/05/2023	13.30	wet	80	10	92	13	98	9	92	10	94	11	Noticably warm air in hallway	94	14	44
19/06/2023	9.30	sunny	68	12	92	13	94	10	90	10	90	12	Noticably warm air throughput	92	24	42
21/06/2023	8.00	windy	60	10	90	13	94	10	90	10	94	12		92	32	42
01/07/2023	9.00	dry	75	10	78	9	76	9	78	8	80	9	warm air	78	3	28
05/07/2023	10.00	dry	75	11	80	10	82	10	82	10	80	10	warm air	81	6	31
06/07/2023	9.15	dry	73	10	80	9	78	9	82	8	82	9	warm air	81	8	31
14/08/2023	8.00	cloudy/dry	73	15	76	22	84	20	86	19	84	20		83	10	33
15/08/2023	5.30	cloudy/dry	79	14	74	23	84	20	86	19	82	20		82	3	32
16/08/2023	7.30	cloudy/dry	76	12	74	23	80	20	82	19	78	20		79	3	29
17/08/2023	7.30	cloudy/dry	77	14	72	23	78	20	80	19	80	20		78	1	28
18/08/2023	9.30	cloudy/dry	57	17	72	22	78	20	80	19	80	20		78	21	28
21/08/2023	7.30	cloudy/dry	75	16	80	21	88	20	88	20	86	20		86	11	36
26/08/2023	9.30	cloudy/dry	77	15	72	21	82	19	84	18	80	20		80	3	30
31/08/2023	8.00	cloudy/dry	70	10	72	20	76	17	82	16	74	18		76	6	26
02/09/2023	7.00	sunny	79	11	74	20	84	17	84	16	82	19		81	2	31
04/09/2023	7.00	cloudy/dry	78	15	76	21	92	19	88	18	82	20		85	7	35
06/09/2023	5.00	cloudy/dry	78	13	76	24	80	22	82	20	78	20		79	1	29
01/10/2023	7.00	cloudy/dry	80	7	80	18	82	15	90	15	80	15		83	3	33
10/10/2023	7.30	cloudy/dry	78	14	88	18	96	16	94	15	92	14		93	15	43
04/11/2023	9.00	cloudy/dry	77	7	98	9	98	8	98	9	98	9		98	21	48
05/11/2023	13.30	cloudy/dry	77	6	96	8	98	7	98	10	98	8		98	21	48
07/11/2023	12.00	cloudy/dry	77	5	98	9	98	8	97	9	98	8		98	21	48
10/11/2023	15.00	cloudy/dry	78	6	98	9	99	8	98	8	98	9		98	20	48
14/11/2023	11.00	cloudy/dry	76	5	97	9	99	8	98	7	97	9		98	22	48
30/11/2023	13.20	cloudy/snow	78	2	94	4	90	2	92	4	90	5		92	14	42
03/12/2023	8.45	cloudy	68	3	94	4	90	2	92	3	90	5		92	24	42
04/12/2023	9.10	sunny	72	3	98	5	96	4	92	4	92	6		95	23	45
05/12/2023	10.10	sunny	70	3	95	4	97	5	96	4	95	7		96	26	46
06/12/2023	9.15	sunny	75	-4	96	5	84	4	92	4	86	6	Noticably warm air in hallway	90	15	40
07/12/2023	8.25	wet	75	5	96	5	92	3	92	5	90	6		93	18	43
08/12/2023	10.30	wet	83	6	98	6	98	5	96	6	96	7	hall walls wet	97	14	47
10/12/2023	9.20	wet	82	5	90	10	98	8	96	9	96	10	Noticably warm air in hallway	95	13	45
11/12/2023	12.30	sunny	86	3	88	10	94	7	92	8	94	9	Noticably warm air in hallway	92	6	42
14/12/2023	13.00	cloudy	75	7	90	9	98	8	96	9	94	10		95	20	45
16/12/2023	10.00	cloudy/wet	72	10	94	11	98	10	94	10	94	11		95	23	45
17/12/2023	13.30	wet	80	10	92	13	98	9	92	10	94	11		94	14	44
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19/01/2024	10.00	sunny, dry	68	4	92	2	92	2	90	4	90	5		91	23	41
20/01/2024	10.00	wet/windy	82	5	98	4	94	3	96	4	90	6		95	13	45
21/01/2024	6.30	wet	82	6	94	6	96	5	96	5	92	8		95	13	45
06/02/2024	9.00	dry	78	2	92	9	94	9	92	8	92	9	warm air	93	15	43
19/02/2024	10.00	wet	72	4	92	2	94	2	92	4	92	5		93	21	43
20/02/2024	10.30	wet/windy	74	4	98	4	94	3	96	4	90	6	warm air	95	21	45
21/02/2024	15.00	wet	80	6	94	6	96	5	96	5	92	8	warm air	95	15	45